



Quebec
Under Two Flags

PART I

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*An edition of this work will be published in French
under the title :*

Québec sous les Deux Drapeaux

BY

N. E. DIONNE, Litt. D., F.R.S.C.

AND

A. G. DOUGHTY, Litt. D., F.R.H.S.

Orders should be addressed to The Quebec News Co.

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SPECIAL EDITION

Quebec Under Two Flags

A
Brief history of the City

From its foundation until the
present time

BY
A. G. DOUGHTY
AND
N. E. DIONNE
*Librarians of the Legislature
Quebec*

With Illustrations
By the Rembrandt Portrait Studio, London
and the Forbes Co. Boston



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THE QUEBEC NEWS COMPANY



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DOUGHTY, A. G.

NOTE

The excellent photogravures in this edition, have been printed from plates prepared under the supervision of Mr. James Hyatt, of the Rembrandt Portrait studio, London. The coloured plates were made by the Forbes Company, of Boston, from lithographs in the possession of Major William Wood, of Quebec.

Several scarce views have been copied from engravings in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Molson Macpherson, of Quebec, to whom the authors are greatly indebted. The services of the gentlemen who have contributed to the pages of this work, have been duly acknowledged in the text.

A. G. D.

N. E. D.

Entered according to Act of the Parliament of Canada, in the year 1903, by A. G. Doughty and N. E. Dionne, at the Department of Agriculture.



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*His Excellency, the Earl of Minto
Governor General.*

J. H. Minto

1903

✓

BY
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE EARL OF MINTO, G.C.M.G.
GOVERNOR GENERAL
AND TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE PRINCE OF MINTO
BY THE MINTO WORK
THE MINTO WORKS BEING OWNED BY
THE MINTO GOVERNOR
BY HIS EXCELLENCY MINTO
BY PERMISSION

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*His Excellency, the Earl of Minto
General Command*

✓

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE EARL OF MINTO, G.C.M.G.
GOVERNOR GENERAL
AND TO
HER EXCELLENCY
THE COUNTESS OF MINTO
THIS LITTLE WORK
DEVOTED TO THE CITY FOUNDED BY
THE FIRST GOVERNOR
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY PERMISSION

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Quebec from Centre Tower of Parliament House.

From a photograph taken by W. F. Nichol, Quebec.

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CHAPTER I

1608-1688

THE CRADLE OF NEW FRANCE

JACQUES CARTIER — CHAMPLAIN — PIONEERS OF
NEW FRANCE — FORT ST. LOUIS — MONTMAGNY —
MADAME DE LA PELTIERE — MADAME D'AIGUILLON
— LIFE IN THE FORT — THE JESUITS — THE
SOVEREIGN COUNCIL — THE DRAMA IN QUEBEC

THERE is not another city on the continent of America that can surpass Quebec in the grandeur of its situation, in the natural beauty of its surroundings, or in the glory of its past. In the history of the little city, the first pages of which were inscribed amidst much suffering and heroism at the foot of Cape Diamond, we find the foundation of the Canadian nationality. Centuries do not grow old in Quebec. Deeply graven upon the time worn rock is the record of those patriotic souls who toiled and suffered more than two hundred years ago. Bitter warfare has been waged, and many a momentous issue has been decided upon its heights, but each has been powerless to efface



*View from Center Tower of Parliament
Rochester, N. Y. 1850.*

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CHAPTER I

1608-1663

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the impress of Champlain. In most of the cities of the new world, the triumphant march of progress has been sufficient to obliterate every trace of their origin, but in the streets of Quebec, and in much of the life of to-day we may find the reflexion of all that has been.

Quebec, however, is a progressive city, but the deep reverence of her people for the days that are no more, has taught them that the spirit of the age is not incompatible with the memory of those who have gone before. Within the compass of this small work we are unable to dwell upon the picturesque, and oft times tragic, details, which marked the progress and development of New France, and we shall therefore rest content with broadly sketching its annals, giving prominence to those features which have given to Quebec its peculiar characteristics.

The first European who beheld Quebec in its pristine grandeur was Jacques Cartier, the famous navigator, a native of St. Malo. It was on the 14th of September, 1535, that he entered a little river flowing into the St. Lawrence, to which he gave the name of St. Croix, a river now known to us as the St. Charles. Upon the slope of a hill rising from the shore of this winding stream, stood the village of Stadacona, presided over by its warrior-chief, Donnacona. At a short distance, upon the heights, Cartier perceived other villages peopled by the Iroquois. These were the Ajoasté, Starnatam, Tailla; and upon the border of the river stood the village of Stadin, with whose inhabitants he was afterwards to be on friendly terms.

THE CRADLE OF NEW FRANCE

After having visited Hochelaga, which is to-day known as Montreal, Cartier returned to Stadaconé, where he resolved to spend the winter with his associates. In order to avoid a rupture with the Indians he adopted all the measures of defence that were possible. His ships found a shelter in the Lairet, a tributary of the St. Charles, on the left bank. At the confluence of the river he constructed a fort, mounted it with cannon, and encircled it with a palisade. These precautionary means had the effect of repressing the desire of the Indians to attack the French. From various indications, and from the conduct of the Indians in general, Cartier realized that any attempt to colonize the place at this time would be attended with extreme danger. He therefore resolved to return to France as soon as the navigation of the river was practicable. Before leaving the shores of this inhospitable country, which had robbed him of twenty-five of his companions, he desired to leave some evidence of his visit, which at the same time would establish for his sovereign the honour of the discovery of Canada. He accordingly set up the standard of the Cross at the place where he had spent the winter. By this sign future explorers would know that France had taken possession of the country, and had a valid title to it by the right of discovery. The means adopted by Cartier were in accordance with the provisions of international law, and disregard of this evidence would be considered as a cause for hostilities.

It was on Thursday, the 3rd of May, 1536, that Jacques Cartier planted the symbol of the Christian

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religion on the banks of the Lairet. The cross was thirty-five feet in height, and over the intersection of the arms was placed a shield, the field of which was charged with the lilies of France. And above the shield there was a scroll bearing this inscription : *Franciscus Primus Dei Gratia Francorum Rex Regnat*. Three days later Cartier returned to France, taking with him the great chief, Donnacona, who was never more to behold his native land.

In the year 1541, Cartier revisited Canada, and sought refuge at Charlesbourg Royal, (Cap Rouge) where the Marquis de Roberval had fortified himself with the intention of founding a colony. The emigrants he had brought over with him were, unfortunately, an ill-assorted class, taken from the prisons of France, from whom very little good could be expected.

Jacques Cartier undertook a fourth voyage to America, for the purpose of rescuing the Marquis de Roberval, whose efforts to establish a settlement had proved fruitless.

With the passing of Cartier and Roberval, there was an end to the misfortunes which France had to experience in her attempts to obtain a foot-hold in Canada ; and for a period of over half a century a deep silence fell over the whole region comprised between Stadaconé and Hochelaga. Even the Indians themselves had abandoned their villages, for when Samuel Champlain sighted Cape Diamond, sixty years later, he found naught but solitude and the ruins of the wooden fort constructed by Jacques-Cartier.

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Samuel Champlain was born at Brouage, in Saintonge, about the year 1567. Before he came to Canada he had explored the Gulf of Mexico, and obtained fame as a navigator. He had also knowledge of the isthmus of Panama, and in the narrative of his voyages he suggests the possibility of a canal that would connect the waters of the Gulf with the ocean. This project, after three hundred years, is still unrealised.

It was in the year 1603 that Champlain first came to our shores as the lieutenant of Aymar de Chastes, viceroy of Canada, under Henry IV. After having studied the site of Tadoussac, which Chauvin de Tontuit had considered suitable for a permanent settlement, Champlain proceeded up the river, and cast anchor at the foot of Cape Diamond on the 22nd of June.

The elevated position of this immense rock, fortified nature, and the river so easily accessible, even for the largest vessels, filled Champlain with admiration. It is Quebec! the Indians told him; that is, the place where the river is blocked, or, at least, where it is so narrow that in the distance it has the appearance of being completely closed.

Five years later, as lieutenant of the viceroy, Champlain landed at Quebec, and on the 3rd of July, 1608, laid the foundation of the city, within a short distance of the Church of Notre Dame des Victoires, in the lower town.

Soon after this act a modest building arose, styled the *Abitation de Québec*. This structure was enlarged by the addition of a storehouse for the merchandise of

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

France, and for the furs of Canada. In the meantime there were no settlers. Champlain, alone, was likely to remain, for his assistants and the sailors would return to their native land upon the first opportunity. This state of affairs was to last until some father of a family could be induced to cross the ocean to seek his fortune upon the banks of the St. Lawrence. In the course of time the first settlers arrived. These were Nicholas Pivert, Abraham Martin, Pierre Desportes, and their families, and a little later Louis Hébert, and his family landed at Quebec. These were the pioneers of New France.

Encouraged by Champlain, but often impeded by the mercantile companies which soon after appeared, they set about with zeal to found homes, and year by year they became more and more attached to the land of their adoption. Soon they had the pleasure of seeing their children given in marriage to men of good morals and to women of irreproachable character. The Recollects in 1615, and the Jesuits in 1625, blessed these marriages, the numerous offspring from which became proverbial.

Champlain lived in the midst of this little colony, assisted the people in their labours; urged them to cultivate the soil so as to derive subsistence therefrom; protected them from the exactions of the merchants or their agents, and was regarded by all as a father and friend—as the saviour of the country.

Fearing the approach of a powerful enemy, Champlain fortified himself to the best of his ability upon

THE CRADLE OF NEW FRANCE

the heights of Cape Diamond, but nevertheless, he was forced to capitulate to the brothers Kertk, in 1629. After four years, when Quebec was restored to the French, Champlain returned to the city and lived for two years in the midst of his people and the friendly Indians.

From the heights of Fort St. Louis, which he now inhabited, he beheld with legitimate pride the development of the colony. Near the Fort could be seen the steeple of the Church of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance, which bore testimony to the fact that the Governor had fulfilled his vow to build a church under that name, should Quebec be restored to the French. Along the Beauport shore picturesque hamlets were grouped around the seigneurie of surgeon Robert Giffard, and on the borders of the Lairet, the Jesuits had commenced the construction of a modest building which was to serve as a residence for the community, and as a seminary for young Indian children. Agriculture commenced to prosper under the exertions of Robert Giffard who had brought over a number of settlers from Perche and Normandy, to add to the population which remained in Quebec after the capitulation of 1629. The colony was entering upon an era of prosperity, so that Champlain, who had bravely struggled in the face of the disappointments and hardships attending a new settlement, felt that he was about to reap the reward of his anxious labours. Providence, however, willed it otherwise, for he was called to his rest on Christmas day, 1635.

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

At the time of the death of the first Governor of New France, Quebec was only a small village, consisting of a few houses on the Cape and in the vicinity of Côte St. Geneviève, with five or six unpretentious public buildings. The most important of these were the Parish Church and residence of the Jesuits, the Fort St. Louis, and the storehouse of the Hundred Associates. Eighty persons, including the religious orders, were the entire population of the city founded by Champlain.

Although the colony was numerically weak, its future was not without promise, on account of the sterling qualities and industry of the inhabitants. To further the cause of education, the Jesuits opened a college where boys were instructed in arts, science and letters. In the course of time, as a result of the "Relations of the Jesuits" becoming known in France, a serious effort was made to colonize Canada. The first fruit of the movement was the establishment of the Ursuline convent in Quebec in 1639, and the foundation of the Hospital under the direction of the Hospitalières. These two institutions which have exercised a beneficent influence, were founded by the zeal of two noble women, Madame de la Peltrie, and Madame d'Aiguillon, whose names are forever consecrated in the pages of Canadian history.

Until the year 1634 few settlers could be induced to leave France to try their fortune in the New World. The work of Robert Giffard in the direction of colonization was, therefore, remarkable. The people of Perche, amongst whom he sought for settlers, were



SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN
Fondateur de Québec Capitale du Pays de Canada
1608

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THE CRADLE OF NEW FRANCE

devoted to the soil, and not given to seek adventure in foreign lands. Moreover, the prospect of crossing the ocean was not at that time inviting. However, he induced forty persons to leave their homes and strike out afresh in the New World, without knowing what would be the result of their enterprise. Emigrants continued to arrive from Perche, until within the space of thirty years one hundred and fifty families had settled upon the shores of New France.

Normandy also contributed its share to the population of Quebec, and sent over many of its sons, amongst whom were the *coureurs de bois*, and the interpreters. The Bretons were less adventurous, although one of the hardy settlers, Guillaume Couillard, the father of a large family, was a native of St-Malo. With the exception of a few isolated cases of drunkenness and profanity, which were immediately punished, the first settlers of Quebec appear to have led exemplary lives under the watchful eyes of Champlain and the spiritual directors. According to the evidence of Father Le Jeune, "The Fort St. Louis appeared to be a well regulated Academy." Life there was much the same as in a monastery. Each person regularly approached the sacraments, joined in the common prayers, and during meals they listened to the reading of some edifying work. Champlain also established the custom, which is still continued, of ringing the Angelus three times a day. This mode of living had a salutary effect upon the whole population, and the good words spoken by the Jesuits of the people

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at this time, do not appear to have been exaggerated. The immediate successors of Champlain endeavoured to continue the work of the founder of Quebec, and in a measure they were successful. The Company of a Hundred Associates, never very powerful on account of its slender resources and the frequent resignation of its most influential members, still sent colonists to Quebec from time to time. In the arrivals from 1635 to 1641 we can trace nearly four hundred heads of families from Normandy, Perche and Poitou. These were men of rare courage and activity. They soon cleared the valley of the St. Lawrence, and laid the foundation of the parishes nearest to our cities. Quebec was the most favoured in this respect, since it was the most securely defended, and naturally regarded as the stronghold of the colony.

Montmagny succeeded Champlain, and under his regime material progress was made. The Grande Allée and other streets, were laid out under his direction. He improved the defences of the town, erected a Chateau within the fort, repaired defective buildings, and provided against attacks from the Indians.

The citizens also began to take pride in the appearance of their dwellings as the population increased, so that Quebec rapidly assumed the aspect of a thriving settlement. Great progress had been made since the foundation of Quebec forty years before. The presence of the soldiers in the Fort gave an air of importance to the place, and the Governor was always attended by a military escort. Father LeJeune refer-

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ring to Quebec at this time, says in effect : " We have a number of good resolute soldiers. It is a pleasure to see them go through their military exercises in time of peace, and to hear the noise of the musketry and cannon called forth by occasions of joy while our immense forests and mountains answer these salutes with echoes like rolling thunders, which have neither thunder bolt nor lightning. The bugle awakens us every morning, we see the sentinels take their post, and the guard is always well armed, and each squad has its day of duty. In a word, Quebec is guarded in time of peace as a well regulated post in time of war."

Governor Montmagny, who was a Knight of Malta, lived twelve years in Quebec. Under his administration the inhabitants, after repeated requests, obtained permission to trade in furs. This privilege had hitherto been reserved for the Company of a Hundred Associates, under letters patent. Montreal was founded during his regime ; a fort was built at Richelieu, and the Indians were appeased. The annalist of the Hotel Dieu thus describes the Governor : " He was very brave, very conciliatory, full of sympathy with the poor, zealous for religion, and fit to inspire the love of Christianity by the piety of his example." Encouraged by Montmagny, the inhabitants determined to build a church upon the site of the former edifice dedicated to Notre Dame de la Recouvrance. This church had been destroyed by fire on the 14th of June, 1640, together with the residence of the Jesuits and Champlain's Chapel, where the remains of the founder were laid. In one

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of the walls of the Chateau St. Louis, there had been inserted a stone bearing the arms of Malta. This historic stone is still preserved over the gateway of the courtyard of the Chateau Frontenac.

D'Ailleboust replaced Montmagny as Governor. Under a new commission from the King he created a Council composed of the Governor, the ex-Governor, the Superior of the Jesuits, until such time as there should be a Bishop, and two residents of the colony, to be elected every three years.

The first Council was composed of the Governor D'Ailleboust, Father Jérôme Lalemant, and the Sieurs Chauvigny, Godefroy and Giffard. The Council was empowered to enact local laws, to regulate questions concerning commerce, to decide the advisability of peace or war between the Indians, and to arbitrate the differences between private individuals.

One ordonnance passed by the Council, naming Jacques Boisdon, hotel keeper, to the exclusion of all others, is still of interest. It is dated the 19th of September, 1648: "The said Boisdon is to settle in the square in front of the Church so that all may go to this house to warm themselves. He is to keep no one in this house during High Mass, or during the sermon, catechism or vespers."

In 1651, the administration of justice was confided to special officers, the chief of whom was named *grand sénéchal*, and those under him were the *lieutenant-général*, the *lieutenant particulier*, and the *procureur fiscal*. Jean de Lauzon, the eldest son of the Governor,

THE CRADLE OF NEW FRANCE

was the first *grand sénéchal* of the country, Nicolas le Vieux, sieur de Hauteville, the first *lieutenant-général*, and Louis Théandre Chartier de Lotbinière, the first *procureur fiscal*.

Jean de Lauzon was chosen to succeed D' Ailleboust, in 1651, at a period of danger to the colony. The Iroquois were in a restless state, and after the departure of Montmagny, they threatened to destroy the French habitations. Too old to place himself at the head of the troops, and too much involved in the affairs of the Hundred Associates, to whom he had become indispensable, de Lauzon was manifestly displeasing to the people, and in consequence he resigned his office, and returned to France before the completion of his second term. Pierre Voyer, Viscount d'Argenson, assumed the reins of the Government of New France after the departure of de Lauzon.

His arrival in Quebec was the occasion of great public rejoicing. The Jesuits, especially, strove to make the reception a noteworthy event, by inviting the Governor to witness a drama, composed by one of the Fathers, and presented on the stage by the pupils of the College. This, however, is not the first record of a dramatic entertainment in the colony. On the 31st of December, 1646, in the presence of the Governor and the Jesuit Fathers, Corneille's masterpiece, *Le Cid*, was successfully presented in a room belonging to the Company of the Hundred Associates, situated in Ste. Anne street, and a second representation of this piece was given on the 16th of April, 1652.

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Between the years 1645 and 1670 many other plays were presented by amateurs. Thus, on the 14th of September, 1651, we find a notice of a performance of Corneille's great work, *Heradius*, and in 1659 a drama was produced in the Chapel of the Jesuits in honour of the arrival of Monseigneur de Pétrée. On the 21st of May, 1660, the pupils of the College performed a Latin piece composed by Father Pierson, representing the Passion. Under the régime of Frontenac, the *Nicodème* by Corneille, and the *Mithridate*, by Racine, were played in Quebec; but when the question of the production of *Tartufe* was discussed in the days of Frontenac, Bishop St. Vallier manifested his opposition, and paid the sum of one hundred pistoles to the Governor who agreed that it should not be presented. The Intendant Jacques Raudot gave an elaborate representation of the *Les Quatre Saisons*, at the Palace, with a change of scene and costume for each act.

At the time of d'Argenson's arrival in 1658, tragedy had attained a high standard in France under Corneille, and it is not surprising that representations of his works were received with enthusiasm in Quebec.

The first performance before the new Governor was a Huron-Algonquin Drama, presented by the pupils of the College.

This dramatic representation was particularly striking on account of the strangeness of the costumes, and the diversity of the language. The young Governor and his attendants expressed themselves as deeply interested in the performance.

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Pierre de Voyer was named Governor of New France on the 25th of January, 1657, in the place of Jean de Lauzon, who had intrusted the Government to his son, Charles de Lauzon-Charny. As the Governor was to have come to Canada during the year of his nomination, de Lauzon resigned the command to d'Ailleboust. D'Argenson did not land in Quebec until the 11th of July, 1658, owing to the fact that during the previous year his vessel had run ashore on the coast of Ireland, on two occasions, and he was compelled to return to France. The new Governor was only thirty-two years of age, "but nevertheless," wrote Aubert de la Chesnaye, "The nobleness of his race, and the strictness of his conduct had won for him the confidence of M. de Lamoignon, the first President, and the influence of this high official secured for him the appointment."

The young Governor was charitably disposed towards all those placed under his command, but very severe in his own course of living. He was however, the slave of etiquette, in common with men of his station at that time, and we find that he was soon at variance with the Bishop on the question of the use of incense in the church, and also concerning the excommunication of a heretic prisoner. He also manifested a desire to interfere in other matters of purely ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The Baron du Bois d'Avagour succeeded d'Argenson, in August, 1661. He was brave, but obstinate, and soon became involved in a quarrel with the Bishop,

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particularly regarding the sale of intoxicants to the Indians. It was during his regime, in 1663, that those terrible earthquakes occurred in Canada, the description of which, after a lapse of two hundred and fifty years, cannot be read without a feeling of awe.

These disturbances of the earth at that time were regarded as the direct chastisement of heaven, and many who had remained callous to the teachings of the missionaries now turned an attentive ear to their ministrations.

D'Avaugour desired to extend the domination of the French in America. Thus he wrote: "And finally to plant the fleur de lys there, I see nothing better than to fortify Quebec by erecting a fort on the right on the other side of the river, and another on the left, near the River St. Charles, and support them with three thousand men. Quebec thus fortified may be regarded as the foundation stone of ten provinces, which, if fortified in the same manner as Quebec might be regarded as the assurance of one hundred others. In a word, if the King thinks of these ten provinces he may become the master of America."

The King paid no attention to the demands of D'Avaugour, and instead of sending three thousand men to New France, he sent a few families, and at the same time ordered the recall of the Governor.

At the instigation of Mgr. de Laval, M. de Mésy was nominated as the successor to D'Avaugour. The Bishop looked forward with confidence to the regime of de Mésy, but he was destined to be sadly dis-

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appointed. As soon as the Governor was installed in office, he began to quarrel with the Bishop upon the question of the sale of intoxicating liquor. The mind of the Governor was unevenly balanced, and he sowed discord on every side. He would probably have wrought great mischief in the colony, had he remained in his position. Before his death in 1665, he acknowledged his errors, and became reconciled with the Bishop.

The Company of a Hundred Associates had disappeared at the time of de Mézy's arrival, and by this fact New France fell under the direct authority of the King. This change, ardently desired by the people, produced excellent results.

The Government was now vested in the Sovereign Council, through which the laws of France were established on Canadian soil. The King granted to the Council ample powers, constituting it a final court of appeal. Public expenditure, the control of the fur trade, and traffic in general were under its jurisdiction, as well as the administration of criminal law, generally, and municipal affairs. In the exercise of its authority, the Council named a corporation for the city of Québec, whose business had been conducted until this date by trustees. The citizens elected a mayor and two aldermen, but the Council perceiving that the working of this body was too costly and too complicated for the needs of a community of five hundred people, abolished the municipal council after it had been in existence five weeks.

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Monseigneur de Montmorency-Laval, Bishop of Pétrée *in partibus*, came to Quebec in 1659, in the quality of Vicar Apostolic. Since the foundation of the city, fifty years before, the Jesuits alone had ministered to the spiritual needs of the colony. They realised that this state of affairs could not continue, and therefore they earnestly desired the presence of a Bishop in their midst. Mgr. de Pétrée immediately began to organize the diocese. In 1663 he opened the grand Seminary for the education of his clergy, and five years later he founded the Petit Seminary as a preparatory school for ecclesiastics.

Though the sphere of action was undoubtedly large, there were in reality not more than 2,500 christians in the whole of New France. There were, however, the Indians, to whom the Church had a mission. Continuing in their work, the Jesuits sought every opportunity to civilize and christianize these people. Not all these missionaries were destined to gain the crown of martyrdom, as the fathers Lalemant, Brébeuf, Jogues and Daniel had done, but they were qually zealous in the cause they had espoused.

The College of the Jesuits situated in the upper town was supported by the generosity of the Marquis de Gamache, and provided a liberal education for the youth of the colony.

In 1663 New France had become a Province, and Quebec was its principal town or city. And yet at that time there were only about twenty houses, and not more than five hundred inhabitants in Quebec. To

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this number the religious communities contributed one hundred and fifty — The Seminary 12, the Jesuits 58, the Ursulines 47, and the Hotel Dieu 41.

The Sovereign Council held its first Session on the 18th of September, 1663. Its members were composed of the Bishop of Pétrée, the Governor Mésy, Gaudais-Dupont, a Commissioner sent by the King to take possession of New France, Rouer de Villeray, Juchereau de la Ferté, Ruelle d'Auteuil, Le Gardeur de Tilly, d'Amours, Jean Bourdon, Procureur Général, and Jean Baptiste Peuvret du Mesnu, clerk.

Among the other important personages in Quebec at that time were surgeon Jean Madry, Claude Charron, d'Angoville, major of the garrison at Fort St. Louis, de Mazé, de la Tesserie, Denys, Chartier de Lotbinière, la Mère de l'Incarnation and Madame de la Peltrie.

Many families at that time bore names with which we are familiar in Quebec to day, for example : Couillard, Maheu, Fontaine, Lemieux, Roger, Lémelin, Levasseur, Dion, Lefebvre, Amiot, Hébert, Gaudin, Dérome, Fillion, Lambert, Norman, Ratté. All these families we encounter as the history of Quebec proceeds, but greatly increased in numbers and vitality.





CHAPTER II

—
1663-1690
—

A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF PROGRESS

TRACY—TALON—CARIGNAN REGIMENT—FRONTENAC
AND THE INTENDANT—POPULATION OF QUEBEC
—CLERGY—CONVENTS—SIEGE OF QUEBEC BY
PHIPS—CHATEAU ST. LOUIS—NOTABLE FAMILIES
IN QUEBEC

THE year 1665 opened auspiciously in Quebec. First, there was the arrival of four companies of the Carignan Regiment, comprising between twelve and thirteen hundred men. Then came the Governor de Courcéles, and the Intendant Talon, with eight companies of soldiers in their train, and, later, two hundred and twelve persons of title or fortune. In a single year the population of New France had doubled, and it was evident that the mother country was beginning to manifest a deeper interest in her possessions. The character and ability of the men in authority at this time were of a high standard. The Governor and the Intendant were each unusually gifted men, and

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competent to administer the affairs of the colony, while the Marquis de Tracy, who had been named Lieutenant General of the King in America, was an able administrator, a brave soldier, and a scholar. The annalist of the Hotel Dieu, in describing the character of these three men, says: — “ They were of prepossessing appearance, of great intelligence and prudence, and were eminently fitted to convey a proper idea of royal power and majesty.” It is not surprising, therefore, to find that under the guidance of these three men, the government of the country was established upon a sound basis, and that Quebec entered upon an era of prosperity.

Talon undoubtedly contributed more than any other Intendant towards the progress of New France. He honestly endeavoured to promote the welfare of the people. He placed himself at the head of every movement in the direction of the public good; caused the land to be cleared; encouraged the cultivation of flax; built a tannery and a brewery; and endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with the West Indies. He was particularly zealous in promoting the cause of education, and nothing afforded him greater pleasure than to be present at the public examinations of the pupils of the Jesuits, and to take part in philosophical discussions. Talon served his country as Intendant for five years—from 1665 to 1668, and from 1670 to 1672. At the time of his arrival in Quebec the population of the colony was 3215, and in 1672, it was almost twice that number. In the year 1670, nearly seven hundred

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births were registered, and the people were becoming more and more attached to their new homes. Great regret was shown when the Intendant left the shores of New France. "M. Talon is leaving", wrote Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, "and returns to France, to the sorrow and loss of all Canada, for since he has been here in his capacity of Intendant the country has prospered more than at any time since the French have inhabited it."

Jacques Duchesneau was appointed to succeed Talon. His commission invested him with the title of President of the Sovereign Council, an office which had hitherto been filled by the Governor. Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, a man of dominant spirit, was the Governor of New France at this time, and in the natural progress of events interminable disputes arose between the Governor and the Intendant touching questions of precedence, which disturbed the harmony of the government. For a long time there had been a difference of opinion between Frontenac and Monseigneur de Laval, regarding the sale of intoxicants to the Indians, and as Duchesneau supported the action of the Bishop, the relations between the Governor and the Intendant became even more strained. Frontenac seized every opportunity to show his resentment until, for the sake of preserving internal peace, the Government of France ordered the recall of both the Governor and the Intendant in the year 1682. This act was most unfortunate for the colony, for at the time the Iroquois were assuming a war like attitude towards the inhab-

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itants, and no one was more able to suppress these savage tribes than Frontenac.

Lefebvre de la Barre was named Governor of New France, and de Meulle succeeded Duchesneau as Intendant. The Governor was old, and utterly unfit to lead an army against such wily foes as the Iroquois. Nevertheless, he made hasty preparations and led his men to the attack, but neither he nor his troops won glory in the campaign. At the end of the year, de la Barre was replaced by the Marquis de Denonville, a man of great courage. His intentions towards the colony were good, but in carrying out the instructions of the King, he adopted a severe policy in dealing with the Indians. The horrible massacre of Lachine was one of the unforeseen consequences of Denonville's administration.

The residence of the Governor and his family was at the Château St. Louis, but apartments were set aside therein for the deliberations of the Sovereign Council. The affairs of the colony had now assumed sufficient importance to demand a separate building for the use of the Council. To facilitate the public service de Meulle proposed to purchase the old brewery erected by Talon, and convert it into a palace for the Intendant, with accommodation for the Sovereign Council. The situation of this building was advantageous. It was near the shores of the St. Charles and the St. Lawrence and only a short distance from the Upper Town, and there were suitable grounds adjoining for gardens which could be purchased from Talon.

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It is more than two hundred years ago since the brewery was converted into a palace. The palace in its turn has long since disappeared, and the building is again occupied as a brewery. About this time de Meulle returned to France and was replaced by Jean Bochart de Champigny.

On the fifth of August, 1682, nearly all the Lower Town was destroyed by fire. According to a chronicle of the day "more riches were destroyed during that sad night, than the whole of Canada possessed eight years later."

On the 15th of October, 1689, the boom of cannon and the fire of musketry announced the arrival of the Count de Frontenac, who for the second time had been appointed Governor of New France. At eight o'clock in the evening a torchlight procession was formed headed by members of the Sovereign Council and prominent citizens, to conduct the Governor to his residence. The city was illuminated and all the religious and civil corporations assembled to give an enthusiastic welcome to Frontenac. At this time the lower town had recovered from the disastrous effects of the fire; the houses had been rebuilt, and a notable addition was the little church afterwards called Notre-Dame de la Victoire, which was now complete.

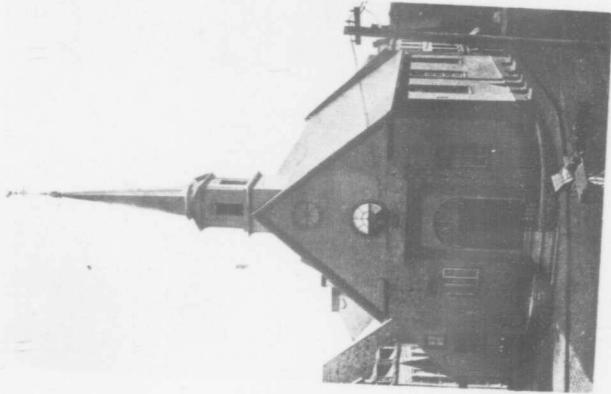
Twelve months passed under Frontenac's regime without the occurrence of any noteworthy event. The Governor was still vigorous, his orders were obeyed, his word was respected, and he enjoyed the confidence of the people.

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But New France was not yet to enjoy the blessings of a lasting peace. Early in the month of October disquieting rumors reached Quebec. An Abenakis Indian arrived in the city with the intelligence that an English fleet had laid waste the habitations of Port-Royal in Acadia, and was now sailing towards the St. Lawrence to besiege Quebec. The intelligence was confirmed on the 7th of October by Simon Soumande, sieur de Cananville. Days of despair and anxiety followed the reception of this news, but on the 16th of the month the suspense was relieved by the appearance of the British ships, under Admiral Phips off the Island of Orleans.

Frontenac, bold, fearless as ever, preserved a war like attitude, and sent a defiant answer to the British officer who demanded his surrender. Phips commenced the siege in earnest, but Frontenac, with a show of strength which he did not really possess, was able to overawe the enemy, and soon he had the satisfaction of seeing the British ships retreat, leaving a few pieces of artillery upon the Beauport shore. In two weeks the city had regained its normal condition, and the voice of weeping gave place to a song of praise. The *Te Deum* was sung in the Cathedral, and an image of the Blessed Virgin was carried in procession to the four churches in the Upper Town. At night a fire was lit upon the heights of Quebec which could be seen from Charlesbourg and from Beauport, as a sign of public rejoicing. In commemoration of the victory over Phips, the little church in the Lower Town was

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Notre Dame des Victoires

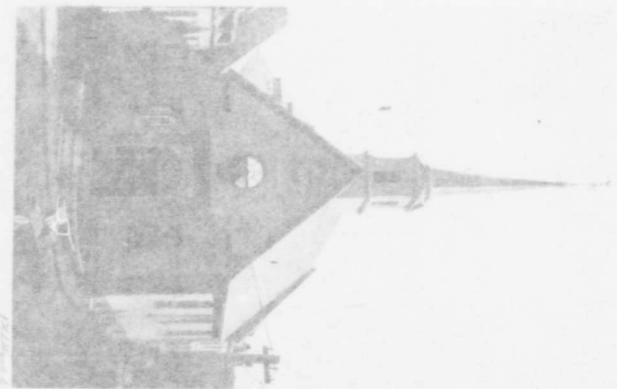
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dedicated to Notre-Dame de la Victoire, and the ladies fulfilled their vows by making a pilgrimage to its sanctuary.

Wonderful progress had been made in the city since the death of Champlain. Martin, Couillard, Nicolet, Marsolet, Bourdon, Merin were no more, but their families were still represented. The offspring of these hardy settlers could already count their grandchildren.

The population had also been increased by a steady tide of immigration, which commenced in the days of Talon. From the regiment of Carignan many officers and soldiers of worth had chosen New France as their home. Some of the officers were of noble families, and by forming alliances with the middle classes had given an elegance of manner to Quebec society, besides having had the effect of preserving the purity of the French language. Father Charlevoix during his visit to the capital of New France in 1720, wrote that the French spoken by the Canadians was remarkably pure and that no accent was noticeable.

It is reasonable to suppose that similar conditions prevailed in Quebec during the second regime of Frontenac, since the leading families were still living in the days of Charlevoix, and there had been little immigration since the death of Frontenac, to counteract the tendency of the times. A glance at the parish registers shows that the number of births was sufficient to account for the increase in the population, and it is a fact worthy of note at this time, that one may



St. James des Protestants

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turn over page after page, recording the entries for several months without finding the notice of a single burial.

The population of Quebec at this time was 1,500, while that of the whole of the colony was about 10,000. The peculiar advantages offered by the country to those who were tempted to seek adventure or fortune, probably accounted for the small number who settled down to a quiet life in Quebec. Under the vigorous policy of Talon, commerce had received an impetus which was steadily developed by his successors. Regular intercourse had been established between New France and the West Indies, Madeira, and several countries of America. An association of Fur Traders had been formed by Quebec merchants, the most prominent of whom were Pachot, Hazeur and Macart. Cod fishing was another industry which proved remunerative, and the fisheries of the St. Lawrence yielded a substantial revenue. One of the most wealthy merchants was d'Amours, who owned large fisheries at Matane. The land, too, was well adapted for agricultural purposes, and the forests abounded in valuable timber. Canada, with its numerous and varied resources, was beginning to be known as a land worthy of possession, and already England was looking towards it with covetous eyes. The British had endeavoured to capture the prize in 1690, and again in 1711, when Walker's powerful fleet was destroyed before it entered the channel, but the time for separation from France had not yet come.

Quebec was the seat of Government for the

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colony, and also the residence of the Governor, the Intendant and the officers of state, of the members of the Sovereign Council, and the petty officers of the courts. The two other courts in Quebec were the Court of Prévôté and the Admiralty Court. The professions were well represented by Doctors, Notaries and Architects.

The Sovereign Council which was charged with the administration of the affairs of the colony, was composed of the Governor, the Bishop, the Intendant and several councillors, all residing in Quebec. The dean, or first councillor, in 1690, was Louis Rouer de Villeray, a man highly regarded, especially by the Bishop, to whom he was devoted. "He was one of those," wrote Frontenac, "who without wearing the garb of the Jesuits, had nevertheless taken their vows." Among the other councillors of note we find the name of Nicolas Dupont, sieur de Neuville and Mathieu d'Amours, sieur de Chauffours, the father of a large family all of whom married well.

It is interesting to note that of the five councillors present at the first meeting of the Sovereign Council held in the year 1663, four were still members in the year 1690, namely Villeray, d'Amours and Ruette d'Auteuil. The fourth member was le Gardeur de Tilly, the father of the illustrious family bearing the titles of Repentigny, de Beauvais, de l'Isle, and de Courtemanche. Charles Denis de Vitré, a fifth councillor, was one of the children of Simon Denis, sieur

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de la Trinité. Paul Denis, sieur de Saint-Simon, was provost Marshal, an office which had been established in 1667. The court presided over by Denis was under the jurisdiction of the Marshal of France, and was really a military court. The rank of " Prévost " was equal to that of sheriff in the present day.

The notable families in Quebec at this time included Ruelle d'Auteuil, solicitor general to the King ; Claude de Bermen, judge and civil lieutenant ; Charles de Monseignat, secretary to Frontenac, to whom we are indebted for a detailed account of the military operations of 1690 ; Pierre Bécart, sieur de Grandville, who was taken prisoner by the English whilst engaging the fleet under Phips, George Regnard du Plessis, Treasurer of the Marine ; Paul Dupuis, seigneur of Goose Island, and King's procureur for the Prévôté ; Michel Le Neuf, sieur de la Vallière et de Beaubassin ; Jean-Baptiste Couillard de l'Espinay, lieutenant of the Admiralty ; Charles-Gaspard Piot de l'Angloiserie, King's lieutenant and chevalier de St. Louis ; René Chartier de Lotbinière, lieutenant of the Prévôté ; François Prévost, major and commanding officer of the Château St. Louis ; Gervais Beaudoin, physician of the Ursulines ; Timothé Roussel, physician of the Hôtel-Dieu, etc., etc. The merchant class was represented by Charles Perthuis, Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye, François Hazeur, Denis Riverin, François Viennay-Pachot, Guillaume Bouthier, Jean Sébille, Nicolas Volant, Jean Gobin, Pierre Têtu du Tilly, Raymond du Bosc, Simon Soumande, Charles Macart

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and Denis Roberge. The parish registers of 1690 contain many important entries. On the 21st of November the marriage is recorded of Philippe Rigaud de Vaudreuil to Louise Elizabeth de Joybert, daughter of Pierre de Joybert, sieur de Marsan. Mademoiselle de Joybert was born in Fort Gemsek, on the River St. John, New Brunswick, where her father was in command. After her removal to Quebec she entered the Ursuline Convent as a pupil, at the same time as Mlle de Brisay, the daughter of the Marquis Denonville. The Marquise de Vaudreuil was a lady of remarkable beauty, and greatly beloved by the people of Quebec for her many acts of kindness. In later years she had the honor of instructing the grand children of the King of France. Mlle de Brisay de Denonville, also a pupil of the Ursulines, became a Carmélite nun after the return of her family to France.

The clergy of Quebec were composed of religious and secular priests. Of the sixty who remained in Quebec, only two were Canadians. The priests attached to the Seminary exercised, for the most part, the duties of curés in the country.

The College of the Jesuits had been established for over half a century. The faculty was composed of fifteen members, and a course of study was prescribed which gave prominence to mathematics and physical science. The young Canadian, therefore, received a practical education which specially qualified him for the duties of his station.

The second body of teachers was the Recollet

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Fathers, who resided at the convent of Notre Dame des Anges, upon the shores of the St. Charles.

In the Ursuline Convent many changes had taken place. None of the first members were living in 1690. The Community was composed at this time of twenty-four professed nuns and six novices, all of whom were of the best families.

In the Hôtel Dieu, one of the nuns who had seen the foundation of the Hospital, in 1639, was still living. Her name was Mère Marie Forestier de St. Bonaventure, and at this time she had been a nun for sixty-six years. Her death occurred eight years later. There were twenty-three professed nuns and one novice in the Hôtel Dieu in 1690.

The little Hospital of the Poor, in charge of the Sisters of the Congregation, was situated in the Upper Town. Its affairs were managed by a committee of laymen. The General Hospital founded in 1693 by Monseigneur de Saint Vallier, continued the work of the Sisters of the Congregation.

At the time of the arrival of Frontenac the Chateau St. Louis and the walls of the fort were in a ruinous condition. In 1693 the Governor rebuilt the fort, and constructed a redoubt, which he named Cape Diamond Redoubt. In 1694 the Chateau was demolished and a new building with a second story was erected upon the old foundations, with the addition of a wing. The large wing which is shown upon some of the plans was not constructed until 1723. From this date until the cession of the country to England, only slight

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repairs were made to the Chateau, but much money had been expended upon the walls, as will be seen in the chapter devoted to the fortifications.

The first Fort St. Louis was constructed by Champlain in 1620, and inhabited by him from 1628 to 1629, and from 1633 to 1635. The first Chateau St. Louis was built by Montmagny and afterwards inhabited by the Governors D'Ailleboust, Lauzon, D'Argenson, D'Avaugour, de Mésy, de Courcelles, Frontenac, de la Barre, Denonville, and was demolished by Frontenac during his second term of office. The second Chateau was inhabited by Frontenac, Callières, Vaudreuil, Beauharnois, la Galissonnière, Jonquière, Duquesne, and Vaudreuil-Cavagnal.

The first Marquis de Vaudreuil, Callières, Frontenac, and Jonquière died in the Château, and were buried in the Recollet Church.

After the fire in 1796 the remains of the former Governors were translated to the Cathedral. The remains of Governor de Mésy, who also died in the Château were deposited in the cemetery of the poor, belonging to the Hotel-Dieu, in accordance with the wish expressed by him shortly before he died.





CHAPTER III

1690-1725

QUEBEC AFTER ONE HUNDRED YEARS

VAUDREUIL — WRECK OF BRITISH FLEET — BISHOP
LAVAL AND HIS SUCCESSOR — THE SEMINARY OF
QUEBEC — THE RECOLLETS AND THE JESUITS —
DESCRIPTIONS OF QUEBEC — CHARLEVOIX — KALM
— POPULATION OF QUEBEC — ITS STREETS AND
INHABITANTS

FRONTENAC lived eight years after the siege of Quebec by Phips. His two most formidable adversaries, the English and the Iroquois, continued hostilities, although repulsed on every side. During these years the French, who were ever on the alert, had frequent opportunities to display their valour. Le Moine de Bienville, Vuault de Varennes, fought bravely and checked the progress of the invaders. The expeditions of the sieurs de Mantet, de Courtemanche and de la Noue against the Agniers inspired the English with a salutary dread. But when Frontenac

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died he had not wholly succeeded in taming the ferocious Iroquois.

Hector de Callières, Frontenac's successor, was at the head of affairs for only four years—from 1699 to 1703,—and there is nothing of particular interest to record. The historian Ferland says that he left behind him the reputation of having been an excellent general, an honest man and a true friend of the country in which he had spent the greater portion of his life.

In 1705 the Marquis Philippe de Vaudreuil assumed the Government of the country in the presence of three Intendants :—Beauharnois, who was leaving office, and the joint Intendants, Jacques Raudot, and his son Antoine, who were entering upon their duties. It was during Vaudreuil's administration, in the year 1711, that the fleet under Admiral Walker was wrecked off Egg Island, on its way to besiege Quebec. This terrible disaster, so unfortunate for the enemy, had the effect of arousing the inhabitants to consider their unprotected position. During the following year a subscription of fifty thousand écus was raised by the people to surround the town with a wall. The inhabitants had suggested a similar course some time before, but M. de Beaucourt pretended that it would be far better for the citizens to sharpen their swords.

Like all his predecessors, Vaudreuil had constantly to make provisions to withstand the assaults of the Indians. In this difficult task he displayed much zeal. He was a man of valour and was respected by the Indians, and his irreproachable conduct and untiring

QUEBEC AFTER ONE HUNDRED YEARS

energy made his name dear to the Canadians. There were few events of an unfortunate nature during his administration. Vaudreuil died in the Château St. Louis on the 10th of October, 1725.

The death of Monseigneur de Laval in 1706, deprived New France of one of her most illustrious figures. For many years the noble and saintly prelate had been unable to fulfill the active duties of his office which he had resigned to Monseigneur de Saint Vallier, but he had never ceased to take a deep interest in the spiritual welfare of the colony, so that his life was a useful one until its close. We have seen that, shortly after his arrival in Quebec, Monseigneur de Laval had undertaken the construction of two seminaries, but it was not until 1698 that the stone building was complete which served as a residence for the ecclesiastics and the pupils under their charge. On the 6th of October, 1688, the doors of the Little Seminary were thrown open to the youth of the colony. There were sixty pupils admitted during the first year. The boys of the Seminary wore a costume similar to that worn to-day, namely, a blue coat with a sash. The pupils who were destined for the priest-hood, served in the choir of the Cathedral. They wore under their surplice a red cassock, with a camail of the same material. On the 25th of November, 1701, the Little Seminary, which had cost the Bishop so much labour, was destroyed by fire. It was rebuilt without delay, but within the space of four years it was again consumed by the flames. This time, however, the citizens came to the assistance of

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

the Bishop, and at the time of his death he had the consolation of seeing the completion of a new building which was to last for many years.

It would require many chapters to recount all the good deeds of Monseigneur de Laval, or to give a just estimate of his noble work. When he first undertook the direction of the spiritual affairs of the colony, the Church in Canada was in its infancy and without any form of organization. It was an exceedingly difficult task, but he brought to the work he had undertaken both energy and ability. It required a firm hand to establish authority in a new country where discipline was unknown, and where extraordinary powers were perforce given to individuals that would not even have been suggested under more settled conditions. In the pursuance of his policy Mgr. de Laval naturally came into conflict with various elements of opposition, and in consequence, even to this day, there are those who have not hesitated to censure the line of action which the Bishop followed. However, the impartial historian, with the light which is now thrown upon the history of the times, a light which has compelled even the most conservative to revise their judgment both of men and of events, must admit that Mgr. de Laval 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 sufficient justification of his numerous acts.

The Recollets resumed their labors in 1670 and took up their abode in their former convent of Notre

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Dame des Anges, which had been entirely rebuilt. The Jesuits College was still the great centre of education and many priests and laymen of distinction had been trained within its walls. When the Abbé de Saint Vallier came to Quebec in 1686 he found the organization of the various institutions highly satisfactory, and he said that if he could continue the good work carried on by the Bishop he would deem himself happy.

Monseigneur de Saint Vallier presided over the building of the church in the Lower Town in 1688, and founded the General Hospital at his own cost. The Bishop's Palace at the top of Mountain Hill was built during his residence in Quebec. Several of the *mandements* which he composed are read in our churches even to this day. Four synods were held during his term of office. The first in Quebec, on the 9th of November, 1690; the second at Montreal, on the 10th and 11th of March, 1694; the third in Quebec, on the 27th of February, 1698; and the fourth in Quebec, on the 8th of October, 1700.

Mgr. de Saint-Vallier was an able administrator, and his episcopacy exceeded in duration the terms of any of his successors. He died at the General Hospital on the evening of the 25th of December, 1728, surrounded by his beloved nuns, to whom he left this recommendation, worthy of his noble heart: "My daughters, forget me after my death, but do not forget my poor." The last wish of the dying prelate was only half fulfilled, because the Hospitaliers could not forget their generous founder. As to the poor, it



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QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

is the mission of their lives to care for them, and the entire population of Quebec ever since the days of the good Bishop have always been willing to bear witness to their devotion to the cause they have espoused.

On his first arrival at Quebec, in 1672, the Count de Frontenac wrote to the Minister in France :—

“ Nothing seemed so beautiful and magnificent to me as the site of the town of Quebec, which could not be better placed even were it some day to become the capital of a great empire. But it seems to me that hitherto a great error has been committed in allowing the houses to be built according to the whim of individuals and without any order, because in establishments such as this which may some day become very considerable, one should, it seems to me, think not only of the present condition in which one lives but also of that which may come.”

Frontenac therefore insisted that the streets should follow regular lines, especially in the Upper Town where the lack of symmetry was most noticeable. He gave his own name to Buade street, and when Charlevoix came to Quebec fifty years later, he found the streets following regular lines, and the names which they then bore have been scrupulously handed down to our own times. Charlevoix was not less impressed than Frontenac by the magnificent situation of Quebec. He wrote :—

“ I am going to say something about Quebec. All the descriptions that I have read are so imperfect, that I am sure you will be pleased to receive a true picture of the Capital of New France. It deserves to be better known, if only for the singularity of its

QUEBEC AFTER ONE HUNDRED YEARS

situation. It is the only town in the world that can boast of a harbour in fresh water at one hundred and twenty leagues from the sea, and capable of containing one hundred ships, and it is situated near the most navigable river in the world."

Peter Kalm, in his "Travels," gives this interesting description of the city :

"The shores of the river become more sloping as you come nearer to Quebec. To the northward appears a high ridge of mountains. About two French miles and a half from Quebec the river becomes very narrow, the shores being within the reach of a musket shot from each other. The country on both sides was sloping, hilly, covered with trees, and had many small rocks; the shore was stony. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon we happily arrived at Quebec. The city does not appear till one is close to it, the prospect being intercepted by a high mountain on the south side. However, part of the fortifications appear at a good distance, being situated on the same mountain. As soon as the soldiers who were with us saw Quebec, they called out, that all those who had not been there before should be ducked, if they did not pay something to release themselves. This custom even the Governor General of Canada is obliged to submit to, on his first journey to Montreal. We did not care when we came in sight of this town to be exempted from this old custom, which is very advantageous to the rowers as it enables them to spend a very merry evening on their arrival at Quebec, after their troublesome labour.

"Quebec, the chief city of Canada, lies on the western shore of the St. Lawrence, close to the water's edge, on a neck of land, bounded by that

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“ river on the east side, and by the St. Charles on the
“ north side ; the mountain, on which the town is
“ built, rises still higher on the south side, and behind
“ it begin great pastures. The upper city lies
“ above the other, on a high hill, and takes up five or
“ six times the space of the lower though it is not
“ quite so populous. The mountain, on which the
“ upper city is situated, reaches above the houses of
“ the lower city. Notwithstanding the latter are three
“ or four stories high, and the view, from the palace,
“ of the lower city, (part of which is immediately
“ under it) is enough to cause a swimming of the
“ head.”

Charlevoix was a keen observer, and as he lived among the people for many years, his opinion deserves weight. We therefore quote another passage from one of his letters.

“ But we find here a little chosen World, which
“ wants nothing to make an agreeable Society. A
“ Governor-General with his Attendants, Nobility,
“ Officers of the Army, and Troops : An Intendant
“ with an upper Council, and the inferior Jurisdictions :
“ A Commissary of the Marine : A Grand Provost :
“ A Grand Surveyor of Highways, and a Grand Master
“ of the Waters and Forests whose Jurisdiction is
“ certainly the most extensive in the world : Rich
“ Merchants, or who live as if they were such : A
“ Bishop and a numerous Seminary : Recollets and
“ Jesuits : Three Societies of Maidens, well composed :
“ Circles as brilliant as in any other place, at the
“ Governor's, and the Intendant's Ladies. Here seems
“ to me to be every thing for all Sorts of People to pass
“ their Time very agreeably. And so they do in reality,
“ and every one endeavours to contribute what they

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“ can towards it. They play, they make Parties of
“ Pleasure, in Summer, in Chariots, or Canoes ; in
“ Winter, in Sledges on the Snow, or skating on the ice.
“ Shooting is much followed ; Gentlemen find this
“ their only Resource to live plentifully. The News
“ current is but little, because the Country furnishes
“ scarce any, and the News from Europe comes all
“ together ; but this affords Conversation for a great
“ Part of the Year ; They make Political Remarks on
“ things past, and raise Conjectures on future Events :
“ The Sciences and the fine Arts have their Turn, and
“ Conversation never grows dull. The Canadians, that
“ is to say, the Creoles of Canada, breathe at the Birth
“ an Air of Liberty, which makes them very agreeable
“ in the Commerce of Life ; and our Language is
“ nowhere spoken with greater Purity.

“ There is nobody rich here, and 'tis a Pity, for
“ they love to live generously, and no one thinks of
“ laying up Riches. They keep good Tables, if their
“ Fortune will afford it, as well as dress handsomely ;
“ if not, they retrench the Expense of their Table to
“ bestow it on Dress, and indeed we must allow that
“ our Creoles become their Dress. They are all of good
“ Stature, and have the best Complexion in the World
“ in both Sexes. A pleasant Humour, and agreeable
“ and polite Manners are common to all ; and Clown-
“ ishness, either in Language or Behaviour, is not
“ known among them.”

In the time of Charlevoix the population of Quebec was less than three thousand souls, including the members of all the religious orders.

The following table shows the population of Quebec and of the whole of Canada at the dates here given.

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

	Quebec	Canada
1666	547.....	3,800
1681	1,381.....	9,677
1698	1,988.....	15,355
1716	2,500.....	20,531

At this time the town contained only eighteen streets, the chief, and most populous ones being called : Sault au Matelot ; de Meulles and Champlain ; St. Louis ; Sous le Fort ; de la Montagne ; Notre Dame ; du Palais, or St. Nicholas ; Couillard. There were only ten streets in the Upper Town : St. Louis ; St. Joseph ; St. Jean ; Ste. Anne ; du Fort ; des Pauvres ; des Jardins ; Buade ; Couillard ; du Jardin, and du Fort. St. Louis street commenced at the Chateau and ended at the residence of Louis Roer d'Artigny, the special lieutenant of Prévoté. Amongst the most prominent persons residing on St. Louis street were Dr. Michel Sarrazin, Councillor of the Superior Council, Eustache Chartier de Lotbinière, Councillor, and the demoiselles des Meloizes, his sisters in law ; Hilaire Bernard de la Rivière, usher of the Council, and Surveyor ; Canon Thierry Hazeur ; Noël Levasseur, sculptor ; Marie Catherine Ruelle d'Auteuil, widow of M. de Celles. There were fifty one dwellings on the street and two hundred and fifty inhabitants.

Buade Street was the fashionable street, *par excellence*. Amongst its principal residents were Claude de Bermen, sieur de la Martinière, first councillor of the Superior Council ; Charles de Monseignat, controller

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of the Marine and receiver of the Domaine ; Henri Hiché, merchant ; Madame Denis, widow of M. de la Vallière ; Jean Vergeant, dit Prénoveau, sergeant of the troops. Couillard Street extended from the house of the sieur de Belleville, probably situated at the foot of the present St. Famille Street, to the cemetery of the Hotel Dieu. This quarter was inhabited by eighteen families, ship carpenters, coopers, soldiers and labourers. Des Pauvres Street commenced at the Cathedral, corresponding with the present Fabrique Street and extending to part of St. John Street. Chaussegros de Léry, the engineer, lived in this street near the Parish Church. Jean Chandelier, an innkeeper ; Jean Baptiste Brassard, the beadle ; a mason, a shoemaker, and an armourer also resided there. In that part of St. Jean Street which commenced at the Hotel Dieu, there were two English residents, Thomas le Golden, a labourer, and John Willy, a shoemaker. Paul Denis de St. Simon, a councillor, a merchant, and a blacksmith, resided in the same quarter.

The St. Nicolas suburb, or Palais quarter, was inhabited by carters, roofers, masons, blacksmiths and port wardens.

The streets in the Lower town, six in number, were called, de la Montagne ; de Meulles and Champlain ; Cul-de-sac ; Notre Dame ; Sault au Matelot, and Sous le Fort.

In Sault au Matelot lived Charles Denis de St. Simon, grand Provost of the Marshals of France ; Jean Maillou, architect ; Vital Caron, mariner and merchant ;

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Anne Macart, widow of Pierre Bécart de Granville ; the widow of M. de Soulanges ; François Aubert, councillor.

De la Montagne (Mountain Hill) extended from the gate of the Bishop's palace to the garden of M. de Lino, at the foot of the hill. The principal residents were Gaspard Emeri, surgeon ; Jacques Barbel, Notary and secretary of the Intendant ; Foucault, Merchant ; Richard Testu de la Richardiere, mariner. There were also blacksmiths, shoemakers, watchmakers, locksmiths, barbers and nailers.

Notre Dame Street was the commercial street. The leading merchants were Charles Perthuis, Nicolas Pinault, Charles Goutard, Pierre Normandin, Étienne de Grandmenil, Jean Fournel and Joseph Fleury de la Gorgendière. There were also several notaries, amongst others Florent de la Citière, Pierre Rivet Cavalier ; four councillors—Martin Chéron, François Mathieu Martin de Lino, Charles Macart and François Hazeur.

De Meulles and Champlain Street, leading from the flight of steps to Cape Diamond, was the most populous. In it lived two physicians, Jourdain Lajus and Pierre du Verger. The remainder of the population in that quarter was composed of mariners, ship carpenters, labourers and an old fortune teller named Héli, seventy-six years of age.

Cul-de-Sac was the quarter of the inn-keepers, butchers and mariners. Dr. Soupiran also had his residence there. Sous-le-Fort Street contained merchants and navigators. Amongst the former were

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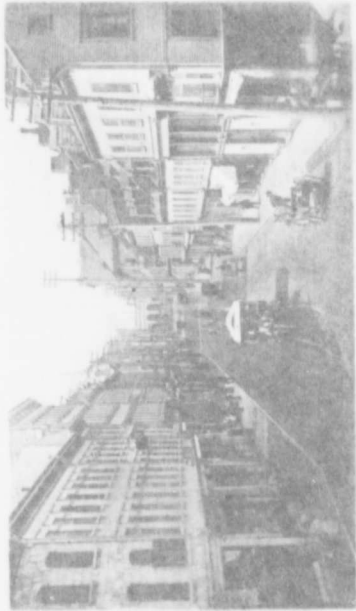
St. John Street.

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François Perrot, Etienne Mirabeau, Etienne Thibierge, Gabriel Greyssac, Pierre Haimard, Pierre Perreault dit Dresil, Pierre Baraguet and Louis Gosselin. The notary Rageot, M. de Lino, the King's procurator, Jean Baptiste Couillard l'Espinay, lieutenant of the troops, resided in this quarter.

The Parish, at this time comprised both the Upper and Lower Towns and the ~~Suburb~~ la Canardière, St. Jean Suburb, la Petite rivière and Saint-Michel. The latter place was the favourite promenade of the directors and pupils of the seminary. Seven families only were grouped along the St. Charles river forming a population of forty four.

The names of several families of that period are still borne by citizens of Quebec to-day. Then as now, we find the names of Alary, Amot, Aubert, Baby, Beaudoin, Bergeron, Bernier, Blondeau, Bonneau, Bouchard, Boucher, Bourget, Brousseau, Bruneau, Brunet, Bureau, Caron, Casgrain, Charest, Charland, Chaussegros de Léry, Constantin, Côté, Couillard, Dassilva, Deguise, Desjardins, Deslauriers, Dion, Drouin, Ducharme, Dufresne, Dumontier, Fontaine, Gagnon, Gosselin, Gourdeau, Guillot, Hamel, Huot, Jolicœur, Laberge, Lacasse, Lafrance, Languedoc, Langevin, Lemieux, Lemoine, Lesage, Lessard, Levasseur, Lortie, Malouin, Marois, Montambault, Moreau, Morin, Martineau, Pampalon, Parent, Pelletier Perreault, Proulx, Racine, Renard, Robitaille, Rousseau, Routier, Samson, Sasseville, Tourangeau, Vallée, Vallière, Vermette, Voyer.



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QUEBEC AFTER ONE HUNDRED YEARS

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CHAPTER IV

1725-1759

THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

THE INTENDANTS AND THEIR WORK — RAUDOT — HOC-
QUART — LA GALISSONNIERE — LIFE IN QUEBEC
— THE LAST FRENCH GOVERNOR — OFFICIAL
CORRUPTION — BIGOT AND HIS ASSOCIATES

THE Marquis de Vaudreuil was succeeded by the Marquis de Beauharnois as Governor, on the 11th of June, 1726. He came to Quebec at the same time as Dupuy, who replaced Michel Bégon as Intendant.

Since the days of Talon there had been seven Intendants, and in the work of each we find some achievement in the interest of the people. The office of Intendant was a peculiar one, and diplomacy was often necessary to preserve harmony in the government. Hitherto, although there had been friction occasionally, the Intendants appear to have had the welfare of the colony at heart. Quebec was soon to realise how shamefully the office could be abused, and the darkest days of New France, which brought about her

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downfall, may be traced directly to the exercise for evil, of the power vested in the last of her Intendants. The only instance of a joint appointment was when Antoine and Jacques Raudot were named Intendants. These two men were particularly successful in conducting the affairs entrusted to them. The elder Raudot reserved for himself the administration of justice, the police and general business, while his son undertook the control of marine and commerce. The firm stand taken by Antoine Raudot in simplifying the procedure in the courts ; in diminishing the jurisdictions and in putting an end to the vexatious proceedings of pettifoggers, earned for him the gratitude of the inhabitants. Raudot, the younger, improved the financial condition of the colony and aided commerce by consolidating the military and commercial establishments. With a desire to curb the mania for trading with the Indians he encouraged the people to follow agricultural pursuits.

In the history of the Hotel Dieu we find this passage referring to the elder Raudot :

“ He was a very witty old man, fluent and agreeable in conversation and he spoke well on every subject. He knew the history of every country, and chatted familiarly with everybody. He was of a kind disposition and inclined to render service to all with great uprightness. Both the Intendants gave us proof of their esteem while in Canada, and after they returned to France they have written us kind letters and have made themselves useful to us whenever they had an opportunity.”

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Raudot, the elder, died in 1728, and his son in 1737.

Their successor, Michel Bégon, appointed in 1712, was singularly unfortunate. In the fire which destroyed the Intendant's Palace, he lost all his worldly goods, but what he most regretted was the destruction of a fine collection of books, which at that particular time was an irreparable loss. Personally he had a very narrow escape from the flames, and both he and his wife took up their abode at the Bishop's Palace. The members of the Superior Council also accepted the hospitality of the prelate. Bégon was a patron of the industrial arts, and did his best to promote home manufactures.

"The excessive cost of merchandise," he wrote to the Minister, "has made the inhabitants industrious; they make coarse cloth with thread and the wool obtained in the country; they likewise make a great deal of linen. The Sisters of the Congregation showed me some light woollen cloth they made for their own clothing which is as good as that made in France, and black stuff is made here for priests' cassocks, and blue material for their scholars. Necessity has given rise to this."

Dupuy, who succeeded Bégon, was not successful in his administration. He quarrelled constantly with the Governor and with the religious authorities, and in consequence he was soon recalled.

Hocquart was chosen as the successor of Dupuy, and his administration was marked by many public improvements

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He caused a breakwater to be constructed in the river St. Charles for the protection of the shipping. This breakwater, which was still visible in 1830, was built of large stones taken from the river. It now forms a part of the Palais Wharf. Hocquart encouraged ship building in Quebec, and between 1732 and 1733, twenty vessels were built ranging from forty to fifty tons burden, which were used principally in the coasting trade between Quebec and Montreal.

The mining industry was developed under his regime, and discoveries of copper, lead and iron were made. In Talon's time some prospecting had been done, but at this period no one seemed to consider the working of the mines practicable.

The St. Maurice Forges were opened at this time. They were in operation for many years, and to-day they are still very active.

Hocquart was probably the most remarkable Intendant after Talon. He took a deep interest in everything that he thought would benefit the colony. He was zealous in aiding the cause of education, and at his request Leverrier gave public lectures on law. He soon discovered, however, that this method of instruction was not in harmony with the tastes of the people. The Canadian youth as a rule, was not inclined to study. The free and open life of the forest made him brook restraint, and he was often tempted either to seek adventure in travel, or fortune in trade, rather than endure the drudgery necessary to fit him for a professional career. In 1744 the census showed that

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there were nearly a thousand men engaged in trading with the Indians.

Charles de Beauharnois was Governor of the colony for over twenty years. His many and noble qualities won for him the esteem of the Canadians, a striking manifestation of which was given on his departure for France in 1747.

His successor, the Count de la Galissonnière, who occupied the office for two years was distinguished for his wisdom and ability as an administrator. His first act on arriving in Quebec was to study the needs of the country and its resources. He saw at a glance the moral value of the people, and realized their aptitude for war and navigation.

"If other colonies, he said, produce more wealth, this one produces men, a far more desirable wealth for a king than sugar or indigo, or even than all the gold of the Antilles." The Count de la Galissonnière strove to increase the power of France in Acadia by inducing the Acadians to settle on the debated ground which was claimed by England, between the peninsula of Nova Scotia and the river St. John.

He wished to establish definitely the extent of the possessions of France in the new world, and had already begun to determine the western boundaries. He claimed for his country the Ohio valley which would facilitate communication with Louisiana, and he limited the English possessions to the chain of the Alleghanies. Had Galissonnière remained in Canada, it is probable

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that new France would have escaped much of the misery of the next ten years of her existence.

Galissonnière was devoted to natural science, and placing himself at the head of a number of highly cultured men, he formed an Academy of Science, which was not unworthy of being compared with the Académie des Sciences in Paris, at that time rendered illustrious through the membership of such men as Réaumur, Tournefort, Halley, Newton, the two Jussieu and Mariotte. "Never," wrote Kalm, "has natural history had a greater protector in this country and it is doubtful whether it will ever see his equal." It should be observed that since the days of Galissonnière the natural sciences have not received official recognition in Canada to the same extent.

Canon Gosselin assisted the Governor in preparing a herbarium of Canadian plants for a museum in Paris. Dr. Lacroix sent to France a box of our most valuable plants; acorns, walnut seeds; samples of copper from Lake Superior, and specimens of lead from Baie St. Paul. The Jesuit Father Lafitau, who was well versed in botany, discovered in Canada the ginseng, that his colleague, Father Jartoux, had seen in Tartary, and the shipments of which were to exceed a half million francs annually. Dr. Gauthier gave his name to the plant at present known to naturalists as the *Gaultheria procumbens*, or winter green. Dr. Sarrazin made known to European savants the curative properties of a plant called *saracenia*, in cases of small-pox. He also sent to the Académie des Sciences valuable notes on the

THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

anatomy of the beaver, wolverine, musk rat, seal and porcupine, and on the habits of the denizens of our forests.

While these savants vied with each other in extending the field of their knowledge, the Intendants strove to make the resources of the country known abroad. The ecclesiastical authorities sent forth missionaries to the Mississippi and to the Arkansas posts, and the Hospitalier Brothers developed a taste for education wherever they set foot. The affairs of the colony appeared to be exceedingly prosperous when the Count de la Galissonnière handed over the administration to his successor, the Marquis de la Jonquière.

The new Governor soon won public favour by his affable manners. His arrival in Quebec on the evening of the 15th of August, 1749, was the occasion of a splendid demonstration. Kalm, the Swedish savant, has left a circumstantial account of it in his "Travels into North America":

"The new Governor-general of all Canada, the marquis de la Jonquière, arrived last night in the river before Quebec; but it being late, he reserved his public entrance for to-day. He had left France on the second of June, but could not reach Quebec before this time, on account of the difficulty which great ships find in passing the sands in the river St. Lawrence. The ships cannot venture to go up, without fair wind, being forced to run in many bendings, and frequently in a very narrow channel. To-day was another great feast, on account of the Ascension of the Virgin Mary, which is very highly

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“ celebrated in Roman Catholic countries. This day
“ was accordingly doubly remarkable, both on account
“ of the holiday, and of the arrival of the new Governor
“ general, who is always received with great pomp, as
“ he represents a vice-roy here.

“ About eight o'clock the chief people in town
“ assembled at the house of Mr. de Vaudreuil, who had
“ lately been nominated Governor of Trois Rivières,
“ and lived in the Lower Town, and whose father had
“ likewise been governor-general of Canada. Thither
“ came likewise the Marquis de la Galissonnière, who
“ had till now been governor-general, and was to
“ sail for France with the first opportunity. He was
“ accompanied by all the people belonging to the
“ government. I was likewise invited to see this
“ festivity. At half an hour after eight the new
“ governor-general went from the ship into a barge,
“ covered with red cloth, upon which a signal with
“ cannons was given from the ramparts, for all the
“ bells in the town to be set a-ringing. All the people
“ of distinction went down to the shore to salute the
“ governor, who, after alighting from the barge, was
“ received by the marquis de la Galissonnière. After
“ they had saluted each other, the commandant of the
“ town addressed the new governor-general in a very
“ elegant speech, which he answered very concisely ;
“ after which all the cannons on the ramparts gave a
“ general salute. The whole street, up to the Cath-
“edral, was lined with men in arms, chiefly drawn out
“ from the burghesses. The governor-general then
“ walked towards the cathedral, dressed in a suit of
“ red, with abundance of gold lace. His servants went
“ before him in green, carrying fire arms on their
“ shoulders. On his arrival at the cathedral he was
“ received by the bishop of Canada, and the whole
“ clergy assembled. The bishop was arrayed in his

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THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

“ pontifical robes, and had a long gilt tiara on his
“ head, and a great crozier of massy silver in his hand.
“ After the bishop had addressed a short speech to the
“ governor-general, a priest brought a silver crucifix
“ on a long stick (two priests with lighted tapers in
“ their hands going on each side of it) to be kissed
“ by the governor. The bishop and the priests then
“ went through the long walk up to the choir. The
“ servants of the governor-general followed with their
“ hats on, and arms on their shoulders. At last came
“ the governor-general and his suite, and after them
“ a crowd of people. At the beginning of the choir
“ the governor-general, and the general de la Galis-
“ sonnière, stopped before a chair covered with red
“ cloth, and stood there during the whole of the cele-
“ bration of the mass, which was celebrated by the
“ bishop himself. From the church he went to the
“ palace, where the gentlemen of note in the town,
“ afterwards went to pay their respects to him. The
“ religious of the different orders, with their respective
“ superiors, likewise came to him, to testify their joy
“ on account of his happy arrival. Among the numbers
“ that came to visit him, none staid to dine, but those
“ that were invited beforehand, among which I had
“ the honour to be. The entertainment lasted very
“ long, and was as elegant as the occasion required.”

When Jonquière arrived, Quebec had undergone many improvements since the active régime of Frontenac, but very little alteration in the town had been made after 1720. The Jesuits had built a new college, and the Intendants palace, destroyed by fire in 1726, had been rebuilt, but with these exceptions the public buildings remained the same. A very detailed account of the city about the year 1730 is to be found in Kalm's



The Buxton

THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

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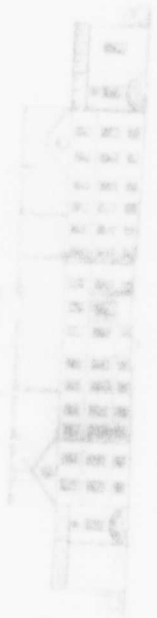
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QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

travels, and from this work we make a further extract :—

“ The Palace (Chateau St. Louis), is situated on
“ the west or steepest side of the mountain, just above
“ the lower city. It is not properly a palace, but a
“ large building of stone, two stories high, extending
“ north and south. On the west side of it is a court
“ yard, surrounded partly with houses. On the east
“ side, or towards the river, is a gallery as long as the
“ whole building, and about two fathom broad, paved
“ with smooth flags, and included on the outsides by
“ iron rails, from whence the city and the river exhibit
“ a charming prospect. This gallery serves as a very
“ agreeable walk after dinner, and those who come to
“ speak with the Governor-general wait here till he is
“ at leisure. The Palace is the lodging of the Governor-
“ general of Canada, and a number of soldiers mount
“ the guard before it, both at the gate and in the court
“ yard ; and when the Governor, or the Bishop, comes
“ in or goes out, they must all appear in arms, and
“ beat the drum. The Governor-General has his own
“ chapel where he hears prayers ; however, he often
“ goes to mass at the church of the Recollets, which
“ is very near the palace.

“ The house of the Intendant is a public building,
“ whose size makes it fit for a palace. It is covered
“ with tin, and stands in a second lower town, situated
“ south-ward upon the river St. Charles. It has a
“ large and fine garden on its north side. In this
“ house all the deliberations concerning this province
“ are held ; and the gentlemen who have the manage-
“ ment of the police and the civil power meet here, and
“ the Intendant generally presides. In affairs of great
“ consequence the Governor General is likewise here.



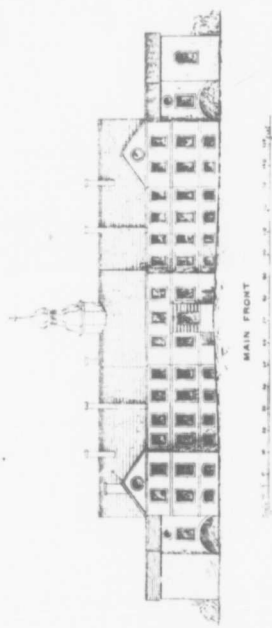
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QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

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Superintendent's Office
1884

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THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

“ On one side of this house is the storehouse of the
“ Crown, and on the other the prison.”

“ The Cathedral Church is on the right hand,
“ coming from the lower to the upper city, somewhat
“ beyond the Bishop's house. On the west side is a
“ round steeple, with two divisions, in the lower of
“ which are some bells. The pulpit, and some other
“ parts within the church, are gilt. The seats are very
“ fine.

“ The Jesuits Church is built in the form of a
“ cross and has a round steeple. This is the only
“ church that has a clock. . . . I attended divine service
“ in their church, which is a part of their house. It is
“ very fine within, though it has no seats; for every
“ one is obliged to kneel down during the service.
“ The building the Jesuits live in is magnificently
“ built, and looks exceedingly fine, both within and
“ without, which gives it a similarity to a fine palace.
“ It consists of stone, is three stories high, exclusive
“ of the garret, covered with slates, and built in a
“ square form, like the new palace at Stockholm,
“ including a large court. Its size is such, that three
“ hundred families would find room enough in it;
“ though at present there were not above twenty Jesuits
“ in it. Sometimes there is a much greater number of
“ them, especially when those return, who have been
“ as missionaries into the country. There is a long
“ walk all along the sides of the square, in every story,
“ on both sides of which are either cells, halls, or
“ other apartments for the friars, and likewise their
“ library, apothecary shop, &c. Everything is very
“ well regulated and the Jesuits are very well accomo-
“ dated here. On the outside is their college, which
“ is on two sides surrounded with great orchards and
“ kitchen gardens, in which they have fine walks.

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

“ A part of the trees here, are the remains of the forest
“ which stood here when the French began to build
“ the town. They have planted a number of fruit
“ trees, and the garden is stocked with all sorts of
“ plants for the use of the kitchen.... The Jesuits
“ are commonly very learned, studious, and very civil
“ and agreeable in company. Their conversation is
“ very entertaining and learned, so that one cannot be
“ tired of their company.

“ The Recollets Church is opposite the gate of the
“ palace, on the west side, and looks well, and has a
“ pretty high pointed steeple, with a division below
“ for the bells. They have a fine large dwelling
“ house. Near it is a large and fine garden which they
“ cultivate with great application.

“ The church of the Ursulines has a round spire.

“ The Hotel Dieu, where the sick are taken care
“ of, shall be described in the sequel.... We first saw
“ the hospital which I shall presently describe, and
“ then entered the convent which forms a part of the
“ hospital. It is a great building of stone, three stories
“ high, divided in the inside into long galleries, on
“ both sides of which are cells, halls, and rooms. The
“ cells of the nuns are in the highest story, on both
“ sides of the gallery; they are but small; not painted
“ inside but hung with paper pictures of saints and of
“ the Saviour on the cross... In the middle story is a
“ balcony where the nuns are allowed to take air.
“ The prospect from the convent is very fine on every
“ side; the river, the fields, and the meadows out of
“ town, appear to a great advantage. On one side of
“ the convent is a large garden, in which the nuns are
“ at liberty to walk about; it belongs to the convent,
“ and is surrounded with a high wall.”

“ The house of the clergy is a large building, on



St. Paul's Church

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

" A part of the trees here, are the remains of the forest
" which stood here when the French began to build
" the town. They have planted a number of fruit
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1854

Jesuits Church.

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THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

“ the north east side of the cathedral. Here is on one
“ side a spacious court, and on the other, towards the
“ river, a great orchard and kitchen garden.

“ The civility of the inhabitants here is more
“ refined than that of the Dutch and English, in the
“ settlements belonging to great Britain; but the
“ latter on the other hand, do not idle their time away
“ in dressing as the French do here.

“ The ladies, especially dress and powder their
“ hair every day, and put their locks in papers every
“ night; which idle custom was not introduced into
“ the English settlements. The gentlemen wear gen-
“ erally their own hair, but some have wigs.

The government of the Marquis de la Jonquière was not beneficial to the people in general, although he and several of his followers are credited with having derived profit from it. The governor was accused of carrying on trade with the western countries, and consequently his departure was not regretted.

The Marquis Duquesne de Menneville was named governor in 1752, after an interval filled by Charles Lemoyne, first Baron de Longueuil. The new governor was harsh in his measures and out of sympathy with the Canadians. They therefore rejoiced when one of their own people, Vaudreuil-Cavaignal, was named governor. The Canadians have always been loyal to their traditions, nor can we blame them over much for upholding, as long as possible, their faith in this poor, weak individual.

The Canadians, however, owe no debt of gratitude to their last governor. It was under his administration

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

that their life became one of slavery and bodily suffering, and while he may not personally have received any profit from the wholesale plunder of the times, it must be remembered that he refused to allow the mother country to relieve them from their misery, by assuring the Minister in France that the affairs of the colony were being administered honestly. Whereas, when at last enquiry could be stifled no longer, and France sent out a man to investigate the accounts of her officials, it was proved immediately that a gigantic system of fraud had been carried out in almost every department of the public service, at the expense of the bodily suffering, and oftentimes at the sacrifice of the lives of the poor Canadians.

The career of Vaudreuil is almost inexplicable, and the only solution possible is that in some way he became involved in the intrigues of Bigot, which purchased his silence.

On his arrival Vaudreuil was received with open arms, and so implicit was the confidence reposed in him, that in the change which was slowly creeping over new France, a change which gradually sapped its energy, the people bowed to what appeared to them inevitable, instead of rising in revolt against a regime of tyranny and oppression.

The name of Bigot is associated with one of the most melancholy pages of the history of France. The record of his transactions in Quebec is one of heartless speculation and fraud. The result of recent research shows that for several years he systematically and

THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

successfully endeavoured to create a condition of famine and distress in the colony in order to render possible his scandalous course of action. Examples are not wanting in history, of men holding important public positions who have turned their office into profit, even on a larger scale than Bigot ; but it is very doubtful whether the history of any other dishonest official furnishes a parallel to the last of the Intendants. In his nefarious schemes he had the hearty co-operation of one, Joseph Cadet, the son of a Quebec butcher who, after having been condemned to the Bastille, and ordered to restore six millions of his fraudulent gains, had still the means, in 1778, to purchase the time honoured Barony de la Touche d'Avrigny ; and who, through the assistance of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, became a noble of Old France.

Gigantic schemes have been invented from time to time to defraud the public, and the list of sufferers has often been large, but in the majority of instances the schemes have been accomplished by playing upon the credulity of the victims. In Bigot's case it was far different. The petty savings of the inhabitants were of small account, although in the course of time they were gathered in to swell his coffers. The Treasury of France would alone satisfy his ambition, and in order to enable him to draw freely from this inexhaustible fund, it was necessary to accustom thousands of the people to a long regime of abject misery and suffering. So skilfully were his plans carried out, that many of the leading authorities and some even of his

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

associates were in ignorance of the means that he had adopted ; and at his trial, though some of his methods were exposed, and the miserable condition of the people was made evident, Bigot was not charged nor even suspected of having been directly responsible for that deplorable condition.

Legend and romance have invested Bigot with a peculiar interest which has no foundation in fact, and it is quite safe to say that the Intendant never resided in, or had any connection with, the famous Chateau with which his name is associated in the pages of fiction. When the history of this remarkable individual is written, it will be found that actual facts are far more startling than any of the most interesting pages of the novelists who have woven stories around his name.

François Bigot, who had acted as Commissary at Louisbourg in 1744 and 1745, when that place was taken by Pepperell, became Intendant in 1748, in succession to Hocquart. His record at Louisbourg had not been a good one, and he was suspected of corrupt practices, which, however, were only preliminary to those which he was about to undertake in his larger field. His powers as Intendant were extraordinary. He had the control of the finances of the colony, the purchase and distribution of supplies for the troops and for the various military posts, and the importation from France of such merchandize as was required for the public stores, which included all articles which the colony could not supply.



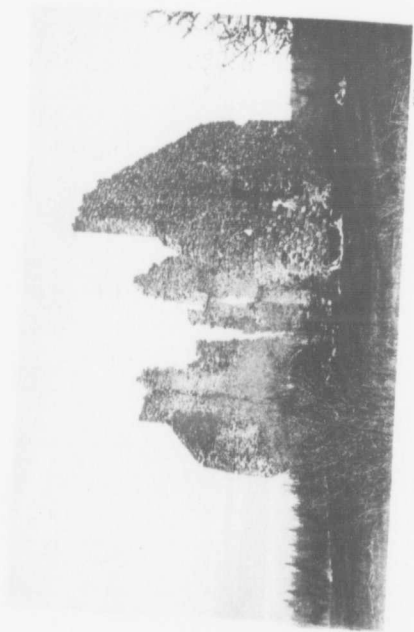
View of the lake (copy)

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

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1882

Ruins of Chateau (Bogot)

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THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

Bigot soon discovered that the Province was very fertile; that there was an abundance of grain and cattle; and, moreover, that the Canadians were a hardy race and could subsist without complaint upon a meagre fare. His first tactics, therefore, were to remove these two most important articles of consumption beyond the reach of the people. Bigot consequently made large levies upon the inhabitants under the pretence that the grain was required for the service of the King, paying whatever price he liked for it. When these levies had been repeated in every part of the Province, and all the available grain had been collected, it was shipped to France by his agents, to be repurchased from his associates for the use, and for the purpose of maintaining the very people from whom it had been taken. The grain remaining in the villages was then gathered in and sold to the people at exorbitant prices, until the Intendant had received authority for the purchase of the grain in France, which had actually been sent out of the Province.

Bigot's next move was to create a scarcity of cattle. This was done by gradually requiring all the animals to be sent to Quebec for the use of the troops, and they were then placed beyond the reach of the inhabitants. Under the pretext of a lack of provisions, horses were killed indiscriminately for food, and thus the habitants were deprived of a ready means of communicating with the capital. During the siege of Quebec, women and children were compelled to draw loads of provisions in carts, over rough roads, because there were no horses

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

for the purpose. And yet, when the British took possession they found cattle in abundance, sufficient for the commander in chief to affirm that there was no occasion for a single horse to have been slain, notwithstanding that the army had lived upon the country for nearly two years, except as a cloak for the knavery of the Intendant.

But Bigot's methods were not to be satisfied with the gradual starvation of the people. He found it expedient to attempt to destroy their manhood by imposing tasks upon them by which he could obtain a large revenue, and at the same time prevent them from cultivating their land or providing for their families. Horses had been reduced to a minimum, but nevertheless large quantities of provisions must be conveyed to the numerous and distant military posts.

Under the pretext of conferring a benefit upon these wretched people, Cadet exempted large numbers of men from military service, upon the condition that they would convey the provisions to the different posts as ordered, and give him a receipt for the amount which the Intendant collected from the King for the purpose. By this means, an enormous revenue was accumulated, while the condition of the people was the worst kind of slavery. While these, and many other similar methods, were being carried out, Bigot was posing as the real deliverer of the people, and, indeed, without his assistance hundreds of the inhabitants would have perished ; but, he had first created this condition, and relieved them only as a part of the detestable plan that

THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

he was persistently carrying out. The misery and suffering of the poorer class was not the only means by which the Intendant enriched himself and his associates. Amongst the members of the army, and the public officials, there were men of means, and these were made to contribute to the common fund of this carnival of corruption presided over by Bigot. The gambling and vice practiced at the Intendant's palace gradually debauched the army till even Bigot was astounded at its depths and seriously thought of calling a halt. It is not our purpose in this small work to attempt to write the biography of the last of the Intendants, although much material is now available ; but we have given a sufficient indication of his character to show that in his actions, and in the result of his administration we must look for the real cause of the downfall of New France.

The fact that Bigot was a scoundrel should not close our eyes to the fact that he was a man of extraordinary executive ability, and had he chosen to direct his talents and energy towards the development of New France he might have become her dictator. In a recent work it has been claimed that the downfall of New France was owing solely to the indifference of the mother country. This statement is misleading. If France is to be blamed at all, it is in the selection of the men she appointed to administer the affairs of the colony, rather than in any indifference to the demands of her chosen representatives, in whom she placed implicit confidence. When serious charges were made

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

against the administration of Bigot, charges upon which he was subsequently convicted, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Governor of New France, denied, in the strongest terms, the accusations which were made against the Intendant.

France cannot surely be condemned for accepting the guarantee of her highest official against the evidence offered by those who might be considered as interested parties. When she discovered that the word of her Governor in this respect was worthless, it was too late to remedy the evil, and the only course open to her was to recover as much as possible of the money out of which she had been defrauded. But no measure of human justice could compensate the thousands of Canadians who had been starved into submission to the tyranny of Bigot, and who had sacrificed their lives and their all to maintain his shameless prodigality.

The conduct of the inhabitants during all this terrible ordeal is a striking proof of the deep rooted loyalty of the Canadian nature. Strangers, even to the meaning of political liberty, reduced to an indistinguishable condition of misery and starvation, leading almost the life of serfs, they steadfastly refused every bribe that was offered to them by the enemies of their country during the siege of Quebec. And these bribes were not offered to them to purchase their cooperation against France, but simply to obtain their neutrality. And, at last, when seductive arguments had proved unavailing, and the torch of the destroyer was the signal for whole villages and parishes to be consumed

THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

in flames, these devoted children of New France wept tears of regret as every vestige of their homes disappeared ; but, even then, since their hands were powerless to stay the work of the avenger, so should their tongues refuse to utter the word which would purchase all that they held most dear, at the cost of disloyalty to their ungrateful country.

For over a century the French arms had succeeded in keeping in check the Iroquois tribes and the English colonists of New England, whose reigning passion, as Bancroft expresses it, was to take possession of Canada. The final blow was at last to be struck. England set her fleets in motion and armed her militia for a supreme effort. New France, under her boastful Governor, had neglected proper means of defence, except those which were hurriedly undertaken when the enemy was almost at the door. The mother country had previously sent out some of her best and most skilful officers, amongst whom was the illustrious and ever gallant Montcalm, whose loyalty and devotion to the cause of France were without an equal in these degenerate days.

The first military operations were encouraging to the French arms. Montcalm had laid siege to Fort Chouagouen in 1756, and taken possession of it. In the following spring he hastened to Fort George, and effected its surrender after a week's siege. To these two important acquisitions was added the victory of Carillon where Montcalm defeated the English army and covered himself with glory. Less fortunate in Cape Breton, in Acadia, and in Detroit, where the

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

genius of Montcalm was lacking, France saw that her star was waning and that of England was in the ascendant. Then Wolfe came before Quebec with a powerful fleet and army, and the end was not far off.



CHAPTER V

1759-1760

THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC (1)

PREPARATIONS—THE FORCES UNDER WOLFE—
DUPLICITY OF VAUDREUIL—MONTCALM IN COM-
MAND—THE FRENCH POSITION—FIASCO OF
THE FIRE SHIPS—WOLFE AT MONTMORENCY—
DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH—WOLFE'S PLAN—
BOUGAINVILLE OUTGENERALED—THE HEIGHTS
OF ABRAHAM—THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS—
DEATH OF WOLFE AND MONTCALM—CAPITULA-
TION—WINTER IN QUEBEC—DEFEAT OF MURRAY
BY LEVIS.

IN the spring of 1759, preparations were made in England and in Canada for the last great drama destined to determine the fate of France in the New World.

The military operations of the previous year, resulting in the reduction of Louisbourg and of Fort

(1) For a full account of the campaign in 1759, see "The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham."

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Duquesne, had encouraged Great Britain to pursue her advantages in America and, if possible, to establish her supremacy by a decisive victory. Quebec, the stronghold of Canada, was to be the object of attack, either by the forces under General Wolfe, or in conjunction with those under General Amherst.

On the 6th of February the secret instructions of the King relating to the plan of campaign were delivered to General Wolfe, and on the 14th day of the month sixty transports, six sail of the line, and nine frigates, sailed from Portsmouth for America. Three days after, Admiral Saunders, General Wolfe, Brigadier Townshend, and other officers selected to serve in the expedition, sailed from the same port, on board the Neptune.

Louisbourg was appointed as the place of rendezvous, but owing to the quantities of ice in the harbour, the Admiral was obliged to proceed to Halifax, where he arrived after a very stormy passage, on the first of May. The fleet began immediately to refit, and on the 3rd of May, Admiral Durell was dispatched to the Lower St. Lawrence to cut off the approach of French vessels which were expected to convey provisions to the distressed colony. In the meantime, Brigadiers Monckton and Murray were actively engaged in purchasing supplies for the army, so that by the last day of May, Wolfe's forces, consisting of 8,535 men, were ready to proceed on their fateful expedition.

While all was activity along the coast of Acadia, the French upon the banks of the St. Lawrence were



*Major General James Wolfe,
from a portrait in the National Gallery*

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eagerly awaiting the opening of navigation for news from France. Montcalm, the commander of the French forces, had witnessed with dismay the baneful influence of the régime of Bigot and Vaudreuil, and the increasing misery of the people, and it appeared to him that the only hope for New France was in a powerful army of French regulars. The troops of the colony were brave enough, but the unfortunate conflict of authority, fostered by the Governor, created a division in the interests of the common cause of the country. Bougainville had been dispatched to France to urge upon the mother country the necessity of sending reinforcements. His mission would probably have proved successful if it had not been for the duplicity of Vaudreuil who, while professing to endorse the mission of Bougainville, warned the Minister to take no notice of his representations. Thus the afflicted colony was deprived of the assistance it had a right to expect, by the very man who was pledged to safeguard its interests. Bougainville returned to Quebec, on the 10th of May, with the intelligence that France found it impossible to send further aid, and the suggestion was made to Montcalm, that he should retire from his outposts and concentrate his power in order to preserve a foothold in America. This news was no doubt gratifying to Vaudreuil, whose inordinate vanity led him to pose as the saviour of Canada, while his actions contributed largely to the loss of the country.

Montcalm immediately proceeded to Quebec and assumed the direction of the campaign. Five bat-

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talions were brought from Montreal, and a body of cavalry was raised and placed under the command of de la Roche Beaucour. The Beauport side of the river was fortified with extensive earth works from the river St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorency. A bridge of boats was built across the St. Charles, and an entrenchment was made in the meadow of Monsieur Hiché, and carried from St. Roch's to the bridge. The entrance to the river St. Charles was secured by a boom defended by two hulks, mounted with cannon. Several boats were put upon the stocks and mounted with 12 and 14 pounders. A floating battery was designed by Captain Duclos, of the Chezine, with twelve embrasures for 12, 18, and 24 pounders. Batteries were constructed, communications were opened, and the breaches in the walls were repaired. These various works were executed with remarkable promptitude, but they were scarcely completed when the French received intelligence of the approach of the British fleet. The navigation of the river St. Lawrence had always been regarded as difficult, and in portions exceedingly dangerous, but at the present time it was considered quite impracticable, since all the buoys and directions for sailing had been removed. Great alarm was therefore felt when the British fleet came to anchor off the Island of Orleans, on the eve of the 26th of June.

The view that met the gaze of the invaders was one of unusual beauty, and drew forth expressions of delight from several chroniclers. "It is a beautiful island," said one, and well cultivated and produces all

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kinds of grain, pasture and vegetables." Another, a British officer, said: "Here we are entertained with a most agreeable prospect of a delightful country on every side: windmills, watermills, churches, chapels, compact farm houses, all built with stone, and covered, some with wood and some with straw." The church near them was the parish church of St. Laurent, from which the city could not be seen. From the western point of the island, a few miles distant, the city of Quebec, with its cathedral, its colleges, its public and private buildings, rose against the horizon, in reality, a city set upon a hill. The walls were guarded with batteries, which swept the river, and which in themselves were so high as to be beyond the elevation of cannon upon the vessels in the river below.

The appearance of the fleet in the St. Lawrence so near the city was a serious menace to the inhabitants, it was also a reproach to the governor. A short time before Vaudreuil had boasted "There is no ruse, no resource, no means which my zeal does not suggest to lay snares for them, and finally, when the exigency demands it, to fight them with an ardour, and even a fury, which exceed the range of their ambitious schemes."

The pilot of the port upon being questioned as to how it was possible for the fleet to pass the traverse in safety, replied, that he had not taken soundings for twenty-five years, and that when he had proposed to do so, he had been refused the necessary expenses.

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Vaudreuil's zeal was confined to an unceasing reiteration of his devotion to the colony, and to a scrupulous avoidance of its dangers.

Although the prospect spread out before the British was pleasing to the eye, Wolfe must have been considerably perplexed with the situation as he found it. He had written to his uncle a few weeks previously that "to invest Quebec and shut off all communication with the colony, it will be necessary to encamp with our right to the river St. Lawrence, and our left to the river St. Charles. From the river St. Charles to Beauport the communications must be kept open by strong intrenched posts and redoubts."

This plan was very good, but Wolfe now saw that it was impossible for him to occupy his chosen ground, and he was soon to realize the difficulties presented by the shore line above the city. The lower town was a narrow strip upon the water's edge, bounded by the cliff, which rose abruptly to a height of 300 feet.

As the youthful commander viewed this naturally fortified city, it seemed to stand upon an immense plateau, which disappeared towards the southern side. Could he have looked beyond, he would have seen the same high, forbidding cliffs, inclining towards the west from the city, and continuing for miles to form a barrier to the plateau above, a barrier he could hardly pass if unmolested, and which he could not hope to pass at all if opposed.

Between him, and the city on his right, was a broad sweeping bay whose muddy banks were bared by the

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receding tide. Here landing from shallow boats would at all times be laborous and slow, and in the face of a fair defence impossible. But, now, earth works had been thrown up extending from the river Montmorency to the St. Charles, almost opposite the British vessels ; and encamped within the protection thus afforded, was the French army under the command of a skilful, experienced, and frequently victorious general, whose reputation was greater than that of the commander of the British forces.

Montcalm's position was exceedingly strong. The centre of his camp was at Beauport church, his right extended to the river St. Charles, his left to the Falls of Montmorency, and his whole camp was protected by strong lines crowning the gradually sloping shore. With the great distance he had to protect and the number of men at his disposal, it is evident that he made the best possible disposition of the forces under his command. Indeed, until the hour of his death, his actions were characterized by coolness and excellent generalship.

When Wolfe found that his chosen ground was already occupied by the French, he immediately proceeded to land upon the Island of Orleans, which two days before had been abandoned by the orders of the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Why this strong position should have been left open appears inconceivable, but it furnishes another instance of the incapacity of the Governor. Perhaps Vaudreuil had unbounded faith in the success of the

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fire ships which he ordered to be put in operation on the next day. Four of Cadet's vessels had been purchased by Bigot, with four others, at a total cost of 640,000 livres, ⁽¹⁾ payable in bills of exchange falling due one year from date. Montcalm, however, had little faith in their utility. It was the intention of the French to float these vessels down with the tide and current into midst of the British vessels, now riding at anchor, and unable to move freely, and thus to fire the whole fleet as it lay helpless.

A meeting was held for the purpose of devising a suitable plan for conducting the adventure: A man of rare courage and coolness was required as commander of the little squadron of fire ships. One, Captain Delouche, a young man of zeal, enthusiasm and confidence, was convinced that he could succeed. He had under his command Grandmont, Leseau, Berthelot, Sabourin, Desormeau, Marchand and Dubois de la Multiers. His own opinion of himself was accepted, and Vaudreuil gave him directions. The plan adopted was simple, but there was a lack of definite organization. The only detail agreed upon was that the Captain of the foremost ship should ignite his vessel, and by firing, give the signal to the others. The seven rafts approached at some distance from each other until the first had passed Point Levis and was still a long way from the British vessels when, through fear

(1) For the usual cost of Fire ships, see note on Fire Ships by Major Wood

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— it would be charitable to say through an error of judgment — the commanding officer ignited his vessel and deserted it. This was accepted as a signal by five others from whose ships projectiles were soon flying in every direction. The panic did not strike Captain de la Multiers, a hero whose name should be preserved from oblivion. He continued on his way for half an hour hoping to come within reasonable distance of the vessels before igniting his ship. Finally, he found himself beset in front and rear by the burning ships, and being unable to escape he, his second officer and a sailor, perished. The French had gathered to watch this unusual method of attack ; Montcalm and his officers having stationed themselves upon a commanding height near Beauport Church. They were much disappointed at the failure of this costly enterprise and roundly denounced Delouche and his associates. However, the French citizens were not less disappointed than the officers. They assembled at the Chateau St. Louis in a great state of indignation, and demanded the punishment of the officers concerned in the inglorious attempt. They even insulted the officers who had charge of the boats, greeting them with cries of " treason " and " treachery."

Vaudreuil promised to examine their complaints, but as usual in such cases, no one could be found blamable.

Wolfe now ordered a detachment under Monckton to proceed to Levis and establish a camp there. The inhabitants endeavoured to resist this move on the

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part of the British, but found that their numbers were insufficient, and Mr. Charest undertook to present a demand for reinforcements to the Governor.

Vaudreuil listened to his request for six hundred men, and seemed at first inclined to grant it. However, he decided to examine a British prisoner as to the probable movements of the enemy. The prisoner informed the Governor that an attack was meditated at Beauport that night. Vaudreuil refused the demand and hastened to the camp at Beauport, which was perfectly secure and not in need of his assistance. On the following day Mr. Charest renewed his demand and brought several articles from the British camp in support of his claim that it was unprotected. Vaudreuil was still undecided, and again questioned the prisoner who informed him that an attack would surely be made at Beauport. Mr. Charest's request was refused for the second time, and Vaudreuil spent the night at Beauport vainly awaiting the arrival of the British. On the third morning the Governor was willing to grant the assistance necessary, but it was found that Levis had been strongly fortified in the meantime. Vaudreuil's actions throughout this campaign are inexplicable, but the British profited thereby, and in consequence, they were allowed to occupy the Island of Orleans and Point Levis without opposition. On the 2nd of July Montcalm had urged Vaudreuil to fortify Point Levis, but no notice was taken of his demand.

Wolfe being now in the undisputed possession of

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two camps made preparations to take the offensive. He had issued a proclamation on the 28th of June assuring the inhabitants that if they remained neutral their property would be protected, but if on the other hand they took up arms, they would be severely dealt with and their possessions would be destroyed.

His appeal to the people was useless. With all the faults of the administration they were strongly attached to France, and they resorted to arms whenever an opportunity occurred.

Several batteries were erected at Point des Pères to destroy the town, and while the work was in progress Wolfe sent a message to the Governor under cover of a flag of truce, setting forth the objects of the campaign. On the ninth of July, after the batteries were completed and in operation, Wolfe crossed over to the Montmorency shore where he established a third camp. The movement of the troops and their equipment was conducted without loss, and it was here that the excellent generalship of Wolfe's second Brigadier, George Townshend, was manifested. When Townshend landed at Montmorency he found that no guard had been left to point out the route taken by the first Brigade, although the night was dark. The baggage too, of the Grenadiers and Light Infantry, had been left in a meadow with no officer in charge, so that a few savages might have plundered the whole. Townshend immediately collected the baggage and left a guard in charge. He then pressed on to the higher ground and as soon as his regiment had

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ascended the hill he called a halt, and sent a detachment to haul up the guns. Upon arriving in camp after daybreak he received a mild reprimand from Wolfe in the form of a hint that he had been dilatory, while in fact he had only halted to place a proper guard over the baggage, and to haul up the guns, which Wolfe had neglected to do. In the morning a detachment of Canadians and Indians that had been sent across the ford to annoy the British advance, rushed upon the rear of Wolfe's lines, and drove a few Rangers down to Townshend's quarters for refuge. Here the Savages scalped 14 men and wounded two officers before they could be driven off. (1)

In this situation Townshend remained until dusk, when, although he had no orders to entrench, he thought it necessary to provide against a night attack. In less than three hours he ran up a parapet with retiring angles to cover the face of the two battalions facing the accessible part of the country. During the night there were no attacks owing to the precautions taken. Wolfe retired early that night, and in the morning visited Townshend's camp and received his report of the means he had taken to protect the camp. Wolfe disapproved of the method of defence which he considered of far greater strength than necessary, but it is evident that the General was not in a mood to favour any independent action on the part of his Brigadiers. In a short time the British position at

(1) See note on George Townshend in the appendix.

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Montmorency was secure, and they had three distinct camps in the presence of the enemy. The left of the French camp was threatened by this new position, although there was a strong barrier between the two armies presented by the Falls.

Vaudreuil suggested attacking the British in force, but the only man who supported this course was Bigot who, it is said desired to diminish the number of rations he had to supply. While various expeditions were proposed, nothing of importance was accomplished on either side. Montcalm realised the strength of his position, and Wolfe the difficulty of an attack. In the meantime the batteries from the town maintained a heavy fire against the works at Point des Pères; and on the fifteenth of the month no less than ninety-six shells and seven cascades were thrown into the town, which resulted in the loss of many houses in the lower town, and great damage to the Cathedral, and to the houses in its vicinity.

The appearance of the fleet in the Basin had been a surprise to the French, but on the 18th of July they were seriously alarmed when several vessels passed the town in safety under a heavy fire from the batteries. By this means they recognized that communication with Montreal by water could be cut off and famine threatened; moreover, an attack by land and water might be made along the unprotected shore, which would involve a division of the forces. The drum was beaten calling all to arms, and five hundred men under Dumas, marched to the Foulon, but although Wolfe

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appears to have considered the possibility of an attack at this place, the time was not yet ripe.

The month of July was drawing to a close, nearly half the summer was over, and the eager, restless British commander found himself no nearer victory than when he landed upon the Island of Orleans, nearly five weeks before.

Montcalm, who was usually eager to fight, refused to be tempted to a decisive action. On the 29th of July Wolfe evolved a plan which he intended to put into operation on the next day, but the preparations being incomplete it was deferred until the 31st. His general plan was to bring Monckton's brigade over from Levis to Orleans, and thence to a point about three-quarters of a mile west of the Montmorency river, where the troops were to land upon the shore near a French redoubt. The landing of this brigade was to be protected by three vessels which were to run in as far as possible in advance of the transports, and even to ground if necessary. Townshend and Murray were to ford the river below the Falls, and march along the bank to join Monckton's brigade, and support it. In order to prevent Montcalm from massing his troops at the left of the line where the attack was intended, a regiment was to march up the bank of the Montmorency river on the east shore in view of the enemy, as if with the intention of crossing above the Falls to attack the rear. They were then to return by another route to join Townshend's brigade. Another body was to march westward along the banks of the St.



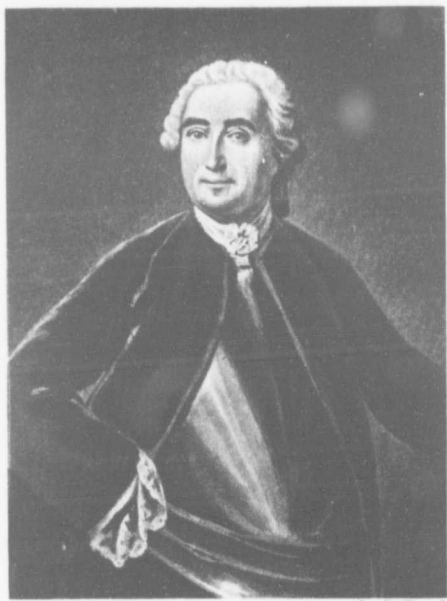
L. F. Marquis de Montcalm
by permission of the Marquis de Montcalm.
Collection d'images par le Vigneron Saint-François

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James H. L. B. 1755

L. F. Marquis de Montcalm.
by permission of the Marquis de Montcalm.
Château d'Ulvoz par Le Vigan Gard France.

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Lawrence to occupy the attention of the right of the French army. The plan seemed good, but a series of mishaps attended its execution, resulting in the loss to the British of 427 men and 30 officers killed and wounded; while the French loss was only 66 killed and wounded. This was the first serious attempt to attack the stronghold of the French, and its termination was disastrous to the hopes of Wolfe.

The month of August opened inauspiciously for the besieger and the besieged. On the French side there had been little loss of life, but many of the inhabitants were ruined and homeless; moreover, they were experiencing the horrors of famine. The British were in an unenviable position. The severe repulse at Montmorency had thinned the ranks and damped the ardour of the soldiers. Again, the inclemency of the weather, and the exposure of the camps during a summer of excessive rain had threatened the health of the army. In order to relieve suffering as much as possible, the sick in the British camp were removed to the Island of Orleans.

Wolfe adopted another method at this time to try to draw Montcalm from his intrenchments. Murray was sent with a strong detachment to Deschambault to try to effect a landing, and if possible force his way towards the city from that quarter. Great preparations were made for this expedition from the fact that Deschambault was the base of stores for the French. For two days the British had caused their boats to ply to and fro along the north shore in order to allay suspicion.

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On the eighteenth of August the signal was given to embark, and at midnight the expedition started. At day break on the 19th the boats drew near the shore, and an hour later a landing was effected two miles below St. Joseph's Church. The French were surprised, and believing that a much larger force had landed, retired to the shelter of a wood. Near the Church, in a house occupied by Madame Cadet, wife of the army contractor, the British found clothing ammunition and arms, valued at ninety thousand pounds, which they destroyed by fire. About this time it became known that Wolfe was suffering from a slow fever, and the soldiers were disheartened at the news, for there had been little progress made, and the prospects looked dark. The destruction of property threatened by Wolfe was now put into terrible effect. Parties were sent out daily to lay waste the villages and farms, but still the Canadians would not remain neutral. On the 29th of August Wolfe found himself too ill to direct the campaign, and he requested the general officers to consult for the good of the service, enclosing to them a plan of campaign. The Brigadiers rejected the suggestions of Wolfe and stated in writing their reasons for so doing. In consequence, a plan was drawn up by the brigadiers in which Wolfe acquiesced. By this plan it was proposed to make a descent either at Pointe aux Trembles or at St. Augustin.

In the early days of September, after the camp at Montmorency had been broken up, active preparations were made for putting the Brigadier's plan into opera-

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tion. This plan has been the cause of much confusion, and the Brigadiers have been given credit thereby for the plan by which Quebec was eventually taken. On the eight of September Wolfe was so far recovered as to be able to resume command, and he then appears to have considered the plan of his officers impracticable.

On the 10th of September he abandoned their scheme and selected the Foulon as the place of attack.

It soon became known that a change was proposed, but the Brigadiers were in ignorance of Wolfe's intentions. On the 12th, orders were given for embarkation, and the three Brigadiers Monckton, Townshend and Murray, addressed a letter to Wolfe in which they requested information both as to the nature and the place of the attack. Wolfe replied to this communication two hours before the boats containing the troops were put in motion, stating that he had chosen the place where he thought he was most likely to succeed, and that it was not the duty of officers to enquire when not particularly charged with the task of conducting an expedition. He further stated that the place was the Foulon, and gave all the directions which he thought necessary. These two important letters which forever set at rest the disputed question as to the authorship of the plan by which Quebec was taken, have only recently been brought to light; but their publication has proved that the Brigadiers had no desire to claim any share in the plan.

Shortly after these letters had been written, the troops embarked in the flat bottomed boats from the

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ships off Cape Rouge, and awaited the order to proceed. For two or three days the ships had been in the vicinity of Cape Rouge, and during the day the men had been put ashore at St. Nicholas ; and returned to the vessels towards evening. The ships would then make various movements which were followed by de Bougainville. Towards dusk on this evening the troops as usual had rejoined their ships, but as soon as it was dark, the men were lowered into the boats and sent over to the south shore. When this had been accomplished the vessels began to move slowly towards St. Augustin, as they had done before, except the Sutherland, which remained anchored in mid stream.

Bougainville immediately set his troops in motion to follow them in accordance with his instructions, not knowing that the men had been removed.

At midnight the small boats formed in line between the Sutherland and the south shore, and at a given signal fell down with the tide towards the town. Bougainville by this time was far way, and so long as silence was preserved there was little fear of detection. The boats passed on their way, but when within about a mile of the place of landing an incident occurred which threatened not only to cut short the career of the youthful commander, but also to destroy all his carefully laid plans for the reduction of Quebec. ⁽¹⁾ The landing place was reached at length, and soon

(1) See the Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham.

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the twenty four men selected as pioneers were scaling the naked rock, about two hundred yards to the east of the foot of the winding path. As soon as these men had gained the height they attacked and overpowered the posts which defended the path, and cleared the way for the ascent of the remainder of the troops. The men formed as early as possible and marched straight across the plateau until they came to the St. Foy road, led by the General. They were then ordered to face to the right and march along the St. Foy road until they came to the house of M. Borgia, situated near the corner of Maple Avenue. This house was taken possession of by the British, and Wolfe immediately formed a line of battle across the plateau, with the hill upon which the Gaol now stands, at his rear. Here he awaited the arrival of the troops which were crossing over from Levis under the direction of Carleton. Brigadier Townshend attended to the disembarkation, and by eight o'clock the whole of Wolfe's forces were in battle array on the heights of Quebec.

In the meantime the French had learned that the enemy had landed, and were making preparations to oppose them, but long before any of Montcalm's men had crossed the river St. Charles all Wolfe's arrangements had been completed, and he was beginning to entrench his position. At a quarter to seven the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who was at Beauport, had addressed a letter to de Bougainville in which he informed him of the landing of the enemy; but Vaudreuil was under the impression that he was at Cape Rouge,

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while he was actually at this time at least fifteen miles from the city.

When the French at last arrived upon the heights in the vicinity of the Drill Hall, they found that the British were in a strong position. Wolfe had been in almost undisputed possession of the field for over three hours, and he had wisely made choice of the most advantageous position. Montcalm took in the situation at a glance, and recognized as a prudent general, that immediate action was necessary. The action of the French General has been severely criticised by those unfamiliar with the true state of affairs at this moment. It has been contended that Montcalm should have waited the arrival of de Bougainville who it is claimed was at Cape Rouge. Bougainville, however was not at Cape Rouge, but many miles distant, where he had been drawn by the clever tactics of Wolfe.

Had Montcalm waited two hours longer his chances of defeating Wolfe would have been much less than they were at this time, for every hour Wolfe was strengthening his position and he would soon have been able to defy a very powerful army. General Murray's statement made during the following year when the French were in a similar position to the English at this time, is a testimony of the soundness of Montcalm's judgment in immediately attacking the enemy.

The peculiar position chosen by Wolfe made it imperative for the attacking army to abandon the advantages afforded by the rising ground upon which

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Death of Wolfe.
Caricature of West's famous picture.

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the Martello Towers are situated and to descend into the hollow, where a much larger army might have been liable to defeat. To have left the British alone would have been to court disaster, for the navy was already preparing to bring up a quantity of field pieces, and in a short time Wolfe would have been able to fortify his position which was so favoured by nature. Montcalm, therefore, decided to bring on the action while there was a fighting chance. His men came on briskly to the attack, but when they were within about forty yards of the British, near de Salaberry street, Wolfe gave the order to fire, and the whole of his line fired as one man. The effect of this volley at so short a range practically decided the fate of the day. By the time the smoke had cleared away,—not more than six minutes,—it was discovered that nearly the whole of the front rank of the French army had been mown down, and that the remainder of the troops were disorganized thereby. At that instant Wolfe gave the order to advance, and before Montcalm could rally his men, the British were in pursuit.

Wolfe had scarcely given the order to advance when he received his third and mortal wound, and he was conveyed to the rear where he died shortly after. Within those few moments the flower of the French army was cut down, the British General was dying, and the heroic Montcalm had received his mortal wound. With his face to the foe, he manfully endeavoured to rally his men for a second attack, but the havoc wrought amongst his men was too great, and he was



Death of Wolfe
Illustration of North's famous picture

THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

the Martello Towers are situated and to descend into the hollow, where a much larger army might have been liable to defeat. To have left the British alone would have been to court disaster, for the navy was already preparing to bring up a quantity of field pieces, and in a short time Wolfe would have been able to fortify his position which was so favoured by nature. Montcalm, therefore, decided to bring on the action while there was a fighting chance. His men came on briskly to the attack, but when they were within about forty yards of the British, near de Salaberry street, Wolfe gave the order to fire, and the whole of his line fired as one man. The effect of this volley at so short a range practically decided the fate of the day. By the time the smoke had cleared away,—not more than six minutes,—it was discovered that nearly the whole of the front rank of the French army had been mown down, and that the remainder of the troops were disorganized thereby. At that instant Wolfe gave the order to advance, and before Montcalm could rally his men, the British were in pursuit.

Wolfe had scarcely given the order to advance when he received his third and mortal wound, and he was conveyed to the rear where he died shortly after. Within those few moments the flower of the French army was cut down, the British General was dying, and the heroic Montcalm had received his mortal wound. With his face to the foe, he manfully endeavoured to rally his men for a second attack, but the havoc wrought amongst his men was too great, and he was

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

forced by the retreating army towards the city and sorrowfully conducted within its walls, where he expired early on the following morning.

The pursuit soon became general, and Townshend who had assumed command, owing to the fact that Monckton was disabled at the same time as Wolfe, was obliged to recall his troops to prepare for the return of Bougainville, who was expected at any moment. By this judicious movement he was removed from the dangers of the batteries of the town, and he was also prepared for any attack in the rear. Townshend chose the same place as Wolfe had first selected, to meet Bougainville, which was a tribute to the generalship of the dead commander. Townshend had scarcely completed his dispositions when de Bougainville appeared on the St. Foy road in the rear, and came on to attack. He soon realised that his position was untenable for Townshend occupied the high ground, while he was on the edge of the cliff. However he made an attempt and a brief engagement ensued in which he lost thirty men. He thereupon retired in the hope of rejoining the main army. When he reached the camp at Beauport he found that the army had abandoned their camp and retired to Jacques Cartier.

After the battle Townshend formed his camp upon the battle field, and fortified himself against further attack.

Early on the morning of the 14th, Montcalm breathed his last. A few hours before his death he had written to Townshend informing him that the



Monte de Montebello

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

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THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

French were obliged to capitulate, and desired him to execute the cartel of exchange. Montcalm realised from the first that the cause was lost, particularly since the city had been abandoned by the army. Vaudreuil who had boasted so much of the plans he had taken, and would take to save the city, had been tried and found wanting, and in the hour of the city's greatest need he sought personal safety in flight. From his place of security he began to urge upon the helpless citizens the necessity of resisting to the last, whilst he had withdrawn from them the only means by which they could hope to make resistance effective.

At day-break on the 14th of September the Heights of Abraham presented a dismal sight. Far and wide over the field of battle, the blue and white uniforms of the heroic dead bore mute testimony to the havoc that followed in the wake of victory. The British had buried their own dead and those of the French who were within their own lines. At noon a flag of truce came from the city, and hostilities were suspended while the remainder of the victims of the battle were consigned to the grave. Within the walls of the city were scenes of distress and excitement. From the batteries the terrified people saw that the British had thirty pieces of canon directed against the feeble fortifications, and were hourly making a closer investment. The army in the rear had been withdrawn, so that the people were entirely abandoned to their own resources. All hopes of succour failed the citizens, and general discouragement pervaded the whole population. The

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women and children suffering with hunger, cried for bread. The merchants, impoverished by the bombardment which had destroyed their shops, their homes, and their merchandize, viewed with anxiety the preparations which were made for a general assault by land and by water, and begged de Ramezay to capitulate while yet there was time ; but he still bravely held out. At length, after a council of War, de Ramezay signed and gave out the following decision :—

“ Considering the instructions I have received from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and the scarcity of provisions proved by the returns to me furnished, and the searches I have made, I conclude to endeavour to obtain from the enemy the most honourable capitulation.”

On the eighteenth the city formally capitulated, and the British took possession.

Monseigneur Pontbriand, writing to the Minister in France two months after, said :—

“ Quebec has been bombarded and cannonaded for the space of two months ; a hundred and eighty houses have been burned by cascades, all the others riddled by cannon and bombs. Walls six feet thick have not withstood ; vaults in which private persons had placed their effects, have been burned, broken down and pillaged during the siege and after it. The Cathedral has been entirely consumed. In the Seminary, there is no part habitable, except the kitchen, where the curé of Quebec and his vicar have retired. The church in the Lower Town is entirely destroyed ; those of the Recollets, the Jesuits and of the Seminary are not in a state to be used without very extensive

THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

repairs. There is only the Ursuline Church in which services can be held with any decency, although the English make use of it for some special ceremonies. This community and that of the Hospitaliers have also been much damaged. However, the nuns have found a means of living there through good and bad, after remaining the whole time of the siege in the General Hospital. The Hotel-Dieu is exceedingly confined because the English sick are there. Four years ago this community was entirely burned out. The Bishop's Palace is almost destroyed and has not a single habitable apartment; the vaults have been pillaged. The establishments of the Recollets and the Jesuits are in about the same condition; the English have however made some repairs to them to lodge troops there. They have taken possession of the least damaged houses in the city. They drive out from their own homes even those citizens who at their own expense have had some apartment repaired, or so limit them by the number of soldiers billeted upon them, that almost all are obliged to abandon this unfortunate city; and they do this all the more willingly because the English are not willing to sell anything except for coined money, and it is known that paper is the money of the country. The Seminary priests, the canons, the Jesuits, are scattered in the small portion of the country that is not yet under English rule. Private people in the city are without wood for the winter, without bread, without flour, and without meat, and live only upon the portion of biscuit and pork which the English soldiers sell them out of their own rations. Such is the extremity to which the best citizens are reduced."

The Prelate who wrote these despairing lines died on the 8th of June in the following year. He had

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retired to Montreal in October, 1759, almost broken hearted at the sight of the misery and suffering caused by the war.

The British were totally unaccustomed to such winters as they experienced in Quebec, and they found it impossible to walk with safety. Captain Knox reports that having been ordered to mount guard in the Lower Town, he found that the men could not descend Mountain Hill on account of the ice, and they were obliged to seat themselves on the ground and slide one after the other to the foot of the hill. The record of the devices they made to assist them in walking, and to keep from freezing, appear strange to one accustomed to a Canadian winter, and with every article of comfort at hand. Nevertheless, the sufferings of these poor men were not exaggerated ; and, moreover, hundreds of them perished from scurvy.

The French had not abandoned all hopes of regaining Quebec. From time to time news was received that they were gathering their forces for an attack, and the British were therefore kept continually in a state of suspense.

On the 17th of April the Chevalier de Lévis left Montreal with 4,500 regular troops and a few days after a large train of supplies was embarked on board a fleet of boats which proceeded to Jacques Cartier, Deschambault and Pointe aux Trembles. The forces of Lévis when he reached the latter place amounted to nearly ten thousand men. On the 26th the army landed at St. Augustin and after crossing the river

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Cap Rouge came upon the English, who immediately fell back to Ste. Foy.

On the twenty-seventh, Murray was apprised of the approach of Lévis in a singular manner. Early in the morning, the watch on board the Race Horse had been alarmed by a cry of distress which seemed to proceed from the river. A boat was put out and presently a man was discovered on a floating piece of ice. He was conveyed to the ship and revived, when he told the officer that Lévis was marching towards the town with a large army. The man was afterwards taken to General Murray, to whom he repeated his story, and he also described his perilous descent amidst the floating ice.

The troops were called to arms, and early in the morning, Murray led his little army consisting of three thousand one hundred men, with a number of pieces of cannon to the attack. One column issued from St. Louis Gate, and one from St. John Gate, while the French came by the way of Ste. Foy and Suède roads.

There appears to have been a great deal of confusion in the past, both as to the number of the British at the Battle of Ste. Foy, and also as to the method of attack. The question of the number of men, and the details of the battle are satisfactorily settled by the discovery, in the month of November last, of the original plan of the battle, with its detailed description, signed by Patrick Mackellar, the chief engineer of the British army under Murray; and also by the discovery of General Murray's report made on the day after the battle.

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We quote at some length from Mackellars' Plan and Report, because they have not hitherto been made use of by any previous writer.

"The action which lasted full three hours was chiefly upon the flanks. There the enemy made all their efforts without making any attempt towards the centre, tho' their numbers were sufficient to make a push there likewise. But even upon the flanks we for some time gained considerable advantage. Upon the right our infantry beat back their grenadiers from the house and windmill, but they unluckily pursued too far to be sustained, and suffered accordingly. They were beat back in their turn and with such a loss as to appear no more in the action. Upon our left we gained a great deal of ground, the volunteers and grenadiers of the 29th drove the enemy out of the two redoubts y and z. (1) They kept possession of them for some time, but being at length surrounded they were obliged to force their way back.

"The enemy had now overpowered our flanks with such superior numbers as left us no more hopes of success. A retreat began of its own accord in which it must be observed that the redoubt w was of great service (2) and kept the enemy at bay for about ten minutes, which saved our rear and many of our wounded from being cut off from the town. This was raised only a few fathoms high on account of the frosts, but there being two pickets left there during the action it deceived the enemy as a complete work. We brought off only two pieces of artillery, it was impracticable to

(1) The Redoubts y and z were situated on the high ground near the Marchmont property.

(2) The Redoubt w was situated on the site of the gaol. It was afterwards called Wolfe's Redoubt.

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bring off the rest on account of the snow. X.Y.Z. are redoubts raised by us during the Siege of 1759, but were not thought of consequence enough to be demolished when the other works were . . .

“The first forming of the British troops was two deep, and the French army was at first drawn up four deep.”

A study of the plan proves that Murray, who occupied at first a position similar to Montcalm, in the previous September, had a very advantageous ground, but he hoped to be able to defeat Lévis before he had time to form properly, just as Montcalm had tried to prevent Wolfe. Murray was encumbered by his cannon, and but for these Mackellar says he would have attacked the French earlier. Lévis made a clever movement which deceived Murray into the belief that he was about to fall back upon another position, and after he had descended into the hollow there was nothing to do but to fight as best he could. In this three hours fight Murray lost nearly one thousand men, while the loss of the French was nearly seven hundred and fifty. The Siege was by no means at an end. Murray had now only a miserable discouraged garrison, while the French under the victorious Lévis had renewed courage. On the same evening Lévis commenced to construct a parallel about eight hundred yards from the walls, upon the foundations which Murray had commenced in the autumn before. He also erected a battery of four guns, one of six guns, and one of three guns and two mortars which were

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opened between the 10th and 13th of May. Six mortars were also set up to prevent the shipping from flanking their camp, and a provision magazine was established at the Foulon. For six days the enemy kept up their fire against the town ; but the temporary works which Murray had erected in front of the walls in October 1759, and the superiority of his artillery prevented the fire of the French from doing much damage. On the 16th, three British ships arrived, and ran some of the French vessels aground. This caused Lévis to raise the siege, and he retired on the night of the 16th and 17th of May, leaving his baggage and artillery.

Thus ended the Siege of Quebec in 1759 and 1760, in which so many gallant soldiers found that "the paths of glory lead but to the grave."



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QUEBEC VOLUNTEER CAVALRY

CHAPTER VI

1608-1908

THE FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC

DEFENCE UNDER CHAMPLAIN — THE FIRST STONE FORT — CHATEAU ST. LOUIS — WORKS UNDER FRONTENAC — LE VASSEUR'S PLAN — DE LERY'S REPORT — MACKELAR'S PLAN — THE VOLUNTEERS OF 1728 — HAWKINS ON THE FORTIFICATIONS — MEETING OF CITIZENS — ENORMOUS COST OF WORKS — DEFECTIVE WORKMANSHIP — CARLETON ON THE DEFENCES OF QUEBEC — BRITISH WORKS — THE GATES OF QUEBEC.

THE fortifications of Quebec have always been in an intermittent state of development from the time when Champlain put up his first palisade under the cliff down to our own day, when the very idea of defending the city by a stone-faced citadel and surrounding wall has become as obsolete as the walls themselves. But, though this three centuries of development was in a sense continuous, yet its history falls naturally into six periods, each of which embodied its own idea,



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either in the form of regular new works, or merely in temporary shifts and expedients to meet the most pressing necessities of the moment.

I. From 1608 to 1689 there was nothing more than an isolated fort into which the people could withdraw in case of an Indian raid, or a stray attack from the sea.

II. But from 1689 to 1759 there was a constantly developing scheme of defence, mainly concerned with the protection of the key of New France against regular British attacks in force.

III. From 1759 to 1778 there was continual tinkering at the defences in time of danger ; but though the old French works were useless, no new British scheme was attempted.

IV. After five years' work the first comprehensive scheme took form in 1783 ; but even then the works were not really of a permanent nature.

V. After another forty years a new, and much more complete, scheme was undertaken in 1823, on a far greater scale. The result was the Citadel and walls as they stand to-day, except for the demolition of a few of the gates and minor buildings.

VI. Finally, when modern conditions had made it impossible to rely on the present Citadel and walls, a new scheme of distant detached defences was taken in hand about 1865-1870 ; but never carried out beyond the erection of the present forts on the heights of Levis.

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- A Le magazin.
 B Colombier.
 C Corps de logis où sont nos
 armes, & pour loger les ou-
 vriers.
 D Autre corps de logis pour
 les ouvrierz.
 E Cadran.
 F Autre corps de logis où est
 la forge, & artisans logez.
 G Galeries tout autour des

- logemens.
 H Logis du sieur de Cham-
 plain.
 I La porte de l'habitation, où
 il y a Port-leuis.
 L Promenoir autour de l'ha-
 bitation contenant 10. pieds
 de large suiues sur le bord
 de la foie.
 M Folles tout autour de l'ha-
 bitation.

- N Plattes formes, en façon de
 tenailles pour mettre le ca-
 non.
 O Jardin du sieur de Cham-
 plain.
 P La cuisine.
 Q Place deuant l'habitation
 sur le bord de la riuere.
 R La grande riuere de saint
 Laurent.

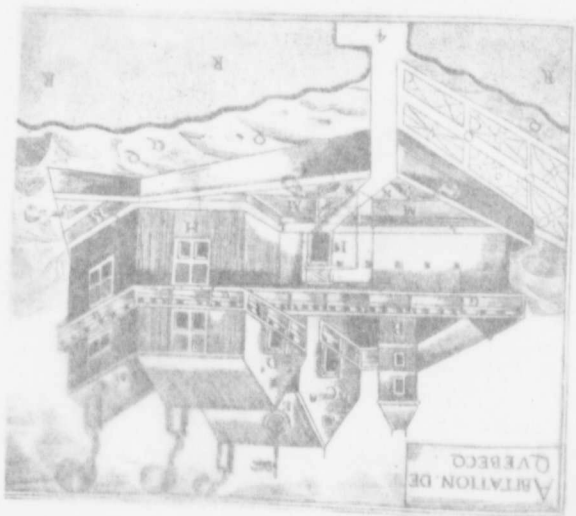
THE FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC

The extremely interesting history of all these successive schemes has never been fully known until the present year, 1903, when the original plans and documents have been collected and studied in their entirety for the first time.

I. The tiny settlement which Champlain founded in 1608 was defended by a sort of compromise between a mediaeval castle and a backwoods stockade. An illustration of it, copied from the "Voyages de Champlain," published in 1613, is given in this work. There was a drawbridge, a ditch and a court yard, with platforms for the cannons and loop-holes for musketry all complete; but the whole edifice was built of wood and earth only. The "Habitation," with additions and improvements, served the needs of the colony until 1620, when Champlain commenced on the crest of the rock, a more important structure, afterwards to be distinguished as the Fort St. Louis.

The work in connection with this fort was necessarily tedious on account of the scarcity of workmen and the lack of material. On the eve of his departure for France, in 1624, Champlain urged the inhabitants to continue the building of the fort during his absence to the best of their ability, but upon his return, in 1626, he found that no progress had been made. He therefore caused the walls to be levelled to their foundations, and commenced the construction of a more spacious fortress. The new building was at length completed and it served as a residence for the invader, Kertk, from 1629 to 1632. Champlain took up his abode in

- A Le magasin.
 B Cour de la ville.
 C Cour de la ville.
 D Autre cour de la ville.
 E Cour de la ville.
 F Cour de la ville.
 G Cour de la ville.
 H Cour de la ville.
 I Cour de la ville.
 K Le grand canal de la ville.
 L Cour de la ville.
 M Cour de la ville.
 N Cour de la ville.
 O Cour de la ville.
 P Cour de la ville.
 Q Cour de la ville.
 R Cour de la ville.
 S Cour de la ville.
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 V Cour de la ville.
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 X Cour de la ville.
 Y Cour de la ville.
 Z Cour de la ville.



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the fort in 1633, and resided there until his death, in 1635.

Montmagny succeeded Champlain, and it was under his régime that the first stone fort was built. In the year 1646, a contract was passed between the Company of New France and certain contractors, for the construction of more extensive works of defence. In the following year, 1647, the foundation of the first Chateau Saint Louis (logie) was laid. The Chateau was erected within the boundaries of the Fort, and a distinction between the Fort and the Chateau has not always been preserved.

In the course of time it became apparent to those in authority, that if France desired to retain a foothold in the new world, the position of Quebec must be strengthened.

On the 4th of August, 1663, the Baron D'Avau-gour wrote :—

“ And finally, in order to plant effectually the fleur de lys there, I see nothing better than to fortify Quebec ; erect one fort at its right, on the opposite of the river, and another on its left, at the river St. Charles, and support these with reinforcements of three thousand men, as I have already communicated to the Baron du Cochet ; thus this post would be thoroughly secured, and thereby a very important work commenced. To effect this, two things are necessary :—First, one hundred thousand *écus*, for the fortifications, and one hundred thousand francs, for munitions of war and provisions. Secondly, it will be necessary for the three thousand men to be selected not only for war but also for labour.”

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From this letter it is evident that the French, at an early date, recognized the importance of Quebec as a strategic point.

Four years passed, and no effect was given to the suggestions made by D'Avaugour. In 1667, the great Colbert wrote :—

“ It is of the greatest importance for the security of the colony to devise practicable means to place the fort of Quebec in a state of defence, by constructing a regular fortification there, stocking it with an efficient artillery and all sorts of munitions of war, so that it might not only not be insulted, but be capable of a vigorous defence, even though the most experienced nations of Europe laid a regular siege to it.”

During the next ten years representations were repeatedly made to the King setting forth the advisability of making provision to withstand an assault, but no aid was forthcoming. In 1681, Frontenac complained that the Chateau was in a deplorable condition, and that the walls of the Fort were in ruins. A plan was prepared by the Engineer Villeneuve for extending the boundaries of the Fort, and for providing suitable walls and buildings, but this plan, in its entirety, was not carried out.

II. During the seventy years between 1689 and 1759, Quebec was the constant objective of all British schemes in America. New England was always watching the opportunity of putting into practice “ The Glorious Enterprise ” for the final conquest of New France. This statesmanlike proposal, first formulated by Peter Schuyler, Mayor of Albany, in 1689,

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was substantially the same plan as that ultimately adopted by Pitt for the campaign of 1759. The few men of true strategic foresight on both sides had always foreseen that New France could only be struck down for ever by a simultaneous attack along three lines of advance. One column was to cut the French communications with the West along the line of the great lakes. Another, and much larger force, was to move on Montreal by way of Lake Champlain. And whilst the French were being seriously attacked in these two places, a great combined naval and military force was to strike directly at the strategic centre of both sea and land power at Quebec.

Colbert had been anxious for the safety of Quebec more than twenty-five years before this ; and Frontenac was even more alarmed during his first administration of New France, from 1672-1682. Things came to such a pass that the inhabitants at last proposed to erect fortifications on their own account. The paternal French Government immediately seized this excellent chance of overworking the willing horse ; as we can see from the letter authorized by the King in 1690 :

“ His Majesty having learned that the inhabitants of Quebec have made preparations to enclose that town with palisades, they must be obliged to lose no time in proceeding therewith, and if they should not be absolutely able to complete the work without some help, the Sieurs de Frontenac and Champigny will examine the means of making provision for that purpose.”

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Frontenac entered upon the work with characteristic energy, and in the space of two years, fortifications of an apparently solid nature, and upon an extensive scale, were well advanced. These works, however, like all those executed under the French régime, were constructed more with an idea of profit than of durability.

Indeed, from this time on, when the scheme of fortifications began to become so important and there was plenty of money to be made out of contracts, there is one long unvarying tale of shameless corruption, in nearly every department of the public service connected with the defences of Quebec. The military chiefs like Frontenac and Montcalm, and the later engineers like Franquet and Pontleroy did their duty honestly. But the civil functionaries and contractors were utterly and shamelessly corrupt and incompetent.

On the 23rd of September, 1692, five men who had escaped from Quebec, concurred in the following statement made before Governor Fletcher, of New York :

“ Saith, that nine ships arrived at Quebec from
“ France on the 12th of August last with pork, flour,
“ wine, and salt and fish, and all sorts of merchand-
“ izes, with a supply of all military stores for Count
“ Frontenac, and that they saw thirty great guns
“ landed, twenty pettarioes, one mortar and 300 bombs
“ but no men. That a new stone fort is a building at
“ Quebec, and a stone wall about the town, of which
“ three hundred paces already made, ten paces high,
“ and seven bastions, all of stone, for which the King
“ hath sent forty thousand livres.”

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All operations had to cease during the winter, but as soon as the snow disappeared Frontenac, or "the Capitaine reformé," staked out the work for the remainder of the season. Towards the end of the year Frontenac sent to France an account of the work which he had accomplished.

"The Court will see by the plans transmitted, on "which the whole of the enceinte is laid down what "are the works we have constructed, and it is true "that including masonry, terraces and carpentry "work, 500 men have not been employed over 50 or "60 days, the whole at a very reasonable cost to "Canada."

A copy of Frontenac's plan which is in our possession, shows that the walls were of a uniform height all round the city, following the level of the ground. The area embraced was not as large as that enclosed by De Léry, nearly thirty years later.

Frontenac's walls, the first ever made round Quebec, crowned the water front for three quarters of a mile ; starting from the present Chateau Frontenac Hotel, running north for a quarter of a mile, along the present terrace, across the top of Mountain Hill and round the front of the old Parliament grounds. Then they turned westward, following the line of the present Rampart Street till they stopped at Palace Hill, where they protected the road to the fords of the St. Charles. On the landward side, starting again from the present Chateau Frontenac Hotel, they ran westward between Mount Carmel and St. Louis Streets, across Haldimand

THE FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC

Hill, and then curved into St. Louis Street on reaching the corner of Ste. Ursule Street. Thence running north westward inside the line of Ste. Ursule Street and trending slightly more and more in a northerly direction, they ran nearly through the intersections of Ste. Anne and Ste. Angèle Streets and then to the lower end of St. Stanislas Street, whence they curved north to Palace Hill. The total circuit was about a mile and a half, and the area enclosed about half that contained by the present walls, exclusive of the Citadel. The landward faces were particularly weak, little danger being feared from any force coming from that direction.

Frontenac, no doubt, took every precaution to safeguard his designs, but, nevertheless, a full description of the nature and the strength of the defences of Quebec was transmitted to the British authorities through the treachery of one, de Nelson. This man had succeeded in gaining the friendship of Frontenac in order to betray him, and he finally confessed, after imprisonment in the Bastile, the methods he had employed to secure the information.

During the summer of 1693, Peter Schuyler wrote from Albany :

“ Jurian tells me that the messenger at Oneyde
“ brags much of his strength ; of their fortifications
“ at Quebec ; number of men firing mortar pieces, and
“ such like stratagems.”

And in the month of August, Governor Fletcher, wrote :

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“ Count Frontenac is busy with his fortifications at Quebec, and if left alone a year or two more, it will require an experienced officer and considerable force to turn him out.”

The British evidently employed every means at their disposal to keep in touch with the progress of events at Quebec. Amongst the papers referring to Quebec in the Public Record Office, London, there is a report of the affairs in 1694, obtained from two men, examined before the Governor of New York, from which this extract is made :

“ Q. How is Quebec fortified ?

“ A. By the waterside there is platform. A stone breast work, very low, which will give shelter to their men. The greatest has twelve guns which will throw a ball of 30 pounds. The fort stands very high in the upper town, which is fortified to the landside by a wall of 16 foot thickness, of brush faggots and earth palisades, fronting outwards, to prevent running over the walls ; this wall is not yet finished, but they have two engineers who have come over this summer, and we hear that they intend to build a stone wall round the town. In the town and fort of Quebec there are 140 guns, and not above 300 inhabitants who can bear arms.”

The contractors entrusted with the construction of the works under Frontenac, appear to have paid more attention to the price they derived for their work than to its value. The official correspondence at this time reveals many scandalous facts.

In October, 1698, M. de Champigny demanded

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the sum of forty thousand livres to complete the works absolutely necessary for the safety of Quebec, but two years later the sum of one hundred thousand livres was demanded.

A few months before his death in 1698, Frontenac wrote that the Sieur LeVasseur de Néré had been instructed to prepare new plans. Copies of these plans, and of the reports accompanying them, are before us.

The first report, which is very long, bears the date Oct. 6th, 1700. It commences as follows :

“ L'enceinte fut tracée en 1693 par un capitaine reformé qui estoit en Canada, il jetta la fortification au hazard sans avoir égard aux hauteurs dont elle pouvait estre commandée aussy la plus part des bastions si trouvent-ils enfillez et vous dériver a m'en pouvoir approcher.”

After pointing out numerous other defects, and estimating the cost of placing the fortifications in good order at one hundred thousand livres, de Néré states that three or four years will be required to execute the work.

LeVasseur transmitted to the King a plan showing the progress made on the new works in October, 1701, and he also suggested that the inhabitants should be compelled to contribute their labour towards the defence of Quebec.

Early in the year 1702, the British were informed that the stone wall which encircled Quebec was complete, and that 56 guns and 82 mortars were set up around the city. This report was confirmed by the Governor of New York, who in June, 1702, wrote :—

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“ We also informed ourselves of the state of
“ Quebec. We understand that the place is well forti-
“ fied with a stone wall round it, and there is a bridge
“ over the creek, at which place the Bostoners stopped
“ when they attacked it.”

The several improvements executed under Le Vasseur's first plan were completed in 1703, but soon after a lengthy correspondence commenced between the Minister in France, and the Engineer and the contractors, regarding the faulty nature of the work. Jealousy, and an unfortunate system of patronage, seem to have been at the root of the interminable disputes revealed by the official correspondence.

In 1704, LeVasseur prepared another plan, and certain new works were commenced which were completed in 1707.

Under LeVasseur's plan there were three gates, but he appears to have intended to construct several others to the land side, as the walls were never closed in certain places, except by temporary barriers.

The King of France had certainly every excuse for exercising caution in supplying the constant demands for money for the fortifications of Quebec, which seemed to require perpetual alteration. Vast sums had been expended upon Quebec during the space of one hundred years, and as soon as the appropriation granted was exhausted, an entirely different plan was proposed as being absolutely essential for the safety of the colony.

For eight years there seems to have been a period

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of comparative quiet, but in the year 1715, in response to pressing demands, the King ordered certain works to be carried out. Chaussegros de Léry, the Engineer, was instructed to prepare a plan, and a report of the works considered necessary.

A preliminary plan was made in 1716, and a full report, was sent to France during the same year. In 1717, de Léry went to France and discussed the project with the Court, and obtained the sanction for the works which he proposed.

A copy of this report is published herewith, and it is somewhat singular to note, that de Léry condemned the plans of his predecessors for some of the faults for which his own plans were subsequently condemned. The report is as follows :

“ The situation of the place is favourable on the
“ side of the St. Lawrence, and unfavourable on that
“ of the land, as the locality is difficult of fortification,
“ there being a great pitch from the summit at Cape
“ Diamond to Coteau de la Potasse, and as the works
“ will be partially commanded by the hill at Artigny’s
“ mill, and by another hill undermarked 17; the
“ ground rising according as it recedes from the place,
“ it is favourable, inasmuch as nearly two-thirds
“ of its circuit does not require to be fortified. All the
“ portion from the Coteau de la Potasse, marked S,
“ which fronts the river St. Charles around to the
“ redoubt marked H, or top of Cape Diamond, and
“ beyond that height, in front of the river St. Lawrence,
“ has no need of any other fortifications than
“ that of the batteries already there, as it is percipitous,
“ and there are three good batteaux in the lower

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“ town, at high water-mark, marked F, D, E. Those
“ on the escarpment, in the upper town, are not so
“ well situated, being too high, especially that of the
“ Chateau. The works on the land side, between the
“ Cape Diamond redoubt H, and Coteau de la Potasse
“ S, do not amount to much, being open in several
“ places, through which the town is entered ; some of
“ these were left as entrances to the town, they have
“ no gates, not even a miserable barrier ; the space
“ between Cape Diamond redoubt H, and the edge of
“ the escarpment 2, is open, so that thirty men could
“ enter the town abreast, that point having never been
“ closed. This redoubt, though badly turned, having
“ its left face undefended, is fit for use, being in good
“ repair ; and though it were well turned, flank 3 is
“ situated too low to defend this left face.

“ Curtain R, and flank 3, and face 4, are com-
“ manded by the hill 5 of Cape Diamond, or more
“ strictly speaking, concealed by that height in con-
“ sequence of its proximity ; the Curtain is raised only
“ four, five, or six feet above ground, and at one place
“ as far as the cordon, as appears by the draft of the
“ actual works, having a large breach towards its
“ centre, some earth has been thrown up behind, which
“ does not touch the wall ; the flanks and faces of the
“ tenail have open embrasures ; to make use of them,
“ it would be necessary to put some earth there for a
“ platform and to construct the merlons. These works
“ are without a ditch.

“ The mill battery, marked G, is fit for service,
“ and though it forms a dead angle, it is no less
“ effectual, being greatly elevated. All the fortifica-
“ tions, 6, 7, 8, to complete the inclosing of the town,
“ consist merely of an elevation without a ditch in
“ front, open and crumbling in many places, having
“ in one part a bad upright pallsade at the foot, which

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“ can be scaled without any difficulty, there being
“ nothing to prevent it. Royal Redoubt, marked I.
“ The barracks are good. This redoubt is not com-
“ pleted, as some earth still remains to be put up on
“ the terreplain, and the merlons are to be constructed,
“ some doors and windows are to be inserted and the
“ flanks of the barracks to be finished. The Dauphin
“ Redoubt is incomplete, much being still to be done to
“ it. Its location is bad, being on the slope of a rising
“ ground. The plans, profiles, elevations and drafts
“ which I have drawn exhibit the actual condition of
“ these two redoubts. Saint Ursula's Redoubt, marked
“ L, for the reception of cannon, consists merely of
“ one double faced platform with embrasure of gabions,
“ without a ditch, being enclosed by a miserable pal-
“ lisade stuck upright ; it has no communication with
“ the place and is open at its gorge ; the guns that
“ might be put there in time of need would be soon
“ captured ; as this redoubt is at a distance from the
“ place, without communication, and without a ditch,
“ and surrounded by a wretched pallisade, it would be
“ cannon and people lost.

“ The fortification to enclose the palace is not
“ advanced, having only the ditch which is marked ;
“ it is excavated some 2 and 3 feet ; the rampart is
“ not begun, the earth which has been removed from
“ the ditch having been used to repair the gardens and
“ fill up a pond, so that there is only this excavation
“ of two and three feet.

“ St. Roch Redoubt, marked M, is surrounded by
“ a small ditch ; the parapet, almost entirely in ruins,
“ is made of gabions.

“ The Potasse tenail, marked ff, is badly turned,
“ not being defended at any point.

“ The fortification raised on Coteau de la Potasse,
“ which occupies the border of the escarpment, is too

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“ low, being in some places only 6 feet high above the
“ escarpment, which can be made use of at this point.
“ The fortification, Q. O. P., is imperfect ; Jou-
“ bert's demi-bastion, Q., has neither its rampart nor
“ parapets completed ; it forms, on its left, a dead
“ angle towards the escarpment, marked, 9, 10, 11,
“ where there is a gate ; the approach to this angle is
“ by a covert way along the escarpment, and there is
“ a passage of 7 and 8 feet between the end of the
“ wall, which goes down to this escarpment, and the
“ edge of the escarpment, 12, behind this wall, 10, 11 ;
“ it is difficult to construct a rampart there, and at
“ present there is no *chemin des rondes* from which we
“ could fire over its parapet ; there are some loop holes,
“ beside the gate, but they are situated too low, so
“ that the fire would be completely traversed from
“ without ; the curtain, 13, is raised six feet over the
“ ground ; in bastion O, the ramparts are not built ;
“ the curtain, 14, is not formed, except by a retrench-
“ ment the same as that of the Palace ; the bastion F,
“ is not finished ; it is raised over the ground, as shown
“ in the sketch. This bastion is entirely opposed to
“ the hill at Artigny's mill, being raised above the
“ ground, like all the fortification, but without a ditch,
“ it being impossible to make any at the right face of
“ the Bastion O, which is situate on the brow of the
“ hill which is very percipitous ; from the height at
“ Artigny's mill, the faces of Bastion O could be easily
“ destroyed. All the front from 15 to 16, is exposed
“ to this hill, the fortification not being covered by
“ any ditch ; and if it were desirable to construct one
“ to Bastion F, it would be necessary to lower the
“ faces of said bastion, or to raise the counterscarp
“ which would be built, and the covert way of about
“ twenty feet above the level of the ground on which
“ the faces of this bastion stand ; this would cause a

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“ great expense, it being necessary to prolong the
“ glacis of the covert way, which would not prevent
“ the revetment of this bastion being always exposed
“ at the heights ; as the bastion is situated in a low
“ locality, I doubt if earth be found in the neighbor-
“ hood within two hundred toises to construct its
“ ramparts, which will be thirty feet high, for the
“ vicinity of the place is nothing but rock covered with
“ a little soil. I have remarked that there is neither
“ cistern nor well within the fort, and the Marquis de
“ Vaudreuil is badly lodged there.”

The scheme of defence prepared by de Léry met with the approval of the Court, and the work was commenced in June, 1720, a large appropriation having been made for the purpose.

There appears to have been much confusion as to the nature and the extent of the fortifications constructed by de Léry. His own plan settles the question.

It has been claimed that the walls of 1720 extended only a little beyond St. Ursule street. This is an imperfect description. From St. John's Gate to St. Louis Road, the walls ran in this direction, but between St. Louis Road and Cap Diamond, Joubert's Bastion, Glacière Bastion, and St. Louis Bastion, formed a continuous line in the direction of the present road to the Citadel. This position is also shown on the plan made by Nicolas Bellin, in 1740, and also shown on the enlargement of this plan made by Patrick Mackellar, Chief Engineer, for the use of Wolfe during the Siege of Quebec.

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A word concerning this plan which was no doubt often in the hands of Wolfe, may prove of interest.

Before Wolfe came to Quebec, Mackellar had secured a copy of the plan made by the French Engineer, which he enlarged, and supplied with many references obtained from personal investigation and from various other sources. To this plan he attached a report, the original of which was shown to the writer by Colonel Townshend during his visit to Quebec. Three days after the Battle of the Plains, Brigadier General Townshend addressed a letter to Brigadier Monckton, requesting him to send to him the plan made by Mackellar, if it were amongst the papers of the late General Wolfe. Monckton answered that he had not found the plan, but possibly it might be in the hands of the Engineer. After much research this plan is now available to the student through the efforts of His Excellency, the Earl of Minto, and a copy is in our possession.

The plans prepared by de Léry provided for the most elaborate works constructed under the French régime, although they did not include any buildings of importance upon Cape Diamond, as we have been led to suppose. With the exception of a small redoubt on the Cape, called Citadel Redoubt, the works in this direction remained the same as under the plan of Le Vasseur. It was in the extent of the outer walls, and in the addition of certain redoubts and batteries, in other parts of the city, that de Léry's work consisted. The walls themselves, however, contained many of the

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defects of the other plans, and the workmanship was very faulty.

While this work was in progress, the inhabitants were trained in the exercise of defence, as we find by the following :

“ *ESTAT* contenant les noms des Bourgeois et habitants de la ville de Québec qui se sont présenté pour faire apprentissage de l'exercice du canon pendant les années 1725, 1726 et 1727.

SCA VOIR :

Première Brigade :

Girardin, forgeron ;
LeGris, do
Carpentier, maçon-entrepreneur ;
Corbin, charpentier du Roy et contracteur ;
Corbin, fils, charpentier de navire ;
Maillon, architecte du Roy ;
Maillon, forgeron ;
Marchand, charpentier du Roy pour...et maisons ;
Langlois, marchand-bourgeois ;
Lallemant, bourgeois.

Seconde Brigade :

Prieur, bourgeois et perruquier ;
Coton, orfèvre ;
Saleur, aubergiste ;
Charles LeVasseur, chartier ;
Camane, maçon-entrepreneur ;
Caron, bourgeois et marchand ;
L'Ense, menuisier ;
Corbin, forgeron ;
Louis Nadeau, charpentier de navire ;
Jean-Baptiste Normand, chartier.

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“ Je certifie le présent Rôle véritable et tous les
“ hommes présens qui ont servi pendant les trois
“ années ci-dessus dite, à Québec, le 10 8bre 1728.

“ (*Signé*) LENTARD.”

In “ A New Picture of Quebec,” the author, Mr. Hawkins, asserts, “ That from the period of their renovation by deLéry (1720) the fortifications were maintained by the French Governors with great care, until the capture of Quebec in 1759.”

This statement, like many others made by Mr. Hawkins, is directly opposed to the facts. In 1728, the condition of the fortifications was so defective, that an urgent demand was made by the Marquis de Beauharnais and M. Dupuy for an enormous sum of money to place them in a proper state of defence. The King refused this demand, and at the same time said :

“ MM. Beauharnais and Dupuy must examine the
“ project maturely in conjunction with the engineers ;
“ draw up a plan of fortification which will not be
“ susceptible to alteration, like previous ones, and
“ transmit it to His Majesty.”

Again in 1734, the Marquis de Beauharnais and M. Hocquart wrote to France requesting aid to make such works and repairs as were absolutely necessary, and stated that as their demands of the previous year had been denied, they would place the batteries in good order, and construct others where necessary. In the year 1740, Nicolas Belin made several improvements, and altered the position of the batteries near the palace.

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Notwithstanding the assurance given to the King in 1720, that the works then commenced would meet all requirements, we find that deLéry himself found that they were defective, and on the 5th of June, 1745 he wrote: "Vous verrez, Monseigneur, dans le mé-
" moire que la face droite du Bastion St-Louis est mal
" tournée, je propose de la placer autrement."

A lengthy correspondence ensued concerning the proposed changes in the plans, and at last both the inhabitants and the King grew weary of the ceaseless burden. Early in the year 1746 the King gave an order for all the work to be discontinued, which seems to have pleased the majority of the inhabitants. Those in authority, however, viewed this action with alarm, and even the Bishop wrote to the King setting forth the gravity of the situation, and suggesting that if the work were continued the expense to the King might be lightened by the imposition of a tax upon wine and silk.

On the 26th and 30th of July, a meeting was held in the Chateau St. Louis to discuss the question of the fortifications of Quebec, at which the principal officers of the colony, and the chief inhabitants of Quebec were present. At this meeting the majority were in favour of carrying out the instruction of the King, and they declined to be further taxed.

It was proposed that if the works were continued to raise the money upon a tax on wine, but this was not carried, and an arrangement was made for the payment of the work already completed by the con-

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tractors. The existing work, however, was so defective, that urgent repairs were completed in the following year, and extra expense was incurred in 1748 and 1749.

At the request of the Court of France, the Intendant caused a statement of the expenses of the fortifications between 1745 and 1749 to be prepared by de Léry.

The statement made is as follows :—

1745-6.....	189,257- 6-1
1747	54,064-12-0
1748	292,952-15-1
1749	232,900-11-5

In 1750, de Léry made another estimate of the cost of the fortifications for 1750, placing the sum at 147,726-16-4.

Franquet, a French Engineer, was sent out from France to make a report upon the different works, which he did some time after. In his first letter to the Minister, before his final report, he stated that the walls constructed by de Léry were evidently erected without regard to the requirements of the place or the laws of construction. He then points out the various defects, and the remedy which can be applied under the circumstances. In his examination of the work, he discovered that the builders were working without plans, and he communicated this intelligence to the Intendant, who, we find, instructed de Léry in the future to consult with Franquet, and to comply with the suggestions he had made.

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This letter is a very lengthy one, and its suggestions seem to have been acted upon.

When de Léry made another report, in 1757, as to the urgent necessity of further works, the Court determined to have the operations in future conducted under the direction of Franquet, who was instructed to draw up a plan of the work necessary. At the time that Franquet made his report, in 1752, as we find by another letter, in 1753, the work under de Léry was too far advanced to make much improvement, as the walls were already up nearly the height intended, and the new plan would entail the demolition of these walls. These walls were therefore left standing in the meantime, and Franquet's project was postponed. Vaudreuil, in 1757, transmitted to France a list of works proposed, which he could not execute for want of means. The Court, however, entrusted the charge of the fortifications of Quebec to Montbeillard, and ordered the Engineer Franquet to prepare a plan for restoring the defences.

Franquet's plan was sent to France, and received the approval of the King. In November 1757, the Marquis de Vaudreuil wrote to France requesting the return of Franquet's plan, as it would be of great service to the Engineer Pontleroy, in carrying out the instructions of His Majesty.

In 1758, Pontleroy was actively engaged in repairing the most defective part of the walls, but in many places they were so bad, that works were erected in front of them.

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Towards the end of the year Montcalm wrote :

“ Les fortifications sont si ridicules et mauvaises qu'elle seroit prise aussitôt qu'assiégée.”

In 1759, before any assault had been made upon Quebec, the breaches in the walls could be seen at a distance of five hundred yards ; and Mackellar reported to Wolfe that the works would offer very little resistance.

After the Battle of the Plains, when the British took possession of the city, they found that it was impossible to repair the walls because they were so badly constructed.

Whether de Léry was personally to blame for the defective work, or whether it was solely due to the contractor, we do not know, but Bigot and La Galissonnière complained to the Minister in France that de Léry would not render accounts, and Bigot advised him that the earth required at Quebec would in future be paid for by the toise, and not by half loads containing only a handful of earth. Vaudreuil also stated after the battle, that the walls were badly constructed. Montcalm, too, wrote : But how can you expect that M. de Pontleroy, or any other man in his place can with honesty remain in the country. He must rob or be ruined, for his pay and allowances amount to only 100 Louis d'or : “ You will object to me that these are the emoluments allowed to his office since the time of “ M. de Léry, senior, a great ignoramus in his profession — it is only necessary to look at his works — “ who robbed the King like the rest.

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III. From 1759 to 1778, the British Commandants had to make the best of a very bad state of things indeed. The old French works were worthless and the home authorities refused to carry out any new scheme at all. The only thing to do was to throw up temporary works in front of the French walls.

In 1760, the Marquis de Lévis evidently thought he could batter down the then existing works with ease if he had anything like a proper siege train. He says :

“ Il fut décidé, après avoir reconnu la place, “ qu'on couronnoit par une parallèle les hauteurs qui “ sont devant le front des bastions St. Louis, de la “ Glacière et du Cap au Diamant, et qu'on y établiret “ des batteries, d'où on espérait, malgré l'éloignement “ et la faiblesse du calibre de nos pieces, qu'elles pour- “ roient faire brèche, le revêtement étant mauvais “ dans cette partie.”

On the 6th of June, 1762, General Murray transmitted to the King a report of the state of the fortifications of Quebec at that time, from which the following is quoted, as it does not appear to have been published hitherto :

“ Cape Diamond is nearest the river St. Lawrence and is likewise the highest ground, from whence there is a continued slope, sometimes very quick, towards the river St. Charles, in consequence of which the walls not being built upon a level, but humouring the nature of the ground, the flanks of the Bastions cannot defend their opposite faces in a proper manner, for the flanks of the lower ones must throw theirs above it. To remedy this defect, the French built two Counter

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guards or Faussebrays with Casemated flanks, before the right face and flanks of la Glacière Bastion, and the left face and flank of Bastion St. Louis ; this however introduced another inconvenience, of which they appeared sensible when Monsieur de Lévis besieged the Town in 1760, as he directed his fire to this place. which had such an effect, the rubbish of the Wall filling the Counter guard, and that from the lower the ditch, that an easy ascent might have been very soon made to the breach.

“ The high grounds before Capé Diamond and Laglaciere Bastions command all the lower fortifications toward the river St. Charles, and batteries for battering in breach may be erected at any distance, as the walls are high and seen in many places to the bottom of the Ditch, there being no covered way or outworks and even the counterscarp wall not well finished, neither can a covered way be constructed, but at a great expense, on account of the scarcity of earth and irregularity of the ground, besides that it must be crowded with traverses to prevent its being enfiladed.

“ To make up in some measure the want of outworks, in the winter 1759, I erected a line of Block-houses within musquet shot of the capital wall to secure the body of the place against surprises, such outworks are proof against musquetry only.

“ The walls are built of an irregular unwrought stone and in many places the work is very badly executed as was sufficiently visible from the effect of the fire from the French batteries in 1760.

“ The Gates are illplaced and not defended. St. Louis Gate is so near the right face of the Bastion of the same name, that it is beneath its fire, and the opposite flank can have but very little fire on it, that

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of St. Johns has the same fault, being too near the left flank of St. Johns Bastion.

“ The Palace Gate is not much better constructed, and in general this whole front of the place, which indeed is the only fortified one, is enfiladed from the other side of the river St. Charles.

“ The Wall from Bastion Lapotasse to Palace gate, is pierced with loop holes, and is good in its kind. The Barracks which are built against it being also provided with loop holes serve as a second fire. This wall is continued to K and is built upon a Rock.

“ From K to L is a very bad stockade on the top of an accessible rock, with one small stockaded place of arms. This is the part of the Town most exposed to a coup de main.

“ From L to T there is a high Wall with a wooden gallery behind it, to serve as a banquette, and beneath it is a sally port to communicate with the lower Town.

“ From T to the sault au Matelot is a wall begun but carried no higher than a man is able to step upon it, there are here some plat-forms for Cannon and Mortars. From M to M (sic) is the Royal Battery commanding the River St. Lawrence and built upon an inaccessible rock adjoining to the Bishop's palace, part of which was taken in during the late siege to defend the communication from the lower to the higher Town, which was also defended by some Cannon planted at O.

“ From O to P takes in Fort St. Louis and a nine gun battery ; it is by nature inaccessible except two small paths shewn in the plan. Fort St. Louis is of no defence being the remains of the earliest fortifications erected there.

“ From P to Q the Citadel or Redoubt of Cape Diamond, is a quick or rather steep ascent, defended by a stockade only. Betwixt this Redoubt and the Bastions of La Glacière and Cape Diamond is a com-

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manding ground overlooking the whole Town and Fortifications. This ground I judge very proper for the construction of a Citadel.

“ From Q to R the same sort of stockade is continued, and from R to Cape Diamond there is a Wall with loop-holes, defended by two small flanks with Cannon.

“ The rocky hill under these parts is very high, but accessible and in many places covered with brush, by the help of which small parties might advance to the very stockades.

“ The lower Town is only cover'd by a Stockade and some batteries. The Batteries marked *g* are to defend the road and annoy the shipping in passing the Town. The Batteries *t*, are for the same purpose. They serve likewise to flank the lower Town and the other Batteries.

“ From the above report and annexed Plan it appears that the Enceinte of Quebec is very large and would require a very strong Garrison to defend it tho properly fortified. That at present it is open on two sides, has no out works not even a cover'd way nor hardly a ditch, for the foot of rotten walls is to be seen from the most of the Environs at the distance of 500 yards. That the whole Rampart is enfiladed from the other side of the River St Charles, and that in its present situation, with a Garrison of 3000 men it is not proof against a well conducted Coup de main. Any temporary works that can be added, would be of little signification, as matters now stand ; and to fortify the place upon the old plans is by no means advisable, the situation never can be render'd strong, and the attempt must cost an immense sum. I therefore am of opinion that if His Majesty shall think proper to be at the expense of strengthening Quebec, the most effectual method will be to erect upon the rising ground of Cape

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Diamond, a Citadel which will answer every purpose of the Towns being strongly fortified, may be defended 4 months at least by a small garrison, awe the Inhabitants, whose fidelity in case of an attack we cannot for some years rely on, and secure our Magazines. The ground I propose for this Citadel commands the whole Town and is commanded no where from the Country ; in short it possesses every advantage to be wished for, and at a small expense may be fortified, as the Inhabitants of the Country and the Troops in the time of peace may contribute their labor towards it gratis ; to this the former can have no objection as they were on all occasions formerly liable to Military services and were all allow'd only provisions.

“ I order'd Captain Holland to take an accurate survey of the ground and have the honor herewith to transmit (*a*) the several plans he has drawn in consequence.”

We have seen that under the French régime, representations which were not always complied with, were frequently made to France for aid towards the construction of fortifications at Quebec. Under the British régime, similar conditions prevailed.

The official correspondence of the Governors from 1764 until 1811, is burdened with suggestions and demands in this direction. On the 29th of May, 1769, Guy Carleton wrote to Lord Hillsborough concerning the fortifications, in these words :

“ It is now long since I transmitted to Lord Shelburne, accompanying my letter No. 20, the plan of a citadel for Quebec ; at that time, I expected the Engineer, Captain Gordon, who made but a short stay here in 1767, agreeable to my orders, and his promise,

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would have drawn up an estimate of the expense ; as he has never done this, at least that has come to my knowledge, I again transmit said plan with an estimate annexed, made out by Engineer Marr, who arrived here last fall from Halifax ; I have already said so much of the expediency and utility of such an undertaking, that I have now little to add, I am however, to observe to Your Lordship, I have found it the general opinion of the Canadians that if Admiral Durell had pushed up in May, 1759, with only a small part of the army, the town might have been taken before the Governor in Chief could have sent there any assistance from Montreal, where and in the upper Country all the troops were collected to defend the entrance by the Lakes ; that after the defeat of their army upon the Plains of Abraham, the 13th of September, altho' they had eight Battalions and forty companies of regular troops, with fifteen or sixteen thousand warlike militia in the field, after having had four months time to strengthen the town, they apprehended the same so indefensible that it surrendered immediately, before one single battery could be opened against it ; and that if in the succeeding year the remains of ten brave Battalions were enabled to hold out until the arrival of our fleet, it was in a great degree owing to Monsieur de Levis' army being in want of artillery and ammunition.

“ For the foregoing reasons therefore as well as the many others before alledged, I must humbly recommend that essential and salutary work to be set about as soon as possible.”

For twenty years after the Siege of Quebec no repairs were made to the French walls, although temporary works to defend them were constructed. During Arnold's expedition against Quebec the situa-

THE FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC

tion of the city was indeed perilous, and on the 6th of December, 1775. Montgomery wrote to Carleton stating that he was aware of its defenceless condition.

The only fortifications which Montgomery and Arnold attacked were the two barricades in Lower Town, thrown up for temporary defence of Quebec in 1775, although Arnold had erected works in the vicinity of the present Parliament for the purpose of attacking the walls. On the night of the 31st of December in that year, Arnold carried the Sault-au-Matlot barricade, which faced the north east and ran from the cliff to the river along the line of the present St. James street. Montgomery's simultaneous attack failed before the Près-de-Ville barricade, which faced south and ran across the present Champlain street from the cliff to the river, just under the present Citadel. There was also a one gun battery on a ledge about fifty or sixty feet below the present Citadel. This gun should have supported the defence of the barricade ; but the officer in charge failed to do his duty properly.

IV. In 1778, the Home authorities at last began to listen to reason ; but their action was dangerously slow for those stirring years. And none of the works then made were really permanent.

During the earlier correspondence of the Governors we come in contact with a familiar figure during the Siege of Quebec, George Townshend, which proves that his interest in Canadian affairs did not cease with the capitulation of Quebec. The serious consideration of building a citadel at Quebec, under British rule,

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

dates from 1778. In the month of October, in that year, the Governor wrote :

“ In obedience to the commands given to me by your lordship, I shall not fail to take the proper steps for erecting a citadel at Quebec in such situation as assisted by the Engineers I shall be able to judge it most advantageous, the plans and estimates of which shall be transmitted as soon as they can be made and considered.”

In a letter dated the 18th of June, 1779, addressed to Lord Townshend, Governor Haldimand clearly sets forth the condition of affairs in Quebec, and his requirements at this time. The letter is therefore quoted at length :—

“ Very soon after my arrival in this Province I was convinced that the resources I was master of were by no means adequate to begin the construction of a formidable Citadel at Quebec, so as to afford any reasonable hopes that it could assist us during the present Rebellion, and therefore I immediately resolved to content myself with making such necessary preparations as can be done without interfering with our present Defences, and yet such as may induce and enable the Government to push forward with vigour, when the situation of public affairs make it expedient so to do—by adopting this plan there will be sufficient time to obtain and compare different ideas, so as at last to determine upon some thing which may be adapted to the ground, the climate and the Government, and your Lordship is so well acquainted with these particulars that I must request your assistance, in this difficult task.”

“ Major Holland, who arrived here a few days ago from Halifax, informs me that in 1762, or there-

THE FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC

“ abouts, he gave General Murray Plans, sections and
“ estimates of a Citadel, all of which were forwarded
“ to England, and are now in the drawing room of
“ the Tower, and as Major Holland has no copy, I beg
“ Your Lordship to indulge we with exact copies of
“ the whole by the first opportunity, as your lordship
“ must be sufficiently acquainted with the merit and
“ ability of this officer, to know that some attention
“ may be paid to his opinion. Captain Marr, who is at
“ present the Senior Engineer in the Province, I found
“ stationed at Quebec by General Carleton, and the
“ entire direction of all other forts, etc., put under the
“ direction of Captain Twiss. I continued this regula-
“ tion both because I thought it for the good of the
“ service, and as far as I could learn, that it was also
“ your lordship's intention that it should be so—a
“ more thorough knowledge of these gentlemen has
“ convinced me that I was right, and as Captain Marr
“ is now old and infirm I have this summer consented
“ to the request he made last fall (though late) of
“ returning to England, and I shall order him to lay
“ before your Lordship his remarks upon Cape Dia-
“ mond, together with his proposals for a Citadel, and
“ I do earnestly request that your Lordship will apply
“ to His Majesty to have Lieut. Twiss appointed Chief
“ Engineer of this Province, as I have found his zeal,
“ activity and ability equal to the important trust, and
“ although he has the misfortune to be low in rank, I
“ am informed that he has been 19 years in the service,
“ and very actively employed during the whole of that
“ time.”

By a letter of the 18th of June, 1779, the Governor informed Lord Townshend that plans were being prepared by Captain Twiss and Mr. Hunter, but that he hesitated to send them to England, “ fearful lest

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

“ they should fall into improper hands, and for this reason, and in consequence of his private affairs, I have consented to give Lieut. Slack leave to go to England.”

Very little work could be accomplished on account of the lack of materials and of tools, besides the scarcity of workmen. In order to carry out the projected works the Governor organized a company of artificers, but Lord Townshend objected to its formation, and instructed the Governor to employ loyalists in the construction of any works undertaken.

The failure of the “ True Britain ” to reach Quebec, deprived the Governor of a valuable cargo of military supplies, and consequently the proposed improvements had to be postponed.

The plans prepared by Captain Twiss at this time, provided for the construction of those walls which were subsequently built beyond the line of the present fortifications.

The remains of these British works are still plainly visible on the western side of Cape Diamond. This was the first and only time that any fortifications were thrown up on this spot. There were none at all at the time of the French; and they were discarded in the British scheme of 1823. Their whole military existence therefore is bounded by the limits of the period which we are now discussing, viz, from 1778 to 1823.

The progress towards building the long discussed citadel was very slow. By a letter addressed to Haldi-

THE FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC

mand on the 30th of November, 1779, Lord Townshend does not appear to have been satisfied with the manner in which his suggestions regarding Quebec were received. He writes :

“ I hope my former letter was received respecting
“ the corps of artificers which you have determined as
“ necessary upon Captain Twiss's recommendation ;
“ all I can say is, that whenever the Secretary of
“ State for the Department refers to me for my opinion
“ upon the subject of Canada, I shall give my opinion
“ as explicitly and frankly as I did some years ago
“ upon a Citadel for Quebec, which I lament to say
“ has never been done, and of which I have never
“ heard anything after.”

Lord Townshend refers to the subject again in a letter dated the 15th of December, 1779 :

“ With regard to the Citadel proposed at Quebec,
“ I am happy to find that a Post of such importance
“ is not laid aside. My opinion was asked upon this
“ subject some time ago, and I should have been sorry
“ to have been so ignorant of the place and of the
“ Province, to have hesitated giving my opinion in the
“ fullest manner.”

A year later, in October, 1780, no progress had been made. General Haldimand wrote to Lord Townshend as follows :

“ In our present situation your Lordship must be
“ sensible that we could not begin the construction of
“ a regular Citadel, but we have endeavoured to take
“ every possible advantage of the ground, and have
“ occupied the Cape with several detached redoubts,
“ which I hope will soon be capable of some defence.

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

“ Captain Twiss has applied for permission to send to your Lordship plans of the works now constructing.”

The plan prepared by Captain Twiss, a copy of which is before us, shows :

- “ 1. The condition of the ground upon which it is proposed to construct certain works extending beyond the walls (that is, those works which have been regarded as of French origin.)
- “ 2. The nature of the proposed works as suggested by Captain Marr, distinguished by yellow lines, and those proposed by Captain Twiss, coloured red.”

The only building within the area of the present citadel at this time, of any importance, was the Citadel Redoubt. The Hangman's Redoubt, on Cape Diamond and the Powder Magazine, were only temporary affairs, constructed between the years 1760 and 1769.

Amongst the eighty manuscript plans of Quebec made by British officers, which have recently been collected through the exertions of His Excellency, Lord Minto, is a remarkably fine plan in colours, bearing this title :

“ Plan of the Town and Suburbs of Quebec, showing the Fortifications as they were nearly completed in October, 1783. The Fortifications of this Town were not in any degree finished by the French, and the English never repaired any part of them previous to October, 1779, when His Excellency, General Haldimand gave his instructions to Captain Twiss, Commanding Engineer in Canada, for the construction of a temporary Citadel on Cape Diamond.”

THE FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC

This statement which is on the plan made by Captain Twiss, the Commanding Engineer, and bearing his signature, is in direct opposition to all the local historians, but the student, no doubt, will attach more importance to the writing of the Engineer and the official correspondence of the time, than to the statements of those who wrote over a hundred years after the events, and were not in possession of the material now available. This temporary citadel embraced nearly the same area as that enclosed by the present walls, which was at first suggested by Major Holland, and it also extended nearly to the steps leading to the river, including those works which have been regarded as belonging to the French régime.

These plans show what works there were upon the Cape during the old régime, and also the commencement and progress, and final abandonment of these old walls.

On the plan made by Captain Twiss in 1783, these famous walls are shown as being nearly complete, and they are referred to as follows :—

(*aa*) “ New works whose *Terre Plein* are mostly “ excavated in the solid rock, they together form a “ temporary Citadel.”

The buildings executed within these walls, which extended beyond the present line, were :—

(*bb*) “ New roads of communication for artillery.”
(The entrance to these extended fortifications was behind the King's Field, a plot of ground having a frontage of 550 feet on the south of the Grande Allée, opposite the Parliament.)

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

(e) "Reservoirs for water which is tolerably good, though rather hard, however they are at all times tolerably supplied."

(mm) "Counter mines formed of cedar pickets under the Glacière bastion."

These were the works constructed by the British in 1779, and completed in 1783, the remains of which have been regarded as the ruins of the French works.

The works erected by the British at this time within the main walls, that is, within the area of the citadel proper, were :

"(ee) Temporary bomb proofs made of timber, and will lodge :

" c. 1, 62 men	c. 2 82 men	c. 3 16 men
" c. 4, 36 men	c. 5 230 men	c. 6 125 men
" c. 7, 205 men	c. 8 234 men	c. 9 230 men
" c. 10, 230 men	c. 11 86 men	c. 12 50 men
533 men	632 men	421 men

"(ff) Sheds for carriages.

"(g) Workshops for all branches.

"(hh) Three counterguards to cover the detached redoubts with curtains to cover the communication from one redoubt to another, were not finished, and are almost the only part of the new works which are not."

"1. Port St. Louis Gate from thence towards the new Citadel, the ditches and glacis are levelled the parapets and ramparts are likewise completed.

"(k) St. John's Gate, from hence to port St. Louis Gate there is no glacis and the ditches are in



The Ramparts

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

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The Ramparts

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THE FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC

“ so rude a state by the French having excavated the earth from between the rocks that they are impassable not only for carriages, but also on horseback. The parapets and ramparts for this part are finished, and a very extensive Esplanade with proper ramps is almost completed behind these works.

“(1) Barrack Bastion whose parapet and rampart etc. are finished, but the parapet and rampart between it and St. John's Gate as well as the ditches and glacis in front of this extent remain in the rude state in which the French left them, and are not capable of any proper defence.

“(2) Ground purchased by the Government for a wharf not yet commenced.”

The Citadel constructed under Captain Twiss was never intended for a permanent structure, and the correspondence between the Governors shows that they were repeatedly making demands for substantial means of defence. When they realized that the necessary aid was not forthcoming, and that repairs were urgently needed, the Governor ordered a complete survey to be made with a view of again placing the various works in a state of temporary efficiency. This survey was completed in 1790, and certain works were at once commenced.

By a plan made in 1804, we find that there were very slight alterations effected between the year 1783 and 1804, the most notable was a battery on the summit of the extended walls overlooking the path to the river. In the citadel proper, we find an ordnance store, constructed in 1800, and a powder magazine built in 1801.

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

In 1804 another plan was drawn up for the construction of three Martello Towers. Towers No. 1 and 3 were commenced in 1805, and finished in 1810. Tower No. 2 was commenced on the 11th of May, 1809, but it was not completed until 1818. Tower No. 4 was not completed until 1823.

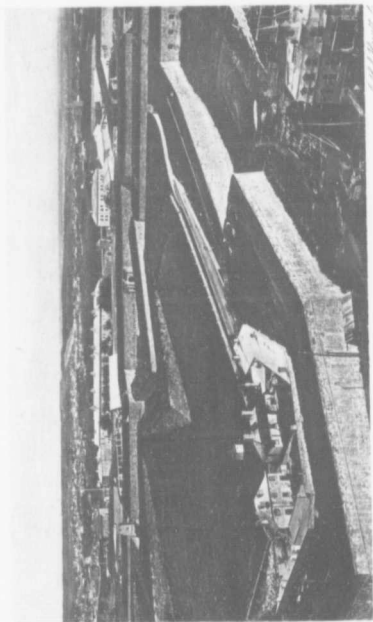
The Commanding Engineer in Canada, Captain Nicolls, prepared an excellent plan of the city, its environs, and the whole of its defensive works. The colours of this plan are remarkably bright, and the lettering is a fine specimen of the penman's art. It bears the title, "Plan of Quebec, showing the present state of the works of Defence, distinguishing those which are complete and what are in progress, with the military works and buildings that have been ordered, 18th March, 1816."

On this plan we find that the works beyond the present line, which have been hitherto regarded as of French origin, were partly dismantled. The reservoirs were removed, and the only building was the advanced blockhouse.

Within the Citadel proper, the following works are described :—

1. Telegraph (on Cape Diamond) ;
2. Stone Powder Magazine ;
3. Fire Proof Ordnance Stores ;
4. Cape Diamond Bastion ;
5. Glacière Bastion and Barracks ;
6. Shot Yard ;
7. Wooden Ordnance Sheds ;
8. Temporary Officers' Barracks (of wood) ;
9. Casemated Barracks and Cavalier ;
10. Temporary Barracks ;
11. King's Cavalier ;
12. Another Powder Magazine ;
- 13.





The Colaba.

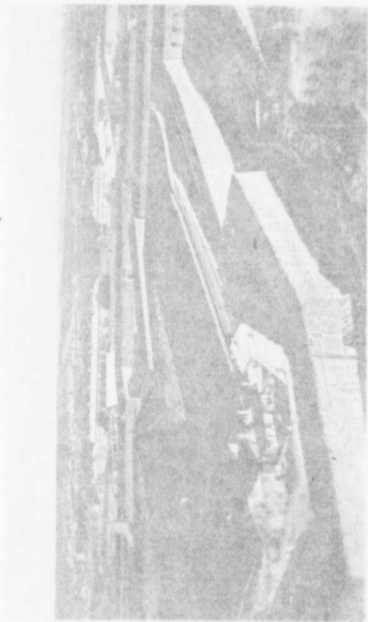
THE FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC

St. Louis Bastion with Bomb Proof Barracks, Guard House and Cook House ; 14. Wooden Ordnance Stores and Sheds ; 15. Wheeler's Shop ; 16. Provision Stores ; 17. Large Temporary Powder Magazine ; 18. Telegraph and Flag Staff ; 19. Powder Magazine.

The large temporary Powder Magazine occupied the site of the Governor-General's Quarters. This plan is very detailed, and the names of all Public Buildings in every part of the city are given. Amongst the works described on this plan are the Powder Magazine and the Cistern on the Esplanade, and a Powder Magazine at St. John's Gate. Two Guard Houses, and a Cooking House are shown in the course of construction near the Jesuit's Barracks.

These works served until the construction of the magnificent Citadel, in 1823, carried out on the basis of the plans of Holland and Twiss, by Lieut.-Col. Durnford, with additions by Colonel Mann, the main parts of which are to be seen to-day, and require no further description.

V. In 1823 the first and last great permanent scheme was taken in hand and carried out during the next nine years to what was considered a satisfactory conclusion. The total cost was \$35,000,000.00. All the existing fortifications date from these years and nothing material has been added since. The chief changes have taken place in the gates, most of which have disappeared altogether, and others have been rebuilt in ornamental forms. Hope Gate was first built in 1786. It was altered in 1823-32, and strength-



The School

THE FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC

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QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

ened outward in 1840. It was finally demolished in 1874.

St. John's Gate was first built under Frontenac ; removed by de Léry in 1720 ; rebuilt in 1791 and again in 1867 ; and demolished in 1898.

St. Louis Gate was built under Frontenac, appearing first in his plan of 1693. It was rebuilt in 1721 ; altered in 1783 ; again rebuilt in the scheme of 1823-32, and replaced by the present arch in 1873.

Prescott Gate was built in 1797, rebuilt in 1823 ; and demolished in 1871.

Palace Gate, first built under Frontenac, was restored in 1720 and again in 1790. It was rebuilt in 1823-32 in imitation of the Nola and Herculaneum Gates of Pompeii. It was demolished in 1864.

Kent Gate was built in 1879, Her Majesty Queen Victoria contributing to the cost, in memory of Her father, the Duke of Kent after whom it was named.

Chain Gate, forms a part of the works undertaken in 1823-32, and protects the road to the citadel, known as Citadel Hill.

Dalhousie Gate, which forms the entrance to the Citadel, was erected in 1827, during the administration of Lord Dalhousie.

VI. When the progress of military science had shown that distant and detached fortifications would be required, a new scheme was formulated for the defence of Quebec and three forts on the Levis heights were erected between 1865 and 1871. The scheme never resulted in anything further. These forts have never

THE FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC

been manned nor armed ; but they are still in fairly good order and capable of service in case of necessity.

Since then there have been various other schemes mooted ; but, as none of them have ever resulted in any tangible form, our survey of the fortifications of Quebec must close here.

We must once more remind the reader that there are no old French works of any kind now in existence, and that the works on the west face of Cape Diamond were of purely British origin ; appearing first in the temporary scheme of 1783 and disappearing again in the permanent plan of 1823.

It is impossible either to look back on this long and stirring history, or to look forward to the heritage of Quebec in future generations, without entering a strong protest against any scheme for throwing down the walls, or any portion of them.

It is true that they are not so very old and that they lack the historic charm of containing at least some remains of the old French works. But, on the other hand, they are most interesting in themselves, and doubly so because they still mark the lines followed by those which existed in the days of Wolfe and Montcalm. Moreover, they have the priceless advantage of making Quebec absolutely unique among all the cities of America. It may be that if Quebec were to lose all claim to being the one walled city of the western world, she might still remain a queen among her sister cities. For her superb, unchallengeable throne was founded in strength and set here in beauty by

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Nature ages long ago. But it was Man who came and crowned her. And where the works of Nature and of Man have so perfectly combined in one befitting glory, it would surely be an abject desecration to discrown her now. For let it be clearly understood that the true disgrace of any such schemes lies in their very wantonness. Of course necessity knows no law ; and of course everything must accommodate itself to its surroundings in the struggle for existence, or die out. We all know that. And of course if war should ever require the destruction of the present walls ; then they must be destroyed. And, equally of course, if peaceful traffic should ever really require it, then they must disappear just the same. But, as a matter of certain fact, neither war nor peace require any such sacrifice at all. Modern defences would be far away from the city ; and the walls around it could not do any harm, and might conceivably do good. And, as for peaceful every day traffic, it already has all the natural outlets that it requires, and can pass freely to and fro at will, without let or hinderance, inwards or out. Indeed it may be truly said, that the walls are now no more of a material barrier to traffic to-day than their memory would be should they be wantonly thrown down to-morrow. But the greatest plea in their favour is that they are the living symbol of a glorious past, in which the honours of war were equally divided between French and English, and for the living monument of which, therefore, French and English alike should stand united. The waterfront is the same from which

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Colombus Hill

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

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1909

Escondido, Cal.



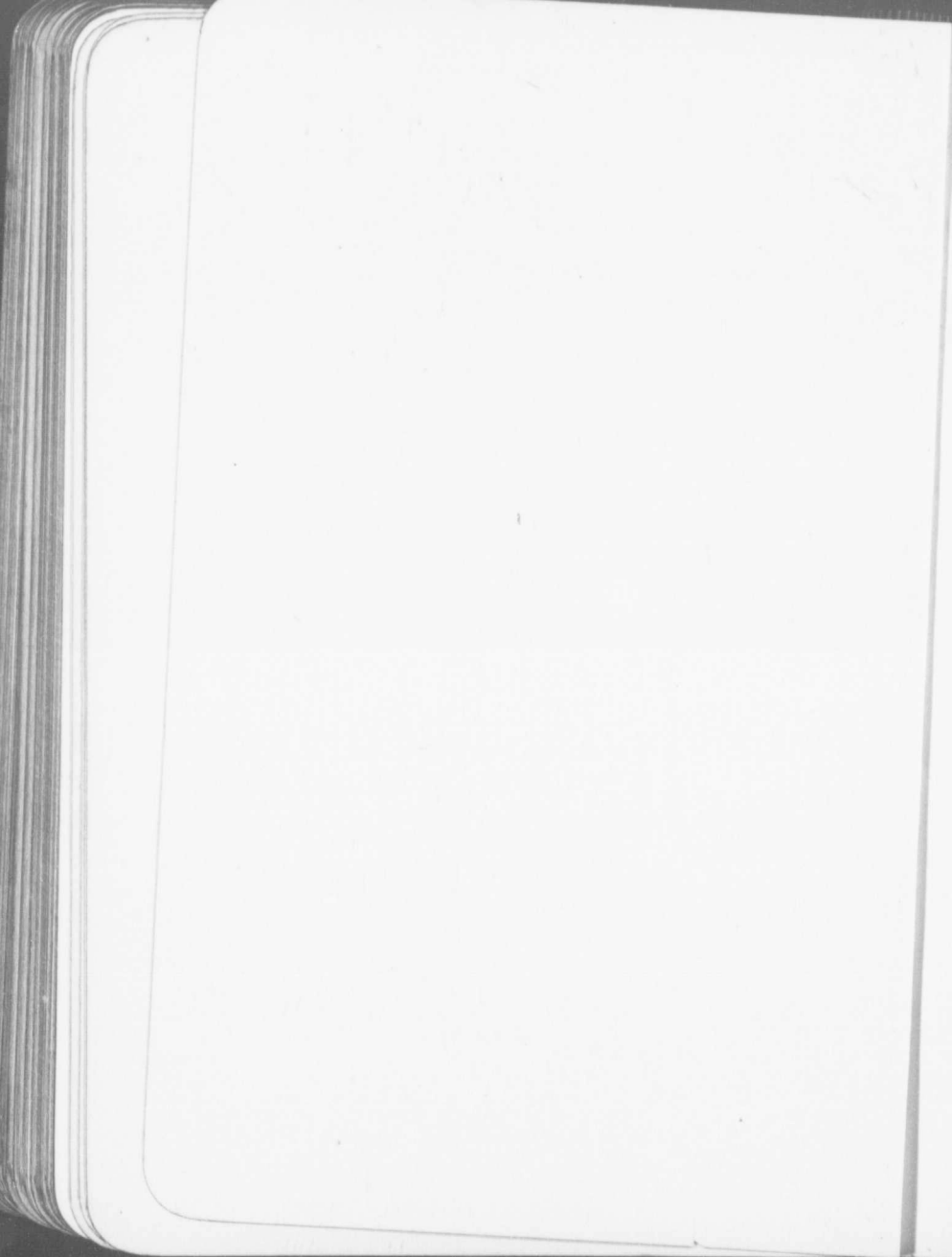
THE FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC

Frontenac hurled steadfast defiance at the discomfited fleet and army of England ; and the landward face follows the same line of defence which stood there when the two greatest masters of the art of war ever seen in Canada fought for the dominion of a continent — the profound and aspiring Wolfe, and the equally great, though unfortunate, Montcalm.

And so these present walls really stand as a link between the twin honours of two gallant races, as well as what should be a perpetual link between present, past and future.

And their own mute appeal is more eloquent of all living honour than all the vain words that might record them after they had disappeared for ever.









J. L. Hyatt

The Golden Dog

CHAPTER VII

1735

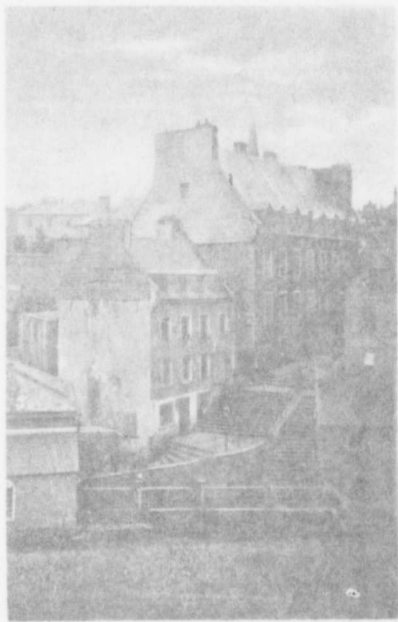
LE CHIEN DVOR

HISTORY AND ROMANCE—LOCAL HISTORIANS—
HAWKINS AND LEMOINE—KIRBY'S "GOLDEN
DOG"—DEATH OF PHILIBERT BY THE HAND OF
REPENTIGNY—NOT IN THE DAYS OF THE
INTENDANT BIGOT—THE TRUE STORY OF THE
DEATH OF PHILIBERT—JUDGMENT AGAINST
PHILIBERT—EXECUTION IN EFFIGY

NEARLY every visitor to Quebec desires to see the old stone inserted 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 VENU
QVE JE MORDEYAY QVI M'AVRA MORU

The dog, the bone, the inscription and the house, have given rise to many conjectures. In the absence of any satisfactory solution, the imagination has been pressed into service, and as the result, we have in the pages of history and of fiction, more than one interesting story founded thereupon.



The Golden Dog

CHAPTER VII

—
1735
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LE CHIEN D'OR

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QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

The stone, we may reasonably suppose, was first placed in position in the year 1735, over the entrance of the house built and owned by Nicolas Jacquin Philibert, a merchant of Quebec. A tragedy occurred in connection with the house, resulting in the death of Philibert by the hand of Pierre Le Gardeur de Repentigny.

Twenty-three years after the stone was placed in its position, the people of Quebec do not appear to have been able to invent a romance concerning the house, or to recall any facts relating to the golden dog. Captain Knox, who lived in Quebec for some time after the battle of the Plains of Abraham, in 1759, in referring to the inscription over the entrance to the house built by Philibert, says :—

“ The true meaning of this devise I never could learn, though I made all possible inquiries, without being gratified with the least information respecting its allusion.”

Distance lends enchantment, and in the course of time picturesque details were forthcoming in abundance.

It became necessary to link the facts with the name of some important individual, in order to give colour to the stories that were invented. The early writers were content with the modest name of Michel Bégon, Intendant of New France from 1712 to 1726.

Hawkins, nearly always inaccurate both as to circumstances and dates, says in “ Picture of Quebec,” page 258. published in 1834 :—

LE CHIEN D'OR

“ Freemason's Hall. This building is immediately
“ opposite to the General Post Office, situated in Buade
“ Street, near the steps leading through Prescott Gate,
“ to the Lower Town. The house formerly had an
“ uninterrupted view in front as far as the wall of the
“ Seminary, the buildings which now intervene being
“ of modern date. It is remarkable in the local history
“ of the city, for a representation in stone over the
“ entrance from Buade street, of a dog gnawing a bone,
“ with an inscription in French. This having been
“ always gilt, has acquired the name of Le Chien
“ d'Or; and the following explanation has been handed
“ down to the present day :—Mr. Philibert, who resided
“ in the house, was a merchant of high distinction
“ during the time when Mr. Bégon, whom we have
“ mentioned above, was Intendant of New France.
“ The latter had formerly been a merchant of Bordeaux,
“ and came to Quebec in 1712. Differences occurred
“ between him and Mr. Philibert, over whom superior
“ interest and power gave Mr. Bégon every advantage.
“ Unable to obtain redress for his injuries, real or
“ supposed, Mr. Philibert bitterly, although covertly,
“ expressed his sentiments under the image of the
“ Chien d'Or, to which he added the following inscrip-
“ tion in old French :

JE SUIS UN CHIEN, ETC.

“ Bégon determined on revenge, and M. Philibert
“ descending the Lower Town Hill, received the sword
“ of M. de R., a French officer of the garrison,
“ through his body. The perpetrator of this murder
“ made his escape and left the Province; but the crime
“ was too atrocious to be forgiven. The brother of
“ M. Philibert came to Quebec to settle the estate,
“ with a full determination of taking vengeance on
“ the assassin. So determined was he to execute this

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“ part of his mission, that having ascertained that M. de
“ R. had gone to the East Indies, he pursued
“ him thither. They met in a street of Pondicherry,
“ engaged on the spot — and the assassin fell mortally
“ wounded under the sword of the avenger. The
“ Chien d’Or remains to perpetuate this tale of blood-
“ shed and retribution.”

Twenty-four years after the appearance of Mr. Hawkins’ work another version of the story was given in “Reminiscences of Quebec derived from reliable sources” published in Quebec in 1859. The author discards Mr. Bégon, and transfers the scene to the days of the Intendant Bigot.

“ Passing towards the Lower Town, a large
“ building, occupied as a Post Office, will be observed ;
“ over one of the windows, formerly the main entrance,
“ is a Gold Dog ; the following curious history attaches
“ to this Dog ;

“ The house was built by Mr. Philibert, a mer-
“ chant residing in Quebec, in the time of Mr. Bigot,
“ the last Intendant under the French Government,
“ and whose drafts upon the Treasury, for the expenses
“ of this country were so enormous that one of the
“ queens of that kingdom archly enquired “ whether
“ the walls of Quebec were built of gold.” But to
“ return to the chien d’or, M. Philibert and the
“ Intendant were on bad terms, but under the system
“ then existing, the merchant knew that it was in
“ vain for him to seek redress in the colony, and
“ determining at some future period to prefer his com-
“ plaint in France, he contented himself with placing
“ the figure of a sleeping dog in front of his house,
“ with the following lines beneath it, in allusion to his
“ situation with his powerful enemy ;

LE CHIEN D'OR

JE SVIS VN CHIEN QVI RONGE L'OS
EN LE RONGEANT JE PREND MON REPOS
VN TEMS VIENDRA QVI N'EST PAS VENU
QVE JE MORDRAI QVI M'AVRA MORDU

“ This allegorical language was however too plain for Mr. Bigot to misunderstand it. A man so powerful easily found an instrument to avenge insult, and Mr. Philibert received, as a reward for his verse, the sword of an officer of the garrison through his back, when descending the Lower Town hill. The murderer was permitted to leave the colony unmolested, and was transferred to a regiment stationed in the East Indies. Thither he was pursued by the brother of the deceased, who had first sought him in Canada, when he arrived here to settle his brothers affairs. The parties, it is related, met in the public street of Pondicherry, drew their swords, and after a severe conflict, the assassin met with a more honourable fate than his crime deserved, and died by the hand of his antagonist.”

Sir James LeMoine gives us several versions. The first that we notice is in “Maple Leaves,” published in 1863. In this volume Sir James condenses the account of Soulard, and incorporates the criticism of Mr. Viger.

In “Maple Leaves,” published in 1873, Sir James gives many particulars about the house owned by Philibert, concerning which we need not write, as the deeds of the property are published herewith. On page 91 we find this passage :

“ The romance, as composed by Auguste Soulard, esquire, and published in the Répertoire National, was a graceful and fanciful effusion. This witty Barrister cut off so prematurely in the heyday of his

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“ success, especially as a littérateur, still lives agreeably in the memory of his confrères. There are few unacquainted with his novelette, whilst his critic, Mr. Jacques Viger, has exhibited remarkable acumen and a deep acquaintance with dates : the only point worthy of remark, is that the grave critic appears to have taken the novel for history and criticised it accordingly. We shall merely give the conclusion :

“ Nicolas Jacquin Philibert was a Quebec merchant, somehow or other he had incurred the displeasure of the Intendant Bigot, perhaps for refusing to aid him in his speculations and extortions. The Intendant, in order to annoy Philibert, had billeted troops on him, and ordered a French Lieutenant by name Pierre Legardeur, Sieur de Repentigny, to quarter on the Quebec merchant. This incensed Mr. Philibert very much, and when the Lieutenant attempted to enter the house with the order, Philibert objected, saying that he would have the order recalled, to which de Repentigny replied : “ You are a fool.” A blow from a walking stick was the answer. The officer then drew his sword, and inflicted on his opponent a wound of which he died on the 21st January, 1748. The deadly thrust is supposed to have been given on the very steps of the Chien d'Or building, which he occupied. De Repentigny, in order to elude a criminal prosecution escaped from Quebec, and retired to Nova Scotia, then called Acadie, where he applied to Louis XV for his pardon. Letters of reprieve and pardon were sent out from Paris, and de Repentigny returned to Quebec with these letters, in order to meet any opposition which the widow Philibert might urge, when he should apply to the Superior Council of the colony to have them registered. Mrs. Philibert having been

“ indemnified by pecuniary compensation for the loss
 “ of her husband did not oppose de Repentigny's let-
 “ ters of indemnity. The French Lieutenant remained
 “ in the colony, and had been promoted to a captaincy
 “ in 1760, at the time when he was serving under the
 “ Chevalier de Levis. Everything seemed to presage
 “ to de Repentigny's forgetfulness of the past, and a
 “ promising future ; everyone seemed to have forgot-
 “ ten Philibert's untimely end, and how the family's
 “ respected chief had been cut off in the prime of man-
 “ hood, and its prospects blighted forever by the
 “ dastardly act of one of the Intendant's minions.
 “ All seemed to have forgotten these facts ; all, save
 “ one person, and this was a young man who had just
 “ seen twenty three summers ; his name was Pierre
 “ Nicholas Philibert. Severe in his demeanour, studi-
 “ ous and reserved in his habits, young Philibert had
 “ grown up to manhood, the chief support and con-
 “ solation of his widowed mother. At times several
 “ had remarked on his austere but beautiful face, a
 “ sombre expression, which would immediately melt
 “ into a subdued sadness, the real cause of which few
 “ seemed to suspect. Beloved, as he certainly was by
 “ all who knew him, it was a mournful day for the
 “ forlorn widow, when followed by some friends she
 “ escorted her eldest son to the lower town wharf, on
 “ his way to France to obtain a commission in the
 “ army. Whether he succeeded or not does not appear.

“ Ten months after his departure, Madame Phil-
 “ bert one morning, received a letter ; it came from
 “ Europe. On breaking the seal, the first words which
 “ met her eye were as follows :—

“ ‘ My dearest mother, We are avenged ; my father's
 “ ‘ murderer is no more.’ The two had met at Pon-
 “ dicherry, in the East Indies. De Repentigny had

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“ fallen under the sword wound which young Philibert
“ had inflicted upon him in a duel.”

To this, Sir James adds :—

“ In Hawkin's ' Historical Picture of Quebec,'
“ published in 1834, occurs a plausible explanation of
“ the enigmatical verses inscribed on the *basso-relievo*
“ of the Chien d'Or. Mr. Bégon, Intendant in New
“ France, formerly a merchant in Bordeaux, had
“ arrived in Quebec in 1712. (1) Philibert quarrelled
“ with him touching some claims he had preferred
“ against the Government. Failing to make them
“ good, Philibert caused the following words to be
“ engraved over the front of his residence, beneath the
“ likeness of a dog gnawing a bone..... It seems
“ impossible to unearth the truth, from under these
“ old traditions. Here rests a store most ample of
“ materials for the novelist. Time lends to legendary
“ lore, a most fragrant aroma, spreads flowers over
“ tombs and gleams of poetry over common place
“ things long since forgotten. Alexandre Dumas,
“ who weaved a beautiful romance about the Tower of
“ Nesle, could have found here the ground work for
“ an exciting tale, wherein that war-like period—the
“ eighteenth century—with its dark deeds of blood
“ and revenge, would have stood out in bold relief.
“ If, on one hand, Philibert is a victim which moves
“ us to pity ; on the other, it seems incomprehensible
“ that de Repentigny should have drawn his sword
“ about such an insignificant quarrel. Was it merely
“ an ordinary instance of soldier-like brutality ? Was
“ it a deed of personal revenge, or else, was de Repen-

(1) It may be mentioned here that at the time of the arrival of Bégon, Philibert was only 11 years of age, so that he must have commenced business in infancy !

“ tigny merely the instrument, the sycophant of a
“ mightier man? Whatever we choose to suppose,
“ that drop of blood lights up with sinister glare, the
“ gloom of years which overshadows the old structure.
“ So much for romance.”

The answers to the questions raised by Sir James in this quotation, concerning the death of Philibert, may be found in the official records, published in the appendix.

We will now briefly examine the work which has made the old house so familiar to the public. “ The Golden Dog,” by Mr. Kirby. This book contains a very interesting romance, and if Mr. Kirby had presented it to his readers simply as a work of fiction, we should not feel called upon to pass any remarks upon it. Mr. Kirby, however, makes other claims for his work. In the preface to the last revised edition, 1897, he says :

“ The result is the present edition, which I have corrected and revised in the light of the latest developments in the history of Quebec.”

This statement is very misleading, because the main features of the work have no foundation in fact.

Before producing the proof in support of our assertion, it is necessary to briefly describe the manner in which Mr. Kirby links the names of Philibert and Repentigny with Bigot and the golden dog.

We have already seen that the earlier writers on this subject found it convenient to represent this miserable, hungry looking dog as a cause of offence to someone, but they appeared to be unable to determine

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with any certainty, who the offended person should be. One suggested Bégon, and another Bigot. Mr. Kirby, however, as he desired to be accurate, seized upon Bigot, as a man with whose character the imagination could safely run riot. It mattered not whether Bigot was Intendant of New France at the time, or whether his victim had been dead and buried long before the appointment of the last Intendant of New France. Bigot was the man, and at any sacrifice he must be made to take offence at this rude simulacrum of an ill-fed dog. The dog, moreover, was an offensive, vindictive dog, who could afford to wait for a time "qui n'est pas venu."

According to the story, Bigot looked at the dog, and that look was sufficient to bring on the stage a series of extraordinary complications, very interesting as fiction, but very disappointing when compared with the more sombre facts of history.

On page 157 of "The Golden Dog" we find this passage:—

"I trembled at Bigot in the old land! I tremble at him here, where he is more powerful than before. I saw him passing one day. He stopped to read the inscription of the Golden Dog. His face was the face of a fiend, as he rode hastily away. He knew well how to interpret it."

From that moment, the fate of Philibert was sealed. It is not necessary for our purpose, to follow step by step the intrigue and debauchery by which, in the story, Bigot accomplished his end, and caused the death of Philibert.

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On a certain St. Martin's Day, Nov. 11, the honest Philibert, as Mr. Kirby describes him, dressed himself with great care to attend the market, and paid no heed to his faithful servant, who warned him that evil would overtake him. Philibert was determined, and taking his sword with him he proceeded to the market. While there, Le Gardeur de Repentigny was seen "very drunk and wild with anger, in the act of leaping off his horse with oaths of vengeance against someone" "Le Gardeur and De Lantagnac rode furiously through the market, heedless of what they encountered or whom they ran over, and were followed by a yell of indignation from the people, who recognized them as gentlemen of the Grand Company. It chanced that at the moment a poor almsman of the Bourgeois Philibert was humbly and quietly leaning on his crutches, listening with bowing head and smiling lips to the kind inquiries of his benefactor as he received his accustomed alms" "The Bourgeois saw them approach, and motioned them to stop, but in vain. The horse of De Lantagnac just swerved in its course, and without checking his speed ran over the crippled man, who instantly rolled in the dust, his face streaming with blood, from a sharp stroke of the horse's shoe upon his forehead." Then followed Le Gardeur "yelling like a demon," and the attempts of the Bourgeois to protect the poor cripple. "Le Gardeur spurred his horse madly over the wounded man who lay upon the ground; but he did not hear him, he did not see him. Let this be said for Le Gardeur, if aught can be said in his defence, he did not see him."

The Bourgeois checked Le Gardeur in his mad course, while those who were around watched eagerly for the fight which they were sure would follow. Le Gardeur jumped from his horse and attacked the

Bourgeois, but was prevented from doing much mischief by some of Philibert's friends. At this moment Angélique appeared. "With a plunge of her horse she forced her way close to Le Gardeur, and, leaning over him, laid her hand upon his shoulder and exclaimed in a voice choking with passion—"What, Le Gardeur, you allow a ruffian like that to load you with blows, and you wear a sword!"

"It was enough. That look, that word, would have made LeGardeur slaughter his father at that moment.

"Astonished at the sight of Angélique, and maddened by her words, as much as by the blow he had received, LeGardeur swore he would be revenged upon the spot. With a wild cry, and with the strength and agility of the panther he twisted himself out of the grasp of the habitants, and drawing his sword, before any man could stop him, thrust it to the hilt through the body of the Bourgeois, who not expecting this sudden assault, had not put himself in an attitude of defense to meet it. The Bourgeois fell dying by the side of the bleeding man who had just received his alms, and in whose protection he had thus risked and lost his own life."

So much for the death of Philibert. Mr. Kirby then deals with Repentigny, representing him as asking some one to bind him, but no one would undertake the task. Then we find that the court decided to send him to France by the *Fleur-de-lys* in order that the King might judge his offence, and later we learn that he was a prisoner in the Bastile. "LeGardeur, after a long confinement in the Bastile, where he incessantly demanded trial and punishment for his rank offence of

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murder, as he ever called it, was at last liberated by express command of the King, without trial, and against his own wishes."

It would require more space than is at our disposal at the present to examine in detail the work of Mr. Kirby, but the passages which we have quoted are a sufficient illustration of the circumstances concerning three individuals mentioned in the book, which Mr. Kirby asks his readers to accept as being in accordance with the history of Quebec.

We now produce proof of the contrary. Unfortunately, for our purpose, the documents relating to Philibert, Repentigny, Bigot, and the Chien d'Or, are very voluminous, and in the present work we can only publish a selection, which, however, will be found quite sufficient to support our assertion, that the romance woven around the names of Bigot, Repentigny and Philibert, by Mr. Kirby, is entirely without foundation in fact.

Philibert was wounded by Repentigny in the house of a woman named La Palme, on the 20th of January, 1748, and he died from the effect of this wound, in his own house, at about ten o'clock on the evening of the 21st of January. Repentigny was tried, condemned, and his sentence was executed on the 20th day of March, 1748, in the Lower Town. Bigot was not appointed Intendant of New France until the 2nd of September, 1748, and therefore all Mr. Kirby's interesting events which are coupled with the name of the Intendant, are without foundation.

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The death of Philibert occurred at the time that Hocquart was Intendant of New France, and Philibert, instead of being an independent merchant, as Mr. Kirby claims, was an army contractor, filling the rôle in a smaller capacity, that was filled by the notorious Cadet, under the régime of Bigot.

Hocquart, according to the testimony of Montcalm and others, was a very honest man, who made no profit out of his position as Intendant, while the integrity of Philibert was, perhaps, questionable. The circumstances of the death of Philibert, gathered from the evidence of the six witnesses at the trial,—Bouchard ; Demeulle, a cooper ; Pierre Voyer ; Joseph Delorme ; Dumont ; Mrs. Dumont, and the evidence of the surgeons, are, briefly, these :

On the 19th or 20th of January, 1748, Pierre Le Gardeur Repentigny, who for some time had lived in the house of a Miss or Mrs. LaPalme, paying her six francs per month for his room, (1) received an order to take up his lodging with Nicolas Jacquin Philibert, merchant and army contractor. On receiving notice of this order, Philibert proceeded to the house of La Palme, and endeavoured to persuade her to continue to give lodging to Repentigny ; but being unable to agree with her as to the price which she asked for such lodging, ten francs per month, Philibert declared that he would have the order changed. This remark was

(1) From the records in civil cases it would appear that La Palme's was a boarding house. Repentigny was living there in 1747.

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made within the hearing of Repentigny, who thereupon told Philibert that he was a simpleton to try to have the order changed as he would not be inconvenienced by the lodging which he was required to give. Philibert, naturally of a hasty temper, became violent and used very gross and insulting language, and finally struck Repentigny with a stick, This was more than the officer could stand, and without premeditation, he drew his sword and inflicted a wound upon Philibert, from which he died on the evening of the 21st.

On the 20th, Philibert took a criminal action against Repentigny, who in the meantime had been advised to proceed to Montreal. On the 21st of January Philibert died, after having forgiven his assailant. A warrant was immediately issued for the arrest of Repentigny. Early on the morning of the 22nd the Comptroller of Marine, Foucault, made a report to the Intendant Hocquart, requesting that the goods of Philibert should be seized and placed under seal, until such time as his indebtedness to the Government was ascertained. This order was granted and Philibert's goods were seized, and an inventory made.

On the 22nd of January, at the request of the widow, and of the Procurer, an order was given for an autopsy to be performed on the body of Philibert, to ascertain the nature of the wound. The autopsy was made in the presence of the surgeon Beaudoin, by the surgeon Briant. Philibert was buried on the 25th of January in the parish Church in the presence of a large number of people.

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Repentigny did not appear in answer to the warrant within the prescribed delays, and on the twenty first day of February the trial proceeded, and a copy of the proceedings, wherein the widow claimed the sum of thirty thousand livres damages, was ordered to be served upon Repentigny at his last domicile, in Quebec.

Final judgment was rendered on the 20th day of March, 1748. By this judgment Repentigny was declared guilty of causing the death of Philibert, and he was condemned to pay 8,000 livres damages with interest, to the widow Philibert, and the cost of the proceedings, 2,000 livres, while the balance of his property was declared confiscated. And, in reparation, in view of his quality as a gentleman, he was condemned to have his head cut off on a scaffold to be erected for the purpose in the public square of the Lower Town.

This sentence is, at first sight, startling, but its terror is considerably modified by the concluding words of the judgment, " And the present sentence shall be " executed in effigy on a picture to be placed for the " purpose on a pole in the public square."

The King's Procurer demanded the execution of the judgment, and there is a certificate attached to the original document setting forth that it was duly executed on the same day. While all these proceedings were going on, Repentigny was at Fort Frederic, and in the course of time various persons began to intercede for his pardon, as they considered him more unfortunate than culpable.

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On the 17th of August, 1748, La Galissonnière, the Governor, and Hocquart, the Intendant, transmitted a copy of all the proceedings to the Minister in France, and recommended a pardon for Repentigny.

On the 1st of September, Repentigny himself sent a petition to the King asking for letters of grace, and his petition was supported by a letter from the Bishop of Quebec, dated the sixth of September.

In the month of April, 1749, the King signed letters of grace, pardon and remission, which were sent to Quebec. On the eighth day of September, Repentigny gave himself up to justice, and was imprisoned in the common gaol of Quebec.

Notice of the letters was served upon the widow Philibert, and on the second day of October, Repentigny, bareheaded and upon his knees, witnessed the registration of the letters of grace in the records of the Superior Council, to which Mrs. Philibert offered no objection. After the registration of these letters, Jonquière wrote to the Minister to the effect that the widow and children had represented to him that if Repentigny remained in the colony, they would have the unpleasantness of seeing the author of the death of the merchant. The Governor suggested that Repentigny could serve in Martinique or in Louisbourg, but, pending the decision of the King, he would be stationed at Montreal. Repentigny served for some time in Montreal, and, in 1759, he was promoted. At length, Repentigny returned to France and gradually rose in rank until he became a Brigadier General. In

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the course of time he was appointed Governor of Mahé, where he died of natural causes in the year 1776, twenty-eight years after the death of Philibert.

Sir James LeMoine, and other writers have claimed that Repentigny was at the siege of Quebec, but this is not correct. The numerous documents in the possession of Mr. Pierre Georges Roy, of Lévis, which have been placed at our disposal, and the correspondence of descendants of the family, prove that it was a member of another branch who served in the campaigns of 1756-1760.

It will be seen from this short sketch, and from the documents published in the appendix, that Mr. Kirby's story is completely at variance with facts, and that as a historical novel, which he claims it to be, it is absolutely unreliable. The Colonel Philibert, who plays such an important part in the story was, at the death of his father, aged just 10 years and eight months. In a future publication regarding the Chien d'Or and the Chateau Bigot, we will be able to show other instances of pure fiction which are presented to us as history.

The meaning of the inscription is still unsolved. The miserable, hungry-looking dog is content to gnaw his bone, and is still waiting for the time "qui n'est pas venu." Some of the fiction, however, has been swept away, which we were invited to accept as truth, and perhaps in the future, when the time of the dog is ripe, some one may find an explanation of the dog, the bone and the inscription, which have given rise to so many interesting stories.

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The documents numbered 2, 3, 14, 15, published in the appendix, have kindly been placed at our disposal by Mr. Philéas Gagnon, whose services we have so often had occasion to acknowledge. The other papers, numbered 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 are to be found in the archives of the Province and in Ottawa.

We are indebted to Major Crawford Lindsay, official translator of the Province of Quebec, for the translation of the documents, published at the end of this book.









PLACE D'ARMES, QUEBEC - 1832

CHAPTER VIII

1760-1812

QUEBEC UNDER BRITISH RULE

GENERAL MURRAY — THE TREATY OF PARIS — THE COUNCIL — SIR GUY CARLETON — ATTITUDE OF THE CANADIANS — MONTGOMERY — HIS ATTACK AND UNFORTUNATE END — HALDIMAND — A TEMPORARY CITADEL — LORD DORCHESTER — ELECTION OF SPEAKER — A QUESTION OF LANGUAGE — NEWSPAPER WARFARE — BEDARD AND TASCHEREAU — CRAIG'S ADMINISTRATION.

Immediately after the capitulation in 1760, military rule was established in Quebec, pending the result of the negotiations between England and France. The first two years appear to have been comparatively happy ones for the people of the city, under the régime of General Murray; but in the course of time discord arose between the old and the new inhabitants, and for the next quarter of a century the official correspondence is burdened with complaints, and with suggestions for improving the condition of affairs.



PLACE D'ARMES, QUEBEC - 1837

CHAPTER VIII

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The Treaty of Paris, signed on the 10th day of February, 1763, gave to England supremacy in Canada. Under this agreement the inhabitants were allowed the freedom of their religion, "in so far as the laws of Great Britain can permit." This clause has been interpreted by eminent English statesmen to concede to the colonies the free exercise of the Catholic religion. The spirit of toleration manifested by the British Government at this time, was far in advance of the age, for it is only within recent years that Catholics in England have enjoyed the same privileges as Canadians. The Protestants of Quebec, viewed with alarm the concessions made to their one-time foes, and there is no doubt that the triumph of the Catholic Church in Canada, gave rise to much of the ill will which prevailed for a long time between the two races. In this age, when there is no question of religious freedom to disturb the minds of the people, it is difficult to understand how deep was the gulf which separated the Catholic from the Protestant more than a hundred years ago.

General Murray, the third Brigadier under General Wolfe in 1759, was appointed Governor in 1764. He had played an important part at the Battle of the Plains, and he it was who led the British troops when they suffered defeat in 1760.

Murray remained in the country, and had become thoroughly acquainted with the people and with the needs of the colony. In his report to the King, made in June, 1762, he gave the general and staff officers of Quebec at that time, as follows :

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The Honourable James Murray, Esq., Governor.

The Honourable Lieut.-Col. Maitland, D.A.C.

Governor Murray's leave to the Southern Colonies.

Lieut.-Col. Irving, Quarter-Master General.

Hector Theo. Cramahé, Secretary to the Governor.

Lieut. Mills, Town Adjutant.

Captain Malone, Barrack Master.

Captain Cosnan, Town Major.

Governor Murray's leave to England for the recovery of his health.

Zachariah Thompson, Captain of Ports.

Engineers:

Captain Lieut. Spry, }
Lieut. Montrésor, } Established.

Captain Holland, Assistant.

Officers of His Majesty's Hospital:

Mr. Francis Russell, Chief Surgeon.

Mr. Field, }
Mr. Mabane, } Mates.

Mr. Zachariah Filtner, Provost Marshal.

Benjamin Gable, Hangman.

In speaking of the first winter in Quebec under British rule, Murray said :

“ I can with the greatest truth, assert, that the
“ troops have lived with the inhabitants in a harmony
“ unexampled even at home. I must here, in justice
“ to those under my command in this Government,
“ observe to your Lordship, that in the winter which
“ immediately followed the reduction of this Province,
“ when from the calamities of war, and a bad harvest,

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“ the inhabitants of these lower parts were exposed to
“ the horrors of a famine, the officers of every rank,
“ even in the lowest, generously contributed towards
“ alleviating the distress of the unfortunate Canadians,
“ by a large subscription ; the British merchants, and
“ traders readily and cheerfully assisted in this good
“ work, even the poor soldiers threw in their mite,
“ and gave a day's provisions, or a day's pay in the
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Murray's first important act as Governor, was to choose a Council in whom the executive, legislative and judicial powers could be vested. The Council was composed of the Lieutenant-Governors of Montreal and Three Rivers, the Chief Justice and the Inspector of Customs, and of eight of the most prominent inhabitants.

The Governor was judicious in his dealings with the French-Canadians, and he endeavoured to make them feel that under the new régime they would enjoy a measure of liberty greater than under the old. Murray appears to have been supported in this policy by many of the English, but there were some who bitterly resented the tolerance of the Governor, and at length their complaints were carried to England. The British Govern-



Grey Carlton

1814

QURBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

“ the inhabitants of these lower parts were exposed to
“ the horrors of a famine, the officers of every rank,
“ even in the lowest, generously contributed towards
“ alleviating the distress of the unfortunate Canadians,
“ by a large subscription ; the British merchants, and
“ traders readily and cheerfully assisted in this good
“ work, even the poor soldiers threw in their mite,
“ and gave a day's provisions, or a day's pay in the
“ month, toward's the fund ; by this means a quantity
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Grey Carlton

J. H. P. 1811

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QUEBEC UNDER BRITISH RULE

ment, if it realised the situation, found it difficult to apply a remedy that would reconcile the two opposing classes. New laws were proposed and enacted, but little relief was derived therefrom. The process of reconciliation was to be worked out slowly, with very little aid from legislation.

A new Council was authorized, to be composed of not less than eight, and not more than twenty members, and a tax was imposed to provide for the administration of the colony. Murray had great faith in the future of Quebec and always worked for its development. During his term of office, the buildings were restored which had been ruined by the British batteries in 1759.

Sir Guy Carleton, who had been knighted for his services under Wolfe, succeeded Murray in 1766. Like his predecessor, he was favourably disposed towards the French population, and persistently defended their rights in the face of opposition, both at home and abroad. The correspondence of Carleton is worthy of a careful study. He appears to have been almost alone in understanding the real position of the people. England had conceded certain rights to the Canadians, and had admitted them to her family. They were in the majority, and consequently to a certain extent the English, under the Constitution, were subject to what they considered a foreign yoke. This condition was irritating to the dominant spirit of the English who, not unnaturally, regarded the country as theirs by the right of acquisition.

The position was a peculiar one, but much of the

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

trouble which for so many years retarded the real progress of the country, might have been avoided at the commencement, by a determination on both sides to assert their rights in a friendly manner. Each side, however, was in a measure aggressive. So much of what is best in the lives of individuals and of nations, is the outcome of corrected mistakes. Here and there we find an individual who has sounded a note of warning which we ultimately acknowledge to have been just and true, but at the moment it was disregarded. Carleton, in upholding the rights of the Canadians, was simply upholding the honour of England, whose Ministers had yet to realise the import of the concessions which had been made to the people of New France. The Canadians were impatient, and did not understand that the absolute freedom which they were one day to enjoy, could not be accomplished in a moment, and their eagerness for emancipation oft times injured the cause which they desired to help forward.

It was through Carleton's efforts that the Test Oath was abolished in 1774. The manly stand taken by the Governor on this question endeared him to the Canadians, and his memory is cherished in Quebec even to this day.

The administrative ability of a Governor in those days was often severely tested, and a false step, at any moment, might produce serious consequence. At this time there was evidence of an approaching crisis. The inhabitants of New England had resolved to free themselves from the mother country, and in order to insure

QUEBEC UNDER BRITISH RULE

success they desired the co-operation of the Canadians. An opportunity was offered to the French to unite with the revoltors to obtain their independence of a government which they regarded as nothing less than despotic. Whatever might have been the outcome of such an alliance, it is perhaps difficult to estimate, but the Canadians steadily refused to entertain any of the overtures made to them by the Americans. In their resolution they were supported by the Bishop and the clergy, who urged them to remain submissive to constituted authority. The Americans reiterated and enlarged their promises, but the Canadians, as ever, remained loyal to the Crown of Great Britain.

The *Bostonnais*, as they were then called, determined to take Canada by force, since their efforts to enlist the sympathy of the Canadians had proved of no avail. In the autumn of 1775, the New England forces under generals Arnold and Montgomery, appeared before Quebec, near the site of the monument on the Ste. Foy road.

The city was in a defenceless state, and unless the Governor could rely absolutely upon the loyalty of the people, there was little hope of withstanding an assault. The fortifications which had been constructed under the French régime at such an enormous expense, could be reduced without effort, for they were built more with the idea of profit than of service. The British, too, notwithstanding the urgent demands made by Murray and Carleton, had refused the means necessary to place Quebec in a state of security. Carleton had

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

made what preparations were possible to resist an attack by constructing temporary outworks, but the walls were in too dilapidated a condition to admit of repairs.

On the 6th of December, Montgomery wrote to Carleton, warning him of the folly of resistance, and threatening vengeance if any of the works were destroyed. In order to alarm the British, Arnold advanced his men to the summit of the hill at Claire Fontaine street, near the Franciscan Church, and commenced to construct batteries to demolish the walls. Arnold was favoured in his design by the shelter afforded by the brush wood between the Grande Allée and Ste. Foy road, which extended from Claire Fontaine street to St. Augustin street, and entirely concealed his movements from the British. Captain Marr had pointed out to the authorities the danger of the place, but no notice was taken of his warning until 1779, when the ground was finally cleared. On the 30th of December, Arnold made a movement as if he intended to effect an entry near St. Louis Gate. His purpose, however, was rather to detract attention from the operations of Montgomery, who had conceived the daring project of taking the town by carrying the Gate at Mountain Hill. Following the tactics of Wolfe, Montgomery hoped to obtain a footing at a place where the enemy would not expect an attack, and, if successful, the forces under Arnold were to support him in the rear, and thus place the enemy between two fires. On the 31st of December, at day-break, Mont-



*The Death of General Montgomery
After the painting by J. Woodcock*

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

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The Death of General Montgomery.
After the painting by J. Kneller.

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gomery commenced to carry out his plan, and for a moment it appeared that the fate of Quebec for a second time would be decided by a stroke equally as bold as that of the immortal Wolfe. Proceeding along the road at the base of the cliff, the forces under Montgomery approached the city until they stood at the foot of Cape Diamond. Fortune had favoured them so far, and there seemed to be naught save the frowning cliff between them and victory. In a moment the stillness of the early morn was broken by the roar of murderous cannon, mingled with the cries of the wounded, and in that moment, the dauntless leader was numbered with the dead. With the fall of Montgomery and his brave followers the hopes of the expedition were crushed, and the flag of England still waved over the heights of Cape Diamond.

The body of the unfortunate general was conveyed to a house on St. Louis street, the site of which is still pointed out to the visitor as "Montgomery's House." The General and several of his soldiers, were buried near the walls of the city, on Citadel Hill.

Frederick Haldimand came to Quebec to replace Carleton as Governor, in 1778. The new appointment was not popular, and, indeed, it would have been very difficult to find a man who could replace Carleton in the hearts of the people. The Governor was regarded by many as a despot, but a study of his correspondence and of his public acts, leads one to believe that he has been misrepresented. Haldimand had a difficult path to tread. The Canadians, however well disposed,

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

could not have forgotten the turn of events in 1759-1760, and only the most judicious treatment could reconcile them to the change of Government. The Home authorities did not understand the responsibilities imposed upon them by their new possessions, and they had yet to learn the lesson of prudence in dealing with the colonies. Haldimand was upright in his dealings, but he was not adapted to the administration of a colony where such extraordinary conditions prevailed. He has been charged with permitting officials to live by extortion, but his greatest fault appears to have been, that he relied too much upon the honesty of those under him, who distorted facts to serve their own ends. Haldimand was very zealous in his endeavours to place the city of Quebec in a proper state of defence, and it was under his régime that the first Citadel of Quebec was constructed. Being unable to preserve harmony, the Governor at length retired.

When Sir Guy Carleton returned to Canada as Governor, under the title of Lord Dorchester, he was welcomed on every hand, for he thoroughly understood the people and enjoyed their confidence. The social life of Quebec had never been so brilliant as under his régime. The frequent entertainments given at the Chateau were spoken of long after as great events. During the summer of 1787, Quebec was honoured by the presence of a royal visitor, Prince William Henry. Great preparations were made to receive the prince, and on the 27th of August a sham battle was arranged on the Plains of Abraham. At eleven o'clock the

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procession issued from the Chateau and proceeded up St. Louis Street, amidst the cheers of the people, to the open ground beyond St. Louis Gate. The royal party included the Governor, and the escort was composed of the 20th and 34th Regiments, under the command of Brigadiers Hope and Skene.

The Canadians at this time were not satisfied with their condition. They desired greater political freedom than they obtained under the Act of 1774, and they looked to the Governor for redress. Self government would have satisfied the people, but this Great Britain was not prepared to grant. Certain measures were proposed, and Lord Dorchester deemed it advisable to proceed to England to urge the cause of the colony. In 1791, an Act was passed which gave to the people greater liberty, and to the Governor increased prestige amongst the French. To many of the English, however, it caused great dissatisfaction. Although the demands of the French at this time appear now to have been just, we must bear in mind that during the French régime the Canadians scarcely knew the meaning of the word liberty. Under the iron rule of the last of the Intendants the farmers were not even allowed to sell the produce of their land at such prices as they were offered for it, if these prices were not provided for by regulation. It is true that the people had sworn allegiance to the British Crown, and were entitled to its protection, but the Government may be excused for hesitating to entrust to them any great

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

measure of political freedom, until it was satisfied that they would not abuse it.

The 17th of December, 1792, marked the opening of the first session of the first Parliament of Quebec. There were thirty five French and fifteen English members elected by the voice of the people. Amongst the most prominent were Joseph Papineau, Pierre Bédard, James McGill, P. A. de Bonne, J. Frobisher, J. A. Panet, J. Young, de Salaberry, Hertel de Rouville and Charles de Lotbinière.

The House sat on this occasion in the old episcopal palace built by Monseigneur de Saint Vallier. It was a fine stone building situated at the top of Mountain Hill, facing the river, and had proved an easy mark for the British shells during the siege of Quebec in 1759. The Chapel, sixty feet in length, by thirty feet in breadth, was converted into a chamber for the legislative assembly. It was upon the site of the Palace that the Parliament House stood until it was destroyed by fire in 1883. The ground has been laid out as a public garden and is now a very attractive spot.

There was an animated debate over the election of the first speaker, and the French carried the vote by a majority of 10 in favour of Antoine Panet, a prominent citizen of the Upper Town, and a man of great legal ability. The English candidates for the office were McGill and Jordan.

The members of the first assembly were of course little accustomed to parliamentary usage, and there

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was much confusion as to procedure, but many of the members possessed a knowledge of both languages which facilitated intercourse.

One of the most important subjects under discussion during the first session was the question of the official language of the Province. The French naturally desired to retain their own language, while the English fought strenuously for the English tongue as being the language of the reigning country. Only one French member supported the English side of the question, and consequently the French carried their point. A lengthy debate ensued regarding the disposal of the revenues derived from the Jesuits' estates. The Catholic members of the House were in favour of the fund being devoted to educational purposes, but their was a stormy opposition, and the measure was defeated. The House was opened by Sir Alured Clark, the Lieutenant Governor, in the absence of Lord Dorchester. In the Speech from the Throne, the organization of the militia was suggested, and reference was made to the administration of Justice, and to the means to be adopted to increase the public revenue.

The Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, had arrived in Quebec on the 12th of August, 1791, and the House adopted an address of welcome to the the illustrious visitor.

The Duke remained in Canada until the 5th of January, 1794, and many brilliant entertainments were given in his honour by the civil and military authorities. Quebec had made great progress under Lord

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

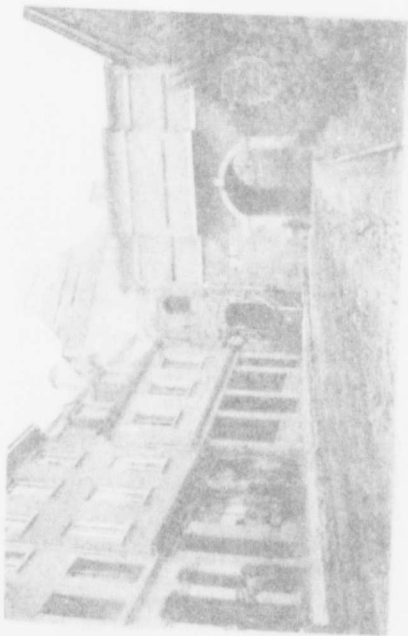
Dorchester's régime, and when he departed for England on the 9th of July, 1796, universal regret was expressed.

To the French Canadians, Lord Dorchester had been a warm friend. He was a lover of justice, and strove on every occasion to bring about a better understanding amongst the people for their mutual good, and the progress of the country.

Sir Robert Prescott succeeded Lord Dorchester in 1797, but his term of office only lasted two years. The late Governor had made himself so popular, that it was difficult for any one to replace him. One of the Gates in Quebec was named after this Governor. Lady Prescott, a very distinguished woman, was a great favourite in Quebec and a welcome visitor at the Ursuline Convent.

Sir Robert Shore Milnes was appointed administrator of the Province after the departure of Prescott. The Royal Society for the promotion of Science was founded under his auspices. Criticism was directed against him for his distribution of Crown Lands in the Eastern Townships, which it is claimed were allotted to his friends.

The session of 1805 was a stormy one. Money was necessary for building gaols, but whether to provide the sum required by the taxation of landed property, or by a tax upon goods imported for consumption, became the question of the hour. The merchants were unanimous in opposing the measure, although it appears to have been a rational method.



Rowell School

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

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The House finally imposed a tax upon the merchants, exempting the agricultural classes, and the measure was sanctioned by the Governor in the face of vigorous opposition. As most of the merchants at this time were English, they became very bitter against the French.

The *Mercury*, a newly established paper, espoused the cause of the merchants :

“ This Province,” it said, “ is already too French for a British colony. Whether we be at peace or at war, it is essential that we should make every effort, by all avowable means, to oppose ourselves to the growth of the French and of their influences. After forty-seven years of possession, it is but right that this Province should become British.”

To counteract the influence of the *Mercury*, the French established the *Canadien*. It had no regular editors, but its chief contributors were Pierre Bédard, Borgia and Taschereau. Bédard was a talented advocate, who had made a careful study of British constitutional history. As a debater in the House, he had the advantage over the majority of the members on this account, and he soon became recognized by the French as the champion of political liberty. The numbers of the *Canadien* published between 1806 and 1810, contain an outline of the policy which he advocated. *Fiat justitia ruat cælum*, was the motto chosen by Bédard for the *Canadien*, and in carrying out his purpose, as expressed in these words, he soon became involved in the most serious difficulties with his oppo-

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nents. The *Mercury* continued its programme, and the *Canadien* supported its own side of the question, although neither paper was devoted exclusively to this warfare.

Bédard wrote powerful articles on constitutional questions with which he was familiar, and he pointed out the benefits to be derived from the British Constitution if properly applied to this Province. The *Canadien* only lived for three years. Under the authority of Governor Craig, it was suppressed as being dangerous in its tendencies. The *Mercury*, on the contrary, continued to flourish, and is in active circulation to-day.

This paper warfare was only the beginning of the trouble. The Americans had not forgotten the check they received in 1775, although they began to despair of ever taking possession of Canada, and the press along the borders commenced to insinuate that the Canadians were disloyal and were anxious to throw off the yoke of Great Britain. The English papers in Canada were for the most part neutral, but some were only too eager to widen the breach, and at last open violence was resorted to. The printing offices of Lafrançois were wrecked, and Bédard, Taschereau and Blanchet, were arrested and cast into prison on the charge of plotting treason.

Craig's action, which was taken at the instance of his councillors, was the subject of bitter criticism, and he issued a manifesto defending his course. Monseigneur Plessis, the Bishop of Quebec, read this mandate from the pulpit of the Cathedral, and enjoined obedience

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to constituted authority. The prudent advice of the Bishop, no doubt, prevented serious consequences at this time.

Taschereau and Blanchet were set at liberty, and Bédard would have enjoyed his freedom had he not demanded a trial, which the Governor refused.

The general elections were held a week after the incarceration of Bédard, and he was elected for the county of Surrey. When the House opened in December, the Governor informed the Assembly that Bédard had been arrested during the recess and committed for trial for treasonable practices.

Instead of striking his name from the list of members the House declared that he was qualified to sit, and drew up a memorandum to this effect.

During the session of 1811 the Governor presented to the House a full statement concerning Bédard's arrest, and concluded by saying that the time had come to put an end to this unfortunate affair. Bédard was discharged from custody, but his gaoler was obliged to use force to compel him to leave the prison. He had been denied a trial, but public opinion seemed to consider that Pierre Bédard was not the real criminal. He appears to have been an upright man, and the Governor was ill advised in causing his arrest.

Craig has been looked upon as a tyrant, but we are inclined to think that his advisers were to blame, and, indeed, his own remarks seem to point to this fact.

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

M. de Gaspé in his "Memoirs" says, "I have it upon authority beyond suspicion, that of my uncle, Charles de Lanaudière, a member of the Legislative Council, a strong tory if ever there was one, and who approved of nearly all the arbitrary acts of the oligarchy; I have it I say from that undeniable source, that Sir James Craig told him before his departure for Europe, that he had been shamefully deceived, and that if he had to begin the administration of the Colony over again he would act differently".

Craig's administration had been unfortunate in some respects, but nevertheless he had carried out many useful public works in spite of internal discord. After his departure it was discovered that the high officials who remained were more to be feared than the late Governor.

The conflict between the two Houses continued. Administrative abuses increased; malversation in office was discovered, and it became apparent that a crisis was at hand. The *caveant consules* resounded within the parliamentary precincts, but there was no one found to heed the warning.





QUEBEC LOYAL ARTIFICERS
or Faugh a Ballagh

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

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CHAPTER IX

ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT

THE CHAPTER OF QUEBEC — MONSEIGNEUR PLESSIS
— PROTESTANTS IN QUEBEC — BISHOP MORNAY
— EDUCATIONAL MATTERS — THE SEMINARY —
M. DEMERS — THE FIRST PRINTING PRESS IN
QUEBEC.

THE action of the Chapter of Quebec in appointing permanent curés in several parishes during the absence of Monseigneur de Mornay, the Bishop, caused much comment in ecclesiastical circles. Monseigneur Dosquet, the fourth Bishop of the Diocese, called upon all the curés appointed by the Chapter, to resign, and, although they complied with his demand, there was a season of discontent. The Minister in France addressed the Bishop on the subject, but his lordship proved by his answer that the course he had adopted had been in the best interests of the Church. He said: "Out of one hundred parishes comprising the diocese of Quebec, twenty, only, have titular curés, and these are in the vicinity of Quebec. This course of action

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“ has always been followed in nascent churches, and cannot be otherwise in Canada, for there are missions extending over twelve and fifteen leagues. It is necessary, for the honour of the clergy, for the good of souls, and for the good government of the diocese, that a Bishop should dispose of his priests according to the views with which Providence inspires him.”

After the death of Monseigneur de Pontbriand, the sixth Bishop of Quebec, in 1760, the See remained vacant until 1766, when Monseigneur Briand received the mitre, upon the recommendation of General Murray. Under the Treaty, the British Government had a voice in the election of a Bishop, and when the name of Monseigneur Montgolfier was suggested, the Government strongly opposed his candidature.

General Murray had conferred a great benefit upon the Church in Canada by recommending the nomination of the seventh bishop of Quebec. In the year 1784, the health of Monseigneur Briand gave way, and he transferred the responsibilities of the diocese, as well as his title, to his coadjutor, Monseigneur d'Esglis. The latter, in accordance with a custom that had long prevailed, appointed Monseigneur Hubert as his coadjutor, in 1785. On the death of Monseigneur d'Esglis, in 1788, Monseigneur Hubert appointed as his coadjutor Monseigneur Bailly de Messein, who died in 1794, leaving the office of coadjutor vacant. His successor had already been named, viz. Joseph Octave Plessis, who for five years had filled

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the office of curé of Quebec, and on the death of Monseigneur Denaut, the tenth Bishop, he became the titular Bishop of the diocese.

Monseigneur Plessis is by far the most prominent figure in Catholic ecclesiastical life from the year 1760 until 1840. Although he disappeared from the scene of active labour fifteen years before the Union, it may be confidently asserted that the influence of his life and labours was felt long after his death. Even before he was consecrated Bishop he was recognised as a power in the Church, and as a director by his countrymen. In 1783 he was named Secretary of the Diocese of Quebec. While he occupied this office he enjoyed the confidence and esteem of his superiors and also of his inferiors. As Monseigneur Briand was in ill health, and lived in retirement at St. Pierre, on the Island of Orleans, many of the responsibilities of the diocese, extending as far as New Orleans, devolved upon him. The first official act of Monseigneur Plessis was to appoint as his coadjutor, Monseigneur Bernard Claude Panet, curé of Rivière Ouelle, his former professor. As the latter was ten years older than the Bishop, there did not appear to be any probability of his wearing the mitre as Bishop of Quebec. Monseigneur Plessis was thoroughly conversant with the situation of affairs in Quebec. He was acquainted with all the men, from the Governor to his secretary, and when he accepted the responsibilities of the office he was quite prepared to meet with opposition in England and in Canada, and to labour faithfully for the glory of the church,

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and for the good of his countrymen. In the field of politics he exercised an ennobling influence.

Amongst the charitable works of the Bishop, we may mention the foundation of a fund for the benefit of the sick clergy ; his aid towards the building of the Ursuline Convent at Three Rivers, and a college at Halifax, and his contributions towards the colleges at Nicolet and St. Hyacinthe.

At the cession of Canada to England the French Canadians numbered about sixty thousand, the greater number of whom were very poor. General Murray in his report made in 1762, six months before the Treaty was signed, said, " Convinced that the free exercise of " their religion will be continued to them once Canada " is irrevocably ceded by a Peace, the people will soon " become faithful subjects of His Majesty They " are a strong healthy race, plain in their dress, " virtuous in their morals, and temperate in their " living."

It will thus be seen that before the Treaty was signed, and when Quebec enjoyed its happy military rule, the people were promised and assured that they would enjoy religious freedom ; and yet for many years after 1763, this question was not understood either by the representatives of the Crown, or by many of the residents of the country.

In the year 1764, eighteen months after the formal cession of Canada to England, there were only one hundred and forty-four protestant house keepers in

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Quebec, and out of these there were less than ten freeholders, as we find by the certificate of General Murray, dated the 26th of October, 1764.

List of Protestant House Keepers in Quebec

Thomas Dunn	} Coun- cillors	John Barnard
Francis Mounier		Alex. Dumas
Benjamin Price		William Mackenzie
Thos. Ainslie		Robert McPhee
5. John Grant	} Justices of the Peace	35. Robert Hunter
Samuel Gridley		Isaac Warden
Joseph Walker		Henry Mounier
Hugh Finlay		David Algie
Peter Traverse		Edward Watts
10. Rich'd Murray		40. John Beack
John Martell		Charles Grant
Fran's Leveck		John Patterson
John Collins		Thomas Winter
John Row		Samuel Merch
15. Thomas Story	45. Alex. McKenzie	
John Gray	John Bondfield	
James Potts	Acklorn Bondfield	
John Elliot	John Wasmoor	
Peter Funnel	John Philips	
20. James Jeffereys	50. Jeremiah C. Russel	
John McCord	Benj. Lacount	
Will. Govett	Stephen Moor	
Gustian Franks	John Dancer	
Joseph Mather	James Brookes	
25. John Gustineau	55. James Aitkins	
John Lymburner	Thomas Leamy	
John Lee	Samuel Sills	
Alex. Simpson	Will. Grant	
George Fulton	Calvin Gage	
30. Simon Frazer	60. George Alsop	

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

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|-----|--------------------|----------------------|
| | James Shepard | George Hipps |
| | James Johnston | James Rutherford |
| | John Purse | Robert Jackson |
| | Stephen Wadsley | 100. Robert Wilcocks |
| 65. | Peter Napier | Sam'll Askwith |
| | John Malcolm | John Williams |
| | George Jenkins | Charles Minnet |
| | Christopher Spring | James Isbister |
| | George Milner | 105. James Laying |
| 70. | Jacob Deseau | Ralph Gray |
| | George McAdam | Will. Douglass |
| | James St. Clair | Will. Webb |
| | John Taylor | Will. McGrabb |
| | Will. Abbott | 110. Jacob Trader |
| 75. | Sam. Duncan | Joseph Thompson |
| | John Billar | Richard Dee |
| | Zach. McAuley | John Holman |
| | Gilbert McRandell | James Britton |
| | Peter Leakin | 115. Philip Bayne |
| 80. | Miles Prentice | Will. Wright |
| | John Campbell | James MacDonald |
| | John Black | Henry Goldup |
| | John Fisher | John Vallance |
| | Lachlan Smith | 120. Donald McDonald |
| 85. | Michael Smith | John Fraser |
| | John Deleau | John Clark |
| | John Watts | Will. Osburn |
| | John Engelke | Alex. McArther |
| | John Ord | 125. John Lee |
| 90. | Jacob Row | John Callahan |
| | John Hay | Benjamin Walmer |
| | Edw. Harrison | John May |
| | Murdock Stewart | Frans. Sickel |
| | James Hanna | 130. — Gilmoor |
| 95. | Daniel Bayne | Will. Brown |
| | Will Brymer | John Saules |

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	Jacob Stegman	140.	John Platt
	John Sitly		Richard Gray
135.	Peter Mike		James Young
	John Miller		William Gunn
	William Graham		Thomas Aylwin
	John Smith	—	
	William Brown	144	in all.

“ I do certify that every Protestant housekeeper
 “ in the District of Quebec is included in this List,
 “ and that, to the best of my knowledge there are
 “ not ten Protestant freeholders in the Province,
 “ consequently not ten Protestants qualified by the
 “ Laws of England to be jurors.

JAS. MURRAY.”

The English residents were so small in number that it is apparent their position must have been keenly felt. They viewed with alarm the growth of the Church, and the spread of Catholic education, and fought hard against the determination of the ecclesiastical authorities to retain control of every form of instruction. The proposal of the English to found an University from the revenues derived from the Jesuits' Estates gave rise to heated discussions. The Catholics feared that if the institution were established it would be a simple matter to impose conditions which would eventually give the balance of power to the Protestants. Monseigneur Hubert strongly opposed the project, and it fell through. The English, however, were not to be discouraged, and they formed a Royal Institution for the Promotion of Primary Education.

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The majority of the directors were Protestants, but as the Catholics refused to avail themselves of the instruction offered, the institution became a dead letter. The Protestants made another effort to bring education under the control of the Government, by demanding that the Bishop should draw up a list of the vacant curés each year in order that his recommendations might be submitted to the Crown. The appointment of a Bishop need the approval of the Crown, in the same manner as nominations have been submitted to the Government of France since 1802.

The English and the Protestants of Quebec from the conquest to the present time have always had the special educational difficulties which minorities must expect. Yet it would not be hard to prove that a century ago efforts were put forth in an organized way to procure education, that would bear comparison, all things considered, with the efforts of to-day.

From the time of the conquest private schools were provided, educational societies were formed, and schools were supported by the Church (1). The want of superior education, however, was keenly felt. A part of the English boys attended the Seminary, while others were sent away to colleges in the United States. In 1799 Bishop Mountain drew the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir R. S. Milnes, to the danger

(1) The National School Hall on d'Auteuil Street, although no longer used as a school, perpetuates the name of the National and Free School Society, whose work has long been carried on under our public school system.

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ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT

to which the political principles and the loyalty of British subjects would be exposed if urgency compelled the sending of children to the colleges of the republic. He recommended that at least one good grammar school be founded in this Province and be officered by capable masters from England. It was soon determined to carry out his suggestion, but dissensions in the Province, the distraction of the war in Europe, and later the war of 1812, delayed the execution of the project. It was not till 1816 that three Royal Grammar Schools were opened, one in Quebec, one in Montreal, and one in Kingston. The Reverend R. Burrage was the master in Quebec at a salary of £200 a year with an extra allowance for rent and similar expenses. This school was continued till 1839 when Lord Sydenham, for reasons which are unknown, suppressed it by withdrawing the grant and pensioning Mr. Burrage.

Four years later the Quebec High School was opened by the conversion of Dr. Daniel Wilke's private classical and commercial school into a public school. In 1846 it secured recognition as the legitimate successor of the Royal Grammar School and a grant from the public chest. This grant, now \$1288. per annum, it has continued to receive to the present time. In return it educates, free, twenty pupils a year who are nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. Although the attendance at the school is naturally not large a competent staff is employed and good work is done. The traditions of the school are elevating. Most of the prominent and successful English speaking men of

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Quebec have been trained within its walls, and the Rectors from Mr. Burrage to Mr. T. Ainslie Young, M.A., the present able incumbent, have as a rule been superior men, instructors who have given a character to the school and have left an impress upon their pupils. Recently it has been amalgamated with Morrin College, an institution which was founded in 1859 by a liberal citizen whose name it bears. In its earlier days, under the Principalship of the late Reverend Dr. Cook, Morrin College did good work as an arts college in affiliation with McGill University, and as a divinity school. Its financial limitations have latterly prevented the progress that was necessary to keep pace with McGill and to compete with her for pupils. As a consequence the arts work has been dropped, the divinity school closed, and an amalgamation effected in such a way as to respect the intentions of the late Dr. Morrin.

Morrin College itself, the old Quebec Jail, will soon be razed to the ground and replaced by a modern building for the High School, in which rooms will be reserved for the Literary and Historical Society.

The School Commissioners provide for primary education in a building which cannot be a source of pride to them or of satisfaction to the citizens, and for the superior education of girls in the Girl's High School, situate on St. Augustin St.

For twenty-nine years after the Treaty, the Protestant Church in Canada was without a Bishop, but in 1793 the Government decided to erect a Canadian

ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT

See, and appointed Doctor Mountain as the first Bishop. The account of the Bishop here given is taken from a "Memoir by the Rev. Armine W. Mountain, M.A., Incumbent of St. Michael's Chapel, Quebec," published in 1866 :

" Dr. Mountain had himself been known to Mr. Pitt at Cambridge, where he had been a fellow of Caius College, and the Bishop's recommendation was willingly adopted. Neither of the persons more directly concerned in this measure appears to have had reason to regret it, for we find it mentioned in Tomline's life of Pitt, as a testimony to the wisdom of the statesman's measures, that the first Bishop of Quebec had presided over the Canadian Church with 'great honour to himself and advantage to the concerns of his extensive diocese,' while Dr. Tomline's own biographer, in his turn, brings forward this appointment as a proof of the Bishop's good judgment, displayed in his recommendation of Dr. Mountain. Dr. Mountain having been consecrated on the 7th July, 1793, embarked almost immediately for Quebec, accompanied by his wife, (Elizabeth Mildred Wale Kentish, co-heiress, with two sisters, of Little Bardfield Hall in Essex) and four children, of whom George was second. A residence in Canada in the eighteenth century involved so complete a separation from English friends, that all the members of the Bishop's family, and one of his sisters, the future Bishop's godmother, resolved to share his exile. His elder brother, Dr. Jehosaphat Mountain, Rector of Peldon, in Essex, with his wife and two daughters, as well as his own two sisters, accordingly accompanied him, and after a voyage of thirteen weeks, the thirteen Mountains landed at Quebec on All Saint's Day. The Bishop proceeded immediately to Woodfield,

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

nearly three miles from Quebec, which had been secured as his private residence. The grounds of Powell Place (now Spencer Wood) immediately adjoined those of Woodfield, being separated by a small brook called *Belle Borne*, across which it is related in a work recently published on the environs of Quebec, that the sons of Sir R. Milnes themselves built a bridge, which they named *Pont Bonvoison*, for the purpose of establishing a ready communication between the two houses, and in this work we may presume that their companions from Woodfield lent their aid. A happier home than that of Woodfield (during the Bishop's occupation of which three young children were born) has seldom been seen. The parents were regarded with unbounded and tender affection, mingled with veneration. Feelings such as these the characters of both were eminently calculated to inspire, and they produced their effect in unwonted brotherly love amongst the children, which continued, in a most remarkable degree, while they remained on earth, notwithstanding separation of great length both in time and distance."

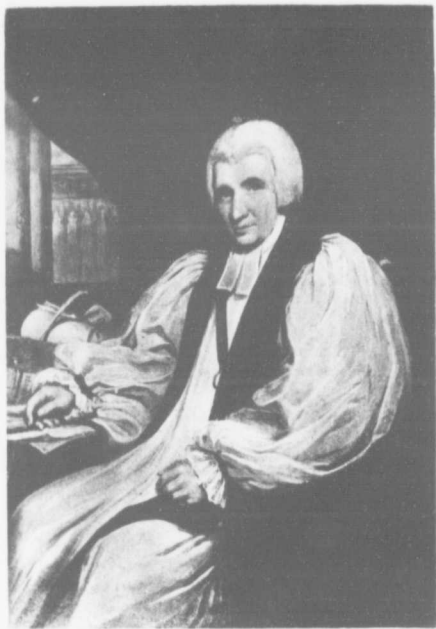
The growth of the Anglican Church, which was first entrusted to Dr. Mountain, may be traced in the chapter devoted to "The Church of England in Quebec," which has been prepared for this work by Mr. Würtele.

An attempt was made in the days of Monseigneur Plessis to unite the two Canadas. "To unite the two Provinces," exclaimed the Bishop, "with a Parliament in common to attack the religion of the country, to take steps to cause the courage of the majority to disappear; all these are measures which one may suppose the Imperial Parliament would never have taken

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Bishop Mountain

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up had they not been suggested from here by someone who, under the new order of things, hoped once more to concentrate authority, and take away the control of affairs from those most interested in the welfare of the country."

This paragraph reveals the situation at this time as viewed by the French Canadians, and the indignation of the Bishop, as expressed in this quotation is only natural.

We have already seen that the Seminary of Quebec had at first opened its doors to young men desirous of entering the priesthood. Monseigneur de Laval soon added a boarding school to it for little children and Indians; the latter attended the classes in the Jesuits College. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the young men received their education in the Seminary and the Jesuits College. The list of those who were instructed in these institutions is a long one. About 1775, the Jesuits were obliged to discontinue their instruction, because the Government had taken possession of their estates, and converted their college into a barracks for the use of the soldiers. The Seminary was therefore compelled to provide a classical course for its pupils, since it was necessary to fill the vacancies occurring in the ranks of the clergy. The French Revolution was not without benefit to Canada. Forty four priests who had fled from France took up their abode in Quebec, at a time when there was a dearth of instructors. These men were zealous workers, renowned preachers, and they devoted themselves to



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every good work which was open to them. Whether as chaplains of religious institutions, or as directors, or superiors of educational establishments, they nobly fulfilled their mission, and names like Raimbault, Desjardins, Calonne or Vilade, hold a high place in the religious history of Canada.

After the events of 1759-1760, the Canadians for a time found it difficult to provide a suitable course for the young men in order to fit them to take their place in professional life. Separated forever, from the mother house in Paris, the Seminary of Quebec was still able to supply its staff from among its own pupils. The last representative of the *Séminaire des Missions Etrangères* had disappeared, and the vacancies were filled by Canadians, thus imparting a purely national character to the old institution of Monseigneur de Laval. Amongst the ecclesiastics who gave an impetus to superior education at this time, we may mention, M. Jérôme Demers, whose life is an epitome of fifty years of the history of the Seminary. Monseigneur Plessis was undoubtedly the greatest French Canadian of his time, and to M. Demers must be given the second place.

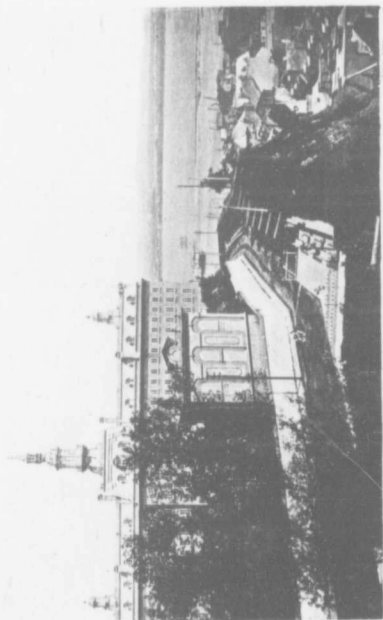
During the wars of the Empire it was always difficult, and frequently impossible, to obtain classical books, or instruments indispensable for the classes in Physics. It is true that there was a printing office in Canada at this time, but from the date of its establishment in 1764, until 1820, the only instruction books issued from its press were Bouthilliers' arithmetic, a

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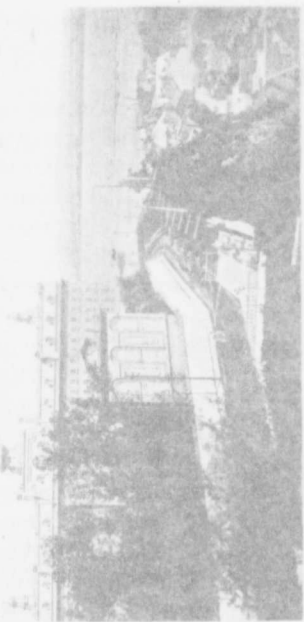
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geography compiled expressly for the use of the pupils of the Minor Seminary of Quebec, and a short catechism, a reprint of that in use in the diocese of Sens.

In Montreal a French grammar had been printed as an introduction to the Latin grammar in use, and a small geography and an arithmetic compiled by Bibaud. These were the only instruction books that could be purchased in the country.

To provide for the needs of the teachers as far as possible, M. Demers wrote several works suitable for the pupils of the Seminary and for the students of the colleges at St. Anne's and Nicolet, where they were sadly in need of books. His principal work was a treatise on philosophy in Latin. He further compiled manuals on physics, astronomy, and architecture. M. Demers had a taste for decorative art, and promoted the study of painting and sculpture amongst the French Canadians. Many of the earliest artists of Quebec were indebted to him for their success in a field hitherto unexplored in Canada. M. Demers also contributed most of the money towards the purchase of a valuable collection of paintings which was sent to Canada at a low price by the Abbé Desjardins, a former Chaplain of the Ursuline Convent. Under M. Demers the Seminary of Quebec extended its sphere of usefulness, and as a result of the impetus given to education thereby, the University of Laval was founded in 1852.

The establishment of the first printing press in Quebec in 1764, was an event of great importance. Although the Marquis de La Galissonnière had, in



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1749, expressed the desire to have a printing office in Canada, there does not appear to have been one, or at least one worthy of the name, before the foundation of the *Quebec Gazette* by William Brown.

There is no doubt that some printing was done in Canada previous to that date. In 1759 two *Mandements* were printed and distributed to the clergy of the Diocese, dated respectively May and October. As the former relates to the impending siege, and the latter to the battle which occurred on the 13th of September, it is evident that Monseigneur de Pontbriand could not have had them printed in France.

The first publication from Brown's press was a pamphlet of thirty-six pages in English and in French, concerning the duties of Grand Jurors. *The Catéchisme du diocèse de Sens*, was published several months afterwards. Of the former three hundred copies, and of the latter two thousand copies were printed.



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CHAPTER X

1816-1838

TROUBLESOME TIMES

ADMINISTRATION OF SHERBROOKE — FAMINE
THREATENED — LORD BATHURST — MONUMENT
TO WOLFE AND MONTCALM — DALHOUSIE —
PAPINEAU AND BEDARD — LORD GOSFORD —
REBELLION — SHIP BUILDING — HONNEUR A
MONTCALM.

THE successor of Sir George Prevost was Sir John Coape Sherbrooke. He arrived in Quebec on the 12th of July, 1816. The new Governor inaugurated his administration by an act of generosity which gained for him the immediate sympathy and good will of the people of the Province. An early frost had destroyed the crops in the region below Quebec, in the autumn of 1816, and famine was threatened. The Governor therefore ordered a distribution of food to be made from the King's stores, and purchased large supplies for the people with his own means. Although he only occupied the office for two years, he was instrumental

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in securing several benefits for Canada. It was through his efforts that apostolic vicariates were established in Upper Canada, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

Towards the close of the year 1816, Monseigneur Plessis received from Rome the Papal Bull constituting Quebec into an archiepiscopal See. Lord Bathurst, the Secretary for the Colonies, was strongly opposed to the decision of the Pope, and the Bishop was compelled to appeal to British justice. He prepared several memorials which were approved by Sir John Sherbrooke before they were submitted to Lord Bathurst, and finally opposition was withdrawn.

Sherbrooke's departure was deeply regretted by the Clergy, who had found in him a generous protector. Monseigneur Plessis retained friendly relations with the Governor after he had departed from our shores, and visited him in his home in England.

The Duke of Richmond replaced Sherbrooke ; but he died at Richmond, in the Eastern Townships, after having been in office for one year. He was buried in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Quebec. The Earl of Dalhousie, the tenth Governor of Canada, arrived in Quebec on the 9th of June, 1820. There was great activity in the city during his régime, for the elaborate works of defence, which were to convert Quebec into one of the most strongly fortified cities of the world, were commenced soon after his arrival, although they were not completed until after his departure.

Through the activity of the Earl of Dalhousie, and owing very largely to his generosity, Quebec

TRoublesome Times

possesses her unique monument which perpetuates the memory of the victor and the vanquished—the monument to Wolfe and Montcalm. The members of the Committee appointed to carry out this noble project were named by the Governor :

The Honourable, The Chief Justice, Chairman.

Mr. Justice Taschereau.

Major General Darling.

Lieutenant Col. Cockburn, R. A.

Captain Young, 79th Highlanders.

Captain Melhuish, R. E.

Mr. George Pemberton.

The first stone of the monument was laid on the 15th of November, 1827, and it was completed in the following year. The Governor's name is preserved in Dalhousie Gate, which forms the entrance to the Citadel, and also in a street in the Lower Town. The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, which has done so much to add to our storehouse of knowledge, was founded in Lord Dalhousie's time. The Governor was not as favourably disposed towards the French population as some of his predecessors, although there is no doubt that he administered the affairs of the colony strictly in accordance with his ideas of justice.

Matthew Wentworth, Baron Aylmer, assumed the duties of Governor in 1830, at a time when Quebec was on the eve of a crisis, which only the genius of a Dorchester could have averted. The Canadians had for a long time demanded a change in the constitution,

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which the Home authorities did not appear willing to grant. Fox had foreseen what was about to happen, when he made his speech in reference to the Constitutional Act of 1791 :

“ If we give every power to the Governor, the Councillors will not enjoy the respect which is necessary to establish their independence, and they will never be anything more than the instruments of the Governor, in the same manner as the Governors themselves are the instruments of the King.”

The reforms so often agitated had been ignored. After deliberating in the House upon this important question, it was resolved to appeal to the King to make the Council elective. An address was prepared and submitted to His Majesty, but no immediate action was taken. Papineau, one of the leading spirits amongst the French Canadians, then resolved to come to an understanding with the leading members of the House regarding the representations to be made to the Sovereign. After many discussions in the house of Elzéar Bédard on D'Auteuil Street, a number of resolutions were drawn up by A. N. Morin, the member for Bellechasse, which set forth the grievances of the people. After various alterations, ninety-two resolutions were submitted to the House and adopted. Morin was instructed to transmit the resolutions to D. B. Viger, the official agent of the French Canadians in London. The general elections took place in the autumn of 1834, and each candidate was called upon to declare whether or not he was in favour of making the Council elective.

TROUBLESOME TIMES

Seventy-nine members favourable to the change were elected, while the opposition returned nine members. There were 480,000 votes cast in favour of an elective Council, and 32,000 against it.

The House opened on the 21st of February, 1835. For about a year previous to this date there had been a want of harmony between the members, which soon developed into a marked division in the ranks of the party. In the press, and on the hustings, these dissensions were manifest, and quarrels arose frequently over mere trifles. Many of the members gave only a lukewarm support to Papineau, whose zeal for the cause he had espoused led him to give utterance to expressions which exceeded the bounds of prudence and good taste. Papineau never missed an opportunity of attacking Lord Aylmer in the House, and he was particularly bitter against his Councillors. His followers remonstrated with him, but in vain; until many of his strongest supporters fell away. The affairs of the Province, which were centered in Quebec, were growing worse, when Lord Gosford, more in the capacity of a Royal Commissioner, than of a Governor General, came to Canada. He was directed to investigate the complaints of the Canadians, and to report to England.

His presence in Quebec relieved for a moment the strain of the situation. He honestly endeavoured to appease the minds of the people, and pointed out to them the desirability of submitting unconditionally to Royal authority. On the feast of Ste. Catherine,

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Lord Gosford gave a magnificent ball at the Castle of St. Louis, hoping thereby to promote friendly relations between the people and the representatives of the Crown; but since he was powerless to redress the grievances of the majority, his good offices were fruitless. The Legislative Council constantly threw out measures passed by the Assembly, and in retaliation the Assembly refused to vote the supplies for over six months, which caused great hardship.

Heated discussions became the order of the day. The questions of religion and language were drawn into the debates, and a spirit of excitement prevailed throughout the Province. The clergy of Quebec and other cities did their best to calm the troublesome times by urging patience and submission, but the inflammatory speeches of the agitators, and the attitude of a certain section of the press, fostered the spirit of rebellion. The real agitation which led to open violence, may be traced to a meeting held at St. Ours on the 7th of May, 1835. Resolutions were passed, some of which were clothed in very undignified language, and only injured the cause of their promoters. The *Canadien*, the organ of the French Canadians, protested against the methods adopted by the agitators, which incited the people to rebel. Demonstrations, and counter demonstrations, were held in various parts. In Quebec, an assembly of 8,000 people unanimously adopted resolutions condemning the action taken at St. Ours, but the crisis came when news was received that the Imperial Government had rejected

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TROUBLESOME TIMES

the ninety two resolutions. The details of these stormy days in Montreal which resulted in the death of Lieutenant Weir ; the issue of warrants for the arrest of Papineau, Morin, Nelson, O'Callaghan ; the defeat of the rebels at St. John's, St. Charles and St. Denis, and the proclamation of martial law, are matters which do not belong to the history of the city, only in so far as Quebec was the seat of the Government at the time.

The rebellion, incited by a few rash individuals, was a regrettable affair, but no people were more strongly opposed to its methods, or more deplored its immediate consequences, than the French-Canadians as a body.

Attention was called by the uprising to the needs of the people. Abuses were corrected, and Quebec entered upon an era of peace which was sympathetically encouraged under the beneficent reign of Queen Victoria.

Under the French régime, notwithstanding the bonus of two hundred francs offered by the Minister of Marine for every vessel of two hundred tons burthen built in Quebec and sold in France; the trade did not prosper. Ships of more than two hundred tons burthen were not built in Quebec under French rule, owing to the mistaken idea that vessels of a greater tonnage could not ascend the river. It is a most remarkable fact that the French were in ignorance all these years of the depth of the channel, and yet it was their want of knowledge of the navigation of the St. Lawrence that facilitated the movements of the British in 1759,



Queen Victoria

TROUBLESOME TIMES

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The rebellion, incited by a few rash individuals, was a regrettable affair, but no people were more strongly opposed to its methods, or more deplored its immediate consequences, than the French-Canadians as a body.

Attention was called by the uprising to the needs of the people. Abuses were corrected, and Quebec entered upon an era of peace which was sympathetically encouraged under the beneficent reign of Queen Victoria.

Under the French régime, notwithstanding the bonus of two hundred francs offered by the Minister of Marine for every vessel of two hundred tons burthen built in Quebec and sold in France, the trade did not prosper. Ships of more than two hundred tons burthen were not built in Quebec under French rule, owing to the mistaken idea that vessels of a greater tonnage could not ascend the river. It is a most remarkable fact that the French were in ignorance all these years of the depth of the channel, and yet it was their want of knowledge of the navigation of the St. Lawrence that facilitated the movements of the British in 1759,

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

which brought about the loss of the colony. When the British ships passed the Traverse in 1759, the French were greatly astonished, for the reliance which they placed upon the dangers of navigation had caused them to neglect to fortify the Island of Orleans and Pointe Lévis, and consequently Wolfe found no obstacle in establishing a camp opposite the city. In the month of April, 1759, Vaudreuil had written to the minister, "If the English attack Quebec, I shall always hold myself free to go thither myself with most of the troops and all the militia and Indians I can assemble. On arriving I shall give battle to the enemy, and I shall do so again and again, till I have forced him to retire, or till he has entirely crushed me by excessive superiority of numbers. *My obstinacy in opposing his landing will be the more à propos, as I have not the means of sustaining a siege....* You see Monseigneur, that the slightest change in my arrangements would have the most unfortunate consequences." The English General was no doubt devoutly thankful that Quebec was favoured with such an accomodating Governor, for however sanguine he may have been of ultimate success, he scarcely could have imagined that he would be allowed to approach right up to the face of the enemy without any opposition being offered. When Vaudreuil returned to France a few months later, he professed to be very much pained on receiving a letter from the Colonial Minister containing these words "Though His Majesty was perfectly aware of the state of Canada, nevertheless, after the assurances you had given him

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to make the utmost efforts to sustain the honour of his arms, he did not expect to hear so soon of the surrender of Montreal and the whole of the colony. But granting that capitulation was a necessity, His Majesty was not less surprised and ill pleased at the conditions, so little honourable to which you submitted, especially after the representations made you by the Chevalier de Lévis."

We see therefore, that the shipping industry had been retarded, and the approach of the enemy facilitated by the incompetency of the Governor.

In 1787, vessels of every dimension, from the humble schooner, to large ships of 1,500 to 1,800 tons, were built at Quebec. In 1823, at *Anse du Fort*, on the Island of Orleans, the *Columbus*, of 3,690 tons was built, and in the following year the *Baron de Renfrew*, of 5,294 tons, was launched from the same place. Both of these vessels were unfortunately lost at sea. The *Baron de Renfrew* was the largest vessel built in Quebec. During a period of one hundred years, from 1797 to 1897, 2642 sailing vessels were built on the banks of the St. Charles and in the vicinity of Quebec. This industry gave employment to thousands of families, but its disappearance does not seem to have impoverished the labouring classes, who have found a means of living in other branches of trade.

It was under Lord Aylmer that the first monument was erected to mark the spot where General Wolfe died. His lordship also gave to the Ursuline

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Convent the simple marble tablet in memory of Montcalm, bearing this inscription : "*Honneur à Montcalm ! le destin en lui dérobant la victoire l'a récompensé par une mort glorieuse.*"



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CHAPTER XI

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1838-1867
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AFTER THE STORM

THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT — LORD DURHAM — HIS
OPINION OF THE PEOPLE — LORD GOSFORD'S
SPEECH — THE UNION OF THE CANADAS —
IMPERIAL TROOPS — SIR JOHN COLBORNE — LORD
ELGIN — THE SOCIETY OF SAINT JEAN BAPTISTE
— CONFEDERATION.

THE unfortunate affairs of 1837 had aroused the Imperial authorities to take decisive steps concerning the government of Canada. Lord Durham received a commission as Governor and High Commissioner, to inquire into the causes of the late rebellion, and to apply a remedy. The task imposed upon the Governor was an exceedingly difficult one, and it is not surprising to find that the course he adopted met with severe criticism. Lord Durham arrived in Quebec on the 29th of May, 1838, and immediately after taking the oath, he issued a proclamation suspending the

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constitution ; and for the meantime the supreme power was vested in the Governor.

His Lordship, in the space of a few months, gathered information from every quarter of the Dominion regarding the situation, and embodied this information in a report which was published in London in the following year. The report gives a clear exposition of the case, and upon the whole it is an exceedingly just one. The extract, which we quote, gives the Governor's idea of the basis of the disagreement between the two races.

“ The grounds of the quarrel which are commonly
“ alleged, appear, on investigation, to have little to do
“ with its real cause ; and the inquirer, who has
“ imagined that the public demonstrations or profes-
“ sions of the parties have put him in possession of
“ their real motives and designs, is surprised to find,
“ upon nearer observation, how much he has been
“ deceived by the false colours under which they have
“ been in the habit of fighting. It is not, indeed, in
“ this instance surprising, that each party should have
“ practised more than the usual frauds of language,
“ by which factions, in every country, seek to secure
“ the sympathy of other communities..... The
“ French-Canadians have attempted to shroud their
“ hostility to the influence of English emigration, and
“ the introduction of British institutions, under the
“ guise of warfare against the government and its
“ supporters, whom they represented to be a small
“ knot of corrupt and insolent dependents ; being a
“ majority, they have evoked the principles of popular
“ control and democracy, and appealed with no little
“ effect to the sympathy of liberal politicians in every
“ quarter of the world.

" The English finding their opponents in collision
 " with the Government, have raised the cry of loyalty
 " and attachment to British connection, and denounced
 " the republican designs of the French..... The
 " English complained of the Assembly's refusal to
 " establish Registry Offices, and to commute the feudal
 " tenures ; and yet it was amongst the ablest and
 " most influential leaders of the English that I found
 " some of the opponents to both proposed reforms.
 " The leaders of the French were anxious to disclaim
 " any hostility to these reforms themselves.....
 " There is every reason to believe that a great number
 " of the peasants who fought at St. Denis and St.
 " Charles, imagined that the principal result of success
 " would be the overthrow of tithes and feudal bur-
 " thens ; and in the declaration of independence which
 " Dr. Robert Nelson issued, two of the objects of the
 " insurrection were stated to be the abolition of the
 " feudal tenures and the establishment of Registry
 " Offices. When I observe these inconsistencies of
 " conduct among the opponents and supporters of
 " these reforms ; when I consider that their attainment
 " was prevented by means of the *censitaires*, the very
 " persons most interested in their success, and that they
 " were not more eagerly demanded by the wealthier
 " of the English, than by the artisans and labourers
 " of that race whose individual interests would hardly
 " have derived much direct benefit from their success,
 " I cannot but think that many both of the opponents
 " and of the supporters, cared less for the measures
 " themselves, than for the handle which the agitation
 " of them gave to their national hostility ; that the
 " Assembly resisted these changes chiefly because the
 " English desired them ; and that the eagerness with
 " which many of the English urged them was stimulated
 " by finding them opposed by the French."

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Lord Durham accurately describes the situation at that time ; but we must remember that the people had just emerged from a crisis which nothing but bloodshed could satisfy, and that each race in the course of time deplored the events of those unfortunate days.

The action of the majority of the insurgents was condoned ; but eight men were banished to Bermuda. The troubles, however, were not at an end. On the eve of Lord Durham's departure for England, November the 3rd, 1838, there was evidence of a further uprising, which led to serious results, and finally, eighty persons from Upper Canada, and fifty eight from Lower Canada were sent to New South Wales. The latter departed from Quebec on the 28th of September, 1839, and did not return to the city until the 18th of January, 1845, after five years and a half of banishment.

Towards the close of his Report he remarked :

“ I admit that the system which I propose would
“ in fact, place the internal government of this colony
“ in the hands of the colonists themselves ; and that
“ we should thus leave to them the execution of the
“ laws, of which we have long entrusted the making
“ solely to them. Perfectly aware of the value of our
“ colonial possessions, and strongly impressed with
“ the necessity of maintaining them, I know not in
“ what respect it can be desirable that we should
“ interfere with their internal legislation in matters
“ which do not affect their relations with the mother
“ country.”

AFTER THE STORM

Lord Durham proposed as a means of avoiding the difficulties between the two races, to unite the Province of Quebec to Upper Canada. The report caused wide discussion, and brought out the talents of many men who were afterwards distinguished in the political life of the country,

The Act of Union was adopted by the Imperial Parliament after a long discussion. There were two members in the House of Commons who strongly opposed the measure, and Lord Gosford, a former Governor, advocated the cause of the French Canadians in the House of Lords. The extract which we give here is from Lord Gosford's speech on the occasion of the discussion in the Upper House, and it shows how warmly he supported the views of the people of the lower Province :

" Convinced as I am of the exact verity of all that I have advanced, I cannot but regard the meditated union of the Canadas as a most unjust and tyrannical measure, proposed in view of depriving the lower Province of its Constitution, under the pretext, as a sufficing cause, that a handful of ill-intentioned men committed culpable acts ; the sure effect of the project being, to deliver into the hands of a section of the community, the great majority of their fellow colonists, the former being bitterly inimical to the latter. You propose to give, in a word, to three or four hundred thousand inhabitants, the same amount of parliamentary representation, to a population of French descent of at least 700,000 souls abiding in Lower Canada ; and concurrently with this unequal distribution of franchise rights, you are about to impose on the same

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Province, which has no public debt, or something next to none, payment of the interest of the pecuniary obligations of the Upper Canadians, the capital of which, is it said, reaches one million. Can there be anything imagined more arbitrary or less reasonable than this? In truth, the mere legality of such a proceeding, setting all consideration of equitable dealing aside, may be very fairly called in question; for, I understand, no part of the debt contracted in Upper Canada has been sanctioned by the Government of this country, I ought to declare once again my conviction that the unjust financial arrangement I now denounce, is due to a mercantile intrigue. As I have already remarked, the French-derived population of the lower Province wishes to live under British protection, and in alliance with us; yet a great majority of the inhabitants of the two Canadas is opposed to an union.... I can never give my assent, therefore, to the unjust measure, as I conscientiously believe this to be, now submitted for the consideration of your lordships. I repeat, too, that I have called your attention to the real facts of the case; and in all I have said, I am sure I shall be confirmed by the testimony of every impartial resident in either province of Canada."

The Act was sanctioned by the Queen on the 23rd of July, 1840, and it gave to Canada a Legislative Council, the members of which were appointed for life. The Legislative Assembly was composed of eighty-four members, forty-two from Upper Canada, and the same number from Lower Canada. The French Canadians were dissatisfied with the divisions of the counties under the act, and their claims were strongly advocated by three remarkable men, LaFontaine,

AFTER THE STORM

Morin, and Cartier. Papineau, it is true, still continued to exert his energies, but he had lost much of his influence since the stormy times of 1837, when he controlled the people at his will.

After the Union of the two Canadas was effected, and its government was in working order, LaFontaine realized that responsible government, as advocated by Lord Durham, might prove the safeguard, instead of the ruin of the province, if properly applied.

Bound to Robert Baldwin by ties of friendship, LaFontaine came to an understanding with him, which resulted in the formation of the Baldwin-LaFontaine ministry. Under this administration the affairs of the Province appeared to be progressing satisfactorily, but unfortunately a difference arose between the Governor and his Ministers, which compelled them to resign. We have gone briefly into the political history of the time, because without so doing it would be impossible to understand the differences which existed at Quebec, the political centre of the Province, but we must now return to the history of the city proper.

We have seen that in the year 1823, Great Britain determined to make Quebec one of the most strongly fortified cities of the world, and from that date Quebec assumed the aspect of an important military centre. In the year 1838 the remainder of the Coldstream Guards marched into the Citadel Barracks, to form the escort for the newly appointed Governor. On the 27th of May Lord Durham and his staff arrived in Quebec. An immense gathering of citizens awaited

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

his landing, but on account of the weather, the ceremony intended was postponed for two days. Lord Durham, writing from the Castle of St. Louis, 31 May, 1838, says, "I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I arrived here on the 27th. The weather being very unfavourable, I could not land until the 29th, on which day I proceeded to the council and took the prescribed oaths which were duly administered to me in the presence of Sir John Colborne. The streets through which I passed were extremely crowded, and I could not but be highly gratified with the cordial greeting which I received, and with the more than friendly feelings which seemed to animate the assembled multitude."

As the old Chateau was not sufficiently spacious to receive the household of the Governor, apartments were prepared for the Viceregal party in the Parliament Buildings. The receptions given during the residence of the Governor were very brilliant, and his generosity became proverbial. In more tranquil times, no doubt he would have enjoyed a popularity quite equal to that of any of the illustrious representatives of the Crown in Canada. Lord Durham would not accept any remuneration for his services in Canada, but he desired that the money should be applied to the repairs which were necessary at the Chateau. The ruins of the old Chateau were levelled and converted into a promenade at this time, which was given the name of Durham Terrace.

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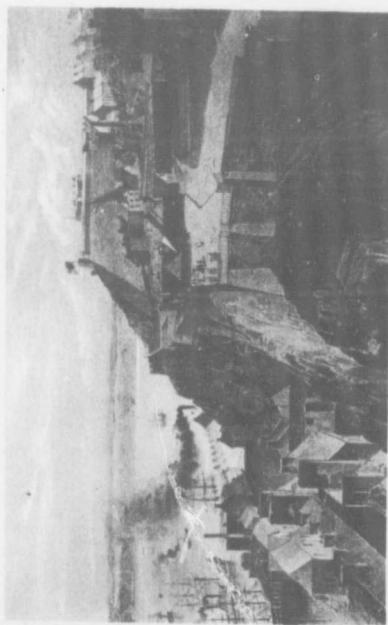
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The Terrace and Citadel.

AFTER THE STORM

ment in December, 1838, but he only remained in office nine months. These were difficult times, and a Governor who was a stranger to the country could not be expected to immediately grasp the situation, or to apply a remedy that in an instant would satisfactorily dispose of grievances which had been nursed for many years. The Governor adopted a policy which was considered extremely harsh, and it was not received with favour, either here, or in England. C. E. Poullett Thompson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, entered upon the duties of Governor in October, 1839, and remained in office until his death, in 1841. He was the first to introduce responsible government, but the exact nature of this form of government was not very well understood, and there was constant disagreement. The outbreak, in 1837, had called the attention of the authorities to the want of volunteer corps, and, in the year 1839, the several regiments in Quebec were well organized.

Sir Charles Bagot succeeded Lord Sydenham in 1842, but a year later he was obliged to retire on account of ill health. Short as his career was, he had commenced to act as an intermediary between the two factions. Lord Metcalfe succeeded Bagot and occupied the office from 1843 to 1845. The latter year was long remembered on account of the disastrous fire which consumed the whole of the suburbs of St. Rochs. One month later, St. John's suburb, near the Upper Town, was destroyed by fire, the loss to the people being estimated at over \$3,000,000. England and the

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United States generously responded to the call for help, and soon a fund of \$500,000 was placed at the disposal of the committee, and much of the town was rebuilt in a more substantial manner. Quebec was to pass through another ordeal of fire. In the month of June, 1846, a fire was discovered in a theatre near Durham Terrace, and over forty persons lost their lives thereby. Lord Metcalfe when leaving Quebec gave the sum of \$2,000 towards the sufferers from the Quebec fires. Lord Cathcart was the next Governor. Under his régime the Militia Act was passed which gave great satisfaction to the majority. Lord Elgin, who succeeded Cathcart in 1847, was one of the most popular governors of Canada. He had already a good reputation as an able administrator, and was familiar with the administrative machinery necessary for the government of a colony. In reply to an address which was presented to him in the city of Montreal, he said :

“ You are pleased to observe, that the knowledge
“ of public affairs acquired by me in the Imperial
“ Parliament, and in other situations of high trust,
“ justifies the hope that I shall be guided in the
“ exercise of my functions by the great Constitutional
“ principles familiar to the British statesman. It will
“ be my study and anxious endeavour to verify these
“ favourable expectations. The powers of self-govern-
“ ment, to which your constitution allows such free
“ scope, are given for wise purposes, to enable the
“ people to exercise a salutary influence on the action
“ of government and to render government itself a
“ more powerful instrument for good, by securing
“ for it confidence and support : if ever these supports

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" should unhappily, be perverted to objects of faction
" or personal ambition, the best efforts of a Governor
" General to promote the welfare of the province must
" be unavailing and his high and honourable office can
" become, under such circumstances, only a source of
" bitter regret and disappointment."

The session of 1847 was a stormy one. Baldwin was very severe against the Government, and La Fontaine was very bitter against its French Canadian supporters. " You have been merely tools in the hands of your colleagues," he said : " one of your members has been expelled from the Council, and the other will soon be." Viger and Papineau were the members referred to. Lord Elgin determined to bring matters to a crisis, and he dissolved the Parliament. The elections were held, and the Government was defeated. Baldwin and La Fontaine were called upon to form a new ministry, in which four French Canadians were given portfolios. This new Government for a time promoted harmony in the province, and particularly satisfied the people of Quebec.

Lord Elgin was animated by a desire to give full scope to the wishes of the people for self government, and it is worthy of note that the Governor when he called La Fontaine to the head of affairs, did not, as his predecessors had done, select his advisers, but left this to the Prime Minister. During Lord Elgin's administration the seigniorial tenure was abolished, decimal currency was adopted, and many reforms were carried out in the different departments of the public service.

QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Sir Edmund Head, succeeded Lord Elgin.

On the 5th of June, 1854, there was a very impressive ceremony in Quebec, which for a moment recalled the struggle between Murray and Lévis, when the fate of Quebec again trembled in the balance, and seemed almost within the grasp of the victorious French General.

From time to time the share of the ploughman, or the spade of the workman had turned up the grim remains of those gallant sons of France and of England who fell at the battle of Ste. Foy while maintaining the honour of their respective countries. The Society of Saint Jean Baptiste, with sentiments of deep respect for the heroic dead gathered the scattered remains, and caused them to be interred in a common grave, which was afterwards marked by a column to perpetuate the French victory of April 28th, 1760.

The remains were conveyed to the Basilica, where a requiem mass was sung, and then the procession returned to the spot where the interment was made.

Three years later, in 1859, Quebec was thrown into mourning by the awful fate which overtook 200 emigrants who had left their native land to find a home in Canada. At four o'clock on the 26th of June, the steamer "Montreal" left her wharf intending to proceed to the city of Montreal, with about four hundred passengers on board. Everything went well until Cape Rouge was passed, when it was discovered that the vessel was on fire. In the excitement which followed, the panic-stricken passengers jumped into the river,

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and notwithstanding the short distance from the shore, over two hundred of them were drowned.

In order to show the progress made by the people of Quebec, it is again necessary to refer briefly to the political history of the Province. At this time, the man most prominently before the public in Quebec, was Augustin Norbert Morin, whose political career dates from 1830. He represented the County of Bellechasse until the Union, and was returned for various counties until 1854, when he was elected for Chicoutimi. In the latter year he formed an alliance with Sir Allan McNab, with whose views he was in sympathy. The Liberal-Conservative party, which was composed of moderate Liberals from Lower Canada, and moderate Conservatives from Upper Canada, dates from 1854. Morin had a chequered career. At an early age we find him engaged in literary work, and the founder of *La Minerve*, which for a long time held a prominent place. A few years later, his efforts in the cause of Reform brought him under suspicion, and he was obliged to seek shelter in the woods. Five years after he was appointed to the Bench, and during the next year he resigned to accept a portfolio in the Baldwin-La Fontaine Ministry, and, in 1867, he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court. During his long and eventful life, Morin's energies were directed towards building up the Canadian nationality, and by his death Quebec lost one of her most zealous advocates.

Another remarkable character was Sir George Etienne Cartier. He was a patriot, and for his share

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in the affair at St. Benoit he had to leave the country. Upon his return to Canada he became a follower of La Fontaine, and upon four occasions was returned for Verchères. Cartier's career covers the period from 1848 to 1872. His opponents, as well as his friends, recognized his many sterling qualities, and his noble patriotism. To him the Province of Quebec is indebted for much real progress. In 1857, Cartier was invited to form a cabinet with Sir John A. Macdonald, in succession to Dr. Taché, whose health had given way under the strain of constant application to the duties of public life. A few years after, however, Taché was able to return to active politics, and he played a brilliant part in the history of the country. Cartier's great work was in connection with the Act of Confederation.

A change of such importance as Confederation was naturally the subject of lengthy negotiations. In the month of October, 1864, a conference was held in the Parliament buildings on Mountain Hill. Amongst the thirty-three delegates assembled on that occasion, we believe that the only one living to-day in Quebec, is Sir Hector Langevin, K. C. M. G.; C. B. "They were all men " of large experience in the work of administration " or legislation in their respective provinces " writes Bourinot. "Not a few of them were noted lawyers " who had thoroughly studied the systems of Government in other countries. Some were gifted with rare " power and eloquence. At no time before, or since " has Quebec been visited by an assemblage of notables " with so many high qualifications for the foundation

“ of a nation. The chairman was Sir Etienne Pascal
 “ Taché, who had proved in his youth his fidelity to
 “ England on the famous battlefield of Chateauguay,
 “ and had won the respect of all classes and parties by
 “ the display of many admirable qualities, and he it
 “ was who gave utterance to the oft-quoted words :
 “ That the last gun that would be fired for British
 “ supremacy in America would be fired by a French
 “ Canadian.”

This session lasted for 16 days, and notwithstanding that representatives of the Press from the United States and England were present in the city, the deliberations were kept secret. In the resolutions framed at Quebec were embodied the principles on which the Canadian Federation rests : “ A federation, with a central government having jurisdiction over matters of interest to the whole country comprised in the Union and a number of provincial governments having the control and management of certain local matters naturally and conveniently belonging to them, each government being administered in accordance with the well understood principles of the British system of parliamentary institutions.”

In the course of time it was found that the basis of dividing the revenues of the country was not equitable and that the Province did not receive a just share. In the year 1887, the Prime Minister of Quebec convened an Interprovincial conference which met in Quebec from the 20th to the 28th of October, when

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various matters affecting the autonomy of the Province were discussed and resolutions were passed. This conference was presided over by the late Sir Oliver Mowat, the secretaries being Mr. Evanturel and Mr. Gustave Grenier.

In 1902, another Interprovincial conference was convened by the Hon. S. N. Parent, when many subjects of vital interest to the Province were again considered.



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