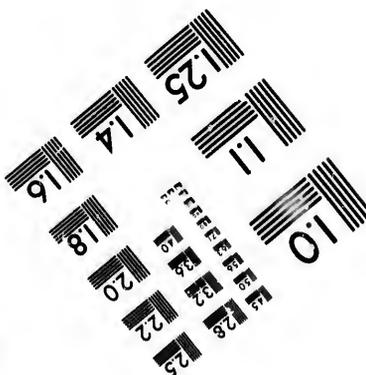
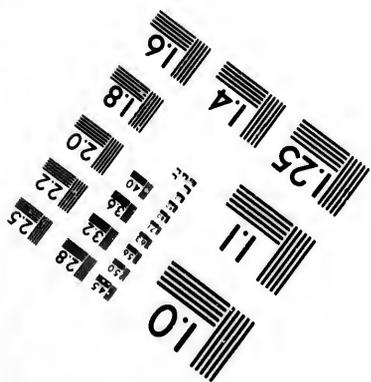
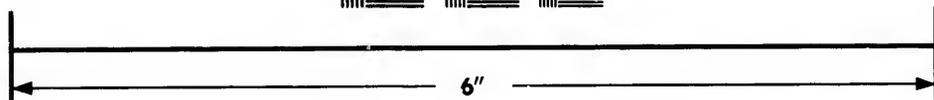
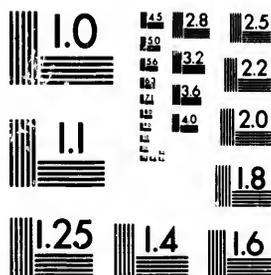


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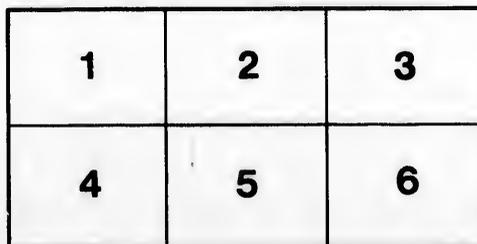
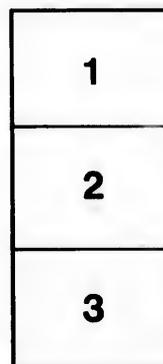
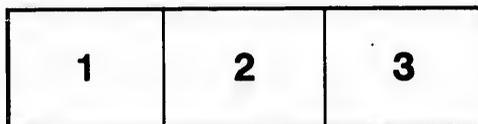
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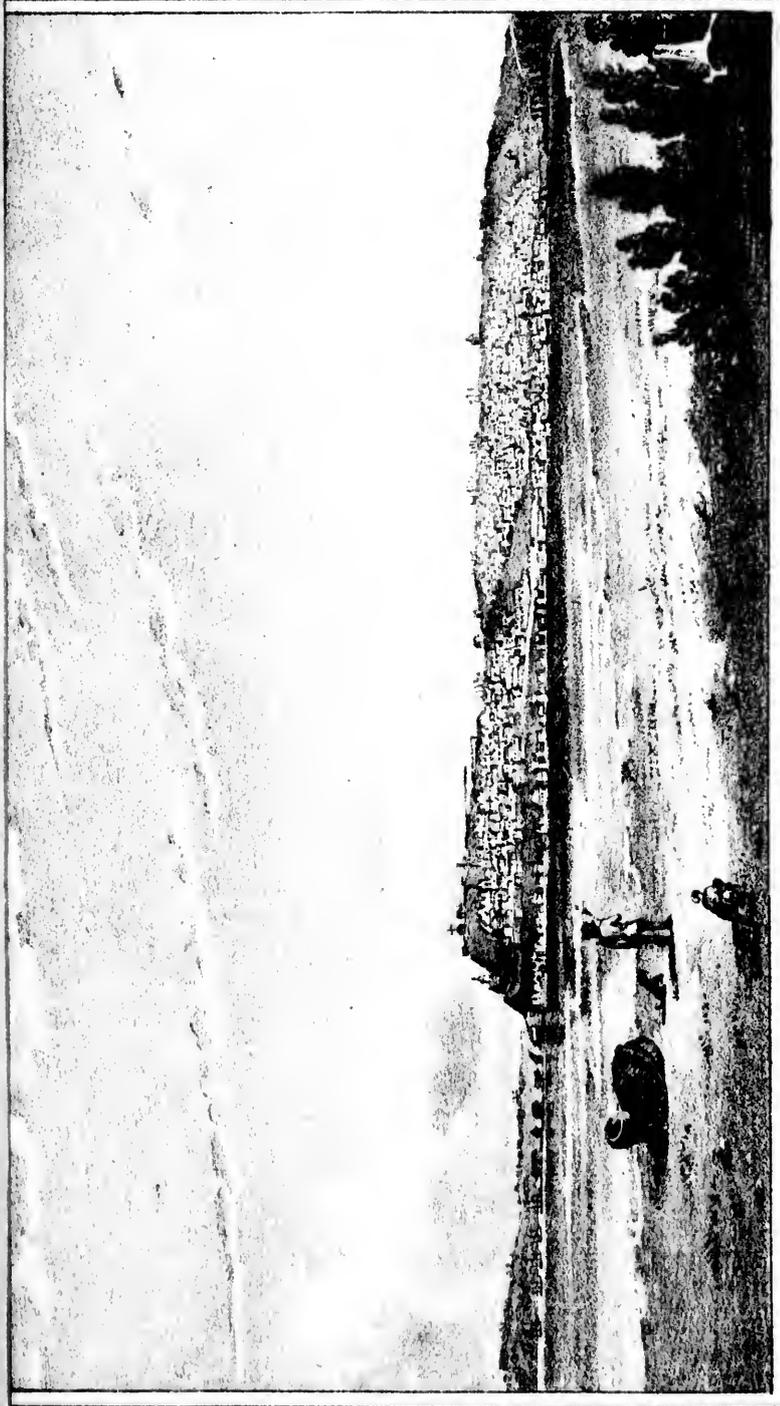
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QUEBEC.

An Historical Picture of Quebec



*An Excellent Picture of Quebec*

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# QUEBEC.



HAWKINS'S

HISTORY OF QUEBEC

HISTORICAL RECOLLECTIONS.



QUEBEC

Printed by N. J. ...

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1871

1871

1871





HAWKINS'S  
PICTURE OF QUEBEC  
with  
HISTORICAL RECOLLECTIONS



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for the Proprietor  
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HAWKINS'S  
PICTURE OF QUEBEC;

WITH

HISTORICAL RECOLLECTIONS.

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## CONTENTS.

	Page.
DEDICATION.....	vii.
PREFACE,.....	ix.
CHAPTER I.	
Introduction of the subject.....	1
CHAPTER II.	
Historical sketch of discovery, previous to the time of Jacques Cartier.—Madoc, Prince of Wales—Claim of the Norwegians—Period of Modern Discovery—Columbus—John and Sebastian Cabot—Voyage of Cortereal—Discovery by the French—Giovanni Verazzano --Canon de bronze.....	8.
CHAPTER III.	
Historical sketch continued.—First and second voyages of Jacques Cartier.—Discovery of Canada—and of Quebec—Description of Stadacona, and the harbor of St. Croix—Discovery of Hochelaga, or Montreal—Return to St. Croix—Disastrous winter of 1536—Return to France.....	34
CHAPTER IV.	
Historical sketch continued.—Third voyage of Jacques Cartier.—He winters at Cap Rouge—Voyage of Roberval—Return of Jacques Cartier to France—Fate of Roberval.....	55

iv.

CHAPTER V.

Historical sketch continued.—Grand project of Coligny  
—Settlement in French Florida—Romantic story of the  
Chevalier De Gourgues—His speech in Champlain  
—Abortive voyage of La Roche—Other voyages—  
Pontgravé—Chauvin..... 71

CHAPTER VI.

Historical sketch concluded.—First voyage of Champlain  
—Enterprises of De Monts—Foundation of Quebec.... 89

CHAPTER VII.

Etymology of the words Canada and Quebec.—The Suffolk Seal—Account of the Duke of Suffolk..... 107

CHAPTER VIII.

The Castle of St. Lewis.—Foundation—Capture by Kertk  
—Remarkable scene therein—Described by La Potherie  
and by Charlevoix—Destruction by fire—Stanzas..... 128

CHAPTER IX.

Ancient appearance of the City.—General description—  
The Citadel—The fortifications..... 149

CHAPTER X.

Religious establishments—Ancient and Modern.—Recollet  
Church and Convent—Jesuit's College—Hotel Dieu  
—Ursuline Convent—Seminary of Quebec—General  
Hospital..... 175

CHAPTER XI.

Religious establishments concluded.—French Cathedral  
Church of the Congregation—St Roch—Notre Dame—  
des Victoires—Prophecy—English Cathedral—Monu-  
ments—Other places of worship—St. Andrew's Church  
—St. John's—St. Patrick's—Wesleyan Chapel..... 222

CHAPTER XII.

Intendant's Palace.—Bishop's Palace—Parliament House  
—Court House—Government offices—Jail—Freema-  
sons' Hall—Chien d'Or—Montcalm House—Marine  
Hospital—Chasseur's Museum—Places of Education... 244

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Al

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## CHAPTER XIII.

- Monument to WOLFE and MONTCALM.—Ceremony on laying the first stone—Inscriptions—Stanzas—Captain Alexander..... 265

## CHAPTER XIV.

- The Lower Town—Earliest notice—Trade—Manners—Climate in 1700—Description in 1720—Present state and public buildings—Exchange—Trinity House—Banks—Other buildings—Corporation Seal..... 282

## CHAPTER XV.

- Sieges of Quebec.—Capture in 1629—Repulse of Phipps, in 1690—Abortive attempt in 1711—Expedition in 1759—Preliminary sketch—Convention at Albany—Governor Pownall—General Townshend's Despatches—Battle of the Plains—Death of WOLFE—Intended Monument—Death of MONTCALM..... 298

## CHAPTER XVI.

- Sieges continued.—Memorabilia of 1759—Fraser's Highlander's—Anecdotes..... 373

## CHAPTER XVII.

- Sieges continued.—Reception of the news in England—Chronological series of occurrences there—Promotions, &c..... 399

## CHAPTER XVIII.

- Sieges continued.—General Murray's defeat—His despatches—Final acquisition of Canada..... 410

## CHAPTER XIX.

- Sieges concluded.—Arnold's expedition in 1775—Siege and storming on the 31st December—Death of Montgometry..... 422

## CHAPTER XX.

- Geology of Quebec and the vicinity—General character of the environs—Extract from Fouchette—Conclusion... 442

Coligny  
ory of the  
hamplain  
oyages—  
..... 71

hamplain  
Quebec.... 89

The Suf-  
..... 107

by Kertk  
Potheric  
anzas..... 128

ription—  
..... 149

Recollet  
tel Dieu  
General  
..... 175

Cathedral  
e Dame—  
—Monu-  
s Church  
el..... 222

nt House  
Freema-  
—Marine  
cation... 244

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TO

THE RIGHT HONORABLE GENERAL

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE,

KNIGHT GRAND CROSS OF THE MOST HONORABLE MILITARY  
ORDER OF THE BATH, &C. &C. &C.

MY LORD,

When His late Majesty King George the Fourth was graciously pleased to confer the honor of Commander-in-Chief of his Armies in India, on your Lordship, the capital of the British dominions in North America hailed it, amidst regret for your departure, as a proud mark of the Sovereign's favor, and approbation of your Lordship's long and arduous administration of the Government of this part of the King's dominions.

Convinced, my Lord, that whatever relates to the renown of this important and interesting city will not be unacceptable to you, I beg leave to dedicate the following pages to your Lordship : they may serve to recall to your mind the portion of your valuable public life, passed in this quarter of the world, in which the honor of the King and the best interests of the Province were so conspicuously upheld by your Lordship.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's,

Faithful and devoted Servant,

ALFRED HAWKINS.

47, St. Lewis Street,  
Quebec, November 10th, 1834.

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## PREFACE.

SOME delay has unavoidably taken place in the publication of this work, but the subject is so full of interest that it was found impossible to confine it within the bounds originally intended, namely, a volume of two hundred and forty pages.

With a desire, therefore, of embracing the most important historical facts connected with this city, I have availed myself of the valuable information which has been kindly afforded by several gentlemen conversant with the early history of this country ; and I beg to express my acknowledgments to those gentlemen, and to the many friends who have taken an active interest in the progress of this work. I should be wanting, indeed, in justice, if I did not here express how deeply sensible I am of the obligations which I owe to A. THOM, Esquire, M. A. for the original Prospectus of this work, which has been duly estimated wherever it has been read ; and I esteem myself particularly fortunate in having obtained the assistance of J. C. FISHER, Esquire, L. L. D., who arranged and classified the various materials submitted to him, and from whose classical pen the greatest portion of the following pages proceeds.

A. H.

1. View of
2. Title pa
3. Suffolk
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5. Hope-G
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9. Prescott
0. St. Lev
1. Palace-C
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3. Marine
4. Quebec

## PLATES.

### DIRECTION TO THE BINDER.

1. View of Quebec from Beauport to face title page.	
2. Title page, Engraved Plate and Great Seal.	
3. Suffolk Seal to face.....	Page 118
4. Castle St. Lewis do. ....	128
5. Hope-Gate do. ....	152
6. Dalhousie-Gate do. ....	156
7. Officers Barracks do. ....	158
8. St. Johns-Gate do. ....	165
9. Prescott-Gate do. ....	170
10. St. Lewis-Gate do. ....	172
11. Palace-Gate do. ....	247
12. Parliament House do. ....	253
13. Marine Hospital do. ....	261
14. Quebec Harbor do. ....	291

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CHAPTER THE FIRST.

THE year 1759, so remarkable for the successes of the British arms, and which reflected such lustre upon the expiring reign of George the Second, found the frontiers of Canada the chief seat of war between Great Britain and France. The successful result of a campaign, planned with singular skill, and executed with equal valour and conduct, placed the whole of the French possessions in America under the standard of Great Britain. The capture of the city and Fortress of Quebec, remarkably strong both by nature and art, was an achievement of so romantic a character, so distinguished by chivalrous enterprise, and so fraught with singular adventure, that the interest attending it still remains undiminished, and its glorious recollections unfaded. By the subsequent capitulation, a most important Province was wrested from the French, and reduced under the British sceptre—the population of which, fostered by the strength and generosity of British protection,

has grown from seventy thousand to half a million of souls, enjoying a degree of rational liberty and happiness unequalled on the surface of the globe. Not less in an historical than in a national point of view, the battle of the Plains of Abraham calls up the proudest feelings of patriotic exultation. The various advantages derived by the empire from the accession of so large a territory, are not more obvious to the statesman, than the virtue and heroism of the youthful leader of the expedition, and the bravery of his troops, are themes of just pride to the lover of his country. Young in years, but mature in experience, WOLFE possessed all the liberal virtues, in addition to a perfect, an enthusiastic knowledge of the military art; with a sublimity of genius always the distinguishing mark of minds above the ordinary level of mankind. His glorious and lamented death in the arms of victory—together with that of his gallant antagonist, MONTCALM, by whom nothing was omitted in the power of an able and zealous officer to perform,—have thrown a classic celebrity around the subject of the present volume, and render Quebec an object of attention and curiosity to the intelligent of every country.

Whatever may be the future destiny of this remarkable city, whether as the Metropolis of the flourishing Colonies of British North America, the Royal Standard of Great Britain shall continue to wave for ages over the battlements of its Citadel—*quod sit Diis visum!*—or whether in the course of time a new and independent empire shall spring up on this Continent, allied to and connected with Great Britain by the remembrance of past benefits, the enjoyment of free institutions and of reciprocal mercantile advantages, Quebec, either on the ground

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of its ancient historic fame, its natural sublimity, or its political and commercial importance, must ever maintain a superior rank among the cities of the western world. Whatever may be thy future destiny, no generous stranger shall hereafter visit thee, QUEBEC, or wander along the classic shores of thy Saint Lawrence, and not gaze on the prospect before him with unrepressed delight—no liberal mind shall be insensible to the beauties of thy locality—none shall leave thee without acknowledging the moral and physical grandeur of thy associations, and without feeling the soul elevated by the recollection of thy bygone glories, both of religion and of arms! While history blushes for the cruelties which tarnished the Spanish occupation of Hispaniola—and while, in Mexico and Peru, Cortes and Pizarro sullied their glory, and moved the horror of Las Casas, by a war of extermination against the heathen tenants of the soil—here in Quebec was established from the earliest period at which the Colony acquired strength, an organized system for the conversion and civilisation of the Aborigines, by means of the Cross, not of the sword. Here peaceful pursuits were chiefly followed, and a friendly intercourse maintained with the savages by means of zealous Priests, who plunged fearlessly into the trackless forest, imparting to the wild hunter the practical results of the arts of civilisation, and the holy inspirations of revealed religion. The attachment of the French to the Indian tribes among whom they were thrown, may be justly supposed to have sprung from the hospitable reception which the early settlers met with from the natives on their first coming to the land. The very earliest record, indeed, places them in the most amiable light; and leads to the mortifying conclu-

sion, that Europeans, generally speaking, either never discovered the true methods of conciliation, or that they seldom remembered them in practice. The incident alluded to occurred in the second voyage of Verazzano, in 1525, and is to be found originally in Ramusio, Vol. III. p. 421. At the desire of Verazzano, a young sailor had undertaken to swim to land and accost the natives; but when he saw the crowds which thronged the beach, he repented of his purpose, and although within a few yards of the landing place, his courage failed, and he attempted to turn back. At this moment the water only reached his waist; but overcome with terror and exhaustion, he had scarcely strength to cast his presents and trinkets upon the beach, when a high wave threw him senseless on the shore. The savages ran immediately to his assistance, took him up in their arms, and carried him a short distance from the sea. Great was his terror when, upon recovering his recollection, he found himself entirely in their power. Stretching his hands towards the ship, he uttered piercing cries, to which the natives replied by loud yells intended, as he afterwards found, to reassure him. They then carried him to the foot of a hill, stripped him naked, turned his face to the sun, and kindled a large fire near him. He was fully impressed with the horrible thought that they were about to sacrifice him to the sun: his companions on board, unable to render him any assistance, were of the same opinion. They thought, to use Verazzano's own words, "that the natives were going to roast and eat him." Their fears, however, were soon turned to gratitude and astonishment: the savages dried his clothes, warmed him, and showed him every mark of kindness, caressing and patting his white skin

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with apparent surprise. They then dressed him, conducted him to the beach, tenderly embraced him, and pointing to the vessel, removed to a little distance to show that he was at liberty to return to his friends. Thus did the untutored Indians treat the first European they had seen with true Christian charity—the philanthropist laments to add, that it is doubtful whether violence was not offered to the first of our red brethren who fell into the power of the white dispensers of civilisation. The efforts of the Jesuits for the conversion and instruction of the savages—the universal kindness and benevolence of the Missionaries wherever they succeeded in establishing themselves, perpetuated this friendly spirit towards the French among the neighboring Indians, so often exemplified in the annals of the country, and which remained after the cession of the Province in 1763. A proof of this feeling may yet be found in the Huron Village and establishment of Lorette, where the remnant of those Aborigines were protected by the French; and where they survive at this day, shorn, it is true, of their ancient power and dominion over the forest, but still entertaining friendship and respect for, and receiving protection from those who now rule the land of their forefathers. It may be well questioned, whether an Indian settlement so situated, under the very walls, as it were, of the capital, can now be found in any province or part of the western hemisphere. These are some of the peaceful and moral glories which throw such interest around the history and locality of Quebec. As to her claims to military renown, it need only be remembered, that it has been the peculiar fortune of Quebec to be the arena of a conflict which affected the strength and influence of two of the most powerful

and highly civilised nations of the old world, Great Britain and France. Quebec is the only city on the North American Continent which has been regularly fortified, and which has resisted the sieges and assaults of disciplined troops. When it last fell, the whole French system of colonial empire fell with it—a system which, had it been followed with vigor equal to the conception, might have proved fatal to the interests of the English colonists—and a colonial empire which extended from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi. The result of this conflict, and the circumstances which achieved that result, render Quebec peculiarly interesting to every true Briton; while the consequences, so favorable to the liberty of the subject, and the full development of the resources of the colony, have converted the field of military defeat into a scene of civil triumph in the estimation of every loyal Canadian. To either race the ground is sacred. To the one, the Plains of Abraham are at once the Hastings and the Runnimeade of the other. By our brethren of the Union, the site of Quebec cannot be visited without peculiar interest. The great event which consecrated the Heights of Abraham, while it for ever extinguished French dominion in America, established the security of the English colonists of that day, and eventually laid the foundation of the present gigantic republic.

The scenic beauty of Quebec has been the theme of general eulogy. The majestic appearance of Cape Diamond and the fortifications—the cupolas and minarets, like those of an eastern city, blazing and sparkling in the sun—the loveliness of the panorama—the noble basin, like a sheet of purest silver, in which might ride with safety an hundred sail

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of the line—the graceful meandering of the River St. Charles—the numerous village spires on either side of the St. Lawrence—the fertile fields dotted with innumerable cottages, the abodes of a rich and moral peasantry—the distant Falls of Montmorency—the park-like scenery of Pointe Levi—the beautiful Isle of Orleans—and more distant still, the frowning Cap Tourment, and the lofty range of purple mountains of the most picturesque forms which bound the prospect, unite to make a *coup d'œil*, which, without exaggeration, is scarcely to be surpassed in any part of the world. If the scientific traveller, amid the sensations experienced on scanning the various beauties of the scene, should recall to mind, in ascending the highest elevation of the promontory, that he is standing upon the margin of the primeval and interminable forest, extending from a narrow selvage of civilisation to the Arctic regions, he will admit that the position of Quebec is unique in itself, and that in natural sublimity it stands, as to the cities of the continent, unrivalled, and alone.

## CHAPTER THE SECOND.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF DISCOVERY PREVIOUS TO THE  
TIME OF JACQUES CARTIER.

BEFORE we proceed to the descriptive portion of our volume, it has been thought necessary to give a sketch of the progress of maritime discovery in this part of the continent, with historical notices and recollections connected with the capital of British North America. The original volumes in which the voyages of the discoverers, and the early annals of the country are to be found, are not always easy of access by general readers ; many being contained in scarce and costly works, or in the scattered fragments of more recondite authorities. The present essay has therefore been compiled to furnish a comprehensive manual of the progress of civilisation in the Province, as an appropriate introduction to the immediate object of this publication. Although this subject has been treated by various authors, whose books are familiar to the public, we trust that some new matter, or some facts placed in a novel point of view, will be found to repay the reader for the time bestowed in the perusal of this chapter.

If the existence of the New World, as it has frequently been called, from the late period of its discovery, was unknown to the Ancients, it would seem with some show of reason to have been not altogether unsuspected by them. From several passages in

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it is certain that an idea was entertained, that it was easy to sail from the western coast of Spain to the eastern shores of India. They had, however, no idea of the magnitude of the globe, and imagined that a few days would be sufficient for such a voyage. The existence of an immense continent intervening between their point of departure and the extreme shores of India, was beyond their conception, as it was of the early European navigators. The object of the first adventurers of whom any thing certain has reached us, was a passage to India, and it may be said that they stumbled upon America in their route. Aristotle, Strabo, Pliny and Seneca entertained the crude opinion mentioned above. Strabo alone seems to have imagined the distance between the two continents, when he says, that the ocean encompasses all the earth; that in the east it washes the coast of India, and in the west those of Africa and Spain, and that, if the vastness of the Atlantic did not hinder, they might soon sail from the one to the other upon the same parallel.

The following remarkable passage is from the Medea of Seneca, the Tragedian :—

Venient annis  
 Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus  
 Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens  
 Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos  
 Detegat orbes, nec sit terris  
 Ultima Thule.

“ There will come a time in after ages, when the ocean will loose the bonds of matter, and a vast country will be discovered, and a second Tiphys will reveal new worlds, and Thule shall no longer be the extremity of the earth.” And in a book, ascribed to Aristotle, the Carthagi-

nians are stated to have discovered, far beyond the pillars of Hercules, an Island in the Atlantic Ocean, of great extent and fertility, watered by large and magnificent rivers, but entirely uninhabited. This enterprising people are said to have planted a colony there, which was afterwards recalled, owing to some political objection, which forbade distant colonization. The Tyrians are also said to have evinced some intention of occupying this Island, and were proceeding to carry their purpose into execution, when they were prevented by the jealousy of the Carthaginians. It was pretended by some writers that this Island was Hispaniola, by others, one of the Azores. The boldness of the Carthaginian navigators is sufficiently authenticated; and however we may be inclined to doubt the probability of their having ventured as far as the West Indies of modern days, it is by no means impossible that they had acquired some imperfect notion of Islands and lands in the western hemisphere. One fact, however, is clearly ascertained, that their belief in the existence of such Islands or continent did not induce any subsequent colony to go in search of them; nor is there any reason to believe, that America received any portion of its early inhabitants from civilised Europe, prior to the close of the fifteenth century.

We may here mention a curious passage in the lost writings of Cornelius Nepos, quoted by Pomponius Mela: "A king of the Boii made Quintus Metellus Celer then Proconsul of Gaul, a present of some *Indians* who had been thrown by a tempest on the coast of Germany." The Romans concluded from this circumstance, that coming, as these savages did, from *India*, it was practicable to make the tour of Asia and Europe round the north,

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by traversing the imaginary ocean which, as they supposed, occupied the site of Siberia and of the north of Russia. This explanation cannot now be admitted ; but the fact still remains, that Indians, or dark complexioned people of some nation or other, actually reached the coast of Germany or Gaul, some time before the year of Rome, 694, the commencement of Cæsar's conquests. In all probability, they were Esquimaux, either from Labrador or Greenland. The same circumstance again occurred in 1680 and 1684. In Wallace's Account of Orkney, it is mentioned that some Greenlanders arrived there in the kind of boats peculiar to them, which were preserved in the Church of Barra, and in the College Museum of Edinburgh.

#### MADOC, PRINCE OF WALES.

On the discovery of America by Columbus, several prior claims were attempted to be put in by different nations, founded on tradition ; and stories were revived which had been well nigh consigned to oblivion. The claim advanced by the Welch merits relation, as having been made by a people of kindred stock with ourselves. Their tradition respecting the discovery of America is, that about the year 1170, one of their Princes, Madoc, son of Owen Guyneth, Prince of North Wales, sailed to the New World, and there established a colony of his countrymen. The cause of his emigration is stated to be this :—the sons of Owen disputed the division of their father's dominions, and Madoc fearing the consequences of the disunion, like another Teucer, chose to seek a new habitation in a foreign land, rather than to hazard the dangers of civil convulsion.

He is said to have steered due west, leaving Ireland on the north ; and thus to have arrived at an unknown country, the continent of America, on which he landed. He afterwards returned to Wales, and took thence a second supply of people, but was no more heard of. The objections to this story are its improbability, and want of supporting evidence. The Welsh were at no period a naval people ; and in the age of Madoc, must have been ignorant of all navigation, but that of rivers and coasts. It should, however, be mentioned in justice to the claims of our Welsh fellow countrymen, that this tale was by no means invented after the real discovery of America, in order to establish a fabricated title. Meredith Ap Rees, who died in 1477, a famous Welsh poet, composed an ode in honor of this Madoc, wherein was handed down the tradition, with an account of his discoveries, several years anterior to the time of Columbus. Of the tradition itself there can be no doubt. Indeed, in an American publication a few years ago, we have seen it stated, in reference to this supposed voyage of Madoc, that a people quite distinct from the Aborigines, both as to language and physiognomy, had been lately discovered in Mexico, and were supposed to be descendants from the colony of Madoc. Their language was said to be somewhat similar to the ancient British, or Celtic ; and several Celtic words have also been traced in the Mexican tongue. The Celtic is undoubtedly one of the most ancient languages, and its roots may still be found in most of those of the civilised world, from the Persian to the Scottish, Irish and Welsh. A few words may have been adopted into the Mexican : it is indeed mentioned, by Vater, that he had found eighteen Celtic words in ten American lan-

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guages. The traditions of the Celtic nations, and those derived from them, have always been of the most marvellous quality—witness the fanciful Trojan origin of the first settler in Britain, Brutus, who kindly bestowed his name on the sea-girt Island ; and the derivation of the Irish Celts from positive and direct emigration of Egyptian, Phœnician, Greek and Milesian origin, under various imaginary leaders, all and several of whom, as well as an interminable list of kings, are gravely set down in the veracious Chronicles of Eri.

## CLAIM OF THE NORWEGIANS.

America must have been known to the barbarous tribes of Asia for thousands of years ; but it is singular that it should have been visited by one of the most enterprising nations of Europe, nearly five centuries before the time of Columbus, without awakening the attention of either statesmen or philosophers. The Norwegians, with far higher pretensions than the Welsh, founded their claim to the early discovery of America on their well known voyages to Iceland and Greenland in the tenth and eleventh centuries ; and having undoubtedly penetrated within so short a distance from the New World, they may fairly be supposed to have touched on some part of that continent in their annual voyages for nearly three centuries, distinguished as the old Northmen were by their enterprise, hardihood and love of adventure. In the year 1001, BIORN is said, in Icelandic manuscripts of good reputation, to have landed on the coast of Labrador, where he met with the Esquimaux, whom he called *Skraelingues*, from their very diminutive stature. In the following year it has

been maintained, on reasonable evidence, that they had a settlement in Newfoundland, which they called Vinland, from the vines growing there. We shall find that the same fondness for the vine, and a similar abundance of that tree, induced Jacques Cartier to give the name of "Isle of Bacchus," to what is now termed the Isle of Orleans. They passed the winter there, and found that on the shortest day the sun rose at eight o'clock, which fixes the place of their visit to the 49th degree, the latitude of Newfoundland, or of the River St. Lawrence. The following story is amusing :—One day a German sailor of the name of Tuckil was missing, but soon returned shouting and leaping for joy; having, as he said, discovered the intoxicating grape of his own country, the expressed juice of which, according to the story, had had its usual effect upon his brain. To prove the truth of his assertion, he led some of his comrades to the fortunate spot, and they gathered several bunches of grapes, which they presented in triumph to their commander, who called the country, in consequence, Vinland. This ancient settlement, however, after some years, seems to have been relinquished, although it is believed that some traces of it have lately been discovered.

We find it mentioned in Haliburton's History of Nova-Scotia, that the wild vine is well known there; and all New England abounds with the wild purple grape, some vines of which are very prolific. There is the best evidence that it may be turned to account in the manufacture of wine. An American writer observes, that there is not the slightest doubt that this vine may be cultivated so as to yield a thousand fold more than now, of large and finer fruit; and the product will be abundant of almost

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any flavored wine the manufacturer may choose. The pure juice, lightly expressed, and somewhat sweetened with sugar, will furnish a wine of most delicate flavor, similar in color and taste to a Frontignac and Muscat; and the quality may be changed by a stronger expression of the astringent qualities of the skins, until the wine will, in that respect, run through all the varieties of claret and port, still retaining, however, much of the original Muscat flavor.

A Danish gentleman, of the name of Rafn, who has been engaged in researches respecting these early voyages, has ascertained from original documents, various facts previously unknown; among others, that America, first discovered in 985, was repeatedly visited by the Norwegians in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries—that the *embouchure* of the St. Lawrence, and in particular the Bay of Gaspé, was their principal station—that they had penetrated along the coast, as far south as Carolina, and that they introduced a knowledge of christianity among the natives. We understand that he is preparing a work on this subject. And the accounts of the voyages of the old Scandinavians to America, have lately gained a new confirmation, by the discovery of a Runic stone: which, in the year 1824, was found under 73° N. latitude, on the coast of Greenland. The inscription translated is as follows:—“Erling Sigvalson, and Biorn Hordeson, and Endride Addson, Saturday before Gagnday (Rogation Day) the 25th April, erected these heaps of stone, and cleared the place in the year 1135.”

## PERIOD OF MODERN DISCOVERY.

We now come to a period at which may be dated the real discovery of the American Continent. The invention of the compass had given courage to the timid navigators of the fifteenth century. They no longer coasted along the shores, and sought popularity and applause by visiting Islands adjoining the continent of Africa. The discoverer of unknown regions, ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, of glory, and of gain, and proud in the patronage of princes, verified the description of Horace, and launched boldly into the Atlantic main :—

Illi robur et æs triplex  
 Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci  
 Commisit pelago ratem  
 Primus, nec timuit præcipitem Africum  
 Decertantem Aquilonibus,  
 Nec tristes Hyadas, nec rabiem noti ;

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Quem mortis timuit gradum  
 Qui siccis oculis monstra natantia,  
 Qui vidit mare turgidum et  
 Infames scopules ?

Or oak, or brass, with triple fold  
 Around that daring mortal's bosom roll'd,  
 Who first to the wild ocean's rage  
 Launch'd the frail bark, and heard the winds engage  
 Tempestuous, when the South descends  
 Precipitate, and with the North contends ;  
 Nor fear'd the stars portending rain,  
 Nor the loud tyrant of the western main.

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What various forms of death could fright  
 The man, who viewed with fix'd, unshaken sight,  
 The floating monsters, waves inflam'd  
 And rocks for shipwreck'd fleets ill-fam'd ?

## COLUMBUS.

Although the honor of the discovery of the New World may be divided among three powers of Europe, and each be content with a share of the fame—the West Indies having been discovered by the great Columbus, in 1492, for the Spaniards—Newfoundland, and the continent now called the United States, by the English, under John and Sebastian Cabot, in 1497 and 1498—and Canada by the French, under Jacques Cartier, in 1535, we are nevertheless disposed to claim for the English the principal merit of the discovery. We contend, that independently of England having first entertained the propositions of Columbus in 1488, the absolute discovery of Newfoundland, by John Cabot, in 1497, a year before Columbus discovered South America at the mouth of the Orinoco, gives to the English an indefeasible title to the first discovery of the American Continent, although no steps were taken until many years afterwards to establish the British ascendancy over the countries in question.

It is generally known, that the object which engaged the ambition, excited the cupidity, and stimulated the adventures of the early navigators, was the discovery of a passage to India and the spice countries, by sailing round the Southern extremity of Africa; and thence taking an Eastern course—a passage which was afterwards successfully effected by Vasco de Gama, the famous Portuguese navigator, in 1497. The Venetians are said to have had some information about the West Indies in the year 1424. It is certain that about the year 1474, the renowned Columbus, Colombo, or Colon, as he is respectively

called, a native of the Genoese territory, struck out a new and ingenious theory; by which he contended on rational and philosophical principles, drawn from the sphericity and magnitude of the earth, which at that period had been ascertained—that a shorter and more direct passage to the East Indies might be found by steering across the Atlantic due West. After first offering the result of his conviction to the Genoese Republic, his native land, by which it was neglected—afterwards to the King of Portugal, who basely endeavored to take advantage of the project without employing its author in the execution—Columbus proceeded to Spain, having first sent his brother Bartholomew to England: where, after residing for some time in poverty and neglect, owing to his capture by pirates on the voyage, he succeeded in completing and publishing a Map of the World, dated 21st February, 1480, which he afterwards found means to present to the King, Henry VII. The following lines more remarkable for their subject and their antiquity than for any poetical merit, were inscribed upon this Map.

*Terrarum quicunque cupis feliciter oras  
Noscere, cuncta decens doctè pictura docebit,  
Quæ Strabo affirmat, Ptolemæus, Plinius atque  
Isidorus; non una tamen sententia cuique.  
Pingitur hic etiam nuper sulcata carinis  
Hispanis zona illa, prius incognita genti  
Torrída, quæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.  
Pro autore, sive pìctore.*

And a little lower were these additional lines :

*Genoa cui patria est, nomen cui Bartholomæus,  
Columbus de terrâ rubrà, opus edidit istud,  
Londiniis, An. Dom. 1480, atque insuper anno,  
Octavâ decimâque die cum tertia mensis  
Febr. Laudes Christo cantentur abundè.*

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The sense of these lines is to this effect: "Who-  
 "soever may desire to obtain a correct knowledge  
 "of the coasts of countries, may learn from this  
 "elegant engraving, all that Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny,  
 "and Isidorus assert on this subject, although they do  
 "not agree on all points. Here is also set down the  
 "Torrid Zone, formerly unknown, but lately sailed  
 "over by Spanish ships, and now known to many.  
 "A Genoese by birth, Bartholomew Colombo, of  
 "the *red earth*, published this work at London, on  
 "the 21st day of February, 1480. Praise be to  
 "Christ."

It appears that in consequence of this application, the King was desirous of having the subject fully explained to him; and with his usual sagacity seeing the merits of the proposal, he assented to it, and despatched Bartholomew in search of his brother Columbus, with an invitation to the English Court. An agreement was actually entered into between the King and Bartholomew in 1488, four years before the voyage of Columbus in the service of Isabella of Castile. The latter in the mean time was engaged in negociations with the Spanish Princes, and so continued until 1492; when wearied and disgusted by vexatious delays, he was on the point of returning to England and availing himself of the patronage of its Monarch. At this critical juncture, Isabella determined to patronise and forward the discoveries anticipated by Columbus, out of her own resources, generously offering her jewels towards defraying the expense—while her thrifty spouse, Ferdinand of Arragon, refused to bear any portion of the charges, which were supplied from the treasury of Castile only. Thus it appears that England had the honor of first admitting the proposals of Columbus; and

that it was by mere accident that the discovery of the West Indies, was subsequently made by Columbus in 1492 under Spanish, and not under British auspices.

JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT.

Henry VII. having been thus disappointed, endeavored to procure the services of other mariners of experience, for the purpose of making discoveries on the plan submitted by Bartholomew Columbus. In the year 1494, two years after the discovery of the West Indies, John Cabot, a Venetian Merchant, was resident in Bristol: upon whose enthusiastic spirit the deeds of Columbus had made a deep impression; and who thought himself capable of performing exploits as a seaman equal to those of the great Genoese. Fired with this ambition, he made application to the King, Henry VII., who readily granted him Letters Patent, dated March 5th, 1495, authorizing the said John Cabot, or Kabotto, and his sons Louis, Sebastian and Sanchez, to sail with five ships for the discovery of unknown regions in any part of the globe. They were empowered to subdue and possess them as the King's Lieutenants, stipulating to pay to the Crown one-fifth part of the net profits of the adventure, and to return with their vessels to the port of Bristol. The result of this voyage was without doubt the discovery of North America. On the 24th day of June, 1497, they discovered the coast of Labrador, to which they gave the name of *Terra primum visa*, or *Primavista*. The opposite Island they called St. John's, having landed there on St. John's day, the 24th June. This is now the Island of Newfoundland. Prince says, that the land discovered by Cabot was

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in latitude 45. If so, it was in the peninsula of Nova Scotia, and as they coasted the land Northward, they must have entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence in pursuit of the Northern passage. John Cabot returned to England in August, 1497, and was presented with ten pounds by the King from his privy purse as a reward to him, "who had found the new Isle." In February, 1498, new style, the King granted to the same John Cabot second Letters Patent, with authority to sail from any port in England, in six vessels of not more than two hundred tons each, and with more favorable terms than before. In this second commission, he expressly mentions "the lands and isles of late found by the said John in our name and by our commandment." About this time, however, Sir John Cabot, who had received the honor of knighthood, died; and in the summer of the year 1498, Sebastian Cabot, his son, although a young man of twenty three years of age, was promoted to the command of the expedition, and sailed on a voyage of discovery, in search of a north-west passage into the south seas. He soon reached Newfoundland, and proceeded as far as the 56th degree of latitude north; whence, being unable to discover any such passage, he returned and examined the same coast towards the south, until he came to the beautiful country, at present called Florida. Fabian states, that in the fourteenth year of Henry VII. 1499, there were in London three wild men brought by Cabot to the King, "taken in the new found Island." They were clothed in the skins of animals, and eat raw flesh: they spoke in a strange uncouth tongue, and were very brutish in their behaviour. He adds, however, that such had been their improvement in the civilising atmosphere of London, that

when he next saw them two years afterwards, dressed in English habits, he could with difficulty recognise them.

In claiming the merit of a prior discovery of North America for the English, it must be obvious that there is no intention to detract from the fame of Columbus. It is difficult, indeed, to repress astonishment at the success of that illustrious navigator, and at the magnitude and splendor of his discovery. We regard the great Columbus with admiration as the first who conceived and executed a mighty design, and brought about the revelation of a new world—but must not deny praise, though of an inferior degree, to those gallant spirits who followed him in his glorious career. It is a remarkable historical fact, and one highly honorable to English enterprise, that not only did Henry VII. listen favorably to the propositions of Columbus, some years before they were accepted by the Spanish Court, but that, although Columbus landed in Hispaniola so early as February, 1493, he did not ascertain the existence of the continent of South America until May, 1498—whereas there is certain evidence that almost a year before, an English vessel had reached the shores of the North American continent. Sir John Cabot, therefore, was undoubtedly the first discoverer of this continent, which Columbus did not see until a year afterwards; while his son Sebastian was the first discoverer of Florida, so called in 1512, when it was taken possession of by the Spaniards under Juan Ponce de Leon, who passes with many as the original discoverer.

Neither Cabot or Columbus were destined to know that their names were immortalised in those of the lands they had discovered. An attempt was lately made to give the name of Cabotia to the British

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Provinces of this continent—but that of America, taken from the spurious pretensions of Amerigo Vespuccio, a drawer of charts, has by an unaccountable caprice, supplanted the noble name of Columbia. The bold usurpation of a fortunate imposter has robbed the discoverer of the new world of a distinction which belonged to him of right; and mankind are left to regret an act of injustice, which, having been sanctioned by the lapse of so many ages, they can never redress. Columbus, however ungratefully treated, has been redeemed by fame. Sebastian Cabot lived long in great reputation. He entered into the service of Spain, but returned to England, and undertook a third voyage in 1517, which it is unnecessary to touch upon in this place. He afterwards resided in London, and built a fine house at Blackwall, called Poplar, which names still remain. In the year 1548, he was made, by Edward VI., grand pilot of England, with a fee of one hundred and sixty six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence per annum. In concluding this notice of Cabot, we may mention that there are at present in Boston and Philadelphia, respectable families, bearing the name and arms of Cabot, who are generally considered to be descendants of the great navigator.

#### VOYAGE OF CORTERREAL.

The next voyage in the order of discovery was that undertaken in 1500, three years after the return of Sir John Cabot, by the Portuguese: a nation to whose genius and perseverance the world owes the highest triumphs of geography and navigation. It was conducted by GASPAR CORTERREAL, a gentleman who had been educated in the household of the

King of Portugal, and who is represented as a man of enterprising and determined character, ardently thirsting after glory. Pursuing the track of Sir John Cabot, he reached the northern extremity of Newfoundland, and is considered to have discovered the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He also sailed along the coast of Labrador, northward; and appears to have penetrated nearly to Hudson's Bay. He returned to Lisbon on the 8th October, 1500. The character of this voyage was less honorable to the cause of discovery than any of the former; it having been undertaken, apparently, rather for the purpose of obtaining timber and slaves, than for the advancement of the cause of science. He brought back to Portugal no less than fifty seven of the natives, who were coolly destined to slavery, and whose superior capability of labor appears to have been a subject of gratifying speculation. In a letter written eight days after their arrival by the Venetian Ambassador at the Court of Lisbon, these unfortunate persons are thus described: "they are extremely fitted to endure labor, and will probably turn out the best slaves which have been discovered up to this time." Such was the cold blooded speculation of avarice, even among a people so renowned for honorable achievements as the Portuguese of that day! It has, indeed, been conjectured that the name, Terra de Laborador, was given to this coast by the Portuguese slave merchants, in consequence of the admirable qualities of the natives as labourers, and in full anticipation of the future advantages to be derived from this unchristian traffic.

These cruel designs were, however, frustrated by accumulated distress and disaster. In a second voyage, in 1501, Cortereal was lost at sea; and a third, undertaken by his brother Michael, in search of him

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was alike unfortunate. Neither of the brothers was ever afterwards heard of. The King of Portugal, feeling a great affection for these gentlemen, is stated to have fitted out at his own expense an expedition, consisting of three armed vessels, which returned without any information as to the manner or place of their death. One brother still remained, who was anxious to renew the attempt to discover their fate, but was overruled by the persuasion of the king. In an old map published in 1508, the Labrador coast is called Terra Corterealis; and the entrance into the Gulf of St. Lawrence was long known to the Portuguese by the name of the Gulf of the Two Brothers. On the strength of the voyage of Cortereal, the Portuguese claimed the first discovery of Newfoundland, and of the adjacent coast of America; and maps were actually forged to support these unfair pretensions.

#### DISCOVERY BY THE FRENCH.

About the year 1504, we first hear of any attempt being made by the French to obtain, if not a footing in America, still a share in the advantages to be derived from its discovery. At this date, some Basque, Norman, and Breton fishermen, commenced fishing for cod on the great bank of Newfoundland, and near the adjacent shores. From them Cape Breton derives its name. In 1506, Jean Denys, a native of Harfleur, made a map of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In 1508, a Pilot of Dieppe, by name Thomas Aubert, brought into France some natives of America, who naturally excited great curiosity. It does not appear from what part of the coast they were taken, but most probably from Cape Breton.

## GIOVANNI VERAZZANO.

Some years afterwards, the conquests of the Spaniards in America began to excite the attention and cupidity of Europe, but the further progress of discovery in those northern parts of the continent with which the French fishermen were acquainted, offering no prospect of inexhaustible mines of gold and silver, such as were found in Mexico and Peru—the French, although a people, undoubtedly, of the highest genius and enterprise, evinced an unaccountable apathy upon this great subject, and for several years entirely neglected it. At length, in 1523, Francis I. a monarch deeply captivated with the love of glory, wishing to excite the enterprise and emulation of his subjects in matters of navigation and commerce, as he had successfully done in the sciences and fine arts, caught a generous enthusiasm for maritime discovery; and eager to vie in all things with his great rival Charles V. fitted out an armament of four ships, the command of which he entrusted to GIOVANNI VERAZZANO, or Verazzani, a Florentine navigator of great skill and celebrity, then resident in France, and willing to undertake a voyage which might prove no less honorable than profitable to him. Previously to this time, a bull of donation had been issued by the too famous Alexander VI. then Pope, by which he had conferred the new world as a free gift upon the Kings of Spain and Portugal. Neither England or France, however, acknowledged the inherent right of the Pope to make such magnificent gifts of an unknown world. The English sent out voyages of discovery without demanding leave of his Holiness; and a shrewd observation of the French King is

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handed down, showing that he was not disposed to acquiesce in any division made exclusively in favor of those Princes. "What," said Francis, pleasantly, "shall the Kings of Spain and Portugal quietly divide all America between them, without suffering me to take a share as their brother? I would fain see the article in father Adam's will, which bequeaths that vast inheritance to them."

Verazzano was born about the year 1485, of noble birth; and from his letters to Francis I. giving an account of his voyage, published in Ramuzio, which are written in a very simple and elegant style, it would appear that he had received a liberal education. Of his reasons for entering the service of the French Monarch nothing is known. Charlevoix makes a remark worthy of remembrance, that it was greatly to the honor of Italy, that the three great powers who afterwards divided among them nearly the whole of the new world, owed their first discoveries to the skill and conduct of natives of that country—the Spaniards to a Genoese—the English to a Venetian—and the French to a Florentine. Another Florentine might have been handed down with approbation to posterity, had he not by a species of treachery unworthy of a gentleman, given his name to the largest quarter of the globe, to the prejudice of the great discoverer and master spirit of the age, Columbus.

Nothing certain is known of the particulars of the first expedition of Verazzano. He commenced his second voyage of discovery with a single vessel, the *Dauphin*, about the close of 1524, or the beginning of 1525; and having left Madeira, he steered in a westerly direction for nine hundred leagues, until he arrived upon a coast, which he declared had never before been seen by either ancient or modern navi-

gators—"una terra nuova, non piu dagl'antichi ne "da moderni vista." This land is supposed for good reasons to have been in latitude  $32^{\circ}$ , and is now known as Savannah. The country was thickly inhabited, as he judged from the number of fires which were burning along the coast. Of the beauty of the scenery he gives a very glowing description, highly eulogizing the delightful climate, and the handsome stature and appearance of the natives. From this spot Verazzano, with indefatigable zeal, pursued his course, coasting along the shores and narrowly examining every inlet in hopes of a passage through, until he reached the land discovered by the Bretons in lat.  $50^{\circ}$ , which is evidently Newfoundland: thus completing the survey of a line of coast extending for seven hundred leagues, and embracing nearly the whole of the United States, along with a considerable portion of British North America. In none of the old accounts of this navigator, has justice been done to his great services and zeal. This was without doubt an enterprise of great magnitude and determination, well deserving to be carefully recorded, as comprehending one of the most extensive ranges of early discovery. It is of particular interest at the present day, as having been the means of first making us acquainted with that noble country, whose history is so important; and whose destinies, even after a progress unrivalled in rapidity, appear at this moment to be scarcely arrived at maturity.

To this extensive region Verazzano, as he was justly entitled to do, gave the name of New France; and on his return laid before his patron, Francis I. a plan for its further and complete survey, together with a scheme for the establishment of a colony therein. We are not informed what part of the

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continent it was the intention of Verazzano to select for colonization ; but it is most probable that the scene of his operations would have been chosen on the Atlantic shore of one of the southern United States. Nor does it require the aid of imagination to conceive, how different would have been the historic detail of events, and how changed the condition of the whole of North America, had he been enabled to carry his grand project into full and successful execution. He was not permitted by Providence to do so ; and his future proceedings are enveloped in a mystery which it is now vain to attempt to penetrate. It is related that he actually sailed on his third expedition with the full intention of founding a colony, and that he never more was heard of. Hakluyt says, that he made three voyages, and presented a chart of the coast to Henry VIII. Ramusio, the publisher of the most ancient and perhaps the most valuable collection of voyages extant, could not discover any particulars of this last expedition, or even ascertain the year in which it took place. It is most probable, if we divest the story and the supposed fate of Verazzano, of the fable and romance in which they have been involved by the lapse of ages, and the perpetuation of error—that finding, on his return to France, his patron Francis I. a prisoner at Madrid, in the hands of the Emperor Charles V.—having been taken at the memorable battle of Pavia on the 25th February, 1525, and detained in captivity until the 18th March in the following year—and seeing no chance of further employment, he left the service of France, and depended on his own resources. It would sufficiently account for his never afterwards having been heard of, if he withdrew from the observation of French

nautical men, and retired to private life in his native country.

Although there is no evidence that Verazzano even approached any part of Canada, we have been more diffuse in our notice of this navigator, from the circumstance of a tradition extant in this country from an early period, that the River St. Lawrence was the scene of his death. It certainly has always been asserted, and believed down to our own times, that his third voyage proved fatal to him and his crew. The truth is, that no account of the details of his third voyage, if indeed it was commenced, which is rather doubtful—and least of all any relation of the manner or place of his death can now be discovered: for the best of all possible reasons, as will be presently shown to the satisfaction of the reader. The story of his having been massacred with his crew, and afterwards devoured by the savages, is an absolute fable; and it is rather hard, without a shadow of evidence, to fix upon the red inhabitants of this continent the character of Anthropophagi. The Baron La Hontan, who visited Quebec in 1683, repeats the fable, and observes: “Verazzano was the first who discovered Canada, but to his cost, for the savages eat him.” La Potherie, who was here in 1698, says nearly the same thing:—Le Beau, who arrived in Canada in 1729, speaking of its discovery, says, that “Verazzano took possession of the country in the name of Francis I. that he had the misfortune to be devoured by the savages, without having penetrated as far as Jacques Cartier.” He gives no authority for this assertion; and, doubtless, only repeated the tradition of La Hontan, who after all seems to mention it more in jest than as really be-

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lieving it. Charlevoix, with better taste, repudiates the story as altogether fabulous. His words are ;  
 " Je ne trouve aucun fondement à ce que quelques  
 " uns ont publié, qu'ayant mis pied à terre dans un  
 " endroit où il voulait bâtir un fort, les sauvages se  
 " jetèrent sur lui, le massacrèrent avec tous ses gens  
 " et le mangèrent." With respect to the tradition  
 itself, if derived from the Indians, it is not improba-  
 ble that it had reference to the manner of the death  
 of Gaspar Cortereal, who perished on his second  
 voyage ; and who, from his previous cruelties to-  
 wards the natives, may be said to have provoked his  
 fate.

#### LE CANON DE BRONZE.

A few years ago an ancient cannon of peculiar  
 make, and supposed to have been of Spanish con-  
 struction, was found in the River St. Lawrence, op-  
 posite the Parish of Champlain, in the District of  
 Three-Rivers. It is now in the Museum of Mr.  
 Chasseur, and will repay the visit of the curious  
 stranger. The ingenious writer of the Treatise  
 upon this piece of ordnance, published in the second  
 volume of the Transactions of the Literary and  
 Historical Society of Quebec, has endeavored to  
 show that it belonged to Verazzano—that the latter  
 perished before the second voyage of Jacques Car-  
 tier, either by scurvy or by shipwreck, on his way  
 up the river towards Hochelaga. He also endea-  
 vors, with great stretch of fancy, to explain and  
 account for the pantomime enacted by the Indians  
 in the presence of Jacques Cartier, in order to dis-  
 suade him from proceeding to Hochelaga so late in  
 the season, by their recollection of, and allusion to  
 the death of Verazzano, some nine or ten years be-

fore. But if they had really known any thing respecting the fate of this navigator—and it must have been fresh in their memory if we recal to mind how comparatively short a period had elapsed—is it not most likely that they would have found means, through the two native interpreters, to communicate it to Cartier? Yet it appears that the latter never so much as heard of it, either at Hochelai, now the Richelieu, where he was on friendly terms with the chief of that village—or at Hochelaga, where it must have been known—or when he wintered at St. Croix, in the little River St. Charles—or yet when he passed a second winter at Carouge! The best evidence, however, that the Indian pantomime had no reference to Verazzano, and to disprove at once the truth of the tradition respecting his death in any part of the St. Lawrence, is to show, which we shall do on good authority, that at the very time when Cartier was passing the winter at St. Croix, Verazzano was actually alive in Italy. From a letter of Annibal Caro, quoted by Tiraboschi, an author of undoubted reputation, in the *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Vol. VII. part 1, pp. 261-262, it is proved that *Verazzano was living in 1537*, a year after the pantomime at St. Croix!

While on the subject of the *Canon de Bronze*, it may be noticed that Charlevoix mentions also a tradition, that Jacques Cartier himself was shipwrecked at the mouth of the river called by his name, with the loss of one of his vessels. From this it has been supposed that the *Canon de Bronze* was lost on that occasion; and an erroneous inscription to that effect has been engraved upon it. In the first place the cannon was not found at the mouth of the River Jacques Cartier, but opposite the Parish of Cham-

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plain : in the next, no shipwreck was ever suffered by Jacques Cartier, who wintered in fact at the mouth of the little River St. Charles. The tradition as to his shipwreck, and the loss of one of his vessels, most probably arose from the well known circumstance of his having returned to France with two ships, instead of three, with which he left St. Malo. Having lost so many men by scurvy during his first winter in Canada, he was under the necessity of abandoning one of them, which lay in the harbour of St. Croix. The people of Scitadin having possessed themselves of the old iron to be found in the vessel, it of course soon fell to pieces ; and in process of time arose the tradition that Jacques Cartier had been shipwrecked. The removal of the scene of his supposed disaster, from the St. Charles to the River Jacques Cartier, was an error of Charlevoix.

Before we conclude this notice of Verazzano, it may be mentioned, that in the Strozzi Library at Florence is preserved a manuscript, in which he is said to have given with great minuteness, a description of all the countries which he had visited during his voyage ; and from which, says Tiraboschi, we derive the intelligence, that he had formed the design, in common with the other navigators of that era, of attempting a passage through those seas to the East Indies. It is much to be desired, that some Italian Scholar would favor the world with the publication of this manuscript of Verazzano.

## CHAPTER THE THIRD.

## HISTORICAL SKETCH CONTINUED.—FIRST AND SECOND VOYAGE OF JACQUES CARTIER.

IN the year following the supposed loss of Verazzano, Stephano Gomez, the first Spanish navigator who came upon the American coast for the purpose of discovery, sailed from Spain to Cuba and Florida—thence northward to Cape Razo, or Race, in latitude  $46^{\circ}$ , in search of a northwest passage to the East Indies. We have not been able to find any particulars of this voyage. It establishes the probability of the coasts of the Gulf having been visited by the Spaniards before the time of Jacques Cartier; a tradition which is mentioned by Charlevoix, who says that the Baye des Chaleurs, so called by Cartier, had previously borne the name in old maps, of *Baye des Espagnols*.

The French were partially deterred by the ill-success of their endeavors to profit by the discoveries of Verazzano; but after the interval of a few years they resolved to make a new attempt. The advantages of the establishment of a colony in the newly discovered country were represented anew to the King by Philippe Chabot, Admiral of France; and the project was again favorably entertained by Francis I. The Admiral introduced to His Majesty JACQUES QUARTIER, or CARTIER, an experienced navigator of St. Malo, as a person eminently quali-

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fied to conduct the enterprise ; and he was accordingly appointed to the command. He received his instructions from Charles de Mouy, Knight, Lord of Meilleraye, and Vice Admiral of France ; and the “ captains, masters and mariners having sworn to behave themselves truly and faithfully in the service of the most Christian King of France, under the charge of the said Cartier, upon the 20th day of April, 1534, they departed from the port of St. Malo, with two ships of three score tons a piece burthen, and sixty one well appointed men in each.” See the first relation of Jacques Cartier in Hakluyt, vol. III. p. 201. On the tenth of May, they arrived at Newfoundland; and made Cape Bonavista, which still bears the same name, in latitude 48°, 30′ according to the same relation. Finding the coast there completely ice bound, they sought for anchorage; and found it in the harbor of St. Catherine, now Catalina, four or five leagues to the south east. Here they remained ten days, and on the 21st May, sailing towards the north, they came to the Isle of Birds, which must by no means be confounded with Bird Island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence ; but is supposed to be Funk Island, about fourteen leagues from Cape Freels, the nearest land. After some curious accounts of the birds which he found there, Cartier indulges us with a story of a bear, which we shall extract for the amusement of our readers. “ Albeit the said Island is fourteen leagues from the main land, notwithstanding bears come swimming to eat of the said birds ; and our men found one there as great as any cow, and as white as any swan, who in their presence leaped into the sea ; and upon Whitsun Monday, (following our voyage towards the land,) we met her by the way, swimming towards land as swiftly as we

could sail. So soon as we saw her, we pursued her in our boats, and by main strength took her, whose flesh was as good to be eaten as the flesh of cattle of two years old."

Cartier in this voyage appears to have made a pretty accurate survey of nearly the whole of Newfoundland, having almost circumnavigated it, passing through the Straits of Belleisle. Changing his course somewhat to the south, he traversed the Gulf of St. Lawrence, then for the first time known to Europeans, unless we admit the tradition respecting the prior visit of the Spaniards; and approaching the continent on the 9th July, he came to the *Baye des Chaleurs*, so called from the great heat of the summer at that place. It has kept the name to the present day. Here he was delighted with the beauty of the country; and with the friendly and peaceable behaviour of the natives, with whom he established a kind of traffic. The following description of the Indians is worth copying in the quaint words of Hakluyt: "We saw certain wild men that stood upon the shore of a Lake, who were making fires and smokes; we went thither and found there was a channel of the sea that did enter into the Lake, and setting our boats at one of the banks of the channel, the wild men with one of their boats came unto us, and brought us pieces of seals ready sodden, putting them upon pieces of wood: then, retiring themselves, they would make signs unto us, that they did give them us."—"They call a hatchet in their tongue, *cochi*; and a knife, *bacon*. We named it the Bay of Heat."

From this hospitable place, where the natives seem to have displayed some of the *politesse* of modern society, Jacques Cartier proceeded to Gaspé, or Gachepé Bay: where on the 24th July, he erected a

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cross thirty feet high, with a shield bearing the three Fleurs-de-Lys of France, thus taking possession in the name of Francis I. Here he remained about ten days; and on the 25th July, he commenced his return to France. As the two natives whom he carried off from Gaspé acted a conspicuous part in the second voyage, we shall extract the account of their capture. The Indians seem to have evinced some jealousy at the erection of the cross, which they rightly interpreted into a claim of authority over their native country; and their Chief, clad in bear's skin, had approached, but not so near as usual, to the ships, for the purpose of remonstrating in a long oration. The French used the following stratagem to induce him to draw nearer. "His talk being ended, we showed to him an axe, faining that we would give it him for his skin, to which he listened, for by little and little he came near to our ships. One of our fellows that was in our boat, took hold on theirs, and suddenly leaped into it, with two or three more, who enforced them to enter into our ships, whereat they were greatly astonished. But our Captain did straightways assure them, that they should have no harm, nor any injury offered them at all; and entertained them very freely, making them eat and drink. Then did we show them with signs, that the Cross was but only set up to be as a light and leader which ways to enter into the port; and that we should shortly come again, and bring good store of iron wares, and other things. But that we would take two of his children with us, and afterwards bring them to the said port again—and so we clothed two of them in shirts, and coloured coats, with *red caps*, and put about every one's neck a copper chain, whereat they were greatly contented: then gave they their

old clothes to their fellows that went back again, and we gave to each one of those three that went back, a hatchet and some knives, which made them very glad. After these were gone and had told the news unto their fellows, in the afternoon there came to our ships six boats of them with five or six men in every one, to take their farewell of those two we had detained to take with us ; and brought them some fish, uttering many words which we did not understand, making signs that they would not remove the Cross we had set up." From the 25th July to the 15th August, Cartier coasted along the northern shores of the Gulf, and would seem to have entered the mouth of the St. Lawrence ; but meeting with boisterous weather, without further delay he made sail for France, and passing again through the Straits of Belleisle, he arrived in safety at St. Malo on the 5th September, 1534.

#### HIS SECOND VOYAGE, AND DISCOVERY OF CANADA.

The Report of Jacques Cartier, and the relation of his successes and projects, highly calculated as they were to stimulate the nascent spirit of enterprise, induced the French Court to resolve upon the establishment of a colony in New France. The navigator himself was treated with great favor and distinction ; and through the influence of his patron Charles de Mouy, Sieur de Meilleraye, Vice Admiral of France, he obtained from Francis I. a new commission with more ample powers than before, together with a considerable augmentation of force. When every thing was prepared for the sailing of the expedition, the favor of the ALMIGHTY was invoked upon the undertaking. By the express com-

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mand of Cartier, who appears to have been devoutly disposed, the whole company, having first confessed, and received the sacrament in the Cathedral Church of St. Malo, on Whitsunday, May 16th, 1535, presented themselves in the Choir, and received the benediction of the Lord Bishop, in his full pontifical robes. On the Wednesday following, May 19th, Cartier embarked with a fair wind, and made sail with the following armament under his command :—the Great Hermina, of one hundred and twenty tons, on board which was Cartier himself, and several gentlemen volunteers—the Little Hermina of sixty tons, —and the Hermerillon, of forty tons burthen. The number of their respective crews is not given. On the very next day after putting to sea, the weather proved contrary, and the little fleet was tossed about for more than a month without making much progress. On the 25th June they parted company, each endeavoring to make the best of the way to the place of rendezvous, on the coast of Newfoundland. The General's vessel, as Cartier was called, arrived first at Newfoundland on the 7th July; and awaited the arrival of the others at the appointed spot. It was not, however, until the 26th of the same month, that the three vessels were re-united. After taking in necessary stores of wood and water, they proceeded together to explore their way through the Gulf, but about the 1st August were forced to put into a harbor, which they called St. Nicolas; and where Cartier, as before, took possession of the country by erecting a cross. Charlevoix says, this harbor was on the north shore near the mouth of the St. Lawrence; and he describes it as being in latitude  $49^{\circ} 25''$ , and as the only place which preserved to his time the name originally given by Jacques

Cartier. Leaving this haven on the 7th, and coasting along the north shore, on the TENTH day of AUGUST, a day ever memorable in the annals of CANADA, they came, in the words of Hakluyt, to a "goodly great gulf, full of Islands, passages and entrances towards what wind soever you please to bend." In honor of the Saint whose festival is celebrated on that day, Cartier gave the name of St. LAWRENCE to the Gulf—or rather to a bay between Anticosti and the northern shore, whence the name was extended in the course of time not only to the whole of this celebrated Gulf, but to the magnificent River of Canada, of which this is the embouchure.

The Gulf of St. Lawrence which Jacques Cartier had now traversed, and to which he had given its enduring name, is about eighty leagues in length: and in modern navigation, with a favorable wind and current may be sailed over in twenty-four hours. The French were necessarily a much longer period in crossing it, exploring as they proceeded principally the northern shore. The breadth of the Gulf seems to have been accurately determined by Cartier, who states the distance "between the southerly lands and the northerly," to be about thirty leagues. Cape Rosier, a small distance to the north of the point of Gaspé, is properly the place which marks the opening of the gigantic river; and it is thence that the breadth of its mouth must be estimated at ninety miles. Measured from the eastern extremity of Gaspé, its width is one hundred and twenty miles.

Leaving the Bay to which they had given the name of St. Lawrence on the 12th August, they discovered, on the 15th, an Island towards the south, to which Cartier gave the name of the Assumption, in honor of the day. The English afterwards called it

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Anticosti, as being somewhat similar in sound to its Indian name, *Natiscotec*. From this Island Cartier continued his course, like an experienced mariner closely examining both shores of the river; and when practicable, opening a communication with the inhabitants. On the 1st September he entered the mouth of the River Saguenay, which is accurately described; and which must have given him an exalted idea of the country he had thus discovered. On the 6th he reached the Isle aux Coudres, so called from its filberts, which he describes as "bigger and better in savour than the French, but somewhat harder."

In the second relation of Jacques Cartier, published in Hakluyt, which we have taken as the basis of this account, it is stated, that he obtained considerable information respecting the country he was approaching, from the two natives whom he had taken to France from Honguedo, or Gaspé, on his previous voyage; and who having been several months in that country, were no doubt able to act the part of interpreters between Cartier and the natives, in his ascent of the St. Lawrence. It would appear from this, that Canada for an immense extent must have been peopled by one widely scattered Tribe of Aborigines—since the language spoken from Quebec to Gaspé was either the same, or so nearly allied, as to enable the interpreters to be serviceable in their capacity. The French, however, from their own ignorance of the Indian tongues, could not detect imposition, if any was practised or intended; and judging as they did from their own momentary impressions, it is evident that they were prepared to receive as entitled to credit all that these men told them. For instance, it is scarcely possible to suppose that the

two interpreters could have been not only personally known to the natives of the shore, as they landed in their boats in various places, but also to those of the St. Charles, near Quebec. It is clear that the Indians must have spoken, as they always do figurately; and that the French understood them literally. At the entrance of the River Saguenay the following incident happened:—"We met with four boats full of wild men, which as far as we could perceive, very fearfully came towards us, so that some of them went back again, and the other came as near us as easily they might hear and understand one of our wild men, *who told them his name*, and then took acquaintance of them, upon whose word they came to us." Again, on coming to anchor between the Isle of Orleans and the north shore, Jacques Cartier says, "We went on land and took our two wild men with us, meeting many of those country people who would not at all approach unto us, but rather fled from us, until our two men began to speak unto them, telling them that they were TAIGNOAGNY and DOMAGAIA; who so soon as they had taken acquaintance of them, began greatly to rejoice, dancing and showing many sorts of ceremonies: and many of the chiefest of them came to our boats, and brought many eels and other sorts of fishes, with two or three burthen of great millet, wherewith they made their bread, and many great musk melons. The same day came also many other boats, full of those countrymen and women to see and take acquaintance of our two men." That the mere enunciation of their names by the interpreters should have proved a talisman of such power is scarcely credible, if we regard these names merely as proper to the individuals before their first adventure with Jacques

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Cartier in the Bay of Gaspé. But the irresistible supposition is, that these names, which seem to have produced every where such extraordinary effect, must have been altogether special and peculiar, adopted by the interpreters themselves, according to the Indian custom, as designating the most remarkable event in their lives—namely, that they had been taken away from their own to a foreign land by white strangers, whence they had returned in safety. In this view only, is it easy to account for the apparent effect of the names when heard; and for the anxiety of the Indians of the St. Lawrence to “take acquaintance” with their travelled brethren.

#### HE DISCOVERS QUEBEC.

Pursuing his voyage which was now becoming more and more interesting, Cartier left the Isle aux Coudres, and soon reached an Island, which from its beauty and fertility, as well as from the number of wild vines which grew there, he called the Isle of Bacchus. It is now the Island of Orleans, and greatly enhances the beauty of the prospect from the high grounds of Quebec. Here, on the 7th September, he opened a friendly communication with the natives; and on the following day, “the Lord of CANADA, whose proper name was DONNACONA,” came with twelve canoes full of his people, eight being in each, to visit the strangers as they lay at anchor between the Island and the north shore. Commanding the attendant canoes to remain at a little distance, Donnacona, with two canoes only, approached close to the smallest of the three vessels. He then commenced the usual oration, accompanying it with strange and uncouth action; and after conversing with the interpreters, who

informed him of their wonderful visit to France, and the kindness with which they had been treated by the white men, penetrated apparently with awe and respect, he took the arm of Cartier, kissed it, and placed it upon his neck, an expression of feeling eloquent of amity and confidence. Nor was Cartier backward in exchanging friendly salutations : he immediately went into the canoe of the chief, and presented him and his attendants with bread and wine, of which they partook together, and "whereby the Indians were greatly content and satisfied." He then parted with them on the most satisfactory terms. At this distance of time it is impossible not to feel great interest in Cartier's first interview with the Chief of a country discovered by his perseverance and skill, and destined afterwards to be so celebrated in the annals both of France and England. As we have before mentioned the devout character of Cartier, it is not improbable that some strong religious feeling may have prompted his conduct on this occasion. It is also remarkable, and seems to corroborate the observation, that in this first interview he gave them no presents, reserving that for a future opportunity.

Donnacona departed with the same state in which he came : while Cartier, having so far prosperously advanced towards the interior of an unknown country, became desirous of finding a safe harbor for his vessels, then at anchor near the east end of the Isle of Orleans. He accordingly manned his boats, and went up the north shore against the stream, until he came to "a goodly and pleasant sound," and a "little river and haven" admirably adapted for his purpose. In this spot, after some necessary preparations, he safely moored his vessels on the 16th September ; and according to his devout and grateful custom, he

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named the place the Port of St. Croix, in honor of the day on which he had first entered it ; and here Donnacona, with a retinue of five hundred persons hastened to pay him another friendly visit, to welcome his arrival in the territory.

DESCRIPTION OF STADACONA, AND THE HARBOR  
OF ST. CROIX.

As this event forms one of the most important epochs in the ancient history of the country, we shall be more particular in our account of the proceedings of Jacques Cartier ; and our sketch will now assume " a local habitation." familiar to all who at the present day are acquainted with the scene, and equally interesting, we trust, to the intelligent antiquarian. There can be no doubt, that the " goodly and pleasant sound," above mentioned, was the beautiful basin of Quebec ; and that the place selected by Cartier for laying up his vessels, to which he gave the name of *Port de St. Croix*, and where he afterwards wintered was in the Little River St. Charles, to the north of the city—which name it afterwards received, according to La Potherie, in compliment to Charles des Boües, Grand Vicar of Pontoise, founder of the first mission of Recollets of New France. The old writers, and Charlevoix himself, as has been mentioned above, have unaccountably mistaken the locality of the harbor chosen by Cartier ; and misled by the name, have asserted that it was at the entrance of the River now called Jacques Cartier, which flows into the St. Lawrence, about fifteen miles above Quebec. But it has been well observed, that although three centuries have elapsed since the incidents we are recording took place, the localities still remain un-

changeable, and may be easily recognised. The port of St. Croix is thus described by Cartier himself :

“ There is a goodly, fair, and delectable bay, or creek, convenient and fit to harbor ships ; hard by, there is in that river one place very narrow, deep, and swift running, but it is not the third part of a league, over against which there is a goodly high piece of land, with a town therein, ... that is the place and abode of Donnacona : it is called Stadacona .... under which town towards the north, the river and port of the Holy Cross is, where we staid from the 15th September until the 6th May, 1536 ; and there our ships remained dry.” There cannot be a more accurate description. The “ one place ” in the River St. Lawrence, “ deep and swift running,” means of course that part immediately opposite the Lower Town ; and, no doubt, it appeared by comparison “ very narrow ” to those, who had hitherto seen our noble river only in its grandest forms. The town of STADACONA, the residence of the Chief, stood on that part of QUEBEC which is now covered by the Suburbs of St. Roch, with part of those of St. John, looking towards the St. Charles. The area or ground adjoining is thus described, as it no doubt appeared to Cartier three centuries ago : “ as goodly a plot of ground as possible may be seen, and therewithal very fruitful, full of goodly trees even as in France, such as oaks, elms, ashes, walnut trees, maple trees, vines, and white thorns, that bring forth fruit as big as any damsons, and many other sorts of trees, under which groweth as fine tall hemp as any in France, without any seed, or any man’s work or labor at all.” The exact spot in the River St. Charles where Cartier moored his vessels, and where the people passed the winter, is supposed on good authority to have been

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the site of the old bridge, called Dorchester Bridge, where there is a ford at low water, close to the Marine Hospital. That it was on the east bank, not far from the residence of Charles Smith, Esquire, is evident from the river having been frequently crossed by the natives coming from Stadacona to visit their French guests. To all who witness the present state of Quebec—its buildings, population and trade, employing a thousand vessels—these early accounts handed down from the first European visitor must be full of interest, generally accurate as they are in description, but falling, how far, short of the natural beauty of the position !

#### DISCOVERY OF HOCHELAGA OR MONTREAL.

The relations between the French and Donnacona continued of the most friendly character, and not a day seems to have passed without some communication between them. But the object of Jacques Cartier was by no means attained, or his ambition satisfied with the knowledge of Stadacona—he had received from the interpreters information of the existence of a city of much greater importance, the capital of an extensive kingdom, as they described it, situate at a considerable distance up the River of Canada. Thither he determined to proceed at all hazards, considering his voyage limited only by the discovery of HOCHELAGA. Undeterred by the lateness of the season—deaf to the dissuasions of Donnacona and the interpreters, with one of whom he had every reason to be dissatisfied, he having refused to accompany him further—the Indians had recourse to a device, a kind of masquerade, or pantomimic representation, intended to produce fear in his mind as

to the result of his expedition, either from the hostility of the natives of Hochelaga, the dangers of the river, or the inclemency of the winter which was fast approaching. This ridiculous mummery was treated by Cartier with merited contempt. Charlevoix seems to think, that Donnacona was influenced by jealousy, lest he and his people should be deprived of the advantages of an uninterrupted communication with the white strangers, from whom the Indians had, doubtless, obtained several presents, some of utility, others gratifying to their personal vanity. It is by no means improbable, however, that the Indians, who had given Cartier no reason to suspect their good faith, were perfectly sincere. An amusing incident is thus told in Hakluyt :—" Donnacona desired our captain to cause a piece of artillery to be shot off, because Taignoagny and Domagaia made great brags of it, and had told them marvellous things ; and also because they had never heard nor seen any before : to whom our captain answered, that he was content, and by and by he commanded his men to shoot off twelve cannon charged with bullets, into the wood that was hard by those people and ships, at whose noise they were greatly astonished and amazed, for they thought that heaven had fallen upon them, and put themselves to flight, howling, crying and shrieking, so that it seemed hell had broken loose."

On the 19th September, Cartier commenced his voyage to Hochelaga with his pinnace, the *Hermillon*, and two long boats, capable of holding thirty-five persons with arms, ammunition and provisions ; leaving his two larger vessels in the harbor of St. Croix, well protected by "poles and pikes driven into the water and set up"—but better by the stout

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hearts of their gallant crews. His ascent of the river was prosperous, and he speaks of the scenery on both sides as extremely rich and beautifully varied, the country being well covered with fine timber and abundance of vines. The natives, with whom he had frequent communication, are represented as kind and hospitable, every where supplying him with all they possessed, the taking of fish being their principal occupation and means of subsistence. At Hochelai, now the Richelieu, they received a visit from the chief of the district, who also attempted to dissuade them from proceeding further, and otherwise showed a friendly disposition : presenting Cartier with one of his own children, a girl of about seven years of age, whom he afterwards came to visit, together with his wife, during the wintering of the French at St. Croix. On the 28th they came to Lake St. Peter, where, owing to the shallowness of the water in one of the passages between the Islands, they thought it advisable to leave the pinnace. Here they met five hunters, who, says Cartier, "freely and familiarly came to our boats without any fear, as if we had ever been brought up together. Our boats being somewhat near the shore, one of them took our captain in his arms and carried him on shore, and lightly and easily as if he had been a child of five years old, so strong and sturdy was this fellow."

On the 2nd October they approached Hochelaga, and were received by the natives there with every demonstration of joy and hospitality. "There came to meet us," says the relation, "above one thousand persons, men, women and children ; who afterward did as friendly and merrily entertain and receive us as any father would do his child, which he had not

of long time seen..... Our captain seeing their loving kindness and entertainment, caused all the women orderly to be set in array, and gave them beads made of tin, and other such trifles; and to some of the men he gave knives. Then he returned to the boats to supper, and so passed that night, all which while all those people stood on the shore as near our boats as they might, making great fires, and dancing very merrily."

The place where Cartier first touched the land, near Hochelaga, appears to have been about six miles from the city, and below the current of St. Mary. On the 3rd October, having obtained the services of three natives as guides, Cartier, with his volunteers and part of his men, in full dress, proceeded to visit the town. The way was well beaten and frequented; and he describes the country as the best that could possibly be seen. Hochelaga was situated in the midst of large fields of Indian corn; and from the description, must even then have been a very considerable place, and the metropolis of the neighboring country. The name is now lost, but on its site stands the rich and flourishing city of MONTREAL. It was encompassed by palisades, or probably a picket fence in three rows, one within the other, well secured and put together. A single entrance was secured with piles and stakes; and every precaution adopted for defence against sudden attack or siege. The town consisted of about fifty houses, each fifty feet in length by fourteen in breadth, built of wood and covered with bark, "well and cunningly joined together." Each house contained several chambers, built round an open court yard in the centre, where the fire was made. The inhabitants belonged to the Huron tribe, and appear

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to have been more than usually civilised. They were devoted to husbandry and fishing, and never roamed about the country as other tribes did, although they had eight or ten other villages subject to them. Cartier seems to have been considered in the light of a deity among them; for they brought him their aged king, and their sick, in order that he might heal them. Disclaiming any such power, Cartier, with his accustomed piety prayed with them, and read part of the gospel of St. John, to their great admiration and joy. He concluded by distributing presents with the utmost impartiality. On reading the whole account, we cannot but be favorably impressed by the conduct and character of those Indians, so different from that of some other tribes, or the generality of savages. It is probable, however, that the fighting men or warriors of the tribe were absent on some expedition. Cartier appears to have behaved on the occasion with great discretion, and to have shown himself eminently qualified for his station. After having seen all that was worthy of note in the city, he set out to examine the mountain, which was about three miles from Hochelaga. He describes it as tilled all round and very fertile. The beautiful view from the top does not escape his notice, and he states that he could see the country and the river for thirty leagues around him. He gave it the name of MONT ROYAL, which was afterwards extended to the city beneath, and the whole of the rich and fertile Island, now Montreal.

## RETURNS TO ST. CROIX.

Cartier, having accomplished his object, returned to his boats accompanied by a great multitude, who

when they perceived any of his men fatigued with their long march, took them upon their shoulders and carried them. The natives appeared grieved and displeased with the short stay of the French; and on their departure, which was immediate, they followed their course along the banks of the river. On the evening of the 4th October, they came to the place where they had left the pinnace; and having made sail on the 5th, they returned happily to St. Croix, rejoining their companions on the 11th of the month. The mariners who had been left behind had had the precaution, during the absence of Cartier, to entrench and fortify their vessels so as to defy attack. On the day after their return, Cartier was visited by the Chief, Donnacona, who invited the French to visit him at his village of STADACONA. Accordingly, on the 13th, Cartier proceeded with all his gentlemen and fifty mariners to their town, about three miles from the place where the ships were laid up. The houses were well provided, and full of all things necessary for the approaching winter: the inhabitants seemed docile, and in the words of Jacques Cartier, "as far as we could perceive and understand, it were a very easy thing to bring them to some familiarity and civility, and make them learn what one would." The country around is stated to be well tilled and wrought, and these Indians seem to have been by no means ignorant of agriculture, or deficient in energy to clear the land; for it is mentioned that they had "pulled up the trees to till and labor the ground."

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## DISASTROUS WINTER OF 1536—RETURN TO FRANCE.

The whole voyage of Cartier had been so far prosperous, but the winter, new to Europeans, was yet to be experienced. Their want of fit clothing and accustomed nourishment was probably the reason why they were attacked with scurvy, which first showed itself in the month of December. In March, 1536, out of one hundred and ten persons, twenty-five were dead, and not three remained in health. Great, indeed, as must have been their sufferings, their courage seems never to have deserted them; and the precautions taken by Cartier to conceal his loss and the extreme weakness of the garrison, as we may call the entrenchment round the ships, were well conceived and proved quite successful. At length they were persuaded to use a decoction of the spruce fir; and the effect was so instantaneous that in six days all were recovered.

The following facts, relative to the climate during this winter, are gathered from the "Fastes Chronologiques," and are worthy of notice. On the 15th November, 1535, old style, the vessels in the River St. Charles were surrounded by ice; and the Indians informed Cartier, that the whole river was frozen over as far as Montreal. On the 22nd February, 1536, the River St. Lawrence became navigable for canoes, opposite to Quebec, but the ice remained firm in St. Croix harbor. On the 5th April, however, his vessels were disengaged from the ice. To obtain the modern dates of these occurrences, it will be necessary to add eleven days to each period.

On the 21st April, Cartier seems first to have entertained suspicion of the intentions of the Indians,

from the circumstance of a number of "lusty and strong men whom they were not wont to see," making their appearance at Stadacona. They were probably the young hunters of the tribe who had been out during the winter, in search of deer; and who had not previously fallen under the observation of the French. Cartier having determined on an immediate return to France, resolved to anticipate the movements of the Indians by *a coup de main* on his part; and accordingly on the 3d May, and in a manner which not even the extreme urgency of the case could excuse or palliate, he carried his plan into execution; and seized Donnacona, the interpreters, and two other Indians of note, for the purpose of presenting them to the King. They were treated, however, with much kindness, and seem to have been soon reconciled to their lot.

Nothing now remained but to make sail for France, which they did on the 6th May. They were compelled to remain by contrary winds at the Isle aux Coudres until the 21st, and afterwards coasting slowly along, they finally sailed from Cape Race on the 19th June; and arriving at St. Malo on the 6th July, 1536, they concluded this important voyage.

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## CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

HISTORICAL SKETCH CONTINUED.—THIRD VOYAGE OF  
JACQUES CARTIER—AND OF ROBERVAL.

If, among the perilous and adventurous occupations of active life, there is one requiring more energy, skill, courage and patient endurance than another, it is when man, in a fragile skiff, comparatively a nutshell—subject to dissolution and destruction from a thousand unforeseen accidents—not only entrusts himself to the mighty and mysterious deep, a slave to the elements and the sport of the waves; but fired by love of science and ambition of discovery, tempts the secret dangers of an unproved climate, and commits himself to the natives of a barbarous shore, where a single act of indiscretion on his part, or of suspicion on theirs—either open violence or secret treachery, would be alike fatal to his return! How long is the catalogue of scientific and enterprising travellers who have fallen victims to the cause of discovery! Cook—Park—Belzoni—Burckhart—Denham—Clapperton, and Laing have perished for science and for fame; but in a great soul it is the cause which conquers all personal considerations—and though the lives of discoverers are sacrificed, science is still on the advance. New competitors spring up, undeterred by the fate of those who went before, and rivals of their fame; and as if it were destined that the unknown of the world should be revealed—the present age has wit-

nessed with admiration the intrepid Lander, and the patient, highminded Ross, penetrating with equal determination into the Arctic highlands, and the torrid shores of Africa ! A race of people, living in a frozen region, and under a degree of cold, once supposed to be fatal to vegetation and to life, yet possessing all the affections of humanity, has been discovered by the one—while a new outlet for the fructifying commerce of Great Britain is likely to be afforded by the operations of the other.

To return from this digression. Notwithstanding that in the discovery of Canada by Jacques Cartier, the love of science had but little share, the operations of which we are treating undoubtedly applied a stimulus to geographical researches, and were decisive of future improvement. But although really of such magnitude and importance, their result does not seem to have satisfied general expectation on the part of the French nation. The common people affected to treat lightly the acquisition of a country whence neither gold or silver could be extracted—but for the honor of the French name and of science, there were persons attached to the Court who thought differently, and who were not to be deterred by the failure of one or two attempts. They justly considered that the possession of New France was not to be lightly relinquished—and they listened favorably to the accounts given by Cartier, who always represented the lands as highly fertile, the climate salubrious, and the inhabitants docile, kind and hospitable. He represented above all, what had the most powerful influence upon his own mind, the glory of converting the natives to the true faith ; as worthy of a Prince who bore the titles of the most Christian king, and of the eldest son of the Church. The presence of the Indian

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chief, Donnacona, and his companions, no doubt greatly aided his representations. The reader will be anxious to know the fate of these Indians after their arrival in France. It appears that they were baptised at their own desire and request; and having been introduced at Court, produced an extraordinary sensation. Cartier states, that Francis I. frequently conversed with Donnacona, who appears to have corroborated all that had been stated respecting the country. These natives, however, were not long lived: they pined away in the new state of society in which they were placed; and of ten in number whom Cartier brought over, all died in Brittany, save one little girl. Probably, the change of diet, rather than of climate, proved fatal to them: as it did recently in England in the case of the King and Queen of the Sandwich Islands.

Among those who were anxious to make another attempt to establish a colony in Canada, was Jean François de la Roque, Lord of Roberval, a gentleman of high reputation in his native province of Picardy; and who appears to have been familiarly known to and distinguished by Francis, as a man of bravery and talent. He solicited and obtained from the King, letters patent, dated the 15th January, 1541, appointing him to the command of an expedition of discovery, under the high sounding, but empty titles, of Viceroy and Lieutenant General in Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belleisle, &c.; and conferring upon him in those countries the same powers and authority which he himself possessed. Cartier was named second in command, with the title of Captain General and leader of the ships. Their instructions were "to discover more than was done before in the former voyages, and attain, (if were possible,) unto

the knowledge of the country of Saguenay," where the French still fondly hoped that the precious metals might be discovered. The port of St. Malo, whence the two former voyages had been undertaken, was again chosen for fitting out the expedition. It has been stated in a recent publication, that "the king would listen to no proposals for the establishment of a colony;" and that it was reserved for "private adventure to accomplish that which had been neglected by royal munificence." We find, however, in Hakluyt's account of the third voyage of Jacques Cartier, direct evidence, tending to vindicate Francis I. who had hitherto been the constant friend of maritime adventure, from the charge of apathy and indifference on this occasion. "The king," says this relation, "caused a certain sum of money to be delivered, to furnish out the said voyage with five ships, which thing was performed by the said Monsieur Roberval and Cartier."

The latter, having with all diligence fitted out the five vessels at St. Malo, expected the coming of Roberval with arms, ammunition and other stores which he had engaged to provide elsewhere. This gentleman, who was opulent, had indeed contracted to furnish two other vessels at his own charges, to be fitted out at Honfleur: whither he proceeded in order to expedite the equipment. Another proof of the interest taken by the King in this expedition is found in the fact, related by Cartier, that while he was waiting the coming of Roberval, at St. Malo, he received a positive command from Francis to depart immediately without the Viceroy, on pain of his displeasure. Accordingly, Roberval gave him full power and authority to act as if he himself were present; and promised to follow with all necessary supplies

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from Honfleur. Having victualled the fleet for two years, Cartier sailed on the 23d May, 1541; but as before, storms and contrary winds dispersed the ships, which nevertheless at the end of a month reached the place of rendezvous on the coast of Newfoundland. Here they delayed so long in expectation of being joined by Roberval, that it was not until the expiration of three months from the time of sailing, that he reached his former station in the harbor of St. Croix, whence he had taken Donnacona a few years before. Almost all the old accounts, which are singularly confused and incorrect, mention that Cartier fixed his establishment on his third voyage in Cape Breton; and they are silent as to this his second visit to Canada. But the third relation of Jacques Cartier, to be found in Hakluyt, is conclusive on this point: "We arrived not," says he, "before the haven of St. Croix, in Canada, (where in the former voyage we had remained eight months,) until the 23d day of August." Nothing can be clearer than this description: indeed there is no part of the ancient history of the country better developed, than the proceedings of Cartier on his third voyage. He constantly refers to the experience he had gained, and to circumstances which happened on his former visit; so that it is matter of surprise that any misconception should have existed as to the scene of his last operations in the St. Lawrence.

Immediately on the arrival of the French at St. Croix, the Indians thronged to see them; and apparently welcomed them with every token of satisfaction. The person who had succeeded to the dignity of chief, paid Cartier a visit of ceremony with seven canoes, and made enquiries after the absent Donnacona. The Captain readily acknowledged the

death of that chief in France, but from prudential motives, concealed that of the other Indians: accounting for their absence by saying, "that the rest staid there as great lords, and were married, and would not return back unto their country." Although no emotion of anger or surprise was perceivable in the countenance or manner of the Indians, on receiving this information—and it would have been derogatory to their character to evince any—it was evident that they began from that time to regard their former friends with distrust and dislike. They naturally anticipated that a fresh supply of natives would be required by these insatiable strangers—that the scene of the capture of Donnacona would be repeated—and they looked forward to the result with dismal forebodings.

Cartier, having for some reason become dissatisfied with his former position at St. Croix, probably from the altered behaviour of the natives of Stadacona, selected, on the 26th August, another station at the mouth of a little river, between three and four leagues higher up the St. Lawrence, where he laid up three out of the five vessels he had brought with him from France. Here he gave directions for constructing two forts, one at the bottom of the cliff, on a level with the water; and another on the high land or point above, with a communication by means of stairs cut in the solid rock. This fort he called Charlesbourg Royal. The other two vessels remained in the road at the mouth of the river, until the 2nd September; when they sailed for St. Malo, under the command of his brother-in-law and nephew, both excellent pilots. By them he transmitted letters, informing the King of what had been done, and of the non-arrival of Roberval. Having witnessed the com-

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mencement of the two forts, and appointed the Viscount de Beaupré to the command in his absence, Cartier resolved to carry into effect, as far as possible, the ulterior objects of the expedition ; and he accordingly proceeded, on the 7th September, with two boats, for the purpose of examining the Saults or Rapids above Hochelaga, which he believed were to be passed on the way to Saguenay—"in order that he might be the readier in the spring to pass farther, and in the winter time to make all things needful in readiness for the business." On his way up the River St. Lawrence, he did not fail to pay a visit to the hospitable chief of Hochelai, now the Richelieu, to whom in remembrance of his former friendship and services, among other presents, he gave two young boys, that they might learn the language. With a fair wind they arrived at the first Sault above Hochelaga on the 11th September ; and having in vain endeavored to pass it in one of the boats doubly manned, they landed and found a portage, which conducted them to the second Sault. These Saults are described as three in number ; and form what is now called the Sault St. Louis, between Montreal and Lachine. They found the inhabitants well disposed and hospitable, serving them as guides and supplying them with pottage and fish. Having obtained all the information he could extract by signs as well as words, and having been told of a great Lake above the Saults, Cartier returned to the place where he had left the boats at the commencement of the first rapid. Here they found a large concourse of the natives to the amount of about four hundred, who treated them in a friendly manner ; and with whom they exchanged presents. Cartier, however, appears now to have distrusted the Indians whenever

they appeared in numbers; and satisfied with the knowledge he had acquired of the rapids, he prepared to return to the winter quarters at Charlesbourg Royal. On the descent of the river, he again stopped at the dwelling of the Chief of Hochelai, who was absent at Stadaconé; whither, as Cartier afterwards found, he had proceeded to concert with the other tribe what they should do against the French.

#### HE WINTERS AT CAP ROUGE.

We now come to another highly interesting portion of local history. It has been stated that the old historians were apparently ignorant of this last voyage of Cartier. Some place the establishment of the fort at Cape Breton, and confound his proceedings with those of Roberval. The exact spot where Cartier passed his second winter in Canada is not mentioned in any publication that we have seen. The following is the description given of the station in Hakluyt: "After which things, the said captain went with two of his boats up the river, beyond Canada"—the promontory of Quebec is meant—"and the port of St. Croix, to view a haven and a small river which is about four leagues higher; which he found better and more commodious to ride in, and lay his ships, than the former ..... The said river is small, not passing fifty paces broad, and ships drawing three fathoms water may ente in at full sea; and at low water there is nothing but a channel of a foot deep or thereabout ..... The mouth of the river is towards the south, and it windeth northward like a snake; and at the mouth of it towards the east there is a high and steep cliff, where we made a way in manner of a pair of stairs, and aloft we made a

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fort to keep the nether fort and the ships, and all things that might pass as well by the great as by this small river." Who that reads the above accurate description will doubt, that the mouth of the little river CAP ROUGE was the station chosen by Jacques Cartier, for his second wintering place in Canada? The original description of the grounds and scenery on both sides of the River Cap Rouge is equally faithful, with that which we have extracted above. The precise spot on which the upper fort of Jacques Cartier was built, afterwards enlarged by Roberval, has been fixed by an ingenious gentleman of Quebec, at the top of Cap Rouge height, a short distance from the handsome villa and establishment of Henry Atkinson, Esquire. There is at the distance of about an acre to the north of Mr. Atkinson's house a hillock of artificial construction, upon which are trees indicating great antiquity; and as it does not appear that any fortifications were erected on this spot, either in the war of 1759, or during the attack of Quebec by the Americans in 1775, it is extremely probable that here are to be found the interesting site and remains of the ancient fort in question.

On his return to the Fort of Charlesbourg Royal, the suspicions of Cartier as to the unfriendly disposition of the Indians were confirmed. He was informed that the natives now kept aloof from the fort, and had ceased to bring them fish and provisions as before. He also learned from some of the men who had been at Stadacona, that an unusual number of Indians had assembled there—and associating, as he always seems to have done, the idea of danger with any concourse of the natives, he resolved to take all necessary precautions, causing every thing in the fortress to be set in order.

At this crisis, to the regret of all who feel an interest in the local history of the time, the relation of Cartier's third voyage abruptly breaks off. Of the proceedings during the winter which he spent at Cap Rouge, nothing is known. It is probable that it passed over without any collision with the natives, although the position of the French, from their numerical weakness, must have been attended with great anxiety.

VOYAGE OF ROBERVAL—RETURN OF JACQUES  
CARTIER TO FRANCE.

It has been seen that Roberval, notwithstanding his lofty titles, and really enterprising character, did not fulfil his engagement to follow Cartier with supplies sufficient for the settlement of a colony, until the year following. By that time the Lieutenant General had furnished three large vessels chiefly at the King's cost, having on board two hundred persons, several gentlemen of quality, and settlers, both men and women. He sailed from Rochelle on the 16th April, 1542, under the direction of an experienced pilot, by name John Alphonse, of Xaintonge. The prevalence of westerly winds prevented their reaching Newfoundland until the 7th June. On the 8th they entered the road of St. John, where they found seventeen vessels engaged in the fisheries. During his stay in this road, he was surprised and disappointed by the appearance of Jacques Cartier, on his return from Canada, whither he had been sent the year before with five ships. Cartier had passed the winter at the fortress described above; and gave as a reason for the abandonment of the settlement, "that he could not with his small company withstand the savages

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which went about daily to annoy him." He continued, nevertheless, to speak of the country as very rich and fruitful. Cartier is said, in the relation of Roberval's voyage in Hakluyt, to have produced some gold ore found in the country, which on being tried in a furnace, proved to be good. He had with him also some *diamonds*, the natural production of the promontory of Quebec, from which the Cape derived its name. The Lieutenant General having brought so strong a reinforcement of men and necessaries for the settlement, was extremely urgent with Cartier to go back again to Cap Rouge, but without success. It is most probable that the French, who had recently passed a winter of hardship in Canada, would not permit their Captain to attach himself to the fortunes and the particular views of Roberval. Perhaps, the fond regret of home prevailed over the love of adventure; and like men who conceived that they had performed their part of the contract into which they had entered, they were not disposed to encounter new hardships under a new leader. In order, therefore, to prevent any open disagreement, Cartier weighed anchor in the course of the night, and without taking leave of Roberval, made all sail for France. It is impossible not to regret this somewhat inglorious termination of a distinguished career. Had he returned to his fort, with the additional strength of Roberval, guided by his own skill and experience, it is most probable that the colony would have been destined to a permanent existence. Cartier undertook no other voyage to Canada; but he afterwards completed a sea chart, drawn by his own hand, which was extant in the possession of one of his nephews, Jacques Noël, of St. Malo, in 1587: who seems to have taken great interest in the further developement

of the vast country discovered by his deceased uncle. Two letters of his have been preserved, relating to the maps and writings of Cartier : the first written in 1587, and the other a year or two later, in which he mentions that his two sons, Michael and John Noël, were then in Canada, and that he was in expectation of their return. Cartier himself died soon after his return to France, having sacrificed his fortune in the cause of discovery. As an indemnification for the losses their uncle had sustained, this Jacques Noël and another nephew, De la Launay Chaton, received in 1588, an exclusive privilege to trade to Canada during twelve years; but this was revoked four months after it was granted.

Roberval, notwithstanding his mortification at the loss of Cartier's experience and aid in his undertaking, determined to proceed; and sailing from Newfoundland about the end of June, 1543, he arrived at Cap Rouge, "four leagues westward of the Isle of Orleans," towards the end of July. Here the French immediately fortified themselves, "in a place fit to command the main river, and of strong situation against all manner of enemies." The position was no doubt that chosen by Jacques Cartier the year previous. The following is the description given in Hakluyt of the buildings erected by Roberval: "The said General on his first arrival built a fair fort, near and somewhat westward above Canada, which is very beautiful to behold, and of great force, situated upon a high mountain, wherein there were two courts of buildings, a great tower, and another of forty or fifty feet long, wherein there were divers chambers, an hall, a kitchen, cellars high and low, and near unto it were an oven and mills, and a stove to warm men in, and a well before the house. And the building was situated

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upon the great River of Canada called *France-Prime* by Monsieur Roberval. There was also at the foot of the mountain another lodging, where at the first all our victuals, and whatsoever was brought with us was sent to be kept, and near unto that tower there is another small river. In these two places above and beneath, all the meaner sort was lodged." This fort was called *France-Roy*; but of these extensive buildings, erected most probably in a hasty and inartificial manner, no traces now remain, unless we consider as such the mound above mentioned, near the residence of Mr. Atkinson, at Cap Rouge.

On the 14th September, Roberval sent back to France two of his vessels, with two gentlemen, bearers of letters to the King; who had instructions to return the following year with supplies for the settlement. The natives do not appear, by the relation given, to have evinced any hostility to the new settlers. Unfortunately, the scurvy again made its appearance among the French; and carried off no less than fifty during the winter. The morality of this little colony was not very rigid—perhaps they were pressed by hunger, and induced to plunder from each other—at all events the severity of the Viceroy towards his handful of subjects appears not to have been restricted to the male sex. The method adopted by the Governor to secure a quiet life will raise a smile: "Monsieur Roberval used very good justice, and punished every man according to his offence. One whose name was Michael Gaillon, was hanged for his theft. John of Nantes was laid in irons, and kept prisoner for his offence; and others also were put in irons, and divers were whipped, as well men as women: by which means they lived in quiet."

We have no record extant of the other proceedings of Roberval during the winter of 1543. The ice broke up in the month of April ; and on the 5th June, the Lieutenant General departed from the winter quarters on an exploring expedition to the Province of Saguenay, as Cartier had done on a former occasion. Thirty persons were left behind in the fort under the command of an Officer, with instructions to return to France, if he had not returned by the 1st July. There are no particulars of this expedition, on which, however, Roberval employed a considerable time. For we find that on the 14th June, four of the gentlemen belonging to the expedition returned to the fort, having left Roberval on the way to Saguenay ; and on the 19th, some others came back, bringing with them six score weight of Indian corn ; and directions for the rest to wait for the return of the Viceroy, until the 22d July. An accident happened in this expedition, which seems to have escaped the notice of the author of the treatise on the *Canon de bronze*, which we have noticed in a former chapter. It certainly gives an authentic account of a shipwreck having been suffered in the St. Lawrence : to which, perhaps, the finding of the cannon, and the tradition about Jacques Cartier, may with some probability be referred. The following is the extract in question : “ eight men and one bark were drowned and lost, among whom were Monsieur de Noire Fontaine, and one named La Vasseur of Constance.” The error as to the name might easily arise : Jacques Cartier having been there so short a time before, and his celebrity in the country being so much greater than that of Roberval, or of any of his companions.

The rest of Roberval's voyage is wanting. He must have acquired a very general knowledge of the

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coast, if we rely upon the account published by his pilot Jean Alphonse, who also gives a tolerably accurate description of the River St. Lawrence, and of the channel from sea. He is said to have examined the coast of North America as high as latitude 52°, in search of a passage to the East Indies.

We have already said that great uncertainty and contradiction exist in the different historical accounts of Cartier's third voyage, and the expedition of Roberval. Our account is founded on the relation of these two voyages in Hakluyt's collection, carefully examined and compared with other authorities. The antiquarian will be satisfied with the earlier notices of Canada; but it is to be lamented that the accounts of the two last winters, passed among the Indians by Cartier and Roberval, have not been preserved. Up to this time no progress whatsoever seems to have been made in the civilisation of the country; and the different expeditions appear to have been limited to the occupation of a particular spot during the winter, and a fruitless exploration of the route to the imaginary golden region, during the period of open navigation.

Roberval returned to France in 1543; and animated by the duty which he owed to the King, on the war again breaking out between the Emperor Charles V. and Francis I. his active disposition led him back to the profession of arms. He distinguished himself in this war, as he had done on many previous occasions.

After the death of his royal Patron, in 1547, having got together a band of enterprising men, he embarked again for Canada in 1549, with his brother Achille, who was reputed one of the bravest warriors in France, and who was honorably named by Francis I.

*Le Gendarme d'Annibal.* In this voyage all these gallant men perished, or were never afterwards heard of; and with them says Charlevoix, fell every hope of an establishment in America, since no one could flatter himself with the expectation of being more fortunate than these two brave adventurers.

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## CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

HISTORICAL SKETCH CONTINUED.—GRAND PROJECT OF COLIGNY.—SETTLEMENT IN FRENCH FLORIDA —ROMANTIC STORY OF DE GOURGUES.—VOYAGE OF LA ROCHE—PONTGRAVE'.

The gallant and enterprising spirit of Francis I. no longer predominated in the French Court and councils. That monarch died in 1547, two months after the death of his friend and rival, Henry VIII., of England. He was succeeded by Henry the II., in whose reign commenced the civil and religious troubles arising from the persecution of the Huguenots. Domestic convulsion is always favorable to maritime exploit; and owing to the internal condition of France, America continued to be regarded with attention. Checked, however, by the ill-success of the adventurers in the north, the French began to direct their views towards a more southern latitude, influenced by the reports of some French sailors, who had made a voyage to Brazil, the riches, beauty and fertility of which country they greatly vaunted. The celebrated GASPARD DE COLIGNY, early attached to the Huguenot doctrines, had been appointed Admiral of France, by Henry II., in 1552. With the political view of aggrandizing the power of France, and of extending her name and institutions abroad, he combined a patriotic desire to secure her tranquillity at home. He saw no readier means of accomplishing both these ends, than to found a series of colonies

composed entirely of persons of his own persuasion, where the doctrines of the Reformed Church, proscribed and persecuted in France, might be perpetuated in a new world ;—and where a place of refuge might be secured, should the political persecution of the age compel him to relinquish his native land. There is every reason to believe that this grand scheme extended to the projected colonization of the shores of the St. Lawrence on the one hand, and of the Mississippi on the other. The political effects of such a plan, if it were possible to carry it into execution, might have been well anticipated by Coligny : a single glance at the map of North America will show with what a gigantic grasp a colonization, gradually extending itself along the banks of those two great rivers, would have hemmed in all the future settlements on the Atlantic shores, between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and that of Mexico.

Giving way to the prejudice in favor of Brazil, Coligny at first proposed to the King the establishment of a colony upon that coast. The project was approved, and Nicholas Durand de Villegagnon, Knight of St. John of Jerusalem, and Vice Admiral of Brittany, was appointed to the command. This expedition entirely failed ; but amidst the raging of the civil wars of France under the reigns of Francis II. and Charles IX., Coligny, who had put himself at the head of the Calvinists, found leisure to resume his project of a settlement in America. He now turned his attention to Florida, which had been seen by Verazzano ; and where the fertility of the soil, and the goodness of the climate held out every prospect of success. The River Mississippi had been discovered by Ferdinand de Soto, about the period of the last voyage of Jacques Cartier ; and the Spa-

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niards claimed the territory. Coligny, however, about the year 1562, obtained permission from Charles IX. to make an attempt towards establishing a colony in Florida, which the King was the more ready to grant, inasmuch as the Huguenots were his bitterest enemies ; and he hoped thus to free himself from some of the turbulent spirits of the age. Accordingly, on the 18th February, 1562, Jean de Ribaut, a zealous Huguenot, sailed from Dieppe with two vessels, and a chosen crew. Having arrived on the coast of Florida, about St. Mary's River, he succeeded in establishing a settlement, and built a fort. Two years afterwards, Coligny sent out a reinforcement under the command of René de Laudonnière, in which Charlevoix takes care to record, there was not a single catholic. It appears from different authorities that Coligny had the great project we have alluded to much at heart ; but although the settlement in Florida was the only part of the scheme which was carried into effect, it was after a few years abandoned, perhaps in consequence of Coligny's death. The survivors of this colony, after sanguinary wars with the Spaniards, accompanied by various romantic incidents, finally returned to France in 1568. Although no attempt was made to colonize any part of Canada during nearly fifty years after the loss of Roberval, in 1550,—with the exception of the fishing voyages to the banks of Newfoundland, and that of the two grand nephews of Jacques Cartier in 1588—there can be no doubt that the project of Coligny outlived that distinguished patriot, that it had been communicated to the principal Calvinists of France, and was by no means lost in oblivion. We shall find that several of the leaders of the subsequent expeditions of trade and discovery, both to Canada and Acadie,

were Huguenots, up to the time of Champlain. A different policy was then adopted, by the advice of that zealous Catholic; and the French determined to lay the foundation of their dominion over the Indians in the influence of the European priesthood. A part of that system was necessarily to exclude the Huguenots, and not to allow in any form a division in the influence of the white man over the red man, by showing that the former were not altogether agreed in all points of the religion, which their red brethren were called to adopt. The consequence was that, in 1627, the Huguenots in Canada were not allowed the free exercise of their religion, as stipulated by the convention entered into with Coligny by Charles IX.

The fate of GASPARD DE COLIGNY, and the horrid massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, 1572, are too well known. The base, unnatural treachery of the King, who at the moment when he was plotting the assassination of the Admiral, had the execrable hypocrisy to address him by the name of *father*, has covered the memory of that prince with an immortality of infamy! Coligny fell basely murdered by a menial hand in his own house. His corpse was cast out of the window, the head struck off, and the body suspended by the feet from a gibbet. Such, in times of passion and religious persecution, now happily unknown, was the end of a man who was in advance of his age—who sought only to obtain liberty of conscience for himself, and for those who professed the same tenets. It was with the reluctance of a patriot, that he was compelled to seek it amidst the horrors of civil war. Well might it have been said at the time—

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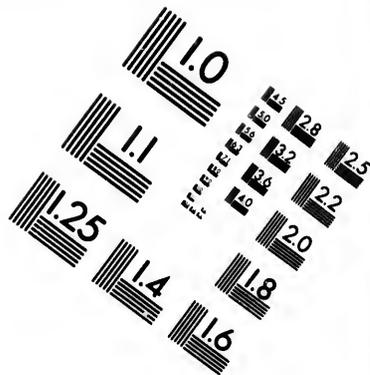
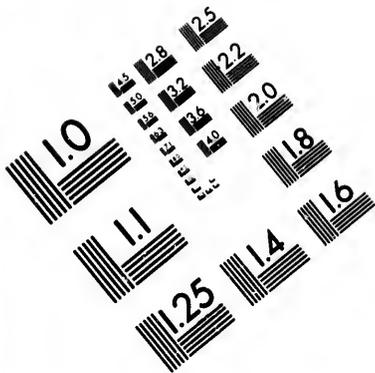
Let this pernicious hour  
Stand aye accursed in the calendar !

ROMANTIC STORY OF THE CHEVALIER DE  
GOURGUES.

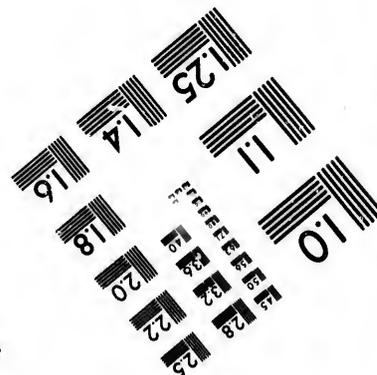
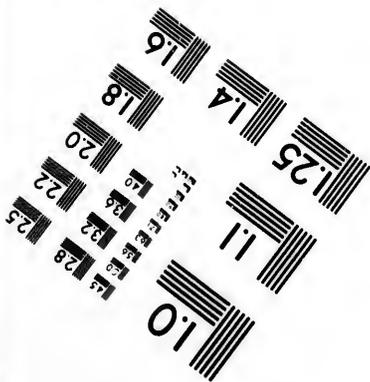
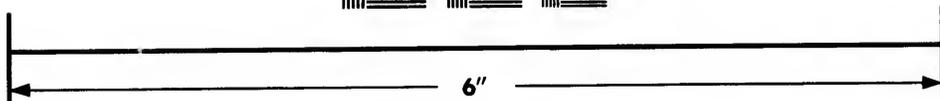
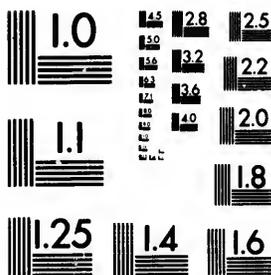
Although an account of the settlements made by the French, under the encouragement of Coligny, on the coast of Florida, does not strictly belong to the present subject, it would be unpardonable, in our historical recollections, to pass over the singular and chivalrous story of the CHEVALIER DE GOURGUES : which is much less generally known than it deserves, as exhibiting all the devotion of ancient heroism, and as a striking example of the ruling passion surviving the softening operation of time, and triumphing finally over every impediment.

The French and Spaniards had been long at bitter enmity ; and the wars between them were carried on with all the exasperation of ancient rivalry and mutual hatred. The encroachments of the former upon the territories claimed by the Spaniards in Florida, raised the liveliest indignation in the minds of a people not less martial and chivalrous than the French ;—and when we add that these encroachments had been chiefly made by the Huguenots, a race held in sovereign detestation by the Catholic Spaniard, and persecuted to a degree of intensity by Philip II., the height of animosity to which they were excited can easily be conceived. Nor were the French less susceptible of angry and vindictive feelings ; to which may be added the poignant stings of offended national pride. They had never forgiven the captivity



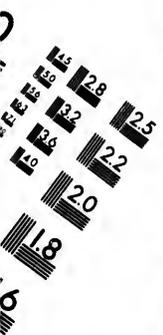


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of their popular and gallant Prince, Francis I. ;—the memory of this supposed disgrace still rankled in the population—nor was it ever wholly eradicated, until adequate reparation was made to the national honor, by the accession of a French Prince to the throne of Spain, many years afterwards. Notwithstanding a short cessation of the warfare between these two great powers, the passions we have attempted to describe remained in full force.

LAUDONNIERE passed the winter of 1564 in the fort which he had built near the mouth of St. Mary's River, and which he called *La Caroline*. In August 1565, having experienced the mutinous disposition of part of his force, superadded to the horrors of famine, he was preparing to abandon the enterprise, and to return to France, when he was joined by Ribaut with seasonable supplies. On the 4th September, they were surprised by the appearance in the road of six large vessels, which proved to be a Spanish fleet, under the command of Don Pedro Menendez. Hostilities were immediately commenced; and the French, having an inferior force of four vessels, were obliged to put to sea, chased by the Spaniards. The former, however, being the better sailors, after distancing their opponents, returned to the coast, and re-landed their troops about eight leagues from the fort of La Caroline. Three of the Spanish vessels kept the open sea, while the others lay in the road watching an opportunity to attack the French fort. Ribaut, who was a brave but obstinate man, persisted in his resolution to put out to sea again for the purpose of meeting and fighting with the Spanish vessels. The season was extremely tempestuous, and Laudonnière, having first vainly endeavored to dissuade his colleague from the rash attempt, fortified himself ;

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and made every preparation to resist the attack which he anticipated. At length, notwithstanding the very heavy and long continued rains, the Spaniards were descried by the French sentinels advancing to the assault on the 20th September. The ramparts, maintained with spirit by a small force, were soon surmounted and carried—the gallant defenders slain in the breaches. Laudonnière, fighting his way bravely, was the last to leave the fort, and succeeded in escaping to the woods; where he rallied a few of his straggling countrymen, and whence he ultimately returned to France. The remainder, with the fort, fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Nor did the disasters of the French end here. The vessels commanded by Ribaut were driven on shore by the storms then prevalent—many of the people lost—the survivors and their commander became prisoners to the Spaniards. The French were cruelly, and with bitter taunts, put to death. Several were hung from the neighbouring trees with this insulting legend—“*Ceux-ci n'ont pas été traité de la sorte en qualité de François, mais comme hérétiques et ennemis de Dieu.*”

Ample chastisement was, however, about to be inflicted—Champlain, who writes of this transaction with the blunt and honest indignation of a soldier, in his own familiar and quaint style observes,—“*Ceux-ci furent payés de la même monnoye, qu'ils avoient payés les François*”—“they were repaid in the same coin with which they had paid the French.” So SHAKESPEARE truly says,

In these cases,

We still have judgement here : that we but teach  
 Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return  
 To plague the inventor. This even-handed justice  
 Commends the ingredients of our poison'd chalice  
 To our own lips.

This outrage excited the deepest indignation in France ; but the avowed hatred of the Court towards Coligny and the Huguenots prevented public satisfaction being demanded from Philip II. The instrument of a just retribution was not wanting to the emergency ; but it was reserved for a private individual to redeem the honor of the French name. " En l'an 1567," says Champlain, " se presenta le brave Chevalier de Gourgues, qui plein de valeur et de courage, pour venger cet affront fait à la nation Françoise, et recognoissant qu'aucun d'entre la noblesse, dont la France foisonne, ne s'offroit pour tirer raison d'une telle injure, entreprit de le faire :"— " In the year 1567, there presented himself the brave Chevalier de Gourgues, who full of valor and courage to avenge the insult on the French nation, and observing that none among the nobility, with whom France abounded, offered to obtain satisfaction for such an injury, undertook himself to do so." He was a gentleman of Gascony, and there were at that period few inferior officers in France, or perhaps in all Europe, who had acquired a more brilliant reputation in war, or had undergone greater vicissitudes. When very young he had served in Italy with honor ; and on one occasion, having the command of a small band of thirty men, near Sienna in Tuscany, he was able for a considerable time to withstand and repulse the assault of a part of the Spanish army : until, all his men being slain, he yielded himself prisoner. Contrary to the usage of war among generous foes, he was sent to the galleys in chains, as a robber-slave. The galley, to which the indignant De Gourgues was condemned, was afterwards captured by the Turks on the Sicilian coast, and sent into Rhodes. Again putting to sea with a Turkish crew, it was encoun-

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tered and taken by the galleys of the Knights of Malta ; and De Gourgues recovered his liberty and his sword. He afterwards made several passages to Brazil, and the coast of Africa, still treasuring up vengeance on the Spaniards ; and he had just returned to France from one of his voyages, with the reputation of the bravest and most able among her navigators, when he heard of the disastrous tale of La Caroline, and the disgraceful manner in which his countrymen had been put to death by the Spaniards. Like a patriot, he felt keenly for the honor of his country ; and as a man, he burned for an opportunity of satiating his long dormant revenge on the perfidious Spaniards, for their unworthy treatment of himself. At this time too there was circulated in France a narrative intitled, the " Supplication of the widows and children of those who had been massacred in Florida," calculated to rouse the national feeling to the highest pitch. These united motives urged De Gourgues to a chivalrous undertaking—no less than to chase the murderous invaders from the coasts of Florida at the sword's point, or to die in the attempt. He accordingly proceeded to make his preparations, which, however, were concealed with great skill and address. He raised a considerable sum by selling his property, and by loans obtained from his friends ; and disguising his real purpose, gave out that he was bound as before to the African coast. The squadron consisted of three vessels, with crews amounting to two hundred and fifty souls, amply provided for twelve months. Thus equipped he sailed, on the 23d August, 1567, from Bordeaux ; and after some time, began to unfold his real design, expatiating in glowing language on the glory of the attempt, and the righteousness of the quarrel.

## SPEECH OF DE GOURGUES, FROM CHAMPLAIN.

“ Mes compagnons et fidèles amis de ma fortune, vous n’êtes pas ignorans combien je chers les braves courages comme vous, et l’avez assez tesmoigné par la belle resolution que vous avez prise de me suivre et assister en tous les perils et hazards honorables que nous aurons a souffrir et essayer, lorsqu’ils se presenteront devant nos yeux, et l’estat que je fais de la conservation de vos vies ; ne desirant point vous embarquer au risque d’un enterprise que je sçauois réussir à une ruine sans honneur : ce seroit à moy une trop grande et blasmable temerité, de hazarder vos personnes à un dessein d’un accez si difficile ; ce que je ne croy pas estre, bien que j’aye employé une bonne partie de mon bien et de mes amis, pour equiper ces vaisseaux et les mettre en mer, estant le seul entrepreneur de tout le voyage. Mais tout cela ne me donne pas tant de sujet de m’affliger, comme j’en ay de me resjouir, de vous voir tous resolu à une autre entreprise, qui retournera à votre gloire, sçavoir d’aller venger l’injure que nostre nation a receüe des Espagnols, qui ont fait une telle playe a la France, qu’elle saignera à jamais, par les supplices et traictemens infames qu’ils ont fait souffrir à nos François, et exercé des cruantez barbares et inouïes en leur endroit. Les ressentimens que j’en ay quelquefois, m’en font jetter des larmes de compassion, et me relevent le courage de telle sort, que je suis resolu avec l’assistance de Dieu, et la vostre, de prendre une juste vengeance d’une telle felonnie et cruauté Espagnolle, de ces cœurs lasches et poltrons, qui ont surpris mal-heureusement nos compatriotes, qu’ils n’eussent osé regarder sur la défense de leurs armes.

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Ils sont assez mal logez, et les surprendrons aisément. J'ay des hommes en mes vaisseaux qui cognoissent tres-bien le país, et pouvons y aller en seureté. Voicy, chers compagnons, un subject de relever nos courages, faites paroistre que vous avez autant de bonne volonté à executer ce bon dessein, que vous avez d'affection à me suivre : ne serez vous pas contents de remporter les lauriers triomphans de la despouille de vos ennemis ?”

“ Companions, and faithful friends of my fortunes, you are not ignorant how highly I value brave men like yourselves.—Your courage you have sufficiently proved by your noble resolution to accompany me in all the dangers which we shall have to encounter, as they successively present themselves—my regard for you I have shown by the care I have taken for the safety of your lives. I desire not to embark you in any enterprize which may result in dishonorable failure : it would be in me a far too great and blameable temerity to hazard your safety in any design so difficult of accomplishment, which, however, I do not consider this one to be ; seeing that I have employed in it a good part of my own fortune, and that of my friends, in equipping these vessels, and putting to sea, myself being the sole undertaker of the voyage. But all this does not give me so much cause for regret, as I have reason to rejoice, seeing you all resolved upon another enterprize, which will redound to your glory—namely—to avenge the insult suffered by our nation from the Spaniards, who have inflicted an incurable wound upon France, by their infamous treatment, and the barbarous and unheard of cruelties they have exercised upon our countrymen. The description of these wrongs has caused me to shed tears of pity ; and inspires me now with such deter-

mination, that I am resolved with the assistance of God and your aid, to take a just revenge for this felonious outrage on the part of the Spaniards—those base and cowardly men, who unhappily destroyed our friends by surprise, whom with arms in their hands they dared not to have looked in the face. The enemy is poorly lodged, and may be easily surprised. I have on board persons who know the country well, and we can reach it in safety. Here, my dear companions, here is a subject to rouse our courage ! Let me see that you have as good will to perform this noble design, as you had affection to follow my person ! Will you not rejoice to bear away triumphant laurels, bought by the spoil and ruin of our enemies ?”

This enthusiastic speech produced its full effect. Each soldier shouted assent to the generous proposal ; and was ready to reply with Euryalus,

Est hic, est animus lucis contemptor ; et istum  
Qui vitâ benè credat emi, quo tendis, honorem !

Like thine, this bosom glows with martial flame,  
Burns with a scorn of life, and love of fame—  
And thinks, if endless glory can be sought  
On such low terms, the prize is cheaply bought.

Having thus obtained the full co-operation of his gallant band, De Gourgues steered for the coast of Florida ; and passed some time in reconnoitering the position of the Spaniards, and in acquiring from the Indians full particulars of their strength and resources. These were, indeed, sufficiently formidable, amounting to four hundred fighting men, provided with every munition of war. No way discouraged by this superiority of numbers and of position, De Gourgues made a furious attack upon the two forts, on the day before the Sunday, called *Quasimodo*, in April, 1568,

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intending to capture them by escalade. The Spaniards offered a very gallant resistance; but the fury and impetuosity of the French, stimulated by national antipathy, by the particular nature of the revenge which they contemplated, and fired by the valor and personal example of their heroic chief, soon surmounted all opposition. "Nostre genereux Chevalier de Gourgues," says Champlain exultingly, "le coutelas à la main, leur enflamme le courage, et comme un lion à la teste des siens gaigne le dessus du rampart, repousse les Espagnols, se fait voye parmi eux:"—"our brave Chevalier de Gourgues, sword in hand, inflames their courage, and like a lion at the head of his troop, mounts the rampart, overthrows the Spaniards, and cuts his way through them." The fate of the Spaniards was sealed—many were killed in the forts—the rest taken, or put to death by the Indians. De Gourgues, thus crowned with victory, and having fully succeeded in an enterprise which to him seemed so truly glorious, brought all the prisoners to the spot where the French had been massacred, and where the inscription of Menendez yet remained. After reproaching his fallen enemies with their cruelty and perfidy, he caused them to be hung from the same trees, affixing this writing in the place of the former. "JE N'AY PAS FAIT PENDRE CEUX-CI COMME ESPAGNOLS, MAIS COMME TRAITRES, VOLEURS, ET MEURTRIERS:" "I hang these persons not as being Spaniards, but as traitors, robbers and murderers."

De Gourgues, on developing his real design and destination to Florida, which he did in the first instance to his chosen friends, had pathetically complained that ever since he had heard of the Spanish outrage at La Caroline, he had been unable, however

wearied with toil, to obtain his usual rest by night—that his imagination was ever occupied by the semblance of his countrymen hanging from the trees of Florida—that his ears were startled with piercing cries for vengeance ;—and that sleep, “ nature’s soft nurse,” would never visit him again,

No more would weigh his eyelids down,  
And steep his senses in forgetfulness—

until he had won her offices by a full and exquisite revenge on the Spaniards ! The accomplishment of his cherished purpose must have been a high and vivifying relief to an ardent spirit like De Gourgues. He now declared with exulting delight, that sleep, that “ balm of hurt minds,” had once more deigned to visit his couch ; and that his rest was now sweet, like that of a man delivered from a burthen of misery too great to bear !

Having accomplished this remarkable expedition, and inflicted, in a spirit accordant with that of the times, a terrible retribution on the Spaniards, De Gourgues sailed from the coast of Florida on the 3d May ; and arrived in France on the 6th June, where he was received by the people with every token of joy and approbation. In consequence, however, of the demand of the King of Spain for redress, he was compelled to absent himself for some time, until the anger of the Court permitted him to reappear. The narrative of this expedition was long preserved in the family of De Gourgues.

Champlain, in whose Voyages this romantic story is to be found, seems to have been a passionate admirer of the conduct of De Gourgues, and thus enthusiastically concludes his account of the expedition :—

“ Ainsi ce genereux Chevalier repara l’honneur de

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la nation Françoise, que les Espagnols avoient offensée : ce qu'autrement eust été un regret à jamais pour la France, s'il n'eust vengé l'affront reçu de la nation Espagnolle. Entreprise genereuse d'un gentilhomme, qui l'exécuta à ses propres cousts et despens, seulement pour l'honneur, sans autre espérance : ce qui lui a réüssi glorieusement, et ceste gloire est plus à priser que tous les tresors du monde :” “ Thus did this brave Knight repair the honor of the French nation, insulted by the Spaniards ; which otherwise had been an everlasting subject of regret to France, if he had not avenged the affront received from the Spanish people. A generous enterprise, undertaken by a gentleman, and executed at his own cost, for honor's sake alone, without any other expectation ; and one which resulted in obtaining for him a glory far more valuable than all the treasures of the world.”

#### ABORTIVE VOYAGE OF LA ROCHE.

It has been stated that the Norman, Basque and Breton fishermen continued their occupation on the great Bank, and along the shores of Newfoundland. By degrees, they established a sort of barter with the natives ; and the traffic in furs soon became an object, which the love of novelty, the facility of the trade, and its profitable nature soon rendered of greater interest than the precarious life of a fisherman. Many of the masters of the fishing vessels became fur dealers ; and carried home skins of great rarity and value.

At length, after half a century of civil discord, France having recovered her former peace and prosperity under the auspices of Henry IV., the greatest of her Kings, the taste for colonial adventure

revived ; and the Marquis DE LA ROCHE, a native of Brittany, obtained from the King a commission similar, and powers equal to those possessed formerly by Roberval. These Letters Patent were dated on the 12th January, 1598 ; and contained the first establishment of the feudal tenure in this country. Authority was given to La Roche, as the King's Lieutenant, " to concede to gentlemen lands in Fiefs, Seigniories, Counties, Viscounties and Baronies, and other dignities holding from the king—and to those of lower degree, subject to such charges and annual payments, as he might think proper to impose." To this extensive commission, neither the preparations nor the result bore any proportion. La Roche contented himself by fitting out a single vessel, which he put under the command of Chedotel, an experienced pilot of Normandy ; and embarked himself for the purpose of exploring the countries under his government. The whole conduct of this expedition was so devoid of foresight, that it would not be worthy of mention, but as forming a link in the historical chain. The first fault committed by La Roche was the reinforcing his crew by the admission of forty convicts taken from the prisons—the next was the place chosen for his temporary settlement. This was Sable Island, about twenty-five leagues to the South East of the Island of Cap Breton : a spot since remarkable only for the number of vessels shipwrecked upon its dangerous sands and shores. La Roche was probably induced to select Sable Island from its vicinity to the coasts he wished to explore ; and from the tradition that the Baron de Lery had intended to establish a colony there so early as 1518. Having disembarked the unfortunate convicts, whose destiny proved still more misera-

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ble than if they had remained in their former cells —La Roche proceeded to survey the adjacent coasts ; and returning to take off the people left on Sable Island, was so long prevented by continued gales, that he was constrained to leave them to their fate, and set sail for France. The poor wretches underwent every kind of hardship in their inhospitable residence—in the course of seven years but twelve of the forty remained alive, when a vessel sent at last to their relief took them back to France, just as the survivors were giving way to utter despair. The King had the curiosity to see them in their wild dress of skins as they landed, and presented each of them with fifty crowns, and full pardon of every offence. Smith adds, that some of their skins were of great value, and were seized by the Captain as a recompence for his trouble. On their arrival in France, however, they compelled him by legal means to return their property, and to pay them heavy damages. La Roche, who was overwhelmed with vexations arising from lawsuits, and the expenses of his useless expedition, soon after died broken hearted.

#### OTHER VOYAGES—PONTGRAVE'—CHAUVIN.

Notwithstanding the failure of La Roche's expedition, and the repeated ill success which had attended all previous efforts to establish a colony in Canada, the eager anticipation of a mine of commercial wealth to be found in the prosecution of the fur-trade, with which the French began to be more favorably impressed, urged on new adventurers to the attempt. Although an exclusive privilege had been granted to La Roche, private speculators began to trade to the St. Lawrence, without notice on the

part of the Government. A considerable merchant of St. Malo, by name PONTGRAVE', distinguished himself by making several voyages to Tadoussac, at the mouth of the River Saguenay, whence he returned with furs sufficiently valuable to induce him to persevere. He soon perceived the possibility of making this traffic extremely lucrative, if it could be brought to flow through one authorised channel ; and accordingly persuaded M. CHAUVIN, a captain in the navy, to make application to the King for an exclusive privilege, and for powers similar to those conferred upon La Roche. Chauvin was a calvinist, and, in fact, of the same name as the great reformer, Calvin being merely the Latin name of Chauvin. He was jointly concerned with Pontgravé; and attempted without success to establish a trading post at Tadoussac. After making two voyages thither in 1600, and the following year, with but little profit, Chauvin died as he was preparing for a third.

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## CHAPTER THE SIXTH.

HISTORICAL SKETCH CONCLUDED. — FIRST VOYAGE  
OF CHAMPLAIN — DE MONTS — FOUNDATION OF  
QUEBEC.

At this period the colonization of the country seems to have been entirely disregarded. The only object of these frequent voyages was the prosecution of a petty fur trade. M. Chauvin was succeeded in his privilege by the Commander DE CHATTE or DE CHASTE, Governor of Dieppe ; who founded a company of merchants at Rouen, in order to establish the trade in a liberal and efficient scale. He equipped an armament under the command of Pontgravé ; who also received letters patent from the King, authorizing him to make further discoveries in the St. Lawrence, and to establish a settlement on the coast.

Here a new epoch in the history of Canada may be said to present itself. Colonization, under the auspices of a man of talent, energy and patriotism was about to assume a new aspect ; and after seventy-years of mismanagement and disaster, was for the first time to be attended with success. SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN, a gentleman of Saintonge, Captain in the Navy, arrived in France from the West Indies, where he had been employed nearly three years, and had acquired the reputation of a brave and experienced officer. The Commander De Chatte, anxious to engage the services of an officer of such merit,

immediately proposed to Champlain to take a command in the expedition destined for the St. Lawrence; and the King's consent having been obtained, the appointment was accepted. Champlain and Pontgravé accordingly set sail in 1603, laid up their vessels at Tadoussac; and in a light boat with a crew of only five persons, ascended as far as the Sault St. Louis, which had been discovered by Jacques Cartier. It is said that on this first voyage Champlain was struck with the appearance of Quebec, and first formed the idea of selecting it as a site for a future colony.

The Indian settlement of Hochelaga, which in our account of Cartier's visit, we designated by the imposing name of a city, from its comparative importance and population, had dwindled at the time of Champlain to a place of no moment. He does not even notice it, not having thought it necessary to go on shore, for the purpose of visiting it.

Champlain made an exact chart of the coasts he had seen, together with a description of the country; which on his return to France he submitted in person to the King, who avowed his intention of patronising his future endeavors. The death of De Chatte, which they learned on their arrival at Honfleur, was matter of deep regret to Champlain, on account of his high personal qualities, and the confidence reposed in him by Henry.

#### ENTERPRISES OF DE MONTS.

After the death of De Chatte, Pierre du Guast, SIEUR DE MONTS, a townsman of Champlain, gentleman of the Chamber in ordinary to His Majesty, and Governor of Pons, obtained the most extensive

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commission yet granted by the King, reaching from Virginia to the Esquimaux River, or from latitude 40° to 54°. This gentleman had already made one voyage with Chauvin as a volunteer. He had also the power of conceding lands between latitude 40° and 46°, together with the usual titles of Viceroy and Lieutenant General. De Monts was a Calvinist, and obtained the free exercise of his form of religion for himself and all his friends; but on the condition that he should establish the catholic worship among the natives. He reposed the utmost confidence in the integrity and skill of Champlain; and to this gentleman, and his predecessor, M. de Chatte, belongs the credit of associating in their enterprises, the celebrated founder of Quebec—who by his personal qualities, high character and valuable services, greatly contributed to render Canada an object of lasting interest to France and to European Christendom.

De Monts continued the company established by his predecessor, and reinforced it by the addition of several considerable merchants from the different ports of France, particularly Rochelle: so that he was enabled to fit out a very complete armament. He sailed from Havre-de-Grace on the 7th March, 1604, with four vessels, of which two, under his immediate command, were destined from Acadie, or Nova Scotia. He was accompanied by Champlain, and by a gentleman named Poitricourt, who had left France with the design of making a permanent settlement with his family in the new world. A third vessel was despatched under Pontgravé to the Strait of Canso, for the purpose of preventing any encroachment by other parties on the exclusive rights of De Monts. The fourth was ordered to Tadoussac, and was destined to carry on the fur trade with

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that post. On the 6th May, De Monts arrived at a harbor on the coast of Acadie, where he commenced the rigid assertion of his privilege by seizing and confiscating an English vessel. As a singular recompense for the loss of his ship, he called this harbor Port Rossignol, from the name of the master, which was *Nightingale*. Thence they sailed to the Island of St. Croix, about twenty leagues to the westward of the River St. John, where De Monts disembarked the people, and passed the winter. Finding the place inconvenient, in the spring of 1605, he removed the establishment to Port Royal, now Annapolis, discovered by Champlain, who had been diligently employed in surveying the coast. Here a fort was built, of which Pontgravé was at first appointed Lieutenant; but De Monts soon afterwards, by virtue of his commission, conceded the whole establishment of Port Royal with a large domain to M. Poitricourt; which grant was a few years after recognized and confirmed by Letters Patent from the King, being the first concession made in North America. De Monts returned to France in the autumn of 1605: when he found his influence at Court on the wane, heavy complaints having been made against him by the persons interested in the Fisheries, who belonged to every port in the Kingdom. They represented with considerable unanimity, if not with truth and justice, that under pretence of preventing their trade with the Indian hunters for furs, he had thrown every impediment in the way of their lawful occupation in the fisheries, to their great injury, and to the prejudice of the Revenue. These statements were listened to at Court, and De Monts was deprived of the exclusive privilege, which had been granted to him for ten years. Not, however, disheartened

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by this reverse, he entered into a new engagement with M. Poitricourt, who had followed him to France ; and equipped a vessel, which sailed from Rochelle on the 13th May, 1606, for the purpose of succouring the people left at Port Royal. This Colony, considering itself forgotten by the founders, was on the point of returning to France. Thus opportunely reinforced, however, it speedily increased in prosperity under the able management of Poitricourt, who appears to have been a person of superior talents and resources. He was here joined by his friend MARC LESCARBOT, an Advocate of Paris, who, urged by an eager desire and curiosity, unusual with persons of his profession, had left the practice of the Courts to examine the new world :—

*Ignotis errare locis, ignota videre  
Flumina gaudebat.*

This gentleman proved of the greatest service in meliorating the condition of the settlement. He is described as now piquing the pride, and now animating the drooping spirits of the settlers ; by which means, added to indefatigable exertion in his own person, he succeeded in gaining the love of all. Every day his ingenuity was successfully put to the test, by some invention of utility to the people ; and he afforded an eminent example, how advantageous to a new settlement are the resources of a mind cultivated by study, and guided by zeal and reflexion. It is to this learned and ingenious person that we are indebted for an excellent history of New France, published in 1609. We must acknowledge in him an accurate and judicious author, equally capable of establishing a Colony, of regulating its internal economy, and of writing its natural and political history.

M. Poitricourt maintained possession of Port Royal for several years, until he was dispossessed by the English, who finally acquired the sovereignty of Nova Scotia.

The enemies of De Monts still persevered in their misrepresentations, and at length succeeded, to the great indignation of Champlain, in depriving him altogether of his commission, a very trifling indemnification only being allowed to him in return for his extensive disbursements. The next year, in 1607, he solicited his re-appointment—but only obtained a renewal of his former privilege for one year, on condition of forming a settlement on the River St. Lawrence; to which, by the advice of Champlain, the King had lately turned his serious attention.

Neither the company to which De Monts belonged, or the associates of his voyages, had abandoned him in his adversity. Two vessels were fitted out at Honfleur in 1608, under the command of Champlain and Pontgravé for Tadoussac, and the St. Lawrence, while De Monts remained in France endeavoring to obtain an extension of his Patent, but without success. This failure, however, did not prevent him from afterwards fitting out some vessels, by the aid of the company, and without any commission, in the spring of 1610—for the River St. Lawrence, under the same able command.

Champlain, who, as stated above, was a zealous catholic, makes great objection to the employment and admixture of the Huguenots in these expeditions of De Monts. Indeed he prognosticates ill success to every undertaking where so preposterous an union was permitted. The following story is told in his peculiar style:—the parties must have been composed, according to the poet, of that stubborn crew,

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Of errant Saints, whom all men grant  
 To be the true Church militant ;  
 And prove their doctrine orthodox  
 By apostolic blows and knocks.

“ Il se trouve quelque chose à redire en ceste entreprise, qui est, en ce que deux religions contraires ne font jamais un grand fruit pour la gloire de Dieu parmy les infideles, que l'on veut convertir. J'ay veu le Ministre et nostre curé s'entre-bâttre à coups de poing, sur le differend de la religion. Je ne sçay pas qui estoit le plus vaillant, et qui donnoit le meilleur coup, mais je sçay très bien que le ministre se plaignoit quelquefois au Sieur de Mons d'avoir esté battu, et vuidoient en ceste façon les pointcs de controversée. Je vous laisse à penser si cela estoit beau à voir ; les sauvages estoient tantost d'un costé, tantost de l'autre, et les François meslez selon leur diverse croyance, disoient pis que pendre de l'une et de l'autre religion, quoy que le Sieur de Mons y apportast la paix le plus qu'il pouvoit. Ces insolences estoient veritablement un moyen à l'infidèle de la rendre encore plus endurcy en son infidélité : ”

“ Some fault is to be found in this enterprise, and that is, that two opposite religions can never produce good fruit, to the glory of God, among the infidels who are to be converted. I have seen the Huguenot Minister and our Curé engage at fisticuffs, upon the difference of religion. I know not which was the better man, or who gave the harder blows ; but this I know very well, that the Minister sometimes complained of having been thrashed, and thus they settled their points of controversy. I leave you to determine if this was decent to behold : the natives were first on one side and then on the other ; and the French took part according to their respective creed,

abusing each other's religion, although De Monts did all in his power to keep the peace. These follies were truly a method of rendering the infidel more hardened in his infidelity."

#### FOUNDATION OF QUEBEC.

On the 13th April, 1608, Pontgravé having been already despatched in a vessel to Tadoussac, CHAMPLAIN, who had obtained the commission of Lieutenant, under De Monts, in New France, set sail from Honfleur, with the express intention of establishing a settlement on the St. Lawrence, above Tadoussac, at which post he arrived on the 3d June. After a short stay, he ascended the River, carefully examining the shores; and on the 3d July, reached the spot called Stadacona, now QUEBEC, rendered so remarkable by the first visit of Jacques Cartier in 1535. CHAMPLAIN, whose ambition was not limited to mere commercial speculations—actuated by the patriotism and pride of a French gentleman, a faithful servant of his King, and warmly attached to the glory of his country,—thought more of founding a future empire than of a trading post for peltry. After examining the position, he selected the elevated promontory, which commands the narrowest part of the great River of Canada, the extensive basin between it and the Isle of Orleans, together with the mouth of the Little River St. Charles, as a fit and proper seat for the future metropolis of New France, and there laid the foundation of Quebec, on the 3d JULY, 1608. His judgment has never been called in question, or his taste disputed in this selection. Its commanding position, natural strength, and aptitude both for purposes of offence and defence, are evident on the first

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view—while the unequalled beauty, grandeur and sublimity of the scene mark it as worthy of extended empire :

— hoc regnum gentibus esse,  
Si quà fata sinant, jam tum tenditque fovetque.

This noble site, prove fate hereafter kind,  
The seat of lasting empire he designed.

Here, on the point immediately overlooking the basin, and on the site reaching from the grand battery to the Castle of St. Lewis, he commenced his labors by felling the walnut trees, and rooting up the wild vines with which the virgin soil was covered, in order to make room for the projected settlement. Huts were erected, some lands were cleared, and a few gardens made, for the purpose of proving the soil, which was found to be excellent. The first permanent building which the French erected was a store house, or magazine for the security of their provisions. CHAMPLAIN thus describes his first proceedings, which will be read with interest by the inhabitant at the present day: “ J'arrivay à Québec le 3 Juillet, où estant, je cherchay lieu propre pour nostre habitation ; mais je n'en peus trouver de plus commode n'y mieux scitué que la pointe de Québec ..... laquelle estoit remplie de noyers et de vignes. Aussi tost j'employay une partie de nos ouvriers à les abbatre ; pour y faire nostre habitation. .... La première chose que nous fismes fut le magazin pour mettre nos vivres à convert, qui fut promptement fait. .... Proche de ce lieu est un rivièrre agréable où anciennement hyverna Jacques Cartier :”—“ I reached Quebec on the 3d July, where I sought out a proper place for our dwelling ; but I could not find one better adapted for it than the promontory, or point of Quebec,

which was covered with walnuts and vines. As soon as possible, I set to work some of our laborers, to level them, in order to build our habitation. .... The first thing which we did was to build a store house to secure our provis. under shelter, which was quickly done. .... Near this spot is an agreeable river, where formerly wintered Jacques Cartier." A temporary barrack for the men and officers was subsequently erected on the higher part of the position, near where the Castle of St. Lewis now stands. It must be remembered that at the time of the landing of Champlain, the tide usually rose nearly to the base of the rock, or *côte*; and that the first buildings were of necessity on the high grounds. Afterwards, and during the time of CHAMPLAIN, a space was re-deemed from the water, and elevated above the inundation of the tide; on which store houses, and also a battery level with the water were erected, having a passage of steps between it and the fort, on the site of the present Mountain Street, which was first used in 1623.

CHAMPLAIN had now, humble as they were, successfully laid the foundations of the first French Colony in North America. One hundred and sixteen years had elapsed since the discovery of the new world; and it was only in the year previous, that on the whole continent, north of Mexico, a European nation had at length succeeded in establishing any settlement. This was effected by the English under Captain Christopher Newport, who laid the foundation of a settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, on the 13th May, 1607, two hundred and twenty seven years ago. The chivalrous character and adventures of Captain John Smith, and the interesting story of Pocahontas, have conferred a peculiar interest on

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the early history of this colony. It may be noted as a singular contrast with the growth of the English colonies afterwards, that at the death of Queen Elizabeth, in 1603, there was not a European family in all the northern continent : at present the great State of Virginia alone,—of which the germ was a colony of one hundred souls, of whom fifty died during the first year ; and which, as described by Chalmers in his political annals, “ feeble in numbers and enterprise, was planted in discord, and grew up in misery,”—numbers upon its soil no less than twelve hundred thousand inhabitants ! The disappearance and eradication of the Indians has been still more extraordinary. Of the countless tribes who filled up the back country of Virginia at the time of the first settlement by the English, it appears by the census of 1830, that there existed only *forty-seven* Indians in the whole State !

The summer was passed in finishing the necessary buildings ; when clearances were made around them, and the ground prepared for sowing wheat and rye : which was accomplished by the 15th October. Hoar frosts commenced about the 3d October, and on the 15th the trees shed their leafy honors. The first snow fell on the 18th November, but disappeared after two days. Champlain describes the snow as lying on the ground from December until near the end of April, so that the favorite theory of those who maintain the progressive improvement of the climate, as lands are cleared in new countries, is not borne out by the evidence of Canada. From several facts it might be shown that the wintry climate was not more inhospitable in the early days of Jacques Cartier and CHAMPLAIN than in the present. The winter of

1611 and 1612 was extremely mild, and the river was not frozen before Quebec.

From the silence of CHAMPLAIN respecting the hamlet or town of Stadacona, which had been visited by Cartier so often in 1535, it would seem probable that it had dwindled, owing to the migratory predilections of the Indians, to a place of no moment. He certainly mentions a number of Indians who were "cabannez," or hutted near his settlement; but the ancient name of Stadacona never once occurs. It will be recollected that Cartier spoke of the houses of the natives as being amply provided with food against the winter. From the evidence of CHAMPLAIN, the Indians of the vicinity appear to have degenerated in this particular. They are represented as having experienced the greatest extremities for want of food during the winter of 1608; and some who came over from the Pointe Lévi side of the river, were in such a state of wretchedness, as hardly to be able to drag their limbs to the upper part of the settlement. They were relieved and treated with the greatest kindness by the French.

The ice having disappeared in the spring of 1609, so early as the 8th April, CHAMPLAIN was enabled to leave the infant settlement of Quebec, and to ascend the river on the 18th, for the purpose of further exploring the country. He resolved to penetrate into the interior; and his mingled emotions of delight and astonishment may easily be conceived, as he proceeded to examine the magnificent country of which he had taken possession. During this summer, he discovered the beautiful lake which now bears his name; and having returned to Quebec in the autumn, he sailed for France in September 1609, leaving the

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settlement under the command of Captain Pierre Chauvin, an officer of great experience.

CHAMPLAIN was well received on his arrival by Henry IV., who invited him to an interview at Fontainebleau ; and received from him an exact account of all that had been done in New France, with a statement of the advantages to be expected from the new establishment on the St. Lawrence, —at which recital the King expressed great satisfaction. De Monts, however, by whose means the settlement of Quebec had been formed, could not obtain a renewal of his privilege, which had now expired :— notwithstanding which, he was once more enabled by the assistance of the company of merchants, to fit out two vessels in the spring of 1610, under the command of Champlain and Pontgravé. The latter was instructed to continue the fur trade with the Indians at Tadoussac, while Champlain, having with him a reinforcement of artisans and laborers, was to proceed to Quebec. He sailed from Honfleur on the 8th April, and arrived at Tadoussac in the singularly short passage of eighteen days. Thence ascending the river to Quebec, he had the gratification of finding the colonists in good health, and content with their situation. The crops of the previous year had been abundant, and every thing was in as good order and condition as could be expected.

To pursue further the proceedings of CHAMPLAIN, and his discoveries in the interior, does not properly fall within the scope of this work, but belongs to the History of CANADA. It may be well, however, to observe in this place, that owing to the political error committed by this otherwise sagacious chief, when he taught the natives the use of fire-arms, and joined them in an offensive league against the Iroquois,

who were at first supported by the Dutch, and afterwards by the English Colonists of New-York,—CHAMPLAIN not only laid the foundation of that predatory and cruel warfare which subsisted with little intermission between his countrymen and the five nations, notwithstanding the conciliatory efforts of the Jesuits—but he may with reason be considered as the remote, although innocent cause, of the animosity afterwards engendered between the Provincialists and the French, owing to the excesses of the Indians in the interest of the latter, and of a war which terminated only with the subjugation of Canada by the British arms in 1760.

CHAMPLAIN, who made frequent voyages to France in order to promote the interests of the rising Colony; and who identified himself with its prospects by bringing out his family to reside with him, was wisely continued, with occasional intermission, in the chief command until his death. In 1620, he erected a temporary fort on the site of the Castle of St. Lewis; which he rebuilt of stone, and fortified in 1624. At that time, however, the Colony numbered only fifty souls. It appears from the Parish Register then commenced to be regularly kept, that the first child born in Quebec of French parents was christened Eustache on the 24th October, 1621, being the son of Abraham Martin and Margaret L'Anglois. In 1629, Champlain had to undergo the mortification of surrendering Quebec to an armament from England under Louis Kertk, who on the 22d July planted the English Standard on the walls, just one hundred and thirty years before the battle of the Plains of Abraham. Champlain was taken as a prisoner of war to England, whence he returned to France, and subsequently to Canada in 1633. The inhabi-

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tants were well treated by Kertk, who was himself a French Huguenot Refugee, and none of the settlers left the country ; which was restored to France by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, on the 29th March, 1632.

CHAMPLAIN, who combined with superior talents and singular prudence a temperament of high courage and resolution, after a residence in New France of nearly thirty years, died full of honors, and rich in public respect and esteem, in the bosom of the settlement of which he was the founder, about the end of December, 1635. His memoirs are written in a pleasing and unaffected style ; and show that he was deficient in none of the qualities which are so essential in the leader of difficult enterprises, and the discoverer of new countries. His obsequies were performed with all the pomp which the colony could command ; and his remains were followed to the grave with real sorrow by the Clergy, Officers, and the civil and military inhabitants, Father Le Jeune pronouncing an appropriate funeral oration.

At the death of CHAMPLAIN the French possessions in Canada consisted of the fort of Quebec, surrounded by some inconsiderable houses, and barracks for the soldiers, a few huts on the Island of Montreal, as many at Tadoussac, and at other places on the St. Lawrence, used as trading and fishing posts. A settlement had just been commenced at Three Rivers ; and in these trifling acquisitions were comprised all that resulted from the discoveries of Verazzano, Jacques Cartier, Roberval, Champlain, and the vast outlay of De la Roche, De Monts, and other French adventurers. At the time we are writing, the Colony or Province of Lower Canada contains nearly six hundred thousand inhabitants—Quebec possesses over

three thousand houses, and a population of near thirty thousand souls. That of Montreal is as numerous ; and Three-Rivers is progressively improving in wealth and resources. The social and commercial intercourse between these flourishing towns is maintained by means of magnificent steamboats of unrivalled safety and expedition—those floating palaces, in which a thousand human beings are often transported from city to city. The trade of the Province, instead of being limited to a few small craft engaged in the fisheries or the fur trade, employs more than a thousand vessels of burthen, enriching the Province with an annual immigration of from twenty-five to fifty thousand souls, the aggregate of whose capital is immense ;—and conveying in return the native produce of the Canadas to almost every part of the empire. PITT must have been prophetically inspired when he gave to the great seal of CANADA its beautiful legend, for nothing could be more applicable to the double advantages of one extensive branch of its commerce—the Timber trade—

— AB IPSO

DUCIT OPES ANIMUMQUE FERRO—

Gains power and riches by the selfsame steel.

Instead of a few huts on the River's side, the country on each bank of the St. Lawrence has been long divided into rich Seigniories, and the fertile soil cultivated by an industrious, a virtuous and contented population—by a people to whom foreign dominion, instead of deteriorating their former condition, has been the herald of all that can render life precious. It has given to them the unrestricted enjoyment of their rights, language and religion—protection against external foes, together with the full security of their

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domestic usages, customs, laws and property—perfect exemption from the burthens of taxation, and a state of rational happiness and political freedom unequalled on the face of the globe. The following beautiful passage from Virgil will strike every one, as singularly applicable to the condition of the Canadian farmer, or *habitant* :

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona nôrint,  
Agrícolas ! quibus ipsa, procul discordibus armis,  
Fundit humo facilem victum justissima tellus.  
Si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis  
Manè salutantùm totis vomit ædibus undam ;

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At segura quies, et nescia fallere vita,  
Dives opum variarum ; at latis otia fundis,  
Speluncæ, vivique lacus ; at frigida tempe,  
Mugitusque boum, mollesque sub arbore somni  
Non absunt. Illic saltus, et lustra ferarum,  
Et patiens operum, parvoque assueta juvenus,  
Sacra Deùm, sanctique patres. Extrema per illos  
Justitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

O happy, if he knew his happy state,  
The swain, who free from discord and debate,  
Receives his easy food from nature's hand,  
And just returns of cultivated land.  
No palace with a lofty gate he wants,  
To admit the tides of early visitants ;

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But easy quiet, a secure retreat,  
A harmless life, that knows not how to cheat,  
With homebred plenty the rich owner bless,  
And rural pleasures crown his happiness.  
Cool grots are his, and living lakes, the pride  
Of meads, and streams that through the valley glide ;  
And shady groves that easy sleep invite,

And after toil a soft repose at night.  
 Wild beasts of nature in his woods abound ;  
 And youth, of labor patient, plough the ground,  
 Inured to hardship and to homely fare ;  
 Nor venerable age is wanting there,  
 In great examples to the youthful train ;  
 Nor ought is there religion to profane.  
 From hence Astræa took her flight, and here  
 The prints of her departing steps appear.

Having thus conducted the reader to the foundation of Quebec, we conclude the historical sketch of the progress of early discovery and settlement in this part of the North American continent.

ETYMOLOGICAL

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## CHAPTER THE SEVENTH.

ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORDS CANADA AND QUEBEC  
—THE SUFFOLK SEAL.

There are few subjects on which greater ingenuity has been displayed, and more time and labor expended, than on etymology. Every votary of this study has a favorite theory—the fancy runs wild, and even the gravest writers have indited most deliberate nonsense, when led astray by the *ignis fatuus* of etymological research. The vulgar signs of obscure taverns and ale-houses have not been rejected as subjects for the lucubrations of antiquaries;—and such uncourtly and degenerate phrases as “The Bull and Mouth,” and “The Bag o’ nails,” have been restored by antiquarian lore into the historic and classic appellations of “Boulogne Mouth,” and “The Bacchanals.” Even the SPECTATOR has elevated the old hostelry of Isabella Savage into that of “La Belle Sauvage.” Taking a bolder range, Vallancey has demonstrated, at least to his own satisfaction, that the speech of the Phœnician in the *Pœnulus* of Plautus is pure Irish; but the climax of absurdity was reached by an author of the name of Lemon, who, in 1783, published an “English Etymology,” the avowed aim of which was to prove, that almost all English words are of Greek origin. This author says, with all the gravity of a man in full possession of his senses,—  
“There are many words in our language that con-

tinue to wear so strange and uncouth an appearance as would require more than Œdipus to develop and disentangle from their present intricate and enigmatical disguises. Thus the expressions *hot-cockles*, *scratch-cradle*, *link-boy*, *bogle-boe*, *haut-gout*, *bon-mot*, *kick-shaws*, *Crutched-Friars*, and innumerable others can only be explained by their etymologies, *every one of which is Greek !!*

The force of nonsense could no further go—and the reader may be assured, that the whole work is in strict conformity with this extract: the writer, nevertheless, was a beneficed clergyman, and a man of letters.

The etymology of the names, “Canada” and “Quebec,” has been disfigured and encumbered by definitions equally puerile. Such fancies were peculiar to the times, which followed the discovery of America. Innumerable were the conceits of the Elizabethan age—the learned plunged without compass into the unknown seas of etymological discovery; and even the wise BACON, and the severe COKE were addicted to this pursuit. In the age before that, during the time of the bluff King Harry, “the sovereignest thing on earth” was a name conveyed in a *rebus*; and such devices are still seen on the walls and mouldings of the most celebrated of the English Cathedrals. But the sagacious etymologists of former days by no means recognised the necessity of acquaintance with the primitive language of which the words they undertook to explain were composed. They pursued a “royal road” of their own; and undertook to discover in the Spanish tongue the root of phrases which existed only in the aboriginal speech of the Indian native. Thus the etymons of Canada and Quebec have been sought for, where there was

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less probability of finding them than in the languages of Japan and Otaheite !

Father Hennepin, one of those etymological *savans*, whose labors it were great pity should be lost, tells us that the Spaniards were the first discoverers of Canada ; and that finding in it nothing worthy of their cupidity, they bestowed upon it the negative appellation of " El capo di nada,"—" Cape Nothing"—whence by corruption its present name. La Potherie follows in the same track, and with more particularity recites the same derivation. Charlevoix gives the same story with a little variation. He tells us that the natives of Gaspé frequently repeated the words, " Aca nada"—" Nothing here,"—to the French under Jacques Cartier, words which they had received from the Spaniards who had visited them before his time. Charlevoix supposes that the French were thus induced to consider it the name of the country ; but in a note he adds, with some hesitation, another definition, to which we shall have occasion to return. Champlain contents himself with using the word " Canada" very sparingly, without any notice or hypothesis as to derivation, the appellation of the country being in his time NEW FRANCE. In the " Beautés de l'histoire du Canada," published in Paris, the same fanciful etymology is given ; but the preferable definition, noticed by Charlevoix, is placed first in order, as deserving greater attention. The derivation of the name " Canada," as given above, is clearly fanciful. It does not appear in the old writers, and was a weak attempt to derive from the Spanish a word of evident Indian origin. It is, moreover, extremely uncertain whether the Spaniards ever touched at Gaspé, or on any part of the continent ; and it seems highly probable that the tradition

itself received currency from the spurious etymology, which rendered it necessary, for the sake of probability, to show that the Spaniards had reached the coast previous to the coming of the French.

Having thus discussed the fanciful derivation of the word, let us consider its more probable source and etymology. Cartier, in whose narrative there is no mention of the words "Aca nada," as used by the natives of Gaspé, or Baye des Chaleurs, gives the name of "Canada" indifferently to the whole region which he discovered from the Sault St. Louis to the Gulf of St. Lawrence—to the great River itself—and also to the immediate portion of the country in which he wintered, and of which Donnacona is stated, in page forty-three, to have been Lord. And he does this on the authority of the two native interpreters whom he had originally taken from Gaspé. We conceive it utterly irrational to suppose that, at that early period, the name of Canada was extended over this immense country. The migratory habits of the Aborigines would effectually prevent such a conclusion. They usually distinguished themselves by their different Tribes, called from the name of some wild animal; but not by the country which they inhabited or hunted over *ad libitum*, and with all the independence of savage life. They gave rather a name to the locality, than adopted their own from any fixed place of residence. Thus, the Iroquois and the Ottawas added their appellations to the Rivers which ran through their hunting grounds; and the Huron Tribe, who gave their name originally to the Lake, on the downfall of their ancient dominion—even when confined within the limits which their too powerful enemies had imposed, and living in the midst of another people—still

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proudly distinguished themselves as the Huron Indians of Lorette ; and their habitation, under the name of the Huron Village, is visited with interest and curiosity to the present day. It has never been pretended that any tribe of Indians bore the name of Canada, which must inevitably have been the case, had that extensive region been so called by the Aborigines, as Cartier supposed. The natural conclusion is, that the word "Canada" was a mere local appellation, without reference to the country—that each Tribe had their own "Canada," which shifted its position according as they migrated either from caprice, or from the necessity of acquiring new hunting grounds—in short, that the suggestion contained in the note of Charlevoix, Nouvelle France, volume the first, page nine, of the quarto edition, and repeated in "Beautés de l'Histoire du Canada," affords the real solution of the difficulty : "Quelqu'uns derivent ce nom du mot Iroquois *Kannata*, qui se prononce Cannada, et signifie *un amas de cabanes* ;"—"Some derive this name from the Iroquois word *Kannata*, pronounced Cannada, signifying a collection of huts." The adoption of this name by the French under Cartier was natural. Wherever they found any collection of huts in their intercourse with the natives from Gaspé to the Sault St. Louis, they met with the word "Canada" in answer to their enquiries ; and they accordingly believed it to be the name of the country, instead of the particular village which they had discovered.

Father du Creux, who arrived in Canada about the year 1625, in the preface to his *Historia Canadensis*, a quarto volume written in elegant latin, gives the name of CANADA to the whole valley of the St. Lawrence, confessing, however, his ignorance of the etymology in

the most ingenuous manner : “ Porro, de etymologiâ vocis *Canada* nihil satis certi potui comperire : priscam quidem esse, constat ex eo, quod illam ante annos prope sexaginta passim usurpari andiebam puer. At Marcus quidem Lescarbotius fluvium S. Laurentii vocat identidem Magnum fluvium *Canadæ*, seu latinâ appositione, Magnum fluvium *Canadam*, nec de vocis origine quicquam prodit :”—“ I have been able to discover nothing certain respecting the etymology of the word *Canada*; but it is evident that it is an old name, because when a boy, more than sixty years ago, I heard it every where used. Mark Lescarbot always calls the River St. Lawrence the great River of Canada, but mentions nothing concerning the origin of the words.” It will be recollected that Lescarbot, who was a man of learning and talent, published his book in 1609.

From a paper among the unpublished transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, we gather that the Indian word “Canada,” which is pronounced as if written thus, *Kaugh-na-daugh*, is a combination formed of the first syllables of two distinct words, implying a collection of huts. This comprehensive method of forming a word from the first syllables of other words is usual with the Indians, accustomed to vary their definitions, according to every impression made upon their senses and powers of perception. The first of these syllables is met with in several Indian names at present existing; as in *Kaugh-na-waugh-a*, or the Village of the Rapid, an Indian settlement nearly opposite to Lachine; and in the word *Kaugh-yu-ga*, or Cayuga, one of the five nations or Iroquois. The latter is found in the name *Onon-daugh-a*, Onondaga, another of the five nations; and both occur in the same word in *Kaugh-na-daugh-*

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*ga*, or Canandaigua, in the Genessee country. Charlevoix also mentions that the Kennebec Indians were called Canibas, *Kaugh-ni-bas*; and that the River Kennebec was originally called Canibequi. The intermediate and connecting syllable *na* is very probably the particle *of*,—as in Irish Celtic we find *Mac-na-mara*, Son of the sea, *Con-na-mara*, Head of the sea, or a promontory. Without falling into the error of the fanciful etymologists of whom we have spoken above, it may be remarked, that this peculiar formation of the Indian compound may possibly exist in every language, as part of the original process of their invention. There are certainly some traces of it discoverable in the Latin, a few of which, for the amusement of the curious, we subjoin :

Malo is formed of . . .	<i>Magis volo.</i>
Nolo . . . . .	<i>Non volo.</i>
Macte . . . . .	<i>Magis aucte.</i>
Nubo . . . . .	<i>Nube eo.</i>
Caveo . . . . .	<i>Catus eo.</i>
Tuens, tueor . . . . .	<i>Tutus ens, tutus eo.</i>
Aucupo . . . . .	<i>Avem capio.</i>
Manceps, mancipium . . .	<i>Manu capio.</i>
Duco . . . . .	<i>Duo cum eo.</i>
Contraho . . . . .	<i>Con-trans-habeo.</i>
Traho . . . . .	<i>Trans-habeo.</i>

That the Indian solution of the disputed etymology of CANADA is the correct one, has been lately supported in so remarkable a manner by the authority of a native Indian, that it may now be considered conclusively established. Duponceau, in the transactions of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, states in a note his conjecture as to the origin of the name of CANADA, founding it upon the fact that in the translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew into the Mohawk

tongue, made by BRANT the Indian Chief, in the upper Province, the word CANADA is always used to signify a village. The mistake of the French who thus took the name of a part for that of the whole is quite pardonable in persons ignorant of the Indian language. They afterwards endeavored to substitute the name of New France, but without success.

We now approach a subject of considerable interest and no slight difficulty—namely, the etymology of the name of QUEBEC. The Indians at the time of Jacques Cartier uniformly called it STADACONA. That name had perished before the time of Champlain, owing, probably, to the migration of the original tribe, and the succession of others. Indeed, the place itself has been shown to have been inconsiderable at his day, both as to importance and population. The Indians of Cartier's time were probably the Montagnez, or inferior Algonquins, who afterwards retired to the neighborhood of the Saguenay: at the period of the arrival of Champlain, QUEBEC was possessed by a kindred tribe, or Upper Algonquins.

La Potherie has furnished a derivation of this word, as fanciful as that which he had already given of Canada, without, however, vouching for its probability;—"On tient, que les Normands qui étoient avec Jacques Cartier, à sa première découverte, apercevant au bout de l'Isle d'Orleans, un cap fort élevé, s'écrièrent *Quel bec!* et qu'à la suite du tems le nom de Québec lui est resté. Je ne suis pas garant de cette etymologie:—"It is said, that the Normans with Jacques Cartier at his first discovery, perceiving from the end of the Isle of Orleans a lofty cape, exclaimed, *Quel bec!* what a promontory! and that in the course of time the name of Quebec remained to it. I do not vouch for

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this etymology." It is hardly necessary to observe that this derivation is entirely illusory and improbable; although it must be confessed that the word itself, according to its present orthography, would lead us to consider it of Norman origin; and it may generally be admitted, that in newly discovered lands almost all names are taken from some particular quality, or else transferred from another country. The associations which give rise to this practice are perfectly natural—they are connected with the finest feelings of human nature, and founded upon the love of country. It has, indeed, been ingeniously argued, that QUEBEC was so called after some spot on the River Seine, probably *Caudebec*; brought to the remembrance of the first discoverers by the apparent resemblance of the locality.

We have seen that the first Indian name of QUEBEC was STADACONA, given to it by the tribes possessing this portion of the country previously to the Hurons. The Huron name is TIA-TON-TA-RILI, which signifies the place of the strait. Any one who observes the narrowing of the river at Cape Diamond, and its contraction to less than three quarters of a mile in breadth, will admit that it presents a striking natural feature; and it would be peculiarly apparent to the eye of a savage, whose perception of every change in the natural economy and physical appearance of objects, possessing the highest interest as being connected with his sole pursuits of hunting and war, is wonderfully acute. All the Indian names of places are descriptive; and the same name, or one bearing the same sense, in two different languages or dialects, will not appear to have any recognisable resemblance to him who does not understand both. It is highly probable, then, that Stadacona was of the

same import as the name given by the Hurons, and meant the place of the strait.

In the earlier period of the history of this country, when many of the inhabitants were familiar with the Indian tongues, and when the import of the last Indian name was well known, the singular error was fallen into of supposing that QUEBEC was the Indian word which signified the place of the strait. Charlevoix is the writer on whose authority this error, as we conceive it to be, has been transmitted ; although it has been somewhat inconsiderately thrown back upon Champlain, who wrote more than a century before Charlevoix. The latter says in his third letter, speaking of the River St. Lawrence : “ Au dessus de l'Isle d'Orleans, il se retrecit tout à coup de cette sorte, que devant Québec il n'a plus qu'une mille de largeur ; c'est ce qui a fait donner à cet endroit le nom de Québec, qui en langue Algonquin signifie *retrecissement* : ” — “ Above the Island of Orleans, it suddenly narrows, and that to such a degree as to be no more than a mile wide opposite to Quebec ; from which circumstance this place has been called Quebec, which in the Algonquin tongue signifies *a strait*.” That this statement was made to Charlevoix upon the spot, there is no reason to doubt ; but it may have arisen from error, and was probably founded on the Huron name, the import of which was the place of the strait. The latter being familiarly known, owing to the residence of the Hurons at Lorette, and Quebec having been considered an Indian word, in the course of time it came to be regarded as of the same meaning, although no such import can at the present day be traced. Thus Quebec was handed down as the place of the strait by Charlevoix : one writer repeated it after another,—

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And each narrator added something new.

CHAMPLAIN, the earliest and, doubtless, the best authority on the subject has also been adduced in support of this opinion, in a note to SMITH'S History of Canada, page 16: "Quebec, in the Algonquin language signifies a strait. Champlain, vol. 1. 115." But the words of CHAMPLAIN by no means prove the assertion here made. He says, in page 115, "Trouvant un lieu le plus estroit de la rivière, que les habitans du pays appellent Québec, je fis bastir, &c.:"—"finding a place where the River was narrowest, which the inhabitants call Quebec, I began to build." Again, at page 124, we find, "La pointe de Québec, ainsi appellé des sauvages:"—"The point of Quebec, so called by the savages." This is all that Champlain says, and it is by no means conclusive. There is no certainty from this, that the name of QUEBEC was given to this place by the Indians, prior to the foundation of the city, from the mere circumstance of its being the narrowest part of the River: the grammatical construction of the first quotation by no means indicates that: on the contrary, it would appear from the second quotation that it was the point, at the confluence of the Little River St. Charles with the St. Lawrence, to which the savages gave the name of Quebec. There being nothing, therefore, in the authority of CHAMPLAIN decisive of Quebec being the Indian word for a strait, it may be added, that its root has never yet been discovered in any Indian language; and that in the opinion of persons well acquainted with the native dialects, Quebec has not

to the ear any sound of an Indian word. The Algonquin tongue is of singular softness and sweetness, and may be considered as the Italian of the North American languages. Quebec, originally so written, is a harsh, abrupt sound, of which no parallel can easily be found in any of the Indian tongues, least of all in the Algonquin ; in which the sound P was always substituted for that of B, while in the Huron language the latter consonant is altogether rejected. Both these facts throw considerable difficulty around the supposed Indian derivation of the name, with its present orthography.

On the other hand, the word bears intrinsic evidence of Norman origin. The first syllable is French, and the last, *bec*, was uniformly applied by them to designate a promontory or cape, of which abundant instances may be adduced from their ancient maps. But evidence has lately been discovered, which establishes, beyond doubt, that the word is of European origin, supposed on the best grounds to be Norman ; and that it was a place of sufficient importance to give one of his titles to a distinguished statesman and warrior, so early as the 7th year of the reign of Henry V. of England, the hero of Agincourt.

On the opposite side is an engraving, which accurately represents the impression of the seal of WILLIAM DE LA POLE, EARL OF SUFFOLK, a person of historical celebrity during the reigns of Henry V. and VI. The arms on the shield, the supporters, the helmet, and a representation of the Earl with the cap of maintenance upon his head, and ruff around his neck, are quite perfect. The legend which is mutilated may thus be supplied : "SIGILLUM WILIELMI DE LA POLE, COMITIS SUFFOLCHIE DOMINI DE HAMBURY ET DE QUEBEC." It is probable

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from the space that a third word intervened originally between the two latter titles. The plate is copied from one in Edmonstone's Heraldry, and proves beyond doubt that QUEBEC was a Town, Castle, Barony or Domain, which the powerful Earl of SUFFOLK either held in his own right, or as Governor for the King in Normandy, or some other of the English possessions in France. The orthography of the name, corresponding literally with the present, renders its identity with that of the capital of British America indisputable. The date of the seal, as given in Edmonstone, is the 7th Henry V., or 1420, the year of that King's nuptials with Catharine of France, daughter of Charles VI., who by her second marriage was grandmother of Henry VII. of England.

#### ACCOUNT OF THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

WILLIAM DE LA POLE, Earl, Marquess and Duke of Suffolk, one of the most conspicuous personages of the time of Henry V. and VI., was grandson of Michael de la Pole, first Earl of Suffolk, Lord High Chancellor of England, during the reign of Richard II., 1386. The first Earl presents a remarkable instance, in the days of feudal and baronial splendor, of an individual rising from comparatively humble life to the highest office of the state. He was the son of Michael de la Pole, an eminent merchant in Hull, who had been ruined by lending money to King Edward III. during the French wars. WILLIAM DE LA POLE, the subject of this notice, is spoken of by HUME as a person of the greatest capacity and the firmest character; and is classed among the many renowned generals who distinguished themselves in

the French wars. He was constantly employed in enterprises of the greatest trust; and was equally efficient in the cabinet and in the field. It was his elder brother, who is introduced, as having fallen in the glorious battle of Agincourt together with the Duke of York, in the beautiful episode of SHAKSPEARE, King Henry the fifth, Act fourth, Scene sixth:

From helmet to the spur, all blood he was.  
 In which array, brave soldier, doth he lie,  
 Larding the plain; and by his bloody side,  
 (Yokefellow to his honor-owing wounds,)  
 The noble Earl of Suffolk also lies.  
 Suffolk first died, and York, all haggled over,  
 Comes to him, where in gore he lay insteep'd,  
 And takes him by the beard—kisses the gashes,  
 That bloodily did yawn upon his face,  
 And cries aloud—*Tarry, dear cousin Suffolk!*  
*My soul shall thine keep company to Heaven:*  
*Tarry, sweet soul, for mine, then fly a-breast,*  
*As, in this glorious and well-foughten field,*  
*We kept together in our chivalry!*  
 Upon these words, I came, and cheer'd him up:  
 He smil'd me in the face, raught me his hand,  
 And, with a feeble gripe, says,—*Dear my lord,*  
*Commend my service to my sovereign.*  
 So did he turn, and over Suffolk's neck  
 He threw his wounded arm, and kissed his lips;  
 And so, espous'd to death, with blood he seal'd  
 A testament of noble-ending love.  
 The pretty and sweet manner of it forc'd  
 Those waters from me, which I would have stopp'd;  
 But I had not so much of man in me,  
 But all my mother came into my eyes,  
 And gave me up to tears.

In 1423, WILLIAM DE LA POLE, in a fierce and well disputed action, defeated the Scottish and French army commanded by John Stuart, Constable of Scotland, and the Count de Ventadour, before Cre-

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vant in Burgundy, taking those generals prisoners, and leaving Sir William Hamilton and a thousand men dead on the field. This victory was of the greatest importance to the successful issue of the war, and the operations of the Regent, Duke of Bedford. In 1428, he commanded the English forces at the famous siege of Orleans, where he displayed, under difficult circumstances, talents and qualities of the highest order. At this siege he had a train of artillery with him, which about that time was first considered of military importance. It was here that the celebrated JOAN OF ARC, commonly called the MAID OF ORLEANS, made her first appearance upon the scene; and effected by means of superstition what the arms of France had in vain attempted. She succeeded in raising the siege in 1429, and SUFFOLK was compelled to retreat with his panic-stricken army to Jergeau, where he was besieged by the irresistible Joan; and after a gallant defence forced reluctantly to capitulate. SUFFOLK was obliged to yield himself prisoner to a Frenchman named RENAUD; but before he submitted, he asked his adversary whether he were a gentleman? on receiving a satisfactory answer, he demanded whether he were a Knight? RENAUD replied, that he had not yet attained that honor. "Then I make you one," replied SUFFOLK: upon which he gave him the blow with the sword, which dubbed him into that fraternity; and he immediately surrendered himself his prisoner.

SUFFOLK's disgrace and misfortune were soon compensated. Having effected his liberation by the payment of a large ransom, he was again at the head of an army; and in conjunction with the powerful ally of England, the Duke of Burgundy, he laid siege to Compiègne in 1430, the garrison of which was

commanded by the MAID OF ORLEANS in person. Here the fortune of JOAN OF ARC deserted her; or, according to common opinion, she was, through jealousy on the part of some French officers, purposely left unprotected in a sally which she had ordered, and was taken prisoner by the Burgundians. Her subsequent fate was a foul blot upon the character of the age: after some time passed in prison and in fetters, she was burned as a sorceress in the market place of Rouen, in 1432.

At the Congress held at Arras, in 1435, SUFFOLK was one of the English Commissioners, together with the Cardinal of Winchester, to whose party in the state he had attached himself, in opposition to the Good Duke Humphrey of Gloucester. The Cardinal's party were desirous of peace with France, at almost any sacrifice; and as they prevailed at court, SUFFOLK was despatched to Paris, in 1443, and concluded a truce for two years with the French King. One of the consequences of this truce, the marriage of Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjon, became so unpopular with the nation, that it ultimately caused the ruin of the Minister by whom it had been brought about. SUFFOLK, who was the agent in this affair, is generally supposed to have had a tender interest in the regards of Margaret; and his influence became paramount in the state, bringing with it all the ills which encompass the perilous station of a royal favorite in rude and factious times. After the King's marriage he was created Marquess, and first Duke of Suffolk, and he even received a vote of thanks from the Parliament. The entire loss of France a few years afterwards, which was commonly attributed to the treachery of the Duke of SUFFOLK, on account of his supposed attachment to the Queen and the

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French interest, exasperated the minds of the people and he was impeached by the Commons, in 1450. The charges against him, which are to be found at full length in the Rolls of Parliament of that reign, 28th Hen. VI. would not probably bear any strict scrutiny; but as he was besides suspected by the people of having been implicated in the cruel murder of the Good Duke Humphrey, the favorite of the nation, the tide of unpopularity was too powerful for him to stem. Then, as now, there were few to aid a falling Minister. The Duke, indeed, faced his accusers with great constancy, and made a bold and manly defence in the House of Peers, insisting upon his innocence, and even upon his merits, and those of his family in the public service. He stated that he had served his country in thirty-four campaigns—that he had been employed for the King in France for seventeen years without once returning to his native land—that he had been himself a prisoner, and had only regained his freedom by the payment of an exorbitant ransom. His father had died of fatigue at the siege of Harfleur—his eldest brother had been killed at the battle of Agincourt—two others had perished at Jergeau where he had been taken prisoner—and his fourth brother, who had been his hostage while he was employed in procuring ransom, had also died in the hands of the French. He complained that after his long services, after having repeatedly received the thanks of his sovereign, and of the Commons, after having been for thirty years an unspotted Knight of the Garter, he should at length be suspected of having been debauched from his allegiance by that enemy, whom he had opposed with the utmost zeal and fortitude; and of betraying his royal master, who had rewarded his services by the highest honors and greatest offices

that it was in his power to confer. This speech only the more exasperated his enemies ; and in order to save him from their fury, SUFFOLK was sent by the King into banishment for five years, in the hope that he might then return to court without danger. But his inveterate foes were not to be so baffled : they employed a fast sailing vessel to intercept him in his passage to France, which came up to him near Dover. His head was immediately struck off on the side of the vessel, and the body cast into the sea. This nobleman is one of the Dramatis Personæ of SHAKSPEARE, in the first and second parts of King Henry VI. The dying scene is thus given in the second part, Act the fourth, Scene the first.

- Whitmore* : I lost mine eye in laying the prize aboard ;  
And, therefore, to revenge it, shalt thou die.
- Suffolk* : Look on my George, I am a gentleman ;  
Rate me at what thou wilt, thou shalt be paid.
- Whitmore* : And so am I : my name is—Walter Whitmore—  
How now ? why start'st thou ? what, doth  
death affright ?
- Suffolk* : Thy name affrights me, in whose sound is death.  
A cunning man did calculate my birth,  
And told me—that by water I should die :  
Yet let not this make thee so bloody minded,  
Thy name is *Gualtier*, being rightly sounded—  
Stay, Whitmore ; for thy prisoner is a Prince,  
The Duke of Suffolk, William de la Pole.
- Captain* : Convey him hence, and on our long boat's side  
Strike off his head !
- Gentleman* : My glorious lord, entreat him, speak him fair.
- Suffolk* : Suffolk's imperial tongue is stern and rough,  
Us'd to command, untaught to plead for favor.  
Far be it, we should honor such as these  
With humble suit : no, rather let my head  
Stoop to the block, than these knees bow to any,  
Save to the God of Heaven, and to my King ;  
True nobility is exempt from fear :—  
More can I bear, than you dare execute.

Some of the charges preferred by the Commons against SUFFOLK seem to afford a distant clew to the word "Quebec," which appears upon his seal. He was accused of having acquired for himself, and bestowed upon his creatures and friends large possessions in France, to the prejudice of the Crown:—his unbounded influence in Normandy was complained of, where it appears he lived and ruled like a monarch; and where he had so far acquired the affections of the inhabitants, that when they threw off their allegiance to England, the vulgar attributed it to the disaffection of SUFFOLK himself, through the interest of the Queen. Having shown, therefore, that this great nobleman had been closely connected with the English possessions in France for so many years, it is not unreasonable to conclude, that during his long services he had acquired the French title of "Quebec," in addition to his English honors. Many of the English Peers, distinguished in the wars of France, received titles of honor in that country; as did the great Earl of Shrewsbury, "English John Talbot," who was created Earl of VALENCE by Henry VI. We have not been able to find, in the libraries to which we have access, any enumeration of the several titles of honor borne by the Duke of SUFFOLK; but there can be no doubt that such may be discovered in the British Museum, or the Herald's College. Whenever such discovery is made, the precise character of the place whence he took his title of "Quebec," which must have been of some importance, since it is introduced on his seal of arms, will no doubt be satisfactorily explained. That such a name existed nearly two centuries before the foundation of this capital, bearing the self same orthography, must be acknowledged to be a striking and

remarkable circumstance. Even as a mere coincidence, it is curious, and altogether, we think, conclusive, that "Quebec," so written, has no claim to the character of an Indian word. The earliest writer, Champlain, and those who followed him, gave it the present mode of spelling. Father du Creux, in order to adapt the word to the Latin, uniformly writes it, "Arx Kebeccensis, Kebeccum;" and in the Latin inscriptions which have been found in the foundations of the Recollet Church it is written with a K. Hence the initials in the French Cathedral, P. K., for "Paroecia Kebeccensis." In Major Walley's journal of the expedition against Canada under Sir William Phipps, in 1690, it is called "Cabeck." With these exceptions it has uniformly preserved the Norman orthography, as given in the Suffolk seal.

Granting, then, the Norman origin of the word, it may be asked how we dispose of the positive evidence of Champlain, who tells us, that the "point of Quebec was so called by the savages?" This is not so difficult as at first view it may appear. We learn from La Potherie, that the little River St. Charles was called by the natives, CABIR-COUBAT, on account of its serpentine course. "Il y a une rivière à une petite demie lieue de là, appelée *Cabir-Coubat* par les sauvages, à raison des tours et détours qu'elle fait:" Voyage de l'Amérique, Tom. 1. p. 124. Here then is an entire change in the Indian description, equally accurate, but taken from another feature of the locality. We had before, the "place of the strait:" we have now, "the winding river." It has been stated that there is no proof that the name of "Quebec," heard by Champlain, was descriptive of the former appellation: there is every probability that it was taken from the latter. We believe, then,

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that the word, COUBAT, was the sound heard by Champlain, as applied by the natives to the "point," where the little river flows into the St. Lawrence; and which spot was chosen by him for his first settlement. The time and quantity of the words themselves correspond: the number of the syllables and letters is the same, while the initial breathing is exactly similar. One, pronounced by an Indian, might easily be mistaken for the other. Let any one slowly repeat the Indian name, COUBAT, several times, always remembering the Italian softness of pronunciation which distinguished the Algonquin dialect; and he will not find it difficult to come to the conclusion, that he has at last found the true origin of the celebrated name, which in the mouths of the French, already familiarised to the present termination, according so well with the locality, soon assumed the form, orthography and pronunciation of QUEBEC.

The result of the foregoing observations amounts to this: That the etymology of the word CANADA is proved to be the Iroquois word *Kannata*, signifying a collection of huts, or a village; while there are strong grounds for believing that the name QUÉBEC, *per se*, is in fact a Norman word. That some Indian name which resembled it in sound was heard by Champlain, and considered to be that of the place where he settled—that this Indian word was most probably the latter division of their name for the River St. Charles, CABIR-COUBAT; and that from this word, it gradually acquired its present appellation.

## CHAPTER THE EIGHTH.

THE CASTLE OF ST. LEWIS—ITS FOUNDATION—CAPTURE BY KERTK—REMARKABLE SCENE THEREIN—DESCRIBED BY LA POTHERIE—AND BY CHARLEVOIX—DESTRUCTION BY FIRE.

Few circumstances of discussion and enquiry are more interesting than the history and fate of ancient buildings, especially if we direct our attention to the fortunes and vicissitudes of those who were connected with them. The temper, genius and pursuits of an historical era are frequently delineated in the features of remarkable edifices: nor can any one contemplate them without experiencing curiosity concerning those who first formed the plan, and afterwards created and tenanted the structure. These observations apply particularly to the subject of this chapter.

The history of the ancient Castle of St. Lewis, or Fort of Quebec, for above two centuries the seat of government in the Province, affords subjects of great and stirring interest during its several periods. The hall of the old Fort, during the weakness of the colony, was often a scene of terror and despair at the inroads of the persevering and ferocious Iroquois; who, having passed or overthrown all the French outposts, more than once threatened the Fort itself, and massacred some friendly Indians within sight of its walls. There,

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 destroyed by Fire June 22nd 1854.  
 CASTLE OF ST. LEWIS, QUEBEC.  
 In Harbour Picture of Quebec

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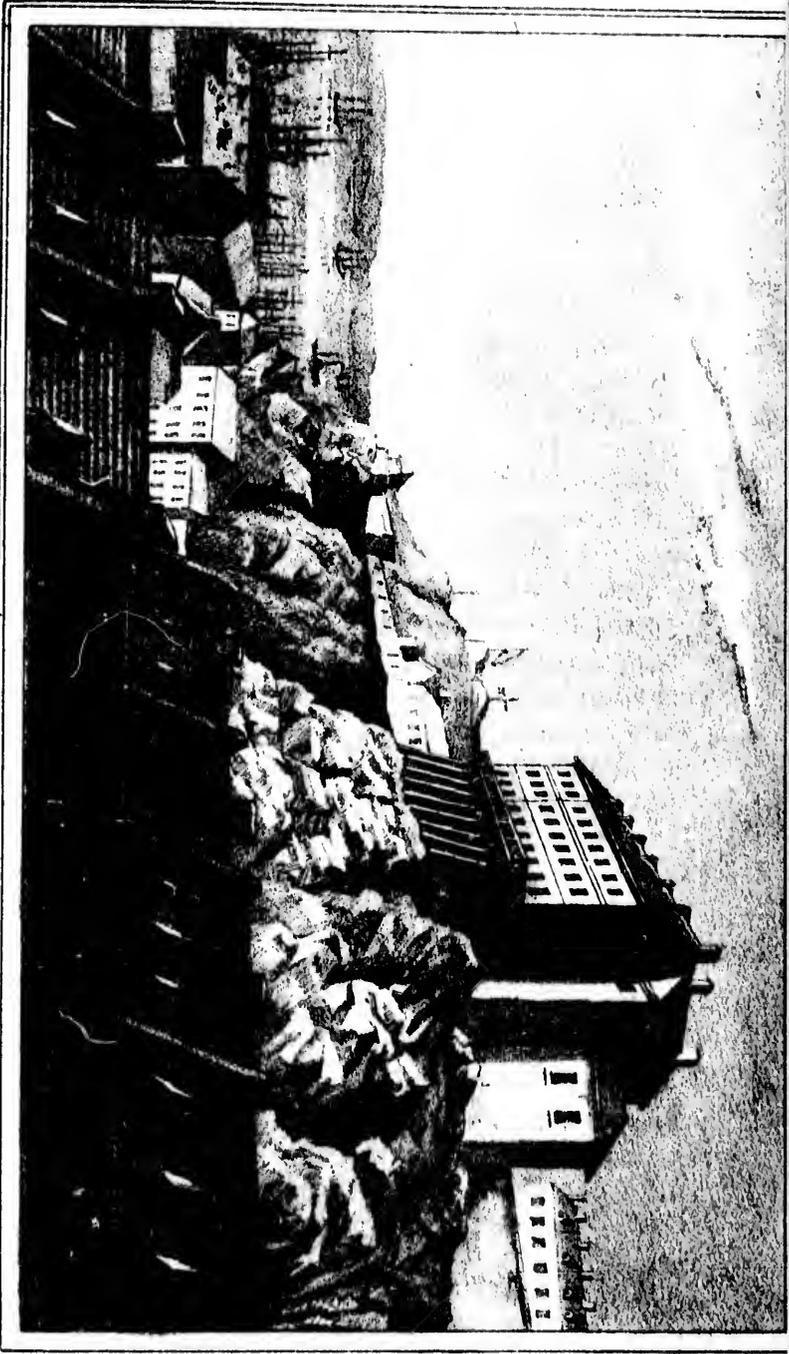
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*as Stone by Spruille from an Original by W. S. Sewell*

**CASTLE OF ST. LEWIS, OTTEBEC.**

*Destroyed by Fire June 28th 1854.*

*in Hawkins' History of Quebec*



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too, in intervals of peace, were laid those benevolent plans for the religious instruction and conversion of the savages, which at one time distinguished the policy of the ancient Governors. At a later era, when, under the protection of the French Kings, the Province had acquired the rudiments of military strength and power, the Castle of St. Lewis was remarkable, as having been the site whence the French Governors exercised an immense sovereignty, extending from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, along the shores of that noble river, its magnificent lakes,—and down the course of the Mississippi, to its outlet below New Orleans. The banner which first streamed from the battlements of Quebec, was displayed from a chain of forts, which protected the settlements throughout this vast extent of country : keeping the English Colonies in constant alarm, and securing the fidelity of the Indian nations. During this period, the council chamber of the Castle was the scene of many a midnight vigil,—many a long deliberation and deep-laid project,—to free the continent from the intrusion of the ancient rival of France, and assert throughout the supremacy of the Gallic lily. At another era, subsequent to the surrender of Quebec to the British arms, and until the recognition of the independence of the United States, the extent of empire, of the government of which the Castle of Quebec was the principal seat, comprehended the whole American continent, north of Mexico ! It is astonishing to reflect for a moment, to how small, and, as to size, comparatively insignificant an island in the Atlantic ocean, this gigantic territory was once subject !

Here also was rendered to the representative of the French King, with all its ancient forms, the fealty

and homage of the noblesse, and military retainers, who held possessions in the Province under the Crown—a feudal ceremony, suited to early times, which imposed a real and substantial obligation on those who performed it, not to be violated without forfeiture and dishonor. The King of Great Britain having succeeded to the rights of the French Crown, this ceremony is still maintained.\*

In England, it is also still performed by the Peers at the coronation of our Kings, in Westminster Abbey, although the ceremony is much curtailed of its former impressive observances.

The Castle of St. Lewis was in early times rather a strong hold of defence, than an embellished ornament of royalty. Seated on a tremendous precipice,—

On a rock whose haughty brow  
Frown'd o'er St. Lawrence' foaming tide—

and looking defiance to the utmost boldness of the assailant, nature lent her aid to the security of the position. The cliff on which it stood rises nearly two hundred feet in perpendicular height above the

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\* Fealty and homage is rendered at this day by the Seigniors to the Governor, as the representative of the Sovereign in the following form : His Excellency being in full dress and seated in a state chair, surrounded by his staff, and attended by the Attorney General, the Seignior, in an evening dress and wearing a sword, is introduced into his presence by the Inspector General of the Royal Domain and Clerk of the Land Roll, and having delivered up his sword, and kneeling upon one knee before the Governor, places his right hand between his, and repeats the ancient oath of fidelity ; after which a solemn act is drawn up in a register, kept for that purpose, which is signed by the Governor and the Seignior, and countersigned by the proper officers.

river. The Castle thus commanded on every side a most extensive prospect, and until the occupation of the higher ground to the south west, afterwards called Cape Diamond, must have been the principal object among the buildings of the city.

When Champlain first laid the foundation of the Fort, in 1620, to which he gave the name of St. Lewis, it is evident that he was actuated by views of a political, not of a commercial character. His mind was in better keeping with warlike enterprises than the acquirement of wealth, either for himself or his followers. He was perfectly disinterested in all his proceedings; and foreseeing that Quebec would become the seat of dominion, and invite a struggle for its future possession, he knew the necessity of a strong hold, and determined to erect one, in opposition to the wishes of the company of merchants. He tells us, that on his return from France, in July, 1620, having read the King's commission, and taken possession of the country in the Viceroy's name, by his direction — "Part of the laborers commenced a fort, to avoid the dangers which might occur, seeing that without one there could be no security in a country removed by its distance from all hopes of assistance. I placed this building in an excellent situation, upon a mountain which commanded the passage of the St. Lawrence, one of the narrowest parts of that River; and yet none of the company's associates were able to perceive the necessity of a strong hold, for the preservation of the country, and of their own property. The house thus built afforded no satisfaction to them; but for that matter, I felt it my duty, nevertheless, to carry into effect the commands of the Viceroy; and this is the real way to avoid receiving an affront, for

an enemy, who finds that there is nothing to be gained but blows, and much time and expense to be thrown away, will be cautious how he hazards his vessels and their crews. This shows that it is not always the thing to follow the passions of men, which obtain sway only for a time—we ought to have some consideration for the future.” In 1621, Champlain received from the King a supply of arms and ammunition for his garrison; which, however, he complains of as inadequate to the defence of the Fort. In 1623, the barrack, or building for the soldiers and people, fell into such a state of decay, that it was determined to construct a new one of stone; and the site chosen for this building appears to have been within the ramparts of the Fort, nearly on the brink of the precipice, and where the Castle of St. Lewis now stands. Its design is thus described by Champlain as having been drawn by himself: “I made the plan of a new building, which was, to throw down all the old one, except the magazine, and in a line with that to erect other considerable buildings of eighteen fathoms, with two wings of ten fathoms on each side, and four turrets at the four angles of the edifice: with also a ravelin before it commanding the River, and the whole inclosed with ditches and draw bridges.” This description would give a front of two hundred and twenty eight feet; but it is most probable, that it was never finished to that extent. All the necessary materials were carefully collected during the winter of 1623, by the eighteen laborers whom Champlain had at his disposal; and every one was kept in full employment. The inconvenience of ascending the mountain from the water side to the Fort, induced him, this winter, to make a more commodious ascent by means of a winding pathway, which

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was first opened on the 29th November. This road was afterwards widened, by removing portions of the rock ; and a row of houses was built upon it, whence it derived its modern name of Mountain Street, leading from Prescott-Gate to the Lower Town market-place, through Notre Dame Street, which was the original course of the serpentine ascent made by Champlain. The square or market-place in the Lower Town, was not built upon until many years afterwards ; and was originally called *La place de Notre Dame de la Victoire*, the Church having been consecrated in honor of the Virgin, by that title, in consequence of a vow made during the siege of Quebec by Sir William Phipps, in 1690. This title was afterwards changed to *Notre Dame des Victoires*, in consequence of the shipwreck of the English fleet in 1711, which was considered a second victory.

On the 20th April, 1624, a violent gale of wind blew off part of the roof of the Fort St. Lewis, carrying it thirty paces over the rampart. This was caused by its too great height, and the second story was consequently taken down. It will be recollected that a similar accident happened only a few years ago, notwithstanding that the building was substantially built of stone, and the roof strongly covered with tin. On the 1st May, Champlain marked out the line of the new buildings, and began to sink the foundation in the rock. Following the custom usually observed on similar occasions, he took care to deposit a stone with an appropriate inscription, commemorative of the occasion ; an account of which merits to be transcribed in the words of the original narration : “ Le 6 de Mai, l'on commença à maçonner les fondements, sous lesquels je mis une pierre, où estoient gravez les armes du Roy, et celles de Monseigneur, avec

la date du temps, et mon nom escrit, comme Lieutenant de mon dit Seigneur, au païs de la nouvelle France, qui estoit une curiosité qui me semble n'estre nullement hors de propos, pour un jour à l'advenir, si le temps y eschet ; monstrier la possession que le Roy en a prise, comme je l'ai fait en quelques endroits, dans les terres que j'ay découvertes :”—“ On the 6th May, we commenced the mason work of the foundation, under which I deposited a stone, on which were engraved the arms of the King and of the Viceroy, with the date and my own name thereon, as Lieutenant in the country of New France, which would hereafter prove a piece of antiquity by no means out of place, should the time ever come, in order to show the possession which the King had taken of the country : a proceeding that I have adopted in other countries which I have discovered.” The structure of which Champlain here speaks was, in all probability, the original on which the present Castle was afterwards completed ; and as the old foundations must still remain, it would be proper, —on clearing away the present mass of ruins, preparatory to the erection of a new residence for the Governor-in-Chief of British North America, worthy of the site,—to make careful search for this stone, which would, indeed, be a curiosity of great local interest. It will, most probably, be found not far from the north-east angle of the main building. In order to avoid confusion between the terms Castle, and Fort, of St. Lewis, it should be explained, that these were separate structures, the one within the limits of the other ; and that in addition to the Castle, the Fort contained several other buildings, such as a magazine, guard-room, and barrack for the soldiery, together with a considerable area, the whole enclosed

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within a rampart, built originally of logs ; and looking, as Father du Creux observes, " towards the continent," that is, from the River, or towards the city. The front towards the River is sufficiently protected by its lofty and rugged eminence. The site of the first Fort is understood, from the description of Father du Creux, to have been at the south-east point of the ground which is now occupied by the grand battery, at a place called the *Sault-au-Matelot*, from a favorite dog of that name which there threw itself over the cliff.\* Champlain afterwards removed it to a situation somewhat more elevated ; and the ramparts enclosed the space occupied at present by the various buildings appertaining to the Castle, and fronting towards the *Place d'Armes*. The street leading from the latter to Mountain Street, is still called Fort Street ; and that in the Lower Town, immediately under the Castle, bears the appropriate name of *Sous-le-Fort Street*. After the death of Champlain, it appears from Father du Creux, that his successor, MONTMAGNY, put the Fort into complete repair. A rampart was made towards the *Place d'Armes*, of oak and cedar filled up with earth, and cannon were mounted on the top.

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\* " Ad lævam fluit amnis S. Laurentii ; ad dextram S. Caroli fluuiolus. Ad confluentem, Promontorium assurgit, *saltum nautæ* vulgo vocant, ab cane hujus nominis, qui se alias ex eo loco præcipitem dedit. Hujus in promontorii crepidinæ Arx ædificata. Et initio quidem, ut tenuia sunt rerum vel magnarum primordia, vallum potius, quàm Arx fuit, stipitibus utcumque inter se commissis, exiguâque glebâ coalitis, operâ, curâque Campleni : quæ moles rudis, indigestaque, cum ad hunc annum perstitisset, à Montemagnio re, virisque paulo auctiore paulatim disjecta, cessit ei munitioni quæ nunc est, longè firmior eadem, et ad artis regulam, normamque exactior." *Historia Canadensis*, p. 204.

It had also a covered way for the protection of the garrison: the whole being surrounded by a dry ditch.

ENGLAND and FRANCE being then at war, Champlain received information, in July, 1629, of the arrival of an English squadron at Pointe Lévi. That an attack should be made so late in the season was entirely unexpected, and Champlain was nearly left alone in the Fort, his men having been detached on various duties. This English armament had been despatched by Sir DAVID KERTK, who then lay at Tadoussac, and was under the command of his brother THOMAS, as Vice-Admiral. Another brother, LOUIS, had the command of about one hundred and fifty soldiers. In his weak, and really helpless condition, which is feelingly portrayed in his narrative, Champlain had no alternative. He was compelled to capitulate. A white flag was therefore hoisted at Fort St. Lewis, in answer to one which had been displayed by the English; and an officer coming on shore, the terms of surrender, which were generous on the part of the assailants, were agreed upon and signed on the 20th July, 1629. On the 22d, Louis Kertk planted the English Standard on one of the bastions of the Fort, with all ceremony. *A feu de joie* was fired by the troops, drawn out upon the ramparts; and salutes from the cannon of the Fort, which were answered by the shipping in the harbor.

Champlain, who expresses himself satisfied with the generous conduct of Kertk, arrived at Plymouth, as a prisoner of war, on the 20th October in the same year. In 1632 he published his "Voyages," or personal memoirs; and resumed the government of the Colony, which had been restored to the French, in 1633.

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In 1690, a remarkable scene occurred in the Castle of St. Lewis, which at that period had assumed an appearance worthy of the Governors General, who made it the seat of the Royal Government. This dignity was then held by the COUNT DE FRONTENAC, a nobleman of great talents, long services, but of extreme pride. He had made every preparation that short notice would permit for the reception of the English expedition against Quebec, under Sir William Phipps, which came to anchor in the basin on the 5th October, old style. Charlevoix, using the new style, makes the date the 16th. The English had every reason to expect that the city was without defence, and that they might capture it by surprise. An officer was sent ashore with a flag of truce, who was met half way by a French Major ; and, after a bandage had been placed before his eyes, was conducted to the Castle by a circuitous route, that he might hear the warlike preparations which were going on, and feel the number of obstructions and barriers of *chevaux-de-frise* which were to be passed, in the ascent to the Upper Town. Every deception was practised to induce the Englishman to believe that he was in the midst of a numerous garrison ; and some of the contrivances were ludicrous enough. Ten or twelve men were instructed to meet him, to cross his path at different places, and to pass and repass constantly during the way. The very ladies came out to enjoy the singular spectacle of a man led blindfold by two serjeants in this manner, and bestowed upon him the nickname of *Colin Mail-lard*. There can be little doubt, however, that he perceived the trick played upon him. On arrival at the Castle, his surprise is represented to have been extreme, on the removal of the bandage, to find him-

self in the presence of the Governor General, the Bishop, the Intendant, and a large staff of French officers, arrayed in full uniform for the occasion, who were clustered together in the centre of the great hall. The English officer immediately presented to Frontenac a written summons to surrender, in the name of William and Mary, King and Queen of England ; and drawing out his watch and placing it on the table, demanded a positive answer in an hour at furthest. This last action completed the excitement of the French officers, who had been with difficulty able to restrain themselves during the delivery of the summons, which the Englishman read in a loud voice, and which was translated into French on the spot. A murmur of indignation ran through the assembly ; and one of the officers present, the Sieur de Valrènes, impetuously exclaimed, " that the messenger ought to be treated as the envoy of a corsair, or common marauder, since Phipps was in arms against his legitimate sovereign." Frontenac, although his pride was deeply wounded by the unceremonious manner of the Englishman, conducted himself with greater moderation ; and, without seeming to have heard the interruption of Valrènes, made the following high-spirited answer : " You will have no occasion to wait so long for my reply. Here it is. I do not recognise King William, but I know that the Prince of Orange is an usurper, who has violated the most sacred ties of blood and of religion in dethroning the King, his father-in-law ; and I acknowledge no other legitimate sovereign of England than James the Second. Sir William Phipps ought not to be surprised at the hostilities carried on by the French and their Allies—he ought to have expected that the King, my master, having received the King of England

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under his protection, would direct me to make war upon people who have revolted against their lawful Prince. Could he imagine, even if he had offered me better conditions, and even if I were of a temper to listen to them, that so many gallant gentlemen would consent, or advise me to place any confidence in that man's word, who has broken the capitulation which he made with the Governor of Acadia?—who has been wanting in loyalty towards his sovereign—who has forgotten all the benefits heaped upon him, to follow the fortunes of a stranger, who, while he endeavors to persuade the world that he has no other object in view than to be the DELIVERER of England and defender of the faith, has destroyed the laws and privileges of the kingdom, and overturned the English Church—crimes, which that same divine justice, which Sir William invokes, will one day severely punish.”

The Englishman, hereupon, demanded that this reply should be reduced to writing: which Frontenac peremptorily refused, adding,—“ I am going to answer your master by the cannon's mouth. He shall be taught that this is not the manner in which a person of my rank ought to be summoned.” The bandage having been replaced, the English officer was re-conducted with the same mysteries to his boat; and was no sooner on board the Admiral's vessel, than the batteries began to play eighteen and twenty-four pound shot upon the fleet. Sir William's own flag was shot away by a French officer, named Maricourt; and having been picked up by some Canadians, was hung up as a trophy in the Cathedral Church, where it probably remained until the capture in 1759. The English bombarded the town, which, in spite of the bold front of Frontenac, was in a terrible state of

confusion and alarm; and did some damage to the public buildings.

Charlevoix seems to admire greatly the haughty bearing of Frontenac on this occasion: it is but just to remark, however, that by his own showing, the Englishman executed his mission with the greatest coolness and presence of mind; and that the insult he received was little creditable to those who knew not how to respect a flag of truce.

Sir William Phipps, ancestor of the present Earl of Mulgrave, was generally blamed for the failure of this expedition, perhaps unjustly. Finding the place on its guard and prepared to receive him, it would have been madness to have commenced a regular siege, at that advanced period of the season. As it was, he lost several of his vessels on his passage back to Boston. It should be remembered also, that it was QUEBEC against which he was sent, itself a natural fortress, and when defended by a zealous garrison, almost impregnable. And it is admitted by Charlevoix, that had Sir William Phipps not been delayed by contrary winds and the ignorance of his pilots,—nay, had he even reached Quebec three days sooner, he would have completely accomplished his object, and Quebec would have been captured before it could be known in Montreal that it was even in danger.

There were great rejoicings at Quebec for the victory; and the King of France ordered a medal to be struck, with this inscription: "*Francia in novo orbe victrix. Kebeca liberata M. DC. XC.*" The Count de Frontenac was certainly one of the most distinguished of the French Governors. He died in Quebec in 1698, and was buried in the Récollet Church, which formerly stood near the site of the present

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English Cathedral. The only memorial of him in Quebec, is to be found in the Street which was called from his family name, BUADE Street.

LA HONTAN, who was in Quebec during the time of the siege in 1690, in an engraved view of the city in his work, gives the Castle only one story. LA POTHERIE, who was here in 1698, gives also a view of the city as it then appeared. The Castle of St. Lewis is represented as two stories high, and with a lofty attic ; forming a very conspicuous object. To the left is seen the square inclosure, in which is now placed the obelisk erected to the memory of WOLFE and MONTCALM. It was then a garden, apparently without trees. Of the Castle itself, he gives the following description : " It stands upon the brink of a vast cliff, one hundred and eighty feet high. Its fortifications are irregular, having two bastions on the city side, without any ditch. The house of the Governor General is one hundred and twenty feet long, in front of which is a terrace of eighty feet, which overlooks the Lower Town and the channel. The edifice is pleasing, both as regards its interior and exterior, on account of the wings which form the building in front and rear. It is two stories high, and there is still wanting a wing of thirty-three feet long. On the side of the house there is a battery of twenty-two embrasures, partly inclosed in the building, and part without, commanding the Lower Town and the River. At four hundred paces above is Cape Diamond, four hundred and eighty feet high, upon which stands a redoubt which commands the Upper Town and the adjacent country."

CHARLEVOIX, who arrived in Quebec, in 1720, furnishes an account nearly similar, though not so diffuse. He says, " The Fort or Citadel is a fine

building, with two pavilions by way of wings ; you enter it through a spacious and regular court, but it has no garden belonging to it, the Fort being built on the brink of the rock. This defect is supplied in some measure with a beautiful gallery, with a balcony, which reaches the whole length of the building : it commands the road, to the middle of which one may be easily heard, by means of a speaking-trumpet ; and hence, too, you see the whole Lower Town under your feet. On leaving the Fort, and turning to the left, you enter a pretty large esplanade, and by a gentle declivity you reach the summit of Cape Diamond, which makes a very fine platform."

Such was the state of the Castle of St. Lewis, with occasional reparations and additions, until near the close of the last century ; when, from its tendency to decay, it was found necessary to erect a new building for the residence of the Governor, on the opposite side of the square. This structure has no pretensions to beauty or style of architecture, but contains several well-proportioned rooms. The ancient Castle, notwithstanding, continued to be occupied by the officers of government until 1809, during the administration of General Sir JAMES HENRY CRAIG, Knight of the Bath ; when it was put into complete repair, at an expense of ten thousand pounds, a third story superadded, and it recovered its former honors as the residence of the GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF of Lower Canada. Thus renovated, it acquired, insensibly, the name of the NEW, while the building opposite obtained that of the OLD Chateau. By popular error, therefore, as is not unfrequently the case, the attributes of these two buildings were reversed. In the latter continue to be held the Levees on state occasions ; and there are spacious

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and convenient rooms of reception for public entertainments, with apartments for the residence of one of the officers of the GOVERNOR'S personal staff. In this building are to be seen two paintings of lasting interest, being the likenesses of THEIR MAJESTIES, KING GEORGE THE THIRD, and QUEEN CHARLOTTE, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and presented by HIS MAJESTY to this Government. To those who remember the venerable Monarch in his latter days, this picture, taken in early manhood, will assume the character almost of antiquity. In the ball-room, there is also a good copy of Sir Thomas Lawrence's full length portrait of KING GEORGE THE FOURTH.

The length of the modern Castle of St. Lewis, including the wings, was more than two hundred feet; and that was the extent of the gallery in front, commanding one of the most beautiful views in the world. The depth was about forty feet. Its exterior was plain and unassuming, the interior well arranged, and apparently well adapted for the purpose for which it was designed. The apartments on the first floor, in which the family of the GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF resided, were furnished in an elegant and tasteful manner, ornamented by valuable paintings, drawings and prints, and various objects of *vertù*. Although by no means large, or equal to those found in the private residences of the nobility generally, they presented a very pleasing *coup d'œil*, when thrown open to those who were honored with the *entrée*. Here were given the private entertainments of the GOVERNOR, to which the gentry of the city and vicinity were freely invited during the winter, always the season of hospitality in Canada.

We have now to record the destruction of this edifice, over whose historical glories we have dwelt with so much pleasure. About noon, on Thursday, the 23d January, 1834, an alarm of fire was given—the tocsin sounded—and to the eager and anxious enquiries of the citizens, running to and fro, the appalling answer was given, “To the Castle, the Castle !” On hurrying to the scene, volumes of black smoke, rolling from the roof, told the fearful truth. The fire was first discovered in a room on the upper story, and having spread through its whole extent, and taken hold of the rafters which supported the massive roof, it burned downwards with irrepresible fury, until it triumphed over the entire building. As no flame was apparent from the outside for a considerable space of time, it was scarcely believed by the anxious spectator, that the whole pile was endangered. Vain hopes were even entertained that the lower ranges of apartments might be saved. At last, the devouring element burst its way through the strong tinned roof with tremendous force, and the flames, thus finding a vent, spread with dreadful rapidity through every part of the building :—

— Toto descendit corpore pestis :  
Nec vires heroum, infusaque flumina prosunt.

Every possible exertion to subdue the conflagration was made by the different Fire Companies, the troops of the garrison, and inhabitants of all classes. Some of the most respectable citizens, of every profession, were seen busily occupied in removing the valuable furniture and effects ; and others assisted in conveying to a place of safety some of the ornaments of the dinner table, which was laid ; and at which, by invitation, they were to have been partakers that

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very day, of the Governor's hospitality. On a pedestal which stood at the head of the principal staircase, close to the entrance of the first drawing-room, was placed a bust of the immortal WOLFE, bearing the following elegant inscription :

Let no vain tear upon his tomb be shed,  
A common tribute to the common dead;  
But let the good, the generous and the brave,  
With godlike envy sigh for such a grave !

This invaluable bust, in the *melée* and confusion, would probably have been destroyed, had not a gentleman made it his first care to rescue it, and to convey it, like another PALLADIUM, to a place of safety.

The intense cold of the day added considerably to the difficulty of suppressing the flames. In the morning the thermometer indicated twenty-two degrees, and during the day from four to eight degrees below zero, with a cold and piercing westerly wind. The engines were, therefore, soon frozen up, and could only be rendered serviceable by constant supplies of warm water. At length it became too apparent, that any successful attempt to arrest the progress of the flames was hopeless—all efforts to save even a portion of the building proved ineffectual—and the morning disclosed to the sight of the inhabitants a mass of smoking ruins, to remind them of the loss which the Province and the city had sustained.

Apart from the painful sense of the destruction of this ancient and celebrated building, so identified with our colonial history, the sight itself was throughout the day deeply impressive—at night fall, grand in the extreme. The extent of the structure, the numerous windows and openings, its great elevation and peculiar position as to the Lower

Town, actually overhanging its streets, so that the burning flakes fell upon the roofs of the houses below, combined to make this mastery of the flames almost an object to be admired. The scene, from the Lower Town, was truly picturesque; and at a distance, the view of the fire, and its reflection on the ice and snow, have been described as singularly beautiful.

The Provincial Parliament being then in session, His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief sent down the following message, on the 24th January, 1834 :—

“ AYLMER, Governor-in-Chief.

“ It is with regret that His Excellency feels himself under the necessity of informing the House of Assembly, that the ancient Castle of St. Lewis, which he occupied as his official residence, caught fire yesterday about noon, and that notwithstanding the efforts of His Majesty's troops, of his Honor the Mayor of Quebec, of the gentlemen of the Seminary, of the firemen and the crowd of citizens of all classes, who had hastened to the spot, and exerted themselves unceasingly to save that public edifice, it has entirely become a prey to the flames.

“ Castle of St. Lewis,  
“ Quebec, 24th January, 1834.”

This was replied to in the Legislative Council by a loyal address of condolence, and an expression of readiness on their part to unite in any appropriation which might come before them, for the purpose of erecting a suitable residence for the Governor-in-Chief of these Provinces. It has been generally regretted that the House of Assembly did not proceed upon this message; but it is to be hoped and expected on the part of the people of the Province, that another session will not be allowed to pass over with-

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out an appropriation being made by their representatives, for an object so necessary and indispensable, and at the same time, so independent of party feeling and prejudice. The beauty of the vacant site, and the extent of the area will afford an opportunity of erecting an edifice worthy of its ancient fame, honorable to the Province, and ornamental to the city of Quebec, as yet too deficient in public buildings where taste in architecture is displayed.

Such is a sketch of the history of the Castle of St. Lewis, for above two centuries the seat of colonial government. It is now a heap of blackened ruins. Relics like these, however, at once engage the attention by recalling images of past grandeur, of names once illustrious, and of deeds that still adorn the historic page. Nor is there any mental association productive of so much melancholy pleasure, as that which unites the idea of those who tenanted an ancient edifice in its prosperous day, with the contemplation of the solitude and ruin to which the pile has since been doomed.

## THE RUINED CHATEAU.

Here, from these storied walls, in ancient day  
 By CHAMPLAIN raised, the patriot and the brave—  
 The Gallic Lily once claimed regal sway,  
 Where'er ST. LAWRENCE rolls his mighty wave !

Thy latest\* Chief, who ne'er from honor swerv'd,  
 With ebbing life resigned his pride of place—  
 Thy fealty changed, thy glories all preserv'd,  
 The British Lion guards thee from disgrace !

Long shall thy gentler triumphs be our theme,  
 Thy beauteous dames, thy gallant, plumed train :  
 The great and good flit by me as a dream,  
 Who once kept here their hospitable reign !

Here has the table groan'd with lordly cheer—  
 Here has the toast, the dance, the well-trill'd song,  
 Welcomed each coming of the infant year,  
 And serv'd the festive moments to prolong !

Still, midst these ruined heaps, in mental pain,  
 Does faithful memory former years restore—  
 Recall the busy throng, the jocund train,  
 And picture all that charmed us here before !

Yet now, how changed the scene ! 'Tis silence all—  
 Save where the heedful sentry steps his round !  
 We may not look upon that ruined hall,  
 Nor venerate the site so long renown'd !

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\* MONTCALM.

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## CHAPTER THE NINTH.

ANCIENT APPEARANCE OF THE CITY—GENERAL DESCRIPTION—CAPE DIAMOND—THE FORTIFICATIONS.

THE settlement of colonies has always been a subject of deep historical interest and research. Their successful establishment has, indeed, been attended with the happiest results to mankind. By them new worlds have been peopled—languages perpetuated—commerce extended, and the art of navigation brought to its present state of perfection. The blessings of true religion have been communicated to man, redeemed from his savage state; while cities and turretted walls have supplanted the solitude of the desert and the forest, or taken the place of the primitive caves and wigwams of the aboriginal inhabitants. By colonies the face of the earth has been cultivated, and the produce of the soil rendered the means of subsistence and social happiness.

The principal design of the French settlements in Canada,—after the trade in peltry had proved sufficiently attractive to the associated merchants of France, to induce them to maintain their property in the country—was evidently to propagate the Christian religion as professed by the founders of Quebec, to tame and civilize the heathen, and to bring him to the worship of the true God. It was a common

saying of CHAMPLAIN, "That the salvation of one soul was of more value than the conquest of an empire!" Their next object was of a more mundane and political complexion, namely, to acquire a preponderance on the American continent by means of their priesthood,—and through the influence which gratitude for their services had procured them among the Indian tribes, to whose temporal and spiritual wants they had rendered themselves nearly equally necessary, and whose affections they left no means unattempted to engage and retain.

This policy, long acted upon, influenced every part of their system. It extended even to the character of the earliest edifices which they erected in this country. The only permanent buildings were those devoted to the purposes of war and religion. The irregularity of the lines of the different streets in Quebec is attributable to the same remote cause. Any one who examines the site of the city will perceive at once, that the greater portion of the area was occupied from the first by its public buildings. To show this more clearly, let us take a brief survey of the ancient city.

The space occupied by the buildings of the ancient Fort, afterwards the Castle of St. Lewis, was very extensive, reaching from Prescott-Gate to the commencement of the acclivity of Cape Diamond, and including the large open space where WOLFE'S column now stands. Formerly there were no houses between the Castle and the Cape, and St. Lewis Street was merely a military road. Immediately in front of the Castle was an esplanade or open space, still called the *Place d'Armes*, on one side of which stood the Church and Convent of the Récollet Monks. Their buildings, with the garden, occupied the whole site on

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which stand the Court House and the English Cathedral. They possessed the entire area between St. Anne and St. Lewis Streets, and gave the modern name of Garden Street. Not far from the corner of the *Place d'Armes*, in St. Anne Street, there stands within the precincts of the Church close, a venerable tree, the last relic of those which once shaded the Récollet fathers—a touching monument of olden time—perhaps the last tenant of the primeval forest. Under this tree or on its site, tradition relates that CHAMPLAIN pitched his tent, on landing and taking possession of his new domain. Here he lived until the habitation, which he was building near the brink of the rock, was ready for the reception of his little band. In the rear of the Récollet Church, at a short distance from it, was the Ursuline Convent, still occupying with its garden a considerable space enclosed within St. Anne, St. Lewis and St. Ursule Streets. Beyond the latter were the ancient ramparts of the city. St. Anne Street divided the possessions of the Ursuline Nuns from those of the Jesuits. The College of the latter stood in a considerable square, now the market-place; and was surrounded by a garden, planted with lofty and umbrageous trees, extending from St. Anne to St. John Streets. The French Cathedral, occupying one side of this square, and its attached buildings covered a space reaching to Fort Street, and was divided from the *Place d'Armes* by a road, which was afterwards Buade Street. At the descent into Mountain Street, the buildings belonging to the French Cathedral communicated with the site occupied by the Bishop's Palace and gardens, reaching to the edge of the rock. The ancient Palace is said to have been equal to many similar establishments in France. From the French Cathedral to the

Grand Battery, the site is covered with the buildings and garden of the Seminary, bounded also by Hope Street, formerly Ste. Famille Street, and St. George's Street. The Seminary garden overlooks the Lower Town, near the place formerly called the *Sault-au-Matelot*. At a short distance from it are the grounds belonging to the Hotel Dieu, which extend along the summit of the cliff from Hope-Gate, and are bounded irregularly by Palace Street and Couillard Street. The different buildings above enumerated with their spacious gardens, added to the sites occupied by the magazines, and other government buildings, together with the spaces reserved for military purposes, occupied nearly the whole of the level ground within the ramparts. It is evident, therefore, that the early inhabitants had no alternative; and were compelled to build in directions leading from one of these public buildings to another, or around their precincts. Those who came to settle in Quebec were, doubtless, attracted by the neighborhood of the different churches, and the protection afforded by the Fort. They erected their small and temporary habitations as near as possible to the convents, whence, in times of scarcity or sickness they received support and medical aid. Hence the winding and irregular character of some of the smaller streets, particularly of those in the vicinity of the Hotel Dieu and the Ursuline Convent.

The nature of the ground, or rather rock, on which the city is built, effectually prevented any regularity of design. The most level site was the easiest and cheapest—strait lines were disregarded in comparison with present convenience—consequently, a house was built only where a level foundation could best be found; and those places which were rugged and

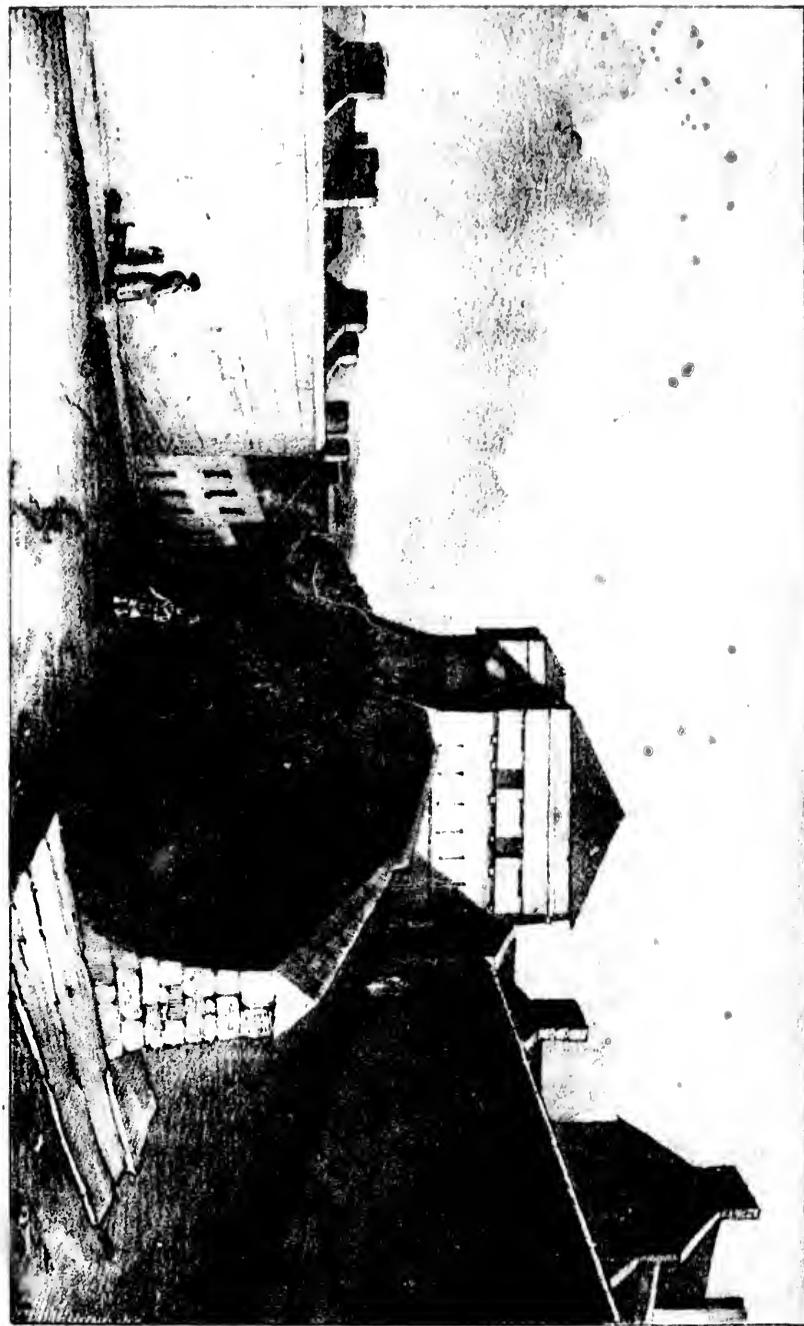
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precipitous were left unoccupied, until some one, more enterprising or with better means, overcame the difficulty, and succeeded in establishing his edifice. During the first fifty years after the foundation in 1608, the houses were extremely small, mean and poorly furnished; partly from want of means, and partly from fear of the Iroquois, whose incursions kept the inhabitants in constant dread, and prevented any expense being incurred in these particulars. Little, however, sufficed for the first colonists: all they required was shelter and warmth during the winter. The summer was passed chiefly in the open air. As an example of the want of furniture and conveniences in the old habitations, it may be mentioned that when the *Hospitalières* arrived in Quebec in 1639, for the purpose of founding the Hotel Dieu, they were lodged in a house belonging to the company of Merchants, lent to them by the Chevalier de MONTMAGNY, who succeeded CHAMPLAIN in the government. The house is, indeed, described as having four rooms and two closets; but the only furniture in it for the accommodation of these ladies was a rude kind of table made of boards, and two benches of the same material! The absence of architectural embellishment must always be lamented; but a sufficient apology for the want of symmetry in the buildings of Quebec, may be found in the peculiar circumstances of the early settlers, and the subsequent history of the colony. Even now, no degree of taste is discernible in the public buildings,—the architects have had principally in view strength and durability—utility has rather been consulted than symmetry of construction. Almost all the houses within the works are built of stone, either rough as it came in masses from the rock, or hewn into shape

at the fancy of the architect, and afterwards covered with paint or cement.

The capital of the Province of Lower Canada, and the principal seat of British dominion in America, cannot be approached by the intelligent stranger without emotions of respect and admiration. It is situated on the north-west side of the great River St. Lawrence, in latitude  $46^{\circ} 59' 15''$ , and longitude  $71^{\circ} 13'$ . A ridge of high land commencing at CAP ROUGE, and extending for about eight miles along its bank, terminates at the eastern extremity in a lofty promontory, three hundred and fifty feet high above the water, rising in front of the beautiful basin formed by the confluence of the little River St. Charles with the St. Lawrence. There stands QUEBEC, formerly the seat of the French empire in the west—purchased for England by the blood of the heroic WOLFE, shed in the decisive battle of the Plains of Abraham. A commodious harbor, which can afford a safe anchorage for several fleets—a magnificent river whose banks are secured by steep cliffs—a position on a lofty rock, which bids defiance to external violence, together with extraordinary beauty of scenery, are some of the natural advantages which distinguish the City of QUEBEC. The River St. Lawrence, which flows majestically before the town, is one of the greatest, most noble and beautiful of rivers; and at the same time, the furthest navigable for vessels of a large size of any in the universe. From its mouth in the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the harbor of QUEBEC is three hundred and sixty miles; and vessels from Europe ascend to MONTREAL, which is one hundred and eighty miles higher up its course. A precipice of naked and rugged rock, nearly three hundred feet high, divides the Upper from the Lower

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Town. The latter, embracing the foot of the precipice, and skirting the base of the promontory to a considerable extent on both sides, is the mart of foreign trade and the principal place of business. It is built on ground made partly by excavations from the rock, or redeemed from the water; and contains numerous and convenient wharfs and store houses, for the accommodation of trade and navigation. The channel before the town is rapid—its breadth is about eleven hundred and thirty-four yards. The depth of the river opposite the city is about thirty fathoms and good anchorage is every where to be found. The UPPER TOWN presents the picturesque appearance of a fortified city—whose houses rise gradually above each other in the form of an amphitheatre—embellished and diversified by large buildings and lofty spires, pouring a flood of light and splendor from their bright tinned roofs.

#### THE CITADEL.

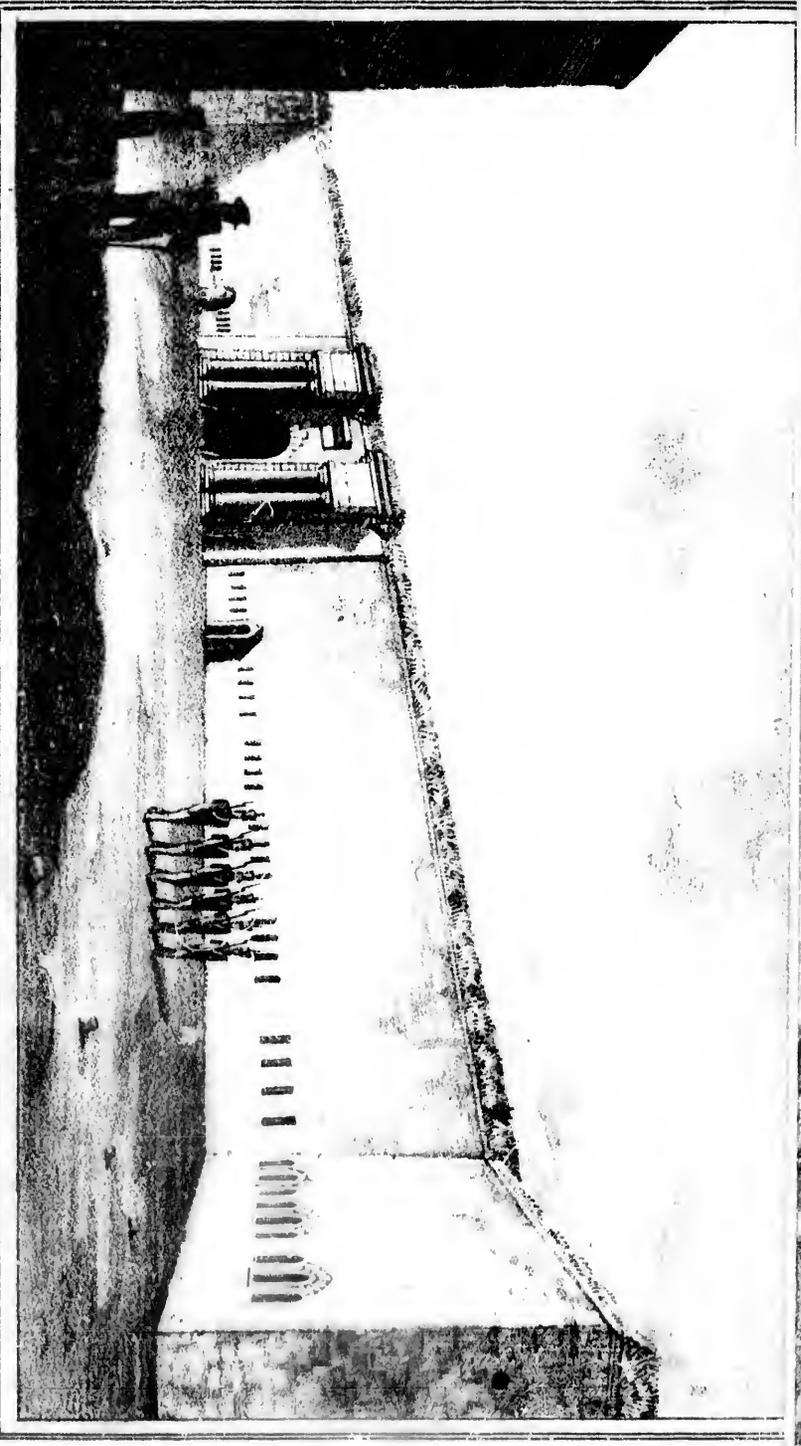
On the extreme left, on the highest point of the promontory, is CAPE DIAMOND, rising three hundred and fifty feet above the level of the river, and terminating towards the east in a round tower, whence is displayed the national standard of England. Immediately in the rear is the cavalier and telegraph, and adjoining may be seen the saluting battery. The fortress on Cape Diamond, or CITADEL OF QUEBEC, is a formidable combination of powerful works; and while it is admitted that there is no similar military work on this continent, it has been considered second to few of the most celebrated fortresses of Europe. It has frequently been called the GIBRALTAR OF AMERICA; and

it is, indeed, worthy of the great nation, whose fame and enduring renown are reflected in this *chef d'œuvre* of nature and of art—constructed at the expense of Great Britain for our defence—at once a monument of her own power, and a pledge of protection to one of the most valuable, although remote, possessions of the British Crown! QUEBEC is one of the strongest and most distinguished of those “military posts,” which are alluded to in the following beautiful passage from a speech lately pronounced by the Honorable DANIEL WEBSTER in the Senate of the UNITED STATES, which we extract as peculiarly applicable to our present subject; and as deriving weight and interest from the splendid talents and long established fame of the eloquent orator. Mr. Webster eloquently describes GREAT BRITAIN as “a power to which, for purposes of foreign conquest and subjugation, ROME, in the height of her glory, is not to be compared; a power which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth daily with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England.” And truly, when we look to our own country, what just cause of pride and dignity do we behold! The halcyon days of peace have long returned—the temple of Janus is, we trust, for ever closed—yet, when the storm of war was at the highest, never did the eagle wing of ENGLAND soar more loftily, never did her star beam in brighter splendor! Then, amid the ruin and the wreck of demoralized nations, she stood forth the firm and generous pilot—when others slept, and were worn out with their woe, she ever watched at the giddy helm—her greatness grew with

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the madness of the gale—her swiftness hung on the wings of the storm—her proud pendants floated aloft—her course was steady—her track was secure ; and she still pointed to that beacon where peace and salvation showed their hallowed, but expiring flame !

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CAPE DIAMOND is composed of dark colored slate, in which are found perfectly limpid quartz crystals, in veins, along with crystallized carbonate of lime. From these crystals, which are certainly extremely beautiful, and sparkle like diamonds, came the name it bears. Professor SILLIMAN considers the prevailing rock to be of transition formation, from the circumstance of the region on the other side of the St. Lawrence being decidedly of that class. The works upon the summit are nearly complete, according to the most approved laws of fortification ; and will richly repay the visits of those who are admitted to examine them, both as to external beauty and interior excellence. The approach to the Citadel, which is nearly two hundred feet higher than the ground on which the Upper Town is situated, is by a winding road made through the acclivity of the *glacis*, from St. Lewis-Gate, and commanded every where by the guns of the different bastions. This leads into the outward ditch of the ravelin, and thence into the principal ditch of the work, built upon both sides with walls of solid masonry, and extending along the whole circumference of the Citadel on the land and city sides. The main entrance is through a massive gate of admirable construction, called DALHOUSIE-GATE, a view of which is given on the other page. Within the arch of the gate are the Main-Guard rooms, for a detachment and an officer, who are relieved every day ; and in front of

it is a spacious area,—used as a parade ground,—or rather an enlargement of the ditch formed by the retiring angles and face of the bastion. This is a splendid work, presenting a most august appearance, and combining strength and symmetry with all the modern improvements in the art of fortification. It is named **DALHOUSIE-GATE** and **BASTION**, in honor of a distinguished nobleman and gallant officer, Lieutenant General the **EARL OF DALHOUSIE**, G. C. B. ; who succeeded the **DUKE OF RICHMOND**, as Governor-in-Chief of these Provinces, in 1820. In the face of this bastion are loopholes for the fire of musquetry from within : on the top are embrasures for the cannon. The loopholes serve also for the admission of air and light into the casemated barracks within for the troops composing the garrison. They are commodious and well adapted both for comfort and safety, being well ventilated, and proof against fire and missiles of every description. These barracks are at present occupied by the Thirty-Second Regiment of the line, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel the Honorable John Maitland, third son of the Earl of Lauderdale. On the top of **DALHOUSIE BASTION** is an extensive covered way, or broad gravel walk, with embrasures for mounting cannon, commanding every part of the ditch and glacis, and every avenue of approach to the citadel. From this elevated spot is obtained a delightful view of the surrounding scenery and the harbor—the whole forming a panorama that has been pronounced by competent judges not inferior in beauty to the celebrated **BAY OF NAPLES**. An equally magnificent view is also commanded from the summit of the cavalier, on which stands the telegraph, at the eastern extremity of the **Citadel** ; as well as from the obser-

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OFFICERS BARBERS, CAPTAIN DIAMOND, QUETIBET.

*Scene by water from an original by Geo. Meade, R.F.*

*in Harbor, France or Canada.*



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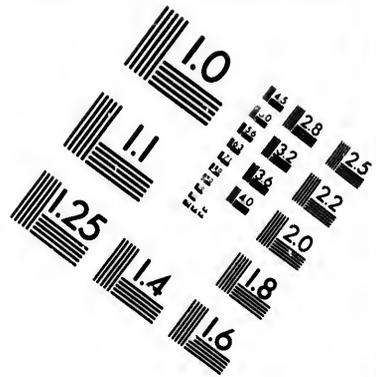
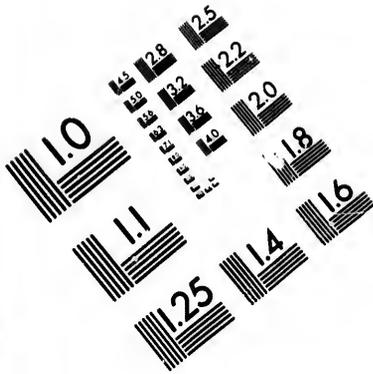
vatory of Mr. Watt, on its western point towards the PLAINS OF ABRAHAM. Within the Citadel are the various magazines, storehouses, and other buildings required for the accommodation of a numerous garrison; and immediately overhanging the precipice to the south, in a most picturesque situation looking perpendicularly downwards on the river, stands a beautiful row of buildings with a paved terrace in front, built of cut stone, and containing the mess rooms and barracks for the officers of the garrison, their stables and spacious kitchens. The roof of this building is covered with bright tin, and from its elevated site, it is a beautiful and conspicuous object from Lorette and the road to Lake St. Charles.

About midway between the officers' barracks and the observatory of Mr. Watt, is a building containing machinery worked by steam, by which large trucks holding masses of stone, cannon, stores, and all heavy weights, are easily drawn up by means of a railway on an inclined plane, from the wharf at the water's edge to the summit of Cape Diamond. There is also an artificial descent of near six hundred steps, which conducts the workmen safely in a few minutes from the garrison to the Lower Town. The inclined plane is about five hundred feet long; and is reserved for the use of Government only.

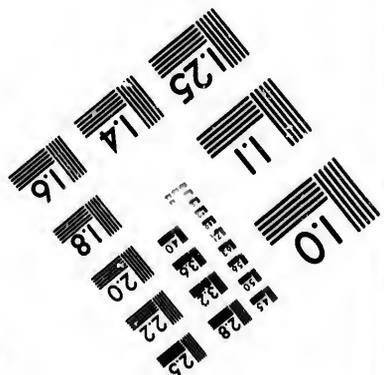
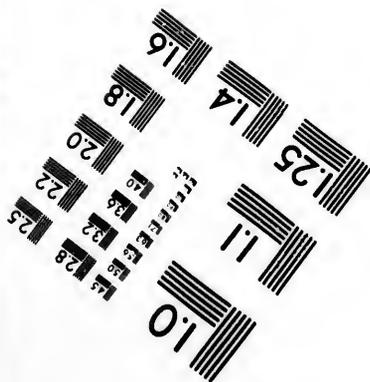
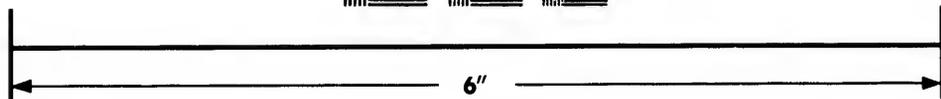
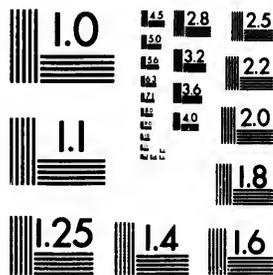
#### THE FORTIFICATIONS.

Without presuming to give a technical description of this noble fortress, it may be said to combine every invention and precaution, that science and art could devise and execute for the protection of the city, and the security of the garrison.



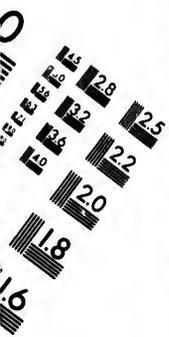


**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



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From the earliest times, QUEBEC may be said to have been a fortified town. The incursions of the Iroquois soon compelled the French to construct defensive fortifications at some distance from the Fort, which the nature of the ground permitted them to do, without any very great labor. The city is defended on every side, except the south-west, by its natural elevation and almost inaccessible crags, varying in height from fifty to three hundred feet above the water. All that was necessary, therefore, was to erect defensive works extending from Cape Diamond on the south, to the River St. Charles on the north, and facing towards the west. These, doubtless, supplied the original outline and design of every subsequent defence, and of the elaborate works and ramparts which now protect the city on that side. The first defences were very imperfect as fortifications, consisting, most probably, of palisades, with an embankment of earth. It has been shown that, in 1629, Champlain had no means of defence against the English; nor is it probable that the works extended beyond the site of the Fort. Afterwards, it was found necessary to enclose the the various charitable and monastic institutions with a rampart, in order to protect them against the sudden inroads of the Iroquois: thus the city gradually improved in resources and in efficient means of defence, until QUEBEC was made the seat of the Royal Government in 1663.

After the death of Champlain in 1635, his successor, Montmagny, entirely rebuilt the Fort. He made a rampart towards the *Place d'Armes* of oak and cedar filled up with earth, and strong enough to allow him to mount cannon upon it. Stone bastions were afterwards constructed, one at each angle front-

ing the city, connected by a curtain. The Fort then, according to Colonel Bouchette, "covered about four acres of ground, and formed nearly a parallelogram. Of these works only a few vestiges remain, except the eastern wall, which is kept in solid repair." It is stated by the same author, that the building, where the public entertainments are usually given, once constituted "part of the curtain that ran between the two exterior bastions of the old fortress of St. Lewis."

At the period of the fruitless attack upon QUEBEC by Sir William Phipps, in 1690, the fortifications had assumed considerable military consequence. By the indefatigable activity of the Count de Frontenac, the city was defended by eleven stone redoubts, serving as bastions, and communicating with each other by means of curtains made of pickets, ten feet in height, strengthened within by embankments of earth. The following is Charlevoix's description of the works in the Upper Town at this time: "A battery of eight pieces of cannon was commenced upon the height on one side of the Fort. The fortifications began at the Intendant's Palace, on the shore of the Little River St. Charles, ascending towards the Upper Town which they inclosed, and terminated at the mountain, near Cape Diamond. They also continued from the Palace along the cliff, in the form of a palisade, as far as the fence of the Seminary, where it was terminated by inaccessible cliffs, called the *Sault-au-Matelot*, on which there was a battery of three pieces of cannon. A second palisade was also constructed above the other, finishing at the same place, and serving as a protection for the musqueteers. The entrances of the city, where there were no gates, were barricaded with heavy logs, and hogsheads filled with

earth. Small pieces of ordnance were mounted upon them. In the course of the siege a second battery was made at the *Sault-au-Matelot*; and a third at the gate leading to the River St. Charles. Cannon was besides mounted all round the Upper Town, and particularly on a wind-mill, which served as a cavalier."

In 1703, the Fortifications were restored by the Chevalier DE CALLIERES, then Governor, who died immediately afterwards; but it was not until 1720, that the city was fortified in a regular manner, with ramparts built of stone, and with bastions on the south-west front, according to the rules of art. Charlevoix, who was in QUEBEC at this period, in describing them as an eye-witness, refers to the plan sent to France by M. CHAUSSEGROS DE LERY, the chief Engineer, to be deposited in the Louvre, with the plans of other fortified places. This plan was found so superior, that it was immediately adopted by the Court of France; and the new works were commenced in June, 1720, under the direction of that eminent engineer. He was descended from a family of French *noblesse*, among whom they reckoned JEAN DE LERY, who accompanied Villegagnon in his voyage to Brazil, under the patronage of Coligny, noticed in page seventy-two of this work. This gentleman was a Huguenot Clergyman, and acted as Chaplain to the expedition. He published an account of this voyage in 1585, dedicated to Coligny, which is to be found in the Library of the House of Assembly. The descendants of this family hold honorable stations in the Province to this day.

On the occasion of taking down part of the French works on Cape Diamond, in 1795, for the purpose of rebuilding them, a leaden plate, with the following

inscription was found, commemorating the commencement of the new and improved fortifications :

Regnante Ludovico XV,  
 Christianissimo Gallorura Rege,  
 Ætatis Suæ annum agente XIum, Regni Vum :  
 Augustissimo ac Potentissimo Principe,  
 Duce Aurelianensium Philippo,  
 Regis avunculo : Regnum Gubernante.  
 Illustrissimo ac serenissimo Principe,  
 Ludovico Alexandro de Bourbon,  
 Tolasæ Comite,  
 Concilio Maritimo Reique maritimæ præposito.  
 Illustrissimo Joanne D'Estrée, Franciæ Marescallo,  
 Americæ Septentrionalis, Meridionalisque pro Rege,  
 Concilii Maritimi præside,  
 Ac maris præfecti Legato :  
 Philippo de Rigaud, Marchione de Vaudreuil,  
 Novæ Franciæ Gubernatore :  
 hisce Munimentis  
 Regiis sumptibus Conciliique Maritimi autoritate extractis,  
 Prima hæc posuit fundamenta,  
 Michael Begon :  
 Civilis Disciplinæ  
 Rei Judiciariæ, Ærariæ, ac Maritimæ,  
 atque hujus Colonix præfectus.  
 Dirigente Gasp : Chaussegros de Lery :  
 Regio bellicorum operum machinatore.  
 Nonis Junii. An. Dom. MDCCXX.

TRANSLATION.

" In the eleventh year of the life, and fifth of the reign, of His Most Christian Majesty Louis XV., King of the French—the most august and powerful Prince, Philip, Duke of Orleans, Uncle to the King, being regent of the Kingdom—the most illustrious and serene Prince, Louis Alexandre de Bourbon, Count of Thoulouse, President of the Maritime Council and of Naval affairs—the most illustrious Jean D'Estrée, Marshal of France, President of the Maritime Council of North and South America, and Vice-Admiral—Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of New France—the first foundations of these fortifications, built at the Royal expense, and by authority

of the Maritime Council, were laid by Michael Begon, Intendant of this Colony, and of its civil, judiciary, fiscal and naval affairs—under the direction of Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry, Military Royal Engineer, on the fifth day of June, MDCCXX.”

We have already given the state of the fortifications in 1690 : the following is the description of the defences in the Upper Town, as they appeared to Charlevoix, previous to the improvements of De Léry, in 1720 : “ On the side towards the gallery of the Fort is a battery of twenty-five pieces of cannon. Higher still is a small square Fort, called the Citadel, and the ways which communicate from one fortification to another are extremely steep. To the left of the harbor quite along the road, as far as the River St. Charles, are good batteries of cannon, with several mortars. From the angle of the Citadel, which fronts the city, has been built on *oreillon* of a bastion, from whence has been drawn a curtain at right angles, which communicates with a very elevated cavalier, on which stands a wind-mill fortified. As you descend from this cavalier, and at the distance of a musket shot from it, you meet first a tower fortified with a bastion, and at the same distance from this a second. The design was to line all this with stone, which was to have had the same angles with the bastions ; and to have terminated at the extremity of the rock, opposite to the Palace, where there is already a small redoubt, as well as on Cape Diamond.”

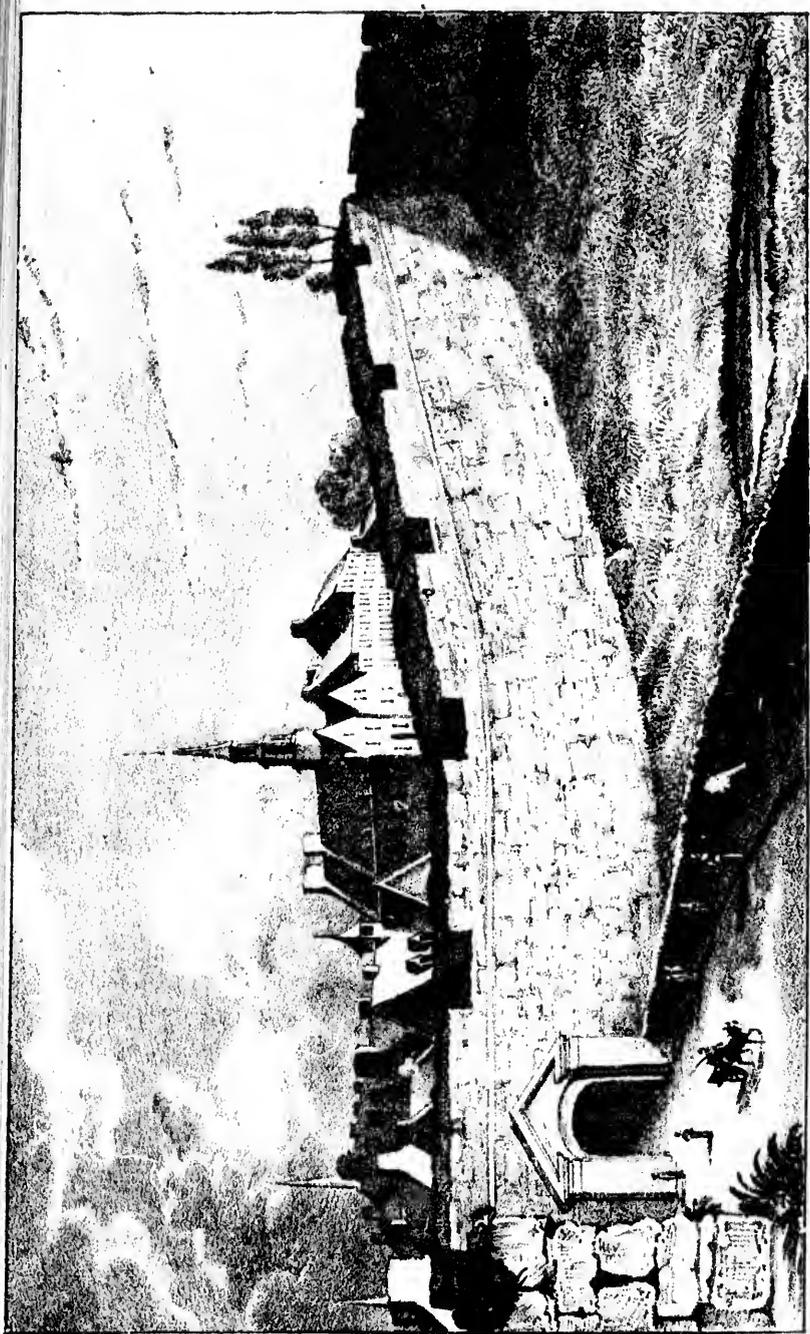
From the period of their renovation by De Léry, the fortifications were maintained by the French Governors with great care, until the capture of QUEBEC, in 1759. They were then repaired by the English, and again at the time of the memorable siege of the Americans in 1775 ; since which period they

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on Stone by Spruce, from an Engraving by A. J. Russell.

ST. JOHN'S GATE, QUÉBEC.

for Hawkins' Picture of Québec.

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have received such additions, and successive reparations,—together with outworks of great strength on the land side,—as render this fortress of the north, in the estimation of military judges, not inferior to many of the most celebrated strong holds in Europe.

Exclusive of the space within the Citadel, whose works occupy about forty acres, the fortifications are continued all round that portion of the city which is termed the Upper Town. They consist of bastions, connected by lofty curtains of solid masonry, and ramparts from twenty-five to thirty feet in height and about the same in thickness, bristling with heavy cannon—round towers, loopholed walls, and massive gates, recurring at certain distances in the circumference. On the summit of the ramparts from Cape Diamond to the Artillery barracks near Palace-Gate, is a broad covered way, or walk, used as a place of recreation by the inhabitants, and commanding a most agreeable view of the fertile country towards the west. This passes over the top of St. John's, and St. Lewis-Gate, where there is stationed a serjeant's guard. Above St. John's-Gate, at the end of the Street of that name, devoted entirely to business, there is at sun-set one of the most beautiful views imaginable. The River St. Charles gamboling, as it were, in the rays of the departing luminary, the light still lingering on the spires of Lorette and Charlesbourg, until it fades away beyond the lofty mountains of BONHOMME and TSOUNONTHUAN, present an evening scene of gorgeous and surpassing splendor.

The city being defended on the land side by its ramparts, is protected on the other sides by a lofty wall and parapet, based upon the cliff and commenc-



*for Hawkins' Picture of Quebec*

*on Stone by Sprengle, from an Original by A. J. Rowell.*

ST. JOHN'S GATE. QUÉBEC.

ing near the River St. Charles at the Artillery Barracks. These form a very extensive range of buildings : the part within the Artillery-Gate being occupied as barracks by the Officers and men of that distinguished corps, with a garden and mess-room. They are much admired for their apparent comfort and neatness, presenting altogether a very agreeable aspect. The part without the gate is used as magazines, store houses, and offices for the Ordnance department. These buildings were erected by the French before 1750, on the site of others which had formerly stood there. They are of stone, two stories high, well secured against fire ; and are nearly six hundred feet in length, by about forty in depth. Until lately several apartments on the upper story were occupied as an armoury ; and between thirty and forty thousand stands of arms of different descriptions were there arranged in a beautiful and imposing manner. These have been removed to the Citadel, as their more appropriate place of deposit.

Immediately adjoining the Artillery Barracks, and connecting the works on the left with their continuation along the St. Charles, stands PALACE-GATE, having a guard-house attached on the right. This has lately been rebuilt, and is the most classical and beautiful of the five gates of QUEBEC. Though perfectly strong for all purposes of defence, it has a light and airy appearance, not unlike in design one of the gates of POMPEII. It stands at the northern extremity of a broad and well proportioned street, called Palace Street, from the circumstance that it led to the Intendant's house or palace, which formerly stood on the beach of the St. Charles outside the gate, on the site of the present King's wood yard. This

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building was destroyed during the siege by the American troops under General ARNOLD, in 1775.

From PALACE-GATE the fortifications are continued along the brow of the cliff overlooking the mouth of the St. Charles, until they reach HOPE-GATE, a distance of three hundred yards. A broad and level walk divides the outward wall from the possessions of the community of the Hotel Dieu. The wall near HOPE-GATE and guard-house is loopholed for musquetry; and all the approaches are commanded by the works, which here present a lofty and formidable appearance, projecting over the rugged cliff. On the St. Charles side, midway between it and the gate, a very picturesque view of the rock and the works may be obtained. At HOPE-GATE commences the gradual elevation of the ground which terminates at the eastern point of Cape Diamond. Beyond the gate the wall is continued until it reaches a point opposite St. George Street, and the store house at the angle of the Seminary garden. Here it reaches the perpendicular cliff called the *Sault-au-Matelot*, on part of which CHAMPLAIN commenced his first settlement, in 1608. From this eminence the GRAND BATTERY, mounting a range of heavy guns, carrying balls of thirty-two pounds, commands the basin and the harbor below. In front of the GRAND BATTERY which extends to the Bishop's Palace, and where the escarpment of the cliff is nearly three hundred feet above the water, the stone parapet is but a few feet high; and the black artillery, as Professor Silliman observes, projecting over the cliff, "look like beasts of prey, crouching, and ready to leap upon their victims."

Close to the Bishop's Palace, long used as the place where the Sessions of the PROVINCIAL LEGIS-

LATURE are held, is **PRESCOTT-GATE** and guard-house : the former built of stone, and presenting an appearance of massive strength. Under its arch is the principal avenue to the **LOWER TOWN**, by **Mountain Street**. It is protected on either side by powerful defences, and by works which connect it on the right with the **CASTLE OF ST. LEWIS**. Here the stone rampart, or wall, forms part of that building, and is supported by counter-forts, or buttresses, built upon the solid rock, and immediately overlooking the **LOWER-TOWN** at an elevation of more than two hundred feet. To the right, or south-west side, of the **CASTLE** is the **GOVERNOR'S** garden, one hundred and eighty yards long, and seventy broad, within which is a small battery, also commanding part of the harbor. In front of the **GOVERNOR'S** garden, the fortifications are continued for three hundred yards ; until they reach the foot of the *glacis*, or acclivity towards **CAPE DIAMOND**, crowned at that point by the round tower and flag-staff.

The extent of the ramparts towards the land side, from the south-west angle of the Citadel to the cliff above the River St. Charles, is stated by Colonel Bouchette to be eighteen hundred and thirty-seven yards. Within this rampart is the **ESPLANADE**, between **ST. LEWIS** and **ST. JOHN'S-GATE**. It is a level space covered with grass, two hundred and seventy-three yards long, and of irregular breadth. Here are mounted the several guards on duty at the Citadel and other public buildings, each forenoon, except Sunday, at eleven o'clock ; and occasional parades of the garrison take place, particularly on the **KING'S** birth day. The muster of the City Militia is also annually held here. The circuit of the fortifications which enclose the **UPPER TOWN** is

two miles and three quarters : the total circumference outside the ditches and space reserved by government, on which no houses can be built on the west side, is about three miles. The average diameter is about fifteen hundred yards.

Generally speaking, the city may be said to be entirely surrounded by a strong and lofty wall of hewn stone, constructed with elegance as well as with regard to durability. Its castellated appearance, owing to its ditches, embrasures, round towers, battlements and gates, add much to its grand and imposing effect from without. It has been stated that there are five gates, opening in different directions to the country, the Suburbs and the LOWER TOWN. Two are in the rampart towards the south-west : namely, ST. JOHN'S and ST. LEWIS-GATE, protected by outworks of great strength and powerful combination. Through the latter is the road leading to the spot rendered for ever memorable by the death of WOLFE, to the PLAINS OF ABRAHAM and the Race Course. This road is kept in repair by the military authorities, and is bordered by genteel houses and well stocked gardens. On the left of this road, on the brow of a slight ascent about half way to the race stand, is one of the four MARTELLO Towers erected at different distances between the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles. Cannon are mounted on the summit of these towers to sweep the undefended plain below ; and they are so constructed that, if taken by an enemy, they can be easily laid in ruins by the shot of the garrison, while on the opposite side facing the plains they are of immense thickness. Through ST. JOHN'S-GATE is the populous suburb bearing that name ; and the road leading to the beautiful parish of St. Foy, lined with agreeable residences and

villas. Along this road was the favorite drive of the Canadian *belle*, before the conquest, in 1759. PALACE-GATE and HOPE-GATE both open to the River St. Charles and the LOWER TOWN. The former leads also to the new market on the St. Charles, from which there is a fine view of the city and fortifications on that side. PRESCOTT-GATE is the principal thoroughfare to the LOWER TOWN; and notwithstanding the steepness of the ascent, heavy burthens are conveyed up the hill with comparative ease by the hardy little horses of Norman breed, generally employed by the carters.

Having thus made the circuit of the fortifications, it is necessary to notice the different barracks and military buildings for the accommodation of the troops composing the garrison. Besides those contained within the CITADEL, and the Artillery barracks, the spacious building in the market-place, formerly the the College of the JESUITS, has long been occupied by the KING's troops, under the name of the JESUITS Barracks. This edifice is of stone, three stories high, and measures two hundred and twenty-four feet by two hundred, being in shape a parallelogram. The principal entrance into the barracks is from the market-place, opposite to the French Cathedral. Through a lofty passage admittance is gained into a considerable area, the buildings around which are occupied by the soldiers. On the other side is an arch leading to the barrack yard and offices. To the left of the great entrance is a large door opening into a hall. Here is the room set apart for the Garrison library, the property of the military, containing a number of valuable books and maps. The barrack yard is enclosed by a wall two hundred yards long, in St. Ann Street, in which is the bar-

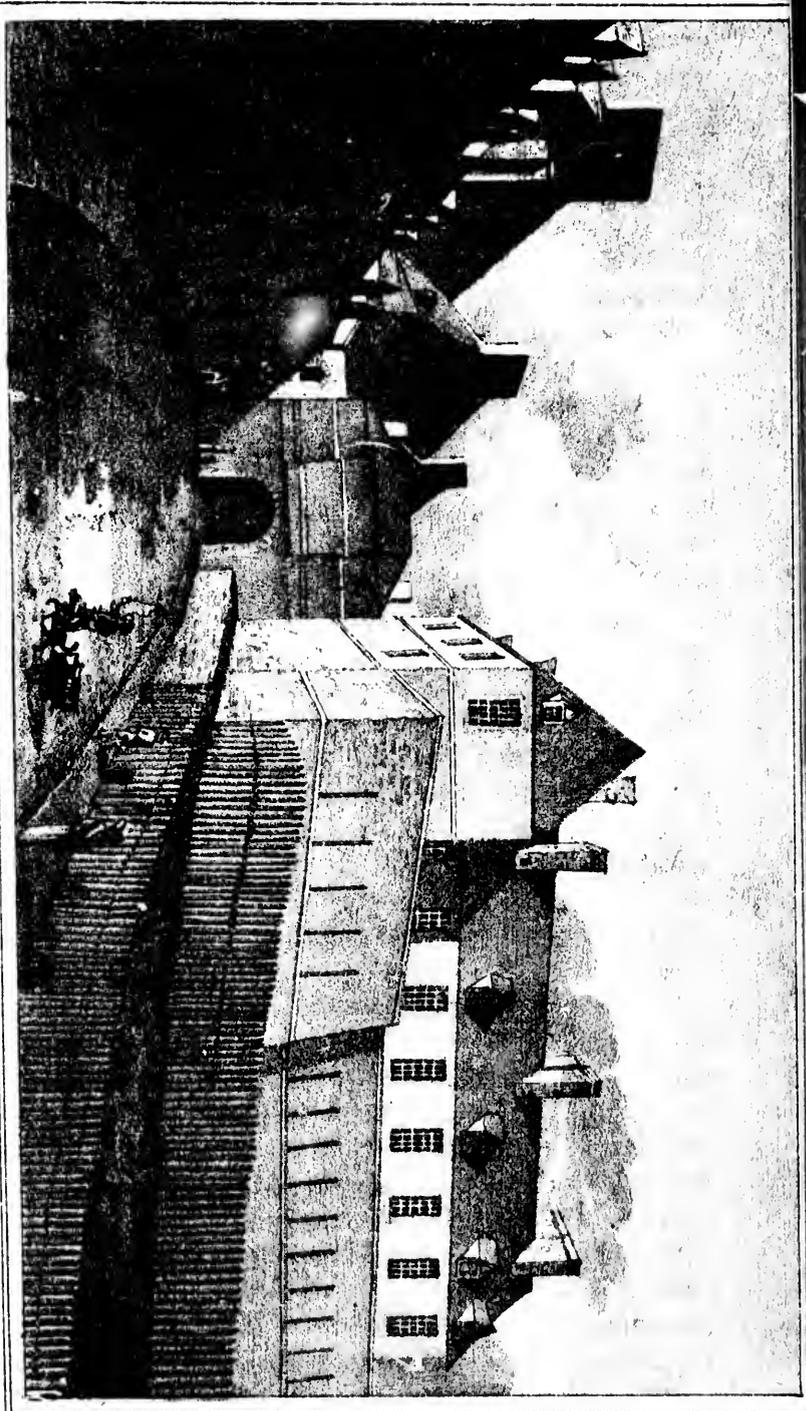
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*View of the Barracks from the Direction of St. Francis*

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*The Barracks from the Direction of St. Francis*



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rack-gate and main-guard. This was formerly the garden belonging to the College. A little beyond the gate is the barrack office, a neat and substantial stone building standing nearly opposite to the Scottish Church. The JESUITS Barracks are at present occupied as the quarters of that highly distinguished Regiment, the 79th, or CAMERON HIGHLANDERS. This is one of the few which wear the "garb of old Gaul;" and makes a picturesque and highly military appearance in the field, very attractive to the numerous strangers who conclude their summer tour by a visit to the interesting capital of LOWER CANADA. The 79th Regiment is under the command of Lieutenant Colonel DUNCAN MACDOUGALL.

In the *Place d'Armes*, opposite to the Court House, is the COMMISSARIAT Office, where the business of that efficient department is conducted. Their extensive stores are in the Lower Town, upon the KING'S Wharf; and are solely appropriated to the purposes of government. They are of stone, two hundred and fifty feet in length, with corresponding depth, and were erected in 1821. Opposite to the gate and entrance into the KING'S Wharf, is a guard house for its protection.

In St. Lewis Street, about half way between the Commissariat Office and St. Lewis-Gate, is a stone building on the left, occupied as quarters for those officers of the garrison, who do not reside in the CITADEL. In rear is the spacious mess-room of the officers of the 79th Highlanders. On the east, and in rear of the officers' quarters, at the end of a court or avenue leading out of St. Lewis Street, is the MILITARY HOSPITAL, a building of great length, and completely provided with every necessary appointment. Close to it are the remains of an old military work, on

an eminence nearer the CAPE, called MOUNT CARMEL. In the print of the ancient city, in La Potherie, Voyage de l'Amerique, this height appears to have been surmounted by a windmill, which was fortified, and was probably one of the outworks on that side. On it stands at present a convenient cottage and garden, the property of government, and usually appropriated to the residence of the commanding Engineer of the District.

Opposite to the officers' quarters in St. Lewis Street are the military offices; in a private house, rented by the Government for the purpose. Adjoining to St. Lewis-Gate, and fronting to the Esplanade is the ROYAL ENGINEER Office; and in the rear are the spacious yard and work shops of the Royal Sappers and Miners, a detachment of which corps is always stationed in QUEBEC. The officers of the Royal Engineers have charge of the Fortifications, and of all military works. The Government laboratory, on the right hand of the road leading to the Citadel, opposite to the Royal Engineer yard, stands on the site of an old powder magazine, close to which the remains of General MONTGOMERY were interred on the fourth day of January, 1776.

We have already mentioned the extensive stores within the CITADEL, as containing all the *matériel* of war for a numerous garrison. In addition to these, and to the stores at the Artillery Barracks, the Ordnance Department has a spacious building of stone, together with a powder magazine, in the bastion between St. John's-Gate and the Artillery Barracks. In various parts of the works, they have also large dépôts and magazines of cannon, gun powder, carriages, shot, and other munitions of war, for the convenience and supply of the garrison.

ST. LEWIS ST. GATE, QUEBEC.

For the Author's Picture of Quebec

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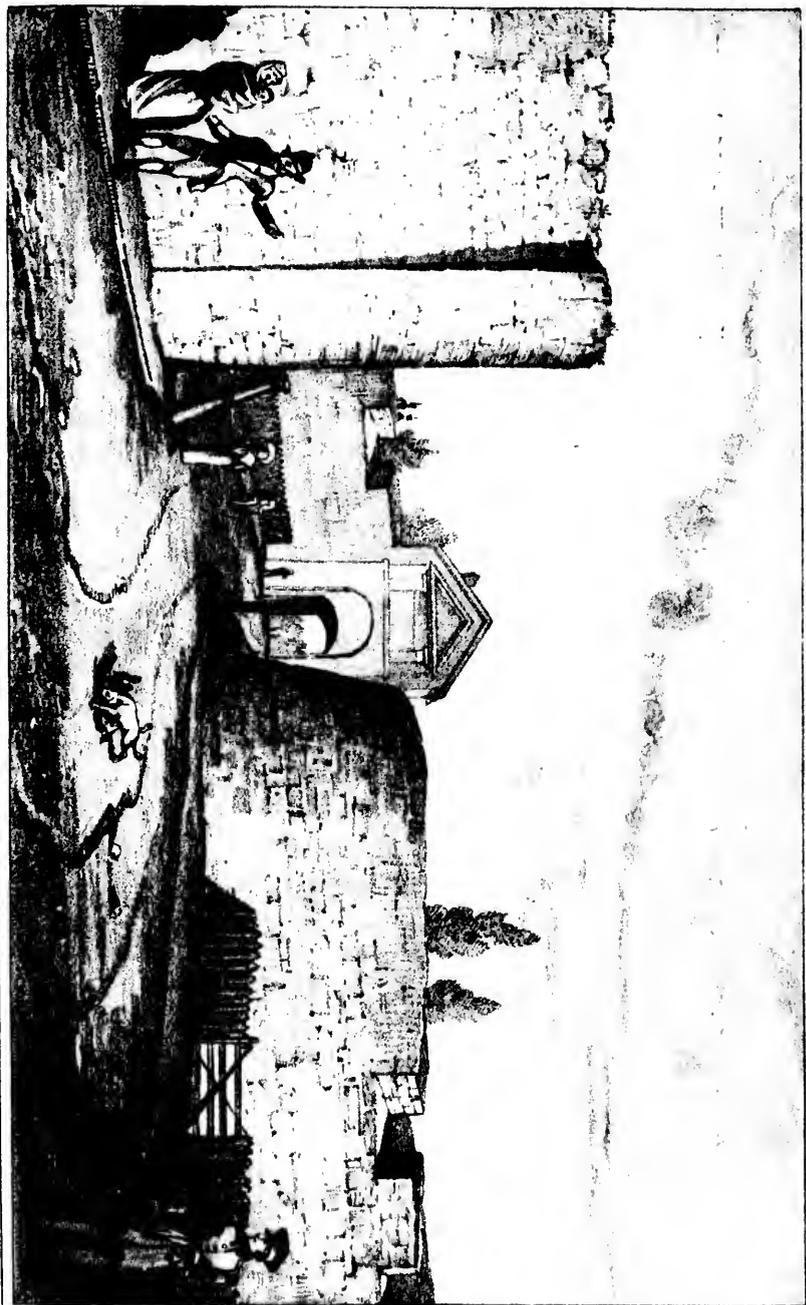
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*an View by Spruce, from an Original by A. J. Russell.*

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, DISTRICT.

*for Hawkins' Picture of Castles*



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It has been seen that St. Lewis Street is principally the site of the offices and buildings belonging to the military departments. This street was originally a military road from the Fort to the outworks, and thence into the forest ; and was called *La Grand Allée*.

We cannot conclude more appropriately than by transcribing an elegant peroration from the pen of professor SILLIMAN, who visited this city in the autumn of 1819 :—

“ QUEBEC, at least for an American city, is certainly a very peculiar place. A military town—containing about twenty thousand inhabitants—most compactly and permanently built—stone its sole material—environed, as to its most important parts, by walls and gates—and defended by numerous heavy cannon—garrisoned by troops, having the arms, the costume, the music, the discipline of Europe—foreign in language, features and origin, from most of those whom they are sent to defend—founded upon a rock, and in its highest parts, overlooking a great extent of country—between three and four hundred miles from the ocean—in the midst of a great continent—and yet displaying fleets of foreign merchantmen in its fine capacious bay—and showing all the bustle of a crowded sea-port—its streets narrow—populous, and winding up and down almost mountainous declivities—situated in the latitude of the finest parts of Europe—exhibiting in its environs, the beauty of an European capital—and yet, in winter, smarting with the cold of Siberia—governed by a people of different language and habits from the mass of the population—opposed in religion, and yet leaving that population without taxes, and in the full enjoyment of every privilege, civil and religious : Such are the

prominent features, which strike a stranger in the city of QUEBEC!"

The latter part of the above extract may be considered a just tribute to the merit of GREAT BRITAIN, from the pen of an accomplished and liberal minded foreigner, equally honorable to both.

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## CHAPTER THE TENTH.

### RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS—ANCIENT AND MODERN.

THE totally different policy observed by the English and French Governments, as to the religious establishment of their Colonies in North America, although easily assigned to the opposite motive of each, presents, at the present day, a very interesting contrast. The English Colonies,—founded by zealous Dissenters, or by persons who conceived that all established forms of religion savoured of tyranny and oppression—soon received the most judicious encouragement from the Parent State, and obtained advantageous charters from the Crown. They entered with spirit into commercial enterprises, and made rapid advances to riches, prosperity, and power. The French, on the other hand, were established by men of a different stamp, attached to the forms of their ancient religion—who sought to enhance their own reputation, and to extend the glory and power of their country, by penetrating among the savage tribes—by converting them to their own faith—by rigidly excluding what they considered the contamination of calvinistic doctrines—and by sending among them Missionaries, in order to establish a religious dominion over them. Actuated by these powerful

incentives, they commenced by keeping good faith with the savages,—they cultivated their friendship, and took part in their enmities as good and trusty allies. Thus they soon acquired over the Indian mind an influence far more extensive than any other European nation. But the result of this conduct was not politically successful, as regarded the advance of the Colony. By far too great a portion of toil, of zeal, and of authority seems from the first to have been directed to the Indian tribes, if we may judge from the result of an amiable, though, perhaps, mistaken policy. The subserviency of their colonial system, and even of commerce itself, to the propagation of the religion of the state is apparent throughout the early history of this Colony, and hence its tardy progress under the French Government; and its present inferiority, as to riches and population, to the English colonies planted about the same period.

Whatever neglect, however, the temporal affairs of New France might have experienced, before it was taken under the protection of the Royal Government in 1663—it is clear that nothing had been left unattempted from the earliest times, to provide for the spiritual welfare of the settlers, and for the instruction of the neophytes among the savages. As early as 1614, on the formation of a new and more extensive company of merchants trading to New France, CHAMPLAIN had the devotion to introduce, and sufficient interest to obtain the passing of a clause in the articles, by which they engaged to defray the expenses of four ecclesiastics, who were to be sent out for the important object of spreading the true religion among the natives. The views of the pious founder of QUEBEC are thus explained: “Seeing that we had no Priests, we obtained some through the interference

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of the Sieur Houel, who had a peculiar affection towards this holy design, and who told me that the Récollet Fathers would be proper for this purpose, both to reside in our habitation, and to convert the infidels. I agreed in this opinion, they being void of ambition, and conforming altogether to the rule of St. Francis. I spoke of it to My Lord, the Prince, who entered into my views; and the company offered of their own accord to support them, until they could obtain a Seminary, which they hoped to do, by means of the charitable donations, that might be bestowed upon them for the care and instruction of youth." CHAMPLAIN accordingly sailed from Honfleur on the 24th April, 1615, with four Récollet Fathers; and after a favorable passage, without meeting ice or any other impediment, they reached Tadoussac on the 25th May, where they returned thanks for their safe arrival.

The first establishment of the religious communities of QUEBEC, has a peculiar interest; and it is difficult to determine which is more worthy of admiration, the liberality of the design on the part of the founders, or the devotedness and fearlessness displayed by those appointed for its execution. The early history of Canada teems, indeed, with instances of the purest religious fortitude, zeal, and heroism—of young and delicate females, relinquishing the comforts of civilisation to perform the most menial offices towards the sick—to dispense at once the blessings of medical aid to the body, and of religious instruction to the soul of the benighted and wondering savage. They must have been upheld by a strong sense of duty—an overpowering conviction of the utility of their purposes,—a full persuasion of their efficacy, both towards their own eternal salvation, and that of

their newly converted flock. But for such impressions, it would have been beyond human nature to make the sacrifices which the *Hopitalières* made, in taking up their residence in New France. Without detracting from the calm and philosophic demeanor of religion at the present day, it is doubtful whether any pious persons could be found willing to undergo the fatigues, uncertainty and personal danger, experienced by the first missionaries of both sexes in New France. Regardless of climate, to whose horrors they were entirely unaccustomed—of penury and famine—of danger to the person—of death, and martyrdom itself—they pressed onward to the goal to which their religious course was directed—and sustained by something more than human fortitude—by divine patience—they succeeded at length in establishing on a firm foundation the altars, and the faith of their country and their God! For ambition's sake, for lucre, for fame—men have braved danger in a hundred fights, until the world by common consent has elevated the successful tyrant to the rank of a hero among his fellows—but to incur the horrors of savage life, the risk of torture and even death—in a word, the agonizing suspense and constant anxieties of a missionary, for no other reward than that of self approbation, and with no other support than that of religion—requires courage and devotion of a far higher order, and merits glory of the most enduring character. The labors and privations of the first religious communities, who established themselves even within the walls of QUEBEC, were many—their paths were dark, dreary and intricate; but the bright star of enthusiasm, like the clew of Ariadne, carried them along—they felt that if one glimpse of the sacred light they bore could be brought to dawn upon the

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benighted souls of those they wished to save, their zeal would be amply rewarded, and their labor forgotten.

#### THE RECOLLET CHURCH.

It has been stated that the first ecclesiastics who ventured to the unknown regions of New France were Récollets, brought out by Champlain, in 1615. They were four in number, the SUPERIOR of the Mission, and Fathers JOSEPH LE CARON, JEAN D'OLBEAU, and PACIFIQUE DUPLESSIS. Father Joseph is stated by Charlevoix to have accompanied CHAMPLAIN when he wintered in the Huron country, in 1616; and having acquired some knowledge of the language, he even at his first visit observed their haunts, and fixed in his own mind the proper station for evangelical missions. In the following year, the alliance between CHAMPLAIN and the HURONS would have been for ever interrupted, but for the skill and penetration of Father Pacifique Duplessis. The HURONS had murdered two Frenchmen, and fearing the vengeance of CHAMPLAIN, some evil disposed chief suggested a dreadful method of escaping it, by the extermination of the whole French settlement. To this treacherous proposal there were found but few listeners: one of whom, afterwards, in a fit of remorse revealed the plot to Father Pacifique. By dint of his persuasions and influence they were induced to renounce their sanguinary intention; and CHAMPLAIN, having been informed of the whole proceeding, accepted the mediation of the Récollet, and adopted a middle course between European and Indian ideas of justice. The unlucky affair was thus compromised: one of the

Huron murderers was given up by that people, and a valuable present of furs appeased the relations of the deceased—so that a crisis was safely passed, which might have proved fatal to the existence of the infant colony.

In 1620, CHAMPLAIN, arriving from France with three additional Récollet Fathers, learned with great regret the death of the good Father Pacifique. It appears that the original habitation of these ecclesiastics was on the border of the River St. Charles, where they had a small lodge and Seminary about half a league from the Fort, on the spot where the General Hospital now stands. It was commenced before the year 1620; and in 1622 was defended by a small Fort against the incursions of a party of Iroquois, who being unable to effect its capture, wreaked their vengeance upon the Hurons, several of whom they surprised and put to death.

After the capture of QUEBEC by the Kertks in 1629, the Récollet Fathers returned to France. On its restoration to the French Crown in 1632, the return of these ecclesiastics to CANADA was opposed by the Company, on the ground that being of the mendicant order, they were ill adapted to the wants of a new country. This policy prevailed until 1669, when they obtained from the King of France an edict for their re-establishment. Father CESARE'E HERVEAU, accompanied by two other Priests, and a lay brother, accordingly sailed for QUEBEC on the 15th July in that year; together with M. TALON, the Intendant, and a portion of five hundred families, whom the King was about to send out as settlers. This vessel having been obliged to put into Lisbon, after three months boisterous weather, in returning to Rochelle, perished in sight of that harbor, and

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every soul was lost. In May 1670, Father Germain Allard, Provincial of the Récollets, embarked for QUEBEC with M. Talon, three other ecclesiastics, and a Deacon of the name of Brother Luke, famous for his skill in painting. This voyage was prosperous, and the Provincial had the gratification of seeing his brethren once more placed in possession of the property on the River St. Charles, which they had held before the capture of Quebec by the Kertks, in 1629. He then returned to France. The Récollets having been thus re-established, rendered by their piety and example the greatest services to the colony, where they were greatly respected. They continued to reside on the River St. Charles until 1690; when Monseigneur de St. Vallier, then Bishop of Quebec, being desirous to establish a General Hospital, as an asylum for all the poor, and the house which was occupied by the Récollets at *Notre Dame des Anges*, on the bank of the St. Charles, appearing every way convenient for that object, a negociation was entered into between the Bishop and the Fathers for the transfer of their property. The Récollets were desirous to approach nearer to the scene of their duties; and the proposal of the Bishop having been made acceptable to them, they ceded their property on the St. Charles, and received a lot of land immediately opposite to the Fort of St. Lewis, between St. Anne, St. Lewis, and Garden Streets, when they soon afterwards erected their Church and Convent.

LA POTHERIE and LE BEAU, the latter of whom resided with the Récollet Fathers for a year, both speak of their Monastery and Church as handsome and convenient. CHARLEVOIX gives the following

description of it : “ The Fathers Récollet have a large and beautiful Church, which might do them honor even at Versailles. It is very neatly wainscoted, and is adorned with a large *tribune* or gallery somewhat heavy, but the wainscoting of which is extremely well carved, and in which are included the confession seats. This is the work of one of their brother converts. In a word, nothing is wanting to render it complete, except the taking away some pictures very coarsely daubed ; Brother Luke has put up some of his hand which have no need of those foils. Their house is answerable to the Church ; it is large, solid and commodious, and adorned with a spacious and well cultivated garden.”

The ancient Church and Convent of the Récollets were destroyed by fire in 1796, and on the site stands now the English Cathedral, of which we shall presently make more particular mention.

The following inscriptions were discovered ten years ago, on plates deposited in the corner stones of the former Récollet Church and Convent. The first was found on the 23d July, 1824, by some workmen employed in levelling the *Place d'Armes*, on part of which those buildings stood : the second was discovered some time afterwards.

D. O. + M.

ANNO DNI. 1693, 14 JUL. Quæ  
Seraphici BONAVENTURÆ festo solemniter  
Agebatur. Sedente INNOCENTIO XII<sup>o</sup>. summo  
Pontifice,

Regnante Rege Christianissimo  
LUDOVICO, Magno XIII ;  
Ad perpetuam Dei Gloriam,  
Virginis Deiparæ honorem,  
Seraphici Patris Francisci laudem,  
Necnon, Divi ANTONIJ de Paduâ

Expressam invocationem :  
 Illustrissimus ac Reverendissimus Dnūs. Dnus.  
 JOANNES DE LA CROIX de Saint Vallier,  
 Secundus Episcopus Quebecensis,  
 Reædificandæ novæ ff'um mino : Recollectorum  
 Ecclesiæ et Domus gratia : loco Conventus antiqui  
 nostræ Dominæ Angelorum.  
 Eorumdem ff'um, ab ipsomet eximia charitate  
 et pietate in xenodochium mutuati et  
 mutati, necnon, æquanimi pietate et  
 gratitudine, ab iisdem ff'ibus libere cessi :  
 Hunc hujusce Ecclesiæ et Conventus  
 Sancti ANTONIJ de Paduâ,  
 primarium Lapidem  
 admovit ;

*And on the reverse side the following :*

idem ministrabat  
 F. Hyacinthus Perrault,  
 Commissarius prov'lis totius  
 Missionis Guardianus dicti contūs,  
 et novi Ædificij promotor indignus.

## TRANSLATED.

To God the best and most high,  
 In the year of our Lord 1693, 14th July,  
 On which was celebrated the festival of the Seraphic  
 Bonaventure,  
 During the Pontificate of Innocent XII. Sovereign Pontiff,  
 In the reign of the most Christian King  
 Louis the Great XIV.  
 To the perpetual glory of God,  
 The honor of the Virgin Mother of God,  
 In praise of the Seraphic Father Francis,  
 And the express Invocation of St. Anthony of Padua :  
 The Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Lord  
 John de la Croix de Saint Vallier,  
 Second Bishop of Quebec,  
 In order to the rebuilding a new Church and mansion,  
 For the minor-brothers Recollets,

Instead of the Ancient Convent of our Lady  
Of Angels belonging to the same Brothers, which he, with perfect  
Charity and Piety acquired and converted into an asylum,  
and which the same Brothers with equal piety and gratitude  
freely surrendered, hath placed this, the First Stone of this  
Church and Convent of St. Anthony of Padua.

*On the reverse side.*

Assisted by  
Brother Hyacinthe Perrault,  
Provincial Commissioner of the whole mission,  
Guardian of the same Convent,  
And the undeserving forwarder of the new edifice.

The second inscription was as follows :—

D. O. + M.  
Anno Domini 1693, 14 Julii,  
Seraphim sacrâ die,  
illustrissimus ac nobilissimus Dominus  
Dominus Joannes Bochart de Champigny  
Noray, rei judiciaræ civilis necnon ærarii  
regii in tota nova Francia præfectus,  
concessis à se fratribus minoribus Recoil : missionum  
Canadensium, pro insigni erga ipsos charitate,  
in vicinio suo, terrâ et fundo, eorum Eremitor :  
Nostræ Dominæ de Portiunculo nuncupati,  
propè Quebecum, in memoriale perenne veteris  
eorum Conventûs, tunc usui Pauperum sacri,  
hujus primarii Lapidis eorum novæ sancti  
Antonij de Paduâ Ecclesiæ et Conventûs  
Quebecensis positione munificentiam  
et benevolum affectum  
consignavit.

TRANSLATION.

To God the best and highest,  
In the year of our Lord, 1693, 14th July,  
A day sacred to the Seraphim,  
The most illustrious and noble Lord

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John Bochart de Champigny Noray,  
Intendant of Justice of Police and of the  
Royal Treasury in all New France,—  
having granted a lot and ground on his premises  
to the minor Brothers Récollets of the Canadian  
Missions—through great charity towards them,  
hath, (by placing this first Stone of their  
new Church and Convent of St. Anthony  
of Padua at Quebec,) recorded the  
munificence and benevolent Intent of those  
Anachorites of our Lady called Portiunculum  
in perpetual memorial of their ancient  
Convent near Quebec,  
at that time sacred to the use of the Poor.

## THE JESUITS' COLLEGE.

In 1624, CHAMPLAIN, who had arrived in France from QUEBEC, found that the Duke de Montmorency had resigned the Viceroyalty of New France to his Nephew, Henry de Lévy, Duke de Ventadour, a nobleman of great piety, who had retired from public affairs, and devoted himself solely to spiritual concerns. His object was to use the weight of his influence, and all the means which he possessed, in the conversion of the Indians; and having continued the government of the country in the hands of CHAMPLAIN, he does not appear to have further interested himself in its temporal prosperity. He was greatly attached to the Order of Jesuits, and determined to employ them in the execution of his pious designs. Accordingly, three Jesuits, by name, Fathers LALLEMANT, LE BREBŒUF, and MASSE', and two Friars, FRANÇOIS and GILBERT, embarked with De Caen, in 1625, and arrived safely in QUEBEC, where they founded the Jesuits' mission. They were men of extraordinary zeal and piety, eminently qualified for the undertaking, and were all afterwards

distinguished in the history of the country. Father Brebœuf, after many years residence among the savages, fell at last a victim, by an excruciating death, to the ferocity of the Iroquois, together with the Huron tribe with whom he resided. Champlain says of this worthy Priest, that he had a peculiar gift in acquiring languages, and that he had learned more of the Indian tongues in three years than others had done in twenty.

On the arrival of these Jesuits in QUEBEC, they were hospitably received by the Récollets; and were entertained for the space of two years at their house on the St. Charles, until they were able to establish themselves. On the 10th March, 1626, they obtained a grant of the Seigniori of *Notre Dame des Anges*, one league in front by four in depth, in which was situated the Récollet Church and Fort.

On the 15th April, 1626, CHAMPLAIN embarked for QUEBEC, and with him three other Jesuits, Fathers NOYROT, DE LA NOUE, and a Friar. They arrived at Tadoussac on the 29th June, and at QUEBEC on the 5th July. In the vessel with the Jesuits, which was freighted by themselves, were twenty laborers, who were a great acquisition to the colony at that time. The permanent population then amounted to only fifty-five souls; and the ecclesiastics were scattered throughout the different missions in the country parts.

From what is stated by CHAMPLAIN, it appears that the Jesuits, as well as the Récollets, resided on the little River St. Charles, in their lately acquired seigniori. They afterwards, however, removed into the city, still keeping their pastures and garden on the St. Charles, called *La Vacherie*. CHAMPLAIN says, in 1629: "As to the Reverend Jesuit

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Fathers, they have only sufficient land cleared and in crop for themselves, and their servants to the number of twelve. .... The Récollet Fathers have much more land cleared and in crop, and were only four in number." The latter had however only between four and five acres in cultivation.

After the capture of QUEBEC in 1629, Louis Kertk visited the habitation of the Jesuits, and accepted three or four pictures which they offered him. The English Chaplain also took some books which he asked from the Priests. After having examined the residence and clearance of the Jesuits, Kertk proceeded to visit the Récollets, from whom it does not appear that he received any thing, probably on account of their well known poverty and self denial. Their pictures, however, were at that day famous, owing to the skill of one of their order, Brother Luke. It must not be concluded from this, that either the Priests, or the French inhabitants, generally, were ill-treated on this occasion. CHAMPLAIN expressly says : " On recevoit toute sorte de courtoisie des Anglois." The only complaints he made were against the conduct of a French renegado in the English service, who did every thing in his power to annoy his former friends and countrymen.

The Jesuits, as well as the other ecclesiastics, returned to France in the autumn of 1629. On their embarkation, however, at Tadoussac, we regret to state that they were deprived of their silver chalices by order of Sir David Kertk, who imagined he was performing a meritorious service, instead of laying himself open to the accusation of avarice and unlicensed plunder, unworthy of the doctrines he professed, and the country whose commission he bore.

The following curious scene occurred at Tadousac, before the embarkation of the Jesuits. One of the parties was the celebrated De Brebœuf, whose miserable death we have before alluded to—the other was Captain Jacques Michel, a French Calvinist, who held a command under Kertk, and was reputed a brave and experienced officer.

“General Kertk, speaking to the Jesuit Fathers, observed, ‘Gentlemen, you had certainly some business in Canada, if it was only to enjoy what belonged to M. De Caen, of which you have dispossessed him.’ ‘Pardon me, Sir,’ replied the Father, ‘it was only the pure intention of promoting the glory of God which brought us here, exposing ourselves to all dangers and perils for that object, and the conversion of the savages of this country.’ Michel interrupting him, said: ‘Aye, aye,—convert the savages! rather to convert the beavers!’ Upon which the Father promptly, and without reflection, replied, ‘that is false.’ The other lifted up his hand saying, ‘but for the respect due to the General, I would strike you, for giving me the lie.’ The Father rejoined: ‘you must excuse me, I did not intend to give you the lie. I should be very sorry to do so, the term I used is one in use in the schools, when a doubtful question is proposed, not considering it any offence. Therefore I ask you to pardon me, and to believe, that I did not say it with any intention of offending you.’”

When CHAMPLAIN resumed the Government of New France, in 1633, after the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, he was accompanied by Fathers De Brebœuf, and Massé. Fathers Le Jeune and De Nouë had embarked for Quebec the year previous. Father Noyrot had perished by shipwreck in 1629.

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The number of officiating priests in Quebec, in 1636, was fifteen, with four lay brethren, employed in the education of youth.

CHARLEVOIX represents their Indian allies as highly gratified at the return of the French; and gives an amusing description of the impression made upon them by the different manners of the English, during their occupation of Quebec, from 1629 to 1633. The savages were much disconcerted when they found the new comers by no means disposed to allow them the same liberties, which the French had permitted with the greatest good-humor. This was bad enough, but matters soon became worse. The Indians had been accustomed to enter the houses of their French friends and protectors, with the greatest freedom and absence of ceremony. To the French, who adapted themselves with great facility to any line of conduct which was likely to conciliate, it was easy to permit this familiarity. But it was widely different with the English. They by no means tolerated the intrusion of the Indian, whose habits and feelings they little understood; and at last became so much annoyed with it, as to chase the astonished savage, and expel him from the threshold, as Charlevoix expresses himself, *à coups de batons*. The consequence was, that although the Indians continued to trade with the English in furs, they, generally speaking, absented themselves from Quebec during the stay of Kertk; and when the French returned, welcomed their re-appearance with every sign of sincerity and congratulation.

The JESUITS adroitly took advantage of this feeling and began to establish distant missions. Fathers De Brebœuf, Daniel, and Davost went to reside in the HURON country: not, however, without op-

position on the part of some of the chiefs. After some years they made several proselytes among the HURONS, and even many of the chiefs came and demanded the rite of baptism.

The colony was now encreasing every year in population and resources ; and it began to be considered, that nothing could tend more favorably to the reformation of morals and the diffusion of religion, than a COLLEGE for the instruction of youth. In 1625, on the first coming of the Jesuits to New France, the idea of forming such an establishment captivated the imagination of RENE ROHAULT, eldest son of the Marquis de Gamache, who had become a member of the Society of JESUS. His relations enabled him to offer six thousand crowns of gold to the General of the Order, in order to effect the foundation of a College in Quebec. The donation was graciously accepted ; but the capture of the place by the English necessarily delayed the performance of the condition. After the restoration, it was determined to prosecute the original design.

The foundation of the JESUITS' COLLEGE was accordingly laid with great ceremony, in December, 1635. The site was the same as that which the buildings now occupy, on the other side of the square in which the French Cathedral and Seminary were afterwards built. Their Church, however, stood upon that part of Garden Street, which has since acquired the name of the Haymarket. On the removal of the Church, the street was widened to its present breadth. Behind the College and Church, were the extensive grounds and garden belonging to the order. In 1639, the Jesuits' Church served as the *Paroisse* of Quebec : it is described as being then a handsome building of wood, with an arched roof and gallery,

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and such appropriate decorations as gave it all the appearance of a Church.

In 1640, on the 14th June, the College and Church of the Jesuits was entirely destroyed by fire ; and the Fathers were accommodated by the *Hospitalières* of the Hotel Dieu with the loan of their own house. The Chapel of the Hotel Dieu then became the *Paroisse* of Quebec ; and the *Hospitalières* went to reside at a house in the neighborhood.

The establishment of the Jesuits' at SYLLERY was commenced in 1637, under the auspices of their Superior, Father Le Jeune. The funds were supplied by the generosity of the COMMANDEUR DE SYLLERI, who sent out workmen from France for the express purpose. The site was chosen by Father Le Jeune, about four miles above Quebec on the north shore, and still retains the name of the founder. Here were established several Indian families who had become Christians—and the intention was by their proximity to Quebec, to preserve them from the attacks of the Iroquois—and from the danger of famine, by instructing them to cultivate their own lands. The *Hospitalières*, who arrived from France in 1639, assisted the Jesuits in the good work ; and during four years took up their residence at Syllery, where they tended the sick under circumstances of great privation, self denial, and fortitude.

It was also to the representations of the Jesuits that the subsequent establishment of the Hotel Dieu and of the Ursuline Convent were owing :—the former for the attendance of the sick, and the latter for the instruction of female children—both objects of the greatest importance to the welfare of a new colony.

The following is the account given by La Potherie of the old Coliege and Church of the JESUITS:—it must be observed that the present buildings were erected subsequently to the visit of Charlevoix in 1720 :—“The Coliege was founded by Father Gamache, who made a donation thereto of twenty thousand crowns. The Church is very handsome. The ceiling is in compartments of squares, filled with various figures and symmetrical ornaments. The garden is large, having a small wood of lofty trees, where there is a very pretty walk.” Charlevoix gives a less favorable description : “The Coliege in some sort disfigures the city, and threatens falling to ruin every day. Its situation is far from being advantageous, it being deprived of the greatest beauty it could possibly have had, which is that of the prospect. It had at first a distant view of the road, and its founders were simple enough to imagine they would always be allowed to enjoy it ; but they were deceived. The Cathedral and Seminary now hide the view, leaving them only the prospect of the square, which is far from being a sufficient compensation for what they lost. The court of this Coliege is little and ill-kept, and resembles more than any thing else a farmer’s yard. The garden is large and well kept, being terminated by a small wood, the remains of the ancient forest which formerly covered this whole mountain. The Church has nothing worth notice on the outside except a handsome steeple ; it is entirely roofed with slate, and is the only one in all Canada which has this advantage : all the buildings here being generally covered with shingles. It is very much ornamented on the inside : the gallery is bold, light and well wrought, and is surrounded with an iron balustrade, painted and gilt, and of

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excellent workmanship : the pulpit is all gilt, and the work both in iron and wood excellent : there are three altars handsomely designed, some good pictures, and it is without any dome or cupola, but a flat ceiling handsomely ornamented. It has no stone pavement, in place of which it is floored with strong planks, which makes this church supportable in winter, whilst you are pierced with cold in the others."

The JESUITS' College was afterwards rebuilt in its present form, and must have been considered at the time a noble edifice. From this seat of piety and learning issued those dauntless Missionaries, who made the Gospel known over a space of six hundred leagues, and preached the Christian faith from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. In this pious work many suffered death in the most cruel form : all underwent danger and privation for a series of years, with a constancy and patience that must always command the wonder of the historian, and the admiration of posterity.

The property which the JESUITS acquired by purchase, by grants from the King, and by donations from individuals, was very considerable. In the year 1764, the order was abolished by the King of France, and the Members of the Society became private individuals. The last Jesuit, Father CASOT, died in 1800, when the property of the Order fell to HIS MAJESTY, in whom it is still vested.

It has been stated that the Church originally stood in the Haymarket, opposite to Garden Street. The College has been long appropriated by the Imperial Government as a barrack for a Regiment of Infantry, which has always been quartered in the city. Until a few years ago, the last surviving trees of the forest were to be seen in the angle in the rear of the barrack

office. They have since perished, or have been removed ; and the spacious barrack yard now occupies the site where the Jesuits once rejoiced in their umbrageous walks, and were wont, like the Philosophers of old—

— *inter sylvas academi quærere verum.*

#### THE HOTEL DIEU.

WE have already mentioned the dangers and privations endured not only by the Missionaries, who were conducted by religious fervor into the recesses of the forest, far from the habitations of civilised man—but by young and delicate females, sprung from ancient and respectable families, who flocked to New France as to a glorious field of Christian exertion. Of these none were more conspicuous than the HOSPITALIERES, or religious ladies forming the community of the HOTEL DIEU.

One of the first objects of the Colony of CHAMPLAIN after its restoration to the French, in 1633, was the foundation of an HOTEL DIEU in Quebec. Europeans, who came to establish themselves in a rude and untried climate, after a navigation in those days both long and perilous, were subject to frequent and distressing maladies, particularly during the winter ; against the rigors of which they were unprovided both as to clothing and diet. To alleviate the evils which arose from the general want of those comforts which are peculiar to a state of advanced civilisation, they had no other resource than in public and charitable foundations. Nor was such an establishment as the HOTEL DIEU less necessary in regard to the Indians. In addition to the absence of medical care

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among themselves—their ignorance of the more formidable diseases, and their natural dislike to witness, much less long to tolerate, even their nearest connexions in a state of feebleness and sickness—rendered them insensible, while in their savage state, to the delicacy of medical attendance, and incapable of providing other than temporary remedies for sickness or accident. To the Nuns *Hospitalières* the savages, who were overcome by sickness, in the neighborhood of Quebec, owed the cure of their bodies, and their soul's health—zeal and charity combined to render such proselytes dear—and CHRISTIANITY must have appeared to the converted Indians in its most attractive and endearing aspect—not only insuring happiness in a future state, but presenting immediate consolation and relief from the bitterness of their personal maladies.

The colony being as yet too poor to undertake this necessary establishment, through the representations of the Jesuits, the subject came to be discussed, and soon to be popular among the rich and powerful of the mother country. In 1636, the Duchess D'AIGUILLON, niece to the famous CARDINAL DE RICHELIEU, resolved to found an HOTEL DIEU in Quebec, at her own expense. She was, however, liberally assisted by her relative; and during their joint lives, they continued to testify their kindness and affection towards the foundation. By contract passed on the 16th April, 1637, they gave an annual rent of fifteen hundred *livres*, on a capital of twenty thousand, as a commencement of their laudable and benevolent design: on condition "that the Hospital should be dedicated to the death and precious blood of the Son of God, shed for the mercy of all mankind;" and that masses should be

said forever for the repose of the souls of the founders. This donation was afterwards doubled in amount—but the revenues appear never to have been equal to the expenses incurred; and of late years the pecuniary aid of the Legislature has been frequently bestowed upon this deserving community.

In the execution of the foundation, the Duchess D'AIGUILLON obtained from the Company of merchants a considerable concession of waste lands, which they called Ste. Marie; and a grant of a piece of ground within the precincts of the city, being the site now occupied by the HOTEL DIEU, its buildings and spacious garden, covering altogether about twelve acres.

The Duchess had proposed to the *Hospitalières* of Dieppe to take charge of the new foundation at Quebec. These Nuns joyfully accepted the offer; and three of their community eagerly prepared themselves for a voyage across the Atlantic, in discharge of what they considered a religious duty. The eldest was chosen superior: her age was twenty-nine—the youngest was only twenty-two years old.

The fleet for New France at that time had its rendezvous at Dieppe; where, amidst the encouragement and congratulation of all classes interested in the design, they embarked on the 4th May, 1639, accompanied by other vessels, having on board Madame De La Peltrie, and three Ursuline Nuns, destined for a new Convent at Quebec—several Jesuits, and other Priests for the different missions. After a rough passage, and some danger from the ice, they arrived safe at Tadoussac on the 15th July. Here they remained some days, subjected to much inconvenience, until they found a small vessel to take them up the river to Quebec. On the 31st

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July, they approached the harbor, but the tide being against them, it was resolved to land upon the Isle of Orleans, then uninhabited. They passed the night in wigwams constructed for the purpose, one for the Nuns, another for the Priests, and a third for the crew. The next morning they prepared to depart, having first ordered the muskets to be discharged, and fires to be made in the woods, in token of their joy and gratitude for their safe arrival in the land of promise—the scene of their Christian labors. These fires being observed from Quebec, the Chevalier de Montmagny, who had succeeded Champlain in the Government, sent forward a canoe, which soon returned with the gratifying intelligence of the arrival of the Nuns. The first of August, the day on which these ladies arrived, so long and so ardently desired, was thought worthy of being celebrated as a Fête. The shops were closed, and all labor suspended. The troops were under arms, and the Governor at their head received the religious heroines on the river side, under a salute from the Fort. On landing, they reverentially kissed the chosen ground; and after the first compliments, were led by the Governor, amid the acclamations of the people, to the Jesuits' Church, then the *Paroisse*, where *Te deum* was sung, and High Mass performed, in thanksgiving for their safe arrival.

Notwithstanding the joyful reception which these Nuns met with, such was then the poverty of Quebec, that they for some time suffered the greatest privations, even to the want of necessary food and clothing, until they were permanently established in the Hotel Dieu, which did not arrive for many years afterwards. They were at first lodged, as has been stated elsewhere, in a small house belonging to the

Company, where their only furniture was a table and two benches. They were even indebted to the Governor for their first meal in New France ; and as their baggage was still on board their vessel at Tadoussac, they were obliged to sleep on branches of trees, laid upon the floor, until the 15th August, when they received their furniture and effects.

After taking lessons in the Algonquin tongue from Father Le Jeune, they commenced their labors by receiving several sick persons, whom they tended with great care, as well Indians as French. The small pox broke out among the former with great virulence, and the nature of their employment would have been intolerable to delicate females; had they not been supported throughout by a powerful sense of religious duty.

In 1640, they gave up their house in Quebec to the use of the Jesuits, whose residence had been destroyed by fire ; and retired to St. Michel, which had been lent to them by Monsieur de Puiseaux. As the site of their grant in the city, on which the HOTEL DIEU now stands, appeared to them, in the infancy of their pecuniary means, every way inconvenient from its rocky and uneven nature, and the deficiency of water, which could only then be obtained by descending the steep cliff to the River St. Charles—they determined to suspend the buildings which had been commenced upon it, and to erect a stone house at Sillery, in the neighborhood of the establishment of the Jesuits there. They were induced to do this the rather, as the Indians greatly preferred a residence there to Quebec ; although not long afterwards, the incursions of the Iroquois rendered Sillery a much less secure position. The *Hospitalières* of Quebec, having been joined in 1640

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by two additional Nuns from the community of Dieppe, making in all five, laid the first stone of their buildings at Sillery, on the 9th July, with great ceremony; but continued to reside at St. Michel until it was habitable in 1641. Their condition on taking possession of this house, which was in an unfinished state, was uncomfortable in the extreme. They were more than a league from Quebec, living among savages, with no other French protectors than the Missionaries. Here they passed the first winter in great distress, still, however, continuing their attention to the savages, converting and healing them. They resided at Sillery four years, after which, owing to the frequent incursions of the Iroquois, they were obliged to return to Quebec,—where they resided in a small house on the river side, lent to them by the Governor—and resumed their building on the present site of the Hospital. They were at this time seven in number.

As soon as a portion of this first building, which stood upon the site of the present HOTEL DIEU, was covered in, the *Hospitalières* took possession; and personally aided the workmen in completing it by their manual labor. Their Chapel was consecrated on the 16th March, 1646, an occasion of great joy to the little community, which consisted at this time of only five professed Nuns, a Chaplain, four boarders, a female domestic, and seven laboring men. During this year, they successively administered relief to forty-six natives of France, and one hundred and twenty savages, some of whom remained five and six months in the Hospital. They had moreover under their constant protection a wigwam of ten savages, whom they maintained all the year round.

It appears by a bargain made by these Nuns for the clearance of the ground about the HOTEL DIEU, that one hundred and fifty *livres* per arpent, equal to six pounds five shillings, Halifax currency, was the common price at this time for the performance of such work.

At this period they had acquired, partly by purchase and partly by concession, the farm of St. Sauveur ; having sold their lands at Sillery to M. D'Auteuil. They also received a gift of the Fief St. Ignace, half a league in front by six in depth, from M. Giffard, Seigneur of Beauport, as a dowry for his daughter, who took the veil in 1648. The dread of the Iroquois, however, prevented the settlement of this Seigniorship until the year 1662.

Three Nuns having arrived from France in 1648, the number of these devoted ladies was increased to nine. About this time a number of families came out from France to settle in Quebec ; and to these the kindness and attention of the *Hospitalières* were found of signal benefit immediately after their arrival.

In 1649, after the utter destruction by the Iroquois of two Huron Villages, called St. Joseph and St. Ignace, and the cruel death of Father de Brebœuf and Gabriel Lallemant, the Missionaries, the unfortunate Hurons—broken hearted, and utterly unable to bear up against the incessant attacks of their hereditary enemies—or rather, the sad remains of that once powerful and interesting people, took refuge near Quebec, where they were kindly received and hospitably treated by the *Hospitalières* and the Jesuits. The descendants of these Huron refugees are now to be found in the village of Indian Lorette—presenting a striking and melancholy contrast with

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these Nuns for HOTEL DIEU, carpent, equal currency, was performance of partly by purchase of the farm of St. Sillery to M. de Brebœuf, in depth, from a dowry for his The dread of settlement of their former power and condition, when they stepped as lords of the soil over the magnificent country which borders the waters of Lake Huron. Relative to the massacre of St. Joseph and St. Ignace, there is a picture at present in the Chaplain's room of the HOTEL DIEU, which derives its interest from its subject, the dreadful death of the Missionaries, and the torture to which they were exposed by the refined cruelty of the Iroquois.

The first Hospital, being built of wood, and only fourteen feet wide, was soon found too limited for the accommodation of the numerous applicants. By great exertions, and by the donations of generous individuals both in the colony and in France, the *Hospitalières* were enabled to build another, more commodious in dimension, and far more solid in construction. The first stone was laid on the 15th October, 1654, by M. De Lauzon, the Governor, in presence of the Clergy and principal inhabitants. The new buildings which consisted of an Hospital, now the female ward, a choir, and a Church were finished in 1658, and the latter was consecrated by the Abbé de Quélus, Grand Vicaire, on the 10th August. Mass was first celebrated on the 15th of the same month.

The weakness of the Colony, and the defenceless state of Quebec in 1660, may be imagined from the fact, that such was the dread inspired by the Iroquois, who hovered around to the number of seven hundred warriors, that it was not considered safe for the *Hospitalières* and the Ursulines to remain in their respective convents during the night. They accordingly removed every evening to the Jesuits' College, where apartments were assigned to them. Patroles were established at night to protect the city, which,

but for these precautions, would assuredly have been fired by their daring and implacable assailants. This state of alarm continued for three weeks ; when the Iroquois made a simultaneous attack on all the posts between Three-Rivers and Quebec, killing no less than eighty French, and a great number of Algonquins and Hurons. They established themselves in the Isle of Orleans, whence M. De Lauzon, son of the former Governor of that name, lost his own valuable life, and the lives of his followers, in vainly attempting to dislodge them. Satisfied with their triumph, they at length retired, leaving Quebec once more to repose ; and restoring the Nuns to their accustomed charitable duties.

In 1672, the Colony had acquired sufficient strength to ensure its security from the Iroquois ; and as many settlers came out each spring, the wants of an encreasing population rendered the augmentation of the HOTEL DIEU again necessary ; and under the liberal patronage of M. Talon, the Intendant, who may be called the PERICLES of Quebec, another ward and an additional wing were undertaken, the first stone of which was laid on the 5th May, 1672, in the presence of the Bishop, and other dignitaries. On the 20th of the same month, the Intendant, in order to show the respect he entertained for the Duchess D'Aiguillon, the original founder of the HOTEL DIEU, caused a brass plate to be inserted into the foundation stone, bearing the arms of that illustrious lady, and the following Latin inscription, written by his Nephew, who is spoken of as a young man of much promise at the time :—

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—EFFUSO CHRISTI SANGUINI ET  
MISERICORDIÆ MATRI, SEDENTE  
CLEMENTE X.

Regnante invicto, pacifico Rege Christianissimo, LUDOVICO  
XIV, benedicente FRANCISCO, primo Canadensium Episcopo,  
et precante Virginum Hospitalarium, præside RENATA à Na-  
tivate, complaudente Colonia universa: nec non pro singulari  
sua in pauperes et ægros incolas charitate, procurante illus-  
trissimo Viro D. D. JOANNE TALON, Ærariæ, Jurl, ac toti  
Politiciæ Rei, Novæ Galliæ summo Præfecto. Quod olim piè  
fundarat Nosocomium, angescente Colonia, hoc novo liberaliter  
auget Hospitio, immortalis memoriæ et omni laudum genere  
Eminentissimi Ducis Cardinalis ARMANDI superstes, et sorore  
neptis dignissima, MARIA à VIGENEROT Ducissa, cui salus et  
gloria sempiterna. Anno salutis instauratæ M.D.CLXXII.

TRANSLATED.

To the honor of the blood of CHRIST, shed for mankind, and  
the Mother of Mercy, in the Pontificate of CLEMENT X. in the  
reign of the invincible, peaceful and most Christian King  
LOUIS XIV. with the benediction of FRANCIS, first Bishop of  
the Canadians, and at the request of RENE DE LA NATIVITE,  
Superior of the Nuns *Hospitalières*, with the applause of the  
whole colony, also as a mark of his peculiar affection towards  
the poor and the sick, and by the instrumentality of JEAN  
TALON, Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance in New  
France—the same Hospital which she had originally so piously  
founded, on the encrease of the Colony, was augmented by a  
second liberal donation, by MARIA DE VIGNEROT, Duchess  
D'Aiguillon, surviving niece of the immortal and most eminent  
Cardinal Duke Armand, to whom be health and everlasting  
glory. In the year of salvation MDCLXXII.

In 1696 considerable additions were made to the  
buildings of the HOTEL DIEU, which, with subse-  
quent improvements gradually assumed their present  
appearance.

The present edifice is a substantial and capacious  
building, three stories high, standing between Palace-  
Gate and Hope-Gate. Its longest portion is one

hundred and thirty yards, by seventeen in depth. On the north-west side, the wing is only fifty yards long, and two stories high. Every medical care and delicate attendance is here gratuitously afforded to the afflicted poor by the religious community, which consists of a Superior, about thirty three Nuns, two Novices and a postulant. The Church is simple and plain, having a few paintings which may be seen on proper application being made to the Chaplain. Several are also distributed throughout the various rooms and wards. Three or four pictures are stated to be originals, and are by eminent masters : as *The Nativity*, by Stella, a French painter who died in 1661 :—*The Virgin and Child*, by Coypel, who died in 1707, and *St. Bruno*, by the celebrated Eustache Le Sueur, who died in 1655. He was called the Raphael of France, and his principal work was the life of St. Bruno, in a series of twenty-two pictures, preserved in the Chartreux, at Paris.

#### THE URSULINE CONVENT.

This Institution, as well as that of the Hotel Dieu, owes its origin to the powerful representations of the Jesuits settled in New France. The object of the latter was not, however, merely to provide the means of religious instruction and education for the female children of the French residents. They contemplated the instruction also of the young daughters of the converted Indian—so extensive and philanthropic were the views of this order. The Company of merchants to whose direction the temporal affairs of the Colony were confided,—men of worldly views, and more anxious for a good return of furs, than solicitous of extending to the savage benefits, which

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seemed to them unnecessary and premature—took no steps to promote the settlement of the *URSULINES*. In justice it should be added, neither did they take measures to prevent it.

Several unsuccessful attempts were made to carry into effect a foundation so desirable as that of the *URSULINES*, whose peculiar province it was to devote themselves to the education of female children. At length, as in the case of the *Hospitalières*, it was reserved for a young widow of Alençon, a person of rank and fortune, named Madame DE LA PELTRIE, to surmount every obstacle; and to accomplish her purpose by devoting her whole fortune, and consecrating even personal labor to the good work. With two *URSULINES* from Tours, and one from Dieppe, she attended the rendezvous of the Canada fleet; and sailed on the 4th May, 1639, for Quebec, in company with the *Hospitalières*, as mentioned above.

The courage and devotion of Madame DE LA PELTRIE have been highly celebrated. Persons of similar qualities have appeared in almost every age to meet the wants of society—without whose energy and self denial few of those philanthropic institutions, to which the world owes so much at the present day, would have been matured, and successfully established. This devout lady gave up all to carry into effect her laudable design; and is even said to have at one time worked with her own hands in the cultivation of the ground, on which the *URSULINE* Convent now stands. She divested herself of all superfluous clothing, and parted with her wardrobe to supply raiment to the poor children of the colonists, whom she fed as well as clothed: her whole life indeed was a series of charitable deeds, which have rendered her name illustrious in the religious

annals of Canada. The fruits of her valuable foundation are to this day experienced, in the excellent education which is afforded to young females in the school of the **URSULINE** Convent.

The reception of the **URSULINES** has been already described under the **HOTEL DIEU**. The *Hospitalières* went immediately to Sillery—the Ursulines were established in a small house on the river side, most probably on the St. Charles. Like the *Hospitalières* they suffered trials and privations innumerable. Scarcely had they arrived, when the small pox broke out in Quebec. But they were not disconcerted: they indeed preserved their health, and had presence of mind enough, in the midst of death, to employ themselves in the study of the Indian languages, in order to render themselves more useful to the community among which they had begun their pious career. It has been stated that their first intention was to educate the female children of the Indians. Finding this to be inconvenient, and almost impracticable, they were, after some years, reluctantly compelled to abandon that part of their design.

The **URSULINES** completed their first Convent in 1641. It was built most probably of wood; and stood within the present possessions of the Community, between St. Lewis, Garden, St. Anne, and St. Ursule Streets. A very curious pictorial plan, or map, of the original Convent is still in existence. In this, St. Lewis Street appears merely a broad road between the original forest trees, and is called *La Grande Allée*—without a building immediately on either side. At a little distance to the north of *La Grande Allée*, is a narrower path, called *Le Petit Chemin*, running parallel and leading into the forest.

This smaller path went exactly through the choir of the present Chapel ; the great door of which is between the two roads, but close to the narrower one, as described in the map. A small brook ran, apparently from Cape Diamond, diagonally across both *La Grande Allée* and *Le Petit Chemin* ; and thence into Garden Street. Close to the spot where the Chapel now stands, and nearly in front of the great door, was the residence of Madame DE LA PELTRIE, the founder of the Convent ; which is described in the plan as occupying, in 1642, the corner of Garden Street, nearly opposite to the classical school and residence of the Reverend D. Wilkie. The URSULINE CONVENT itself stood to the north-west of Madame DE LA PELTRIE'S house, abutting on *Le Petit Chemin*, which ran parallel to St. Louis Street, and fronting towards Garden Street. It is represented as being a well proportioned and substantial building, two stories high, with an attic—four chimnies, and a cupola, or belfry in the centre. The number of windows in front were eleven on the upper story ; which contained the *parloir*, dormitory, and infirmary. On the lower story were the Chapel, and other necessary apartments. The door leading to the *parloir*, which was in the upper story, opened on the south end : that of the Chapel was in front of the building. The Convent was surrounded by a court, in which, according to the ancient plan, was the well. Several female children are represented as taking their recreation there between the hours of school attendance. In other compartments of this singular map are seen, LA MERE DE L'INCARNATION, so celebrated by Charlevoix, instructing the young *sauvagesses*, under an ancient ash tree ;—*Mère St. Joseph*, going to teach the cate-

chism to the Huron and Algonquin neophytes ; and *Mère St. Croix*, accompanied by a young Canadian boarder, proceeding to visit the wigwams of the savages, some of whom are represented as residing in the forest, inclosed within the precincts of the URSULINES. With the exception of the buildings of the Convent, its court yard, and Madame DE LA PELTRIE's house, all the ground including both sides of St. Lewis Street, is represented in the picture as in the natural state. In *La Grande Allée*—the present St. Lewis Street—we see M. DAILLEBOUT, the Governor, on horseback, riding gently along—he has, apparently, just been conversing with Madame DE LA PELTRIE, who is entering her own house, conducting a young female by the hand. In Garden Street are several priests, probably RECOLLETS, approaching the Convent.

The plan we have attempted to describe is probably the most ancient, as it is the most interesting, representation extant of any portion of Quebec in its early days.

In 1650, the Convent was destroyed by fire—an enemy which proved most destructive to the early establishments of Quebec. The fire broke out on the 30th December ; and was occasioned by some coals which had been left by a sister employed in the bake-house, which was in a cellar at the north end of the building. The Nuns made their escape by the door at the south end, which led by a staircase to the *parloir* ; but the building was entirely consumed. Its inmates, to the number of fourteen, were kindly received, and hospitably entertained during three weeks, by the Nuns of the Hotel Dieu. On the 21st January, 1651, they removed to the house of Madame DE LA PELTRIE, which had been prepared for their

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reception. On this occasion a solemn act, or convention, was drawn up and executed by the Superiors of the URSULINES and the *Hospitalières*, the purport of which was, "that in order to preserve a perpetual and indissoluble union and love between the two Communities, there shall exist between them for the future an entire friendship, and participation of spiritual goods, with a mutual exchange of good offices, and prayers."

In the plan of the old Convent to which we have above referred, there is also introduced a representation of Sister ST. LAURENT, a woman of extraordinary merit, who is described as one of the most sainted Nuns the Community ever possessed. She greatly contributed to the re-establishment of the URSULINE Convent, after this fire, not only by her intelligence and economy, but even by personal labor.

On the 21st October, 1686, on the *Fête* of St. URSULA, and during the performance of high mass, the Convent caught fire, and was a second time burned to the ground, without any conjecture as to the manner in which the accident originated. Nothing was saved from the rapidity of the flames, neither provisions, or linen, or any other clothing than that in use at the time. Once more, the URSULINES took refuge with the *Hospitalières*, who received them as kindly as before, to the number of twenty-five; and they again remained for the space of three weeks under the roof of the Hotel Dieu, receiving every possible mark of attention and commiseration from that Community. In the mean time, such was the utility of this Institution, that every one took an interest in the reparation of the disaster. The Governor and the Intendant, the Jesuits and

other Communities all contributed by every means in their power. The rebuilding of the Convent was soon commenced ; and a small house was hastily constructed, in which they passed the winter, all the necessary furniture and utensils having been generously supplied by the *Hospitalières*. It was singular, that on the very day on which the Ursulines left the Hotel Dieu, accompanied, as a mark of respect and friendship, by the Superior and one or two of the Nuns *Hospitalières*, the latter were near being reduced to the same extremity as that from which they had relieved the URSULINES. One of the *Hospitalières*, who had returned much fatigued, after passing the day in assisting the URSULINES to establish themselves in their temporary residence, fell asleep in her cell, leaving a candle burning in the socket, which soon communicated to the furniture. Fortunately, the sister whose duty it was to see that all was secure before retiring for the night, discovered the accident in time to save the life of the careless Nun, and probably the whole building from destruction.

The URSULINE Convent of QUEBEC having been found of such utility, the inhabitants of THREE-RIVERS made application to Monseigneur de St. Vallier, then Bishop, for a separate foundation of URSULINES for that Borough. This was accomplished in 1697, when the URSULINE Convent was established there, depending upon the Community of QUEBEC ; and uniting, with their own consent, the office of URSULINES with that of *Hospitalières*—at once educating the female children, and administering to the wants of the sick. A similar union of the duties of these two Communities was found convenient in Louisiana, where the URSULINES were established

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at New Orleans in 1725, and combined with their other occupations the care of the Hospital.

The Nunnery, which with its garden and outbuildings occupies seven acres of ground within its own Fief of St. Joseph, is a plain but commodious edifice of stone, two stories high, forming a square of about thirty-eight yards long, by forty feet deep. The rest of the site, with the exception of the court, is occupied by a productive garden, and surrounded by a stone wall. The Chapel and Choir of ST. URSULA is ninety-five feet long, and forty-five feet broad. Quite plain and unpretending without, its altars are highly adorned, and the whole interior is not deficient in a venerable and religious appearance. Within the grating, it is connected with the Convent; and opens to the public towards Garden Street. In the ancient plan above mentioned, the exact site of the present door is accurately laid down, as we have described it above.

Within the precincts of the Convent lie buried the remains of the gallant Marquis DE MONTCALM, who was mortally wounded in the eventful battle of the Plains of Abraham, 13th September, 1759. A year or two ago a plain marble slab was placed in the URSULINE Chapel to the memory of this brave but unfortunate soldier, by HIS EXCELLENCY the Lord AYLMER, GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF of these Provinces. The following is the simple inscription upon this slab :—

Honneur  
à  
MONTCALM !  
Le destin en lui derobant  
La Victoire,  
L'a recompensé par  
Une Mort Glorieuse !

The **URSULINE** Chapel contains several good pictures, which may be examined on application to the Chaplain. Among them is a *Mater Dolorosa* by Vandyke : a picture on a religious subject by the celebrated Le Sueur :—*The Capture of Christians by Algerine pirates*, by Restout, historical painter to the King of France, who died in 1753 :—Two pictures, *The Saviour at meat in Simon's house*, and, *A full length portrait of the Redeemer*, by Champagné, an eminent Flemish painter, who was afterwards painter to the Queen of France, and died in 1674.

The community of the **URSULINES** consists of a Superior, forty-two professed Nuns, and some novices. Their rules are rigidly exclusive, and their Convent is not open to public inspection, beyond the *Parloir* and the Chapel. It is in its interior neat, well arranged, and tastefully decorated. The Nuns are devoted to the instruction of young females in useful knowledge, and ornamental education when required ; their school has long been esteemed one of the best in the Province. The paintings executed by themselves are much admired : their embroidery and fancy work are sold at high rates. The proceeds of the skill and labor of these Nuns go to augment the common stock, and enable them to extend their usefulness without diminishing the fixed property of their Community.

#### THE SEMINARY OF QUEBEC.

This highly useful and meritorious establishment was founded and endowed by Monseigneur De Laval de Montmorency, first Bishop of Canada, in the year 1663. It was intended at first chiefly as an Ecclesiastical Institution, with a few young pupils

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who were educated here for the ministry.—At the extinction of the Jesuits' Order, the members of the QUEBEC SEMINARY, although the institution was in distressed circumstances, threw open its doors to the youth of the country generally. Professorships were established, and all the ordinary branches of literature and science began to be taught. The buildings were twice burned to the ground, during the life of its venerable founder, who had resigned his Bishopric, and retired to the Seminary; where he spent the last twenty years of his useful and pious life—he died on the 6th May, 1708. The first fire took place on the 15th November, 1701, during the absence of most of the priests. The Bishop escaped half dressed, and, with the other ecclesiastics, was received into the Bishop's Palace. Not discouraged by the destruction of this offspring of his piety and munificence, he determined that no means should be left untried to rebuild it. A strong representation was made to the Court; and a yearly pension of four thousand *livres* was granted as an aid towards its re-establishment. After four years labor had been bestowed upon it, it was again set on fire, on the 1st October, 1705, by the carelessness of a workman, whose pipe communicated to some combustible matter. On this occasion Bishop De Laval retired to the Jesuits' College. The SEMINARY was rebuilt, but was destined to be almost totally destroyed during the siege of 1759, previous to the battle of the Plains of Abraham. Its disasters were even not yet complete, for it was once more partially consumed by fire in 1772.

The authority of the Seminary resides in a Board of Directors, five or seven in number, one of whom is Superior, elected triennially. The other officers are

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the Superior's two assistants, the *Procureur*, a director of the theological department, or *Grand-Séminaire*, the two directors, or rather, the director and principal *Préfet des Etudes* of the College, and the Steward, *Assistant-Procureur*. All these, except the last, are appointed yearly by the Board of Directors. Besides the five or seven directors, there are, or may be several aggregate, or associate members of the establishment.

The members of the establishment receive no emoluments—they consecrate themselves, *gratuitously*, to one of the most arduous as well as of the most meritorious works, the education of youth. All the Institution guarantees to them is “food and raiment,” in sickness and in health—they make no special vows—hence they are at liberty to leave the Institution, when ever health or any other important cause requires it. Except the Superior, the *Procureur* and *Assistant-Procureur*, they are all commonly engaged in teaching either divinity or the sciences.

The present number of Professors is as follows: three for the theological part, or *Grand-Séminaire*; and twelve, including the *Préfet des Etudes*, or Principal for the College.—The annual number of pupils is 260, of whom 110 are boarders—the others board at home, or with some relation in town.

The branches of education taught are chiefly, French, English, Latin and Greek; Geography; Arithmetic; ancient and modern History, both sacred and profane; Latin poetry; Belles-Lettres, Rhetoric, and a very extensive course of Philosophy, which includes Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics, Algebra, Geometry, occasionally Conic Sections, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Architecture, &c.;

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to which must be added lessons in Natural History, Mineralogy, Geology, Drawing, Music, &c.

The collegial course is divided into nine classes, occupying so many years—boys who can read and write are admitted into the first or elementary class—with higher qualifications, they are allowed to enter into more advanced classes—boys of superior talents will of course complete their studies in less time.

In this Institution no payment is made for tuition—the boarders pay £17 10s. yearly, but of that sum a deduction is made for all absences of eight days or more. The day scholars pay 10s. in the fall, and a like sum in the spring, for wood, candles, &c. A small salary is paid to professors who are not members of the establishment.

The annual public exercises are very splendid and interesting—they are attended by crowds of the most respectable citizens—the Governor-in-Chief, if not absent from town, usually assists at the distribution of prizes with which the exercises close.

The commencement or vacation takes place about the 15th August. The pupils return at the expiration of six weeks.

The funds of the Seminary hardly suffice for its support. It has, however, by means of long and strict economy, and still more by large sums of money arising from the sale of property given to the Institution by several rich individuals in France, previously to the French Revolution, and partly recovered since the restoration of the Bourbons, been rebuilt upon a much larger plan, since 1820.

The Seminary buildings, including the Chapel, are divided into four wings, three stories, and in some parts four stories high. Three of these wings inclose a spacious court, where the pupils spend their

hours of recreation. The fourth wing, instead of completing the square, turns out at right angles with the central one, and faces with it a large and beautiful garden. The latter is one hundred and seventy yards long and two hundred broad, containing seven acres of ground. It faces the grand battery and overlooks the harbor. It includes several rows of planted fruit trees, lilachs, &c. ; a *bocage* of forest trees, and a terrace from which the view of the basin and of the surrounding scenery is most magnificent.

The whole length of the Seminary buildings on three of its sides is seventy yards. The fourth wing is fifty yards long. They are in width forty-two feet, except the old or central wing, which is only thirty feet wide. The interior is traversed at each story by immense corridors leading to the halls, dormitories, refectories, classes, apartments of the Priests and of the Bishop, who resides in the Seminary. In the Bishop's antichamber are suspended the portraits of his twelve predecessors.

The Chapel of the SEMINARY, the vestibule of which is at the grand entrance to the buildings from the Cathedral and market square, contains the best collection of paintings to be seen in the country, of the French school and by eminent masters. They are, *The flight of Joseph to Egypt*, by Jean Baptiste Vanloo, a French portrait painter, who died in 1746. He was the brother of Carlo Vanloo, in great esteem at Paris. Jean Baptiste Vanloo was painter to the King of France. He went to England, and became the favorite painter in London. His pictures are natural, thoroughly finished, and in no part neglected. *The wise men of the East adoring the Saviour*, by Bourieu ;—*The Saviour's sepulchre and interment*, by Hutin ;—*The Ascension of the Lord Jesus*,—*The*

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*Day of Pentecost*,—and *St. Jerome writing*, by the brothers Champagnés. These were both eminent artists, uncle and nephew, and natives of Brussels : Philip was a landscape painter and died in 1674. He was painter to the Queen of France, and member of the Academy of Painting. He designed correctly, had an agreeable tone of color, and well understood the principles of perspective. His nephew, Jean Baptiste Champagné, died in 1688. He was a good artist, and studied under his uncle. He was professor of the Royal Academy. *The trance of St. Anthony*, by Panocel d'Avignes :—*Peter's deliverance from prison*, by Charles De la Fosse, a French painter, who died in 1716. He was a disciple of Le Brun, and was sent by Louis XIV. to finish his studies at Rome. He imitated Titian and Paolo Veronese, and became an excellent colorist. He was fond of large compositions, and much employed in royal palaces and public buildings. He was invited to England by the Duke of Montague, and employed by him in ornamenting his townhouse, now the British Museum. *The Baptism of Christ*, by Claude Guy Hallé : *The terror of St. Jerome at the recollection of a vision of the day of Judgment*, by D'Hullin : *The Egyptian Hermits in the solitude of Thebais*, and another on the same subject, by Guillot : *The Virgin ministered unto by Angels*, by De Dieu : *The Saviour, and the Woman of Samaria at Jacob's well*, by Lagrenée : *A large figure of the Saviour on the Cross*, by Monet ;—and above the altar, a small oval picture, representing two Angels, by Charles Le Brun, an illustrious French painter of Scottish extraction, who died in 1690. He is reported to have drawn figures with charcoal at three years old. At twelve, he drew a

picture of his uncle, which is even now considered a fine piece.

A very beautiful apartment, adorned with modern Ionic columns, is the congregation hall, or interior Chapel of the Students. The library contains about 8000 volumes. In the Philosophical Cabinet are to be seen a very valuable collection of instruments, which is rapidly increasing: a number of antiquities, and Indian utensils,—a small mineralogical cabinet, composed at Paris under the direction of the celebrated Abbé Haiüy—some geological specimens, fossils, petrifications, &c.—numerous specimens of the precious and other ores from South America—shells, insects,—and an imitation of the Falls of Niagara.

#### THE GENERAL HOSPITAL.

It has been stated in the account of the RECOLLET Convent, that this extensive establishment,—situate on the River St. Charles, about a mile from the walls, and near the spot where JACQUES CARTIER first wintered in New France—owes its foundation to Monseigneur de Saint Vallier, second Bishop of Quebec, who bought the property of the RECOLLETS at *Notre Dame des Anges*, and procured for them a site opposite the Fort of St. Lewis, on which at present stands the English Cathedral. The Bishop expended a very large sum in those days, one hundred thousand crowns, on the buildings, which were intended for a GENERAL HOSPITAL for invalids, and as an asylum for persons permanently afflicted with disease. The HOTEL DIEU was instituted for the care of incidental maladies.

Previously to the foundation of the GENERAL HOSPITAL, there had been established at Quebec since 1688, an office for the relief of the poor, *Bureau des pauvres*, to which every colonist and community was bound to furnish an annual sum, to be expended under the management of Trustees. The revenue of this office amounted to two thousand *livres* a year, which were sufficient at that time to relieve the helpless poor, and to prevent mendicity, which was not tolerated. The country parishes in the same manner provided for the maintenance of their poor. The Bishop, having undertaken to relieve the city from the support of its helpless and infirm poor, obtained the junction of these funds with the revenue of his own foundation; and the Trustees of the *Bureau des Pauvres* were chosen also administrators of the GENERAL HOSPITAL.

The foundation was at first under the charge of the sisters of the Congregation; but afterwards, in 1692, not without great objection on their part, it was placed under the care of the *Hospitalières*, receiving from the community of the HOTEL DIEU its Superior, and in all twelve professed Nuns. In 1701, the Nuns of the GENERAL HOSPITAL were made a separate and independent community, and are so at the present day.

The following is the account given by Charlevoix of this splendid foundation:

“At the distance of half a quarter of a league you find the *Hôpital-Général*. This is the finest house in all Canada, and would be no disparagement to our largest cities in France; the Fathers Récollets formerly owned the ground on which it stands. M. De St. Vallier, Bishop of Quebec, removed them into the city, bought their settlement, and expend-

ed a hundred thousand crowns in buildings, furniture, and in foundations. The only fault of this hospital is its being built in a marsh ; they hope to be able to remedy it by draining ; but the River St. Charles makes a winding in this place, into which the waters do not easily flow, so that this inconvenience can never be effectually removed.

“ The prelate, who is the founder, has his apartments in the house, which he makes his ordinary residence ; having let his palace, which is also his own building, for the benefit of the poor. He even is not above serving as Chaplain to the Hospital, as well as to the Nuns, the functions of which office he fills with a zeal and application which would be admired in a simple priest who got his bread by it. The artisans, or others, who on account of their great age, are without the means of getting their subsistence, are received into this hospital until all the beds in it are full, and thirty Nuns are employed in serving them. These are a scion or colony from the hospital of Quebec ; but in order to distinguish them, the Bishop has given them certain peculiar regulations, and obliges them to wear a silver cross on their breast. Most part of them are young women of condition, and as they are not those of the easiest circumstances in the country, the Bishop has portioned several of them.”

The GENERAL HOSPITAL is at present a Nunnery, governed by a Superior, having forty-five professed Nuns, a few Novices and *Postulantes*. The whole appearance, both external and internal, of this Hospital is regular and pleasing ; while the general arrangement and economy are highly creditable to the institution. Its front is two hundred and twenty-eight feet long —its form nearly square. The main building is

thirty-three feet deep ; but on the south-west side, a range of one hundred and thirty feet long has fifty feet in breadth.

The Chapel is very neat, and has a gallery communicating with the Hospital, for the use of the indigent sick. A separate house is appropriated to the reception of the insane : the Province, however, requires an establishment on a larger scale for these unfortunates. At Three-Rivers there is an establishment for the insane under the charge of the Ursulines of the Convent.

The means of the GENERAL HOSPITAL, from its unrestricted character, have been found inadequate to defray the expenses of the establishment, and the deficiency is occasionally supplied by grants from the Provincial Parliament. The Nuns are distinguished for the manufacture of Church ornaments, and for their skill in gilding. The produce of the sale of these works becomes part of the general fund of the Institution.

## CHAPTER THE ELEVENTH.

RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS CONCLUDED—FRENCH  
AND ENGLISH CATHEDRALS—OTHER PLACES OF  
WORSHIP.

THE rise and prosperity of the Colony, and the improvement of QUEBEC, may be dated from the period when it became the seat of the Royal Government in New France. The Colony began immediately to reap the fruits of the change of system, which followed the resignation of the Company's charter into the hands of the KING. Measures were adopted to infuse a more liberal spirit into the Colony, to raise the quality and character of the settlers, and to give a higher tone to the society. The KING took a most judicious method to accomplish this. He resolved to confer upon the Government a degree of comparative splendor, worthy of the great nation of which it was a dependency. In 1664, he sent out to QUEBEC the most brilliant emigration that had ever sailed from France for the new world. It consisted of a Viceroy, a Governor-General, an Intendant, and other necessary officers of the Civil Government—the Regiment of Carignan, commanded by Colonel de Salières, and officered by sixty or seventy French gentlemen, most of whom were connected with the *Noblesse*. Many of these gentle-

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men settled in the Province, and having obtained concessions of the waste lands, became the *Noblesse* of the Colony, and were the ancestors of the best French families of the present day. The beneficial manner in which this infusion of superior blood, education and accomplishments must have operated, as regards the social and domestic manners of the Colonists, previously devoted to the humblest occupations of trade, may be easily imagined. Liberal tastes were encouraged—sentiments of honor and generosity pervaded the highest rank in society, the influence of which was speedily felt through every class of the inhabitants. The Marquis de TRACY, who had the Commission of Viceroy, staid little more than a year in the Province. He made a successful expedition against the Iroquois, and returning to France, carried with him the affections of all the inhabitants. He maintained a state which had never before been seen in Canada, rightly judging, that in a Colony at so great a distance from the Mother Country, the royal authority should be maintained before the public eye in all its external dignity and observances. Besides the Regiment of Carignan, he was allowed to maintain a body guard, wearing the same uniform as the *Garde Royale* of France. He always appeared on state occasions with these guards, twenty-four in number, who preceded him. Four pages immediately accompanied him, followed by six valets,—the whole surrounded by the officers of the Carignan Regiment, and of the civil departments. M. DE COURCELLES, the Governor General, and M. DE TALON, the Intendant, had each a splendid equipage. It is mentioned in an interesting French manuscript, from which we have taken much valuable information never before published, that as both these gen-

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tlemen were men of birth, education, handsome figure and accomplished manners, they gave a most favorable impression of the royal authority, then first personally represented in New France.

Although QUEBEC at this period contained little more than seventy private houses, after the establishment of the Seminary it was found necessary, viewing the march of improvement which had just commenced, to construct the CATHEDRAL Church on a scale sufficiently large for the increased population; and with a splendor corresponding with the new prospects of the Colony under the Royal Government. After about three years labor, the French Cathedral was finished on its present site, between Buade Street, the Bishop's Palace, and the Seminary, with its front towards the Jesuits' College. It was consecrated under the title of the *Immaculate Conception*, on the 18th July, 1666, with all the imposing ceremonies usually observed on similar occasions. Before this time, the Jesuits' Church had been used as the *Paroisse* of Quebec.

The FRENCH CATHEDRAL was built under the auspices of Monseigneur FRANÇOIS DE LAVAL, first Bishop of Quebec, to whom the Colony was also indebted for the creation of the Seminary.

In 1659, the great success of the Missionaries in converting the Indians to the true faith induced the JESUITS to recommend the appointment of an Ecclesiastic of superior rank, in order to confirm the nascent piety of the colony, and to repress any disorders in its spiritual government which might arise, without the care and supervision of an authorised head of the Church. At their instance, FRANÇOIS DE LAVAL, Abbé de Montigny, of the noble house of Montmorency, and at that time Archdeacon of Evreux, was

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selected as the person on whom the Episcopal dignity should first be conferred in New France. He arrived in QUEBEC, according to Charlevoix, on the 6th June, 1659, with the title of Bishop of PETRÆA, and the rank of Vicar Apostolical, accompanied by several Priests and Chaplains. He was received with every mark of joy and distinction in his new diocese, as the first Prelate of New France; and took up his residence for three months after his arrival in apartments belonging to the Nuns *Hospitalières*, at the Hotel Dieu. The first Pontifical Mass is mentioned in the Jesuits' Journal to have been performed on the 29th June: doubtless in their own Church, which then served as the *Paroisse*. QUEBEC was not, however, erected formally into a Bishops' See until 1670, owing to some difficulties which arose. It was to hold of the POPE, but to be attached to the Archbishopric of Rouen. In order to support the See, the KING conferred upon it the revenues of the Abbey of Maubec; which in the time of Monseigneur de St. Vallier, the second Bishop, were augmented by those of the Abbey of Benevent. The Bishop was entitled to the second seat in the Council, or that next to the Governor. The chapter originally was composed of the Dean, Grand Precentor, Grand Archdeacon, a Theologal, and twelve Canons. This establishment was, however, afterwards reduced, for want of sufficient revenue. The Bulls, and other necessary and expensive formalities for installing the new Bishop were still to be obtained, and they required his presence in France; so that it was not until 1674, that the King's Letters Patent were finally issued, and the See was officially constituted. This excellent prelate finding, in 1684, that his strength was not equal to the fatigues of his

Diocese, repaired to France ; and obtained the KING's permission to retire. He was succeeded by the Abbé DE ST. VALLIER, who came out in 1685, and was afterwards consecrated second Bishop. Bishop DE LAVAL, as stated above, retired to his foundation of the Seminary, where he lived respected and beloved until his death in 1708, at an advanced age. To the second Bishop of Quebec, the city was also indebted for the establishment of the General Hospital, where he himself resided, having let the Episcopal Palace for the benefit of the poor.

The FRENCH CATHEDRAL occupies the south side of the market square in the Upper Town, and immediately adjoins the Seminary. It is distinguished rather for its solidity and neatness, than for splendor or regularity of architecture. The aisles, considerably lower than the nave of the Church—and the lofty tower and spire built without, and separated from it on the south side—in the manner of the round towers which are seen near the old Churches in Ireland and in other countries,—destroy all external symmetry, yet do not detract from the religious appearance of the pile. The Cathedral within is very lofty, with massive arches of stone dividing the nave from the aisles, above which is a gallery on each side running the whole length of the interior. It is described by Colonel Bouchette, in his statistical work, as two hundred and sixteen feet in length, by one hundred and eight in breadth. It is able to contain a congregation of about four thousand persons. At the east end are the grand Altar and Choir, superbly decorated. There are also four small Chapels in the aisles, dedicated to different Saints. In a transverse gallery at the west end is the Organ, which though

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fine, is by no means so powerful in tone as that in the English Cathedral.

The Church suffered severely during the bombardment prior to the battle of the Plains, in 1759. In an old print extant, it is represented as almost in ruins, having been set on fire by shells discharged from Pointe Lévi. The consequence was, that the fine pictures and other ancient ornaments of the Cathedral were mutilated, or entirely destroyed. Those which are now seen upon the walls were placed there when the building was renovated, after the cession of the Province to Great Britain.

Within the Choir, a little to the right of the Altar, is a marble tablet with the following inscription to the memory of the late Bishop, Monseigneur PLESSIS, who is freshly remembered for his piety and virtue :

D. O. M.

Hic Jacet,

Illust: et Rev: J. O. PLESSIS,

Episcopus Quebecensis.

Ingenio perspicaci,

Singulari in rebus agendis peritiâ,

Constanti tuendæ disciplinæ studio,

Multisque dotibus aliis ornatum praeclaris

Vix parem reperias.

Eximiâ pietate, zelo, summâ prudentiâ

Ac doctrinâ, necnon eloquentiæ gravitate,  
Canadensi, per quatuor lustra, præfuit ecclesiæ.

Scientiarum studiis honorem,

Patriæ decus, religioni splendorem

Attulit.

Magna moliri, ardua vincere,

Consiliis adversa suis patienter sustinere

Ipsi præclara laus fuit.

Quem iter trans mare agredientem,

Quo bonis amplioribus affluerent oves dilectæ,

Anxia viderat,

Româ reducem post 13 menses, et votis redditum,  
 Tota civitas exultans recepit.  
 Plurimisque magnis rebus gestis, majora meditatus,  
 Vitæ laboris et gloriæ  
 Cursum confecit,  
 Anno rep. sal. MDCCCXXV. prid. Non. Decemb.  
 Aetatis suæ LXIII.

Hic ora, Lector,  
 Ubi vivens orabat.

The ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH of the CONGREGATION stands on the hill leading from the Esplanade to St. John's-Gate. It is not of ancient construction, and perfectly plain in its interior. Its spire is seen immediately above the ramparts.

The ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH of ST. ROCH'S is the place of worship frequented by the inhabitants of that populous suburb. It is also a modern edifice of very spacious dimensions, with a spire; and is situated in an open space, fronting towards the *Vacherie*, or former possessions of the Jesuits. It is well finished within, and has several paintings. In the Sacristy are portraits of Pope PIUS VII. and of Bishop PLESSIS, a great benefactor to this Church. The ground on which this Church is built was given by the Honorable JOHN MURE.

The Church of *Notre Dame des Victoires* is the only one in the Lower Town belonging to the French inhabitants. It stands in the square, or market place, plain and substantial within and without; and possesses claims to antiquity, having been built and used as a Church previously to 1690. In that year amid the joy caused by the defeat of Sir William Phipps, in his attempt to capture the Town, the *Fête* of *Notre Dame de la Victoire* was established, to be annually celebrated in this Church on the 7th Octo-

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ber—that being the day on which the first intelligence of the coming of the English was received. On that occasion, it is stated that M. DE LA COLOMBIERE, the Archdeacon, preached an eloquent discourse. After the shipwreck of the English fleet in 1711, which was considered by the inhabitants as a second victory, and little less than a miraculous interposition in their favor, this Church received the name of *Notre Dame des Victoires*, in order to commemorate both occasions at the same time. The same preacher, M. DE LA COLOMBIERE, is stated in our French manuscript to have again delivered a most eloquent sermon, “which was listened to by the auditors with transports of joy.”

This Church was also destroyed by the fire from the Pointe Lévi batteries in 1759. It is said that it contained at that time a picture representing a city in flames, with an inscription stating “that in the year 1711, when Quebec was menaced with a siege by Admiral Walker and General Hill, one of the *Religieuses* prognosticated that the Church and the Lower Town would be destroyed by the British in a conflagration before the year 1760.” We know not how far this tradition may be founded on fact; but it would seem that the inscription, in those terms, must have been placed upon the picture after the prophecy was accomplished. The story is, however, said to have been well attested, and to have made considerable impression on the minds of the people at the time. Our French manuscript mentions the joy of the people at the defeat of the attempt in 1711, but contains no allusion to the supposed prophecy.

## CATHEDRAL OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

It has been stated that the Convent, Church and Garden of the RECOLLET Fathers occupied the site in the front of the CASTLE OF ST. LEWIS, as far as the URSULINE Convent in the rear, and contained within St. Lewis, St. Anne and Garden Streets. After the burning of the Church and Convent in 1796, the buildings were razed to the foundation, on the extinction of the order, and the ground appropriated as a site for the new ENGLISH CATHEDRAL. The COURT HOUSE is also built on part of the ground. The area in the centre of the *Place d'Armes* was not always so large. Until a few years ago the foundations of the Récollet Church were to be traced upon the rocky surface, several yards in advance of the present boundary on the western side. On levelling these foundations, and the rock on which they stood, two plates were found, the inscriptions on which were given in the account of the Récollet Church. In the month of July, 1834, on sinking one of the posts which surround the area of the *Place d'Armes*, some human bones were discovered very near the surface. As, from their situation, they must have been outside the Convent, it may be fairly supposed that they were the remains of one of the Aborigines, buried there before the coming of the French.

The English Cathedral was built by the bounty of Government, upon the representations of the first Bishop of Quebec, and consecrated in 1804. It is an edifice of regular architecture and very respectable appearance, standing in a spacious area, handsomely enclosed by iron rails and gates, and planted with trees. Its exterior length is 135 feet, its breadth

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Church and occupied the site as far as and contained Garden Streets. Convent in the foundation, the ground adjacent to the CATHEDRAL. A part of the *Place d'Armes* years ago the are to be traced in advance of side. On location which theyptions on which Collet Church. ing one of the *Place d'Armes*, very near the ey must have fairly supposed the Aborigines, French. y the bounty of ns of the first 1804. It is an ery respectable ea, handsomely d planted with et, its breadth

73; the height of the spire above the ground, 152; from the floor to the centre of the arch within, 41. The communion plate of this Church is very magnificent, and persons in London went to see it while making in the hands of Rundell and Bridge. This plate, together with the altar cloth, hangings of the desk and pulpit, which are of crimson velvet and cloth of gold, and books for divine service, was a private present from King George the Third. A good peal of eight bells, of which the tenor bell is about 16 cwt., was procured some few years ago, by the subscriptions of the congregation. The Church has an excellent organ and a regular Cathedral choir, but no Dean and Chapter. It serves also as the Parish Church, until such an edifice shall be erected, with a reservation in favor of the Episcopal rights. Near the altar is an elegant font of white marble.

Two new galleries have been recently constructed in the Cathedral, thrown back on each side of the organ, for the accommodation, respectively, of the children attending the male and female National Schools—the front of each is allotted to the orphans of the Asylums, in their distinctive dresses.

#### MONUMENT TO THE LATE LORD BISHOP OF QUEBEC.

A beautiful monument, to the memory of the late Bishop of Quebec, the Right Reverend JACOB MOUNTAIN, D. D., has lately been erected in the Cathedral Church, within the rails of the communion-table, immediately over the spot where his mortal remains are deposited, occupying the lower part of the space of which the remainder is appropriated to the second table of the commandments.

The dimensions of this monument are eight feet by six, and its weight exceeds two tons. The work, which is executed by Nicholls, is of white marble, upon a marble ground, finished off in a semi-circular form at the top. The execution is very superior, the whole effect extremely striking, and the likeness of the Bishop most satisfactory,—although the friends who remember him in this country, where the nature of the climate induced him to dispense with the wig, regret that the head is not represented with his own venerable hair. The principal object is his bust in the episcopal dress, the whole head inclining forward and standing out entire, from the shoulders upward. The bust rests upon a pedestal on which the arms, surmounted by the mitre, are carved, and below, the inscription is engraved. On the other, a full length figure of Religion, clasping a bible to her breast, with the emblematical appendages of the cross and the crosier, or pastoral staff.

The monument forms a conspicuous ornament of the church, and is a suitable memorial of the excellent prelate who was the first occupier of the see, and procured the erection of the building itself. It is a circumstance, however, which ought not to be left unnoticed, that, upon his demise, a desire was expressed by his clergy, and formed the subject of very gratifying communications which passed among them, to combine in paying a tribute of this nature themselves to his memory, if not rendered unnecessary by the proceeding which might be adopted by the family. The inscription is as follows, and we are sure that it will be regarded as simple and modest :—

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 JACOB MOUNTAIN, S. T. P.  
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 Ecclesiae Anglicanae,  
 in Canadis fundator,  
 Qui obiit A. S. MDCCCXXV.  
 Ætatis suæ LXXV,  
 Episcopatus XXXIII ;  
 Præsul in divino munere obeundo,  
 Promptus, fidelis, indefessus ;  
 in memoriam  
 viri egregii,  
 et sibi carissimi,  
 hoc marmor  
 conjux et liberi  
 superstites  
 P. C.

The remains of CHARLES LENNOX, Duke of RICHMOND, LENNOX, and AUBIGNY, GOVERNOR GENERAL of these Provinces, are interred beneath the altar. He died, supporting to the last the torments of hydrophobia with undaunted constancy, on the 28th day of August, 1819. No monument has yet been erected to his memory, although no man died more universally beloved.

The following are the inscriptions upon the other monuments :—

Sacred to the Memory  
 of Lieutenant General Peter Hunter,  
 Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada and Commander-in-Chief  
 of his Majesty's forces in both the Canadas,  
 who died at Quebec, on the 21st August, 1805,  
 aged 59 years.

His life was spent in the service of his King and country.  
Of the various stations, both civil and military, which he filled,  
He discharged the duties with spotless integrity,  
unwearied zeal, and successful abilities.

This memorial to a beloved brother, whose  
mortal part rests in the adjacent place of burial,  
Is erected by John Hunter, M. D. of London.

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In memory of Thomas Dunn, Esq. of Durham, in England,  
who departed this life on the 15th April, A. D. 1818.

In the 88th year of his age.

During his long residence in this country,  
where he established himself soon after the conquest,  
He held several important situations under Government:  
He was one of the original Members of the Legislative  
and Executive Councils,

In which last capacity, during two different vacant intervals,  
He administered the Government of the Province.

His known integrity and goodness  
procured him the confidence and respect of the community ;  
And he was eminently possessed of those private qualities  
Which cause men to be beloved during life, and lamented  
in death.

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“ BLESSED ARE THE DEAD  
“ WHICH DIE IN THE LORD.”

Sacred to the Memory of  
The Honble. Carleton Thomas Monckton,  
Fifth son of Robert Arundel, fourth Viscount Galway,  
By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel Matthew, Esquire,  
of Felix Hall, Essex,  
And great nephew of the Honble. Brigadier General Monckton,  
who succeeded to the command of the British army  
Upon the death of General Wolfe, at the splendid victory

achieved on the heights of Abraham, 13th Sept., A. D. 1759.  
At the age of fifteen he entered the army and served in Spain,  
And at the Battle of Waterloo was a Lieutenant  
in the 16th Regt. of Light Dragoons.

He some years afterwards became a Captain  
in the 24th Regt. of Infantry, which he accompanied to Canada,  
and died after a short illness at Quebec, on the 10th May,

A. D. 1830,

In the 34th year of his age, beloved by his brother Officers,  
and sincerely lamented by all who knew him.

This tablet was erected by his sorrowing brothers and sisters,  
as a testimony of their fond affection to ~~one~~  
most justly dear to them,  
and in the humble hope that, through faith in Christ Jesus,  
the only Saviour, they, together with him,  
may be blessed as are those that die in the Lord.



Sacred to the Memory  
of  
Captain Thomas Impett,  
late of the 32nd Regiment,  
who died at Quebec  
on the 15th February, 1833,  
aged 40 years and 5 months.

This monument was erected by his  
Brother Officers, as a token of their esteem and regard.

The dignitaries of the Church of England are :  
The Honorable and Right Reverend Father in God,  
CHARLES JAMES STEWART, LORD BISHOP OF QUE-  
BEC, attached to the Province of CANTERBURY,  
younger brother of the Earl of GALLOWAY:—and the  
very Reverend GEORGE JEHOSEPHAT MOUNTAIN,  
D. D., Archdeacon of Quebec, son of the first  
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There are four Chapels of the Church of England within the Parish of Quebec. The principal of these is that of the HOLY TRINITY, in St. Stanislaus Street, Upper Town, which is a private chapel, built by Chief Justice Sewell in 1824, at the suggestion of the late Bishop of Quebec, to provide for the increase in the Cathedral congregation. It is a handsome building, with a front of cut stone, in length 74 feet, in breadth 48—it has an organ, and is calculated to hold 700 persons. The officiating Clergyman is the Reverend EDMUND WILLOUGHBY SEWELL.

The other three chapels, which are small and without any kind of architectural pretensions, are St. MATTHEW'S, or the FREE CHAPEL, in St. John's Suburbs, fitted up, as it now exists, in 1828, where the services and the accommodation are altogether gratuitous:—St. PAUL'S, or the MARINER'S Chapel, at the base of Cape Diamond, close to the place called *L'Anse des Mères*, built of wood, (over a school house of stone, connected with the institution,) consecrated in 1832, and served without additional salary by the evening lecturer of the Cathedral;—and St. PETER'S, or the French Protestant Chapel, now fitting up in the Suburb of St. ROCH, in the upper part of a building recently purchased for a MALE ORPHAN ASYLUM. It is called the French Protestant Chapel, because it is in part designed to provide a service for Guernsey and Jersey families resident in Quebec, some of whom are imperfectly acquainted with the English tongue. The orphans, who will be accommodated below, are at the charge of the Rector and Church Wardens of the Parish, and their maintenance is defrayed out of the collections made weekly in the Cathedral, which also provide for several

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other charitable objects. The interior economy of the Institution is confided to a Committee of ladies.

The FEMALE ORPHANS before mentioned occupy the rooms over the two school rooms, in the National School house, a building in the plain Gothic style, near St. John's-Gate, within the walls. Both the original fitting up of the rooms for the Female Orphan Asylum, and the maintenance of the inmates have been solely provided for by means of the annual BAZAAR held by the ladies composing the Committee of the National School, who also assisted, from their first Bazaar, many other charities in the place.

#### CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

It is believed that a regularly ordained Clergyman of the Church of Scotland has officiated to the Presbyterians of that persuasion in Quebec, ever since the conquest in the year 1759 ; but it is certain that an "apartment was assigned by the King's representative in the Jesuits' College, as a place of worship for the members of the Scotch Church," previous to the year 1767, and occupied as such without interruption, until the 6th October, 1807: when Colonel Isaac Brock, Commandant, (His Honor the President having declined to interfere in the matter,) requested the congregation to be prepared to remove thence "on the shortest notice," as it was found necessary to appropriate it to the accommodation of the troops.

On the 3rd November, 1807, the Governor-in-Chief commanded his Secretary to address a letter to the Clerks of the Peace, of which the following is an extract :

“The Governor-in-Chief having found it necessary to appropriate to military purposes the room in the Jesuits’ Barracks, which has hitherto been made use of by the Presbyterian congregation at Quebec, as a place of worship, I have it in command from His Excellency to desire, that, till a more permanent provision for their accommodation can be made, you will allow the said congregation to assemble on the Sundays in the lower room of the Court House, in which the Justices of the Peace hold their Sittings.”

On the 30th November, 1808, letters patent were issued by His Excellency Sir James Henry Craig, Knight of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, granting, as a place for the erection of a Church for the public worship or exercise of the religion of the Church of Scotland, a certain lot or piece of ground in St. Anne’s Street, Upper Town, unto Alexander Spark, John Blackwood, John Mure, David Munro, and John Paterson, and their successors, in trust for ever.

In the month of February, 1809, the Committee appointed by the congregation to solicit subscriptions, reported that the sum of £1547, currency, had been subscribed, and such farther subscriptions expected, that they considered themselves authorized to contract for the building of a Church on their lot, sixty feet by forty, inside the walls—which, being finished, was consecrated and set apart by the name of Saint Andrew’s Church, for the ordinances of christian worship, on the 30th November, 1810, by the late Rev. Dr. Spark.

Dr. Spark died suddenly on the 7th March, 1819. The Rev. Dr. Harkness, the present incumbent, was ordained as his successor by the Presbytery of Ayr in Scotland, on the 7th March, 1820, and

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preached for the first time to the congregation on the 4th June following.

In the year 1821, the Church being found far from adequate to the accommodation of its members, a Petition was presented by the Trustees to His Excellency the Earl of Dalhousie, for an additional space of ground to enable them to enlarge it—with which His Excellency was graciously pleased to comply, and also to grant an aid of £300 currency, out of the monies arising from the Jesuits' Estates, besides generously subscribing £50 currency, towards carrying the same into effect.

The enlargement was completed in May, 1824, and with the exception of the above mentioned sums, cost the congregation by voluntary subscription nearly £2300 currency. The Church, as it now stands, is 95 feet by 43 inside the walls, and can accommodate 1300 sitters. The number of communicants exceeds 300 : upwards of 260 individuals received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the Church, on the 2d day of March last.

The Trustees are incorporated by an Act of the Provincial Parliament, which was assented to by His Majesty in Council, on the 31st January, 1831, and the royal assent thereto was signified by the proclamation of His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief, on the 29th April, 1831.

A school, in connection with the Church, was erected by the Trustees in the year 1831, who received in aid of the building, the liberal sum of £400 currency, from the Provincial Legislature. The school is under the management and direction of six members of the Church, chosen annually by ballot at a general meeting of the congregation, held on the first Sunday in the month of May, in the Church

immediately after divine service in the forenoon, when a report of the proceedings of the Committee for the previous twelve months is furnished by the Secretary. The number of scholars now in attendance is 112. The present teachers are Mr. Seaton, and his assistant, Mr. Laurie.

There is also a Sunday School in connexion with the Church, which meets every Sunday at half-past 9 o'clock, and is numerously attended.

The late Dr. Spark had an allowance from Government of £50 sterling per annum, which has been continued to his successor. This is the only provision as yet made by Government for the Clergy of the Church of Scotland in Lower Canada, with the exception of a similar sum allowed annually to the Senior Clergyman of Saint Gabriel's Church, Montreal, although the Presbytery of Quebec consists, at present, of twelve regularly ordained Clergymen of the Church of Scotland.

In 1830, the congregation of Saint John's Church, (previously an independent or congregational Chapel,) professing themselves to be willing to conform to the doctrine, discipline and laws of the Church of Scotland, made application to the Glasgow Colonial Society for Missionary purposes, to send them out a regularly ordained Clergyman to be their Pastor, and in consequence, the Rev. Mr. Clugston was ordained to that Church by the Presbytery of Forfar in Scotland. The present number of communicants is from 120 to 130,

#### ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.

This building stands in St. Francis Street, and is without ornament. It was erected in the year 1816,

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and up to the year 1830, it had been occupied as a place of worship by Congregationalists. It is now, and has been since the date last specified, a place of worship in connexion with the Church of Scotland, and is named St. John's Church. The Minister and Trustees of St. John's Church were incorporated by Act of Parliament in the year 1831.

#### ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH.

The Irish Catholics of Quebec, finding by the rapid increase of their number, that they could no longer conveniently assemble for public worship in the small Church of the Lower Town, came to the spirited determination of building a Church on an extensive scale, which would afford accommodation to all the Catholics of the City and Suburbs, using the English language. To effect this, they called a general meeting of all the members of their body, and immediately opened a subscription, which to the everlasting honor of their fellow citizens of every denomination, met with the strongest marks of public approbation, evinced by the gratifying circumstance, that many of the most generous subscribers to the undertaking were Protestants.

In the fall of 1831, a spacious lot of ground in rear of Palace Street was purchased for the sum of £2,300; and in the month of June following, the corner-stone of ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH was laid with the usual ceremony. This circumstance took place just at the ever memorable time when that dreadful scourge, the Cholera Morbus, first burst upon the inhabitants of Quebec. The spirit and zeal of the Congregation on this trying occasion are beyond all

praise, for their persevering magnanimity in prosecuting the undertaking through all the unforeseen difficulties which arose out of the panic created in the public mind by that desolating pestilence—so that in the short space of twelve months the building was ready for dedication, which ceremony took place on the first Sunday in July, 1833, amid the hearty rejoicings and thanksgivings of a generous people.

ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH is a fine substantial stone building, covering an area of 136 feet by 62. It fronts St. Helen Street, and is entered by three well moulded doors, the largest of which is in the tower, the other two in the side aisles, besides the two entrances to the east and west. It is lighted on each side by a double tier of windows well made and in admirable proportion. The roof and galleries are supported by massive pillars with bases and capitals. The ceiling is to be 48 feet high, richly embossed and ornamented with scriptural emblems. The steeple is handsome and well proportioned, and stands 120 feet from the ground to the ball which supports the cross. There are very extensive and magnificent galleries round the inside, terminating over the Sanctuary, furnished with a triple range of elegant pews, which, with those of the ground flat, are calculated to accommodate an immense congregation.

The interior of this Church when finished, comprising pillars, columns, arches, ceilings, the grand variegated altar, tabernacle and canopy, the adorned Sanctuary, the flank and end windows, organ, &c. with all their varied tracery, will present a *coup d'œil*, to strike the beholder with religious awe and admiration.

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There is attached to this Church, under the patronage of the Pastor, the Rev. Mr. McMAHON, a Christian Doctrine Society, whose duty it is to instruct the youth of the congregation in the principles and duties of their religion. The members of this Society have founded a circulating library, consisting of religious and moral works, for the benefit of the congregation, a circumstance highly creditable to the zeal and public spirit of the Irish Catholics of Quebec.

## WESLEYAN CHAPEL.

The Wesleyan Methodists have a Chapel situated in St. Anne Street in the Upper Town. This building was erected in 1816, and is, both in the exterior and interior, extremely plain. The congregation is generally as large as can be comfortably accommodated; and it has been in contemplation to remove the present, and erect a larger edifice in the same place.

They have also a smaller Chapel in Champlain Street in the Lower Town. This was built in 1830, and was intended to afford the means of grace to such of the sailors who visit this port during the summer, as were disposed to attend divine worship.

There are two Sabbath Schools connected with these Chapels; and the number of children attending each, with the attention they give to the instruction with which they are furnished, afford much encouragement to those by whom they are conducted.

## CHAPTER THE TWELFTH.

THE INTENDANT'S PALACE—THE BISHOP'S PALACE  
—THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE—OTHER REMARKABLE  
BUILDINGS.

NEXT to that of the GOVERNOR GENERAL, the office of INTENDANT was of the greatest importance and celebrity in QUEBEC. It was established by the Proclamation of the KING OF FRANCE, in 1663, erecting the Sovereign Council for the affairs of the Colony; which consisted of the Governor General, the Bishop, the Intendant, four Councillors, to be named by the preceding, with an Attorney General and chief Clerk. The number of Councillors was afterwards increased to twelve.

The authority of the INTENDANT was, indeed, little inferior to that of the GOVERNOR, except in being judicial, not executive. He had the superintendance of four departments; namely, of Justice, Police, Finance and Marine. The INTENDANT was declared to be President of the Sovereign Council, leaving, however, the first place to the GOVERNOR, and the second to the BISHOP. This caused great displeasure to the GOVERNOR, on whose continued representations it was afterwards ordered, in 1680, that the GOVERNOR and INTENDANT should assume no other quality in the Council than that of their re-

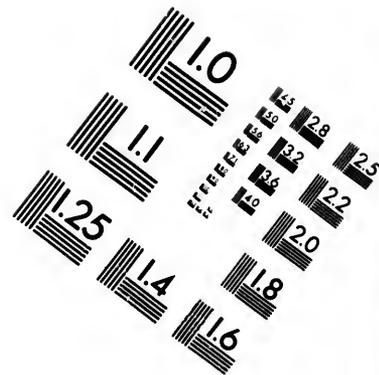
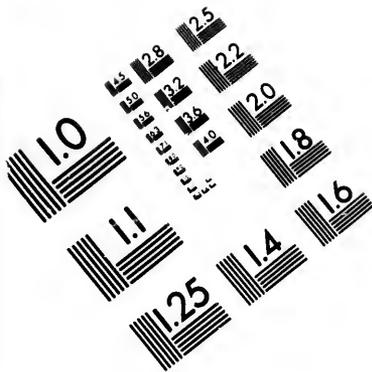
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spective offices. LA POTHERIE, who visited QUEBEC in 1698, says, that the GOVERNOR was then merely an honorary Councillor. He sat at the upper end of a round table, meaning most probably at the part farthest removed from the door. The BISHOP sat on his right, also an honorary Councillor, and the INTENDANT on the left. The latter performed the office of President, although he had not the title. The Councillors themselves were seated according to seniority, and all wore their swords. The INTENDANT collected the votes, beginning with the junior Councillor, and finishing with the GOVERNOR GENERAL. He then gave his own opinion, and pronounced the judgment of the Council. In LE BEAU'S time, who visited QUEBEC in 1729, the arrangement of the seats was somewhat different. The Councillors were then twelve in number, nearly all merchants of the Lower Town. "The INTENDANT," he says, "claimed the right of presiding in the Council; but the GOVERNOR GENERAL took his seat in the Hall of Justice, in such a situation as to be opposite the INTENDANT, with the Councillors, or Judges, arranged on either side: so that they both seemed to preside in an equal degree." The INTENDANT named originally by the KING was M. ROBERT, whose commission was dated 21st March, 1663. This gentleman, however, never arrived in QUEBEC; and the first INTENDANT was M. DE TALON, who arrived in 1635, with the Marquis DETRACY, and the Carignan Regiment. Of this gentleman the most honorable mention is made in the annals of the country. The following anecdote has been handed down, of his first arrival in QUEBEC. Previous to his leaving France, the Superior of the Hotel Dieu had written to him, recommending that Community to his protection.

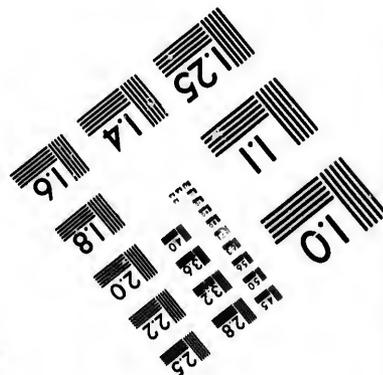
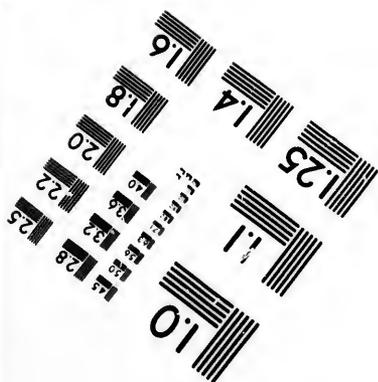
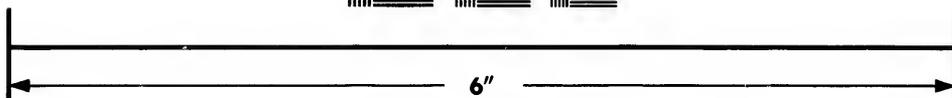
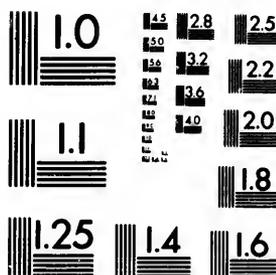
On the next day after his arrival, with the true gallantry of a French gentleman, he determined to assure her in person of his good wishes, but first put in practice a little *ruse*, which, as the story runs, redounded, in the *denouement*, both to his own and to the credit of the Superior. Coming to the Nunnery, without equipage and plainly dressed, he requested to speak with the Superior, without giving any name. The Superior approached, accompanied by a Nun, the Mother *Marie de la Nativité*,—when assuming the character of his own gentleman or *valet*, he assured them in the most polite and well conceived terms of the respect and interest which M. DE TALON had always felt towards their Community, and promised on his part that nothing should be wanting to promote their welfare. As he spoke admirably, with great confidence and earnestness of manner, the other Nun, who was a person of sagacity, making a sign to the Superior, replied, that she was not deceived in believing him to be of higher rank than that which he chose to assume. On M. DE TALON'S requesting to be informed, what there was about him to induce her to entertain such an opinion, the clever Nun made answer, that there was that in his language and appearance which convinced her that she had the honor of speaking to the INTENDANT himself. On this he acknowledged his attempt at dissimulation, and his great satisfaction at receiving so elegant and so obliging a compliment. It may be imagined that the result of this interview was a lasting friendship between the Intendant and the Community. He was mainly instrumental some years afterwards, in rebuilding the Hotel Dieu on a more extended scale, as described in our account of that

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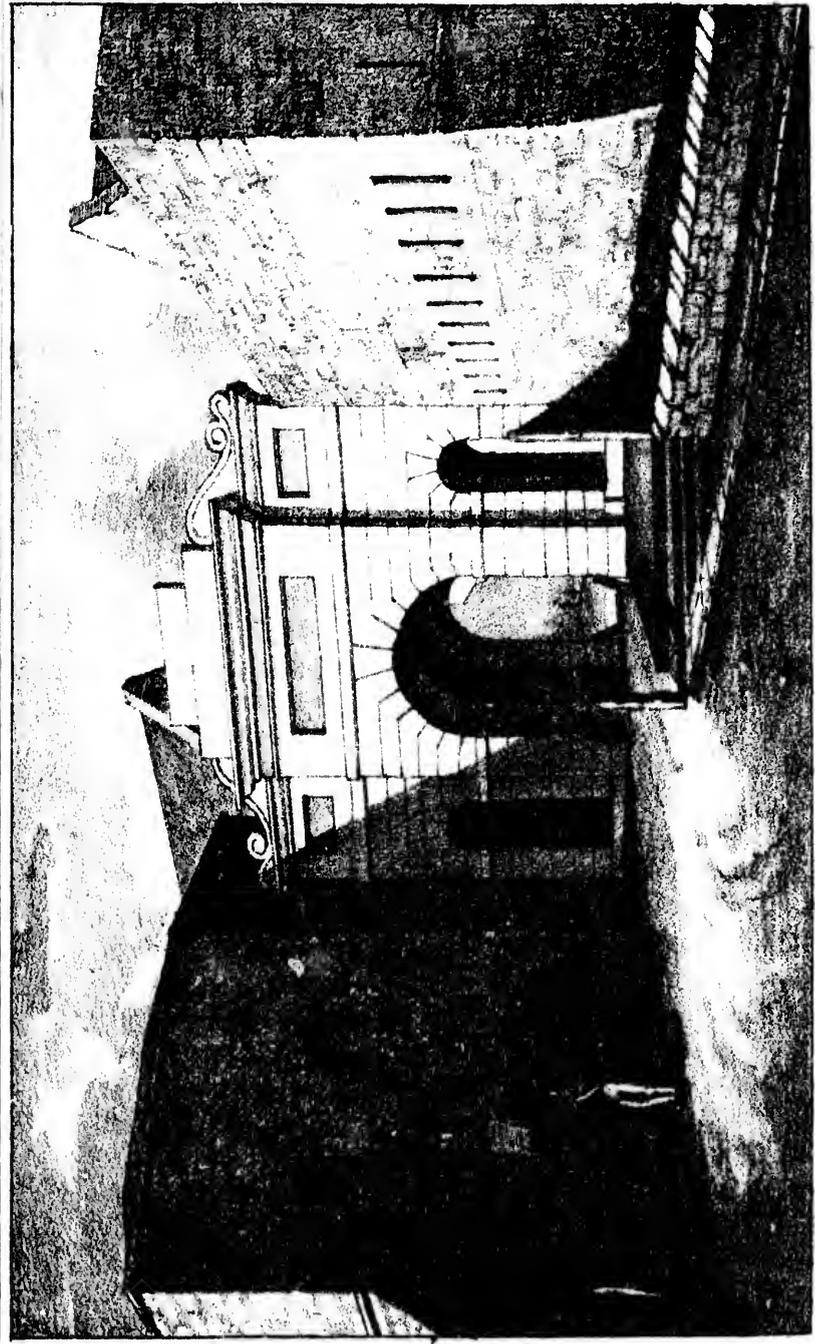
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*An American Palace at Quebec*

*View of the Palace from the City of Quebec*

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establishment ; and was besides distinguished for his liberality on many other occasions.

#### THE INTENDANT'S PALACE.

Immediately through PALACE-GATE, turning towards the left, and in front of the Ordnance buildings and storehouses, once stood an edifice of great extent, surrounded by a spacious garden looking towards the River St. Charles, and as to its interior decorations, far more splendid than even the Castle of St. Lewis. It was the Palace of the Intendant, so called, because the sittings of the Sovereign Council were held there, after the establishment of the Royal Government in New France. A small district adjoining is still called, *Le Palais*, by the old inhabitants, and the name of the Gate, and of the well proportioned street which leads to it, are derived from the same origin.

The Intendant's Palace was described by La Potherie, in 1698, as consisting of eighty *toises*, or four hundred and eighty feet, of buildings, so that it appeared a little town in itself. The King's stores were kept there. Its situation does not at the present time appear advantageous, but the aspect of the River St. Charles was widely different in those days. The property in the neighborhood belonged to the Government, or to the Jesuits—large meadows and flowery parterres adorned the banks of the river, and reached the base of the rock ; and as late as the time of CHARLEVOIX, in 1720, that quarter of the city is spoken of as being the most beautiful. The entrance was into a court, through a large gateway, the ruins of which, in St. Vallier Street, still remain. The buildings formed nearly a square—in front of



The Historical Picture of Quebec

See also the picture of the Palace of the Intendant, in the same work.

the river were spacious gardens, and on the sides the King's store houses. Beyond the Palace, towards the west, were the pleasing grounds of the Jesuits, and of the General Hospital.

This building, like most of the public establishments of QUEBEC, went through the ordeal of fire, and was afterwards rebuilt with greater attention to comfort and embellishment. In September, 1712, M. BEGON arrived as Intendant, with a splendid equipage, rich furniture, plate and apparel befitting his rank. He was accompanied by his wife, a young lady lately married, whose valuable jewels were the general admiration. A fire, which it was found impossible to extinguish, broke out in the night of the 5th January, 1713; and burned so rapidly, that the Intendant and his lady with difficulty escaped in their *robes de chambre*. The latter was obliged to break the panes of glass in her apartment, before she had power to breathe, so as to attempt her escape through the smoke with which the passages were filled. Two young French women, who attended Madame BEGON, perished in the flames—the Intendant's valet anxious to save some of his master's clothes, ventured imprudently within the burning chambers, and was consumed by the flames—his secretary, desirous of rescuing some valuables, passed several times through the gardens towards the river in front of the house, without shoes, and was frozen. He died in the Hotel Dieu, a few days afterwards. The loss of the Intendant was stated at forty thousand crowns: his lady lost her jewels and rich dresses. Such, however, were the resources of M. BEGON, that he is said to have lived with as much state in the Bishop's Palace, where he established himself, as he had maintained before the fire. On this occasion, the papers and

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records of the Treasury were lost, as well as the registers of the Council, and other valuable documents belonging to the KING OF FRANCE. The PALACE was afterwards rebuilt in a splendid style by M. BECON at the KING's expense. The following is its description, given by CHARLEVOIX, in 1720, a few years afterwards; "The Intendant's house is called the Palace, because the Superior Council assembles in it. This is a large pavilion, the two extremities of which project some feet; and to which you ascend by a double flight of stairs. The garden front which faces the little river, which is very nearly on a level with it, is much more agreeable than that by which you enter. The King's magazines face the court on the right side, and behind that is the prison. The gate by which you enter is hid by the mountain on which the Upper Town stands, and which on this side affords no prospect, except that of a steep rock, extremely disagreeable to the sight. It was still worse before the fire, which reduced some years ago this whole Palace to ashes; it having at that time no outer court, and the buildings then facing the street which was very narrow. As you go along this street, or to speak more properly, this road, you come first of all into the country."

The Intendant's Palace was neglected as a place of official residence after the conquest in 1759. In 1775, it was occupied by a detachment of the American invading army, and destroyed by the fire of the Garrison. The only remains at present are a private house, the gateway alluded to above, and several stores belonging to Government, formed by repairing some of the old French buildings. The whole is now known by the name of the *King's wood-yard*.

## THE BISHOP'S PALACE.

This is one of the ancient buildings of QUEBEC, having been erected soon after the establishment of the See; and possesses a degree of historical interest, standing on, probably, the first cleared land in this part of the continent. Nothing could be more beautiful than the site chosen. It is at the south-eastern extremity of the grand battery, between it and the descent into the Lower Town by Mountain Street. It is believed that here was the first clearance made by CHAMPLAIN, who commenced his labors at the end of St. George Street, near the stone store of the Ordnance department, and continued them as far as the Récollet Convent and the *Place d'Armes*. He built his first Fort nearly on the site of the BISHOP'S PALACE. It was afterwards, as has been mentioned in another place, removed to a more commanding position, that of the CASTLE OF ST. LEWIS.

The BISHOP'S PALACE commands an extensive prospect towards the north, with a delightful view of the basin, and of Pointe Lévi. The garden was formerly inclosed, reaching to the brow of the precipice called the *Sault-au-Matelot*. It was divided from that of the Seminary by a wall, as at present; and another wall ran along the ascent from the Lower Town. A gateway, which was nearly opposite the rear of Mr. CLOUET'S house, gave admittance to the *Evêché*, or the official residence of the BISHOP, to which it has been customary to apply the title of PALACE.

It was originally intended that the BISHOP'S PALACE should make in figure an oblong square, the

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fourth side bounded by a wall fronting the ascent from Mountain Street. The Chapel, left centre, and one wing towards the south-west were, however, the only buildings that were finished. With the exception of the Chapel, which was lately pulled down to make way for the loftier *façade* of the new House of Assembly, these buildings remain as they were originally finished. They are of cut stone ; and although the PALACE was little more than half executed on the original plan, it must have been, even so, an elegant, spacious and not unworthy residence for the BISHOPS OF NEW FRANCE. The first Prelates, however, do not appear to have made much use of this habitation. Bishop DE LAVAL retired to the Seminary, and Bishop DE ST. VALLIER to the General Hospital. In 1713, it was occupied by the Intendant, M. BEGON, after the destruction of his house by fire.

LA POTHERIE, after giving an accurate description of the PALACE as it appeared then, says : " There are few Episcopal Palaces in France which would equal this in beauty, if it were finished. All the *Curés* from the country Parishes, who have business in the city, are here accommodated with lodgings, and generally dine with the Bishop, who is almost constantly in the Refectory." CHARLEVOIX mentions : " In the Episcopal Palace there is nothing finished but the Chapel, and one half of the building projected by the plan, according to which it is to be an oblong square. If ever completed, it will be a magnificent edifice. The garden extends to the brow of the rock, and commands the prospect of all the road."

When its present CONSTITUTION was given to this Province, the BISHOP'S PALACE was chosen as the place for the sittings of the LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL and ASSEMBLY. The BISHOP received in lieu of it

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an annuity from the Imperial Government. The CHAPEL of the PALACE was fitted up as a Chamber for the Provincial ASSEMBLY. It was sixty-five feet long by thirty-six wide, and in this building the Sessions continued to be held, until it was removed to make way for the new edifice.

The LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL Chamber is at present in that part of the BISHOP'S PALACE which immediately adjoins the new building; commanding from the windows in the rear one of the most beautiful views imaginable. The Chamber is fitted up in an appropriate manner. At the upper end is the THRONE, from which HIS EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF addresses the two other branches of the LEGISLATURE, at the opening and close of the Session. It is of crimson and gold, surmounted by the Imperial Arms. On the right, is a full length picture of HIS MAJESTY GEORGE III., after Sir Joshua Reynolds:—on the left, one of HIS LATE MAJESTY GEORGE IV., after Sir Thomas Lawrence. This building, together with the south-western wing, contains the Library, Speaker's Room, Committee Rooms, and Offices, belonging to the LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. In the vaulted rooms below, which are spacious and airy, receiving light from the east, are the offices of the SECRETARY of the PROVINCE. These formed once the Refectory of the BISHOP'S PALACE, where the Prelate showed daily hospitality to the *Curés*, who came to visit him from the country parishes.

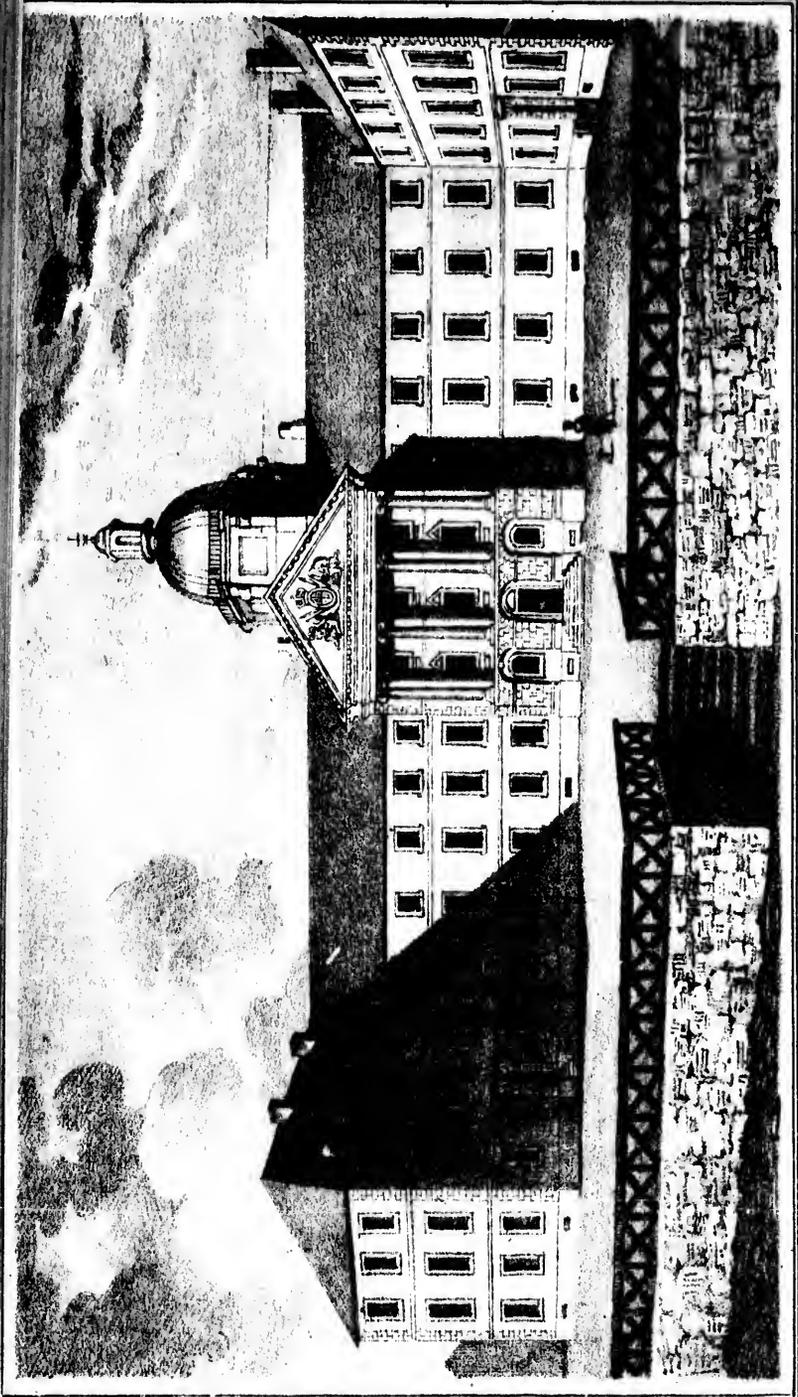
The reader is referred to the Plate representing PRESCOTT-GATE. On the right he will find a south view of the BISHOP'S PALACE, which has remained in the same state, with the exception of the loop-holed wall in front, since its first erection.

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*See View of opposite page as Original by A. J. Howard.*

*For Howkins' Pictures of Quebec.*

# PARLIAMENT HOUSE, QUEBEC.

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THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE.

The Plate on the opposite side represents the PARLIAMENT HOUSE, as finished, on the site of the BISHOP'S PALACE. The centre and north-western wing are only completed, so that the whole building, including the old part, now for the first time has assumed the figure intended at the original foundation. The union of the old and the new parts of this building, while it speaks by contrast the great advance of the Province in resources and population, forms an interesting link between its ancient and modern history. The venerable Palace of the BISHOPS, neglected without, but useful and commodious within, rears its modest front by the side of the massive *façade* of its less unpretending, but more durable successor; affording a moral lesson of the rise and decay of buildings, of empires, of man himself, and of the mutability of all sublunary affairs.

It has been stated that the sittings of the PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY were held in the BISHOP'S Chapel until 1834. It will be remembered, that the HOUSE OF COMMONS in ENGLAND holds its sittings in what was once the small Chapel of ST. STEPHEN, WESTMINSTER. The BISHOP'S Chapel stood upon the site of the central part of the new PARLIAMENT House, the *façade* of which is imposing from its strength and loftiness, and from the dome and spire with which it is crowned. Four massive cut pillars support a pediment, within which will be contained the "Imperial Arms of Great Britain," as represented in our Plate, taken from the original design with which we were favored. Within the *façade* is the new House of Assembly, a spacious Cham-



PARLIAMENT HOUSE, QUEBEC.

for Honble. Peers of Quebec.

as drawn by J. J. Talbot, from an Original by A. J. T. Talbot.

ber, seventy-nine feet long by forty-six broad, and twenty-eight feet high from floor to ceiling. The interior is not yet finished, but it will, no doubt, be worthy of the building and of the Province. From the dome there is a splendid view of the picturesque scenery around, which is gained by ascending a staircase until the spectator reaches a small gallery on the outside, and encircling the dome, at the base of the lantern. The whole building is solid and substantial, being of cut stone. The remaining apartments are all for the use of the ASSEMBLY. The Wardrobe and Library are large and in due proportion: the passages and staircases wide and well ventilated. Every care has, in truth, been taken to meet the convenience of the Members, and to expedite the business of the Province. The centre of the NEW PARLIAMENT HOUSE was designed by Mr. Berlinguet, the wings by Mr. Baillargé. The whole was built by Mr. Fortier, Master Mason; and the sums voted by the Legislature to defray the expense amount to £16,000.

It is to be hoped that no long time will elapse, ere the liberality of the Legislature shall have provided for the completion of the NEW PARLIAMENT HOUSE, as represented in the engraving. But in order that the building should be seen to advantage, it is highly necessary that the row of houses, which would seem to have intruded themselves between Freemasons' Hall and the Seminary, should be removed by an Act of the Legislature, on a fair compensation. When these improvements are made, the PARLIAMENT HOUSE will appear one of the finest buildings in NORTH AMERICA.

## THE COURT HOUSE.

It has been stated that the COURT HOUSE occupies part of the site once belonging to the Récollet Fathers, and forming the western side of the ancient *Place d'Armes*, immediately opposite to the Fort. The Court House stands at the angle of St. Lewis Street and the *Place d'Armes*, to the south of the English Cathedral. Its front is on the north side of St. Lewis Street, looking towards the Commissariat Office across an open space, in which is a broad walk of stone flags. The edifice is built of grey stone, plain and substantial, standing within an area inclosed by an iron railing, and is one hundred and thirty-six feet long, by forty-four feet broad. The roof, like that of most of the public buildings, is covered with tin. The approach from St. Lewis Street is by a double flight of stone steps, leading to an arcade, or vestibule; from which are passages leading to the rooms below, and wide staircases to the Courts above. Immediately in front of the lower story, and facing the arcade, is the chamber in which the COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS is held. On the right are the Police Office, the Justices' Room, and Grand Jury Room. On the left, the Offices of the Prothonotary of the Court of King's Bench. On the upper floor is the COURT OF KING'S BENCH, fitted up in an appropriate manner, with a gallery for spectators. Immediately behind the Bench, as in the Quarter Sessions' Room, are the IMPERIAL ARMS. To the left of the COURT OF KING'S BENCH are the Judges' Chambers, and the COURT OF APPEALS; and on the right, the Vice-Admiralty Office, the Sheriff's Office, and the Advocate's Wardrobe. The COURT OF VICE-AD-

MIRALTY is generally held in the Quarter Sessions' Room. In the basement are kept the records of the Courts.

Previous to the erection of the COURT HOUSE, the Judges sat in the Jesuits' College. The Commissioners appointed for the work, were the Honorable JONATHAN SEWELL, now Chief Justice of the Province, JOHN MERVIN NOOTH and AMABLE BERTHELOT DARTIGNY, Esquires. The COURT HOUSE was finished in 1804, at an expense to the Province of £30,000. Though entirely void of ornament, it is, generally speaking, convenient, although the great encrease of the legal business of the Province seems to require greater accommodation as to space.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OFFICES.

These Offices, several of which were formerly held in the lower apartments of the Bishop's Palace, and others in different parts of the Upper Town, are now for the most part united in a large building, which stands on the north side of the *Place d'Armes*, and adds considerably to its general appearance. It is a well proportioned and strongly built stone house, three stories high, eighty-six feet in length, and forty-four in breadth. It was built in 1803, by a joint-stock company, incorporated by an Act of the Provincial Parliament; and was originally designed for a grand hotel for the reception of strangers visiting Quebec, under the title of the UNION HOTEL. This spirited undertaking did not, however, answer the expectations of the projectors; and the property was subsequently offered at public

sale, and purchased by His Honor the CHIEF JUSTICE, who raised an additional story. It is rented from this gentleman by the Province, it having been found most convenient to concentrate the offices of Government as much as possible under one roof. The following offices are at present kept in this building :—The offices of the Civil Secretary of HIS EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF, and of the Assistant Secretary :—Of the Executive Council, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, the Inspector General of Public Accounts, the Surveyor General, the Royal Institution, the Adjutant General of Militia, and the Hydrographical Office, under the superintendence of Captain BAYFIELD, R. N.

On the first floor, in front of the principal story, are the rooms occupied, with permission of the Government, by the LITERARY and HISTORICAL SOCIETY of QUEBEC, founded, in 1824, by the Earl of DALHOUSIE, Governor-in-Chief, and incorporated in 1830. In the large room are their extensive collections of mineralogical and other specimens, admirably arranged and scientifically classed. In the smaller one are held the meetings of the Society ; and here, during the winter, are delivered their lectures on classical and scientific subjects.

#### THE JAIL.

It has been mentioned that under the early French Government the public Prison was situated in rear of the old PALACE of the INTENDANT. Fifty years ago, the vacant apartments of the RECOLLET CONVENT were used as a place of temporary restraint for

prisoners, who had fallen under suspicion of treasonable practices ; but latterly, the common Jail was kept in part of the range of buildings which now adjoin the Artillery Barracks, at the east end.

The present JAIL was erected during the administration of Sir JAMES CRAIG, and was first occupied in 1814. The cost, to the amount of £15000, was defrayed by a vote of the Legislature. It is one hundred and sixty feet in length, by sixty-eight feet in breadth. Behind it, in a separate building, is the HOUSE OF CORRECTION for females ; and between the two is the court yard of the male prison, in part of which the inmates are allowed to take exercise under certain regulations.

The situation of the JAIL is advantageous as to elevation and airiness, being at the top of St. Stanislaus Street, in a line towards the north with the Scottish Church. There are, however, strong objections to its position in the heart of a populous city. Its interior is under the best regulations, and is remarkable for cleanliness and general salubrity. For some years past an useful society of gentlemen, among whom are numbered the heads of the Clergy, have met, by permission of the Sheriff, in the Chapel of the Jail, once a week, where any prisoner may state any peculiar hardship that may attach to his case. It is called the "QUEBEC JAIL ASSOCIATION," and its objects are to promote education, industry, and moral improvement among the prisoners. It is supported by donations and annual subscriptions.

#### FREEMASONS' 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 of its origin has been handed down to the present day:—

Mr. PHILIBERT, who resided in this house, was a Merchant of high distinction during the time when M. BEGON, 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 M. PHILIBERT, over whom superior interest and power gave M. BEGON every advantage. Unable to obtain redress for his injuries, real or supposed, M. PHILIBERT bitterly, although covertly, expressed his sentiments under the image of the *Chien d'Or*, to which he added the following inscription in old French:

JE SVIS VN CHIEN QVI RONGE L'OS.  
 EN LE RONGEANT JE PREND MON REPOS.  
 VN TEMS VIENDRA QVI NEST PAS VENV  
 QVE JE MORDRAY QVI MAVRA MORDV.

M. BEGON 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 bro-

ther of M. PHILIBERT came to Quebec to settle the estate, with a full determination of taking personal vengeance on the assassin. So determined was he to execute this 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 bloodshed and retribution.

#### MONTCALM HOUSE.

A little to the west of HOPE-GATE, within the Fortifications, and immediately adjoining the termination of the garden wall of the Hotel Dieu, looking towards the north-east, stands the building once inhabited by the brave Marquis DE MONTCALM. It is now divided into three private residences. The entrance appears originally to have been through a court yard in the rear; and as the walls of the building next to the fortifications are very thick, and the foundations massive, it is very probable that it was once intended for defence on the side looking to the basin.

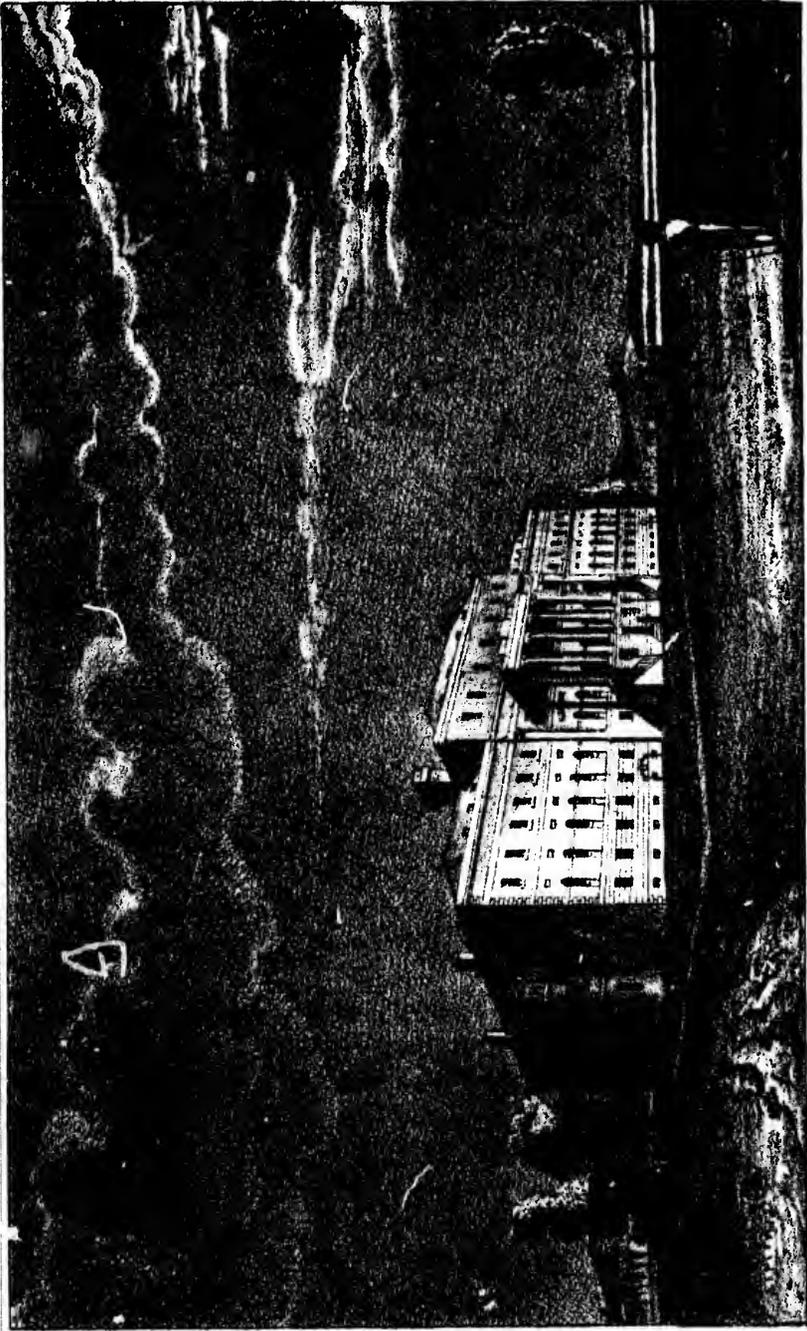
It is at present no otherwise remarkable than as having been the residence of the French General, whose fame the battle of the Plains of Abraham has perpetuated in the same scroll with that of his successful and lamented antagonist.

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*An Ambitious Picture of Quebec*

**MARINE HOSPITAL, QUEBEC.**

*View from Hospital, Quebec, by A. J. Fawcett.*

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## THE MARINE HOSPITAL.

This building, of which, as it will appear when finished, a view is given on the other side, is situated not far from the General Hospital, on the bank of the Little River St. Charles; and nearly opposite to the spot where JACQUES CARTIER first wintered in 1535.

In 1831, it was resolved to erect an Hospital, out of the city, for the reception of sailors and persons coming by sea who might be afflicted with disease. Mr. H. M. Blaiklock, Architect and Civil Engineer, was appointed to prepare plans and estimates under the Commissioners, Messrs. Clouet, Cannon and Dr. Morrin, which plans were approved by the GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF. The estimated cost was £23,000, and the expenditure up to the present time has been £15,000, defrayed by different votes of the Legislature.

The MARINE HOSPITAL, when completed, will contain upon the ground or first story, Catholic and Protestant Chapels, with apartments for the officiating Ministers:—Housekeeper's and Steward's apartments and store-rooms:—Nurses' apartments:—two large kitchens:—Wards for sixty patients, with Baths and all necessary conveniences. The principal story will contain a large entrance hall, approached by a double flight of stone steps on the exterior:—a Museum, forty-five feet in length:—apartments for the Medical Officers:—examining rooms:—operating theatres, and accommodations for sixty eight patients. The third story will have apartments for the chief Nurses, and wards for one hundred and forty patients. The upper story is

*See Hawkins' Picture of Quebec.*

MARINE HOSPITAL, QUEBEC.

*See also by Sympson from an Original by A. J. Rowland.*

also planned as a *Lying-in Hospital*, only, for thirty-four patients, and the attics will contain sixty, making a total of accommodation for three hundred and sixty-two persons. Each story is fitted up with hot, cold and vapor baths; and each ward has from one to three ventilating flues to convey the foul air to the roof of the building by machinery. The water used is drawn from the River St. Charles, filtered, and conveyed to the top of the Hospital. In the basement story are extensive cellars, kitchens, laundry, and other domestic conveniences.

The exterior of the MARINE HOSPITAL is of the IONIC order; and the proportions are taken from the Temple of the MUSES on the ILISSUS near ATHENS. With the wings it measures two hundred and six feet from east to west. The wings are one hundred feet in depth; and the whole premises contain an area of about six acres, to be laid out in gardens and promenade grounds for the convalescents.

The ceremony of laying the first or centre stone took place amid a large concourse of respectable citizens on the anniversary of the King's birth day, 28th May, 1832. It was laid by HIS EXCELLENCY the Lord AYLMER, GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF, and a plate, commemorating the occasion, with the date, and name of the Architect, Mr. BLAIKLOCK, and of the Commissioners, was deposited with the usual forms.

The centre and west wing are completed, and the building was opened as an Hospital in July, 1834.

#### CHASSEUR'S MUSEUM.

In St. Helen's Street, in the Upper Town, a few yards from ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH, is the residence of Mr. CHASSEUR, formerly Carver and Gilder in

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this city ; who with a love of science that cannot be too much applauded, commenced, in 1824, to employ his leisure in making a collection of the indigenous animals of CANADA, chiefly, however, limited to birds and quadrupeds. His collection of birds amounts to about five hundred, among which several very curious ornithological specimens will be found. His exertions have so far met with the approbation of the Legislature, that a few years ago a pecuniary aid was voted to this enterprising zoologist, who has certainly made the best collection of natural curiosities extant in the Province. He intends to complete the MUSEUM with an enlarged collection of all our native animals ; and is daily making progress in his laudable undertaking.

In this MUSEUM is to be seen the brass cannon, known as the *Canon de bronze*, which was found a few years ago in the River St. Lawrence, nearly opposite the Parish of Champlain. It is to be lamented that there is upon it an inscription, erroneously stating it to have been found at the River Jacques Cartier, and to have been once in the possession of the discoverer of NEW FRANCE, being thereby adduced as a proof that JACQUES CARTIER had been wrecked at the mouth of the River, which bears his name. This subject has been treated in pages thirty-one, and sixty-eight, of this work.

#### PLACES OF EDUCATION.

Besides the QUEBEC SEMINARY, these are the Grammar School of the ROYAL INSTITUTION, conducted by the Reverend R. BURRAGE : the Classical School of the Reverend D. WILKIE : The

NATIONAL SCHOOL, already mentioned: the School of the QUEBEC EDUCATION SOCIETY, and the BRITISH and CANADIAN School. The three last are chiefly elementary. There are also several private schools for both sexes, Sunday Schools, and the useful establishment of Infant Schools has lately been successfully introduced into this city. In the Esplanade, is the highly valuable establishment of Mr. McDONALD for the instruction of deaf and dumb children. In the Parish of St. Roch there is also a School supported by the Roman Catholic Bishop; and in the Suburbs of St. Lewis is the meritorious foundation of J. F. PERRAULT, Esquire, the venerable and consistent promoter of elementary instruction in his native city.

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## CHAPTER THE THIRTEENTH.

MONUMENT TO WOLFE AND MONTCALM—CEREMONY  
ON LAYING THE FIRST STONE—INSCRIPTIONS.

THAT nearly seventy years should have elapsed, without this well merited tribute to the military virtue and devotion of these Heroes having been paid in the country of their fame, can only be attributed to the circumstances of a gradually rising Colony, whose attention to the Arts and to architectural embellishment could only be expected after years of prosperity, peace, and the accumulation of riches. PERICLES, having enriched his country by years of prosperous administration, civil and military, betook himself to the embellishment of his native city. ROME had been long victorious over every enemy, before her heroes and patriots had leisure from the camp to adorn the FORUM with edifices, whose magnificent remains are the admiration of all beholders. The family DE' MEDICI did not excel in the Arts, or contribute to the classic riches of FLORENCE, until a long course of commercial enterprise and success had elevated them from merchants to the rank of Princes. So it has been in all ages, that the Arts, as well as the Laws, have been silent during periods of war and commotion; nor has their voice been listened to, except under circumstances when the human mind, withdrawn from the turmoil

of active collision, has sought repose in the charming studies which elegant ease alone enables men to pursue with steadiness and effect. Amongst the people of the UNITED STATES, it is only within a few years that any public tribute, or classic memorial, has testified the common admiration of the world directed towards the memory of WASHINGTON. The chisel of CANOVA, and the hand of CHANTREY have still more recently been employed on national monuments to his honor. Indeed, there is somewhat of morbid feeling in this propensity of mankind to neglect the offering of public tokens of gratitude to great men, during the age which witnessed their deeds, and benefitted most from their services. It is the consciousness of this fact, which has directed the views of illustrious men rather to the certainty of posthumous fame, than to the rewards of present celebrity and popular applause—

*Sui memores alios fecère merendo.*

And this feeling is part of the divine inspiration, of that immortal breath, which more or less is the animating principle of great souls;—but which the grosser impressions of mankind, in the main envious and detracting, have derogated by calling it ambition. Memorials, therefore, of a purely classical nature have generally been the works of posterity; and the experience of time demonstrates, that as there is nothing more honorable to the age which confers them, so there is nothing more lasting and perennial than the fame, which is handed down by such monuments. Well, indeed, did the Poet feel this truth, and it must be given in his own language to have its full effect, when he prophetically enume-

rated, among the means of immortality to illustrious persons—

INCISA NOTIS MARMORA PUBLICIS,  
PER QUÆ SPIRITUS ET VITA REDIT BONIS  
POST MORTEM DUCIBUS.

It was reserved for the Earl of DALHOUSIE, then GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF of these Provinces,—a nobleman whose generous spirit and munificent patronage had already been evinced in the foundation of the Literary and Historical Society—to bring this interesting subject before the public, and set the example in raising a fit monument to the memory of WOLFE and MONTCALM in the Metropolis of British North America, the stake for which these gallant soldiers contended. A subscription list for the purpose was accordingly circulated among the gentry of QUEBEC, under the auspices of HIS EXCELLENCY; and the call for so laudable an object was promptly responded to. Not only the inhabitants of British origin, but the Canadian public, headed by the Roman Catholic Bishop and several of the Clergy, liberally contributed to the erection of this Monument.

This praiseworthy design was not improbably suggested to the mind of the Earl of Dalhousie, by a perusal of the letter of Monsieur DE BOUGAINVILLE to the great Earl of CHATHAM, then Secretary of State, inclosing a copy of an inscription for an intended Monument to be erected at QUEBEC to the memory of MONTCALM by the French Government. The answer of Lord CHATHAM, speaking no doubt the sentiments of the youthful MONARCH, was conceived in the most generous spirit. The marble slab with the inscription was engraved, and shipped

for CANADA ; but the vessel never reached her destination.

A general meeting of the subscribers to the intended Monument was held at the Castle of St. Lewis on the 1st November, 1827, HIS EXCELLENCY the EARL OF DALHOUSIE in the chair, who addressed the meeting in a speech, of which the following is an extract :—

“ GENTLEMEN, I feel it peculiarly my duty to address this meeting to-day, as having taken the lead in proposing for consideration a subject chiefly interesting to the public in and near Quebec.

“ When I first notified the proposal of raising a monument to the memory of Generals WOLFE and MONTCALM, I did not presume to offer any advice, nor did I urge feelings that had prompted to my own mind the undertaking of such a work—these I was sure would come far better at a General Meeting from individuals infinitely better qualified than I am ; and it is therefore my principal object in calling this meeting to-day, to hear the opinions and suggestions of all who may be disposed to express them.

“ In the first place, however, I beg permission to present to you two drawings, or designs, which are the performance and composition of Capt. YOUNG, of the 79th Regiment. I think, I may take the liberty with him to say, that these are produced from repeated conversations he and I had on this subject, during our daily walks last winter : they are subject to revisal, to alteration, and even to a total abandonment of them for others, if other suggestions shall be made, or larger means than we have calculated upon shall be found. But on this point, I would particularly impress upon your consideration, that I do not propose any splendid trophy equal to the great names, the subject of it. A monument worthy of General Wolfe, and worthy of England, has been placed in Westminster Abbey. My only object is to remove a subject of general regret, ‘ that in Quebec, nothing is found to honor the memory of WOLFE, nothing more than if his great achievements had been effected in other countries distant or unknown to us.’—Thus limiting our views, I think a plain Column, simple and unpretending in its architecture, the most fit, and

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the least obnoxious to public criticism ; I think it the most becoming a private subscription, and above all, most likely to be immediately accomplished—these designs, however, are now submitted to you.

“ I ought, here, to state, that a most handsome offer has been made at New York, to contribute to the subscription list ; and although it had not been intended to go beyond the limits of Canada on the subject, yet I have accepted the offer as the expression of these liberal feelings.

“ There remains only one point more for me to remark upon, but it is one which I feel as peculiarly calling for an explanation. It is the idea, that it may, by some, be thought great presumption in any individual to stir and act upon a matter of such high public interest as this is, without having previously shown that the public, (I mean the Legislature of this Province) has not chosen to undertake the work ; to this, Gentlemen, I have only to say, that it is my intention to submit the subject, and also our progress in it, to the consideration of the Legislature ; but I would also prepare the means of working upon the smaller funds, should my public recommendation of it fail on the greater scale.

“ I shall, by and by, beg leave to propose a small Committee of Management in all minor details, but always with the idea of renewing my calls for General Meetings, as our progress shall advance.

“ I now leave the subject, Gentlemen, to yourselves.”

HIS EXCELLENCY then named the following Committee :

The Honorable the CHIEF JUSTICE,—Chairman,

Mr. Justice TASCHEREAU,

Major General DARLING,

Lieut. Colonel COCKBURN, R. A.

Capt. YOUNG, 79th Highlanders,

Capt. MELHUSH, R. E.

Mr. GEORGE PEMBERTON.

On Thursday, the 15th November, 1827, the very imposing and interesting ceremony, of laying the first stone of the Monument, took place in the presence of a large and most respectable assemblage of spectators. The troops of the garrison, consisting of the 66th and 79th Regiments, under the command of Colonel NICOL, 66th Regiment, paraded

at eleven o'clock, and formed a double line, facing inwards, their right reaching to the foot of the Glacis, and the left resting upon the Castle Guard-House. The Masonic procession, with CLAUDE DENECHAU, Esquire, Right Worshipful Grand Master, at their head, the Officers composing the Grand Lodge in full Masonic costume, the Merchants and *Frères du Canada*, the Sussex and St. Andrew's Lodges, reached the Castle of St. Lewis, preceded by the Band of the 66th Regiment; and entering the lower garden through the Castle yard, lined each side of the principal walk, through which the COUNTESS OF DALHOUSIE, and a party of ladies, reached the spot where the ceremony was to be performed. In the mean time HIS EXCELLENCY the EARL OF DALHOUSIE, attended by the Chief Justice, the Lord Bishop, his Staff, and the Committee, passed through the avenue of troops from the Castle, receiving the usual honors. HIS EXCELLENCY, having first conducted the COUNTESS, and the other ladies, to a station most convenient for witnessing the ceremony, placed himself in front of the stone, and in a clear and audible voice, spoke as follows:—

“Gentlemen of the Committee, we are assembled upon an occasion most interesting to this country—if possible more so to this city—We are met to lay the Foundation of a Column in honor of two illustrious men, whose deeds and whose fall have immortalized their own names, and placed Quebec in the rank of cities famous in the history of the world.

“Before, however, we touch the first stone, let us implore the blessing of Almighty God upon our intended work.”

The Rev. Dr. MILLS, Chaplain to the Forces, then offered up the following

PRAYER.

O Almighty Lord of Heaven and Earth! without whose blessing no work of man can prosper, look down, we beseech

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Thee, with an eye of favor upon this our undertaking. We know, O Lord! that, unless Thou buildest the fabric, their labour is but lost that build it; and therefore we humbly pray, that this Column, which we are about to erect in honor of those distinguished Warriors, whose names it is destined to bear, may transmit their Fame to distant ages, uninjured by flood or by flame, unscathed by the Thunder's rending bolt, or the mining shock of the Earthquake. May no assault of foreign foe, no dangerous division within our walls, loosen one stone from the structure; but may it long—long rear its head in simple majesty, the brightest gem and ornament of our city.

It hath pleased Thee, O Lord! in thy good Providence, in a great degree to tranquillize the world: there is a great calm in the Universe: Thou hast said to the desolating tide of human Warfare—"Peace, be still; hitherto shalt thou come, but no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed!" We pray, O Lord!—most humbly and heartily do we pray,—that this happy state of things may continue and abound more and more, till every source of discord dried up—every jarring interest harmonized—the heavenly influence of the glorious Gospel—that Charter of Love and Mercy to the whole human race—be universally felt and acknowledged; till the glad strain of "Peace on earth, good will toward men," which ushered in the Nativity of the Saviour, find a ready echo in every bosom; and the blessed time at length arrive, when the sword shall be turned into the plough-share, and the spear into the pruning-hook—when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But of this hour,—now seen afar off only in indistinct vision, knoweth no man: in the mean time, O Lord! the wrath of man shall praise Thee, while the remainder of wrath it is—and will be—thy province to restrain.

Meanwhile also, O Lord! we humbly hope and trust, that we are not forbidden to pray, even amidst all the pomp and glitter of military parade, by which we are surrounded, in behalf of these our Brethren—with an anxious concern for their honor as *Soldiers*, while we feel for their salvation as *Men*—that the great examples of the illustrious dead, whom we this day hold out as patterns for their imitation, may now and ever be regarded by them with an ardent desire to emulate their worth. Yes! Soldiers, Friends and Brethren! we implore the God of Armies, that should the battle once more be set in array against you, you may—each of you—buckle on your har-

ness, in humble—yet well-grounded—confidence in the Divine protection—with no terrors of an evil conscience to appal you in the hour of peril—no besetting sin to unnerve your arm, and render it powerless in the conflict. Thus prepared—thus strengthened with might by the spirit in the inner man—should you fall, my Brethren! you will fall in glory; you will look forward, with the eye of faith, beyond the grave, to a brighter crown—a fairer wreath, than Monarchs can bestow; and this Faith, triumphant over death and all its agonies, will enable you, more than any thing else, to evince, even amidst the severest struggles of expiring Nature, the same heroic resignation, the same loyal devotedness to your King, and glowing attachment to your Country, which blazed forth—like the Sun's last flash before its setting—with such unextinguishable lustre, in the breasts of these departing Warriors.

Grant, O Lord! of Thine infinite Mercy grant, that such, wherever duty calls them, may be the genuine feelings of British Soldiers;—that their Patriotism, their Loyalty and their Valour may be founded upon Religion as the best and surest basis: and, with these feelings deeply rooted in our own breasts, let us pray for our Country—all great and glorious as she is—assured that they that love her shall prosper. Peace be within her walls, and plenteousness within her palaces. For our brethren and companions' sakes, we will wish her prosperity. And seeking—and not *seeking* only, but *striving* to do her good and to advance her glory by every means in our power, do Thou, O God! prosper the work of our hands upon us: O prosper Thou our handy-work! Amen and Amen.”

This emphatic prayer concluded—His Lordship thus addressed the Masonic Brethren:—

“ Right Worshipful Grand Master and Worshipful Brethren of the Grand Lodge, I crave your assistance in performing Masonic Ceremonies and honors on this occasion.”

The R. W. Grand Master, supported by the R. W. Dy. G. Mr. Oliva on his right, and P. Dy. G. Mr. Thompson on his left, with two G. Deacons took his station on the east side of the foundation. The Rt. W. the G. Masters and Rt. W. the G.

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Chaplain placed themselves on the opposite sides, when the Corner Stone was lowered and laid with the usual Masonic ceremony—the G. Master supported as above described, then advanced towards His Lordship, to give the Three Mystic Strokes on the Stone. During this part of the ceremony—the G. Master repeated the following short Prayer, “May this undertaking prosper with the Blessing of Almighty God.”

The presence on this occasion of Mr. JAMES THOMPSON, then in his 95th year, added to the deep interest felt in the scene. The venerable companion in arms of WOLFE was a connecting link between the age that witnessed his glory, and that about to erect a Monument to his fame. While one remained who conquered with him, the age of his glory was not quite extinct:—the present took charge of the deposit, and pledged itself to its sacred keeping, by the ceremony which we are now describing.

HIS EXCELLENCY turning to Mr. THOMPSON, requested him to assist in the ceremony, in these words:—

“Mr. Thompson—we honour you here as the companion in arms and a venerable living witness of the fall of WOLFE, do us also the favor to bear witness on this occasion by the mallet in your hand.”

Mr. Thompson then, with a firm hand, gave the Three Mystic Strokes with the Mallet on the Stone.—The following appropriate prayer was next pronounced by the Reverend Dr. HARKNESS, the Provincial Grand Chaplain:—

*Most Gracious God!* We adore Thee as the *Great Architect* of Nature. In the beginning Thou laidest the foundations of the Earth—The Arches of Heaven are the workmanship of

Thy Hand,—and by Thee was the Spirit of Man formed within him. Thou makest the Clouds Thy Chariot—Thou walkest upon the Wings of the Wind—Thou waterest the Hills from Thy Chambers,—and the Earth is satisfied with the fruit of Thy Works. Thou causest Grass to grow for the use of Cattle,—and Herb for the service of Man. Thou hast appointed the *Moon* for seasons, and the *Sun* knoweth his going down. O Lord, how manifold and wondrous are Thy Works! In Wisdom hast Thou made them all. The Earth is full of Thy Riches. Though Thou dwellest on high in light inaccessible and full of glory,—yet we rejoice to think, that Thou humblest Thyself to behold every thing that is done in this lower world. And we fervently and earnestly pray that Thou wouldst now look down with a propitious and approving eye on the present undertaking of Thy humble Servants. May the *Public Monument*, the foundation stone of which has now been laid, go on and prosper, and when finished, may it completely answer the laudable designs of those by whom it is undertaken and promoted—We intreat Thee, O Lord, to give each of us grace, that we may be enabled in our respective spheres, to emulate the *Virtues* of those *Great*, and *Brave* and *Good Men*, the *Memory* of whose *Heroic Deeds* this *Column* is intended to perpetuate. Enable us more and more to cherish and cultivate the genuine *Spirit of Christian Benevolence*, which is ever ready to pity the *Objects of Misery* and relieve *Subjects of Distress*—which ever fills the heart with the tenderest sympathy and the warmest compassion,—and which ever disposes us to regard our fellow-creatures with the purest sentiments of affection and the sincerest dispositions to promote their welfare and happiness—Whatever diversity of religious sentiment may be found to exist among us, may we all be united in this *grand essential* of the Religion of Jesus, “*Charity towards all Men.*” And may all our hopes of future happiness be built upon “the foundation of the *Apostles* and *Prophets*, *Jesus Christ himself* being the *Chief Corner Stone.*”

Grant, O Most Merciful Father! these the sincere desires of our hearts, for the sake of Jesus Christ, our Lord, and Redeemer. Amen.

Captain MELHUSH, R. E. then deposited gold, silver and copper coins of the present reign, in a cavity prepared in the foundation stone, over which

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a plate with the following inscription, by the Rev. Dr. MILLS, was firmly rivetted :—

HUNC LAPIDEM  
 MONUMENTI IN MEMORIAM  
 VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM  
 WOLFE ET MONTCALM,  
 FUNDAMENTUM  
 P. C.  
 GEORGIUS COMES DE DALHOUSIE,  
 IN SEPTENTRIONALIS AMERICÆ PARTIBUS  
 AD BRITANNOS PERTINENTIBUS  
 SUMMAM RERUM ADMINISTRANS ;  
 OPUS PER MULTOS ANNOS PRÆTERMISSUM,  
 (QUID DUCI EGREGIO CONVENIENTIUS ?)  
 AUCTORITATE PROMOVENS, EXEMPLO STIMULANS,  
 MUNIFICENTIÀ FOVENS.  
 Die Novembris XVâ.  
 A. S. MDCCCXXVII.  
 GEORGIO IV BRITANNIARUM REGE.

The plan and elevation of the intended Monument, designed and executed with equal skill and taste by Capt. YOUNG, 79th Highlanders, was then presented to the Countess of DALHOUSIE, who accepted the same with marked satisfaction.

The ceremony finished with a *feu de joie* from the garrison, after which the regiments presented arms, the Bands playing the National Air. Three British Cheers then rent the air, given by the troops and spectators to the memory of British valor, and French gallantry. The troops on their return to their Barracks passed the GOVERNOR IN CHIEF in review order, which concluded the ceremonies of the day.

The work was commenced in the spring of 1828, but the suns subscribed, although extremely liberal,

amounting to near seven hundred pounds, were found inadequate to defray the expense of the Monument. What was wanting was, however, supplied by the liberality of Lord DALHOUSIE, to a large amount; who continued to feel the deepest interest in its completion, long after the favor of the SOVEREIGN had placed HIS LORDSHIP in the supreme military command in the EAST INDIES.

The memorial in honor of the two military chiefs who fell at the head of the opposing armies, in that decisive battle which made these Provinces a portion of the British Empire, is now completed, and is a conspicuous, as it is the only classical, ornament of the city. It was originally designed by Captain, now Major YOUNG, of the 79th, or CAMERON HIGHLANDERS, (then on the personal Staff of HIS EXCELLENCY the EARL OF DALHOUSIE,) an officer whose taste had been greatly cultivated by foreign travel; and is a combination of various beautiful proportions to be found in some of the celebrated models of antiquity. It stands on the west side of *Des Carrières* Street, leading from the *Place d'Armes* to the glacis of Cape Diamond, within an area taken from the upper garden belonging to Government. In front is a broad walk, which has become a public promenade, overlooking the CASTLE garden, and commanding a fine view of the harbor, and the beautiful scenery beyond it.

The Monument is a conspicuous object from the River; but on account of the numerous spires which rise around it in a distant view, it is seen to the best advantage from the centre of the channel between the Lower Town and Pointe Lévi. It is strictly classical in the proportions of every part. To the top of the surbase is thirteen feet from the ground.

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On this rests the Sarcophagus, seven feet three inches high. The obelisk measures forty-two feet eight inches, and the *apex* two feet one inch, making in the whole an altitude of sixty-five feet from the ground. The dimensions of the obelisk at the base are six feet, by four feet eight inches, tapering conically to the *apex*, where the sides are diminished to three feet two inches, by two feet five inches. This classical ornament of our city was finished, with the exception of the inscription, on the 8th September; and its completion was witnessed by the zealous patron of the work, the EARL OF DALHOUSIE. On the morning of that day, not to be forgotten by the numerous friends of that noble Lord, being the day of his departure from the Province, the Government of which he had conscientiously administered for eight years, HIS LORDSHIP, accompanied by his successor in the Administration of the Government, Lieutenant General Sir JAMES KEMPT, G. C. B., and attended by the Staff, several military officers, and a party of ladies and gentlemen of the city and vicinity, proceeded to the walk in front of the Governor's garden, to witness the completion of the Monument. A few minutes after eight o'clock, the *apex*, or cap-stone, was placed upon the summit; and the ceremony of tapping it with the mallet was performed by his nephew and Aide de Camp, Captain FOX MAULE, 79th Highlanders, as proxy for the noble Earl, who ascended to the top of the obelisk for that purpose. Thus was this chaste memorial to WOLFE and MONTCALM, through the exertions of Mr. John Phillips, the builder, completed during the summer of 1828, to the great gratification of HIS EXCELLENCY, who had all along expressed the

strongest wish for its completion before his departure from QUEBEC.

A prize Medal was offered, by the Committee for the erection of the Monument, to the person who should furnish the most appropriate inscription. The author of "MEN AND MANNERS IN AMERICA," travelling in CANADA, has thought fit to object to the inscription being in the LATIN language. He has also found fault with the Monument itself, as copied too closely from one in ITALY. To this latter objection, it has already been replied, when it was stated that the Monument is a combination of separate beauties contained in distinct works of art, here made to produce the happiest effect, and possessing the most perfectly classical union. It is, in fact, no copy of any particular Monument, either as to composition, or geometrical proportion. In answer to the former objection, it is sufficient to observe that to have adopted an inscription in either French or English might have been dissatisfactory to one portion of the inhabitants; and that by selecting the Latin,—a language common to every civilised nation, to all scholars, and almost universally adopted on similar occasions,—all objections seemed to be obviated. Of the many strangers who have visited this Monument, most have expressed decided approbation on both the points, objected to by Mr. Hamilton. Indeed the truly ATTIC elegance and simple grandeur of this obelisk, together with the chivalrous generosity and ingenuous discrimination of its erection to the immortal memory of both of those heroes, WOLFE and MONTCALM, deserve the grateful commemoration of every liberal mind.

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The Monument presents the following inscription on the Sarcophagus, or Cenotaph of the heroes. On the front, in large letters :

MORTEM. VIRTVS. COMMVNEM.  
FAMAM. HISTORIA.  
MONVMENTVM. POSTERITAS.  
DEDIT.

This inscription was honored with the prize Medal, and was written by J. CHARLTON FISHER, L. L. D. On the rear is the following, altered from that which was inscribed upon the Plate deposited with the foundation stone :

HUJUSCE  
MONUMENTI IN VIRORUM ILLUSTRIVM MEMORIAM,  
WOLFE ET MONTCALM,  
FUNDAMENTUM P. C.  
*GEORGIUS COMES DE DALHOUSIE ;*  
IN SEPTENTRIONALIS AMERICÆ PARTIBUS  
AD BRITANNOS PERTINENTIBUS  
SUMMAM RERUM ADMINISTRANS ;  
OPUS PER MULTOS ANNOS PRÆTERMISSUM,  
QUID DUCI EGREGIO CONVENIENTIUS ?  
AUCTORITATE PROMOVENS, EXEMPLO STIMULANS,  
MUNIFICENTIA FOVENS.  
A. S. MDCCCXXVII.  
GEORGIO IV. BRITANNIARUM REGE.

On the north side of the Sarcophagus, looking to the country, is the simple word "MONTCALM," in large characters ; and on the opposite side, that towards the River by which he reached the scene of his glorious victory and death, is inscribed the name of "WOLFE."

The following lines were written on the occasion of laying the first stone of the Monument : the Latin tetrastick by the author of the prize inscription, and the English ode by an officer of the 66th Regiment :

WOLFE—MONTCALM.

HAVD ACIES EADEM—AST EADEM FATALIS ARENA—  
 COMMVNIS VIRTVS— ATQVE PERENNE DECVS—  
 VICTRIX CAUSA PAREM MERITIS ET VICTA FAVOREM  
 VINDICAT—ÆTERNUM VIVERE FAMA DEDIT.

STANZAS

ADDRESSED TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE.

Shall thousand Cenotaphs proclaim  
 On battle fields each glorious name,  
 And on this hallowed spot—  
 These smiling Banks his valor gain'd,  
 Those frowning Heights his blood hath stain'd,  
 Is only WOLFE's forget ?

Deeply each BRITISH heart hath mourn'd  
 His dust nor trophied, nor inurn'd,  
 Unnoticed and unknown—  
 Be THINE the stain to wash away,  
 Be THINE thy Country's debt to pay,  
 And for the wrong atone.

And thou, brave Veteran, on whose breast  
 WOLFE, dirg'd by Victory, sank to rest,  
 Come consecrate the Pile !—  
 Virtue and Valor have agreed,  
 The Christian Priests shall bless the deed,  
 And HEAVEN above shall smile.

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Having replied to the somewhat illiberal censure of the author of "*Men and Manners in America*," we must now advert, as connected with the too hasty impressions and frequently erroneous conclusions of travellers, to a statement contained in a recent publication, intituled, "*Transatlantic Sketches*," by Captain ALEXANDER, 42d Royal Highlanders, F. R. G. S. and M. R. A. S. It is known to all residents in QUEBEC, that at the corner of St. John and Palace Streets, there is a public house, *yclept* "General Wolfe's Hotel;" and that in a niche at the angle of the wall, there has long been a diminutive statue, of painted wood, said to be of that hero. Captain ALEXANDER thus gravely introduces it to his readers: "I promenaded about the city, and had pointed out to me the various objects of interest, particularly the small statue of WOLFE, in a red coat, cocked hat and knee breeches, set up in a corner of a street, to mark the spot to which the conqueror of Quebec penetrated as a spy previous to his victory!" It is certainly true that this statue was set up in honor of WOLFE, after the conquest, by an individual of more patriotism than taste; but the tale of his having penetrated into St. John Street as a spy is in itself so very improbable, and is besides so completely negated by the well known facts of his attack upon the city, that it is really surprising how a traveller of any reputation could have been so far imposed upon as to record a story which his own historical information ought to have warned him to reject.

## CHAPTER THE FOURTEENTH.

THE LOWER TOWN—EARLIEST NOTICE OF IT—ITS  
TRADE, AND MANNERS IN 1700—DESCRIPTION IN  
1720—PRESENT STATE AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

It has been stated that the Lower Town of QUEBEC is built principally upon ground either gained by excavation from the rock on which the Upper Town stands, or, in the course of time, redeemed from the water's edge. As the early inhabitants had recourse to neither of these expedients, the site of their buildings in the Lower Town must have been very confined. Before the establishment of the Royal Government in 1663, a few scattered houses, magazines and stores, occupied all the River side, from the foot of the *Sault-au-Matelot* to the base of Cape Diamond. The oldest account of the Lower Town is to be found in the Latin work of Father DU CREUX, who came to New France about 1625, and whose book is dated in 1664. He says:—"Below the Citadel, from the *Sault-au-Matelot* to Cape Diamond, there is a level space, convenient for landing merchandise, and the cargoes of vessels. This, if protected by a wall of masonry, would be evidently well adapted for a harbor, since the road is every way proper for ships, the force of the waves being broken by the interposition of the Isle of Orleans.

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On this level space are the magazines of the French merchants: at some distance apart, the store-houses of some distinguished French gentlemen; and, now and then, some habitations of Frenchmen, who have exchanged Old for New France."

In the *Voyage de l'Amerique* of LA POTHERIE, who visited the Province in 1698, there is an engraved representation of the Upper and Lower Town. From this it appears that the River then washed the foot of the cliff along St. Paul Street; and very few houses are seen from the Point to the centre of *Sault-au-Matelot* Street. The greater number are in the vicinity of the *Place de Notre Dame*, or Lower Town Market-place, where they were rather thickly clustered. *Sous le Fort* Street is plainly delineated, as well as the Queen's Wharf, which was then a platform planted with trees, where there was a battery level with the water. Towards the west, the buildings extended but a little way beyond the King's Wharf.

#### TRADE OF QUEBEC IN 1700.

As an interesting recollection in the present advanced condition of Colonial trade,—now that the commercial character of the British population is fully developed,—we shall give an account of the early traffic of the Lower Town, on the authority of LA POTHERIE. The houses, in which the merchants lived for the convenience of business, were well built, and of cut stone. All persons, except the Clergy, and some of the Officers, Civil and Military, were engaged in commerce, the revenues of their lands being insufficient to maintain their families; and the country being in too rude a state to supply

all the conveniences of life. The principal trade was in peltry, which chiefly consisted of the produce of the beaver. Those who were fortunate enough to take these valuable animals, carried them to the Farmer's Office, *Bureau de la Ferme*, the Director of which paid for them in Bills of Exchange on France. In 1700, these Bills amounted to three hundred and thirty thousand *livres*. The trade in merchandise was by no means considerable; and was only profitable to a few foreign merchants who brought with them, or every year imported from France, goods to the amount of seven or eight thousand *francs*. Some few imported to the amount of twenty thousand; but they found it difficult to obtain a sale during that year. Greater sales were made of wine and brandy, than of any other commodity.

The period of most active business at Quebec, in the olden time, was during the months of August, September and October, in which the vessels arrived from France; so that at that time, one passage outward and inward was all they were able to accomplish. After the arrival of the vessels, there was a kind of fair in the Lower Town—every shop and store displayed newly imported treasures—and nothing was heard in the streets but the buz of the shopkeepers recommending their wares, and of customers endeavoring to make the best bargains they could. About the end of October, the *Habitans* came in from the country to make purchases. Every one endeavored to arrange his business before the departure of the vessels; as the Captains naturally took advantage of the fine weather, fearful of a gale from the north-east, which generally came a few days before or after Allsaints' day. They considered that by postponing their departure until

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November, they ran some risk of meeting with ice in the River. From this reasoning of the shipmasters of that day, it would appear that there has been no change in the climate for the last century, since the Captains at present always hurry their departure after the 10th November; and various proofs might be adduced from the old writers to show that it was quite as mild, and the spring as early, in the time of CHAMPLAIN as at present.

La Potherie remarks the change in the appearance of the Lower Town after the departure of the shipping: "The road," he says, "which is all at once left without craft has somewhat of a melancholy appearance. All is still, and we are left in the situation of ants, having nothing to do but to lay in our provisions for the winter, which is very long."

#### MANNER OF PASSING THE WINTER IN 1700.

##### —CLIMATE.

About the end of September they began their preparations by preserving vegetables for their soup. Other vegetables and sallads were arranged in their cellars, which appeared like so many kitchen gardens. Every one, according to his means, provided himself with butchers' meat, poultry and game; which when frozen they preserved all the winter. The snow fell in quantities about the middle of November—all trade was at an end, and the greatest part of the shops were closed. While the snow continued to fall, people remained at home, LA POTHERIE adds, as it were in their dens; but it was widely different when it became hard on the surface. Then every body was in motion, carioles began to

run, vehicles which were found extremely commodious, and which are described exactly as they are used at present. They were then, perhaps, handsomer than now, being adorned with paintings and armorial bearings.

Advent was passed with all the observances of religion. On New Year's day, they interchanged visits of friendship and congratulation, as at present. The visiting season, however, than extended to eight days, during which time every one was in motion, and nothing was seen but gentlemen on foot and in carioles running from house to house. As there was no business to do, this was by no means a disagreeable method of killing a week during a long winter—now, it would be found difficult to devote so long a period even to so pleasant an employment. Until Lent, the time was passed agreeably enough. Joy and pleasure held undisputed reign : handsome entertainments were given : some there were so aristocratic and exclusive, that persons were only invited who were unexceptionable as to *haut ton*. People were entertained on other days according to their rank in life : one day, Officers of Government and their Ladies—on another, Councillors and their wives—on a third, the citizens generally. The women of the *tiers etat* in those days are represented very favorably, and as far superior to persons of the same condition in the Provinces of OLD FRANCE, and even in PARIS itself. LA POTHERIE says, they spoke perfectly well, and with good accent. They had no dialect, which indeed is generally lost in a Colony. They had wit, delicacy, good voices, and loved dancing to excess. They were naturally prudent, and little addicted to trifling—so that when-

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ever they admitted the addresses of a lover, it was sure to end in marriage.

Lent was found a season the most tedious and difficult to pass of any part of the year, the climate during the months of February and March being the most severe of the winter. The cold was then excessive, but the weather nevertheless fine, and the sky clear : a Canadian winter possesses indeed this distinction, that there is very little foggy weather, so that every one preserved their health. People got accustomed to the cold as to every thing else, and without wearing too many clothes, the men went for the most part with their coats open. When there was only two feet of snow upon the ground they called it a very mild winter ; but it was generally five or six feet deep, especially in the woods.

The long duration of the snow rendered it impossible to commence the sowing of grain before May ; but the harvest was nevertheless gathered in during the months of August and September. This abundance of snow was like manure, enriching and warming the soil. If the winters were cold, the summers, which in point of fact were only June and July, were not less insupportable. The heat was then excessive, more so than in the West Indies. Like the cold, it came on without preparation, as it were *tout à coup*. No spring was felt bringing on the warm season by imperceptible gradations : the thaw came without being remarked, and there were no deluges of rain as at PARIS. Hard frost was sometimes known in the mornings of August ; but it used to pass away and the warm days to return. Thunder was frequent in summer : it had a dull and hollow sound, and generally fell whenever it was heard. Unlike the thunder in the West Indies, it occurs in

Canada in extremely close weather, when there is not a breadth of air. It is then that the heat is intolerable, and a cold, or rather a hoarseness is to be guarded against.

#### DESCRIPTION IN 1720.

CHARLEVOIX, speaking of the harbor, observes, that "there is no other city besides this in the known world, that can boast of a fresh water harbor one hundred and twenty leagues from the sea, and that capable of containing an hundred ships of the line. It certainly stands upon the most navigable river in the universe." The following is his description of the LOWER TOWN: "When CHAMPLAIN founded this city in 1608, the tide usually rose to the foot of the rock. Since that time the river has retired by little and little, and has at last left dry a large piece of ground, on which the Lower Town has since been built, and which is now sufficiently elevated above the water's edge, to secure the inhabitants against the inundation of the river. The first thing you meet with, on landing, is a pretty large square, and of irregular form, having in front a row of well built houses, the back part of which leans against the rock, so that they have no great depth. These form a street of considerable length, occupying the whole breadth of the square, and extending on the right and left as far as the two ways which lead to the Upper Town. The square is bounded towards the left by a small Church, and towards the right by two rows of houses placed in a parallel direction. There is also another street on the other side between the Church and the harbor, and at the turning of the river under Cape Diamond, there is likewise another pretty long flight

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of houses on the banks of a creek called *L'Anse des Mères*. This quartèr may be reckoned properly enough a sort of Suburb to the Lower Town. Between this Suburb and the great street, you go up to the higher town by so steep an ascent, that it has been found necessary to cut it into steps. Thus it is impossible to ascend it, except on foot. But in going from the square towards the right, a way has been made, the declivity of which is much more gentle, and which is lined with houses. At the place where these two ways meet begins that part of the Upper Town which faces the River, there being another Lower Town on the side towards the Little River St. Charles. The first building worthy of notice you meet with on your right hand in the former of those sides, is the Bishop's Palace; the left being entirely occupied with private houses."

This topography of CHARLEVOIX is perfectly correct, and intelligible at the present day, very little alteration having taken place. It will be remembered that there was then no Gate near the BISHOP'S PALACE—a simple barrier of pickets was all the defence; and so it remained at the capture in 1759, as is shown by an ancient print with which we have been favored. It has been noticed in a former place, that the path, afterwards called Mountain Street, was made by CHAMPLAIN after building the first Fort. It is most probable that the descent into the *Cul-de-Sac*, by the steps opposite to Mr. NEILSON'S Printing Office, was the most ancient way to the LOWER TOWN, and was the one made by CHAMPLAIN. The other descent for carriages was made subsequently, and is spoken of by LE BEAU, who was in QUEBEC nine years after CHARLEVOIX, as being in his time extremely difficult for carriages. It

was so, indeed, until macadamized a few years ago ; and even now it is very steep.

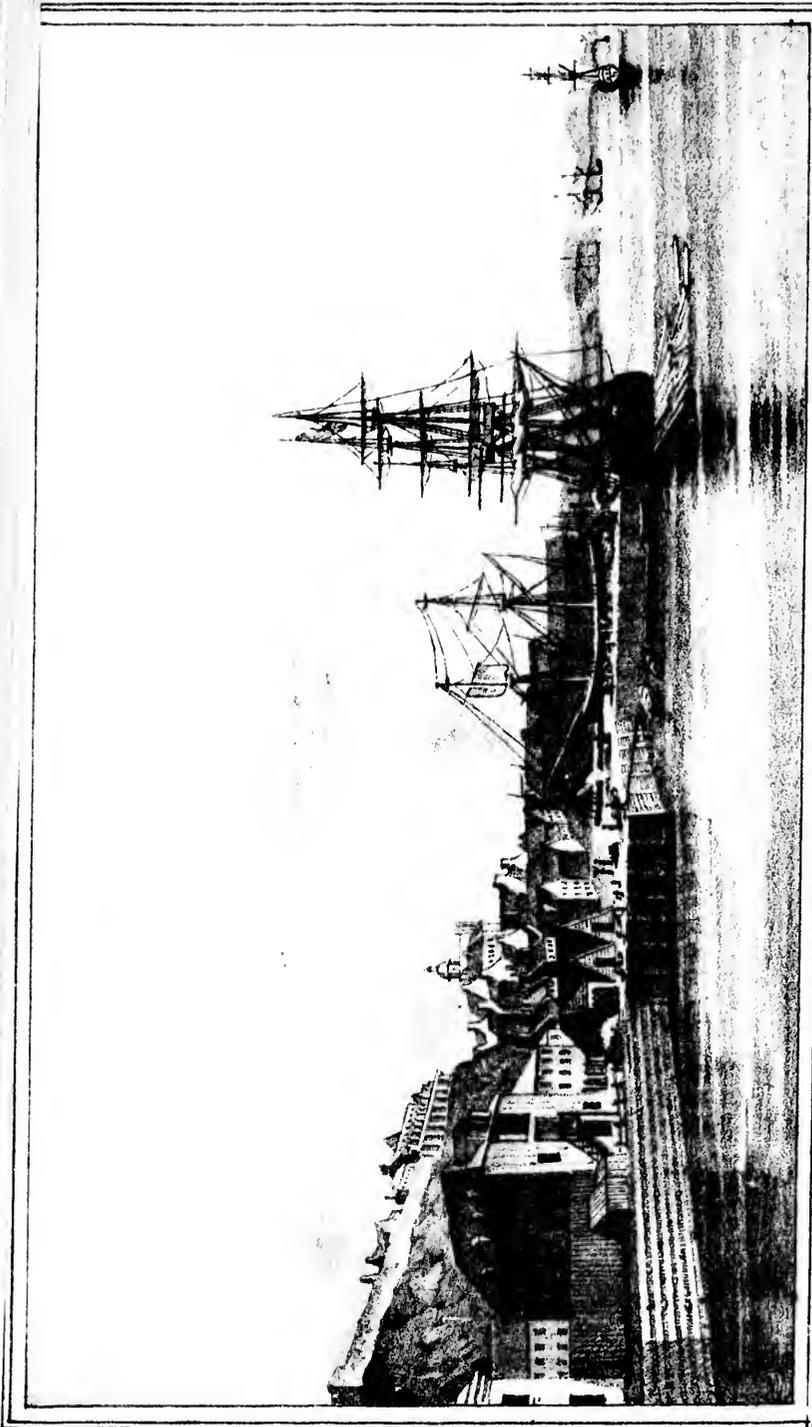
Until the year 1682, the houses in the LOWER TOWN were of wood. On the 5th August, in that year, a fire took place which consumed the whole of the buildings, except one house. All the merchandise in the stores, which were full, was destroyed ; and as expressed in our French manuscript, "they lost that night more valuables than all Canada at present possesses." The house which escaped the flames belonged to M. AUBERT DE LACHENAYE. He was a rich and generous merchant, and liberally assisted his countrymen with his power and means in rebuilding their houses. He lent his money so freely that there was scarcely a house in the LOWER TOWN which was not mortgaged to him ; and this he did for no sordid purpose, but for the good of the Colony, and of his fellow citizens.

The LOWER TOWN, as might be expected, suffered greatly from the fire of the British batteries in 1759. We have seen an old print representing the state of the *Place de Notre Dame*, or Lower Town Market Place, drawn upon the spot, in 1761. The CHURCH was entirely destroyed, nothing remaining but the walls very much shattered. The houses in *Notre Dame* Street, and on the opposite side of the square, appear untenanted, many of them roofless, and all in the vicinity more or less injured. The size and height of the houses are the same as they are now : that on the south-west angle of the square appears exactly as at present. This print is interesting, as showing the substantial and convenient manner in which the best houses in the LOWER TOWN had been rebuilt, after the great fire mentioned above, in 1682. In point of appearance they were little

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*the Hawaiian Trade of 1846*

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inferior to the buildings at present on the site : many, no doubt, are the same, having been substantially repaired after the cession of the Province.

PRESENT STATE AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

The UPPER and LOWER TOWNS of QUEBEC, together with the Suburbs, occupy a site which may be described as a triangle, the *Banlieu* line being the base, the Rivers St. Lawrence and St. Charles forming the sides, and the Point, at the confluence of those Rivers, being the *apex*. The LOWER TOWN includes all the extent of buildings underneath the cliff, from the spot where the *Banlieu* line strikes the St. Lawrence on the south, to the King's wood-yard on the St. Charles, towards the north. Beyond the wood-yard is the populous Suburb of St. Roch. The houses in Mountain Street below PRESCOTT-GATE are also in the LOWER TOWN.

Owing to the great increase of late years in the trade of the Province, several new wharfs, on which are extensive storehouses, have recently been constructed on lots redeemed from the water, particularly in the neighborhood of the QUEBEC EXCHANGE. But although very considerable improvements have been made in the extent of its mercantile accommodation, the LOWER TOWN is still too much confined for the convenience of the trade. Several counting houses and mercantile establishments are still obliged to be kept at such a distance from the centre of business, as to be extremely inconvenient during the urgency of the navigable season. During the last year above one thousand vessels arrived in this port, and this season the number will probably be as great.

n. Nicholas Picture of Quebec

O U E B E C

en. None by Spence. from an Original by A. J. F. Rossel.

One consequence has been, a very great influx of emigrants from the mother country, who arrive in vessels engaged in the timber trade ; and who during their stay in the harbor, and in their transit through the Province, expend in the aggregate a very large sum of ready money, out of the capital which they bring with them for agricultural and other purposes. It is to be hoped that these Provinces will long continue to be annually enriched by the immigration of an industrious and moral population from the mother country. In noticing the subject of immigration, it would be unpardonable to omit the conveniences afforded to settlers and travellers by the numerous steam-boats on the St. Lawrence, originally established by the enterprise of the Honorable JOHN MOLSON, of MONTREAL. Their safety, speed, and general excellence are universally acknowledged by the numerous strangers who visit this Metropolis.

#### THE QUEBEC EXCHANGE.

As a building devoted to general mercantile purposes, this institution demands particular attention. The first institution of this description in QUEBEC is dated in 1817. It was established in a house at the south end of St. Peter Street, whence it was removed, in 1822, to a handsome room in the new building erected by the FIRE ASSURANCE COMPANY. An annually increasing subscription list led eventually to the erection of the present commodious edifice of cut stone. The ground on which it stands, a water lot, was purchased in June, 1828, and contains ten thousand superficial feet. The Honorable MATTHEW BELL, from whom the site was purchased, gave, in

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the most handsome manner, as his subscription to the undertaking, a fifth part of the purchase money, his donation amounting to two hundred pounds. The public spirit of the projectors of this undertaking was truly commendable, and liberally supported by the public. One thousand pounds was soon subscribed to erect the building, and the income being considerable, arising from annual subscription. In the reading room, no difficulty was found in raising the funds necessary for its completion. The first stone was laid with Masonic ceremonies on the 6th September, 1828.

The edifice is situated at the east end of St. Paul Street; and has answered the most sanguine expectations of the Proprietors, who were incorporated by Act of the Provincial Parliament in 1830.

The lower part, or ground floor, was intended for an EXCHANGE, "where merchants most do congregate," and make engagements for the transaction of business. The centre story contains the excellent READING ROOM, fifty feet long, thirty broad, and sixteen in height; the windows of which command a complete view of the basin and river. The upper part is occupied at present by the BOARD OF TRADE; but by an arrangement between the respective proprietors, it is generally understood that the QUEBEC LIBRARY will be removed from its present situation on the 1st May next, to a spacious room on that story.

The excellent arrangement of the Reading Room was mainly owing to the ability, zeal, and intelligence of the late Mr. HENRY THOMPSON, who had for several years been the Keeper of the Exchange. He fell a victim to the Asiatic Cholera, after a few hours illness, in July, 1834, greatly esteemed and

lamented by all who knew him. The establishment is at present under the judicious management of Mr. R. ROBERTS, late merchant of this city.

#### THE TRINITY HOUSE.

This is a corporate establishment for the due regulation of the Pilots who ply in the River St. Lawrence, and for their charitable support after they are disabled by age, accident, or infirmity. There is also a fund for the relief of their widows and children. It is governed by a Master, Deputy Master, and Wardens, who are generally Merchants of Quebec. The business of the Corporation is transacted in a house in St. Peter Street, not far from the Quebec Exchange.

This establishment was no doubt founded in imitation of similar institutions in ENGLAND. In the reign of HENRY VIII., certain officers were incorporated by the name of Master and Wardens of the HOLY TRINITY: "they were to take care of the building, keeping and conducting of the Royal Navy." This Corporation had a foundation at DEPTFORD, in KENT, containing fifty-nine houses for decayed Pilots and Masters of Ships, or the widows of such; and the men were allowed twenty, and the women sixteen shillings per month. There is also a noble establishment of this kind at HULL, in YORKSHIRE.

#### THE BANKS—FIRE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

The QUEBEC BANK occupies the lower story of the handsome stone edifice built by the QUEBEC

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**FIRE ASSURANCE COMPANY**, fronting in St. Peter Street. It was incorporated in 1822, and is a Joint Stock Company.

The **QUEBEC FIRE ASSURANCE COMPANY'S** Office is on the second story of the building. This is also a corporation. Above is the **QUEBEC LIBRARY**, a large and valuable collection of books amounting to upwards of six thousand. The property is vested in Trustees, elected annually by the proprietors, and persons are also received as yearly subscribers. This Library was founded in the year 1779, during the administration of His Excellency General Haldimand, who liberally contributed one hundred volumes of valuable works towards its formation.

The Office for Discount and Deposit for the **MONTREAL BANK**, which is a branch of the parent Bank in that city, is situated at the corner of St. Peter Street and St. James's Street, not far from the Exchange. It was also incorporated in 1822, and is a Joint Stock Company.

#### KING'S WHARF AND CUSTOM HOUSE.

The **KING'S WHARF** has already been mentioned as appropriated to the purposes of Government; and as having upon it the extensive stores belonging to the **COMMISSARIAT** Department. Here is a battery level with the water; and the wharf itself is the place of embarkation and landing of the **KING'S** troops, for the **GOVERNORS**, and Officers of the **NAVY** and **ARMY**.

Immediately adjoining, on the west, is the **NEW CUSTOM HOUSE**, which has so far been lately completed. It is a plain stone edifice, well and substan-

tially built. The interior is well adapted for the convenience of business, and the long room has been generally admired.

Very nearly opposite to the CUSTOM HOUSE there stood anciently a barrier, where the two ways diverge, one to the steps leading to the Upper Town, and the other to the harbor. It was near this spot that the American General MONTGOMERY, and other officers, were killed by the discharge of a cannon, in his daring attack upon the Lower Town, on the last day of December, 1775.

At some distance beyond this remarkable spot, at the foot of CAPE DIAMOND, is the inclined plane from the CITADEL, which has been previously mentioned; and further still is WOLFE'S COVE, where that intrepid leader performed his extraordinary exploit, and to the astonishment of the French, succeeded in ascending the cliff, and in forming his army in battle array on the PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

Among the recent improvements in the Lower Town, a spacious market for cattle, hay, wood, and other articles of country produce, was opened during the last year, at the west end of St. Paul Street, near the *King's wood-yard*.

The city of QUEBEC was incorporated by Act of the Provincial Parliament in 1833. It is divided into ten wards. The Common Council consists of twenty members, from whom the Mayor is annually chosen. The first Mayor was ELZEAR BEDARD, Esquire; and for the current year, EDOUARD CARON, Esquire.

The CORPORATION seal represents a female figure, in a sitting position, leaning upon a shield, on which is a lion *passant*, holding a Key. Above is a *cornucopia*, and on the side a bee-hive. At her feet

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is seen a beaver. The figure points to the river, where there is a ship at anchor. In the back ground is a representation of Cape Diamond. The following are the legends on the seal, above—NATURA FORTIS, INDUSTRIA CRESCIT :—below—CONDITA QUEBECENSE, A. D. MDCVIII. CIVITATIS REGIMINE DONATA, A. D. MDCCCXXXIII.

## CHAPTER THE FIFTEENTH.

## THE SIEGES OF QUEBEC.

One, who is conversant only with the petty and broken lines of European geography, cannot form any adequate conception of the political importance of our impregnable fortress. Placed, as if by the most consummate art, at the very lowest point that effectually commands the navigation of the largest body of fresh water in the world, Cape Diamond holds, and must for ever hold, the keys not only of all the vast and fertile regions, drained by our magnificent river, but of the almost untrodden world between Lake Superior and the rocky mountains.—On one side the icy barriers of the north, on the other, the dangers, delays and distempers of the Mississippi will for ever secure an almost exclusive preference to the great highway of the St. Lawrence. In Quebec and Montreal, respectively, must centre the dominion and the wealth of half a continent.

Quebec has been styled the Gibraltar of America—a comparison that conveys a more correct idea of its military strength than of its commercial and political importance. Let the European reader complete the comparison by closing the Baltic, the Elbe and the Rhine, turning the Danube westward into the English channel, and placing Gibraltar so as to

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Quebec, moreover, derives a vast degree of relative importance from its being almost the only fortified spot in North America. Over the whole continent nature has not planted a single rival; while art in the more level districts of the south was in a great measure suspended by swamps and forests.

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The spirit of the French system of American colonization appreciated fully the unrivalled advantages of Quebec, and made Cape Diamond the fulcrum of a lever that was to shake the English colonies from their foundations. Every page of the earlier history of these regions forces on the reflecting mind a fundamental distinction, between the English and the French colonies in North America. The former were planted by an intelligent people; the latter were founded by an ambitious government.

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The English settlements, forming, as it were, so many mutually independent states, directed their unfettered energies into the natural channels of agriculture and commerce.—The French ones, entangled in the meshes of a net of unparalleled extent, were but the inert parts of a political machine, powerful, indeed, but unwieldy, expensive and unproductive. The French sought dominion in military power—the English cherished the spirit and enjoyed the blessings of freedom. Their fundamental distinction, while it gave France a temporary preponderance, could not fail to secure the ultimate triumph of her more enlightened, though less crafty, rival.

From the struggles between these hereditary rivals sprung most of the eventful scenes, which form the subject of this chapter; and one cannot but wonder that Quebec, the source of all the evils that afflicted

the English settlements, was not more frequently the main object of attack.

Sieges are from various causes, such as the vicissitudes of fortune, the concentration of interest, the pre-eminent display of valour and generosity, and other popular virtues, the most spirit stirring occurrences in warfare ; but one of the sieges of Quebec is peculiarly interesting and important, from its cutting off the contending commanders in the decisive hour of victory, changing the civil and political condition of vast and fertile regions, and bringing to a close the European warfare which had rendered the basins of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi one vast field of blood and battle.

Many years, however, before the political jealousies of France and England rendered Quebec the object of unremitting and vigorous contention, several Indian tribes, influenced partly by a natural dislike of foreign intruders, and partly by hereditary hostility towards the native allies of the strangers, had attempted to sweep away the scarcely formed germs of our ripe and rich metropolis. In the year 1621, when the whole population of Quebec fell short of three score souls, the Five Nations, or, as they are often termed, the Iroquois, surrounded a fortified post on the shore of the River St. Charles, but fearing the consequences of an actual assault, turned their murderous wrath on the chief objects of their vengeance, the Indian allies of the colony. It is but just here to offer the tribute of applause to the superiority of the French over the English in conciliating the aboriginal savages of the North American continent.

While the English fought their way by inches in almost every settlement, the French generally lived

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on fraternal terms with their immediate neighbors, and engaged in hostilities with distant tribes rather as allies than as principals. The Indian wars of the English were generally civil ones; those of the French were almost universally foreign.—In the incursions, of which we have instanced one, the aim of the Iroquois was not so much the French, as the Hurons and the Algonquins.

After a lapse of eight years of dubious security, Quebec, as if in anticipation of its final and permanent destiny, fell into the hands of the hereditary enemies of France.

In the preceding year, that is in 1628, Sir David Kertk, accompanied by William de Caen, a traitor to his country, penetrated as far as Tadoussac with a powerful squadron, and thence summoned the Governor of Quebec to an immediate surrender. Champlain, who had founded the colony, and whose name will live for ever in a Lake rich in historic recollections, had at that time the command of Quebec. The gallant commander, relying perhaps as much on a bold front, as on the strength of the defences or the prowess of the garrison, saved the settlement from Kertk's irresistible force by the spirited reply of himself and his companions.

In July following, an English fleet under two brothers of Sir David Kertk, who remained himself at Tadoussac, anchored unexpectedly before the town. Those, who know the difficulty, even in the present day, of conveying intelligence, between Quebec and the lower parts of the river, will not be surprised that this fleet should have, almost literally, brought the first intelligence of its own approach.

The brothers immediately sent, under the protection of a white flag, the following summons, which

breathes at once a consciousness of strength and a feeling of generosity.

July 19th, 1629.

Sir,

Our brother having last year informed you that sooner or later he would take Quebec, he desires us to offer you his friendship and respects, as we also do on our part, and knowing the wretched state of your garrison, we order you to surrender the Fort and settlement of Quebec into our hands, offering you terms that you will consider reasonable, and which shall be granted on your surrender.

*Champlain's answer.*

Gentlemen,

It is too true that owing to the want of succour and assistance from France, our distress is very great, and that we are incapable of resistance—we therefore desire that you will not fire on the town, nor land your troops until the articles of capitulation can be drawn up.

*Articles of Capitulation proposed by Champlain.*

That Messieurs Kertk shall produce the King of England's Commission, by virtue of which they summoned the place to surrender, as an evidence that war had been declared between France and England. That they should also produce authority by which they were empowered by their brother David Kertk, Admiral of the Fleet. That a vessel should be furnished for transporting to France all the French, without excepting two Indian women.

That the soldiers should march out with their arms and baggage.

That the vessel to be provided to carry the garrison to France shall be well victualled, to be paid for in peltries.

That no violence or insult shall be offered to any person.

That the vessel to be procured shall be ready for departure three days after their arrival at Tadoussac, and that they shall be transported.

*Answer of the Kerths.*

That they had not the commission from the King of England, but that their brother had it at Tadoussac, that they were empowered by their brother to treat with Mr. Champlain.

That a vessel would be provided, and if not sufficiently large, they would be put on board the ships of the fleet of England, and from thence sent to France.

That the Indian women could not be given up for reasons to be explained when they met.

That the officers and soldiers should march out with their arms, baggage and other effects.

Champlain's own proposals of capitulation satisfactorily demonstrate that, down to 1629, France had hardly any permanent footing in the country. By stipulating for the removal of "all the French," in Quebec, Champlain seems to have considered that the Province was virtually lost to France; and the single vessel, which was to furnish the means of a removal, reduces "all the French" in Quebec to a very paltry number. The humanity of the victors, however, had the effect of inducing most of the colonists to remain under the English Government.

With Quebec fell of course the whole of Canada into the power of England.

Champlain, with the partiality of a father for his child, strove by the most pressing entreaties, and by the most natural exaggerations, to make his country wrest Quebec from England by negociation or by arms. His countrymen, however, did not unanimously second the unsuccessful commander's blended aspirations of patriotism and ambition. With the exception of a few placemen, and of a few zealots for commercial intercourse and maritime enterprise, most of the leading men of France considered Canada merely as an expensive toy.—The government, therefore, permitted three years to elapse without employing any active means of recovering the lost colony, and at last adopted the alternative of negociation, its cheapest and most powerful weapon against the generous prowess of England.

In 1632, France recovered, by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, Canada along with the Acadian Peninsula and the Island of Cape Breton.

Connected with this point of our interesting subject, a few observations on the colonial supremacy of Britain may not be deemed impertinent by the intelligent reader.

Before the decay of the feudal system, and the establishment of standing armies, had consolidated the gigantic kingdoms of Spain and France, England was more than a match in a fair field for either of her more populous and more extensive rivals. Subsequently, however, to the introduction of those political and military innovations, England was induced as well by necessity as by inclination to cherish her navy, as the safest and most efficient means of maintaining her high position among the powers of

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Europe. Not only has her navy secured to her the uninterrupted blessings of national independence, and the proud rank of arbitress of Europe; but it has enabled her to reap the rich fruits of the colonial enterprise of France, Portugal, and Holland. *Sic vos non vobis*, would have been the appropriate, though haughty, inscription of her omnipresent and omnipotent banner. As if by the unerring hand of destiny, colony after colony, from Ganges' banks to Erie's side, has been made to submit, notwithstanding repeated restitutions, to the permanent dominion of the British name; and a nation separated from all other nations, owes, chiefly to that very separation, the mastery of a world, far more extensive than the "whole world," of the Roman bard. But however humiliating to rivals may have been the colonial conquests of England, the conquered colonies have found, in the blessings of political liberty and comparatively unrestricted commerce, an ample recompense for their share of national humiliation, and have generally acquiesced with a feeling of peaceful gratitude in the milder and happier order of things.

Champlain was reinstated in the government of the recovered colony, and during the remaining years of his honorable life was exempted from the troubles at least of foreign invasion.

Quebec seems to have enjoyed a kind of dubious tranquillity, until about twenty years after Champlain's death, the Five Nations, to the unusually large number of seven hundred warriors, after having massacred the natives and the colonists in the open country, and committed the most cruel devastations, blockaded Quebec for several successive months.—Such a siege may occupy a very small share of our consideration; but the recollections of the tomahawk, and the knife

of the yelling children of the forest, are still vivid enough in Canada, to rouse our definite sympathies for the dangers and the distresses of the unhappy citizens. The scene must have teemed with picturesque horrors; and many bold and thrilling achievements doubtless deepened its terrible interest.

This siege, although ultimately baffled, was very prejudicial to the welfare of Quebec: its dangers and terrors drove many of the settlers to France in despair, and almost led to the ruin of the colony.

After a lapse of about thirty years, Quebec, under the command of the gallant Count de Frontenac, made a vigorous and honorable defence in 1690, against the forces of Sir William Phipps, Governor of Massachusetts.

As this siege in addition to its intrinsic interest, was the fruit of the colonial system of France previously noticed, it demands a fuller and more circumstantial detail in any historical sketch of Quebec.

For some years before the date of this siege, the French had vigorously availed themselves of their geographical position not merely to harass, but to circumscribe the colonies of New England and New York. The possession of Acadia, which had been restored by England, in defiance of the remonstrance of the neighboring provinces, enabled France to command and cripple the commerce and the fisheries of the eastern colonies; while the discovery of the Mississippi, in the year 1673, and the subsequent attempts of France to colonise its banks excited serious alarms for the security of the more westerly settlements.

The English colonies, roused to a sense of the impending dangers, made unparalleled exertions both

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by land and sea to deliver themselves from their crafty and restless neighbours.

In 1690, they took Port Royal in Acadia with a small force of seven hundred men ; and in the same year made a judiciously planned attempt on Quebec, the true centre of the French power in America. The immediate cause of this attempt was the cruel invasion of the state of New-York by the French in the beginning of the year. The French had concerted an attack on the city of New-York, to be made simultaneously by sea and land ; but, though their main design was disappointed by unforeseen circumstances, they sent forth marauding parties to the south, that laid waste the country with fire and sword, and murdered in cold blood the unresisting inhabitants of Schenectady with more than barbarian ferocity.

The English colonists, provoked by an attack so cowardly, so atrocious and so uncommon even in the annals of American warfare, and haunted by undefined terrors of future encroachment and cruelty, determined, by means of their commissioners assembled at New-York, to carry the war into Canada with all possible diligence. Having in vain requested from the mother country a supply of ships and ammunition, the colonists gallantly resolved to bear the whole burden of the invasion, and to extricate themselves at all hazards from the rapidly closing net of the French. It is more than probable that had their invasion of Canada been successful, they would have resisted by something more than remonstrances the restitution of the Province to their inveterate and implacable enemies, and have anticipated by a permanent conquest the triumphs of the immortal Wolfe.

The invading forces consisted of an army, that was to cross the country under General Winthrop, and a naval squadron under the command of Governor Phipps. Of the army nothing more needs be said, than that like every other army on a similar errand, it was completely unsuccessful; to the squadron, which conducted the siege of Quebec, our last attention must be given.

As soon as the Count de Frontenac, who had turned his earliest attention to the operations of the land army, was apprised of its retreat, he led back his troops with all possible diligence to reinforce the garrison of Quebec, having ordered the governors of Montreal and Three-Rivers to follow him with their disposable forces of militia and regulars.

By extraordinary exertions, the gallant Count put the city in a state at least of temporary defence before the arrival of the hostile squadron, and seems to have infused into his soldiers his own heroic confidence of success.

Sir WILLIAM PHIPPS appeared before the town on the 5th October, old style. Charlevoix, who uses the new style adopted by the French as early as 1582, calls it the 16th. Although he was certainly neither a traitor nor a coward, the delay and irresolution of the General were afterwards complained of, probably owing to the great disappointment of the English colonists, at the failure of the expedition and the fruitless expense which had been incurred. On the 6th October "it was concluded," says Major Walley in his narrative, "that a summons should be sent ashore," of which the following is a copy :

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“To Count Frontenac, Lieutenant General, and Governor for the French King at Canada, or in his absence, to his deputy, or him or them in chief command.

“The war between the two crowns of England and France, does not only sufficiently warrant, but the destruction made by the French and Indians under your command and encouragement, upon the persons and estates of their Majesties’ subjects of New England, without provocation on their part, hath put them under the necessity of this expedition, for their security and satisfaction, and although the cruelties and barbarities used against them by the French and the Indians, might upon the present occasions prompt to a severe revenge; yet being desirous to avoid all inhumanity and unchristian-like actions, and to prevent the shedding of blood as much as may be, I, William Phipps, Knight, do hereby and in the name and on behalf of their most excellent Majesties’ William and Mary, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defenders of the faith, and by order of their Majesties’ said government of the Massachusetts colony in New England, demand a surrender of your Forts and Castles and the things and other stores, unembezzled, with a seasonable delivery of all captives, together with a surrender of all your persons and estates to my disposal.

“Upon the doing whereof you may expect mercy from me, as a christian, according to what shall be found for their Majesties’ service and the subjects’ security, which if you refuse forthwith to do, I come provided, and am resolved by the help of God, on

whom I trust, by force of arms, to revenge all wrongs and injuries offered, and bring you under subjection to the Crown of England ; and when too late make you wish you had accepted the favor tendered.

“ Your answer positive in an hour—returned with your own trumpet, with the return of mine, is required upon the peril that will ensue.”

The circumstances attending the reception of the English officer, the attempt made to impose upon his imagination, his behaviour, and the spirited reply of Frontenac will be found in a former chapter, in our account of the Castle of St. Lewis.

Finding the place prepared for defence, SIR WILLIAM after a fruitless attempt to capture it, on the land side, by an attack on the River St. Charles, contented himself with a bombardment of the city, and retired after staying a week in the harbor. All the English narratives of the siege plausibly enough ascribe the defeat to Sir William's procrastinating disposition, but he seems on this occasion at least to have had sufficient justification in the obvious impropriety of attacking a city almost impregnable by nature, and swarming with zealous defenders.

Charlevoix mentions that he was delayed by head winds and by bad pilots. But Sir William's delay, from whatever circumstances it sprung, was indubitably the sole cause of the subsequent disgrace and disaster. Had the English forces arrived but three days sooner they could not have failed to achieve an easy and almost bloodless conquest ; but during that period, time for defence was afforded, and M. de Calieres, Governor of Montreal, had reinforced the garrison with the troops of the upper country, and rendered the besieged numerically superior to the besiegers. But even in this apparently untoward

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circumstance Phipps might have discerned the gleams of certain victory, for the increased consumption of supplies, originally scanty, would soon have enlisted on his side the powerful aid of famine.

Our French manuscript clearly shows that even before Sir William's hasty departure, the garrison had deeply tasted the horrors of famine. The Nuns restricted themselves to a daily morsel of bread; and the loaves which they furnished to the soldiers, were impatiently devoured in the shape of dough—terror and distress reigned in the city, "for," in the simple but affecting language of the writer, "every thing diminished excepting hunger." To add to the general confusion, the English squadron kept up a tremendous cannonade more to the alarm than to the injury of the inhabitants. Major Walley's Journal, besides being too prolix for our limits, is less likely to interest the sympathies of the reader than the narrative of one of the besieged. We therefore take the following extracts from our French manuscript :

"It is easy to imagine how our alarms redoubled, when we heard the noise of the cannon we were more dead than alive, every time that the combat was renewed. The bullets fell on our premises in such numbers, that in one day we sent twenty-six of them to our artillerymen to be sent back to the English. Several of us thought that we were killed by them; the danger was so evident that the bravest officers regarded the capture of Quebec as inevitable. In spite of all our fears we prepared different places for the reception of the wounded, because the combat had commenced with an air to make us believe that our hospital would not be capable of containing those who might have need of our assistance: but God spared the blood of the French; there were few

wounded and fewer killed. Quebec was very badly fortified for a siege ; it contained very few arms and no provisions ; and the troops that had come from Montreal had consumed the little food that there was in the city." "The fruits and vegetables of our garden were pillaged by the soldiers ; they warmed themselves at our expense and burned our wood." "Every thing appeared sweet to us, provided we could be preserved from falling into the hands of those whom we regard as the enemies of God, as well as of ourselves. We had not any professed artillerymen. Two Captains, M. De Maricourt and M. De Lorimier, took charge of the batteries and pointed the cannon so accurately as hardly ever to miss. M. De Maricourt shot down the flag of the Admiral, and, as soon as it fell, our Canadians boldly ventured out in a canoe to pick it up, and brought it ashore under the very beard of the English."

#### ABORTIVE EXPEDITION IN 1711.

The defeat of Sir WILLIAM PHIPPS was sensibly felt by the people of NEW ENGLAND, who indeed were called upon to defray the expense, amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. They frequently represented to the British Ministry the commercial advantages, which would result from the total expulsion of the French from North America. At last, in 1707, during the military glories of the reign of Queen ANNE, distinguished by a MARLBOROUGH, as this age is by a WELLINGTON—the Earl of SUNDERLAND, Secretary of State, determined to make another attempt to dislodge the French from their almost impregnable position at QUEBEC. The

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armament intended for this object, under the command of General MACARTNEY, was, however, diverted from its destination, and ordered to PORTUGAL, in consequence of the disastrous condition to which the affairs of the QUEEN'S Ally, CHARLES III. KING OF SPAIN, had been reduced by the defeat of the allied forces at ALMANZA.

In 1711, the project was resumed, only to result in a signal and mortifying failure. The plan of this expedition was suggested by a provincial officer, General NICHOLSON, who had just taken possession of NOVA SCOTIA, on which occasion he had given the name of ANNAPOLIS to PORT ROYAL. This officer had brought to London four Indian Chiefs, and had the address to persuade the Ministry to enter into the views of the NEW ENGLAND States. The expedition consisted of five thousand troops from ENGLAND, and two thousand provincials, under Brigadier General HILL, brother to the QUEEN'S favorite, Mrs. MASHAM. The naval force was very strong, and was placed under the command of Sir HOVENDEN WALKER. The fleet met with constant fogs in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and was nearly destroyed on the Egg Islands on the 22d August. Despairing of success, the ADMIRAL called a council of war, and it was determined to return to ENGLAND without making any further attempt. Eight transports were lost on this disastrous day, with eight hundred and eighty-four officers, soldiers, and seamen. The provincial land forces under General NICHOLSON, which had advanced as far as ALBANY, and had been joined by six hundred IROQUOIS, returned to their respective quarters on hearing of the failure of the naval expedition. It is remarkable that during the heat of the factions of that day, the WHIGS affected to consider

this attempt on QUEBEC so perfectly desperate an undertaking, that it was made one of the articles of impeachment against HARLEY, Earl of OXFORD, that he had suffered it to go on.

The Marquis De VAUDREUIL, then GOVERNOR GENERAL of CANADA, omitted no duty of a brave and prudent officer on this occasion. The rejoicings at QUEBEC were naturally great at so signal a deliverance; and the Church of *Notre Dame de la Victoire* spoke the pious gratitude of the religious inhabitants, by assuming the title of *Notre Dame des Victoires*.

#### EXPEDITION OF 1759.

If it be the province of HISTORY to record great actions and glorious achievements, there cannot be a nobler subject than this expedition, so distinguished for enterprise, conduct and success. By the common consent of the world, QUEBEC is forever identified with the renown of the two great nations who contended for its possession; and the history of this period will always be referred to as equally interesting, attractive and important. The varied incidents of the expedition—the arrival before the town—the attack of the fire ships—the fruitless engagement at MONTMORENCI—the bombardment from POINTE-LEVI—the landing under the heights of ABRAHAM—the battle of the Plains—the death of the two heroic leaders—the surrender—the subsequent fight at SILLERY—the siege by the French—and the arrival of the English fleet, form a series of spirit-stirring events, which possess the mind of the reader with the eager interest of vicissitude, as they in turn develop the great game of war, played by

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the most skilful hands, and for the noblest stake ! The scene of this heroic drama, the actors, and the event will be for ever memorable. The tale has been handed down by various writers—but to do justice to the narration requires the pen of WOLFE himself—whose style was adorned with all the felicity of CÆSAR, and whose celebrated letter to Mr. PITT is still considered unsurpassed as a military composition.

## PRELIMINARY SKETCH.

A brief review of colonial affairs between the peace of UTRECHT, in 1713, and the commencement of the campaign of 1759, appears a necessary introduction to the glorious expedition of WOLFE. Notwithstanding the peace of UTRECHT, the English Colonists had never forgotten the defeat of PHIPPS in 1690, or the failure of the expedition in 1711. They still smarted with the irritation occasioned by the inroads of the Indians in the French interest ; and although their hopes of finally curbing the encroachments of the enemy had been often excited and disappointed, they were far from being extinguished. The erection by the FRENCH of the strong forts of NIAGARA, TICONDEROGA and CROWN POINT,—all in most commanding situations, as a reference to the Map will demonstrate,—was viewed by them as an infringement of the treaty of UTRECHT, which provided that no encroachment should be made on territories belonging to the Five Nations. The attempts, also, made by emissaries from CANADA to detach those Indians from the English alliance, naturally exasperated the colonists, and led to the sanguinary conflicts which were so frequent about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The peace of AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, in 1748, was in one sense only gratifying to the colonists ; inasmuch as the expense of the successful expedition against LOUISBOURG had been reimbursed to them by the BRITISH Parliament. But they were disgusted, and with reason, that CAPE BRETON, "their own acquisition," as they proudly termed it, had been restored to FRANCE by that treaty. Very soon after the peace, however, the restless spirit of the FRENCH began to display itself. The AMERICAN continent was not destined to enjoy the blessings of internal tranquillity for many years yet to come. The Governor of CANADA had sent a message to the Indians on the eastern frontier of NEW ENGLAND, dissuading them from any peace with the English ; and on the other side the FRENCH began to enlarge their own and to circumscribe the territories of their rivals. They had constructed a chain of forts at the back of VIRGINIA, PENNSYLVANIA, and NEW YORK. An Englishman taken in OHIO was passed along from fort to fort until he arrived at QUEBEC. One of these forts, that of DU QUESNE, was actually in the territory of VIRGINIA. CROWN POINT was always an annoyance to the Colonists, and from TICONDEROGA issued those ferocious incursions of FRENCH and INDIANS which spread terror and desolation throughout the ENGLISH settlements. So great was the dread of this fortress, that its capture by General AMHERST, in 1759, was hailed by the northern colonies with every demonstration of joy.

On all accounts it was seen in AMERICA that the peace could not be of long continuance. While the Governor General of CANADA continued his endeavors to seduce the Five Nations,—he was evidently preparing materials for a war which terminated in

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CONVENTION AT ALBANY.

Such was the condition of affairs in 1754, when the English Minister recommended a convention of delegates from the different assemblies, to be held at ALBANY. This was an assembly the most deserving of respect of any which had ever been convened in AMERICA. The erection of the French forts—the sending out of troops from France—the constant encroachments of the Canadians were insisted upon : and in language not altogether unlike the groans of the ancient BRITONS, the colonists complained, that without strong and energetic opposition, they were likely to be driven at last into the sea by their indefatigable enemies. At this convention appeared BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, who produced a plan for a general union of the different States, and for establishing a quota, and fixed rule for levying men and money throughout the colonies. This paper was admirably drawn up, and presents the outline of a very practicable federal union. The plan was unanimously voted by the convention, but the different states were not disposed to entertain it; and no notice was ever taken of it at home.

One great object of the remarkable convention, held at ALBANY in July, 1754, was to establish that unity of action and resistance which was so desirable and so necessary in the operations of the sister colonies against the French. The English colonies were vulnerable in different degrees, and at different points. They were under separate local governments. The French possessions, from the Gulf of St. LAWRENCE

to the Gulf of MEXICO, were subject to one Government ; and the energies of the whole could be directed to the attack of any particular colony that the Governor General at QUEBEC might choose to select. The Legislature of each particular colony had the exclusive control of its own militia ;—and the contingents of men and money to be furnished by each of the sister colonies in aid of the colony assailed, depended upon the votes of each particular Legislature. Hence there was a great difficulty in obtaining an unity of action on the part of the whole of the British colonies, corresponding with that which prevailed in the French North American possessions.

#### THE WAR BREAKS OUT.

The flames of war—the last war in America between the natives of ENGLAND and FRANCE,—a war in many cases of extermination, from the violence of the passions excited, and the employment of the Indians on both sides, were kindled in 1755. We must omit the details—the unfortunate expedition of BRADDOCK—and the victory of the famous Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON over Baron DIESKAU, in which the former was wounded, and for which he was created a Baronet. The three following campaigns were disastrous to the colonists, who were unable to make any impression on the Canada side. The French troops were commanded by the Marquis DE MONTCALM, an officer of great military skill, who had already distinguished himself in various parts of the world. On the 14th August, 1756, he captured the Fort of OSWEGO ; and on the 9th August, in the following year, besieged and took possession of Fort WILLIAM

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HENRY, defended by a numerous garrison, and commanded by officers of proved courage and experience. The atrocities committed by the Indians in the French interest, upon the unhappy and defenceless captives on this occasion, showed the impossibility of conducting the war, with such allies, on European principles. It formed no part of the Indian warrior's creed, that moderation in success added a nobler wreath to the victor's brow, nor could he understand the distinction,

*Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.*

MONTCALM had no participation in the cruel massacre of part of the captive garrison of WILLIAM HENRY: he exerted himself to the utmost to restrain the fury of the Indians, but in vain.

Undismayed by the result of three unsuccessful campaigns, the colonists were determined to proceed in their hostilities. In 1758, the Earl of LOUDOUN, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, appointed a meeting of the Governors of NEW YORK and the NEW ENGLAND colonies at HARTFORD, on the 20th February, to take measures for another campaign. Nothing satisfactory was concluded at this assembly, and Lord LOUDOUN shortly afterwards returned to ENGLAND. At the next sitting of the MASSACHUSETTS Assembly, letters were received from Mr. PITT, calling upon the Provincials to assist in the reduction of CANADA; and so popular was this proposal, that no less than seven thousand men were voted. This was the greatest exertion ever made by the Province. The conquest of CANADA alone could ensure the colonists future peace; and freedom from that distress which they were liable to whenever a war

broke out between ENGLAND and FRANCE. They were aware, that whenever NORTH AMERICA should be united under the BRITISH Crown, there would be no longer reason to dread their French and Indian enemies, who had been a scourge to the colonies from their first settlement. It will readily, therefore, be believed, that the first proposal of the Ministry to undertake the reduction of CANADA, by an expedition on a grand scale, was received by the colonists with joyful co-operation.

The largest army that had ever been seen in AMERICA, consisting of six thousand regular troops and nine thousand provincials, under General ABERCROMBIE, embarked on the placid bosom of Lake George for TICONDEROGA, July 5th, 1758, only to meet with disgrace and disaster. The attack upon this Fort failed completely, with the loss of fifteen hundred men, including the popular and gallant Lord HOWE, elder brother of the ADMIRAL, and of Sir WILLIAM, a young nobleman of the greatest promise. The Assembly of MASSACHUSETTS, to testify their respect for his merit and services, voted two hundred and fifty pounds for the erection of a Monument to his memory, which was put up in Westminster Abbey.

As some compensation for the ill-success of General ABERCROMBIE, who was immediately recalled, the fortified and strongly garrisoned town of LOUISBOURG, in CAPE BRETON, was taken in the most gallant style by the army under General AMHERST, and Brigadier General WOLFE, who there developed his extraordinary bravery, activity and military qualities. Fort FRONTENAC, and Fort DUQUESNE, near the Ohio, were also captured by the colonists in the campaign of 1758.

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The year 1759 found the British Government still determined to prosecute with vigor the reduction of CANADA. Mr. PITT again called upon the colonists to raise the same number of men as in the year before, promising a recompense proportioned to the extent of their exertion.

The plan for the operations of 1759 was laid with greater care, and had better chances of success, from the various points of attack, and the superior character of the officers and troops employed in its execution, than any of the previous campaigns. There had been no attack of CANADA by the River St. Lawrence since the unfortunate expedition of 1711, while the various attempts by Lake Champlain had been foiled by the bravery, vigilance, and good fortune of the French commanders, who were far superior in the mode of warfare required. In 1759, however, it was determined once more to combine naval with military operations; and to found upon the plans of 1690 and 1711, a better combination, and a more extended system of attack.

## GOVERNOR POWNALL'S PLAN.

The first idea of the combined operations of 1759 must be referred to the convention at ALBANY, in 1754. Mr. POWNALL, afterwards Captain General of Massachusetts Bay, whence he was removed to the Government of South Carolina, was present at this assembly; and laid before the Commissioners several valuable memorials on the subject of the Colonies. He also transmitted, in 1754 and 1755, to the Earl of Halifax, then Secretary of State, various letters proposing a general plan of operations founded upon the nature of the service in North America.

These are still extant, and are documents of pre-  
 eminent ability, full of practical wisdom and deep  
 combinations. The King having united the service  
 in the Colonies into one power of action, and under  
 one direction, by appointing a Commander-in-Chief  
 over all North America, Mr. Pownall afterwards  
 condensed the substance of these letters into a me-  
 morial, by order of the Duke of Cumberland, and  
 presented it to His Royal Highness, on arriving in  
 England, in 1756. Mr. Pownall then proposed to  
 the Earl of Halifax,—“ That after the English had  
 been repeatedly disappointed in their attempts to pe-  
 netrate the country by the way of Crown Point and  
 Lake Champlain, and had lost Oswego and the com-  
 mand of the Lake Ontario, considering the reason  
 there was also to expect the defection of the Indians  
 in consequence thereof; there remained no other  
 alternative, but either to make peace, *or to change  
 the object of the war*, by making a direct attack up  
 the River St. Lawrence upon Quebec itself, urged  
 to a radical destruction of Canada.” He recom-  
 mended the necessity of two fleets, and two armies,  
 one for the attack of the River St. Lawrence, the  
 other to take post between Albany and Montreal,  
 so as to cover the English Colonies. One of the  
 fleets to escort and convey the army up the River  
 St. Lawrence, and the other to cover and protect the  
 sea line of the Colonies. Nothing was done, how-  
 ever, with reference to this plan, in 1757; and in  
 the following year the naval operations were limited  
 to the capture of Louisbourg.

We learn from Governor Pownall's papers, that  
 so far back as 1678, the French had a brigantine of  
 ten tons on Lake Ontario, and in the year following,  
 a vessel of sixty tons upon Lake Erie. He gives

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an admirable account of the system by which the French acquired and maintained their influence over the Indian nations—their policy in building forts—and makes a distinction between the English and French settlements, which is somewhat curious. He speaks of the English lands as *settlements*, and of the French, as *possessions*: the English having merely settled without possession, as farmers, millers and fishermen—whereas the French made not only actual settlement, but took military possession and the command of the country. Governor Pownall gives a list of the French forts, and estimates the number of troops in the different posts in Louisiana at two thousand; whereof there were at New Orleans nine hundred and seventy-five, at Mobile four hundred and seventy-five, in the Illinois three hundred, and the rest detached in the smaller forts. We find also that in consequence of his recommendation, that valuable species of force, called “Light Infantry,” was first employed in America, in the year 1757. It was originally composed of provincials, and its use and qualities in American warfare are admirably described.

In the year 1758, Governor Pownall addressed to Mr. Pitt a letter, dated from Boston, December 5th, intituled, an “*Idea of the service in America for the year 1759*,” from which we extract the following remarkable passages, showing the extent of his information, and how nearly the event corresponded with his recommendations. “If we have changed the point, and brought it to its true issue, its natural crisis, whether we, as provinces of Great Britain, or Canada, as the province of France, shall be superior in America; then the service to be done, is a *general invasion of Canada, in conjunction with the European*

*troops and fleet* ; then is our national strength employed, and we must consequently be naturally superior." ..... "The road to Quebec, up the St. Lawrence River, we possess by *superiority of our marine navigation*. There is neither danger nor difficulty, nor do I see how there can be any opposition to hinder the fleet getting up to the Isle of Orleans ; and a superior army in the possession of that, may, by proper measures, command the rest of the way to Quebec. If our army can once set down before Quebec, it must take it : If Quebec be taken, the capitulation may at least strip Canada of all the regulars, after which the inhabitants might possibly be induced to surrender." ... .. "But although this attempt on Quebec, by way of the St. Lawrence River, may be the only real, and will be the only effectual attack on Canada : yet one other, if not two false attacks will be necessary, *one by way of Lake Champlain, the other by way of Lake Ontario*. *That by way of Lake Champlain, may, as far as Crown Point, be offensive* ; and should then change into a defensive measure, by taking strong post there." ... .. "A number of provincials will certainly be necessary, and these such as are used to the water, and marine navigation ; for such will be of the most essential service in *the passage of the army from the lower end of the Isle of Orleans to Quebec, where most of the difficulty and danger will be.*"

The result of the campaign proved the foresight of Governor Pownall. Quebec was taken as soon as the army, by the glorious battle of the Plains, was enabled to sit down before it ; and the operations of General Amherst were limited during the campaign of 1759 to the capture of Crown Point, which he fortified and made a defensive post. The operations on

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Lake Ontario were carried just to that effect which opened the way for the next campaign, in 1760, when General Amherst went that way to take possession of Canada.

The project of the campaign, ultimately adopted by the Ministry, was to make impressions on three different parts at once, so as to distract the attention and divide the forces of the French. The command in chief was entrusted to General Amherst, who with an army of twelve thousand men under his particular command, was to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point. He was then to cross Lake Champlain, and proceeding along the River Richelieu, was to reach the St. Lawrence, and unite himself to the army destined to attack Quebec. General Prideaux, with another army, and with a large body of friendly Indians, under Sir William Johnson, on whom they fully relied, was ordered to capture Fort Niagara, which commanded the interior of the country, and was considered one of the most important of the French posts. He also, if successful, was to descend to Montreal, and undertake the attack of that city. The immediate attack from the sea was directed solely against Quebec, and the troops were placed under the command of Major General JAMES WOLFE, who had distinguished himself so eminently the year before at the siege and capture of Louisbourg, and who possessed the confidence and the affections of the army to an extraordinary degree. The Minister in his choice of the youthful General regarded merit alone. He required a man on whose abilities he could rely; and he was fully persuaded of the professional talent of Wolfe, and of the immense resources of his mind and character. Patronage Mr. PITT disregarded, as the General was undistinguished by family

connexion or fortune; although those who were placed under his command possessed, in addition to great merit, the recommendations of high birth and ministerial interest. It is understood that WOLFE had the selection of all his Staff Officers; and if so, nothing could more clearly demonstrate his own judgment than the admirable selection which he made. He had ample reason to be satisfied with every department; for never was a General served with greater zeal, courage and conduct.

The naval forces for the service in North America consisted of twenty sail of the line, two ships of fifty guns, twelve frigates, and fourteen smaller vessels. Transports were to be procured, or were to meet them, at Halifax and Louisbourg. The whole was under the command of Vice Admiral Saunders, who had under him Rear Admirals Philip Durell and Charles Holmes, all officers of distinction in the service of their country. Admiral Durell had wintered at Halifax, and pursuant to instructions sailed for the River St. Lawrence as early as the state of the navigation would permit, for the purpose of interrupting the early convoys from France. In this he was unsuccessful, three frigates, having in convoy seventeen vessels, with provisions, stores and a few recruits, having reached Quebec a few days before his arrival at Bic, on the 23d May. Here, however, he performed a signal service to the expedition. Having hoisted French colors, the pilots in the River thinking his a French fleet, which might have been expected at that time, came unhesitatingly on board, and were detained until the arrival of Admiral Saunders and the troops. They were then compelled to pilot the fleet up to the Isle of Orleans, which, although

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grievously, as may be supposed, against their will, they safely accomplished.

Rear Admiral Holmes sailed on the 14th February for Halifax, with orders to hasten the preparations there and at Louisbourg; and on Saturday, the 17th February, Admiral Saunders sailed from Spithead with General WOLFE and the troops from England. The rendezvous was appointed at Louisbourg; but in consequence of that harbor being blocked up with ice, the fleet proceeded to Halifax. Here every exertion was made to forward the expedition; and General WOLFE obtained the admiration and confidence of the army by the clearness and distinctness of his orders, as well as by his personal activity and zeal. The transports having been prepared for sea, the fleet sailed for Louisbourg, where they were joined by the regiments in garrison, and by other reinforcements from the Bay of Fundy, making the whole force eight thousand men.

On the 6th June, they got clear of the harbor of Louisbourg, and made sail for the River St. Lawrence. They reached *Isle aux Coudres* on the 23d, where they found Admiral Durell, who furnished the fleet with the French pilots whom he had detained on board a month for that purpose. Admiral Durell, whose force was augmented with some of the larger ships of war, remained at *Isle aux Coudres* by order of Admiral Saunders, to prevent the enemy from interrupting the siege on that side. On the 26th June, the fleet and transports came to anchor off the Isle of Orleans.

It may be here remarked, that as if the destiny of the French rule in North America was about to be accomplished, not the smallest disaster interrupted the progress of the English fleet and army up the

St. Lawrence. We have already mentioned the difficulty with which Sir William Phipps made his way from the Gulf, in 1690 ; and have noticed the shipwreck and destruction of part of the fleet under Sir Hovenden Walker in 1711. Both those expeditions, however, were commenced at later periods of the season, when the navigation of the St. Lawrence is not altogether certain. Phipps arrived before Quebec in the month of October, and Walker was shipwrecked in the latter end of August. Admiral Saunders, in addition to the French pilots whom he had received from Durell, at *Isle aux Cou-dres*, navigated the river by the assistance of the most accurate charts then in existence ; and the skill of Captain Cook, afterwards so celebrated as a discoverer, was advantageously shown on this occasion.\* The buoys in the Traverse below the

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\* Captain James Cook, was born at Marton, in the County of York—the parish register states, that he was baptised November 3, 1728, his father was day labourer to Mr. Newburn. In the year 1745, he was apprenticed for four years to a grocer at Snaith, about ten miles from Whitby—having discovered a strong propensity for the sea, his indentures were given up—he was afterwards bound for three years, to Mr. Walker of Whitby, and sailed on board the *Freelove*, a vessel of about four hundred tons, engaged in the coal trade between Newcastle and London—he quitted the merchant service in 1752, and in order to try his fortune as he expressed it, entered on board His Majesty's ship *Eagle*, of 28 guns—nothing was heard from him by any of his friends, until August, 1758, when a letter was received dated on board the *Pembroke*, before Louisbourg, July 30, 1758, in which he gave a distinct account of our success in that expedition—on the recommendation of Sir Hugh Palliser he received the appointment of Master, and on the 10th May, 1759, joined the *Mercury*, then under orders for Canada. Sir Charles Saunders, at the siege of Quebec, committed to his care

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Isle of Orleans had been removed by the French, but the passage had been so well explored by Admiral Durell, that the fleet got through without accident.

Although the Marquis De Vaudreuil, who had been Governor of Louisiana, was at that time Governor General of all New France, being stationed at Montreal with five thousand men, the military operations and defence of Quebec had been entrusted to the well known talents and bravery of the commander of the land forces, the Marquis De Montcalm, already so distinguished by his former campaigns. He took every military precaution that a zealous and experienced General could take, to defeat the enterprize of the English, and to preserve the colony. He was in possession of a commanding situation, of strong entrenchments, of a fortress almost impregnable—with an army composed of men combating upon their own soil, encouraged by the veteran troops of France, and commanded by gallant, zealous and distinguished officers. In a military point of view the chances of war were all in favor of the French. But the English were commanded by one who was a HERO in the truest sense of the word, undismayed by accumulated difficulties, and with an appetite for glory which no prospect of danger could affect or deter.

We can imagine the feelings with which WOLFE, having safely landed his army on the 27th June,

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services of the first importance. Lord Colville, and Sir Charles both patronised him, and by their recommendations he was appointed to survey the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the coasts of Newfoundland—he received a commission as Lieutenant, April 1st, 1760, and was made Captain 25th May, 1768.

near the Church of St. Laurent, on the Isle of Orleans,—where they encamped in one line, about a mile from the shore—proceeded to the west end of the Island to reconnoitre the position of the enemy. It must be confessed that the view he then beheld was most magnificent and imposing. Amidst the native beauty of the scenery, the French army presented its formidable front, extending along the sloping ground upon the north shore, and occupying the heights of Beauport, from Quebec on the right, to the cascade of Montmorenci on the left. The village of Beauport rose in the centre, among the battalions of Old France—the right rested upon the St. Charles, with the beautiful village of Charlesbourg in its rear—the left extended to the chasm of the Falls. The whole front was entrenched, and protected from the English cannon—while all accessible points along the shore were occupied and defended by batteries, and by every means which the science of war provides. Beyond the right, a bridge had been thrown over the River St. Charles, in order to communicate with the town and garrison. This was protected by *têtes du pont* and strong works at each end, as well as by two batteries, of eight guns each, mounted upon hulks, sunk in the channel. The enthusiastic spirit of WOLFEMUST have comprehended all the strength of this position, and all the glory of surmounting it; nor could his gentle and highly cultivated mind have been insensible to the extreme beauty of the scene, the tranquillity of which his operations were so immediately to disturb. Looking upon the calm basin of the St. Lawrence, how aptly might he have exclaimed :

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The French army was composed of about thirteen thousand men, six battalions of which were regulars, and the remainder well disciplined Canadian Militia, with some cavalry and Indians. The right was under the command of Brigadier General the Baron De St. Ours, the centre of Brigadier General De Senezergues, and the left of M. Herbin. The garrison was commanded by M. De Ramezay.

Although the fleet had safely arrived at the place of disembarkation, no sooner were the troops on shore than it met with one of those storms of wind and rain which are frequent in the River St. Lawrence. The hurricane was of such violence as to do great damage to the transports, and boats of the fleet, by their driving on board each other. The element of fire was also employed for its destruction, but happily without success. At midnight on the 28th June, the enemy sent down with the tide seven fire ships, whose appearance at first was very formidable, as they lay in the proper channel. The French crews, however, being anxious to get to land, fired the trains on board much too soon, which enabled the fleet to prepare for their reception. Accordingly they were grappled with, and towed clear of the shipping, with the characteristic coolness and intrepidity of British sailors. These repeated escapes from imminent danger seemed to afford happy presages of ultimate success and triumph.

It being absolutely necessary for the combined operations of the two services, that the English should possess the command of the Basin, General MONCKTON, second in command, was detached on the night of the 29th with four battalions, with orders to land at Beaumont, and to clear the south shore from that village to Pointe Lévi, which post he was to occupy

and fortify—a duty which he accomplished with little opposition. Here he immediately erected batteries and works, the remains of which may be traced at the present day. In the mean time, Colonel GUY CARLETON, afterwards Lord DORCHESTER, established himself at the western point of the Isle of Orleans, where he erected works for the defence of the magazines, stores, and hospitals.

MONTCALM, who too late perceived the importance of the works at Pointe Lévi, sent a corps of sixteen hundred men against them; but these troops unluckily for themselves, and for the English General, who was anxious to defeat so large a detachment, fell into confusion, and having fired upon each other instead of upon the enemy, returned in utter discomfiture. The batteries were completed at intervals from Pointe Lévi Church, where MONCKTON's camp was, to the heights immediately opposite to the Citadel; and the Lower Town, together with the principal buildings of the Upper Town, was laid in ruins by their fire. After the surrender, it was found that upwards of five hundred houses had been destroyed, a damage the more to be regretted as it fell upon the inhabitants only, very little injury having been done to the defences of the place.

General WOLFE, perceiving that the ground to the eastward of the Falls of Montmorenci, on which rested the left flank of the French army, was higher than that on the enemy's side, determined to take possession of it; and having passed the north channel, he encamped there on the 9th July, not without severe skirmishing and considerable loss. Here he erected batteries which greatly galled the left of the French intrenchments. He was aware that there was a ford at the bottom of the Falls, through which

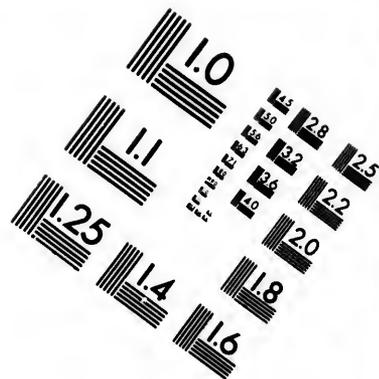
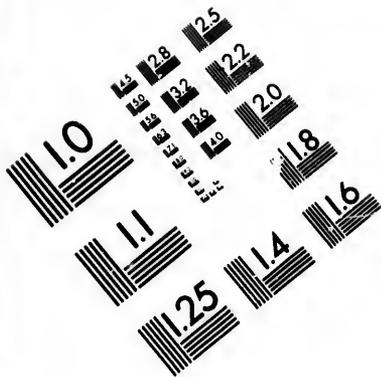
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the *habitans* pass at ebb tide ; and he had also hopes that possibly means might be found of passing the River Montmorenci above, so as to fight with MONTCALM on terms of less disadvantage than directly attacking his intrenchments.

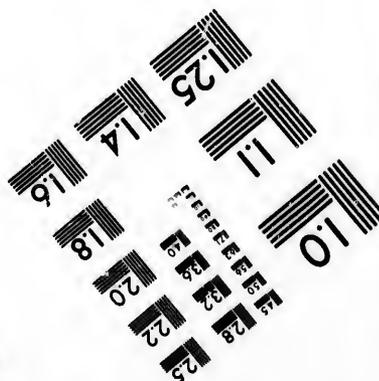
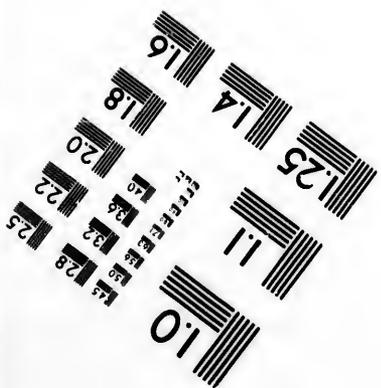
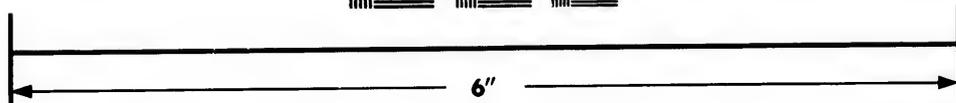
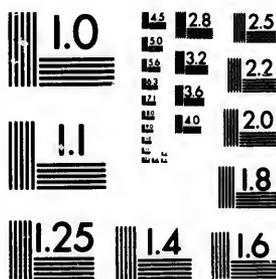
Admiral SAUNDERS, having advanced his vessels nearer to the city, compelled the French naval force to proceed up the River to Batiscan, leaving their crews, however, who formed part of the garrison and were useful in serving the artillery. So great, indeed, was the unanimity between the two services, and the desire of mutual co-operation, that in order that General WOLFE might carry with him as large a body of troops as possible on landing at Montmorenci, the Admiral ordered all the marines to be landed on the Isle of Orleans, and to do duty in the works which had been erected there.

On the 18th July, at night, General WOLFE determined to proceed some distance up the river for the purpose of reconnoitring the banks above the town. With two men of war, two armed sloops and some troops, he safely passed the batteries of the garrison ; and after a close observation found every accessible landing place protected by the enemy from Cape Diamond to Cape Rouge. He could not avoid coming to the conclusion, that even if he should effect a landing, the body first put on shore could not be reinforced before it was attacked by the enemy's whole army. He seems, however, to have almost determined on making the attempt at St. Michel, about three miles from Quebec ; but finding the enemy suspicious of his design, and some artillery having been brought from the garrison to play upon the shipping, he was forced to relinquish his intention. The reader will find that circumstances finally





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
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compelled the army to adopt this mode of attack, although at this period the General did not consider it advisable to attempt it. Colonel CARLETON was ordered to land at *Pointe aux Trembles* with a detachment, where he was disappointed in finding the magazines he had been led to expect; and brought away only a few prisoners, for the sake of acquiring information.

On WOLFE'S return to Montmorenci, he conceived the design of attacking the French in their entrenchments. This attack, which looking at the difficulties of the ground, appears to have been carefully considered and planned with judgment, took place on the 31st July. It failed through want of caution and excess of courage on the part of the grenadiers, although the grounding of the boats upon the ledge, some distance from the shore, was, doubtless the primary cause of the disaster. Time, which was precious—since the tide making would cut off their retreat by the ford, if unsuccessful—was necessarily lost by this accident, and the troops were thrown into some disorder. As soon as a new place of disembarkation had been found, the grenadiers, to the number of thirteen companies, supported by two hundred of the second Royal American Battalion, made good their landing. Before, however, Brigadier General MONCKTON'S corps, designed to support them, could reach the shore, the grenadiers rushed forward impetuously to the attack of the entrenchments in great disorder and confusion, occasioned by the hurry of landing; and received so severe a check from the enemy's fire, as to be obliged to take shelter in a redoubt at the water's edge, which the French abandoned to them on their advance, contenting themselves with a cannonading

from the entrenchment that commanded the redoubt. In this situation these gallant men continued for some time under a most galling fire. Their officers, careless of their persons and regarding only their duty, fell in great numbers; until at length General WOLFE, finding his object defeated, called off the grenadiers, and ordered them to form themselves behind General MONCKTON'S corps, which had landed in good order. The whole afterwards reembarked without further loss or molestation.

Many affecting incidents occurred on this occasion. The English Officers, many of whom were unaccustomed to the nature of the warfare, particularly to the Indian mode of attack, fell easy victims to the unerring rifle of the latter; yet never forgot their character as soldiers, or their honor as Englishmen. No disgrace attached to the soldiers—some instances of devotion occurred which would have done honor to ancient history.

After the failure of the attack at Montmorenci, their share in which the grenadiers nobly redeemed at the subsequent battle of the Plains, Brigadier General MURRAY, afterwards Governor of QUEBEC, was detached up the river with twelve hundred men. After two unsuccessful attempts to land, he effected his disembarkation at Deschambaud, where he took a few prisoners, and burned a magazine, full of stores, provisions, and spare clothing for the French army. From the prisoners, they obtained gratifying intelligence from the army of General AMHERST, who had been the first in motion of the three separate armies, and who had taken possession of Ticonderoga. Nor was this the only success. They also learned that Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON had captured Fort NIAGARA, on the 25th July previous. The month

of August was passed in various skirmishes, and in expeditions on both shores of the river, rendered necessary by the desultory hostilities of small parties of Indians and Canadians—in the conduct of which the inhabitants suffered unavoidably all the horrors of war.

The despatches of General WOLFE and of the Admiral, from which the foregoing particulars are principally taken, were dated September 2d and 5th. He touches with delicacy upon his own severe illness, and describes feelingly, but with perfect self possession and confidence, the difficulties which he experienced :

“The Admiral’s despatches and mine would have gone eight or ten days sooner if I had not been prevented from writing by a fever. I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I begged the general officers to consult together for the public utility. *They are of opinion*, that as more ships and provisions are now yet above the town, they should try, by conveying a corps of four or five thousand men, which is nearly the whole strength of the army, after the Points of Lévi and Orleans are left in a proper state of defence, to draw the enemy from their present situation and bring them to an action. *I have acquiesced in their proposal, and we are preparing to put it in execution.* The Admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general assault ; but after consulting the chief engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior part of it, and after viewing it with the utmost attention, we found that, though the batteries of the Lower Town might be easily silenced by the men of war, yet the business of an assault would be little advanced by that, since the five passages leading from the Lower to the Upper Town are carefully entrenched, and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ships, which must receive considerable damage from them and from the mortars. The Admiral would readily join in this or any other measure for the public service ; but I could not propose to him an undertaking of so dangerous a nature, and promising so little success.

“To the uncommon strength of the country, the enemy have added, for the defence of the river, a great number of floating

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batteries and boats ; by the vigilance of these, and the Indians round our posts, it has been impossible to execute any thing by surprise. We have had almost daily skirmishes with these savages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loss on our side. By the list of disabled officers, many of whom are of rank, you may perceive, Sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation, *there is such a choice of difficulties*, that I am myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require most vigorous measures ; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only, where there is some hope of a favorable event. However, you may rest assured, Sir, that the small part of the campaign which remains shall be employed, *as far as I am able*, for the honor of His Majesty, and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being seconded by the Admiral and by the Generals, happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of His Majesty's Arms in any other part of America.

I have, &c.

JAMES WOLFE."

*Return of loss at the battle of Montmorenci.*

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Officers,.....	11	46	0
Serjeants,.....	9	26	0
Drummers,.....	0	7	0
Rank and file,.....	162	571	15
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	182	650	15
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PREPARATIONS FOR LANDING.

To the council of war alluded to in the above extract from this famous despatch, it is generally believed, on contemporary information, that WOLFE himself proposed a second attack upon the entrench-

ments between Montmorenci and the River St. Charles. However gallant such a design, and however gloriously the martial spirit of WOLFE was displayed by the proposal, it appeared to the other general officers, who had never flinched in the hour of duty, so fraught with ruin and so big with dangerous consequences, as rather to be declined than carried into execution. They protested, therefore, against that design; and in their turn proposed to WOLFE to attack QUEBEC in the unexpected and surprising manner by which it was subsequently taken, and which will be admired to the latest posterity. The honor of having proposed this plan in the council of war has been claimed by the family of General TOWNSHEND for their distinguished ancestor. WOLFE, having always his country's interest uppermost in his thoughts, like a true patriot gave up his own opinion, or rather instantly acknowledged the splendid design which had been suggested to him; generously resolving to put it into execution, and to place himself at the head of the enterprise—well assured that he would be nobly seconded by the other Generals. Such conduct on both sides was highly honorable to the officers present at this council, all of whom were young men, full of ambition, and the desire of personal distinction.

The failure at Montmorenci had made a deep impression upon the mind of WOLFE. He had a spirit impatient of anticipated censure—unable to bear disappointment, where he was conscious of having deserved success—and he cherished an eager desire to retrieve the laurels which he feared some might think had fallen from his brow. His situation, however, was such that he despaired of finding an opportunity; he was often heard to sigh, and ob-

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served to betray great inward agitation. His constitution, naturally delicate, gave way under his excitement; which added to the great fatigues he had undergone, brought on a fever and dysentery, and for some time totally disabled him. Such was the affection of the whole army for WOLFE, that his sickness made a general impression upon them; and when his health, after ten days severe illness, permitted him to return to the camp, and once more to visit the guards and posts as usual, they gave the strongest proofs of the most heartfelt joy, and his presence infused fresh spirits into the troops.

With a view to the ulterior operations above the town, several of the men of war had passed the batteries, without receiving much damage, on the 27th, 29th and 30th August; and on the 1st September, the sick and wounded were removed from Montmorenci, to the Isle of Orleans. By the 4th September, the whole had left the camp at Montmorenci and taken post at Pointe Lévi. This movement, however, did not escape the notice of MONTCALM; who on the 3d, detached two large columns to the northward, with the apparent design of crossing the upper ford, and of either attacking General WOLFE in his camp with diminished forces, part of the army having been already transported to Pointe Lévi—or to fall upon his rear as he was quitting his camp, and incommode him in re-imbarking the troops. WOLFE, however, had so well digested his plan, that his operations were performed without any loss. No sooner were the French troops observed in motion, that General MONCKTON ordered a large detachment from his post at Pointe Lévi to embark in boats, and to stand towards the Beauport shore. This feint had the desired effect, and MONT-

CALM recalled his two columns in haste. In the mean time General WOLFE, having withdrawn his artillery, set fire to the camp, destroyed the works he had erected, and re-imbarked his troops without interruption, most of whom he ordered to encamp at Pointe Lévi, the remainder on the Isle of Orleans. The latter afterwards joined the main body at Pointe Lévi.

The plan for landing under the heights of ABRAHAM having been completely digested, a series of operations took place upon the south shore for the purpose of deceiving, and distracting the attention of the enemy. In this they were quite successful. On the 5th September, a corps of six hundred men marched up the south shore from Pointe Lévi, attended by sloops carrying one month's provision. On the 6th, the main body received orders to march above the town, taking with them only one spare shirt, and one pair of stockings. They forded the River Etchemin, and proceeded to a spot, whence they embarked on board of the men of war and transports, under the command of Admiral Holmes, who conveyed them some distance above Cape Diamond. General MONTCALM did not suspect, from the small number of ships, that WOLFE had conveyed his main body up the river. He contented himself, therefore, with detaching BOUGAINVILLE with two thousand men to Cape Rouge to watch their motions. On the 10th, the weather being wet, and the troops much crowded on board, they were landed on the south shore for exercise and refreshment, and marched to the Church of St. Nicolas where they took post, all their movements adding to the uncertainty of the French as to their destination. Every preparation having been made—and

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Admiral SAUNDERS having engaged to co-operate by a feint attack upon the entrenchments at Beauport—the eventful day approached when the blow was to be struck. Rear Admiral HOLMES had the command of the naval force employed in covering the disembarkation, the immediate management of which was entrusted to Captain CHADS, a name to this day distinguished in the Royal Navy. On the 12th September, General WOLFE issued the following order :

“ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY’S SHIP SUTHERLAND.”

“The enemy’s force is now divided : great scarcity of provisions is in their camp, and universal discontent among the Canadians. The second officer in command is gone to Montreal, or St. Johns ; which gives reason to think that General Amherst is advancing into the colony. A vigorous blow struck by the army at this juncture may determine the fate of Canada. Our troops below are in readiness to join us : all the light artillery and tools are embarked at Pointe Lévi ; and the troops will land where the French seem least to expect it. The first body that gets on shore is to march directly to the enemy, and drive them from any little post they may occupy. The officers must be careful that the succeeding bodies do not, by any mistake, fire upon those who go before them. The battalions must form upon the upper ground with expedition, and be ready to charge whatever presents itself. When the artillery and troops are landed, a corps will be left to secure the landing place, while the rest march on, and endeavor to bring the French and Canadians to a battle. The officers and men will remember what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers, inured to war, is capable of doing, against five weak French battalions, mingled with disorderly peasantry. The soldiers must be attentive and obedient to their officers, and the officers resolute in the execution of their duty.”

The plan adopted was, that the troops should be conveyed some distance up the river for the purpose of deceiving the enemy, and of amusing M. De

Bougainville. They were afterwards in the night to drop down with the tide, and to land on the north shore about a mile above Cape Diamond, in the expectation of being able to ascend the heights of Abraham, and to gain the open ground westward of the city, where it was most open to attack. Nothing could be more hazardous in the execution than this design—the slightest accident might derange the whole course of the operations—a night attack was always liable to mischance—yet the plan was carried into effect not only with complete success, but with singular ease and good fortune.

On the evening of the 12th September, Admiral SAUNDERS ordered all the boats of the fleet below the town to rendezvous astern of one of the frigates. Into these he put all the marines he could spare, and under cover of some frigates and sloops of war, ordered them to work up, and just at break of day, on the 13th, to stand over to the Beauport shore, as if intending a descent there. The frigates and sloops were ordered to approach as near as possible, and to cannonade the French lines. This feint had a good effect, as it compelled MONTCALM to leave a stronger body, than he at first designed for that service, to protect the entrenchments: at the same time that it drew off his attention from the more important scene of action above the town.

At night on the 12th, the main body quartered on the south shore was ordered to embark in flat bottomed boats, and to proceed up the river with the tide of flood. The first division was composed of the light infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel the Honorable WILLIAM HOWE, the regiments of Bragg, Kennedy, Lascelles and Anstruther, with a detachment of Highlanders, and the grenadiers of

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the Royal American Regiment, under the command of Brigadiers General MONCKTON and MURRAY. The night was clear and star light, and BOUGAINVILLE perceiving the boats, marched up the north bank of the river to prevent any landing. About an hour before day light, the boats fell down the river with the tide of ebb, with great rapidity by the help of oars, and keeping close to the shore. They were followed at some interval by the shipping, and both luckily escaped observation. About day-light on the 13th, they arrived at a cove below Sillery, now for ever celebrated as WOLFE'S COVE, which was the place chosen for the disembarkation. The light infantry, which had been carried a short distance below by the rapidity of the tide, were the first that landed, and scrambling up the woody precipice—the ascent of which was so difficult, that the soldiers were obliged to pull themselves up by the roots and boughs of trees—displaced a French guard at the top, under the command of Captain De Vergor, which defended the narrow path, and thereby enabled the rest of the division to reach the summit. The boats in the mean time had returned for the second division under Brigadier General TOWNSHEND, which arrived and landed in like good order. General WOLFE was with the first division, and he was one of the first on shore. On seeing the difficulty of ascending the precipice, he observed in a familiar strain to Captain DONALD McDONALD, a very gallant officer of Fraser's Highlanders, who commanded the advanced guard of the light infantry:—"I don't believe there is any possibility of getting up; but you must do your endeavor."

The exultation of WOLFE on thus finding himself, with scarcely any loss, on the heights of ABRAHAM,

may easily be conceived. After more than two months of solicitude, the object of his long and anxious wishes was before him—his only remaining hope was that MONTCALM would give him battle—of the result he entertained no doubt. The hour of triumph so long sought for, so eagerly expected, was at hand—he was determined that day to decide the supremacy of ENGLAND or FRANCE, in America, before the walls of her most important fortress :

Conspicit in planos hostem descendere campos,  
Oblatumque videt votis sibi mille petitum  
Tempus, in extremos quo mitteret omnia casus.

The first care of General WOLFE was to capture a four gun battery on the left of the British, which was accomplished by Colonel HOWE—the next, to draw up his little army to the best advantage, as the regiments landed, in order to meet General MONTCALM, who was observed to be on his march from Beauport.

MONTCALM could scarcely give credit to the first messenger who brought him the news of the successful landing of the ENGLISH. WOLFE'S extraordinary achievement had indeed baffled all his plans, and astonished to the utmost by this unexpected event, he yet prepared for the crisis with promptness and courage. He immediately adopted the resolution of meeting WOLFE in the field, and of deciding the fate of CANADA in a pitched battle. In this determination he is said to have acted against the opinion of the Governor General, the Marquis De VAUDREUIL, who had come down from Montreal.

About nine o'clock the enemy advanced in three columns, having crossed the bridge of boats on the St. Charles. Their force consisted of two thousand regular

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troops, five thousand disciplined militia, and five hundred savages. At ten, MONTCALM'S line of battle was formed, at least six deep, having the flanks covered by a thick wood on each side—along the bushes in front he had thrown about fifteen hundred Canadians and Indians, whose fire was as galling as it was incessant, until the battle became general.

The official despatches of General TOWNSHEND give full details of this memorable conflict, and of the subsequent surrender of QUEBEC. To them we shall subjoin several authentic and interesting particulars, which have been collected in order to illustrate and throw into the clearest light the glory of this achievement, rendered for ever illustrious by the fall of the two leaders.

*Letter from the Honorable Brigadier General MONCKTON to the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary PITT, dated, Camp at Pointe Lévi, September 15, 1759.*

SIR,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that, on the 13th instant, His Majesty's troops gained a very signal victory over the *French*, a little above the town of *Quebec*. General *Wolfe*, exerting himself on the right of our line, received a wound pretty early, of which he died soon after, and I had myself the great misfortune of receiving one in my right breast by a ball, that went through part of my lungs (and which has been cut out under the blade bone of my shoulder,) just as the *French* were giving way, which obliged me to quit the field. I have therefore, Sir, desired General *Townshend*, who now commands the troops before the town, (and of which I am in hopes he will be soon in possession,) to acquaint you with the particulars of that day, and of the operations carrying on.

I have the honor to be, &c.

ROB. MONCKTON.

P. S.—His Majesty's troops behaved with the greatest steadiness and bravery.

As the Surgeons tell me there is no danger in my wound, I am in hopes that I shall be soon able to join the army before the town.

*Letter from the Honorable Brigadier General TOWNSHEND to the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary PITT, dated, Camp before Quebec, Sept. 20, 1759.*

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you with the success of His Majesty's Arms, on the 13th instant, in an action with the *French*, on the heights to the westward of this town.

It being determined to carry the operations above the town, the posts at *Pointe Lévi* and *l'Isle d'Orleans* being secured, the General marched, with the remainder of the force, from *Pointe Lévi* the 5th and 6th, and embarked them in transports, which had passed the town for that purpose. On the 7th, 8th and 9th, a movement of the ships was made up, by Admiral *Holmes*, in order to amuse the enemy now posted along the north shore; but the transports being extremely crowded, and the weather very bad, the General thought proper to cantoon half his troops on the south shore; where they were refreshed, and re-imbarked upon the 12th at one in the morning. The light infantry, commanded by Colonel *Howe*, the regiments of *Bragg*, *Kennedy*, *Lascelles*, and *Anstruther*, with a detachment of Highlanders, and *American Grenadiers*, the whole being under the command of Brigadiers *Monckton* and *Murray*, were put into the flat-bottomed boats, and after some movement of the ships made by Admiral *Holmes*, to draw the attention of the enemy above, the boats fell down with the tide, and landed on the north shore, within a league of *Cape Diamond*, an hour before day break. The rapidity of the tide of ebb carried them a little below the intended place of attack, which obliged the light infantry to scramble up a woody precipice, in order to secure the landing the troops, by dislodging a Captain's post, which defended the small intrenched path the troops were to ascend. After a little firing, the light infantry gained the top of the precipice, and dispersed the Captain's post; by which means, the troops, with a very little loss from a few *Canadians* and *Indians* in the wood, got up, and were immediately formed. The boats, as they emptied, were sent back for the second embarkation, which I immediately made. Brigadier *Murray*, who had been detached with *Anstruther's* battalion to attack the four gun battery upon the left, was recalled by the General, who now saw the *French* army crossing the River *St. Charles*. General *Wolfe* thereupon began to form his line, having his

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right covered by the *Louisbourg* grenadiers ; on the right of these again he afterwards brought *Otway's* ; to the left of the grenadiers were *Bragg's*, *Kennedy's*, *Lascelles's*, *Highlanders*, and *Anstruther's* ; the right of this body was commanded by Brigadier *Monckton*, and the left by Brigadier *Murray* ; his rear and left were protected by Colonel *Howe's* light infantry, who was returned from the four gun battery before mentioned, which was soon abandoned to him. General *Montcalm* having collected the whole of his force from the *Beauport* side, and advancing, shewed his intention to flank our left, where I was immediately ordered with General *Amherst's* battalion, which I formed *en potence*. My numbers were soon after increased by the arrival of the two battalions of *Royal Americans* ; and *Webb's* was drawn up by the General, as a reserve, in eight subdivisions with large intervals. The enemy lined the bushes in their front, with 1500 *Indians* and *Canadians*, and I dare say had placed most of their best marksmen there, who kept up a very galling, though irregular, fire upon our whole line, who bore it with the greatest patience, and good order, reserving their fire for the main body, now advancing. This fire of the enemy was, however, checked by our posts in our front, which protected the forming our own line. The right of the enemy was composed of half the troops of the Colony, the battalions of *La Sarre*, *Languedoc*, and the remainder of their *Canadians* and *Indians*. Their centre was a column, and formed by the battalions of *Bearn* and *Guienne*. Their left was composed of the remaining troops of the colony, and the battalion of *Royal Rousillon*. This was, as near as I can guess, their line of battle. They brought up two pieces of small artillery against us, and we had been able to bring up but one gun ; which being admirably well served, galled their column exceedingly. My attention to the left will not permit me to be very exact with regard to every circumstance which passed in the centre, much less to the right ; but it is most certain that the enemy formed in good order, and that their attack was very brisk and animated on that side. Our troops reserved their fire, till within forty yards, which was so well continued, that the enemy every where gave way. It was then our General fell at the head of *Bragg's*, and the *Louisbourg* grenadiers, advancing with their bayonets. About the same time, Brigadier General *Monckton* received his wound at the head of *Lascelles's*. In the front of the opposite battalions fell also *Montcalm* ; and his second in command is since dead of his wounds on board of our fleet. Part of the enemy made a second faint attack. Part took to

some thick copse wood, and seemed to make a stand. It was at this moment that each corps seemed in a manner to exert itself, with a view to its own peculiar character. The grenadiers, *Bragg's*, and *Lascelles's*, pressed on with their bayonets, Brigadier *Murray* advancing with the troops under his command briskly, completed the route on this side; when the Highlanders, supported by *Anstruther's*, took to their broad swords, and drove part into the town, and part to the works at their bridge on the River *St. Charles*.

The action, on our left and rear, was not so severe. The houses, into which the light infantry were thrown, were well defended, being supported by Colonel *Howe*, who taking post with two companies behind a small copse, and frequently salying upon the flanks of the enemy during their attack, drove them often into heaps, against the front of which body I advanced platoons of *Amherst's* regiment, which totally prevented the right wing from executing their first intention. Before this, one of the *Royal American* battalions had been detached to preserve our communication with our boats, and the other being sent to occupy the ground which Brigadier *Murray's* movement had left open, I remained with *Amherst's* to support this disposition, and to keep the enemy's right, and a body of their savages, which waited still more towards our rear opposite the posts of our light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon our rear.

This, Sir, was the situation of things, when I was told, in the action, that I commanded: I immediately repaired to the centre, and finding the pursuit had put part of the troops in disorder, I formed them as soon as possible. Scarce was this effected when M. *De Bougainville*, with his corps from *Cape Rouge*, of 2000 men, appeared in our rear. I advanced two pieces of artillery, and two battalions towards him; upon which he retired. You will not, I flatter myself, blame me for not quitting such advantageous ground, and risking the fate of a decisive day, by seeking a fresh enemy, posted perhaps in the very kind of ground he could wish for, *viz.* woods and swamps. We took a great number of *French* officers upon the field of battle, and one piece of cannon. Their loss is computed to be about 1500 men, which fell chiefly upon their regulars. I have been employed, from the day of action, to that of the capitulation, in redoubting our camp beyond insult, in making a road up the precipice for our cannon, in getting up the artillery, preparing the batteries, and cutting off their communication with the country. The 17th, at noon, before we had any

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battery erected, or could have any for two or three days, a flag of truce came out with proposals of capitulation, which I sent back again to the town, allowing them four hours to capitulate, or no farther treaty. The Admiral had, at this time, brought up his large ships as intending to attack the town. The *French* officer returned at night with terms of capitulation; which, with the Admiral, were considered, agreed to, and signed at eight in the morning, the 18th instant. The terms we granted, will, I flatter myself, be approved of by His Majesty, considering the enemy assembling in our rear, and, what is far more formidable, the very wet cold season, which threatened our troops with sickness, and the fleet with some accident; it had made our road so bad, we could not bring up a gun for some time; add to this, the advantage of entering the town, with the walls in a defensible state, and the being able to put a garrison there strong enough to prevent all surprise. These, I hope, will be deemed sufficient considerations for granting them the terms I have the honour to transmit to you. The inhabitants of the country come into us fast, bringing in their arms, and taking the oaths of fidelity, until a general peace determines their situation.

I have the honour to inclose, herewith, a list of the killed and wounded; a list of the prisoners as perfect as I have yet been able to get it; and a list of the artillery and stores in the town, as well as of those fallen into our hands at *Beauport* in consequence of the victory. By deserters we learn, that the enemy are re-assembling what troops they can, behind the *Cape Rouge*; that *M. De Levy* is come down from the *Montreal* side to command them; some say he has brought two battalions with him; if so, this blow has already assisted *General Amherst*. By other deserters we learn, that *M. De Bougainville*, with 800 men and provisions, was on his march to fling himself into the town on the 18th, the very morning it capitulated, on which day we had not completed the investiture of the place, as they had broke their bridge of boats, and had detachments in very strong works on the other side of the River *St. Charles*.

I should not do justice to the Admirals, and the naval service, if I neglected this occasion of acknowledging how much we are indebted for our success to the constant assistance and support received from them, and the perfect harmony and correspondence, which has prevailed throughout all our operations, in the uncommon difficulties, which the nature of this country, in particular, presents to the military operations of a great extent,

and which no army can itself solely supply ; the immense labour in artillery, stores, and provisions ; the long watchings and attendance in boats ; the drawing up our artillery by the seamen, even in the heat of the action ; it is my duty, short as my command has been, to acknowledge, for that, how great a share the navy has had in this successful campaign.

I have the honor to be, &c.

GEO. TOWNSHEND.

*Articles of Capitulation agreed on between General TOWNSHEND and M. DE RAMESAY, Commander of Quebec.*

ARTICLE I. *M. De Ramesay* demands the honours of war for his garrison, and that it shall be conducted back to the army in safety by the shortest road, with their arms, baggage, six pieces of brass cannon, two mortars or howitzers, and twelve rounds.

*The garrison of the town, composed of land forces, marines, and sailors, shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, lighted matches, with two pieces of cannon, and twelve rounds, and shall be embarked as conveniently as possible, in order to be landed at the first port in France.*

II. That the inhabitants shall be maintained in the possession of their houses, goods, effects and privileges.

*Granted, provided they lay down their arms.*

III. That the said inhabitants shall not be molested on account of their having borne arms for the defence of the town, as they were forced to it, and as it is customary for the inhabitants of the colonies of both crowns to serve as militia. *Granted.*

IV. That the effects belonging to the absent officers, or inhabitants, shall not be touched. *Granted.*

V. That the said inhabitants shall not be removed nor obliged to quit their houses until their condition shall be settled by a definitive treaty between their most Christian and *Britannic* Majesties. *Granted.*

VI. That the exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion shall be preserved, and that safeguards shall be granted to the houses of the Clergy, and to the monasteries, particularly to the Bishop of *Quebec*, who animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his diocese, desires to reside constantly in it, to exercise freely and with that decency which his character and the sacred mysteries of the Catholic, Apostolic,

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and Roman Religion require, his Episcopal authority in the town of *Quebec*, wherever he shall think it proper, until the possession of *Canada* shall have been decided by a treaty between their most Christian and *Britannic* Majesties.

*The free exercise of the Roman Religion, safeguards granted to all religious persons, as well as to the Bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise freely and with decency the functions of his office wherever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided between their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties.*

VII. That the artillery and warlike stores shall be delivered up *bona fide*, and an inventory taken thereof. *Granted.*

VIII. That the sick, wounded, commissaries, chaplains, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and other persons employed in the hospitals, shall be treated agreeable to the cartel, settled between their Most Christian and *Britannic* Majesties, on February 6, 1759. *Granted.*

IX. That before delivering up the gate, and the entrance of the town, to the *English* forces, their General will be pleased to send some soldiers to be placed as safeguards at the Churches, Convents, and chief habitations. *Granted.*

X. That the commander of the City of *Quebec* shall be permitted to send advice to the Marquis *De Vaudreuil*, Governor General, of the reduction of the town; as also that this General shall be allowed to write to the *French* Ministry to inform them thereof. *Granted.*

XI. That the present capitulation shall be executed according to its form and tenor, without being liable to non-execution under pretence of reprisals, or the non-execution of any preceding capitulation. *Granted.*

*The present treaty has been made and settled between us, and duplicates signed at the Camp before Quebec, September 18, 1759.*

C. SAUNDERS, G. TOWNSHEND, DE RAMESAY.

*Killed in the Battle of the 13th.*—One General, one Captain, six Lieutenants, one Ensign, three Serjeants, forty-five rank and file.

*Wounded*—One Brigadier General, four Staff Officers, twelve Captains, twenty-six Lieutenants, ten Ensigns, twenty-five Serjeants, four Drummers, five hundred and six rank and file. *Missing*, three rank and file.

*Artillery.*—One Engineer wounded, one Gunner killed, one Bombardier, one Gunner, five matrosses, wounded.

*An Account of the guns, &c. found in Quebec on its surrender to His Majesty's troops:*

Brass guns	6	pounder	1.	Brass mortars	13	Inches	1.
"	4	"	3.	Do. howitzers	8	"	3.
"	2	"	2.	Iron mortars	13	"	9.
Iron guns	36	"	10.	"	10	"	1.
"	24	"	45.	"	8	"	3.
"	18	"	18.	"	7	"	2.
"	12	"	13.	Shells	13	Inches	770
"	8	"	43.	"	10	"	150
"	6	"	66.	"	8	and	} 90
"	4	"	30.	"	6		
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"	2	"	3.				

With a considerable quantity of powder, ball, small arms and intrenching tools, &c. the number of which cannot be ascertained.

There have been also 37 guns and one mortar found on several batteries between *St. Charles* and *Beauport*.

*Letter from Vice-Admiral SAUNDERS to the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary PITT, September 20, 1759.*

SIR,

I have the greatest pleasure in acquainting you, that the town and citadel of *Quebec* surrendered on the 18th instant, and I enclose you a copy of the articles of capitulation. The army took possession of the gates on the land side, the same evening, and sent safeguards into the town to preserve order, and to prevent any thing being destroyed; and Captain *Palliser*, with a body of seamen, landed in the Lower Town, and did the same. The next day, our army marched in, and near a thousand *French* officers, soldiers, and seamen, were embarked on board some *English* catts, who shall soon proceed for *France*, agreeable to the capitulation.

I had the honor to write to you the 5th instant, by the *Rodney* cutter: The troops mentioned in that letter, embarked on

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board the ships and vessels above the town, in the night of the 6th instant, and at four in the morning of the 13th, began to land on the north shore, about a mile and a half above the town. General *Montcalm*, with his whole army, left their camp at *Beauport*, and marched to meet him. A little before ten both armies were formed, and the enemy began the attack. Our troops received their fire, and reserved their own, advancing till they were so near as to run in upon them, and push them with their bayonets; by which, in a very little time, the *French* gave way, and fled to town in the utmost disorder, and with great loss; for our troops pursued them quite to the walls, and killed many of them upon the glacis, and in the ditch; and if the town had been further off, the whole *French* army must have been destroyed. About 250 *French* prisoners were taken that day, among whom are ten Captains, and six Subaltern officers, all of whom will go in the great ships to *England*.

I am sorry to acquaint you, that General *Wolfe* was killed in the action; and General *Monckton* shot through the body; but he is now supposed to be out of danger. General *Montcalm*, and the three next *French* officers in command, were killed; but I must refer you to General *Townshend* (who writes by this opportunity) for the particulars of this action, the state of the garrison, and the measures he is taking for keeping possession of it. I am now beginning to send on shore the stores they will want, and provisions for 5000 men; of which I can furnish them with a sufficient quantity.

The night of their landing, Admiral *Holmes*, with the ships and troops, was about three leagues above the intended landing place: General *Wolfe*, with about half his troops, set off in boats, and dropped down with the tide, and were, by that means, less liable to be discovered by the *French* centinels, posted all along the coast. The ships followed them about three quarters of an hour afterwards, and got to the landing-place just in the time that had been concerted, to cover their landing; and considering the darkness of the night, and the rapidity of the current, this was a very critical operation, and very properly and successfully conducted. When General *Wolfe*, and the troops with him, had landed, the difficulty of gaining the top of the hill is scarce credible: It was very steep in its ascent, and high, and had no path where two could go a-breast; but they were obliged to pull themselves up by the stumps and boughs of trees, that covered the declivity.

Immediately after our victory over their troops, I sent up all the boats in the fleet with artillery, and ammunition; and on the 17th went up with the men of war, in a disposition to attack the Lower Town, as soon as General *Townshend* should be ready to attack the upper; but in the evening they sent out to the camp, and offered terms of capitulation.

I have the farther pleasure of acquainting you, that, during this tedious campaign, there has continued a perfect good understanding between the army and navy. I have received great assistance from Admirals *Durell* and *Holmes*, and from all the Captains; indeed every body has exerted themselves in the execution of their duty; even the transports have willingly assisted me with boats and people on the landing the troops, and many other services.

I have the honor to be, &c.

CHARLES SAUNDERS.

#### THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS—DEATH OF WOLFE.

Any one who visits the celebrated Plains of ABRAHAM, the scene of this glorious fight—equally rich in natural beauty and historic recollections—will admit that no site could be found better adapted for displaying the evolutions of military skill and discipline, or the exertion of physical force and determined valor. The battle-ground presents almost a level surface from the brink of the St. Lawrence, to the St. Foy road. The *Grande-Allée*, or road to Cape Rouge, running parallel to that of St. Foy, passed through its centre,—and was commanded by a field redoubt, in all probability the four-gun battery on the English left, which was captured by the light infantry, as mentioned in General TOWNSHEND'S letter. The remains of this battery are distinctly seen near to the present race-stand. There were also two other redoubts, one upon the rising ground,

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in the rear of Mr. C. CAMPBELL'S house—the death scene of WOLFE—and the other towards the St. Foy road, which it was intended to command. On the site of the country seat called Marchmont, the property of the Honorable J. Stewart, and at present the residence of Mr. DALY, Secretary of the Province, there was also a small redoubt, commanding the intrenched path leading to the Cove. This was taken possession of by the advanced guard of the light infantry, immediately on ascending the heights. At the period of the battle, the Plains were without fences or enclosures, and extended to the walls to the St. Lewis side. The surface was dotted over with bushes, and the woods on either flank were more dense than at present, affording shelter to the French and Indian marksmen.

In order to understand the relative position of the two armies, if a line be drawn to the St. Lawrence from the General Hospital, it will give nearly the front of the French army at ten o'clock, after Montcalm had deployed into line. His right reached beyond the St. Foy road, where he made dispositions to turn the left of the English. Another parallel line, somewhat in advance of Mr. C. G. Stewart's house on the St. Foy road, will give the front of the British army, before WOLFE charged at the head of the grenadiers of the 22d, 40th, and 45th regiments, who had acquired the honorable title of the Louisbourg Grenadiers, from having been distinguished at the capture of that place, under his own command, in 1758. To meet the attempt of Montcalm to turn the British left, General Townshend formed the 15th regiment *en potence*, or presenting a double front. The light infantry were in rear of the left, and the reserve was

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The English had been about four hours in possession of the Plain and were completely prepared to receive them, when the French advanced with great resolution. They approached obliquely by the left, having marched from Beauport that morning. On being formed, they commenced the attack with great vivacity and animation, firing by platoons. It was observed, however, that their fire was irregular and ineffective, whereas that of the English was so well directed and maintained, as to throw the French into immediate confusion. It must be stated, that although the French army was more numerous, it was principally composed of colonial troops, who did not support the regular forces as firmly as was expected of them. MONTCALM, on his death bed, expressed himself bitterly in this respect. The English troops, on the contrary, were nearly all regulars, of approved courage, well officered and under perfect discipline. The grenadiers burned to revenge their defeat at Montmorenci; and it was at their head that WOLFE, with great military tact, placed himself at the commencement of the action.

About eight o'clock, some sailors had succeeded in dragging up the precipice a light six-pounder, which, although the only gun used by the English in the action, being remarkably well served, played with great success on the centre column as it advanced, and more than once compelled the enemy to change the disposition of his forces. The French had two field pieces in the action. The despatches mention a remarkable proof of coolness and presence of mind, on the part of troops who had no hopes but in victory, no chance of safety but in beating the

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enemy—for had they been defeated, re-embarkation would have been impracticable. The English were ordered to reserve their fire until the French were within forty yards. They observed these orders most strictly, bearing with patience the incessant fire of the Canadians and Indians. It is also stated that WOLFE ordered the men to load with an additional bullet, which did great execution.

The two Generals, animated with equal spirit, met each other at the head of their respective troops where the battle was most severe. MONTCALM was on the left of the French, at the head of the regiments of *Languedoc*, *Bearne* and *Guienne*—WOLFE on the right of the English, at the head of the 28th, and the Louisbourg Grenadiers. Here the greatest exertions were made under the eyes of the leaders—the action in the centre and left was comparatively a skirmish. The severest fighting took place between the right of the race-stand and the Martello towers. The rapidity and effect of the English fire having thrown the French into confusion, orders were given, even before the smoke cleared away, to charge with the bayonet. WOLFE exposing himself at the head of the battalions, was singled out by some Canadian marksmen, on the enemy's left, and had already received a slight wound in the wrist. Regardless of this, and unwilling to dispirit his troops, he folded a handkerchief round his arm, and putting himself at the head of the grenadiers, led them on to the charge, which was completely successful. It was bought, however, with the life of their heroic leader. He was struck with a second ball in the groin; but still pressed on, and just as the enemy were about to give way, he received a third ball in the breast, and fell mortally wounded. Dear, indeed,

was the price of a victory purchased by the death of WOLFE—of a hero, whose uncommon merit was scarcely known and appreciated by his country, before a premature fate removed him for ever from her service. It might have been said of him, as of Marcellus,

Ostendent terris hunc tantùm fata, neque ultrà  
Esse sinent. Nimum vobis Romana propago  
Visa potens, superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent.

He met, however, a glorious death in the moment of victory—a victory which in deciding the fate of CANADA, commanded the applause of the world, and classed WOLFE among the most celebrated Generals of ancient and modern times. Happily, he survived his wound long enough to learn the success of the day. When the fatal ball took effect, his principal care was, that he should not be seen to fall.—“Support me,”—said he to an officer near him,—“let not my brave soldiers see me drop. The day is ours, keep it!” He was then carried a little way to the rear, where he requested water to be brought from a neighboring well to quench his thirst. The charge still continued, when the officer—on whose shoulder, as he sat down for the purpose, the dying hero leaned—exclaiming, “They run! they run!”—“Who run?” asked the gallant WOLFE, with some emotion. The officer replied,—“The enemy, Sir: they give way every where!”—“What?” said he, “do they run already? Pray, send one of you go to Colonel Burton, and tell him to march Webb’s regiment with all speed down to St. Charles River, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge.—Now, God be praised, I am HAPPY!” So saying the youthful hero breathed his

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last. He reflected that he had done his duty, and he knew that he should live for ever in the memory of a grateful country. His expiring moments were cheered with the British shout of victory,

— pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.

Such was the death of WOLFE upon the Plains of ABRAHAM, at the early age of thirty-two years ! It has been well observed, that “a death more glorious and attended with circumstances more picturesque and interesting, is no where to be found in the annals of history.” His extraordinary qualities, and singular fate, have afforded a fruitful theme of panegyric to the historian and the poet, to the present day. How they were appreciated by his gallant companions in arms, may be learned by the subjoined extract from a letter written after the battle by General, afterwards Marquess, TOWNSHEND, to one of his friends in England :—“I am not ashamed to own to you, that my heart does not exult in the midst of this success. I have lost but a friend in General WOLFE. Our country has lost a sure support, and a perpetual honor. If the world were sensible at how dear a price we have purchased QUEBEC in his death, it would damp the public joy. Our best consolation is, that providence seemed not to promise that he should remain long among us. He was himself sensible of the weakness of his constitution, and determined to crowd into a few years, actions that would have adorned length of life.” The feeling and affecting manner in which WOLFE is spoken of in this letter, and its elegance of expression, confer equal honor upon the head and heart of the accomplished writer. The classical reader will agree with us in thinking, that he had in his mind at the

time the eulogy of MARCELLUS which we have quoted above.

The spot consecrated by the fall of General WOLFE, in the charge made by the grenadiers upon the left of the French line, will to the latest day be visited with deep interest and emotion. On the highest ground considerably in advance of the Martello Towers, commanding a complete view of the field of battle—not far from the fence which divides the race-ground from the enclosures on the east, and opposite to the right of the English—are the remains of a redoubt against which the attack was directed which WOLFE so gallantly urged on by his personal example. A few years ago a rock was pointed out, as marking the spot where he actually breathed his last; and in one of the enclosures nearer to the road is the well whence they brought him water. It is mentioned in the statistical work of Colonel Bouchette, that one of the four meridian stones, placed in 1790 by Major Holland, then Surveyor General of Canada, “stood in the angle of a field redoubt where General WOLFE is said to have breathed his last.” As he had been conveyed a short distance to the rear after being struck with the fatal ball, it must be presumed that this redoubt had been captured; and that the grenadiers were pressing on, when he received his mortal wound. This is corroborated by a letter which we have met with, written after the battle by an officer of the 28th regiment, serving at the time as a volunteer with the Louisbourg Grenadiers under Colonel Murray. He speaks of the redoubt in question as “a rising ground,” and shows that WOLFE was in possession of it previously to his last wound: “Upon the General viewing the position of the two armies, he took notice of a small rising

ground between our right and the enemy's left, which concealed their motions from us in that quarter, upon which the General did me the honor to detach me with a few grenadiers to take possession of that ground, and maintain it to the last extremity, which I did until both armies were engaged, and then the General came to me ; but that great, that ever memorable man, whose loss can never be enough regretted, was scarce a moment with me till he received his fatal wound."

The place is now, however, about to be marked to posterity by the erection of a permanent memorial. Permission has been given to the writer of this account, to announce the intention of HIS EXCELLENCY the LORD AYLMER to erect a small column on the spot where WOLFE expired. This act of soldier-like generosity will be duly appreciated ; and posterity will have at last amply redeemed their long neglect, and wiped away a reproach of more than seventy years duration. The Monument in QUEBEC, common to WOLFE and MONTCALM—the stone placed in the Ursuline Convent in honor of the latter—and the smaller column on the Plains, died with the blood of WOLFE, will form a complete series of testimonials—honorable to the spirit of the age, and worthy of the distinguished individuals under whose auspices they have been executed.

The memorial on the Plains will bear the following inscription :

HERE DIED  
WOLFE :  
IN THE ARMS  
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## DEATH OF MONTCALM.

A death no less glorious closed the career of the brave Marquis DE MONTCALM, who commanded the French army. He was several years older than WOLFE, and had served his King with honor and success in Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. In the earlier campaigns of this war he had given signal proofs of zeal, consummate prudence and undaunted valor. At the capture of OSWEGO, he had with his own hand wrested a color from the hand of an English officer, and sent it to be hung up in the Cathedral of Quebec. He had deprived the English of Fort WILLIAM HENRY; and had defeated General ABERCROMBIE at TICONDEROGA. He had even foiled WOLFE himself at MONTMORENCI; and had erected lines which it was impossible to force. When, therefore, he entered the Plains of Abraham at the head of a victorious army, he was in all respects an antagonist worthy of the British General.

The intelligence of the unexpected landing of WOLFE above the town was first conveyed to the Marquis DE VAUDREUIL, the Governor General, about day-break. By him it was communicated without delay to MONTCALM. Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the latter at the intelligence—he refused at first to give credence to it, observing:—"It is only Mr. WOLFE with a small party, come to burn a few houses, look about him and return." On being informed, however, that WOLFE was at that moment in possession of the Plains of Abraham,—“Then,”—said he, “they have at last got to the weak side of this miserable garrison. Therefore we must endeavor to crush them by our

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numbers, and scalp them all before twelve o'clock." He issued immediate orders to break up the camp, and led a considerable portion of the army across the River St. Charles, in order to place them between the city and the English. VAUDREUIL, on quitting the lines at Beauport, gave orders to the rest of the troops to follow him. On his arrival at the Plains, however, he met the French army in full flight towards the bridge of boats; and learned that MONTCALM had been dangerously wounded. In vain he attempted to rally them—the rout was general—and all hopes of retrieving the day, and of saving the honor of France were abandoned.

MONTCALM was first wounded by a musket shot, fighting in the front rank of the French left,—and afterwards by a discharge from the only gun in the possession of the English. He was then on horseback, directing the retreat—nor did he dismount until he had taken every measure to ensure the safety of the remains of his army. Such was the impetuosity with which the Highlanders, supported by the 58th regiment, pressed the rear of the fugitives,—having thrown away their muskets and taken to their broad swords,—that had the distance been greater from the field of battle to the walls, the whole French army would inevitably have been destroyed. As it was, the troops of the line had been almost cut to pieces, when their pursuers were forced to retire by the fire from the ramparts. Great numbers were killed in the retreat, which was made obliquely from the River St. Lawrence to the St. Charles. Some severe fighting took place in the field in front of the Martello Tower, No. 2. We are informed by an officer of the garrison, that, on digging there some years ago, a number of skeletons were found with parts of sol-

diers' dress, military buttons, buckles, and other remains.

It is reported of MONTCALM, when his wounds were dressed, that he requested the surgeons in attendance to declare at once, whether they were mortal. On being told that they were so,—“I am glad of it,”—said he. He then enquired how long he might survive. He was answered,—“Ten or twelve hours, perhaps less.”—“So much the better,”—replied he,—“then I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec.” On being afterwards visited by M. DE RAMESAY, who commanded the garrison, with the title of *Lieutenant de Roi*, and by the Commandant *de Roussillon*, he said to them—“Gentlemen, I commend to your keeping the honor of France. Endeavor to secure the retreat of my army to-night beyond Cape Rouge : for myself, I shall pass the night with God, and prepare myself for death.” On M. DE RAMESAY pressing to receive his commands respecting the defence of Quebec, MONTCALM exclaimed with emotion :—“I will neither give orders, nor interfere any further : I have much business that must be attended to, of greater moment than your ruined garrison, and this wretched country.—My time is very short—so pray leave me.—I wish you all comfort, and to be happily extricated from your present perplexities.” He then addressed himself to his religious duties, and passed the night with the Bishop and his own confessor. Before he died, he paid the victorious army this magnanimous compliment ;—“Since it was my misfortune to be discomfited and mortally wounded, it is a great consolation to me to be vanquished by so brave and generous an enemy. If I could survive this wound, I would engage to beat three times the number of

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such forces as I commanded this morning, with a third of British troops."

Almost his last act was to write a letter, recommending the French prisoners to the generosity of the victors. He died at five o'clock in the morning of the 14th September; and was buried in an excavation made by the bursting of a shell within the precincts of the Ursuline Convent—a fit resting place for the remains of a man who died fighting for the honor and defence of his country.

Besides the similarity of their fate, there was a remarkable coincidence in the prominent points of the characters of WOLFE and MONTCALM. As competitors for victory and fame, they had equal merit; and both eminently possessed those military qualities which are necessary to attain success. Equally gallant, zealous, and devoted to their country—animated with the same love of glory—they were in other respects similarly situated. Each had received literary cultivation before he entered the military service. WOLFE left a widowed mother, his father having died in the same year,—MONTCALM in addition to a mother, left behind him a widow and children. These, with an attachment to his unstained memory which cannot be too highly esteemed, defended the fame of MONTCALM from the insinuations contained in the calumnious defence of the Intendant BIGOT, who was arraigned for the mal-practices of his financial administration. They succeeded in fully vindicating the memory of their son and husband; and their triumphant refutation was made by the French Government as public as were the calumnies.

It is due to the military character of MONTCALM to state, that he did not at first despair of the French cause, notwithstanding his own wounds and the loss

of the battle. He declared to the council of war, that twelve hours would suffice to re-assemble the troops at Cape Rouge, and others scattered at a distance from the field of battle—to re-unite them to the beaten forces, and to those who had not been engaged—and to attack the victorious army with far superior numbers, before they had secured themselves by entrenchments. This spirited advice was not acted upon by the council of war. VAUDREUIL commenced a disorderly retreat towards MONTREAL, by way of Indian Lorette, compelling the Hurons to accompany him; notwithstanding which apparent act of hostility, the Indian Village remained uninjured by the English.

There is no record in history of so important a victory being gained with so trifling a loss on the part of the conquerors. The English had only forty five rank and file killed, and five hundred and six wounded. The total loss, including officers of all ranks, was six hundred and sixty-four. The loss of the French amounted to fifteen hundred killed, wounded and prisoners, among whom were many officers.

General MONCKTON, who succeeded to the command on the fall of WOLFE, was almost immediately shot through the lungs, at the head of the 47th regiment, where he had been greatly distinguished. The command then devolved on General TOWNSEND, who had been engaged on the left. Colonel GUY CARLETON, Quarter Master General, received also a severe wound in the head. The Adjutant General, Major BARRE', afterwards Secretary at War, and a distinguished member of the British Parliament, was also wounded.

The French General Officers were even more unfortunate. The Baron DE SENEZUERGES, second in

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command, was mortally wounded, and being taken prisoner, died on board the fleet the next day. The Baron DE ST. OURS also died of his wounds.

General TOWNSHEND had the honor of finishing the battle; and preserved such an appearance of good order and strength, that BOUGAINVILLE, who had advanced from Cape Rouge with two thousand fresh troops, thought it most prudent to retire. The battle of the PLAINS was, therefore, gained—the English remained masters of the field. Generals TOWNSHEND and MURRAY then performed the gratifying duty of going to the head of every regiment, and thanking them for their gallant conduct. The following days were employed in entrenching the camp, and in erecting batteries against the town. On the 17th, however, propositions were made, which were accepted and ratified on the 18th, and QUEBEC surrendered to the British arms.

The same day Lieutenant Colonel MURRAY, commanding the Louisbourg Grenadiers, with three companies of his battalion, a piece of cannon, and a detachment of Royal Artillery, took possession of the Gates and of the Upper Town. The British standard was hoisted on the highest part of the fortifications. The Lower Town was occupied by Captain HUGH PALLISER, and a body of seamen detached by Admiral SAUNDERS. The French garrison marched out with the honors of war, and with the prisoners who were not wounded, were embarked the next day on board of transports for France.

Thus was effected by an inferior force, and without any assistance from the troops under General AMHERST, the surprising and almost miraculous capture of QUEBEC,—a fortress nearly impregnable—while

M. DE LEVI, Governor of MONTREAL, was still at the head of a numerous army—while the fortifications were uninjured, and while the garrison was in communication with BOUGAINVILLE, and in daily expectation of being reinforced with men, stores and provisions by that enterprising officer.

QUEBEC having been reduced, General TOWNSHEND sailed on his return to England, with Admiral SAUNDERS. He had, indeed, accepted a commission only to serve during the campaign, and under the express condition of returning at its termination. On their arrival in the channel, SAUNDERS received intelligence of the Brest squadron having put to sea. Instead, therefore, of making an English port, he hurried to reinforce Admiral HAWKE with three sail of the line, in which spirited resolution he was joined by TOWNSHEND, who was his passenger.

A garrison of five thousand men, well furnished with provisions and stores, was left in QUEBEC under General MURRAY.

General MONCKTON soon recovered of his wounds at NEW-YORK, whither he had proceeded, and of which he was soon afterwards Governor.

### LIST

Of the Naval and Military force on the Expedition against Quebec, together with the General and Staff Officers.

Twenty ships of the Line, two of fifty guns ; eight frigates ; nine sloops ; three ketches ; three fire ships ; two armed ships ; one cutter ; one store ship.

CHARLES SAUNDERS, Commander in Chief, Vice Admiral of the Blue.

PHILIP DURELL, Rear Admiral of the Red.

CHARLES HOLMES, Rear Admiral of the White.

LAND FORCES.

Major General JAMES WOLFE, Commander-in-Chief.

Colonels { Honble. Robert Monckton, } Brigadier Genls.  
 { Honble. George Townshend, }  
 { Honble. James Murray. }

Lieutenant Colonel Guy Carleton, Quarter Master General.  
 Major Isaac Barré, Adjutant General.

Cpts. { Hervey Smith, } Aides de Camp to the Comman  
 { Thomas Bell, } der-in-Chief.

Cpts. { Richard Guillem, }  
 { John Spittal, } Majors of Brigade.  
 { Hon. Richard Maitland, }

Lieut. Henry Dobson, }

Cpts. { Caldwell, } Assistants to the Quarter Master Genl.  
 { Leslie, }

Major Patrick Mackellar, Chief Engineer.

First Brigade,	- - - - -	General Monckton,
<i>Regiments.</i>		<i>Commanding Officers.</i>
15th	- - - - -	Major Irvine,
43d	- - - - -	Lieut. Col. James,
48th	- - - - -	Lieut. Col. Burton,
78th	- - - - -	Lieut. Col. Fraser,
Second Brigade,	- - - - -	General Townshend,
28th	- - - - -	Lieut. Col. Walsh,
47th	- - - - -	Lieut. Col. Hale,
60th, 2d Bat.	- - - - -	Major Prevost.
Third Brigade,	- - - - -	General Murray,
35th	- - - - -	Lieut. Col. Fletcher,
58th	- - - - -	Major Agnew,
60th, 3d Bat.	- - - - -	Lieut. Col. Young.

The Grenadiers of the above ten Regiments, Lt. Col. Carleton.

At Corps of Light Infantry from { Lt. Col. Hon. Wm. Howe,  
 the Regiments of the Line. } 58th Regt. and Major  
 John Dalling.

A corps of Rangers - - - Major George Scott.

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OFFICERS PRESENT ; RANK AND FILE, &c. AT THE BATTLE OF 13th SEPT. 1759.

Number of Corps.	COMMISSIONED.										STAFF.					N. Commissioned.			Total of all Ranks, including General Officers
	Regiments.	Colonels.	Lt. Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Adjutants.	Quarters Masters.	Surgeons.	Mates.	Adjutants.	Quarters Masters.	Surgeons.	Mates.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank & File.	
15th	Amherst's .....	1	0	1	4	15	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	21	6	352	406
28th	Bragg's .....	1	0	1	5	9	8	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	23	11	362	421
35th	Otway's .....	0	1	1	5	11	8	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	23	11	456	519
43d	Kennedy's .....	0	0	1	6	5	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	11	280	327
47th	Lascelles' .....	0	1	0	5	8	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31	2	305	360
48th	Webb's .....	0	1	0	4	16	7	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	33	14	605	683
58th	Anstruthers' .....	0	1	1	4	7	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	0	296	335
60th	{ Monckton's	0	1	0	2	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	15	266	322	
	{ Lawrence's																		
78th	Fraser's .....	0	0	0	7	12	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	14	474	540	
22d	{ Louisbourg	0	1	0	2	8	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	4	216	241	
40th	{ Companies of																		
45th	{ Grenadiers...	3	6	5	48	109	67	5	2	4	1	102	4215	4826					
Total,.....																			

One Major General ; Three Brigadiers, one Quarter Master General ; one Aid Quarter Master General ; one Adjutant General ; four Majors of Brigade ; two Aids de Camp.

LIST OF THE KILLED, WOUNDED AND MISSING ON THE 13th SEPT. 1759.

KILLED.	WOUNDED.	MISSING.



STRENGTH of the French Army at the Battle of Quebec,  
13th September, 1759.

RIGHT COLUMN.		
Colony troops.....	550	
Regt. of La Sarre.....	500	
Regt. of Languedoc... ..	550	
Militia and 1 six pounder.....	400	
		2000
CENTRE.		
Regiment of Bearn.....	360	
Guienne.....	360	
Militia.....	1200	
		1920
LEFT COLUMN.		
Regiment Royal Roussillon.....	650	
Colony Troops... ..	650	
Militia.....	2300	
		3600
		Grand Total 7520

THE NAVAL FORCE of the French consisted of the following  
vessels :

KING'S FRIGATES.	Guns.
L'Atalante... ..	60
La Pomone.....	32
MERCHANT VESSELS.	
Le Machault.....	24
Le Seneclere.....	24
Le Duc de Fronsac.....	24
Le Bienfaisant.....	24
The lovely Nancy.....	24
La Chezine.....	22

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CHAPTER THE SIXTEENTH.

IN order to do ample justice to the interesting subject of which we now treat, and satisfied that nothing which tends to illustrate the glorious campaign of 1759, will be read with indifference at the present day, we devote this chapter to a selection from the various anecdotes and reminiscences, which have been handed down, relative to the chief actors in the eventful crisis which added another wreath to the national fame, and a new Province to the British Empire.

MEMORABILIA OF 1759.

ANECDOTE OF MR. PITT, AFTERWARDS EARL OF CHATHAM.

The following anecdote of Mr. PITT, the Minister who selected WOLFE as eminently fit for the command of the expedition against Quebec, was communicated by his under Secretary of State, Mr. Wood, to a friend of his, and is a striking proof of his honesty and energy of purpose.

Mr. PITT sought out merit wherever he could find it ; and knowing that he could not give General WOLFE a sufficient number of troops, he told him that he would make it up to him as well as he could, by giving him the appointment of all his officers. WOLFE sent in his list, in which was the name of an officer, Lieutenant Colonel Guy Carleton, who had unfortunately made himself obnoxious to the then King, by some unguarded expression, concerning the Hanover troops, and which had, by some officious person, been repeated to His Majesty.

Lord Ligonier, then Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's land forces, took in the list to the King, who, as he expected, made objections to a particular name, and refused to sign the commission. Mr. PITT sent Lord Ligonier into the closet a second time, with no better success. His Lordship refused to go in a third time at Mr. PITT's suggestion. He was, however, told his place would be vacant if he did not; and that, on presenting the name to the sovereign, for the third time, he should tell him the peculiar situation of the state of the expedition; and that in order to make any General completely responsible for his conduct he should be made as much as possible inexcusable if he failed; and that, in consequence, whatever an officer, entrusted with any service of confidence, requested, should, if possible, be complied with. Lord Ligonier went in a third time, and told his Sovereign, what he was directed to say. The good sense of this so completely disarmed his resentment, that he signed the particular commission as he was requested.

## GENERAL WOLFE.

General JAMES WOLFE was born January 2nd, 1727, in the Parish of Westerham, Kent. The County of York also claimed the honor of his birth, and there was a dispute on the subject. His father was Lieutenant General EDWARD WOLFE, who died Colonel-in-Chief of the 8th Regiment, on the 27th March, in the same year with his illustrious son. He commanded that Regiment at the battle of Culloden, in 1745. He was the second son—the eldest, Edward, a youth of great promise, also entered the army, and died young in Germany. Another brother, younger than James, is mentioned as having been at Louisbourg.

In the mismanaged expedition against Rochford, under Sir John Mordaunt, in 1757, WOLFE was Quarter Master General with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the army. When the General's conduct came under examination, he was called upon as an evidence by both parties. The candor, precision, and knowledge of his profession, with which he delivered it, gained him esteem; and though only thirty years of age, his military talents in conversation appeared with such lustre as recommended him to the patronage of the Ministry, and of His Majesty George II. His gallant conduct at the capture of LOUISBOURG completely established his fame, and led to his appointment to the command of the expedition against QUEBEC.

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In personal appearance he was what might be called a plain man. He had a face sharp and thin, red hair, coarse skin, fair and freckled. His eyes were blue and benignant, he had a smiling mouth, and a manner which assured you of the pleasant and happy disposition of him that wore it.

WOLFE's Physician, Dr. Hinde, died lately at Newport, Kentucky, at the advanced age of ninety-two years. He was represented in some of the pictures of the death of WOLFE, as feeling the fast ebbing pulse of the wounded hero. General WOLFE was the object of his liveliest recollection, and to his latest days he was accustomed to describe him as "a tall and robust person, with fair complexion and sandy hair, possessing a countenance calm, resolute, confident, and beaming with intelligence."

General WOLFE was to have been married on his return from Quebec to a most amiable and accomplished lady, Catherine, daughter of Robert Lowther, Esquire, of Westmoreland, formerly Governor of Barbadoes. Six years after the death of WOLFE, she became the wife of the last Duke of Bolton, and died in 1809.

The letters of General WOLFE, amounting to more than two hundred, passed from the hands of his friend General Ward, whose family lived at Westerham, into those of Mr. SOUTHEY, who has written the life of WOLFE, published in Murray's Family Library. We regret that this work has not yet fallen into our hands. An account of his life was published in 1759, by Kearsley, the Bookseller, written by J. P., Master of Arts.

#### THE NIGHT BEFORE THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS.

The late Professor ROBINSON, of Edinburgh, at that time a Midshipman in the Royal Navy, happened to be on duty in the boat in which General WOLFE went to visit some of his posts the night before the battle. The evening was fine, and the scene, considering the work they were engaged in, and the morning to which they were looking forward, was sufficiently impressive. As they rowed along, the General, with much feeling, repeated nearly the whole of Gray's *Elegy*,—which had recently appeared, and was yet but little known—to an officer who sat with him in the stern of the boat, adding as he concluded, "that he would prefer being the author of that poem to the glory of beating the French to-morrow." To-morrow came, and the life of this illustrious soldier was glo-

riously terminated amidst the tears of his friends, and the shouts of his victorious army :—

“The paths of glory lead but to the grave !”

#### THE LANDING PLACE.

It appears from General TOWNSHEND'S despatch that the landing was effected somewhat to the eastward of the entrenched path, now the winding road from WOLFE'S Cove. This path after reaching Marchmont, crossed the Plains and joined the St. Lewis road where the entrance is at present to the course. The light infantry having ascended the precipice below the pathway, dislodged the guard, and thus enabled the first and second divisions to make use of the path, having freed it from its impediments. It was very fortunate that the landing was effected below the spot intended, as an alarm would otherwise have been given, and greater loss would have been sustained in gaining the summit.

The following anecdote is abridged from SMOLLETT :

“The French had posted sentries along shore, to challenge boats, and give the alarm occasionally. The first boat being questioned accordingly, a Captain of Fraser's Regiment, who had served in Holland, and was perfectly well acquainted with the French language and customs, answered to *Qui vit*, which is their challenge word, *La France*. When the sentinel demanded, *à quel regiment ?*—the Captain replied, *De la Reine*, which he knew by accident, to be one of those commanded by Bougainville. The soldier took it for granted it was the expected convoy, and saying, *Passe*, the boats proceeded without further question. One of the sentries more wary than the rest, running down to the water's edge, called out, *Pourquoi est ce que vous ne parlez plus haut ?*—to which the Captain answered, with admirable presence of mind, in a soft tone of voice, *Tai toi, nous serons entendus*. Thus cautioned, the sentry retired without further altercation.” This officer's name frequently occurs, it was Captain Donald McDonald, of Fraser's Highlanders.

#### ANECDOTE OF THE MOTHER OF WOLFE.

A little circumstance, eloquently related, has been handed down, which shows a delicacy of sentiment, and a justness of thinking, not very commonly exceeded, even among persons in the higher walks of life.

The mother of General WOLFE was an object marked for public commiseration, by great and poignant distress. That which gave cause of general exultation, could not but pierce her breast with peculiar sorrow. In the accomplished officer, whom the country and the world admired, she had lost a dutiful and affectionate son; doubly endeared by his high public merit, and by the amiable virtues that adorned his private life. He was her only son; and within a few months she had lost his father! The populace of the village where she lived, Westerham, in Kent, unanimously agreed to admit no illumination or firings, or any sign of rejoicing whatever near her house, lest they should seem by an ill-timed triumph, to violate the sacredness of her grief.

## FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF WOLFE.

The remains of the lamented HERO were brought to England for interment, with all honor and respect, on board the *Royal William*, of 84 guns.

At seven o'clock in the morning of the 17th November, this vessel, lying in Portsmouth harbor, fired two signal guns on the removal of the corpse. At eight o'clock, the body was lowered into a twelve oared barge, which was towed by two other twelve oared barges, and attended by twelve more, to the end of the point, in a train of gloomy, silent pomp, which suited the melancholy occasion. During the solemnity, all the honors that could be paid to the memory of a gallant officer, were rendered to the remains of WOLFE. Minute guns were fired from the ships at Spithead, from the time of the body's leaving the ship, to its being landed on the point at Portsmouth, which was one hour. The Regiment of Invalids was ordered under arms before eight o'clock; and being joined by a company of the train in garrison at Portsmouth, marched from the parade there to the end of the point to receive the remains with military honors. At nine, the body was accordingly landed, and placed in a travelling hearse, attended by a mourning coach, and immediately proceeded through the garrison. The colors in the Fort were struck half flag-staff: the bells were muffled, and rung in solemn concert with the march. Minute guns were fired from the platform, from the entrance of the corpse to the end of the procession. The company of the train led the van, with arms reversed—the corpse next—and the Invalids followed the hearse. They conducted the body to the Land-port gate, where the train open-

ed to the right and left, and the hearse passed through them on its way to London.

Although there were many thousands of people assembled on this occasion, not the least disturbance happened. Nothing was to be heard but murmuring and broken accents in praise of the dead Hero. The corpse was privately interred at Greenwich, in the family vault, on the 20th November.

MONUMENT ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF GENERAL WOLFE,  
IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

The subject is the tragic story of the General's death in the very moment of victory. He is represented in the last agonies of expiring heroism, with his hand closing the wound which the ball that killed him had made in his breast, and falling into the arms of a grenadier, who catches and endeavors to support him on his haunches, while with one hand he holds his feeble arm, and with the other points to glory, in the form of an Angel in the clouds, holding forth a wreath ready to crown him. On the pyramid, in relief, is the faithful Highland Serjeant who attended him, in whose countenance the *big sorrow*, at the mournful sight of his dying master, is so powerfully and pathetically expressed, that the most insensible human being cannot look upon him, without, in some sort, sharing in his grief.

This monument does equal honor to the artist who designed it, and the sculptor by whom it was executed. Every part is masterly. The lions that rest upon the base, and the wolves' heads that ornament the flanks, are animated; but, above all, the alt-relief that decorates the front, and represents the landing at Quebec, conveys such a lively view of the horrid rocks and precipices which the soldiers had to climb, and the sailors to surmount with the cannon, before they could approach to attack the enemy, that one cannot tell which most to admire, the bravery of the troops, who could conquer under such difficulties, or the art of the sculptor, who could make a representation so striking. The inscription carries no marks of ostentation, but simply records the facts in the following words:

To the memory of  
JAMES WOLFE,  
Major General and Commander-in-Chief  
Of the British Land Forces,  
On an expedition against Quebec;  
Who having surmounted,

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By ability and valour,  
 All obstacles of art and nature,  
 Was slain in the moment of victory,  
 On the 13th of September, 1759.  
 The King and Parliament of Great Britain  
 Dedicated this monument.

## MONUMENT IN WESTERHAM CHURCH.

In April, 1760, a plain monument to the late General WOLFE was erected in the Parish of Westerham, in the County of Kent, by some gentlemen of the vicinity. In the Inscription, which is here given, the extraordinary honor intended to his memory by the King and Parliament is alluded to, and the impropriety of a more expensive monument in that place justly shown.

JAMES

Son of Col. EDWARD WOLFE and HENRIETTA his Wife,

Was born in this Parish, January 2nd,

MDCCLXXVII.

And died in America, September the 13th,

MDCCLIX.

Whilst GEORGE in sorrow bows his laurelled head,  
 And bids the artist grace the soldier dead ;  
 We raise no sculptur'd trophy to thy name,  
 Brave youth ! the fairest in the list of fame.  
 Proud of thy birth, we boast th' auspicious year,  
 Struck with thy fall, we shed a general tear ;  
 With humble grief inscribe one artless stone,  
 And from thy matchless honors date our own !

I DECUS I NOSTRUM.

## CHARACTER OF WOLFE BY SMOLLETT.

The death of General WOLFE was a national loss, universally lamented. He inherited from nature an animating fervor of sentiment, an intuitive perception, an extensive capacity, and a passion for glory, which stimulated him to acquire every species of military knowledge that study could comprehend, that actual service could illustrate and confirm. This noble warmth of disposition seldom fails to call forth and unfold the liberal virtues of the soul. Brave above all estimation of dan-

ger, he was also generous, gentle, complacent, and humane : the pattern of the officer, the darling of the soldier : there was a sublimity in his genius which soared above the pitch of ordinary minds ; and had his faculties been exercised to their full extent by opportunity and action, had his judgment been fully matured by age and experience, he would, without doubt, have rivalled in reputation the most celebrated Captains of antiquity.

#### CHARACTER OF MONTCALM.

The ensuing sketch of Montcalm is extracted from Manuel's *L'Année Française* :

“ Ce sont les sacrifices faits à la société qui donnent des droits au souvenir de la postérité ; elle ne peut point oublier ce Général. Il est né, il a vécu, et il est mort dans les camps. Son éducation n'en fut pas moins soignée. Il apprit la langue d'Homère avant de prendre la lance d'Achille. Son esprit se développoit comme son courage ; et également propre aux batailles et aux académies, son vœu étoit d'unir aux lauriers de Mars les palmes de Minerve. Mais la guerre occupa presque toute sa vie ; avec des talens et de l'activité, on l'appeloit par tout où il falloit commander et se battre. Chaque grade fut marqué par des blessures ; et en très peu de tems, il mérita d'être à la tête des troupes dans l'Amérique septentrionale. C'est là que se sont montrées les qualités de ce Capitaine—c'est là qu'il a fait voir à quel degré il réunissoit la bravoure du soldat et la grandeur d'ame du héros, la prudence du conseil et la célérité de l'exécution ; le sang froid que rien n'altère, cette patience que rien ne rebute, et cette résolution courageuse qui ose reprendre du succès dans des circonstances où la timide spéculation aurait à peine entrevu des ressources. C'est là qu'au milieu des sauvages dont il étoit devenu le père, on l'a vu se plier à leur caractère féroce, s'endurcir aux mêmes travaux, et se restreindre aux mêmes besoins, les apprivoiser par la douceur, les attirer par la confiance, les attendrir par tous les soins de l'humilité, et faire dominer le respect et l'amour sur des âmes également indociles au joug de l'obéissance et au frein de la discipline. C'est là que des fatigues et des dangers sans nombre n'ont jamais ralenti son zèle ; tantôt présent à des spectacles dont l'idée seule fait frémir la nature ; tantôt exposé à manquer de tout, et souvent à mourir de faim. Réduit pendant onze mois à quatre onces de pain par jour, mangeant

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du cheval pour donner l'exemple, il fut le même dans tous les tems, satisfait de tout endurer.

“ Un des Chefs Canadiens étonné que celui qui faisoit des prodiges fut d'une petite taille, s'écria la première fois qu'il le vit—“ Ah! que tu es petit! mais je vois dans tes yeux la hauteur du chêne, et la vivacité des aigles.”

Translation of a Letter from M. DE BOUGAINVILLE, Member of the Academy of Sciences, to the Right Honorable WILLIAM PITT.

SIR,

The honors paid, during your Ministry, to the memory of Mr. WOLFE, give me room to hope that you will not disapprove of the grateful efforts made by the French troops to perpetuate the memory of the Marquis de MONTCALM. The corpse of that General, who was honored with the regret of your nation, is buried at Quebec. I have the honor to send to you an Epitaph which the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres have wrote for him; and I would beg the favor of you, Sir, to read it over, and if there be nothing improper in it, to procure me a permission to send it to Quebec, engraved in marble, to put over the Marquis de MONTCALM's tomb. If this permission should be granted, may I presume, Sir, to entreat the honor of a line to acquaint me with it, and at the same time to send me a passport, that the engraved marble may be received on board of an English vessel, and that Mr. Murray, Governor of Quebec, may give leave to have it put up in the Ursuline Church. I ask pardon, Sir, for taking off your attention, even for a moment, from your important concerns: but to endeavour to immortalize great men and illustrious citizens, is to do honor to you.

I am, &c.

BOUGAINVILLE.

Paris, March 24, 1761.

*Mr. Pitt's Answer.*

SIR,

It is a real satisfaction to me to send you the King's consent on such an interesting subject, a very handsome Epitaph drawn by the Academy of Inscriptions at Paris, for the Marquis de MONTCALM, which is desired to be sent to Quebec, engraved on marble, to be set up on the tomb of the illustrious warrior.

The noble sentiments expressed in the desire to pay this tribute to the memory of their General by the French troops who served in Canada, and who saw him fall at their head, in a manner worthy of him and worthy of them, cannot be too much applauded. I shall take a pleasure, Sir, in facilitating a design so full of respect to the deceased: and as soon as I am informed of the measures taken for embarking the marble, I shall immediately grant the passport you desire, and send orders to the Governor of Canada for its reception.

As to the rest, be assured, Sir, that I have a just sense of the obliging things said to me in the letter with which you honored me, and that I think it a singular happiness to have an opportunity to express those sentiments of distinguished esteem and consideration with which I have the honor to be, &c.

W. PITT.

April 10th, 1761.

EPITAPH FOR THE LATE GENERAL MONTCALM'S MONUMENT.

HIC JACET.

Utroque in orbe æternùm Victurus,  
 LUDOVICUS JOSEPHUS DE MONTCALM GOZON,  
 Marchio Sancti Verani, Baro Gabriaci,  
 Ordinis Sancti Ludovici Commendator,  
 Legatus Generalis Exercituum Gallicorum.  
 Egregius et Cives et Miles,  
 Nullius Rei appetens, præterquam veræ laudis,  
 Ingenio felici et litteris exulto,  
 Omnes Militiæ gradus per continua decora emensus,  
 Omnium belli Artium, temporum, discriminum  
 gnarus,  
 In Italiâ, in Bohemiâ, in Germaniâ,  
 Dux Industrius;  
 Mandata sibi, ita semper gerens, ut majoribus  
 par haberetur.  
 Jam clarus periculis,  
 Ad tutandum Canadensum Provinciam missus,  
 Parvâ Militum manu, Hostium copias, non semel  
 repulit:  
 Propugnacula cepit viris armisque instructissima,  
 Algoris, inediæ, vigilarum, laboris patiens,  
 Suis unicè prospiciens, immemor sui,

Hostis acer, Victor Mansuetus.  
 Fortunam virtute, virium inopiam, peritiâ  
 Et celeritate compensavit,  
 Imminens Coloniae Fatum et consilio et manu per  
 quadriennium sustinuit.  
 Tandem ingentem exercitum Duce strenuo et  
 audaci,  
 Classemque omni bellorum mole gravem,  
 Multiplici prudentiâ, diù ludificatus,  
 Vi pertractus ad dimicandum,  
 In primâ acie, in primo conflictu, vulneratus,  
 Religioni, quam semper coluerat, innitens,  
 Magno suorum desiderio, nec sine hostium  
 mœrore extinctus est.  
 Die XIV. Septem. A. D. M.DCC.LIX.  
 Ætat. XLVIII.  
 Mortales optimi Ducis exuvias, in excavatâ humo,  
 Quam Globus bellicus decidens, desiliensque  
 defoderat,  
 Galli lugentes deposuerunt  
 Et generosæ Hostium fidei commendârunt.

## [TRANSLATION.]

HERE LIETH,

In either hemisphere to live for ever,  
 LEWIS JOSEPH DE MONTCALM GOZON,  
 Marquis of St. Veran, Baron of Gabriac,  
 Commander of the Order of St. Lewis,  
 Lieutenant General of the French army.  
 Not less an excellent citizen than soldier;  
 Who knew no desire but that of true glory.  
 Happy in a natural Genius, improved by literature;  
 Having gone through the several steps of military honors  
 With an uninterrupted lustre,  
 Skilled in all the arts of war,  
 The juncture of the times, and the crisis of danger;  
 In Italy, in Bohemia, in Germany,  
 An indefatigable General:  
 He so discharged his important trusts,  
 That he seemed always equal to still greater.  
 At length grown bright with perils,  
 Sent to secure the Province of Canada  
 With a handful of men,

He more than once repulsed the enemy's forces,  
 And made himself master of their Forts  
 Replete with troops and ammunition.  
 Inured to cold, hunger, watching and labours,  
 Unmindful of himself,  
 He had no sensation, but for his soldiers:  
 An enemy with the fiercest impetuosity ;  
 A victor with the tenderest humanity,  
 Adverse fortune he compensated with valour ;  
 The want of strength, with skill and activity ;  
 And, with his counsel and support  
 For four years protracted the impending  
 Fate of the Colony.

Having with various artifices  
 Long baffled a great army,  
 Headed by an expert and intrepid commander,  
 And a fleet furnished with all warlike stores,  
 Compelled at length to an engagement,  
 He fell, in the first rank, in the first onset,  
 Warm with those hopes of Religion  
 Which he had always cherish'd ;  
 To the inexpressible loss of his own army,  
 And not without the regret of the enemy's.  
 XIV. September, A. D. M.DCC.LIX.  
 Of his age XLVIII.

His weeping countrymen  
 Deposited the remains of their excellent General in a grave,  
 Which a fallen bomb in bursting had excavated for him,  
 Recommending them to the generous faith of their enemies.

M. DE BOUGAINVILLE.

This gentleman, having served with much reputation under MONTCALM, afterwards became a naval officer, and will be placed by impartial posterity in the first rank of circumnavigators. His merits have been considered as nearly equal to those of the celebrated Captain Cook, whose precursor he was. He was scarcely twenty years of age at the time of the surrender of Quebec, although at that early age in command of nearly two thousand men. He was warmly attached to Montcalm ; which was evinced by his well known application to Mr. PITT, respecting the erection of a monument to that

General. Bougainville was afterwards Vice Admiral, a Senator; and was finally killed by a revolutionary mob at Paris, on the 10th August, 1792.

## MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL.

This nobleman's father had also been Governor General of all New France. The son, who surrendered Montreal to General AMHERST, had been a Captain in the Navy. There was a Marquis de Vaudreuil, who commanded the French fleet in the West Indies, about 1783, to whom Admiral Lord HOOD was opposed. If this was the same person with the Governor General, he must at the latter date have been between seventy and eighty years of age.

## GENERAL MONCKTON.

Brigadier General the Honorable ROBERT MONCKTON was the second son of the first Viscount Galway, by Elizabeth, daughter of John Duke of Rutland, who died in 1730, at the early age of 21, leaving four children. General MONCKTON was of about the same age as WOLFE.

The family of MONCKTON is of great antiquity, having been possessed of Nun Monckton, in Yorkshire, near Boroughbridge, long previous to 1326, when it became a Nunnery, called after the family. In 1454 they acquired the Manor of Cavil, which still remains in the family.

General MONCKTON was appointed Governor of New-York, in 1761. In 1762, he was appointed to the command of eighteen Regiments, destined for the attack on Martinique, which was reduced. He afterwards possessed himself by capitulation of the whole of the Windward Islands. He died in 1782, a Lieutenant General in the Army. His younger brother, the Honorable John Monckton, died at the patriarchal age of 91, at his seat, Fineshead Abbey, Northamptonshire, on the 2nd January, 1830. He was Colonel in the army, and was dangerously wounded at the battle of the Plains, under the immortal WOLFE. In the celebrated picture by West of the death of General WOLFE, the portrait of Colonel MONCKTON is represented in the group of officers supporting the body of the dying General.

## GENERAL TOWNSHEND.

The family of General TOWNSHEND settled in England during the Reign of Henry I. ; and obtained the Manor of Raynham, in the County of Norfolk, which has ever since remained the chief seat of their descendants.

General GEORGE TOWNSHEND, was the eldest son of Charles, third Viscount Townshend, and was born on the 28th February, 1724, being three years older than WOLFE. He had served in the battles of Dettingen, Culloden, and Lafeldt, previously to that of Quebec. In 1767, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, where he is still remembered for the gaiety of his court, and the humour and kindness of his disposition. In 1787, he was created Marquess Townshend. He died a Field Marshal, and Colonel of the 2nd Dragoon Guards, in 1807, aged 83.

## GENERAL MURRAY.

Brigadier General the Honorable JAMES MURRAY was of an ancient Scottish family. He was fifth son of the fourth Lord Elibank. After the capture of Montreal, he was for some years Governor of the Province. His published documents show him to have been a man of keen enquiry and observation, just and impartial in his Government, though rather hasty in his temper. He was also at another period Governor of Minorca. He died a General in the Army, in June 1794, leaving a son, Colonel James Patrick Murray.

## COLONEL CARLETON.

Colonel GUY CARLETON, afterwards created Lord DORCHESTER, and a Knight of the Bath, was descended from an Irish family of respectable antiquity. He was born at Newry, in 1722. He was many years Governor of this Province, and is remembered with the greatest esteem. In May, 1772, he married Maria, daughter of the Earl of Effingham, and died in 1808, aged 86.

## ACCOUNT OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

The services of Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON, a self taught General, like Lord CLIVE, were equally useful and important, during the many campaigns in which he was engaged in North Ame-

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rica. On two occasions he had captured the commanders of the enemy whom he fought, and had materially crippled their power. As a reward for these great services, he was raised to the rank of Major General in the Army, from being a provincial officer, and received a Parliamentary grant of £5000, to which His Majesty added the title of Baronet. Throughout the war he proved himself a most active and skilful partisan, displaying peculiar talent for that species of warfare best calculated for the woods and swamps of America. His strict integrity, conciliating manners, and perfect acquaintance with the manners of the aborigines, gave him great influence over the Indians and provincial troops, whom he managed so as to render them eminently useful to the service. He was a native of Ireland, and had been early sent to America by his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, to manage an estate which he had purchased there. His decendants remain in this Province.

The following was the opinion of an Indian Sachem, at the close of the campaign of 1759 :—" The English, formerly women, are now turned men ; and are thick all over the country as the trees in the woods. They have taken Niagara, Cataroqui, Ticonderoga, Louisbourg, and Quebec, and they will soon eat the remainder of the French in Canada, or drive them out of the country."

#### POETICAL TRIBUTES.

Among the many tributes with which the periodical publications of the day teemed, we have extracted a few of some poetical merit :

##### THE TOMB OF WOLFE.

Here rests from toil, in narrow bounds confin'd,  
 The human shell of a celestial mind :  
 Who once, with splendor, fill'd a scene so large,  
 And took the fate of Empires in his charge.  
 A HERO, with a PATRIOT's zeal inspir'd—  
 By public virtue, not by passion fir'd :  
 A HERO, disciplin'd in wisdom's school,  
 In action ardent, in reflection cool :  
 In bloom of years, who gained a glorious name,  
 And reap'd, betimes, the harvest of his fame.

Before QUEBEC he charg'd the daring foe,  
 And quick as lightning struck the fatal blow :  
 By active valor made the day his own,  
 And liv'd to see his country's foe o'erthrown.  
 Crown'd by just Vict'ry, drew his latest breath,  
 As wont to smile on danger, smil'd on death ;  
 And, having bravely for his country fought,  
 Died nobly as he wish'd, and calmly as he ought,  
 The troops around him shar'd a glorious grief,  
 And while they gather'd laurels, wept their Chief—  
 Their Chief ! to whom the great MONTCALM gave way,  
 And fell, to crown the honors of the day !

## ACROSTIC.

G reatest in fame ! and to thy country dear !  
 E ternal honors must surround thy bier.  
 N o power of language can thy worth express,  
 E nquiring nations hear, admire, and bless !  
 R equiting kingdoms pour the loud applause,  
 A nd BOURBON owns in sighs, how just the cause.  
 L et FRANCE exult in thy too hasty doom,  
 W e'll hang immortal trophies o'er thy tomb.  
 O ! could the Muse fulfil her high desire,  
 L oud to rehearse the praise thy deeds inspire,  
 F or BRITAIN'S glory she'd expend her breath,  
 E nraptur'd sing thy life, or weeping mourn thy death !

*On the dispute between YORK and KENT as to the birth  
 place of WOLFE.*

Around the world when HOMER'S genius shone,  
 And ILIUM stooped to HOMER'S chief alone :  
 When peaceful Ithaca ULYSSES sought,  
 And spread that wisdom which the Poet taught—  
 Contending cities then, inspir'd by fame,  
 To HOMER'S birth advanc'd their eager claim.  
 Not with less pride, each county now, behold !  
 Among her sons has gallant WOLFE enroll'd :  
 Was there a bard like HOMER to rehearse  
 His glorious deeds—they ask no meaner verse—  
 His own ACHILLES rivall'd he might tell,  
 Whilst in QUEBEC a second ILIUM fell !

FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS, OR 78TH REGIMENT.

There are in CANADA so many interesting recollections connected with the 78th Regiment, or FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS, that we have endeavored to obtain the best information relative to this gallant corps, many of whom, as well officers as men, afterwards settled in these Provinces.

About ten years after the battle of Culloden, which terminated the unfortunate Rebellion of 1745, Mr. PITT, observing with a liberal and statesman-like eye the high spirit of loyalty towards those who placed confidence in them, which was the distinguishing characteristic of the Highland clans, resolved to employ them in the foreign service of Great Britain, under the command of officers chosen from the most esteemed Scottish families. He knew the chiefs could be depended upon where their faith was engaged; and he was aware of the devotion with which the clansman followed the fortunes of his Chieftain. The experiment succeeded to the fullest extent; and Mr. PITT had the merit of drawing into the British service a hardy and intrepid race of men, who served the Crown with fidelity, who fought with valor, and who conquered for England in every part of the world.

Following up this enlightened policy, in 1757, the Honorable SIMON FRASER, who had himself been engaged in the rebellion, and whose father, Lord LOVAT, had been beheaded for high treason on Tower Hill, was appointed Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of a Battalion, to be raised upon the forfeited estate of his own family, then vested in the Crown. Without estate, money, or influence, be-

yond the hereditary attachment of his clan, the Master of LOVAT found himself in a few weeks at the head of eight hundred men, entirely recruited by himself. His kinsmen, officers of the regiment, and the gentlemen of the country around, added seven hundred more. The battalion was thus formed of thirteen companies of one hundred and five men each, making in all one thousand four hundred and sixty men, including sixty-five serjeants, and thirty pipers and drummers.

They were a splendid body of men, who afterwards carried the military reputation of their nation to the highest pitch ; and by the temperance and moderation of their general behavior, gave every where a favorable impression of the sons of the mountain and the flood. In all their movements they were attended by their Chaplain—the Reverend ROBERT MACPHERSON, who was called by them *Caipal Mor*, from his large stature. They wore the full Highland dress, with musket and broad sword. Many of the soldiers added at their own expense the dirk, and the purse of otters' skin. The bonnet was raised or cocked on one side, with a slight bend inclining down to the right ear, over which were suspended two or more black feathers. Eagles' or hawks' feathers were worn by the officers.

FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS were highly distinguished at the capture of Louisbourg, in 1758—at the battles of Montmorenci, and the Plains of Abraham, in 1759—and of Sillery, in 1760. At the battle of the Plains, the loss of FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS amounted to three officers, one serjeant, and fourteen rank and file killed—ten officers, seven serjeants, and one hundred and thirty-one rank and file, wounded. The disproportion in the number of

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the killed to that of the wounded, must be ascribed to the irregular and unsteady fire of the enemy, which was put a stop to on the charge of the British.

At the battle of Sillery, in 1760, fell the gallant Captain DONALD McDONALD, who had been so highly distinguished at the landing at Wolfe's Cove, and to whose presence of mind and knowledge of French, was in a great measure owing the success of the attempt. He was brother to the Scottish Chief, called the Captain of Clanronald; and was a highly accomplished officer and gentleman. The regiment also suffered very severely at the battle of Sillery. Two officers and fifty-five non-commissioned officers and privates were killed—*twenty-seven* officers, and one hundred and twenty-nine non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded.

The regiment was quartered alternately in CANADA and NOVA SCOTIA, until the conclusion of the war, when great numbers settled in the Provinces. From them, in 1775, were raised the Highland Emigrants, commanded by Colonel Maclean, a regiment which was of great service during the invasion by the Americans, in 1775.

During six years in North America, FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS continued to wear the kilt both winter and summer. They, in fact, refused to wear any other dress, and their men were more healthy than other regiments which wore breeches and warm clothing.

The French had formed the most frightful and absurd notions of the *Sauvages d'Ecosse*, as they called them. They believed they would neither give nor take quarter, and that they were so nimble, that as no man could catch them, so nobody could escape them—that no one had a chance against their broad swords—that with a ferocity natural to savages, they made no prisoners, and spared neither man, woman, nor child.

## LIST

Of the Officers of FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS, Commissions dated, 5th January, 1757.

## LIEUTENANT COLONEL COMMANDANT.

Honorable Simon Fraser, died Lieutenant General, in 1782.

## MAJORS.

James Clephane.

John Campbell, of Danoon, afterwards Lieutenant Colonel Commanding the Campbell Highlanders in Germany.

## CAPTAINS.

John MacPherson, brother of Clunie.

John Campbell, of Ballimore.

Simon Fraser, of Inverlochy, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.

Donald Macdonald, brother of Clanronald, killed at Sillery, 1760.

John Macdonell of Lochgarry, afterwards Lieutenant Colonel of the 76th, or Macdonald's Regiment, died in 1789, Colonel.

Alexander Cameron, of Dungallon.

Thomas Ross of Culrossie, killed on the heights of Abraham.

Thomas Fraser, of Strui.

Alexander Fraser, of Culduthel.

Sir Henry Seton, of Abercorn, Baronet.

James Fraser, of Belladrum.

Simon Fraser, *Captain Lieutenant*, died a Lieutenant General, in 1812.

## LIEUTENANTS.

Alexander Macleod.

Hugh Cameron.

Ronald Macdonald, of Keppoch.

Charles Macdonell, of Glengarry, killed at St. John's.

Roderick Macneill, of Barra, killed on the Heights of Abraham.

William Macdonell,

Archibald Campbell, son of Glenlyon.

John Fraser, of Balnain.

Hector Macdonald, brother to Boisdale, killed in 1759.

Allan Stewart, son of Innernaheill.

John Fraser.

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Alexander Macdonell, son of Barrisdale, killed on the heights of Abraham.

Alexander Fraser, killed at Louisbourg.

Alexander Campbell, of Aross.

John Douglass.

John Nairn.

Arthur Rose, of the family of Kilravock.

Alexander Fraser.

John Macdonell, of Leeks, died at Berwick, 1818.

Cosmo Gordon, killed at Sillery, 1760.

David Baillie, killed at Louisbourg.

Charles Stewart, son of Colonel John Roy Stewart.

Ewen Cameron, of the family of Glenevis.

Allan Cameron.

John Cuthbert, killed at Louisbourg.

Simon Fraser.

Archibald Macalister, of the family of Loup.

James Murray, killed at Louisbourg.

Donald Cameron, son of Fassafearn, died on half-pay, 1817.

## ENSIGNS.

John Chisholm.

John Fraser, of Erroggie.

Simon Fraser.

James MacKenzie.

Malcolm Fraser, afterwards Captain, 84th Regiment, or Highland Emigrants.

Donald Macneill.

Henry Munro.

Hugh Fraser, afterwards Captain, 84th Regiment.

Alexander Gregorson, Ardtornish.

James Henderson.

Robert Menzies.

John Campbell, killed.

*Chaplain*, Reverend Robert Macpherson.

*Adjutant*, Hugh Fraser.

*Quartermaster*, John Fraser.

*Surgeon*, John Maclean.

## ANECDOTE OF FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS.

In a publication of the day it is stated, that an old Highlander, a gentleman of seventy years of age, who accompanied Fraser's Regiment as a volunteer, was particularly noticed for

the dexterity and force with which he wielded his claymore, when his Regiment charged the enemy. On two occasions small parties of them were ordered, at the battle of the Plains, to advance, sword in hand, and drive the sharpshooters out of some brushwood on the right, from which they galled our line. It was from the right that General WOLFE was first wounded. This old man's conduct particularly attracted the notice of General TOWNSHEND, who sent for him after the engagement, and praising his gallant behaviour, expressed surprise that he should leave his native country at such an advanced age, and follow the fortune of war. He was so struck with the old man's magnanimity, that he took him to England along with him, and introduced him to Mr. PITT. The Minister presented him to the KING, who was graciously pleased to give him a commission, with leave to retire on full-pay. This gentleman was MALCOLM MACPHERSON, of Phoiness, in the County of Inverness. A long and ruinous law suit, and as he himself said, a desire of being revenged on the French for their treacherous promises, in 1745, made him take the field as a soldier in his old age. A near relation of his of the same name, when well advanced in years, (for he had also joined the Rebellion, in 1745,) acted nearly in a similar manner. In the year 1770 he went to India as a Cadet, and living to a great age, attained the rank of Lieutenant General, and died there in 1815, leaving a handsome fortune to his relations in Badenoch.

#### STORY OF LIEUTENANT CHARLES STEWART.

The officer, who was wounded at Sillery, had been engaged in the Rebellion of 1745, and was in Stewart of Appin's Regiment, which had seventeen officers and gentlemen of the name of Stewart, killed, and ten wounded, at Culloden. Charles Stewart was severely wounded on that occasion, as he was at Sillery. As he lay in his quarters some days after that unfortunate affair under General Murray, speaking to some brother officers on the recent battles, he exclaimed,—“From April battles, and Murray Generals, good Lord, deliver me!” He alluded to his wound at Culloden, where the vanquished blamed Lord George Murray, the Commander-in-Chief of the rebel army, for fighting on the best ground in the country for regular troops, artillery, and cavalry. In like manner he alluded to General Murray, who had marched out of garrison to attack an enemy treble his numbers, also in an open field. On

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of those story retailers, who are sometimes about head-quarters, told the disrespectful prayer of the rebellious clansman. But General Murray, who was a man of humor and of generous mind, called upon the wounded officer the following morning, and heartily wished him better deliverance in the next battle, when he hoped to give him occasion to pray in a different manner.

ANECDOTE OF CAMPBELL, YOUNGER SON OF GLENLYON.

This gentleman, a Lieutenant in Fraser's Highlanders, "had been out," in 1745, as had his father, the Laird of Glenlyon, in 1715. But his elder brother had entered the Royal Army, and was a Lieutenant in the old BLACK WATCH. After the father's death, in 1746, the Royalist officer, now Glenlyon, was ordered with a party of men to garrison his own house, and to aid in seizing all concealed rebels. His brother was in this situation, and lying hid in a deep den above Glenlyon House, being supplied with provisions by his sisters and friends. On one occasion, owing to some interruption, he had not seen his sisters for two nights; and leaving his hiding place rather too early in the evening of the third night under the influence of hunger, and in the hope of seeing some of them, he was observed by his brother and some English officers, who were walking about. The brother, afraid of a discovery, pretending to give the alarm, directed the officers to call out the soldiers immediately, while he kept the rebel in sight. He ran after him, and called out to his brother, in Gaelic, to run for his life, and to take to the mountains. When the party made their appearance, no rebel was to be seen; and the unfortunate outlaw was more careful in future. Ten years afterwards, he was appointed to Fraser's Highland Regiment, along with several others who had been engaged in the Rebellion, and was shot through the body at the battle of Sillery Wood, in 1760.

The following interesting and honorable anecdote is told of FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS. It is related from the words of the venerable Mr. THOMPSON, who was present at the battle of Montmorenci :

"General MURRAY, being in want of funds to carry on his government during the winter, summoned all the officers

ded his claymore, On two occasions battle of the Plains, arpsshooters out of they galled our line. was first wounded. ted the notice of r the engagement, ed surprise that he advanced age, and ruck with the old England along with The Minister pre- sly pleased to give ull-pay. This gen- ness, in the County it, and as he himself rench for their trea- the field as a soldier ne same name, when oined the Rebellion. . In the year 1770 a great age, attained there in 1815, leav- Badenoch.

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y, had been engaged wwart of Appin's Re- d gentlemen of the at Culloden. Char- t occasion, as he wa ne days after that un- eaking to some bro- exclaimed,—“From d Lord, deliver me.” where the vanquish- nder-in-Chief of the nd in the country fo n like manner he a- hed out of garrison t in an open field. On

and enquired if they had any money, and if their soldiers had any money that they could lend to the Governor until the supplies arrived from England in the spring. We were told of the wants of the Governor, and the next day we were paraded, every man, and told that we should receive our money back, with interest, as soon as possible; and in order to prevent any mistake, every man received his receipt for his amount, and for fear he should lose it, the Adjutant went along the ranks, and entered in a book the name and sum opposite to every man; and, *by the Lord Harry!* when they came to count it up, they found that our regiment alone, Fraser's Highlanders, had mustered *six thousand guineas!* It was not long after we had lent our money, that one morning a frigate was seen coming round Pointe Lévi with supplies. We were soon afterwards mustered, and every man received back his money with *twelve months* interest, besides the thanks of the General."

#### BATTLE OF MONTMORENCI.

The remarkable story of Captain OCHTERLONY and Lieutenant PEYTON of the Royal American Battalion, tending so happily to the honor of British soldiers, has been often published. It is to be found in SMOLLETT, in SMITH'S Canada, and in SILLIMAN'S Tour. The sequel is not so generally known; and is here related on the authority of Mr. THOMPSON, at the time belonging to the Regiment:

#### STORY OF SERJEANT ALLAN CAMERON.

"As our company of grenadiers approached, I distinctly saw MONTCALM on horseback riding backwards and forwards. He seemed very busy giving directions to his men, and I heard him give the word to fire. Immediately they opened upon us, and killed a good many of our men, I don't recollect how many. *We did not fire, for it would have been of no use, as they were completely entrenched, and we could only see the crown of their heads.*" ... "We were now ordered to retreat to our boats that had been left afloat to receive us; and by this time it was low water, so that we had a long way to wade through the mud. A Serjeant ALLAN CAMERON, of our company, seeing a small battery on our left with two guns mounted, and apparently no person near it, thought he would prevent its doing us any mischief on our retreat, so he picked up a couple of bayo

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nets that lay on the beach, and went alone to the battery, when he drove the points of them into the vents as hard as he could, and then snapped them off short.

“ When the French saw us far enough on the retreat, they sent their savages to scalp and tomahawk our poor fellows that lay wounded on the beach. Among the number was Lieutenant PEYTON of the Royal American Battalion, who was severely wounded, and had crawled away as far as the pains he endured would allow. After the savages had done their business with the poor fellows that lay nearest to the French batteries, they went back, except two who spied Lieutenant PEYTON, and thought to make a good prize of him. He happened to have a doubled barrelled fusil, and ready loaded, and as he had seen how the savages had treated all the others that came into their clutches, he was sure that if they got the better of him, they would butcher him also. Fortunately his presence of mind did not forsake him, and he waited until the first savage came near enough, when he levelled his fusil, and brought him to the ground ; the other savage thinking that the Lieutenant would not have time to reload, rushed in upon him boldly with his tomahawk ready to strike, when Lieutenant PEYTON discharged his fusil right into his chest, and he fell dead at his feet. We saw no more of the savages after that, at least on that occasion ; but we saw enough of them afterwards.

“ While poor Lieutenant PEYTON lay upon the ground almost exhausted from his exertions and loss of blood, he was accosted by Serjeant CAMERON, who had no other means of helping him than carrying him away ; and he was well able to do it, for he was a stout, strong, tall fellow. He slung the Lieutenant's fusil over his shoulder along with his own, and took him on his back, telling him to hold fast round his neck. As he had a long way to carry him, he was obliged every now and then to lay him down in order to take breath, and to give the Lieutenant some ease, as his wound was exceedingly painful. In this way he got him at last to one of the boats, and laying him down, said, “ Now Sir, I have done as much for you as lay in my power, and I wish you may recover.” It so happened, that in returning to camp, the Lieutenant was taken to the Isle of Orleans, and Cameron to Pointe Lévi.

“ After some time Lieutenant PEYTON was considerably recovered from his wounds, and he sent an officer over to Pointe Lévi to Cameron, to say that he wished to see him. Cameron

told the officer, that he would not go. "Why?" says the officer, to Cameron—"Why, do you think, Sir, I would leave camp without orders?" This was out of delicacy to his feelings. The officer then procured a pass, and brought it to Cameron, who at last consented to go over to the Island. Lieutenant PEYTON said he was extremely glad to see him, and to thank him for the very great services he had rendered him in preserving his life; and that if ever it was in his power he would give him substantial proof of the obligation under which he lay. We were ordered to the reduction of Montreal in the spring of the next year, which capitulated without our firing a shot. From Montreal, Cameron was ordered to New York, where he received an Ensigny in a corps of Rangers through the means of Lieutenant PEYTON's friends."

The French had formed the most frightful and absurd notions of the *Sauvages d'Ecosse*, as they called them. They believed they would neither give nor take quarter, and that they were so nimble, that as no man could catch them, so nobody could escape them—that no one had a chance against their broad swords—that with a ferocity natural to savages, they made no prisoners, and spared neither man, woman, nor child.

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## CHAPTER THE SEVENTEENTH.

### ARRIVAL OF THE NEWS IN ENGLAND—CRONOLOGICAL SERIES OF OCCURRENCES.

THE public mind in ENGLAND, which had been greatly depressed by the news of the failure of WOLFE at Montmorenci, was elevated in an equal degree by the intelligence of the victory of the Plains, and of the subsequent surrender of Quebec. Colonel HALE, who was the bearer of General TOWNSHEND'S despatches, and Captain JAMES DOUGLAS, of the *Alcide*, who brought those of the Admiral, arrived in LONDON on Tuesday, 16th October. It was the day of the publication of the London Gazette, and in the Extraordinary of that date, the Ministry had ordered for publication the previous despatches, detailing the less fortunate operations of the army, down to the 2nd September, which had been received only two days before. The satisfaction with which they received the glorious accounts brought by Colonel HALE, on the same evening with the publication of the Gazette, may be well imagined.

The first feeling which pervaded all ranks, and reached every part of the kingdom, was that of joy and exultation at the success of the BRITISH arms—the next was a deep national regret at the fall of the accomplished WOLFE. Their joy was shown by

the most splendid public illuminations—and their mourning by wreaths of black crape intermingled with the laurel, wherever the national colors were elevated. Exactly the same display of feeling was made on the death of the immortal NELSON, in 1805.

A day of public thanksgiving was set apart by authority for the signal success of HIS MAJESTY'S Arms. Dr. Louth preached before the King at the Chapel Royal. The Sermon before the HOUSE OF LORDS was preached by the Bishop of Worcester—before the HOUSE OF COMMONS by Dr. Dayrell. A great many sermons preached on this occasion were published in various parts of the country. Addresses of congratulation were presented to the KING from both houses of the ENGLISH Parliament—from the Parliament of IRELAND, which was first in Session—from the city of LONDON which set the example on this occasion—from the Universities—and from the principal corporations throughout the kingdom. The HOUSE OF COMMONS addressed HIS MAJESTY to erect a national Monument to the memory of WOLFE, in Westminster Abbey; which was carried into effect, and to this day remains an object of patriotic interest and exultation. The thanks of the COMMONS OF ENGLAND were also voted to the officers and men engaged in this memorable achievement. Subscriptions were set on foot to alleviate the distresses of the widows and orphans of those who fell in the battle—a life of General WOLFE was published by Kearsley—the Muses were invoked to celebrate and immortalize the hero himself—a Greek Ode, ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΣ, was published—and, in short, every demonstration of national pride and gratitude was made by a grateful, an exulting, and highly excited people.

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Captain JAMES DOUGLAS received from HIS MAJESTY the honor of Knighthood, and shortly afterwards was appointed to a higher command in the Leeward Islands. Colonel, afterwards General, HALE obtained a commission to raise a regiment of Light Dragoons; and each received a gift of five hundred pounds to purchase a sword. Admiral SAUNDERS was made Lieutenant General of Marines, and appointed to a command in the Mediterranean. Admiral HOLMES received the command of the Jamaica Fleet. The Generals were also promoted—but the scanty rewards of that period are not to be put in competition with the liberality which a long and glorious war, has, in our day, in a manner compelled the nation to evince in the distribution of honors and rewards. None of the Generals received the Order of the Bath,—which, however, was soon afterwards worthily conferred upon Admiral SAUNDERS. It is, indeed, apparent from contemporary evidence, that the limited rewards of the Ministry on this glorious occasion excited remark at the time. General BLAKENEY had been made a Knight of the Bath, and an Irish Peer, with a pension of £1000 per annum, for giving up MINORCA. Prince FERDINAND had been rewarded for the battle of MINDEN with £2,500 per annum, a richly ornamented sword of great value, besides a gratification of £20,000, and the Knighthood of the Garter. It is remarkable with reference to the battle of MINDEN, that this word has been lately inscribed upon the colors and appointments of certain Regiments present on that occasion; while, we believe, no Regiment of those engaged in an achievement as glorious to the British Arms as any recorded in its annals, bears among its *insignia* the name of QUEBEC!

The following chronological series of occurrences in ENGLAND connected with the acquisition of the Province, and the reception of the news during the eventful years 1759 and 1760, has been extracted from contemporary publications, as possessing considerable interest for the curious reader :

OCURRENCES IN ENGLAND 1759—1760.

*Wednesday, 14th February, 1759.*

Sailed from Spithead, Admiral HOLMES, in the *Somerset*, of 70 guns, with the *Northumberland* 74, *Terrible* 74, *Trident* 64, *Intrepid* 64, *Medway* 60, and the *Maidstone*, *Adventure*, *Diana*, *Trent*, *Europe*, *Vestal*, *Eurus*, *Boreas*, and *Crescent*, frigates, with 60 sail of transports, supposed for NEW-YORK.

*Saturday, 17th.*

Admiral SAUNDERS, after being made Vice Admiral of the Blue, and hoisting his flag accordingly, sailed from Spithead for Louisbourg, having in his squadron the following ships : *Neptune*, 90 guns, *Royal William* 84, *Shrewsbury* 74, *Warspite* 74, *Orford* 70, *Alcide* 64, *Stirling Castle* 64, *Dublin* 74, and *Lizard* 20; *Scorpion* sloop, the *Baltimore*, *Pelican*, and *Racehorse* bombs; and the *Cormorant*, *Strombolo*, and *Vesuvius* fire ships.

*Promotions in January, 1759.*

Lieutenant Henry Caldwell, of Colville's Regiment, to be Assistant Quarter Master General in North America.

*February, 1759.*

John Hale, Esquire, to be Lieutenant Colonel of the 47th Regiment of foot, and to rank as Colonel in America only.

Paulus Æmilius Irving, Esquire, to be Major in the 15th Regiment of foot.

Colonel George Townshend, to be Brigadier General in America.

*March, 1759.*

Hector Theophilus Cramahé, Esquire, to be Deputy Judge Advocate in North America.

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*April, 1759.*

Captain Christie, to be Deputy Quarter Master General in North America, with the rank of Major.

*Wednesday, 26th September, 1759.*

The last advices from General WOLFE's Army, are dated, July 12th, advising : " That he had landed all his Army at *Pointe Lévi*, fronting the upper end of Quebec, on a rising ground : at the extremity of which point he had erected two batteries, one of twenty twenty-four pounders, and the other of eighteen mortars. These batteries overlook the Lower, and are upon a level with the Upper City, distant from the former three-fourths of a mile. The camp is pitched in a vale at the inner part of this point, a full mile from the batteries ; notwithstanding which the cannon from the ramparts of the Upper City throw their shot a full half mile beyond their tents. The 14th July, the batteries were to be played off, and three sixty gun ships were appointed to attack a small encampment, and some batteries and outworks at the lower end of the city, whilst the centre of the place is entertained with three three-deckers, and two bomb-ketches." And as our Commanders, both by sea and land, are men of merit and approved courage, little doubt can be made of their being in possession of that city long before this time.

*Promotions in September, 1759.*

Jeffrey Amherst, Esquire, to be Major General.

*Tuesday, 16th October, 1759.*

This day an extraordinary Gazette was published containing letters from General WOLFE, dated September 2nd, and from Admiral SAUNDERS, dated September 5th.

The *same evening* arrived Colonel John Hale, and Captain James Douglas from Quebec, with other letters to Mr. Secretary PITT, containing an account of the surrender of Quebec.

*Wednesday, 17th.*

H. R. H. the PRINCE OF WALES and the Royal family, with the most of the nobility in town, waited upon His MAJESTY at Kensington, to pay their compliments on the joyful news of taking Quebec. The Park and Tower guns were fired, flags every where displayed from the steeples, and the greatest illuminations were made throughout the city and suburbs that were ever known.

During the illuminations this evening, the following inscriptions appeared :

Praise  
The only giver of Victory,  
for  
The renewed lustre of  
The British name.

—  
General JAMES WOLFE,  
who

Dauntless, but deliberate,  
Under numerous difficulties,  
September 2nd, 1759.  
Engaged to employ his little Army,  
For the honor and interest  
Of his country ;

And  
In a few days after,  
Gloriously fulfilled his promise,  
By the conquest of  
QUEBEC,  
At the expense of his life.

*Saturday, 20th.*

This day the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London, waited on His MAJESTY, and being introduced by the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary PITT, made their compliments in the Address, of which the following is an extract :

“ Above all, the conquest of Quebec, in a manner so glorious to your Majesty’s Arms, against every advantage of situation and superior numbers, are such events, as will for ever render your Majesty’s auspicious reign the favorite era in the history of Great Britain.

“ But whilst we reflect with surprise and gratitude upon this last and most important conquest, permit us, Most Gracious Sovereign, to express our great regret for the immense (though almost only) loss which has attended it, in the death of that gallant General, whose abilities formed, whose courage attempted, and whose conduct happily effected the glorious enterprize in which he fell, leaving to future times an heroic example of military skill, discipline and fortitude.”

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*Saturday, 26th.*

A proclamation was issued for a PUBLIC THANKSGIVING, to be observed on Thursday, the 29th November next, throughout England and Wales.

*Tuesday, 30th.*

HIS MAJESTY has been pleased to order a present of £500 to Sir James Douglas, Captain of the *Alcide* man of war; and the same sum to Colonel Hale, who brought the account of the taking of Quebec.

The French Ministers are in such dread of popular resentment, that they have recourse to the grossest, and most direct falsehoods, merely to conceal for a time what cannot fail to be known at last, so that they have even caused *Te Deum* to be sung for the defeat of the English before Quebec, at the very time they knew it was taken.

*Tuesday, November 13th, 1759.*

This day Parliament was opened by Commission. In the speech the capture of Quebec was alluded to in these terms:—  
“The conquest of so many important places in America, with the defeat of the French Army in Canada, and the reduction of their capital city of Quebec, effected with so much honor to the courage and conduct of His Majesty’s officers both at sea and land, and with so great lustre to his intrepid forces.”

The Addresses in answer from the Lords and Commons nearly echoed the terms of the speech; but the Lords added that the reduction of Quebec “has exceeded the most sanguine hopes of your MAJESTY’s faithful subjects.”

On the 30th October the IRISH House of Commons also voted an Address to the KING, of which the following is an extract:

“Witness Quebec! which lately beheld a youthful warrior, with unabated order, lead on a few selected troops, and under the influence of your Majesty’s happy auspices, attack and defeat her numerous bodies of regulars and Canadians, supported by her auxiliary savages.

“Pardon us, Most Gracious Sovereign, if we suspend awhile our otherwise unclouded joy, to lament the loss of that gallant General. How gloriously has he finished his short but brilliant career, and left a name, so long as fame shall wait upon heroic deeds, consecrated to posterity, and an example as difficult as it is worthy of imitation.”

*Saturday, 17th November.*

This day, the remains of General WOLFE were landed at Portsmouth, from on board the *Royal William* man of war. During the solemnity, minute guns were fired from the ships at Spithead; and all the honors that could be paid to the memory of a gallant officer were paid on this occasion.

*Tuesday, 20th.*

This day, the corpse of General WOLFE was interred in a private manner, at night, in the family vault at Greenwich.

*Wednesday, 21st November.*

The HOUSE OF COMMONS "Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to HIS MAJESTY, most humbly to desire His MAJESTY, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions, that a monument be erected in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of the ever lamented late Commander in Chief of HIS MAJESTY'S land forces, on an expedition against Quebec, Major General JAMES WOLFE, who, surmounting by ability and valor, all obstacles of art and nature, was slain in the moment of victory, at the head of his conquering troops in the arduous and decisive battle against the French Army near Quebec, fighting for their capital of CANADA, in the year 1759; and to assure HIS MAJESTY, this House will make good the expense of erecting the said monument."

At the same time it was "Resolved, That the thanks of the House be given to the Admirals and Generals employed in this glorious and successful expedition against Quebec."

*Friday, 23rd.*

Some of the ships from Quebec being arrived at Plymouth and some at Spithead, the Lords of the Admiralty began to be in pain for Admiral SAUNDERS, when they received a letter of excuse from him, dated in the channel, acquainting them that as he had heard the Brest Squadron, under M. CONFLANS, had sailed on the 14th, he hoped he would be pardoned for going to join Admiral Sir EDWARD HAWKE, without orders. In this noble enterprize he is joined by General TOWNSHEND, who was returning home on board his ship. Admiral SAUNDERS had three sail of the line with him.

*Promotions in November, 1759.*

*November 6th.*—Brigadier General JAMES MURRAY, to be Colonel of a Battalion of the Royal American Regiment vice MONCKTON.

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Brigadier General of the 17th  
Brigadier General  
Colonel of the  
Major General  
Lieutenant, vice Lieutenant  
General GRAY  
Major General J

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John Hale, Esq.  
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Vice Admiral SAUNDERS  
Major General TOWNSHEND

Brigadier General Honorable ROBERT MONCKTON to be Colonel of the 17th Regiment.

Brigadier General Honorable GEORGE TOWNSHEND to be Colonel of the 28th Regiment, from the 64th.

Major General BARRINGTON to be Colonel of the 8th Regiment, *vice* Lieutenant General EDWARD WOLFE, deceased.

General GRAY, to be Colonel of the 67th Regiment, *vice* Major General JAMES WOLFE, killed in action at Quebec.

*Saturday, December 15th, 1759.*

Admiral SAUNDERS who landed at Cork, set out from that port and arrived this day in Dublin. At night being at the theatre, he was saluted by the audience with the highest demonstrations of applause. He arrived in London on the 26th.

*Monday, 24th.*

A subscription was commenced in different parts of London, to raise a sum of money to be distributed amongst the Infantry that signalised themselves in the two glorious actions of Minden and Quebec, and for the relief of the widows and orphans of those who bravely lost their lives in those ever memorable days of action. It is expected that the same will be imitated in several other parts of the kingdom.

*Monday, 31st.*

The *Chezine*, from a place twenty leagues above Quebec, of near 500 tons, mounting 22 six pounders, with one hundred men, and six English prisoners, was sent into Bristol by the *Bipon* man of war. She sailed from Quebec with four or five others: the forts fired at her as she passed the town, but did little or no damage. It was thought impossible that they could escape.

*Promotions in December, 1759.*

The KING has been pleased to appoint Vice Admiral Saunders to be Lieutenant General of the Marine Forces.

John Hale, Esquire, to be Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of a Regiment of Light Dragoons, now raising.

Brigadier General the Honorable JAMES MURRAY to be Governor of Quebec.

*Wednesday, 23d January, 1760.*

Vice Admiral SAUNDERS, Rear Admiral HOLMES, and Brigadier General TOWNSHEND, being come to the HOUSE OF COM-

MONS, Mr. SPEAKER acquainted them that the House had unanimously resolved, that the thanks of the House be given to the Admirals and Generals employed in the glorious and successful expedition against Quebec, and Mr. Speaker gave the said Members the thanks of the House accordingly.

*Tuesday, 19th February.*

A subscription was set on foot at Leeds, for the relief of the widows and orphans of our brave countrymen who fell before the walls of Quebec, and on the Plains of Minäen, a charity highly deserving imitation.

*May, 1760.*

Letters were received from Halifax, stating that Lord COMBES had sailed from that port with all his squadron for the St. Lawrence, so that, in all probability, he would get up the river before it is possible for any vessels from France to arrive.

*June, 1760.*

LIST of Regiments in NORTH AMERICA.

Major General AMHERST, Commander-in-Chief.

1st Royal Scottish, 2nd Batt.....	—
15th. Major General Amherst, ... ..	Quebec.
17th. Brigadier General Monckton, .....	—
22nd. Brigadier General Whitmore, .....	Louisbourg
27th. Lord Blandeney,.....	—
28th. Brigadier General Townshend,.....	Quebec.
35th. Lieutenant General Otway,.....	Quebec.
40th. (late) General Barrington's,.....	Louisbourg
42nd. Royal Highlanders, 2nd Batt .....	—
43rd. Lieutenant General Kennedy,.....	Quebec.
44th. Lieutenant General Abercrombie, ...	—
45th. Lieutenant General Warburton, .....	Louisbourg
46th. Lieutenant General Murray,.....	—
47th. Lieutenant General Lascelles, .....	Quebec.
48th. Major General Webb, .....	Quebec.
55th. Colonel Oughton, .....	—
58th. Major General Anstruther's, .....	Quebec.
60th. Royal Americans, Four Batt. ... ..	—
77th Highlanders, Colonel Montgomery, ...	—
78th Ditto, Colonel Fraser, ... ..	Quebec.
80th. Brigadier General Gage, ... ..	—

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*Promotions in August, 1760.*

Honorable Richard Maitland, to be Adjutant General to the troops in Canada, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

*Saturday, October 4th, 1760.*

This day Major Barré and Captain Deane arrived express in the *Vengeance* Frigate, from Quebec, in 23 days, with the news of the surrender of Montreal and all Canada.

*Sunday, 5th.*

Early this morning Mr. Secretary PITT waited upon His MAJESTY with the above important news. At noon the Park and Tower guns were fired.

*Wednesday, 15th.*

By the *Union*, Dennis, arrived at Portsmouth from Quebec, came advice, that Colonel Fraser with 800 men from Quebec, invested and took Fort *Jacques Cartier*, September 9th, before he knew of the surrender of Montreal. It was defended by the Marquis *d'Albergotti*, who held out until he was reduced to thirty pounds of powder.

*Thursday, 16th.*

The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London waited upon His MAJESTY, at Kensington, with an Address on the reduction of all Canada. The honor of Knighthood was conferred upon the Sheriffs, Alderman Kite, and William Hart, Esquire.

## CHAPTER THE EIGHTEENTH.

THE SIEGES CONTINUED.—BATTLE NEAR SILLERY WOOD—THE FRENCH RAISE THE SIEGE—GENERAL MURRAY'S DESPATCH.

It has been stated that, on the fleet under Admiral SAUNDERS returning home after the successful expedition of 1759, General MURRAY was left Governor of QUEBEC, with a garrison of five thousand men. Other accounts make the number six thousand, which appears more nearly correct. They were first employed in repairing upwards of five hundred houses which had been almost entirely destroyed by the fire of the English batteries at Pointe Lévi; and in putting the fortifications in a condition fit for defence. Several affairs of posts occurred during the winter, which all redounded to the advantage of the British. St. FOY and LORETTE were occupied by General MURRAY as outposts; and those of the French at LAKE CALVAIRE, St. AUGUSTIN, and *Maison Brulée*, were successively attacked and dispersed.

Owing to the rigour of the climate, and the constant living on salted provisions, without vegetables, the scurvy—the same disease which had proved so fatal to the little band of JACQUES CARTIER, in 1535—broke out amongst the garrison in so inveterate a manner, that before the end of April a thou-

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sand men were unfit for service. The main body had been cantoned at Pointe Lévi. CARTIER and his men collected in the command of activity and energy of regular troops. A hundred men were thousand dispersed of whom were two hundred to ten thousand men. This is the count: the English to be fifteen hundred. M. DE LEVI had *de main* during the winter he had provided fascines. He was at POINTE LEVI captured by the British which marched being that the value of his outposts, was commander altered the reduction he flattered himself before the plan of VILLE'S Fleet favored in such British naval had six French

sand men were dead, and two thousand more rendered unfit for service.

The main force of the French army, which had been cantoned during the winter between JACQUES CARTIER and THREE RIVERS, was in the spring collected in the neighborhood of MONTREAL, under the command of M. DE LEVI, an officer of merit, activity and enterprise. It consisted of ten battalions of regular troops, making about four thousand five hundred men—which had been reinforced by six thousand disciplined Canadian Militia—two hundred of whom were mounted and acted as cavalry—and by two hundred and fifty Indians—amounting in all to ten thousand seven hundred and fifty effective men. This statement is taken from the French account: the English accounts at the time stated them to be fifteen thousand men. The first intention of M. DE LEVI had been to capture QUEBEC by a *coup de main* during the depth of winter; and to that end he had provided snow shoes, scaling ladders, and fascines. He had also a large depôt of provisions at POINTE LEVI. These, however, were immediately captured by a detachment of the English garrison, which marched across the ice for the purpose. Finding that the vigilance of General MURRAY, and of his outposts, was not to be baffled, the French commander altered his plans, and resolved to attempt the reduction of QUEBEC by a regular siege, which he flattered himself he could bring to a termination before the place could be relieved by Lord COLVILLE'S Fleet, then lying at HALIFAX. He was favored in such an operation by the absence of all British naval forces in the St. Lawrence, while he had six French frigates of from forty-four to twenty

six guns each, which secured to him the command of the river between MONTREAL and QUEBEC.

On the 17th April, 1760, M. DE LEVI, having embarked his baggage and military stores in small craft and *batteaux*, under convoy of his frigates, reached POINTE AUX TREMBLES with his army by land. The stores being disembarked at St. AUGUSTIN, on the 27th, he arrived at the Plains of Abraham by the way of the St. Foy road.

The French accounts state that the advanced post of the British at the ford of CAPE ROUGE River, consisting of the Light Infantry, would have been cut off but for the following incident: On the 27th April, a sentinel, on board the *Race-horse* sloop of war, hearing cries upon the river, informed Captain MACARTNEY therewith; who ordered out a boat, and brought on board a French soldier, belonging to the artillery, who had been floating up and down on a field of ice. The poor fellow, although treated with all humanity, was unable for nearly two hours to give any account of himself. He then stated, that he had formed one of the crew of a *batteau* belonging to the French Army under M. DE LEVI, consisting of ten thousand men, who were advancing to the attack of QUEBEC. On this information it is said that the post at CAPE ROUGE was called in, the French all the while pressing close upon the rear.

General MURRAY, for reasons explained in his despatches, resolved to hazard a battle; and accordingly marched out of QUEBEC on the morning of the 28th April, with all his troops fit for duty, amounting to no more than three thousand men. He took post on the celebrated PLAINS OF ABRAHAM, where so many laurels had been gathered the year before: and with great gallantry made a powerful attack on

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the French centre, posted upon some rising ground not far from SILLERY WOOD. The French were well commanded, and fought so well, that General MURRAY, finding it impossible to avoid being surrounded by a body three times as numerous as his own, was forced to recal his men, and to retire after sustaining a very heavy loss. Far from being discouraged by the loss of the battle,—in which it must be acknowledged that his troops behaved most admirably, the loss of the French being admitted to be nearly double that of the English—he resolved to trust for defence to the fortifications of QUEBEC. By almost incredible exertions, he built two cavaliers, and mounted upon the ramparts one hundred and thirty-two pieces of artillery. The enemy broke ground before the place, but made slow progress in getting up their artillery. On the 9th May, General MURRAY was encouraged by the arrival of the *Lowestoffe* Frigate, Captain DEANE; who informed him that Commodore SWANTON, with a fleet from ENGLAND, was in the river. Lord COLVILLE, also, had sailed from HALIFAX on the 22nd April, and might be daily expected.

Although M. DE LEVI had made every exertion to commence the siege, he was not able to open his fire until the 11th. His batteries were soon silenced by the superior fire and weight of metal of the English. On the 15th, to the great joy of the garrison, and the equal discomfiture of the French, the fleet under Commodore SWANTON arrived before the city, and QUEBEC was soon delivered from the presence of the enemy. On the next day, two men of war were detached against the French naval force above the town, which consisted of two frigates, two armed vessels, and a number of smaller craft. The attack was

completely successful—one of the French frigates was driven upon the rocks above Cape Diamond—the other ran ashore, and was burned at *Pointe aux Trembles*—the rest were taken or destroyed. On this occasion, however, the *Lowestoffe* was lost, having run upon some hidden rocks.

M. DE LEVI, concerned at the loss of his shipping, and believing the vessels which had already arrived to be the forerunners of a larger reinforcement, determined forthwith to raise the siege. He accordingly broke up his camp, and retired with such a recipitation towards MONTREAL, that General MURRAY was unable to come up with the rear guard before it had crossed CAPE ROUGE River. He, however, captured the stores, provisions, and artillery of the enemy, together with all the entrenching tools used in the siege.

On the 27th June, the following despatch was received by Mr. PITT from General MURRAY; to which we refer as containing all that is necessary to preserve, relative to the siege of QUEBEC by the French :

*Friday, 27th June, 1760.*

This morning arrived Major MAITLAND, and Captain SCHONBERG, with the following letter from the Hon. JAMES MURRAY, Governor of QUEBEC, to the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary PITT :

SIR,

“ Having acquainted General AMHERST, three weeks ago, that QUEBEC was besieged by an army of 15,000 men, I think it necessary to do myself the honor of addressing directly to you, the more agreeable news of the siege being raised, lest, by your receiving the former intelligence, before the latter, some inconvenience may arise to His Majesty’s service.

*Quebec, May 25, 1760.*

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" By the Journal of my proceedings, which I have the honor to transmit to you, you will perceive the superiority we have maintained over the enemy during the winter, and that all Lower Canada, from the *Pointe aux Trembles* was reduced, and had taken the oath of fidelity to the King. You will no doubt be pleased to observe, that the enemy's attempts upon our posts, and ours upon theirs, all tended to the honor of His Majesty's arms, as they were always baffled.

" I wish I could say as much within the walls; the excessive coldness of the climate, and constant living upon salt provisions, without any vegetables, introduced the scurvy among the troops, which getting the better of every precaution of the officer, and every remedy of the Surgeon, became as universal as it was inveterate, in so much, that before the end of April, 1000 were dead, and above 2000 of what remained, unfit for any service.

" In this situation I received certain intelligence, that the Chevalier DE LEVI was assembling his army, which had been cantoned in the neighbourhood of MONTREAL; that he had completed his eight battalions, and 40 companies of the *Troupes de Colonie*, from the choice of the *Montrealists*; had formed these forty companies into four battalions; and was determined to besiege us the moment the River St. Lawrence was open, of which he was entirely master, by means of four King's frigates, and other craft, proper for this extraordinary river.

" As I had the honor to acquaint you formerly that QUEBEC could be looked upon in no other light than that of a strong cantonment, and that any works I should add to it, would be in that style, my plan of defence was, to take the earliest opportunity of entrenching myself upon the heights of Abraham, which entirely command the ramparts of the place at the distance of 800 yards, and might have been defended by our numbers against a large army. But the Chevalier DE LEVI did not give me time to take the advantage of this situation: The 23d, 24th, and 25th of April, I attempted to execute the projected lines, for which a provision of fascines, and of every necessary material had been made, but found it impracticable, as the earth was still covered with snow in many places, and every where impregnable bound up by frost.

" The night of the 26th, I was informed that the enemy had landed, at *Pointe aux Trembles*, 10,000 men, and 500 barbarians. The post we had taken at the embouchure of the River Cap Rouge, (the most convenient place for disembarking their ar-

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tillery and stores, and of securing their retreat) obliged them to land where they did, 20 miles higher up.

"The 27th, having broke down all the bridges over the Cap Rouge, and secured the landing places at Sillery, and the Foulon, I marched with the grenadiers, piquets, AMHERST'S regiment, and two field pieces, and took post so advantageously as to frustrate the scheme they had laid of cutting off our posts. They had begun to form from the defile they were obliged to pass, but thought proper to retreat on reconnoitring our position; and about four this afternoon, we marched back to town, having withdrawn all posts, with the loss of two men only, though they did every thing in their power to harass the rear.

"The enemy was greatly superior in number, it is true; but, when I considered, that our little army was in a habit of beating the enemy, and had a very fine train of field artillery, that shutting ourselves up at once within our walls, was putting all upon the single chance, of holding out, for a considerable time, a wretched fortification; a chance, which an action in the field could hardly alter, at the same time, that it gave an additional one, perhaps a better; I resolved to give them battle; and, if the event was not prosperous, to hold out to the last extremity; and then to retreat to the Isle of Orleans and Coudres, with what was left of the garrison, to wait for reinforcements.

"This night the necessary orders were given, and half an hour after six, next morning, we marched with all the force we could muster, viz: three thousand men, and formed the army on the heights in the following order: AMHERST'S, ANSTRUTHERS'S, 2d battalion of Royal Americans, and Webb's, composed the right brigade, commanded by Colonel Burton Kennedy's, Lascelles's, Highlanders, and Townshend's the left brigade, commanded by Colonel Fraser, Otway's, and the third battalion of Royal Americans, were the corps of reserve. Major Dalling's corps of light infantry covered the right flank, and Captain Hazen's company of Rangers, with 100 volunteers, under the command of Captain DONALD MACDONALD, brave and experienced officer, covered the left. The battalion had each two field pieces.

"While the line was forming, I reconnoitred the enemy, and perceived their van had taken possession of the rising ground three quarters of a mile in our front, but that their army was upon the march in one column, as far as I could see. I thought this the lucky moment, and moved with the utmost order

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attack them before they had formed. We soon beat them from the heights they had possessed, though they were well disputed; and Major Dalling, who cannot be too much commended for his behaviour this day, and his services during the winter, forced their corps of grenadiers from a house and windmill they had taken hold of to cover their left flank: Here he, and several of his officers, were wounded; his men, however, pursued the fugitives to the corps which were now formed to sustain them: They halted, and dispersed along the front of the right, which prevented that wing from taking advantage of the first impression they had made on the enemy's left. They had immediately orders given them to regain the flank, but, in attempting this, they were charged, thrown into disorder, retired to the rear, and from the number of officers killed and wounded, could never again be brought up, during the action. Otway's was instantly ordered to advance and sustain the right wing, which the enemy in vain made two attempts to penetrate. On these occasions, Captain Ince, with the grenadiers of Otway's were distinguished. While this passed there, the left was not idle; they had dispossessed the enemy of two redoubts, and sustained with unparalleled firmness the bold united efforts of the enemy's regulars, Indians and Canadians, till at last fairly brought down, and reduced to a handful, though sustained by the 3d battalion of Royal Americans from the reserve, and Kennedy's from the centre, where we had nothing to fear, they were obliged to yield to superior numbers, and a fresh column of Roussillon, which penetrated them.

"The disorder of the left was soon communicated to the right; but the whole retired in such a way, that the enemy did not venture upon a brisk pursuit. We left most of our cannon, on the roughness of the ground, and the wreaths of snow, made it impossible to bring them off; what could not be brought off, were nailed up.

"Our killed and wounded amounted to one-third of those in the field; that of the enemy, by their own confession, exceeds 500 men, which may be readily conceived, as the action lasted an hour and three quarters.

"Here I think it my duty to express my gratitude to the officers in general, and the satisfaction I had in the bravery of the troops.

"On the night of the 28th, the enemy opened trenches against the town, and, at the same time, we set to work within, to fortify it, which we never had in our power to attempt sooner,

from the severity of this climate during the winter, and the absolute necessity of executing works of more immediate importance, last autumn, before the frost set in. I wanted the assistance of Major Mackellar, the chief engineer, dangerously wounded in the action; his zeal for, and knowledge in the service is well known; but the alacrity of the garrison made up for every defect.

"My journal of the siege, which accompanies this, sets forth in full, what was done: and I flatter myself, the extraordinary performances of the handful of brave men I had left will please His Majesty as much as they surprised us who were eye-witnesses to them.

"Great praise is due to Commodore Swanton, and the Captains Schomberg and Deane; I have not words to express their readiness, vivacity, and valour they showed in attacking and destroying the enemy's squadron. Captain Deane has lost his ship, but it was in a good cause, and he has done honor to his country.

"The morning of the 17th of May, I intended a strong sail to have penetrated into the enemy's camp, which, from the information of the prisoners I had taken, and the concurrent account of deserters, I conceived to be very practicable.

"For this purpose I had ordered the regiments of Amherst, Townshend, Lascelles, Anstruther and Highlanders, with the grenadiers and light infantry, under arms; but was informed by Lieutenant M'Alpin, of my battalion (whom I sent out to amuse the enemy with small sallies) that their trenches were abandoned.

"I instantly pushed out at the head of these corps, not doubting but we must have overtaken and forced their rear, and had ample revenge for the 28th of April; but I was disappointed for they had crossed the River Cap Rouge, before we could come up to them. However, we took several prisoners, and much baggage, which would otherwise have escaped. They left their camp standing; all their baggage, stores, magazines of provision and ammunition, 34 pieces of battering cannon, four of which are brass 12 pounders, ten field pieces, six mortars, four petards, a large quantity of scaling ladders, and other trenching tools beyond number, and have retired to the former asylum, Jacques Cartier. From the information of prisoners, deserters, and spies, provisions are very scarce, ammunition does not abound; and the greatest part of the Canadians have deserted them. At present they do not exceed

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300 men. The minute I am joined with that part of my garrison which was sent from hence last autumn, I shall endeavor to co-operate with Mr. Amherst, towards completing the reduction of this country; though, if rightly informed, he can hardly get by the lakes before the month of July, of which I am the more convinced, because from the intelligence forwarded to him last February, of the enemy's designs, by Lieutenant Montresor, he would certainly have been upon them before now, had it been at all practicable.

“Major Maitland, the bearer of these despatches, who has acted as Adjutant General this last winter, is well acquainted with all our transactions here: he has a thorough knowledge of the country, and can give you the best lights with regard to the measures farther to be taken, relative to His Majesty's views in Canada.

“I cannot finish this long letter, without observing how much I think myself obliged to the Lieutenant Governor, Colonel Burton; his activity and zeal were conspicuous during the whole course of this severe winter's campaign, and I flatter myself, Sir, you will be pleased to lay his services before His Majesty.

“P. S.—Since I have wrote the above, a nation of Indians has surrendered, and entered into an alliance with us.

I have the honor to be, with regard,

Sir,

Your's, &c.

JAMES MURRAY.

ADMIRALTY OFFICE.—Captain Schomberg arrived with despatches from Lord Colville, dated at Quebec, the 24th May, bringing an account, that having on the 14th May received advice that the enemy had besieged Quebec, he got under sail with the utmost despatch, and anchored above Pointe Lévi the 15th, where he received a message from the General, earnestly recommending the speedy removal of the French naval force, consisting of two frigates, two armed ships, and many smaller vessels. In consequence of which, he ordered Captain Schomberg, and Captain Deane, to slip the cables and attack the enemy; but they were not sooner in motion, than the enemy fled in hurry and disorder. The *Pomona*, one of the frigates, was driven on shore above Cape Diamond; the *Atalanta*, the other frigate, ran ashore, and was burnt at Pointe aux Tremble, about ten leagues from the town; and most of the

other ships and vessels were likewise driven ashore, or effectually destroyed.

The night following, the enemy raised the siege of Quebec very precipitately, leaving their cannon, small arms, stores &c. behind them. The *Lowestoffe* ran upon some unknown rocks, in pursuit of the enemy, and was irrecoverably lost, but the officers and men were saved.

All attempts to recover possession of QUEBEC having thus completely failed, the Marquis DE VAUDREUIL determined to take his last stand on behalf of French dominion at MONTREAL. To this point he called in all his detachments, and here he collected and concentrated his remaining strength. But the net was fast closing around him—the fate of CANADA was already decided—General AMHERST was approaching from LAKE CHAMPLAIN—and the armies from QUEBEC and LAKE ONTARIO having arrived on the same day before MONTREAL, a capitulation was signed on the 8th September, and the conquest of CANADA was completed in little more than two years from the reduction of LOUISBOURG.

The intelligence of the surrender of MONTREAL and of the whole Province—which was looked upon by the nation as a worthy termination to the expedition of WOLFE—was received in LONDON on the 4th October, and the despatches were published in the *London Gazette* on the 6th.

HIS MAJESTY GEORGE II. outlived the glorious news only a few days. On the 16th, he received an Address of congratulation from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council-men of LONDON. On the 25th, in the midst of the hearty rejoicings of the people for the acquisition of so immense an extent of Empire, the KING was suddenly seized with ill-

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HIS MAJESTY GEORGE III. had the gratification of receiving the homage of his new subjects. In the summer of 1763, the Chevalier CHAUSSEGROS DE LERY and his lady were presented at Court, and were the first of HIS MAJESTY'S Canadian subjects who had that honor. The young and gallant Monarch, on receiving Madame DE LERY, who was a very beautiful woman, observed to her,—“If all the ladies of CANADA are as handsome as yourself, I have indeed made a conquest.”

## CHAPTER THE NINETEENTH.

THE SIEGES CONTINUED.—ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION IN 1775—SIEGE OF QUEBEC—DEATH OF MONTGOMERY.

THE invasion of Canada by the troops of the American Congress rendered the year 1775 remarkable in the annals of the Province. The principal points which will demand our attention are the expedition of Arnold, the storming of Quebec, and the death of Montgomery.

Canada, supposed to be perfectly secure, had been left almost destitute of regular troops, nearly all of which had been removed to Boston. The whole force of this description consisted of only two Regiments of Infantry, the 7th Fusileers, and the 26th, amounting to no more than eight hundred men. Of these the greater part were in garrison at St. John's, the rest dispersed through the various posts. The Province was, however, extremely fortunate in the character, talents and resources of the Governor, General Carleton.

On the 17th September, 1775, Brigadier General Richard Montgomery, who had formerly been in the British service, appeared at the head of an army, before the Fort of St. John's; which, after a gallant defence, surrendered on the 3rd November, the gar-

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rison marching out with the honors of war. Montreal, which was entirely defenceless, capitulated on the 12th November; and General Carleton, conceiving it of the utmost importance to reach Quebec, the only place capable of defence, passed through the American force stationed at Sorel, during the night, in a canoe with muffled paddles; and arrived in Quebec on the 19th, to the great joy of the garrison and loyal inhabitants, who placed every confidence in his well known courage and ability.

While the Province was thus threatened with subjugation on the side of Montreal, a new danger presented itself from a quarter so entirely unexpected, that until the particulars were ascertained, the fears and superstitions of the inhabitants of the country parishes had ample subject for employment and exaggeration. An expedition of a singular and daring character had been successfully prosecuted against Quebec from the New England States, by a route which was little known and generally considered impracticable. This expedition was headed by Colonel Arnold, an officer in the service of the Congress; who with two regiments, amounting to about eleven hundred men, left Boston about the middle of September, and undertook to penetrate through the wilderness to Pointe Lévi, by the means of the Rivers Kennebec and Chaudière.

The spirit of enterprise evinced in this bold design, and the patience, hardihood and perseverance of the new raised forces employed in the execution, will forever distinguish this expedition in the history of offensive operations. A handful of men ascending the course of a rapid river, and conveying arms, ammunition, baggage, and provisions through an almost trackless wild—bent upon a most uncertain purpose

—can scarcely be considered, however, a regular operation of war. It was rather a desperate attempt, suited to the temper of the fearless men engaged in it, the character of the times, and of the scenes which were about to be acted on the American continent. The project, however, of Arnold was by no means an original thought. It had been suggested by Governor Pownall, in his “ Idea of the service of America,” as early as the year 1758. He says,—“ The people of Massachusetts, in the counties of Hampshire, Worcester and York are the best wood-hunters in America. . . . I should think if about a hundred thorough wood-hunters, properly officered, could be obtained in the County of York, a scout of such might make an attempt upon the settlements by way of Chaudière River.”

On the 22nd September, Arnold embarked on the Kennebec River in two hundred batteaux; and notwithstanding all natural impediments—the ascent of a rapid stream—interrupted by frequent *portages* through thick woods and swamps—in spite of frequent accidents—the desertion of one-third of the number—they at length arrived at the head of the River Chaudière, having crossed the ridge of land which separates the waters falling into the St. Lawrence from those which run into the sea. They now reached Lake Megantic, and following the course of the Chaudière River, their difficulties and privations, which had been so great as on one occasion to compel them to kill their dogs for sustenance, were speedily at an end. After passing thirty-two days in the wilderness, they arrived on the 4th November at the first settlement, called *Sertigan*, twenty five leagues from Quebec, where they obtained all kinds of provisions. On the 9th, Colonel Arnold

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arrived at Pointe Lévi, where he remained twenty-four hours before it was known at Quebec; and whence it was extremely fortunate that all the small craft and canoes had been removed by order of the officer commanding the garrison. On the 13th, late in the evening, they embarked in thirty-four canoes, and very early in the morning of the 14th, he succeeded in landing five hundred men at Wolfe's Cove, without being discovered from the *Lizard* and *Hunter*, ships of war. The first operation was to take possession of what had been General Murray's house on the St. Foy Road, and of the General Hospital. They also placed guards upon all the roads, in order to prevent the garrison from obtaining supplies from the country.

The small force of Arnold prevented any attempt being made towards the reduction of the fortress until after the arrival of Montgomery from Montreal, who took the command on the 1st December, and established his head quarters at Holland House. Arnold is said to have occupied the house near Scott's Bridge, lately inhabited by the Honorable Mr. Justice Kerr.

The arrival of the Governor on the 19th November had infused the best spirit among the inhabitants of Quebec. On the 1st December, the motley garrison amounted to eighteen hundred men—all, however, full of zeal in the cause of their King and country, and well supplied with provisions for eight months. They were under the immediate command of Colonel Allan Maclean, of the 84th Regiment or Royal Emigrants, composed principally of those of the gallant Fraser's Highlanders, who had settled in Canada.

## STATEMENT OF THE GARRISON, 1ST DECEMBER, 1775.

70	Royal Fusileers, or 7th Regiment.
230	Royal Emigrants, or 84th Regiment.
22	Royal Artillery.
330	British Militia, under Lt. Col. Caldwell.
543	Canadians, under Colonel Dupré.
400	Seamen under Captains Hamilton and Mackenzie.
50	Masters and Mates.
35	Marines.
120	Artificers.

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1800 Total bearing arms.

The siege, or rather the blockade, was maintained during the whole month of December, although the incidents were few and of little interest. The Americans were established in every house near the walls, more particularly in the Suburb of St. Roch, near the Intendant's Palace. Their riflemen, secure in their excellent cover, kept up an unremitting fire upon the British sentries, wherever they could obtain a glimpse of them. As the Intendant's Palace was found to afford them a convenient shelter, from the cupola of which they constantly annoyed the sentries, a nine pounder was brought to bear upon the building; and this once splendid and distinguished edifice was reduced to ruin, and has never been rebuilt. The enemy also threw from thirty to forty shells every night into the city; which fortunately did little or no injury either to the lives or the property of the inhabitants. So accustomed did the latter become to the occurrences of a siege, that at last they ceased to regard the bombardment with alarm. In the mean time, the fire from the garrison was maintained in a very effective manner upon every point where the enemy were seen. On one

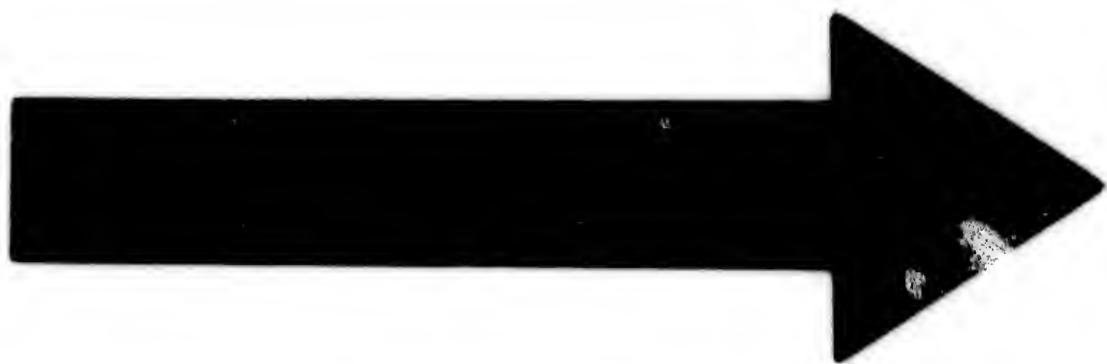
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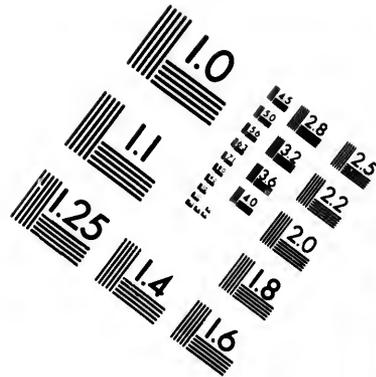
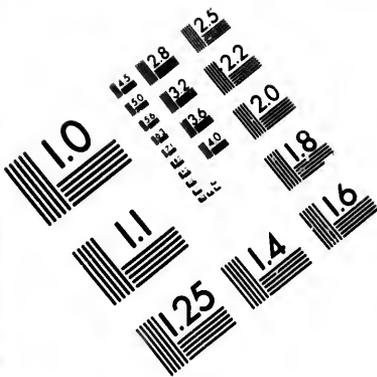
75. occasion, as Montgomery was reconnoitring near the town, the horse which drew his cariole was killed by a cannon shot.

kenzie. During this anxious period the gentry and inhabitants of the city bore arms, and cheerfully performed the duties of soldiers. The British Militia were conspicuous for zeal and loyalty, under the command of Major Henry Caldwell, who had the Provincial rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He had served as Deputy Quarter Master General with the army, under General WOLFE, and had settled in the Province after the conquest. The Canadian Militia within the town was commanded by Colonel Le Comte Dupré, an officer of great zeal and ability, who rendered great services during the whole siege.

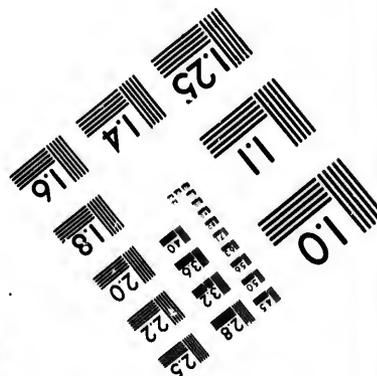
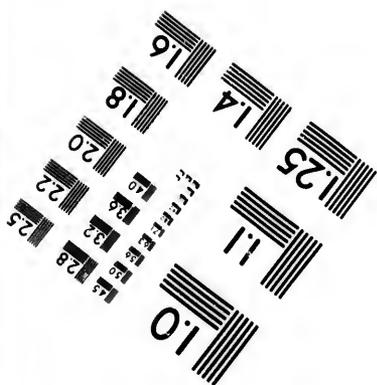
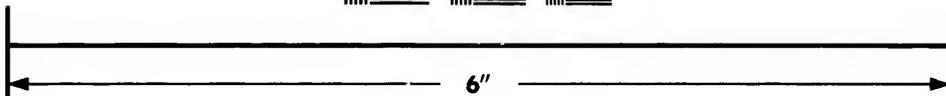
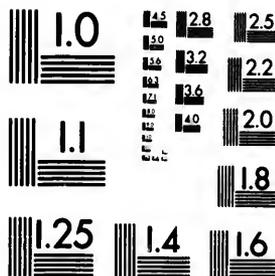
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General Montgomery, despairing to reduce the place by a regular siege, resolved on a night attack, in the hope of either taking it by storm, or of finding the garrison unprepared at some point. In this design he was encouraged by Arnold, whose local knowledge of Quebec was accurate, having been acquired in his frequent visits for the purpose of buying up Canadian horses. The intention of Montgomery soon became known to the garrison, and General Carleton made every preparation to prevent surprise, and to defeat the assault of the enemy. For several days the Governor, with the officers and gentlemen, off duty, had taken up their quarters in the Récollet Convent, where they slept in their clothes. At last, early in the morning of the 31st December, and during a violent snow storm, Montgomery, at the head of the New York troops, advanced to the attack of the Lower Town, from its western extremity, along a road between the base of Cape Diamond and the river. Arnold, at the same time,





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



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Sciences  
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET  
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580  
(716) 872-4503

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advanced from the General Hospital by way of St. Charles Street. The two parties were to meet at the lower end of Mountain Street, and when united were to force Prescott-Gate. Two feint attacks in the mean time on the side towards the west, were to distract the attention of the garrison. Such is the outline of this daring plan, the obstacles to the accomplishment of which do not seem to have entered into the contemplation of the American officers, who reckoned too much upon their own fortune and the weakness of the garrison.

When, at the head of seven hundred men, Montgomery had advanced a short distance beyond the spot where the Inclined Plane has since been constructed, he came to a narrow defile, with a precipice towards the river on the one side, and the scarped rock above him on the other. This place is known by the name of *Près-de-Ville*. Here all further approach to the Lower Town was intercepted, and commanded by a battery of three pounders placed in a hangard to the south of the pass. The Post was entrusted to a Captain of Canadian Militia, whose force consisted of thirty Canadian and eight British Militiamen, with nine British seamen to work the guns, as artillerymen, under Captain Barnsfare, Master of a transport, laid up in the harbor during the winter. At day-break, some of the guard, being on the look out, discovered, through the imperfect light, a body of troops in full march from WOLFE'S Cove upon the Post. The men had been kept under arms waiting with the utmost steadiness for the attack, which they had reason to expect, from the reports of deserters; and in pursuance of judicious arrangements which had been previously concerted, the enemy was allowed to approach unmolested

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within a small distance. They halted at about fifty yards from the barrier ; and as the guard remained perfectly still, it was probably concluded that they were not on the alert. To ascertain this an officer was seen to approach quite near to the barrier. After listening a moment or two, he returned to the body ; and they instantly dashed forward at double quick time to the attack of the post. This was what the Guard expected : the artillery-men stood by with lighted matches, and Captain Barnsfare at the critical moment giving the word, the fire of the guns and musketry was directed with deadly precision against the head of the advancing column. The consequence was a precipitate retreat—the enemy was scattered in every direction—the groans of the wounded and of the dying were heard, but nothing certain being known, the pass continued to be swept by the cannon and musketry for the space of ten minutes. The enemy having retired, thirteen bodies were found in the snow, and Montgomery's Orderly Serjeant desperately wounded, but yet alive, was brought into the guard room. On being asked if the General himself had been killed, the Serjeant evaded the question, by replying, that he had not seen him for some time, although he could not but have known the fact. This faithful Serjeant died in about an hour afterwards. It was not ascertained that the American General had been killed, until some hours afterwards, when General Carleton, being anxious to ascertain the truth, sent an Aide-de-Camp to the Seminary, to enquire if any of the American officers, when prisoners, would identify the body. A field officer of Arnold's division, who had been made prisoner near Sault-au-Matelot barrier, consenting, accompanied the Aide-de-Camp to the *Près-de-Ville*

guard, and pointed it out among the other bodies, at the same time pronouncing, in accents of grief, a glowing eulogium on Montgomery's bravery and worth. Besides that of the General, the bodies of his two Aides-de-Camp were recognized among the slain. The defeat of Montgomery's force was complete. Colonel Campbell, his second in command, immediately relinquished the undertaking, and led back his men with the utmost precipitation.

The exact spot where the barrier was erected before which Montgomery fell, may be described as crossing the narrow road under the mountain, immediately opposite to the west end of a building which stands on the south, and was formerly occupied by Mr. Racey as a brewery. It is now numbered 58. At the time of the siege this was called the Potash. The battery extended to the south, and nearly to the river. An inscription commemorating the event might properly be placed upon the opposite rock.

Soon after the repulse of the enemy before the post at *Près-de-Ville*, information was given to the officer in command there, that Arnold's party, from the General Hospital, advancing along the St. Charles had captured the barrier at the *Sault-au-Matelo*, and that he intended an attack upon that of *Près-de-Ville*, by taking it in the rear. Immediate preparations were made for the defence of the Post against such an attack, by turning some of the guns of an inner barrier, not far from the Custom House towards the town; and although the intelligence proved false,—Arnold having been wounded and his division captured,—yet the incident deserves to be commemorated as affording a satisfactory contradiction to some accounts which have appeared in print representing the Guard at *Près-de-Ville* as havin

been paralysed, and "started,"—and merely "accidentally" the circumstances which led to the conduct of the army and collected by their coolness contributed to the success of Maclean and Co. In the mean time, the north eastern side of the desperate resistance was unsuccessful, and Arnold led his party, until Charles, until where there was a must be understood, then exist, the rock, and the beach was near of St. Paul. Here the curiosity where was the present by the name of the most ancient time of the forlorn hope of this barrier, which the knee which was back to the General persevered, and the officers of the barrier street to the extremity of St.

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he Potash Arnold led his men by files along the River St.  
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arty, fro the beach was the narrow alley which now exists in  
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*au-Matelot* Here the curious visitor will find a jutting rock,  
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battery which protected the ends of the two streets called St. Peter Street and *Sault-au-Matelot*, extending, by means of hangards mounted with cannon from the rock to the river. The Montreal Bank then a private house, had cannon projecting from the end windows, as had a house at the end of *Sault-au-Matelot* Street. The enemy took shelter in the houses on each side, and in the narrow pass leading round the base of the cliff towards Hope-Gate, where they were secured by the angle of the rock from the fire of the guns at the barrier. Here the enemy met with a determined resistance, which it was impossible to overcome; and General Carleton having ordered a sortie from Palace-Gate under Captain Laws, in order to take them in the rear—and their rear guard, under Captain Dearborn, having already surrendered—the division of Arnold demanded quarter, and were brought prisoners to the Upper Town. The officers were confined in the Seminary. The contest continued for upwards of two hours, and the bravery of the assailants was indisputable. Through the freezing cold, and the pelting of the storm, they maintained the attack until all hope of success was lost, when they surrendered to a generous enemy, who treated the wounded and prisoners with humanity.

The Americans lost in the attack about one hundred killed and wounded, and six officers of Arnold's party, exclusive of the loss at *Près-de-Ville*. The British lost one officer, Lieutenant Anderson of the Royal Navy, and seventeen killed and wounded. The following is a statement of the force which surrendered :

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1 Adjutant,	
1 Quarter-Master,	
4 Volunteers,	
350 Rank and file,	
44 Officers and soldiers, wounded.	

426 Total surrendered.

By the death of Montgomery the command devolved upon Arnold, who had received the rank of Brigadier General. In a letter dated, 14th January, 1776, he complains of the great difficulty he had in keeping his remaining troops together, so disheartened were they by their disasters on the 31st December. The siege now resumed its former character of a blockade, without any event of importance, until the month of March, when the enemy received reinforcements that increased their numbers to near two thousand men. In the beginning of April, Arnold took the command at Montreal, and was relieved before Quebec by Brigadier General Wooster. The blockading army, which had all the winter remained at three miles distance from the city, now approached nearer the ramparts, and re-opened their fire upon the fortifications, with no better success than before. In the night of the 3rd May, they made an unsuccessful attempt to destroy the ships of war and vessels laid up in the *Cul-de-Sac*, by sending in a fire ship, with the intention of profiting by the confusion, and of making another attack upon the works by escalade. At this time they had reason to expect that considerable reinforcements, which they had no means of preventing from reaching the garrison,

would shortly arrive from England ; and giving up all hope of success, they became impatient to return to their own country. A Council of War was called, on the 5th, by General Thomas, who had succeeded Wooster ; and it was determined to raise the siege at once, and to retire to Montreal. They immediately began their preparations, and in the course of the next forenoon broke up their camp, and commenced a precipitate retreat.

In the mean time the gallant Carleton and his intrepid garrison were rejoiced by the arrival, early in the morning of the 6th May, of the *Surprize* Frigate, Captain Linzee, followed soon after by the *Isis*, of fifty guns, and *Martin* Sloop of war, with a reinforcement of troops and supplies. Nothing could exceed the delight of the British at this seasonable relief. After the toil and privation of a six months siege, it may be imagined with what feelings the inhabitants beheld the Frigate rounding Pointe Lévi, and how sincerely they welcomed her arrival in the basin. The *Isis* was commanded by Captain, afterwards Admiral Sir Charles Douglas, Baronet, father of Major General Sir Howard Douglas, the late popular Lieutenant Governor of New-Brunswick. Captain Douglas had made uncommon exertions to force his ship through fields of ice,—having by skillful management and a press of sail carried her for the space of fifty leagues, through obstacles which would have deterred an officer less animated by the zeal which the critical service on which he was employed required. The troops on board the vessels, consisting of two companies of the 29th Regiment, with a party of marines, amounting in all to two hundred men, were immediately landed, under the command of Captain Viscount Petersham, afterwards General the

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Earl of Harrington. No sooner had they arrived in the Upper Town, than General Carleton, who had learned the retreat of the enemy, determined to make a *sortie* and to harass their rear. He accordingly marched out at the head of eight hundred men; but so rapid was the flight of the enemy, that a few shots only were exchanged, when they abandoned their stores, artillery, scaling ladders, leaving also their sick, of whom they had a great many, to the care of the British. The humanity with which they were treated was afterwards commemorated by Chief Justice Marshall in his life of Washington.

The conduct of General Carleton throughout the siege was beyond all praise. He always wore the same countenance, and as his looks were watched, his conduct infused courage into those of the inhabitants, who, unused to a siege, sometimes gave way to despondency. He was, indeed, a man of true bravery, guided by discrimination, conduct and experience. During the attack of the 31st December, he had taken post at Prescott-Gate, where he knew would be made the combined attack of Montgomery and Arnold, had they succeeded in passing the barriers at *Près-de-Ville* and the *Sault-au-Matelot*. Here he took his stand, and there is every reason to believe that he would have defended the post even to death. He had been heard to say, that he would never grace the triumph of the enemy, or survive the loss of the town.

The despatches announcing the retreat of the American forces from before Quebec were taken home by Colonel Caldwell, who received the usual present on the occasion. His Majesty immediately bestowed the Knighthood of the Bath upon General Carleton. The following extract from his despatches

to Lord George Germaine, Secretary of State, shows his own sense of the general conduct of the officers and men under his command. Among the Canadian officers who particularly distinguished themselves, were Colonel Dupré, Major Ecuyer, and Captains Bouchette, Laforce and Chabot of the Marine.

“ Thus,” says General CARLETON, “ ended our siege and blockade, during which the mixed garrison of soldiers, sailors, British and Canadian militia, with the artificers, from Halifax and Newfoundland, showed great zeal and patience, under very severe duty, and uncommon vigilance, indispensable in a place liable to be stormed, besides great labor necessary to render such attempts less practicable.

“ I cannot conclude this letter without doing justice to Lieutenant Colonel MACLEAN, who has been indefatigably zealous in the KING’s service, and to his regiment, wherein he has collected a number of experienced good officers, who have been very useful. Colonel Hamilton, Captain of His Majesty’s ship, *Lizard*, who commanded the battalion of seamen, his officers and men, discharged their duty with great alacrity and spirit. The same thing must be acknowledged of the masters, inferior officers and seamen, belonging to His Majesty’s transports, and merchantmen, detained here last fall: only one seaman deserted the whole time. The militia, British and Canadian, behaved with a steadiness and resolution, that could hardly have been expected from men unused to arms. Judges, and other officers of government, as well as Merchants, cheerfully submitted to every inconvenience to preserve the town: the whole, indeed, upon the occasion, showed a spirit and perseverance that do them great honor.

“ Major Caldwell, who commanded the British militia all winter, as Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, and is bearer of these despatches to your Lordship, has proved himself a faithful subject to His Majesty, and an active and diligent officer. He, and, indeed, almost every loyal subject, are very considerable sufferers by the present hostile invasion.”

Having thus brought to a close our account of the various and eventful scenes which have passed under review, it may be observed, that QUEBEC is remark-

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able among North American cities, for having been five times invested by regular forces :—First, in 1629, when, in the infancy of the Colony, it fell into the hands of the English,—in 1690, after its natural capabilities for defence had been improved by the art of fortification, when it successfully resisted the attack of Sir WILLIAM PHIPPS,—in 1759, when, after the battle of the Plains, it was once more won by England,—in 1760, when, having been maintained during the winter, it was unsuccessfully besieged by de Lévi ;—and lastly, in 1775, when after having been stormed without success—after having sustained a siege and blockade of six months duration—the enemy was compelled to abandon his camp in despair. Since that time no hostile banner has been displayed before its walls ; and so long as it is defended by a garrison, loyal and resolute to do their duty—so long as England maintains the glory of her Navy—QUEBEC may bid defiance to external attack and foreign violence. May the “time honored” standard of Great Britain continue to wave from the battlements that crown this renowned fortress, never to be removed but by her own act, with the consent and free will of her generous people ! Should it ever be lowered, may it be only in the spirit of honor and benevolence, in order to promote the rising destinies of a new North American Empire, called into existence by the force of events, and by the operation of those progressive changes which human means can neither foresee, or prevent from occurring in the lapse of years, and in the fullness of time !

But it is not our province to indulge a presumptuous speculation into futurity,—satisfied that the past can never be forgotten, or undone ; and that whatever may be its fate to come, “so long as fame

shall wait upon heroic deeds," the renown of Quebec will derive its chief lustre from the reflected glories of England, her might, valor and enduring generosity !

Prudens futuri temporis exitum  
Caliginosâ nocte premit DEUS :

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Vel sole puro : non tamen irritum  
Quodcumque retro est, efficiet ; neque  
Diffinget, infectumque reddet,  
Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.

#### GENERAL MONTGOMERY.

RICHARD MONTGOMERY was a gentleman of good family, in the North of IRELAND, and connected by marriage with Viscount RANELAGH of that Kingdom. He had been Captain in the 17th Regiment of Foot, and had fought successfully the battles of ENGLAND, under the immortal WOLFE, on the Plains of Abraham. He afterwards married the daughter of Judge LIVINGSTON, of Livingston Manor, on the North River, who was living in 1818. MONTGOMERY imbibed the prevalent politics of his father-in-law's family, and joined the cause of the Colonists against the mother country.

MARSHALL, however, in his life of WASHINGTON, remarks, that, " though he had embraced the American cause with enthusiasm, he had become wearied with its service. .... He had determined to withdraw from the army, and had signified, before marching from Montreal, his resolution to resign the commission which had been conferred upon him." MARSHALL adds as a probable incentive to the storming of Quebec on the 31st December, 1775, " the desire of closing his military career with a degree of brilliancy suited to the elevation of his mind, by the conquest of Quebec, and the addition of Canada to the United States."

The excellence of his qualities and disposition procured him an uncommon share of private affection, as his abilities and services had of public esteem. Soon after his death, the Continental Congress ordered a magnificent Cenotaph to be erected

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to his memory, in St. Paul's Church, NEW-YORK, with the following inscription :

MONTGOMERY falls ! Let no fond breast repine,  
That HAMPDEN's glorious death, brave Chief, was thine.  
With *his* shall Freedom consecrate *thy* name,  
Shall date her rising glories from thy fame,  
Shall build her throne of Empire on thy grave—  
What nobler fate can patriot virtue crave !

The following matter of fact relating to the disinterment of the remains of this officer is unquestionably authentic. In the year 1818, a request having been made to the Governor-in-Chief, Sir John Sherbrooke, for leave to disinter the remains of General MONTGOMERY, in order that they might be conveyed to New-York, and there re-interred, His Excellency acceded to the request, which came to him on the part of Mrs. Montgomery, the widow of the General. Mr. JAMES THOMPSON, an old gentleman of respectability, serving in the Engineer Department at Quebec, (a Serjeant under General WOLFE at the conquest,) who bore arms during the siege of the winter 1775-6 in defence of the city, and on the morning after the attack, had found the body of the deceased General, and afterwards saw it interred in one of the bastions near St. Lewis-Gate, by order of the British Commander, was now ordered to explore the place of interment and dig up the remains. This he accordingly did in the presence of one of His Excellency's Aides-de-Camp, Captain Freer ; and although the spot where the body had been deposited was entirely altered in appearance, from the demolition of an old building or powder magazine which was near it, and the subsequent construction of a range of barracks, he hit upon the foot of the coffin, which was much decayed, but of the identity whereof there could not be a doubt, no other body having been interred in its immediate neighbourhood, except those of the General's two Aides, M'Pherson and Cheeseman, which were placed on each side of their master's body, in their clothes, and without coffins. Mr. Thompson gave the following affidavit of the facts in order to satisfy the surviving relations and friends of General MONTGOMERY, that the remains which had been so disinterred after the lapse of forty-two years by the same hand that had interred them, were really those of the late General :

" I, JAMES THOMPSON, of the city of Quebec, in the Province of Lower Canada, do testify and declare—that I served in the

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capacity of an Assistant Engineer during the siege of this city, invested during the years 1775 and 1776 by the American forces under the command of the late Major General RICHARD MONTGOMERY. That in an attack made by the American troops under the immediate command of General MONTGOMERY, in the night of the 31st December, 1775, on a British post at the southernmost extremity of the city, near *Près-de-Ville*, the General received a mortal wound, and with him were killed his two Aides-de-Camp, McPherson and Cheeseman, who were found in the morning of the 1st January, 1776, almost covered with snow. That Mrs. Prentice who kept an Hotel, at Quebec, and with whom General Montgomery had previously boarded, was brought to view the body, after it was placed in the Guard Room, and which she recognised by a particular mark which he had on the side of his head, to be the General's. That the body was then conveyed to a house, (Gobert's),\* by order of Mr. Cramahé, who provided a genteel coffin for the General's body, which was lined inside with flannel, and outside of it with black cloth. That in the night of the 4th January, it was conveyed by me from Gobert's house, and was interred six feet in front of the gate, within a wall that surrounded a powder magazine near the ramparts bounding on St. Lewis-Gate. That the funeral service was performed at the grave by the Reverend Mr. de Montmolin, then Chaplain of the garrison. That his two Aides-de-Camp were buried in their clothes without any coffins, and that no person was buried within twenty-five yards of the General. That I am positive and can testify and declare, that the coffin of the late General Montgomery, taken up on the morning of the 16th of the present month of June, 1818, is the identical coffin deposited by me on the day of his burial, and that the present coffin contains the remains of the late General. I do further testify and declare that subsequent to the finding of General Montgomery's body, I wore his sword, being lighter than my own, and on going to the Seminary, where the American officers were lodged, they recognized the sword, which affected them so much, that numbers of them wept, in consequence of which I have never worn the sword since.

" Given under my hand, at the city of Quebec, Province of Lower Canada, 19th June, 1818.

" JAMES THOMPSON."

\* Gobert's house was at the corner of St. Lewis and St. Ursule streets, on the site of the house now numbered 42, St. Lewis Street.

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## COLONEL LE COMTE DUPRE'.

This gentleman commanded the Canadian Militia during the siege of 1775-6. He had first received a commission from the Marquis DUQUESNE, Governor General of Canada, as Captain. In June, 1755, he was appointed Major, and in the following November, Lieutenant Colonel. In consequence of his behaviour during the siege, on the 4th March, 1778, he was appointed Colonel Commandant for the City and District of Quebec, by General Sir GUY CARLETON. He continued in this extensive command for more than twenty years, and his conduct deservedly obtained the friendship, confidence, and gratitude of all the Militiamen of the District.

The following anecdote deserves to be known, it occurred in November, 1775 :

The enemy was at the gates of the city, when three serjeants of the Canadian Militia formed a conspiracy to admit the Americans through a small wicket near the powder magazine, where one of them commanded a guard. Colonel DUPRE', going his rounds one night about eleven o'clock, became suspicious, and soon discovered this plot, and communicated it to Lieutenant Governor CRAMAHE'. The serjeants were secured, and kept in prison until the following May. They were then tried, and admitted that the city had been saved by the sagacity of Colonel DUPRE'. The Americans, enraged at the discovery of the plot, did all the damage they could to the Colonel's property. Four hundred were quartered at his house and land near Quebec, which they ruined. At his seigniory they destroyed his flour, and broke in pieces his furniture. On being offered a grant of land as a reward for his services, and as a compensation for his losses, he refused to accept it, saying, that he served out of regard to his country and his king, and required no remuneration.

## CHAPTER THE TWENTIETH.

GEOLOGY.—GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE ENVIRONS.  
CONCLUSION.

No Picture of Quebec, in these enlightened days, will be considered complete, if it do not contain some information upon the geological structure of the site of that City and its environs, which are the subjects of its delineations. It is not consistent with the nature of the work, to enter into details; but, avoiding these, we propose to give a condensed outline of those geological features which will be most likely to come under the observation of the intelligent traveller. As, however, it is usual to introduce geological descriptions by a topographical outline of the country they embrace, in conformity with that custom, the following slight one is offered.

The site of the metropolis of Lower Canada, when viewed from the river, must in all times, have fixed the eye of the stranger, whether crowned with modern architecture, as in the present day, or by the primeval forest, as Champlain first saw it; a sight which might well draw from his followers the exclamation of *Quel bec*, whence some writers derive Quebec. \*

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\* This, however, is a disputed point. It appears by a reference to page 118 of this volume, that so far back as the time of Henry V. the word Quebec occurs in the Arms of the Earl of Suffolk. This interesting fact was introduced for the first time by A. Stuart, Esq. into a paper which he read before the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

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This promontory, which forms so conspicuous a feature in the river scenery immediately above the Island of Orleans, is the narrow north-eastern termination of an oblong tongue of land which, rising from the valley of Cap Rouge, about 8 miles south-westward of Quebec, attains at the latter place its extreme altitude of 330 feet above the St. Lawrence, whilst its greatest breadth, which lies towards the western extremity and nearly opposite to the parochial church of St. Foy, is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles.

The whole of this feature is insulated by a valley out of which it appears to rise, like the back of a leviathan from the deep. Through the southern branch of this valley flows, between rocky precipices, the noble St. Lawrence, pressed by its hundred wings of commerce, and here attaining an extreme breadth of two miles, \* while the northern branch spreads out into low alluvial lands, through which meander the St. Charles and St. Michel rivers, whose waters, though from western and northern sources in the mountains which close the visual horizon on this side from east to west, become nearly simultaneously confluent with the St. Lawrence at the Vacherie.

The valley of Cap Rouge, which breaks the continuation of the tongue of land before mentioned to south-westward, is in the present day, characterized only by an insignificant stream; but it appears to be probable that the St. Lawrence once passed an arm this way round, thereby insulating all the land to the right of it.

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\* The breadth of the river from the Queen's Wharf across to McKenzie's Wharf, has been measured on the ice, and found to be 1133 yards, 2 feet 9 inches.

Casting the eyes around from any elevated position in this metropolis, they will pass over all the four Grand Divisions into which rocks have been divided, viz.: the Primary, the Transition, the Secondary and the Tertiary; sometimes naked and prominent, at others deeply covered by alluvions, diluvions or vegetable deposits.

### *Primary Rocks.*

The Primary or granitic portion of our formations within view, is confined to that range of mountains and its lateral spurs which, commencing at Cape Tourment, 30 miles below Quebec, on the northern shore of the St. Lawrence, where it forms a conspicuous dome-shaped headland, trends away to the westward in a series of consecutive mountains and vallies, the former holding a course nearly parallel to the St. Lawrence, and preserving an average distance from it of ten or twelve miles. Beyond this line of demarcation to the northward, for many miles, no "Land of Promise" for the settler is met with; and the semi-civilized Indian traverses this inhospitable region, in the pursuit of the moose and the caribou, consoled by the reflection, that here, at least, for many years to come, his wanderings will suffer little interruption from the white man.

The highest point of this range is considered not to exceed 2000 feet of altitude above the St. Lawrence, but usually falls much short of it. The country which it traverses has been explored, but by no individual possessed of sufficient geological knowledge to allow him to describe the rocky masses met with in language sufficiently scientific to be intelli-

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gible to the initiated. However, an examination of those off-spurs and boulders which lie nearest the town, has led those who understand the subject to infer, that granite, granitic gneiss, mica slate, (rarely), syenite, syenitic gneiss, hornblende slate, and primary greenstone, are the species of rocks which most prevail.

### *Transition Rocks.*

The term Transition in Geology, is becoming obsolete; yet it is one of great convenience, and liable to no abuse when employed by those who study facts more than theories. We will, therefore, continue to employ it in the designation of certain rocks which are largely developed in the immediate neighbourhood of Quebec, and on one or two members of which, indeed, we consider that City to stand.

When placed on the highest summit of Cape Diamond, 350 feet above the river at its base, all the natural stony fixed features of ground around and beneath us on this side the valley of the St. Charles and on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence, consist of Transition rocks.—This formation characterizes both shores of the St. Lawrence for some distance above Quebec; but below it appears to be, for the most part, confined to the islands and southern shore, which it exclusively occupies for many miles.

The members which compose this formation, in the extent to which we now limit our attention, are the following:—Clay slate, greywacke, compact limestone and limestone conglomerate: the two first occur in very subordinate quantity, while the two former abound and frequently alternate with

each other. The dip of the stratification of these rocks, which shows this alternation, is usually at a high angle to the S. E.; but occasionally the reverse of this dip is noticed, and the inclined planes of the strata front the N. W., the bearing of N. E., S. W. remaining generally undisturbed.

Cape Diamond, in which this formation attains its greatest height, at least in the neighbourhood of Quebec, consists of a clay slate, but of anomalous constituents, among which are to be reckoned a large portion of carbonate of lime, carbon and bitumen;\* and in consequence, the rock has been called a carboniferous limestone by those who attend more to the mineralogical than geological character; forgetting at the same time, that the term carboniferous, implies *bearing* carbon, not containing it, the carboniferous being the *lowest* rock of the *coal* formation. We must not omit to state, however, that it is a question of controversy with Geologists, whether carboniferous limestone be the lowest of the Secondary or uppermost of the Transition class.—Be this at it may, the dip of the rock in question, conformable to that of the series in the vicinity, of decided Transition character, together with the rarity (to say the most) of the occurrence of fossils in it, corresponds so well with the Transition class around, while these characters are so perfectly at variance with those of the horizontal fossil bearing † strata of Beauport, which is

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\* The abundance of quartz crystals also with which it is studded, and to the presence of which it owes its name, may be likewise considered as an anomalous characteristic.

† We do not know of any *positive* instance of the occurrence of fossils in the Black Rock of Quebec; but bivalvular impressions have sometimes (though rarely) been noticed in the conforma-

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really conceived to be carboniferous limestone, that we have no hesitation in claiming for the former, both a higher degree of geological antiquity and a distinct geological epoch.

### *Secondary Rocks.*

The Secondary rocks of the vicinity next come under consideration: they consist, almost exclusively, as far as we have yet noticed, of a limestone which is fetid, fossilized and horizontally stratified, holding a position *topographically* between the Primary range to the northward, and the Transition masses we have just alluded to on the opposite or St. Lawrence side of the valley, while their relative geological arrangement is either over the edges of the highly inclined clay slates or grey wackes, or where they basset out, abutting against the planes of their stratification, or, when these rocks are absent, coming into similar contact with the primary stratified formations beneath, or simple contact alone, either vertically or laterally, with the unstratified portion of the same: in short, always in a position relatively unconformable to those rocks we have stated to represent the Primary and Transition classes of the neighbourhood.

The localities which offer the best sections of the limestone we are discussing, are, the village of Beau-

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ble limestone conglomerates which form the northern precipice, from the corner of Peter-street towards No. 4 Tower. It is worthy of remark, that the planes of stratification of the Black Rock often exhibit continuous markings, analogous to trellis work, which have a high relief, as well as a anthracitic lustre.

It has just been discovered that this rock forms by the usual process, an excellent water cement, &c.

port and the Montmorenci river; the former an artificial quarry, the latter, we conceive, the result of a natural watery erosion. Both these sections have been closely examined by Dr. Bigsby, who has the credit of having been one of the first individuals in this country to stir up a taste for similar investigations; and we cannot do better than introduce here an extract of his, taken from Professor Silliman's "Tour between Hartford and Quebec," the only tour published among the many through this place which affords accurate geological information on the *locale*, and which, in other respects, is a work so pleasantly (and as far as we may presume to judge correctly) written—breathing throughout such a tone of conciliation as to enlist the sympathies of the reader in its behalf, whether he be American or British, while it tends to his conviction that the author is, not only a scholar, but also a liberal minded gentleman:—

"The lowest visible rocks, rising six or eight feet from the bed of the river, are dough shaped mounds of granite, (gneiss?) vertical, with a south-west direction, with many irregular quartz veins, half a foot thick. On it, lies a perfectly horizontal sand stone, so coarse as to resemble conglomerate, (I suspect this sand stone is a coarse gray wacke.) It is four feet thick, and weathered red and white. Upon this rests light hair brown, highly crystalline lime stone, very fetid, full of shells, vegetable filaments, massive blende, and a mineral, like brown spar. This gradually becomes dull, less crystalline, and at length at the top of the bank, is nearly a common blue lime stone, with a conchoidal fracture, and still here and there containing small crystals of carbonates. The whole height here, is perhaps, forty feet."

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About one mile above the place of which the foregoing extract is a geological description, occurs a gorge or deep section in the river which, from the step-like displacement of portions of the horizontal strata forming its sides, has been called, appropriately, "The Natural Steps." Here is met with a very interesting geological section, consisting of a succession of horizontal strata of fetid limestone, filled with the "Medals of Creation," as fossils have been eloquently called, the most abundant among which are othoceratites. Near the base of this section, a little above the river, a thin stratum may be noticed, which is literally composed of ammonites about three or four inches in circumference; some of them very perfect and beautiful. This stratum is pressed by a superincumbent mass of limestone, of from 30 to 40 feet high. Both banks of the river here exhibit much the same appearances, being characterized by the same fossils and limestone. Among other fossils characteristic of the carboniferous limestone met with in this formation, both here and at Beauport, are certain corallites, trilobites, encrinites productæ, terbratulæ, conulariæ quadrisulcatæ, (rare), and nautilites. \*

*Tertiary—Alluvial—Diluvial Formations.*

We class all these hydraulic deposits together, because, in fact, with one exception, it is in general

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\* Art. 9, vol. 1. Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, affords good Topographical and Geological Notes on the country in the neighbourhood of the Falls of Montmorenci.

no easy matter to distinguish them—on this Continent at least. They have all originated in the same cause, differing only as to its antiquity and activity. The exception alluded to, embraces certain recent or modern alluviums, which are now forming in estuaries, on the sea shores, and at the mouths and on the banks of inland rivers. No example of the first two actions, of course, come under our present notice; but as we descend towards and through the Gulf, they may be seen constantly in unceasing operation. The St. Charles and St. Michel rivers afford good instances of the two last; and the Vacherie, in all probability, owes its existence to the united action of these two confluent streams. Pursuing a course nearly at right angles to each other, they traverse for some distance, before joining the St. Lawrence, on the way from their western and northern sources, a country covered with loose or plastic, silicious or alluminous deposits, in which they sometimes form deep sections, and in which, in their progress, they are constantly producing a change, either in the way of abstraction or addition,—stealing from a salient angle what they restore at a re-entering one. Now, it is precisely such deposits as form the *original* sections of the portions of these rivers we allude to, that puzzle the Geologist who wishes to determine whether they are to be considered Alluvial, Diluvial or Tertiary. From the recent or modern alluvium just described, they are easily distinguished, as well by the superior relative altitude at which they are found, as by the fact of their having long ceased to increase, the cause of that increase being no longer in action on the spot where they are found. But it is quite different as regards the distinction between the more ancient deposits we are discussing;—here is no well

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defined geological horizon; they often seem to mirror as it were, or merge one into the other.

The structure of these deposits may be best seen on the St. Michel and Beauport rivers. The former presents us with sections of sand or loam bedded on clay, sometimes containing drift wood and boulders, and assuming, occasionally, a stratified arrangement. The latter discloses embaying cliffs and heights of plastic clay, surmounted by sandy deposits, and in one remarkable instance, by an entire bank of marine shells, whose greatest depth is from 25 to 30 feet. In many parts of these cliffs stratification is a distinct feature, and towards their bases it assumes the appearance even of that of the indurated clay slates of the neighbourhood; but the ease with which its hardest portions may be moulded under the action of the fingers and moisture into any form, is a sufficient distinction—a distinction which has probably an analogous origin to that which exists between loam and the brick which is made from it. This alluminous substratum we are disposed to class among Tertiary formations, while the loose and more silicious materials above, including the fragments of primary aggregates imbedded in them, we would refer, in geological strictness, to the ancient alluvium, not but what (and hence arises the difficulty of distinguishing them) the tertiary formations are also of an alluvial character, and may, in fact, be considered the most ancient of alluviums, (the Secondary and Transition rocks, which, for the most part were once so, having undergone geological changes which have removed them from that class, the most striking of which changes in *general* is the degree of induration they have acquired and their fixture in water.) But some Geologists attempt, not always very success-

fully, it must be confessed, to establish a difference between the tertiary formations and the ancient alluviums: It is much easier to conceive the difference than to describe in what it consists. However, the same analogy exists between them as between the ancient and recent alluviums, the one being often caused by the breaking up of the other.

The bank of shells we have described as overlying in one spot the plastic clay to the depth (a maximum) of 25 or 30 feet, consists of an intermixture of silicious sand, and for the most part, bivalve shells, stained here and there with the peroxide of iron. The shells are usually bleached and brittle, sometimes exhibiting a pearly nacre, and always, we conceive, in the possession of a portion of their animal gluten. The bivalve shells appear to be the following, set down in the order of their abundance:—

*Hiatella* (*arctica*), (in the largest proportion.)

*Tellina* ( ? )

*Mya* (*truncata*.)

*Mytelus* (*Borealis* ?)

*Pecten* ( ? )

*Terebratula* (*psittacea*.)

Among univalves have been found—

*Natica*.

*Fasciolaria*.

*Melania*.

*Buccinum* (*undatum* ?)

*Fusus*.

*Scalaria* (*rare*.)

A Mutivalve, also the *Balanus tintinnabulus*, in fragments, is also common.

It is remarkable in this bank, that the two largest genera of shells found in it, viz.: the *Mya* and the

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Pecten, occupy in layers, the lowest portion of it. It has also been observed, that the clay here, though supporting this calcareous burthen, does not in the least effervesce with acids.

If much diligence were used in the research, it might be possible to find, perhaps, as many more as those enumerated above, differing from them either in genus or species; but these are all we could collect, after several examinations of the bank; and having little information on the subject ourselves, they have been submitted, in the first instance, to the Countess of Dalhousie, and subsequently to Mrs. Sheppard, of Woodfield,—two females whose refined tastes have led them to a successful cultivation of more than one branch of Natural History; and to one or other of these ladies we are indebted for the above quoted names. Mrs. Sheppard observes on the singularity of finding a fresh water shell (*melania*) mixed up with the others which are exclusively of marine origin. The fact would seem to imply, that when this bank of shells was deposited land was not far off.

The commonest of these shells, the *Hiatella* and *Tellina*, have been traced from hence to other places in the neighbourhood, even to Charlesbourg and Indian Lorette; but they are far from occurring in such profusion as here. The fact appears to be, that the bank suddenly wedges out to a very thin stratum or layer.

Whether this bank is to be considered a member of the Tertiary formation, the Pliocene of Lyell, for instance, or an ancient alluvium, in the strict geological interpretation of the term, we cannot decide.

Captain Bayfield, R. N., is, we believe, about to transmit to Mr. Lyell, a collection of specimens from

this locality, which will, no doubt, enable the latter to afford us that correct information on the subject which he must possess, from having so deeply studied it in connection with its European developements; in the mean time, we recommend a visit to the spot to all those who are fond of casting back a retrospective glance to the days which have left no other records behind them than such as are to be found in the materials composing these ancient deposits. The feelings and thoughts which such a visit will excite may be somewhat vague; but they will scarcely fail to prove both interesting and instructive.

Before we bring this subject to a conclusion, something must be said of a portion of the alluviums, which, as yet, has obtained only an incidental notice. It is manifest that the fineness or coarseness of the deposits which accompany an alluvial action, must depend upon the force of the latter. Where, in the present day, this action has been moderate and continual, we often find deep deposits of the finest materials. In places, on the contrary, liable to a violent rush of waters, these materials are of the coarsest description. Apply this remark to some of our ancient alluviums, and it will appear that they could only have been deposited by the action of a deluge, either rushing suddenly to its climax or as suddenly subsiding from it, and to such the term diluvium is applied. They are to be found at all levels—sometimes encumbering the surface of the ground in large rounded masses (boulders,) or as a coarse gravel, contrasting usually both mineralogically and geologically with the fixed masses of rock they overlies.

To satisfy one self that water has been in general the transporting cause, we have only to turn our eyes to the beds of some of our rivers, in which,

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numerically, this geological feature is best examined. It is not pretended, however, that the velocity of the waters which now pass over or struggle through the largest of boulders found in such places, is sufficient to account for their presence;—undoubtedly not.—They could, in general, only owe their position to the motion of an immense body of water suddenly subsiding to a lower level through the channels in which they are now found.

It is usual to attribute the position of large boulders and extensive beds of coarse gravel, whether in rivers, flats or high lands, to the operation of the punitive Deluge of Moses; and there is no doubt that such a catastrophe is fully sufficient to account for much that is actually observed; but the study of Geology informs us that the Mosaic Deluge is by no means the only one which has visited the surface of the globe since its creation. On the contrary, the Tertiary and even Secondary strata, bear witness to the repeated action of anti-diluvial floods. Besides, partial floods originating in the bursting of lakes, &c. have produced, in all times, individual erosive effects over a comparatively small surface equal to the greatest we notice. Now, let it be borne in mind, that effects, at first partial as to extent, become general to the whole globe, after innumerable repetitions over its surface! Thus, if the phenomenon of the emergence of a mountain in the flats of Flanders should be repeated every century, in the course of time that country, which is now remarkable for its uniform level, would become mountainous. A remark which is the germ of modern Geology, the value of which, however, depends upon not being restricted as to time.

To return more particularly to the distribution of boulders:—The buoyancy of ice has been called in to explain it; but this cause, although, no doubt, entitled to some attention, particularly in climates like Canada, can have been but in partial operation, and cannot certainly account for the distribution of boulders under the tropics, without, indeed, what is very improbable, those climes once possessed a frigid atmosphere. The fact appears to be, that no one nor one of two causes will answer satisfactorily for their position, which has been influenced probably by many.

The neighbourhood of Quebec, as well as Canada in general, is much characterized by boulders, and the size and position of some of them is very striking. There are two crowning the height which overlooks the Domain Farm at Beauport, whose collective weight is little short, by computation of forty tons. The heights of Abraham, also are, or rather were, crowded with them; and it should never be forgotten that it was upon one of these hoary symbols, the debacle of the Deluge, as they are generally esteemed to be, that the immortal and mortal parts of two rival heroes separated from each other—the former to unite in realms apportioned to the departed brave!

It has often occurred to us, that one of the most suitable monuments to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm might have been erected with these masses, in the form of a pyramid or pile of shot, instead of burying them, as in many instances has been done, in order to clear the ground.

It is true, that the farmer sees no beauty, and feels no interest in these mysterious and primeval intruders, which we call boulders. He naturally

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regards them with a feeling similar to that with which he views the unextracted stumps, that for some time retard the progress of the plough, and impede his agricultural improvements. To us, however, they are far from unwelcome. We never see one without the excitement of curiosity, and the stimulative of research. We would investigate, and gladly discover its age, origin, and the means whereby it occupied its present position upon the otherwise stoneless surface—sometimes indeed, we yield a pardonable indulgence to fancy in picturing the extraordinary events which might be disclosed in the “Genuine Memoirs of a Boulder !”

[For the foregoing Geological account, we are indebted to Lieutenant Baddeley, R. E., Member of the Geology Society of France.]

#### GENERAL SKETCH.—THE ENVIRONS OF QUEBEC.

To all admirers of romantic scenery, and to the general observer of manners and character, a visit to the interior of the country parishes of LOWER CANADA will afford objects of peculiar interest and attraction. In those parts of the Province, where immigration from the British possessions in EUROPE has taken root, no perceptible difference of manners is to be expected. The same industry, and agricultural improvement—the same national variations of character and temperament will here be found—softened, refined and amalgamated by social intercourse and friendly collision. The remark is equally good as applied to the AMERICAN population. But in the same degree as the Artist seeks to

study nature in her most simple guise; there is an especial charm for the philosophic spectator in the simplicity and natural character of the *Habitans*; or French peasantry of the Province. An intelligent, and almost primitive people, uninfluenced by the causes that are every day working improvement among their neighbors,—and whose dress and dialect prove their identity with the race nursed of yore on the shores of NORMANDY—can never be uninteresting to the contemplation of the educated traveller.

While the ARTIST will be delighted to find the pictures of his imagination realised, in the most beautiful combinations that rock, wood and stream, can be supposed to produce—the TOURIST, in passing through the country parishes, will be struck with the intelligent eye, the gay countenance and hospitable manners of the inhabitants. Their address is eminently polite; and their familiar intercourse is distinguished by personal courtesy. They have been emphatically, and truly, called *un peuple gentilhomme*. Respect shown to a superior, when free from fear or servility, and founded on a belief in the connexion between a higher rank and moral and intellectual acquirements, displays the genuine, unsophisticated mind of him by whom it is offered; and the TRAVELLER, as he returns the obeisance of the peasant, is pleased to reflect, that even so trivial a mark of courtesy would scarcely be vouchsafed, where a corrupted state of manners had confounded the distinctions of rank:—or where the lower classes, uninstructed in the rules of morality, had lost their claim to regard from their superiors.

It is not our intention to give a separate description of the various natural beauties which present

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themselves in every direction near QUEBEC. There are so many publications which embrace such descriptions—among which we more particularly allude to Professor Silliman's "TOUR from HARTFORD to QUEBEC"—and they are so generally known, that any minute account is unnecessary in this work, the principal aim of which has been to collect and preserve from oblivion the historical remains and recollections of this remarkable city. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a general description; and here we feel great satisfaction in availing ourselves of the following eloquent, and highly attractive extract from the statistical work of Lieutenant Colonel BOUCHETTE, Surveyor General of LOWER CANADA,—a production, which, in the words of a Report of a Committee of the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, "from its minuteness in detail, and excellence in execution, will remain a lasting monument of the ability of the first native Canadian Geographer."

Colonel BOUCHETTE thus expresses himself in respect to his native place:—"The summer scenery of the environs of Quebec may vie in exquisite beauty, variety, magnificence, sublimity, and the naturally harmonized combination of all these prominent features, with the most splendid that has yet been portrayed in Europe, or any other part of the world. Towards Beauport, Charlebourg, and Lorette, the view is diversified with every trait that can render a landscape rich, full, and complete; the foreground shows the River St. Charles meandering for many miles through a rich and fertile valley, embellished by a succession of objects that diffuses an unrivalled animation over the whole scene. The three villages, with their respective

churches, and many handsome detached houses in the vicinity, seated on gently rising eminences, form so many distinct points of view; the intervals between them display many of the most strongly marked specimens of forest scenery, and the surrounding country every where an appearance of fertility and good cultivation, upon which the eye of the spectator wanders with ceaseless delight. As the prospect recedes it is still interesting, the land rising in gradation, height over height, having the interval between succeeding elevations filled up with primeval forests, until the whole is terminated by a stupendous ridge of mountains, whose lofty forms are dimly seen through the aerial expanse. The sense of vision is gratified to the utmost, and the spectator never fails to turn with regret from the contemplation of what is allowed to be one of the most superb views in nature.

“Nor is it on this side only that the attention is arrested; for turning towards the basin, which is about two miles across, a scene presents itself that is not the less gratifying for being made a secondary one; it is enlivened by the ever changing variety of ships coming up to and leaving the port. On the right hand, Pointe Lévi, with its church and group of white houses, several other promontories on the same shore clothed with lofty trees; and the busy animation attendant on the constant arrival and departure of ferry-boats; in front, the western end of the beautiful and picturesque Island of Orleans, displaying charming and well-cultivated slopes down almost to the water's edge, backed by lofty and thick woods, and every where decorated with neat farm-houses, present altogether an interesting and agreeable subject to the observer. In fine still weather, the

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*mirage*, or *reflects* of the different objects around the margin, in all their variety of coloring, are thrown across the unruffled surface of the water with an almost incredible brilliance. On the Plains of Abraham, from the precipice that overlooks the timber grounds, where an incessant round of activity prevails, the St. Lawrence is seen rolling its majestic wave, studded with many a sail, from the stately ship down to the humble fishing-boat; the opposite bank, extending up the river, is highly cultivated, and the houses, thickly strewed by the main road, from this height and distance, have the appearance of an almost uninterrupted village, as far the eye can reach in that direction. The country to the southward rises by a very gentle ascent, and the whole view, which is richly embellished by alternations of water, woodland and cultivation, is bounded by remote and lofty mountains, softening shade by shade until they melt into air. Whoever views the environs of Quebec, with a mind and taste capable of receiving impressions through the medium of the eyes, will acknowledge, that as a whole, the prospect is grand, harmonious, and magnificent; and that, if taken in detail, every part of it will please, by a gradual unfolding of its picturesque beauties."

## CONCLUSION.

The subject of which we have treated has proved so attractive—so great a variety, such unexpected mines of historical matter have been discovered, relative to the ancient establishments of Quebec—and so many reflections of great and diversified interest have occurred in the progress of the work—that it

has been extended far beyond the limit, which the prudence of the publisher originally imposed, though not, it is hoped, beyond the patience of the classical and patriotic reader :

Juvat immemorata ferentem  
Ingenuis oculisque legi, manibusque teneri.

The history and description of distinguished places afford subjects of rational curiosity and gratification. The annals of a particular town often assist in developing the history of a country at large ; and a delineation of the prevailing features of the city of QUEBEC forms a species of literary portraiture, the value of which is denoted by the encreasing taste for its cultivation, manifested in every polite and lettered portion of the BRITISH EMPIRE. The history of QUEBEC also acquires additional charms in the esteem of the examiner, when the scroll of its singular events is unfolded ; and when such of its former inhabitants, as were eminent for virtue, piety, and warlike exploit are held forth to the notice of posterity. Such historic recollections render every spot in this remarkable city a sort of consecrated ground, —and interest the feelings in the examination of its ancient records, while they dignify and emblazon the page of the modern historian.

Such have been the impressions under which this work has been brought to a conclusion. The indulgence of the candid reader is hoped for, from a conviction that every effort has been made to procure original and correct information, that zeal and attachment to the subject could suggest. The times of indifference to literature in general in these Provinces are hastening to a close ; and it may be confidently expected, that public approbation will en-

courage the present amor and more co of Canada. try—an adm sity respecti —with a w inspired us care ; and sh that we shal mitigation o work is so feeling—or honest intent ted to the ju these Provin well employe historical eng if they assist ter known as visited by lea duly apprecia Empire, of v appendage.

courage the prosecution of labors similar to the present among many native writers, but on the larger and more comprehensive scale of a general History of Canada. For ourselves, attachment to the country—an admiration of its scenery—an ardent curiosity respecting its early history and ancient vestiges—with a warm respect for many of its inhabitants, inspired us to accomplish the task confided to our care; and should deficiencies be ascertained, we trust that we shall be allowed to plead these motives in mitigation of critical censure. The nature of the work is so generally remote from subjects of party feeling—or at least is so when conducted with an honest intention—that it may confidently be submitted to the judgment of every class of inhabitants in these Provinces. Our humble efforts will have been well employed, if they conduce to excite literary and historical enquiry amongst us; and more particularly if they assist in rendering our capital, QUEBEC, better known as to its local interest, more frequently visited by learned and distinguished men, and more duly appreciated by the people of that magnificent Empire, of which this Province is so valuable an appendage.



NOTES.

The first point to be considered is the nature of the evidence presented. It is clear that the evidence is of a high quality and is sufficient to establish the facts of the case. The second point is the application of the law to the facts. The law is clear and the facts are undisputed. The third point is the conclusion to be reached. The conclusion is that the law is satisfied and the facts are established.

The fourth point is the effect of the decision. The decision is final and binding on all parties. The fifth point is the date of the decision. The decision is dated the 10th day of the month of the year.

The sixth point is the signature of the judge. The judge is the Honorable Justice of the Peace. The seventh point is the date of the signature. The signature is dated the 10th day of the month of the year.

NOTES.

NOTE 1.

[It is, indeed, mentioned by Vater, Page 12.]

VATER remarks, in his introduction to the account of the American languages, that they have, comparatively speaking, a considerable number of words in common with the Finnish. He finds, however, only fifty-one similar words where the affinity should be most distinct, namely, in all the languages of North America and Northern Asia.

Out of six American languages, chiefly on the East side, Vater found eight words of Basque origin. Out of ten American languages, he found eighteen words of Celtic origin.

The following is a comparison of six Algonquin, and six Irish or Celtic words, admitting the specimen to be the most favorable in his tables :

<i>Algonquin.</i>		<i>Irish or Celtic.</i>	
Inis	- - -	An Island	- - -
Ga	- - -	Falsehood	- - -
Isca	- - -	Water	- - -
Boge	- - -	Soft	- - -
Ka-ke-li	- - -	All	- - -
Ka-ki-na	- - -	Each	- - -
		Inis.	
		Gai.	
		Uisce.	
		Bog.	
		Cac-nile.	
		Cac-eine.	

Our readers may remark the similarity between this last word and *Ekeinos*, and *Kakeinos* of the Greek, also a Celtic language. *Isca*, water, was the name of the River Exe in Devonshire, given by the Romans, also a Celtic people. The words *Whisky*, and *Usquebaugh*, water of life, are derived from the Irish word for water, *Uisce*, so similar to the Algonquin.

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## NOTE 2.

[Columbus—Page 17.]

A house is still shown in the village of Cogoletto, near Genoa, as that in which COLUMBUS was born. At the door of the building is a stone, on which the following inscription in Italian has been inscribed since 1650. It bears the name of a Priest of the same family. The two other inscriptions in Latin have been recently added. Like the birth-place of our own Shakspeare, at Stratford-on-Avon, that of Columbus is visited by all curious travellers, who regard the birth-place of the great discoverer of the New World, as one of the most interesting sites in their route. The inscriptions are subjoined, with imitations in English. It will be perceived that in the Italian, there is a play upon the meaning of Colombo, which would be ineffective in the translation.

## ELOGII.

Di Cristoforo Colombo, scopritor dell' America l'anno 1492—scritti nella casa di sua nascita, nel paese di Cogoletto, contrada Giuggiolo—

## I.

Con generoso ardir dall' arca all' onde  
Ubbidente il vol Colombo prende,  
Corre, s'aggira, terren' scopre, e fronde  
D'olivo, in segno, al gran Noe ne rende.  
L'imita in cio Colombo, ne s'asconde,  
E da sua patria il mar solcande fende ;  
Terreno al fin scoprendo diede fondo,  
Offrendo al' Ispano un nuovo Mondo.

Il 2 Dicembre, 1650.

PRETE ANTONIO COLOMBO.

## II.

Hospes siste gradum ; Fuit H I C lux prima  
Colombo,  
Orbe viro majori, Heu ! nimis arcta Domus !

## III.

Unus erat Mundus ; Duo sunt, ait I S T E ;  
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The above imitated :—

IN PRAISE

Of Christopher Columbus, discoverer of America in the year 1492—written in the house of his birth, in the country of Cogoletto, in the district of Giuggiolo.

I.

Swift from the Ark, above the watery waste,  
The Dove, obedient, flies with generous haste ;  
Still onward speeds, nor pauses in her flight—  
Until the long-sought land relieves her sight—  
Thence as a token of the welcome strand,  
An olive branch she bears to Noah's hand !  
Like her Columbus scorns inglorious ease,  
Far from his country ploughs the maiden seas—  
Nor casts he anchor, nor a sail was furl'd,  
Until to Spain he gave another world !

II.

Stay, traveller, stay ! before these narrow walls  
Awhile thy weary pilgrimage restrain—  
Here first Columbus breath'd the vital air ;  
This roof held one—the world could not contain !

III.

The World was one—Columbus said, they are two—  
He found a World, and made the saying true !

NOTE 3.

[*Port of St. Croix—Page 46.*]

On further examination, the exact spot where Jacques Cartier wintered may be fixed a little way above Mr. Smith's house, where the small River Larrey, whose banks are clearly traceable, runs into the St. Charles, from the north.

NOTE 4.

[*Lander—Page 56.*]

While this work was in press the intelligence of Lander's death was received. He adds another distinguished name to the catalogue in the text. He was basely murdered.

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The following interesting information was also received after this chapter was printed off :

" The discovery of the land towards the South Pole, made by Captain Briscoe, in the Brig *Tula*, accompanied by the Cutter *Lively*, both vessels belonging to Messrs. Enderby, extensive owners of ships in the whale fishery, has been communicated to the Royal Geographical Society.

" It is supposed that the land forms part of a vast continent, extending from about longitude 47—31, east, to longitude 69—29 west, or from the longitude of Madagascar round the whole of the Southern or South Pacific Ocean, as far as the longitude of Cape Horn. On the 18th February, 1832, Captain Briscoe discovered land, and during the following month remained in the vicinity ; he clearly discovered the black peaks of mountains above the snow, but he was, from the state of the weather, and the ice, unable to approach nearer than about 30 miles. The Stormy Petros was the only bird seen, and no fish. It has been named Enderby's land, longitude 47—31 East, latitude 66—30 S. An extent of about 300 miles was seen. The range of mountains E. S. E."

## NOTE 5.

[*Jacques Cartier at Cap Rouge—Page 63.*]

Having visited the mansion at Cap Rouge, and walked over the ground with Mr. Atkinson, since this volume was at press, it is proper to add that the " trees indicating great antiquity," mentioned in the text, have been lately removed. In other respects the site remains as before.

A few months ago Mr. Atkinson's workmen in levelling the lawn in front of the house, and close to the point of Cap Rouge height, found beneath the surface some loose stones which had apparently been the foundations of some wall, fortification or building. Among these stones were found several iron balls of different sizes, adapted to the calibre of the ship guns used at the period of Jacques Cartier's and Roberval's visit. On clearing, also, a piece of ground in rear of the garden, intended for the Bowling green, traces were plainly discovered of ancient furrows, showing that the spot had been once cultivated by Europeans. Upon the whole, the evidence of the presence of the French at Cap Rouge may be considered conclusive. Nor is there any good reason to doubt that Roberval took up his

quarters in the fort which Jacques Cartier had left. The accounts of the early writers are very vague as to distances in leagues.

By a typographical error in page 66, Roberval is said to have sailed from Newfoundland "about the end of June, 1543" The year should be 1542.

JACQUES CARTIER was born at St. Malo, about 1500. The day of his birth cannot be discovered, nor can the time or place of his death. Most probably he finished his useful life at St. Malo; for we find, under the date of the 29th November, 1549, that the celebrated navigator, with his wife Catherine Des Granges, founded on *obit* in the Cathedral of St. Malo assigning the sum of four francs for that purpose. His life was written by the Abbé Monet, but we have not been able to find it in this country. The mortuary registers of St. Malo, make no mention of his death, nor is there any tradition on the subject.

## NOTE 6.

[*Roberval on the way to Saguenay—Page 68.*]

This must not be understood as the river of that name, but the supposed Province of Saguenay, which was to be reached by ascending the St. Lawrence to Hochelaga, and thence by the Ottawa

## NOTE 7.

[*Champlain taken a prisoner of war to England, p. 108.*]

This is incorrect: he was taken to England by capitulation on his way to France, but staid voluntarily some time in London.

## NOTE 8.

[*Quebec has not to the ear any sound of an Indian word, p. 118.*]

Since this chapter was at press, we have been favored with a copy of *Les Aventures de Sicur Le Beau*, who arrived in Quebec, in June, 1729, a few years after Charlevoix. Le Beau gives the strongest testimony that this latter writer was entirely misinformed when he gave to the word, Quebec,

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Sir William  
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an Indian derivation. Le Beau says : " Moreri se trompe fortement, lorsqu'il avance dans son dictionnaire, que cette ville se trouve ainsi nommée de la hauteur de sa montagne, parce que, dit cet auteur, les sauvages appellent Québec, les hauteurs ou élévations de terrain : Ce qui me parait faux, d'autant plus que m'étant informé par curiosité de l'Étymologie de ce nom, aux sauvages mêmes avec qui je me suis trouvé dans la suite, et qui possédoient différentes langues barbares, ils me répondirent, *que le nom de Québec étoit François : qu'ils ne connoissoient aucun mot sauvage qui sonndt de cette façon*, et qu'ils savoient bien, que les *Algonkins*, les *Abenakis*, les *Iroquois*, et les *Hurons* appelloient autre fois cette montagne *Stadaka*." This is the best evidence yet produced on the subject, and establishes that Quebec was not an Indian word. Le Beau, for want of a better, adopts the derivation from *Quel bec* !

In conclusion of the suggestion that Quebec was adopted from the Indian name of the little River *Coubat*, La Potherie expressly tells us that it was *the Point* which gave the name to Quebec. Speaking of the Seminary, he says : " Il est sur la plateforme de la *Pointe* qui donna le nom de Québec." Now this Point is at the confluence of the little River with the St. Charles ; and it was on this Point that the French first heard what they considered the name of Quebec. They might easily have mistaken therefore the name of the river for that of the Point.

## NOTE 9.

[*Michael de la Pole, an eminent Merchant in Hull, p. 119.*]

The father of the first Earl of Suffolk was a Merchant at Ravensburg, formerly a flourishing town of trade at the mouth of the Humber ; but having removed to the new town of Kingston-upon-Hull, in the time of Edward III., gave that King a magnificent entertainment, when, in the sixth year of his reign he even mortgaged his estate for his Royal Master's use. Such services could not go unrewarded by so generous and successful a Prince. Sir William was made Knight Banneret in the field, and had settled on him and his heirs lands at Kingston to the value of five hundred marks a year. Upon his return to England, the grant was made a thousand marks per annum. He was finally made Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

Sir William de la Pole died in 1356, after he had begun a Monastery, at Hull, for the Carthusians. His son, Sir Michael

was made Lord Chancellor by Richard II. He finished the Monastery, and founded likewise the Hospital called GOD'S HOUSE. He built also a stately Palace, on being created Earl of Suffolk, which honor he obtained in right of his wife Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir John Wingfield, who married the heiress of Gilbert Granville, Earl of Suffolk. In 1388, he was impeached of high treason, and fled for his life to France where he died. His grandson was the possessor of the seal, of which a plate is given at page 118.

John de la Pole married the sister of Edward IV. and so becoming allied to the Royal blood, was by that means, exposed to various misfortunes.

The famous Cardinal de la Pole, who flourished in the reign of Mary, descended from the marriage above mentioned.

The old Hospital, at Hull, called GOD'S HOUSE, was pulled down in 1643, and rebuilt in 1673. The arms of the *de la Poles*, being found among the ruins, were placed over the door of the Hospital, with this inscription :

DEO ET PAUPERIBUS POSUIT  
MICHAEL DE LA POLE, 1384.

## NOTE 10.

*Champlain arrived at Plymouth as a prisoner of war, p. 136.]*

See Note 7.

## NOTE 11.

*[Sir William Phipps—Page 140.]*

Most of the Peerages fall into the error of stating that the family of MULGRAVE is descended from Sir WILLIAM PHIPPS, the inventor of the Diving Bell, who in reality, as we find on further enquiry, left no issue. In the reign of CHARLES I. Colonel Phipps raised a regiment on his estate in Lincolnshire, joined the Cavaliers and fell in battle. His grandson, Sir Constantine Phipps, was Lord Chancellor of Ireland during the latter years of Queen ANNE, and his great grandson, Sir Constantine's son, married the heiress of the Duchess of Buckinghamshire, who was natural daughter of KING JAMES II. Lady Katherine Phipps succeeded to the estates of her brother, the young Duke of Buckinghamshire, among which

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was MULGRAVE Castle in Yorkshire, whence the subsequent title. We mention this for the sake of correcting the error into which we were led by the Peerage.

NOTE 12.

[*It has been stated that there are five gates—Page 169.*]

Before the conquest there were only three Gates to the City of Quebec: St. John's, St. Lewis, and that at the end of Palace-street; which was contrived in the rock, flanked on one side by a bastion, and guarded on the other by batteries erected in a large building, which was used as a Barrack, now the Ordnance Stores. Between the rock in Mountain-street and the flank of the Bishop's Palace, there was a Barrier of pickets only, where Prescott Gate now stands; and the same probably at Hope Gate, which last is not noticed in a Plan of Quebec, dated in 1752, with which we have been favored.

NOTE 13.

[*They ceded their property on the St. Charles—Page 181.*]

From General MURRAY's Report, made in 1762, it would appear that the Recollets, some years before the conquest, had a house and church in St. Roch's, on the site of which part of the Intendant's buildings was erected. The Recollets acted as Chaplains to the army.

NOTE 14.

[*The Jesuits were deprived of their silver Chalice, p. 187.*]

In Rymer's *Fœdera*, under the date, 5th March, 1630, in the fifth year of Charles I, is this entry:

"*Commissio specialis Humfrido May et aliis, de scrutinio faciundo pro Mercandisis, Bonis, &c. captis per Capitaneum Kertke à Gallis apud Fortalitium Kebec.*"

NOTE 15.

[*The Isle of Orleans then uninhabited—Page 197.*]

The Isle of Orleans was in 1676 created an Earldom, by the title of St. Laurent, which, however, has long been ex-

tinct. The first Comte de St. Laurent was of the name of Berthelet.

## NOTE 16.

[In 1696 considerable additions were made—Page 203.]

General MURRAY mentions in his Report, that the Hotel Dieu had been again burned a few years before the conquest.

## NOTE 17.

[*The Intendant's Palace—Page 247.*]

The last Intendant was M. BIGOT. His estimate, transmitted from Canada to France, on the 29th August, 1758, for the service of the following year, amounted to from thirty-one to thirty-three millions of *livres*. Twenty-four millions were actually drawn for before the taking of Quebec in September 1759.

## NOTE 18.

[*Mr. James Thompson, then in his ninety-fifth year. p. 273.*]

Mr. JAMES THOMPSON was not, we understand, actually present with the troops engaged in the battle of the Plains, being detached on duty. He was, however, WOLFE's companion in arms at Louisbourg and at Montmorenci; and though not actually on the spot, was doing duty with the army which captured Quebec. He was a Serjeant at the time. Afterwards he held an honorable station in the Engineer department, of which, enjoying perfect health and the possession of his faculties, he discharged the duties to the last. He was frank and communicative, and every way an interesting old gentleman. He kept a Journal, now in the possession of his family, which must contain some interesting particulars of his long life. Lord Dalhousie, thinking him fully entitled at this late period to an honorable retirement, with characteristic benevolence, signified his disposition to interest himself with His Majesty's Government to procure Mr. Thompson a pension for the remainder of his days. The old gentleman politely acknowledged his sense of His Lordship's kindness, but preferred the continuance of his duties while strength remained sufficient to attend his office.

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## NOTE 19.

[*On the rear is the following—p. 279.*]

This inscription, having been found to require too large a slab, to be placed on the rear of the *Sarcophagus*, has been placed in front of the surbase, where it has a better effect.

The several inscriptions were completed, and finally affixed on Thursday, the 6th November, 1834.

## NOTE 20.

[*Montcalm—Page 362.*]

The following is a copy of a certificate in the possession of Louis Panet, Esquire, the original of which is countersigned by General MONTCALM :

“ Nous officier commandt un detachement à l'Ange Gardien  
 “ Certifions que le nommé Charles Contin, habitant du lieu,  
 “ a fourni un mouton à l'Ange Gardien, ce 26e Août, 1759.  
 “ HERTEL.”

“ Vu, MONTCALM.”

## NOTE 21.

[*Quebec having been reduced—Page 368.*]

Population of Quebec in 1759.....	6700	souls.
“ Three Rivers.....	1500	“
“ Montreal .....	4000	“

Total of the Militia force, from the age of sixteen to sixty,  
 2700 men.

## NOTE 22.

[*35th Regt. or Otways, Lieutenant Colonel Fletcher—p. 369.*]

At the late presentation of Colors to the 35th Regiment in Dublin garrison, on the 21st July, 1834, their Colonel-in-Chief, Lieutenant General Sir JOHN OSWALD, G. C. B. mentioned in the course of his address, that when he first joined the Regiment in 1791, he found in it several of the companions of WOLFE. “ The Colonel-in-Chief was FLETCHER, of a distinguished Scottish family. He led the 35th, under General

WOLFE, through the surf of Louisbourg, placed them first after the British Grenadiers in line, on the Plains of Abraham, and there during the contest, charging the French Grenadiers, carried off the *white plume*, which for half a century this battalion bore. His Majesty GEORGE III. was so pleased with Colonel FLETCHER'S conduct, that when a Lieutenant Colonel of only four years standing, he gave him the Colonelcy in Chief."

## NOTE 23.

[*Passed through the American force stationed at Sorel—p. 423.*]

Captain BOUCHETTE, of the Provincial Navy, father of the present Surveyor General, succeeded in safely conducting General Carleton through the enemy's forces on the river and banks of the St Lawrence to Quebec in 1775, after the capture of Montreal by Montgomery.

## NOTE 24.

## ANCIENT MAPS, PLANS and DRAWINGS.

Among the many sources from which we have derived valuable information in the course of this work, we were favored with an excellent Plan of Quebec on a large scale with references, executed in 1752, and containing a perfectly plain delineation of the fortifications, and of the limits of the different religious establishments. We have made great use of this.

Frequent reference has also been had to "Twelve views of the principal buildings in Quebec, from drawings taken on the spot, at the command of Vice Admiral Saunders, by Richard Short, purser of His Majesty's ship the Prince of Orange. Published in 1761, price two guineas." This work, complete, is seldom to be met with, although detached prints are in existence in Quebec. It shows the damage done by the bombardment, and is otherwise curious. Besides the views of Quebec as a whole, it possesses different views of the Intendant's Palace—Treasury and Jesuits' College—Inside of Jesuits' Chapel—The Cathedral—Recollet Friars Church—The Ursuline Convent—Bishops' Palace, with a wall and gate in front—Place and Church of Notre Dame in the Lower Town, &c.

Another scarce work, which was obligingly lent to us, is "The Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in

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North and South America, with an historical detail of the acquisitions and conquests made by the British arms in those parts, illustrated by maps and plans." Published in 1761 in folio, and dedicated to General Townshend.

This work contains an official Plan of the City of Quebec, as it surrendered in 1759, giving the fortifications in the St. Charles River with military accuracy. There is also a similar Plan of Montreal.

We have taken an account of the Field of Battle and the position of the armies, principally from a plan in this work on a considerable scale, made by an officer of distinction present thereat. We have used also another plan of the whole operations on both sides of the river from the camp at Orleans to the landing at Wolfe's Cove, drawn by a captain in the navy.

The examinations of these and other documents has enabled us to make our descriptions both exact and authentic; and as records of past events, and of ancient boundaries, the documents themselves will every day acquire encreasing value, and will, doubtless, be carefully preserved by their respective possessors.

THE END.

