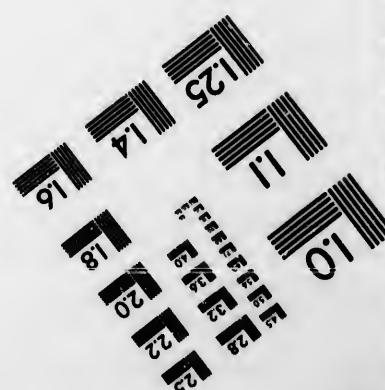
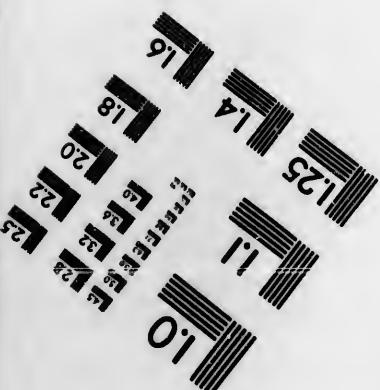
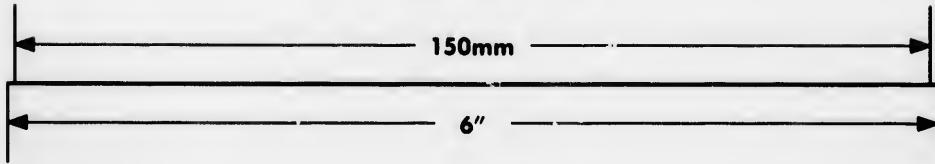
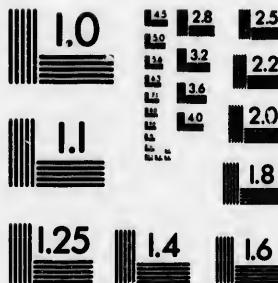
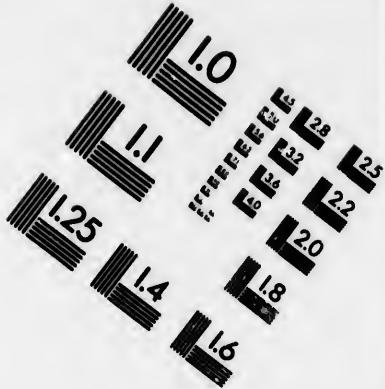
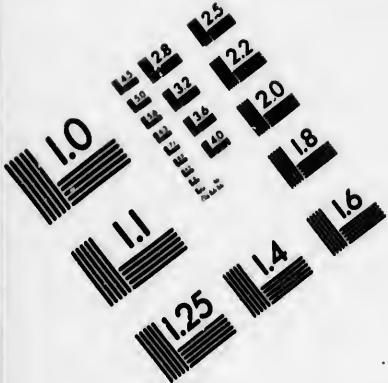


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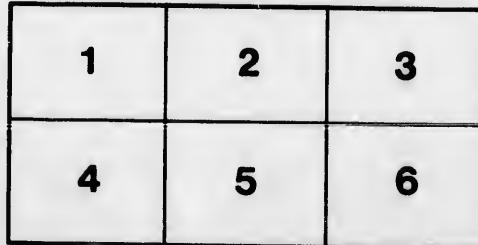
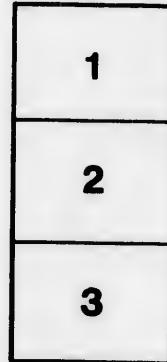
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ETUDES LUES PAR J. M. LEMOINE.

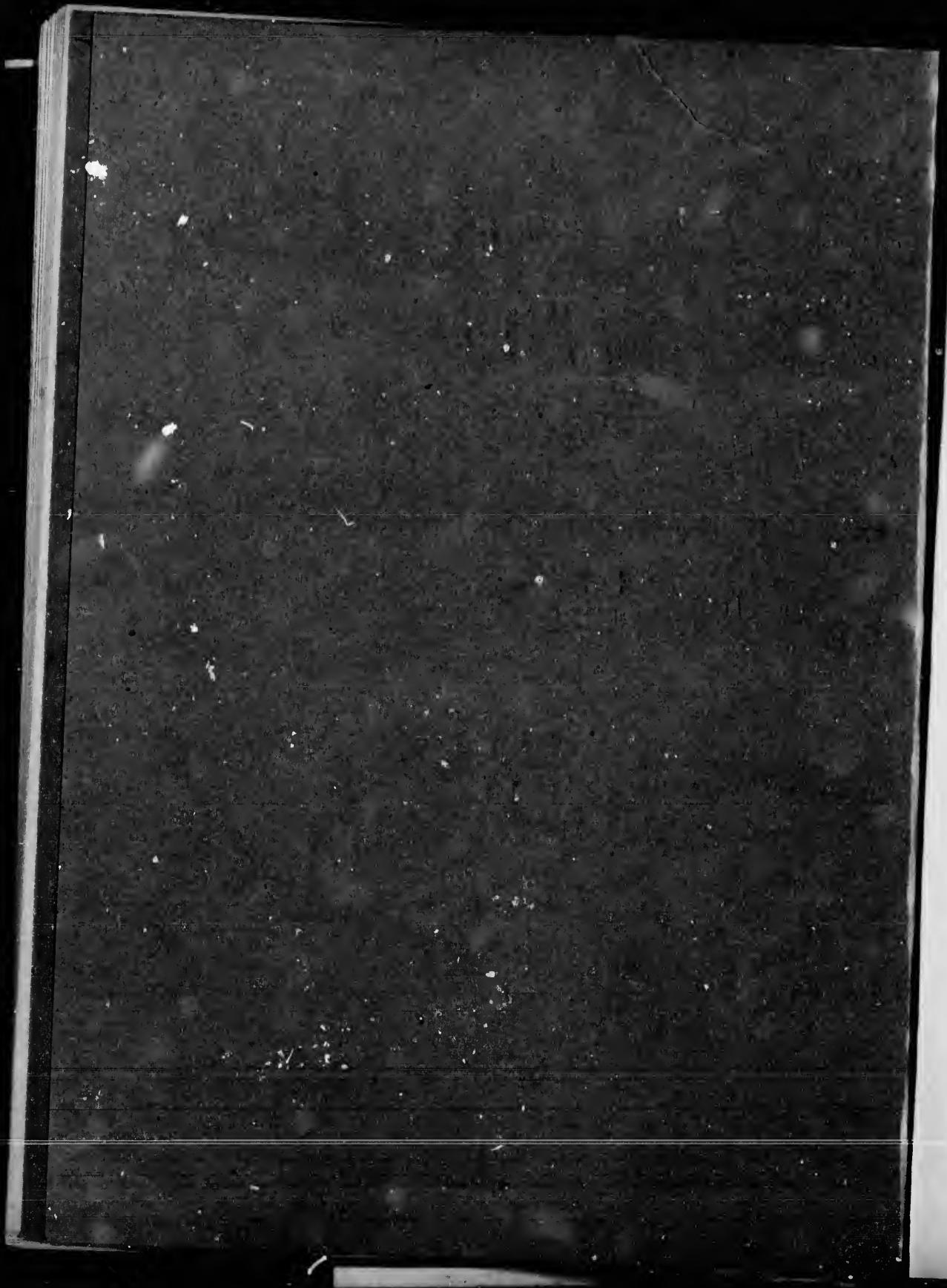
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II. Section (anglaise).

THE LAST DECADE OF FRENCH RULE AT QUEBEC, 1749-59 - - - - - 1888

(Cinquante copies).
No. - - - - -



II.—*The Last Decade of French Rule at Quebec, 1749—1759.*

By J. M. LEMOINE.

(Read May 25, 1888.)

The interest shown by this Section in Canadian history, may render acceptable the sketch I shall now present of the governing circles at Quebec, during the last decade of French rule—a very dark page in Canadian annals. I am well aware that our historians have, in a general way, done justice to the closing era of the Bourbon regime in New France. I wish, however, to enlarge on the subject, and to acquaint you with the very text of a curious memoir bearing on those times, adding a few comments. This memoir, I have reason to believe, is little known to the English-speaking community, there being so far no translation into their language.

In the year 1888, a committee of the Literary and Historical Society, of Quebec, of which the learned George B. Faribault was the leading spirit, urged upon the association the propriety of publishing a French MS.¹ of some 207 pages, placed in the hands of a member of the committee by an influential person in Montreal, who received it from Gen. Burton, at one time after the Conquest commandant in that city; there seems to have been also extant a second copy, in the possession of the Hon. Thos. Dunn, a high official in his day. Mr. Dunn seems to have communicated this document to the Hon. Wm. Smith, as he quotes several passages from it in his "History of Canada," published at Quebec in 1815.

This memoir presents a graphic, dark but vivacious portraiture of the dealings of the high officials, during the last years of French power. It is quite in accord with the record drawn up by the general historian, only it is much more circumstantial.

The writer must have been an official himself, admitted behind the scenes, but ready to handle without gloves the accomplished villains, who dishonored France and oppressed the colony. Canada, deserted and betrayed, seems to have been ripe for a change of rule. On perusing this memoir, one can easily understand why the oppressed and neglected colonists so readily accepted the new regime with its guarantees, so soon as it became an accomplished fact.

Let us scan some of the incidents of this drooping period, so strikingly portrayed in the *entourage* of Intendant Bigot.

Prepare for the downfall of French power in New France. Selfishness, lust, and

¹ Mémoires du S— de C—, contenant l'Histoire du Canada durant la Guerre et sous le Gouvernement Anglois : Published by the Literary and Historical Society, of Quebec, under the title "Mémoires sur le Canada, depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760, en trois parties, avec Cartes et Plans Lithographiés, publié sous la direction de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec en 1838. Ré-imprimé par elle en 1873 : Middleton & Dawson, Québec."

rapine, are rapidly taking the place of patriotism, public spirit and probity, among Canadian officials. For good or for bad, we may expect to find society in the colony a reflex of what it was in the parent state. The waters of the brook cannot be pure, when the stream that feeds it pours forth the sewage of the city.

War-loving France, staggering under reverses in Germany, in the East and West Indies, with an empty treasury, had not the means, even if she had the heart, to defend her distant offspring against foreign aggression.

Alas, chivalrous old France of Henry IV, to what depths of infamy art thou descending! Lower still shalt thou have to sink. Thy streets, thy squares, thy palaces, thy hamlets, will yet be deluged with blood, ere matters mend! There is yet, however, on earth, a power who can shield from the guillotine the few devoted sons you may forget on Canadian soil—your old rival, Great Britain.

Oppressive taxes were heaped on the people in France, the privileged classes claiming exemption, in order to carry on distant and useless wars, or to pamper court favorites. Vice, luxury, unbridled license were rampant amidst the privileged classes, the nobles and higher clergy; open profligacy, at court. Quebec received her fashions and her officials from France; the latter came with their vices; several of these vices were expensive. The French Sultan, Louis XV, must needs have his harem, his gambling tables, his rouged mistresses, his *parc-aux-cerfs*. The highway to fortune, for courtiers, lies through the smiles of La Pompadour. Quebec, too, possessed its miniature French court, on the green banks of the St. Charles. Gilded vice flaunted at the intendant's palace; gaunt famine preyed on the vitals of the people. It was so at Versailles. It was so at Quebec. Lust, selfishness, rapine, everywhere, except among the small party of the *Honnêtes Gens*, such as de Montcalm, de Vaudreuil, de Longueuil, de Bougainville, de la Corne, de Beaujeu, Taché, de Lery, de St. Ours, and a few others; it was a carnival of pleasure, to be followed by the voice of wailing and by the roll of the muffled drum.

In 1748, the evil genius of New France, La Pompadour's *protégé*, Francois Bigot, thirteenth and last intendant, landed at Quebec.

Born in Guienne, of a family eminent at the bar, Bigot, prior to coming to Canada, had occupied the high position of intendant in Louisiana and Acadia. In stature he was small but well proportioned, active, full of pluck, fond of display and pleasure, and an inveterate gambler. Had he confined his operations merely to trading, his commercial ventures would have excited but little censure, trading having been resorted to by several high colonial officials. His pay was totally inadequate to the importance of his office, and quite insufficient to meet the expenditure his exalted office led him into. His speculations, his venality, the extortions practiced on the community by his heartless minions—all this is what has surrounded his memory with infamy and made his name a byword for scorn.

There existed, at Quebec, a ring composed of the intendant's secretary, Deschenaux; of the commissary-general of Supplies, Cadet; of the town-major, Hugues Péan; of the treasurer-general, Imbert. Péan was the chief and Bigot the great chief of this nefarious association. Between Bigot and Péan another link existed. Péan's favor at court lay in the charms of his wife, Madame Péan, *née* Angelique de Meloises, who was youthful, pretty, witty, attractive, of ready repartee—in fact so captivating that Francois Bigot was entirely ruled by her during all his stay at Quebec. At her house in St. Louis

Street, he spent his evenings; there he was sought and found, in May, 1759, by Colonel de Bougainville, returning from Paris, the bearer of the official dispatches, announcing the impending struggle.

Here are some of the pen photographs which the clever writer of the memoirs has left—disclosing the corrupt surroundings of the luxurious intendant:¹—

"Brassard Deschenaux, the son of a poor cobbler, was born at Quebec. A notary, who boarded with Deschenaux senior, had taught his son to read. Naturally quick and intelligent, young Deschenaux made rapid progress under his tuition and had soon something to do in the office of Intendant Hocquart, where Bigot found him and succeeded in having him named a clerk in the Colonial Office at Quebec. Industrious, but at heart a sycophant, by dint of cringing he won the good graces of Bigot, who soon put unlimited trust in him to such a degree that he attempted nothing without Deschenaux's aid. But Deschenaux was vain, aspiring, haughty, overbearing, and of such inordinate greed that he was in the habit of boasting 'that to get riches he would even rob a church.'

"Cadet was the son of a butcher. In his youth he was employed in minding the cattle of a peasant. He next set up as a butcher and made money. His savings he invested in trade; his intriguing spirit had brought him to the notice of the intendant, who awarded him contracts to supply meat to the army. Deschenaux was not long in discovering that Cadet would be useful to him. He made a friend of him and lost no opportunity of recommending him to the intendant. He was accordingly often employed to buy the supplies for the maintenance of the army. In truth there were few men more active, more industrious, more competent to drive a bargain. The King required his services and requited them by having Cadet named commissary-general. Cadet had his redeeming points: he was open-handed in his dealings, kindly in manner and lavish to excess in expenditure."

The worthy commissary-general, like P^rnt, was blessed with a charming wife, whom Panet's Siege Diary styles *La Belle Amazone Aventurière*. Probably, like her worthy spouse, of low extraction; "elle n'étant pas sortie de la cuisse de Jupiter," to use a familiar French saw.

Madame Cadet, later on, transferred her allegiance from the rich butcher Cadet, to one "Sieur Joseph Ruffio." Hugh Péan, a Canadian by birth, had succeeded his father Capt. Hughes Péan, town-major of Quebec. Totally unfit for the post, he had been re-

¹ Old memoirs furnish curious details of the flittings of the great intendant between Quebec and Montreal. The parliamentary library in this city (Ottawa) contains a lengthy and interesting MS. account, written by a French official of the day, M. Franquet, inspector of fortifications in New France, in 1752. Franquet came here charged with an important mission. He was just the man whom Bigot thought should be dined and wined properly. Thus we find the royal inspector invited to join the intendant on a voyage to Montreal. The government "Gondola," a long, flat bateau, propelled by sails as well as by oars, accordingly left the Cul de Sac landing at Quebec, on July 24th, 1752. It could carry eight hundred pounds burden, with a crew of fourteen oarsmen. Amidships there was a space about six feet square, inclosed by curtains and "with seats with blue cushions," says the memoir; a dais overhead protected the inmates from the rays of a July sun, and from rain. Choice wines, spirits, pasties—even ready cash—everything conducive to human sustenance or pleasure was abundantly provided. History tells us there was nothing ascetic about the gay bachelor Bigot. Ladies of rank, wit and beauty felt it an honor to join his brilliant court, where they met gay Lotharios—young officers of the regiments stationed at Quebec. There were seats for the fair ones in the government gondola. M. Franquet made the most of the voyage, enjoyed himself amazingly, and describes some merry episodes and junkettings which occurred at Three Rivers and other trysting places, in excellent keeping with the daily routine of the magnificent intendant.

commended to the Government by the all powerful intendant. Péan was not long in discovering that, with a master such as Bigot, he could dare anything. Had he not, without any trouble, netted on grain 50,000 half-crowns? A large quantity of wheat was required by the Government; he was charged with buying it. There lay a fat job in store for the town-major. How was his master, the intendant, to manage the case for him? Bigot was a man of resource, able to think for his friends. First, he provided Péan with a large sum out of the treasury, to buy the wheat as low as possible for cash, and then, his complaisant council passed an order or *ordonnance* fixing the price of grain much higher than that at which Péan had purchased. The town-major charged it to the Government at the rate fixed by the *ordonnance*; the difference between the two rates left him a handsome profit. He next tried his hand at building coasting crafts, which he could manage to keep constantly in commission for the Government; this also was lucrative. Other devices, however, were resorted to: a secret partnership was entered into between Cadet and a person named Clavery, who shortly after became storekeeper at Quebec. Cadet was to purchase wheat in the parishes, have it ground at a mill he had leased, the flour to be sent abroad secretly. Péan, too, had large warehouses built, at Beaumont, some say. Cargoes of grain were thus secretly shipped to foreign ports in defiance of the law. Breard, the comptroller-general, for a consideration winked at these malpractices, and from a poor man when he landed in Canada, he returned to France in affluent circumstances.

The crowning piece of knavery, was the erection of a vast shop and warehouse near to the intendant's palace. Clavery had charge of this establishment, where a small retail business was carried on as a blind. The real object was to monopolise the trade in provisions and concentrate it there. Clavery was clerk to Estebe, royal storekeeper at Quebec. In this warehouse were accumulated all such provisions and supplies as were wanted annually, and ordered from France for the king's stores at Quebec.

It was customary for the intendant to send, each summer, requisitions for supplies to Paris. Bigot took care to order from France less supplies than were wanted, so as to have an excuse to order the remainder, in times of scarcity, at Quebec. The orders were sent to Clavery's warehouse, where the same goods were sold over again, at increased rates. Soon the people saw through the deceit, and this repository of fraud was called, in consequence, *La Friponne* (the cheating house.) Montreal, though better off than Quebec for food supplies, suffered as much as the latter from the vexatious proceedings of Bigot's ring; trade at that date was very low at the Royal Mount. It also had its *Friponne* under the personal care of Penissault, so notorious as the lieutenant of the commissary-general of supplies, Cadet. Varin, the commissary-general of marine, and Martel, the king's storekeeper, had monopolised everything. The memoirs depict these two worthies as follows:—

"François Victor Varin, was born in France; some said his sire was a shoemaker by trade, while others made him out the son of a schoolmaster; he was vain, untruthful, arrogant, capricious and obstinate, small in stature, his face was unprepossessing and his morals of the worst."

"Martel was the son of a merchant, formerly established at Port Royal. On its surrender to the English, he settled at Quebec. Poverty soon compelled him to seek for employment. He had a brother who was a Jesuit; through his influence he and

three other of his brothers found protectors, who pushed them on beyond their most sanguine hopes."

Varin and Martel, by monopolising the outfits of the traders and of their canoes, with the assistance of the *Friponne*, brought commerce at Montreal to its lowest ebb, and raised a storm of indignation.

Cadet had, in his employ, for several years, a person by the name of Corpron, a worthless clerk, previously expelled from several mercantile houses for his rogueries, but withal, intelligent and a good business man. Corpron having a share in Cadet's ventures had become his confidential agent. His searching eye pried the first into the official returns and public accounts of expenditure furnished to the Commissary General. None knew what his particular share of the spoils might be, but ere long he was reputed to be enormously wealthy. The charge of Montreal and of the more distant posts were entrusted to Penisseault and Maurin.

"Penisseault was preëminent for out-door duty; successful in conducting negotiations and in overseeing public works; ever watchful, but treacherous and double in his dealings. It was reported that he had been compelled to leave France on account of business transactions. He had married quite a handsome wife, the daughter of a Montreal merchant. She became Péan's mistress, but the great Chevalier de Lévis, on returning to France, carried her off with him." The Canadian Aspasia is likely to reappear, hereafter, in Paris, as a successful suppliant for favours from Duke de Choiseul. Not unlike the Barons of old, General de Lévis seems to have claimed the feudal right of *prelibation* of the choicest products of the colonists, their wives included. The memoirs add that gallantry, on the part of the witty, pretty but frail Madame Penisseault, though it "alienated" her from her licentious spouse, failed to cause a rupture between them. The accommodating official instead of drowning himself, or blowing out his brains, or sighing for a divorce, found solace in the favors granted him by the wives of his subalterns.¹

Let us close this mosaic of public plunderers, debauchees and demireps which France either sent or maintained in Canada, with the pen photograph furnished of the hideous hunchback Maurin. How long might not this intolerable state of things have lasted under the Bourbons? Madame de Pompadour, who ruled at Versailles, under the name of Louis XV, was, unquestionably, well represented at Quebec. Here is what the memoirs say of this notable member of the ring:

"Maurin was the most deformed man in the colony; he was a hunchback, with a sinister expression in his face and in his whole deportment, but nature had imparted to him wit and even culture. He carried expenditure, in Canada, to its extreme limit, and as to hoarding money, Cadet could not have selected two more successful men than Maurin [and Corpron] uniting craftiness to vexatious means. Never was there in the colony, a more striking example of public robbery, followed by profuse expenditure—remaining defiant and unpunished."

It seems incredible to realise the horde of low-born parasites and hirelings surrounding Bigot, and the number of intriguing women paying court to the reigning favourite, Madame Péan.

¹ "Sa vie licencieuse l'allia à elle, sans cependant rompre; et il s'en dédommagea sur les femmes de ceux qui étaient sous ses ordres." Mémoires sur les Affaires de la Colonie, 1749—1760, p. 87.

In 1755, the wheat harvest having failed, and the produce of former years having been carried out of Canada, or stored in the magazines of Bigot's ring, the people of Canada were reduced to starvation; in many instances they had to subsist on horse flesh and decayed codfish. Instead of having recourse to the wheat stored here, the intendant's minions led him to believe that wheat was not so scarce as the peasantry pretended; that the peasants refused to sell, merely in anticipation of obtaining still higher rates; that the intendant, they argued, ought to issue orders for domiciliary visits in the rural districts, and levy a tax on each inhabitant of the country, for the maintenance of the residents in the city, and of the troops.

Statements were made out, showing the rations required to prevent the people from dying from starvation. Cadet was charged with the levying of this vexatious impost. In a very short time, he and his clerks had overrun the country, appropriating more wheat than was necessary. Some of the unfortunate peasants who saw, in the loss of their seed wheat, starvation and death, loudly complained. A few called at the intendant's palace, but the heartless Deschenaux, the intendant's secretary, was ever on the watch, and had them questioned by his employees, and when the object of their visit was discovered, they were ushered into the presence of Deschenaux, who browbeat them and threatened to have them cast into prison, for thus presuming to intrude upon the intendant. Bigot was afterwards advised of their visit, and when they appeared before him, they were so maltreated and bullied, that they left, happy at believing that they had escaped being thrown into prison. Soon none dared to complain. Bread was getting scarcer every day. The intendant had named persons to distribute the bread at bakers' shops, flour being furnished by Government. The people crowded the bakeries on the days fixed; the loaves were greedily and violently snatched up; mothers of families complained that they could not get any; they occasionally besieged the intendant in his palace, with loud lamentations; it was of no avail. Surrounded by a crowd of flatterers, who retired gorged with luxurios living, the intendant could not understand how the poor could die of hunger.

Land of New France, reclaimed from barbarism at the cost of so much blood, so much treasure; bountifully provided with nobles, priests, soldiers, fortifications by the great Louis; sedulously, paternally watched over by Colbert and Talon and Frontenac, to what depth of despair, shall we say, degradation,¹ art thou sunk? Proud old city of Quebec, have you then no more defenders to put forth, in your supreme hour of woe and desperation? Has then that dauntless race of *Gentilshommes Canadiens*, the d'Iberville, Ste. Helène, de Rouville, de Bécancourt, de Repentigny, disappeared without leaving any successors?

The limit of my address forbids me rehearsing the heartrending scene in our city, when the roll of muffled drums and voices of wailing proclaimed that France's chivalrous leader, Montcalm, had just returned through St. Louis Gate from his last campaign, stricken unto death.

This is only a faint outline of the gloomy incidents of this drooping period.

¹ Servans, jacqueys and nobodies, were named storekeepers. "Leur ignorance et leur basseesse ne furent point un obstacle." "Neither their ignorance nor their baseness, were obstacles to their advancement," say the Memoirs. "Madame Péan had whom she choose appointed to offices; her recommendation did more than the highest merit could effect." *Mémoires sur les Affaires de la Colonie, 1749—1760.*

Two skilful novelists, our colleagues, the one in the English language, Wm. Kirby, of Niagara,¹ the other in the French, Joseph Marmette, now of Ottawa,² have woven graphic historical romances out of the materials which the career of Intendant Bigot, and and the desertion of the colony in its hour of trial, by France, so abundantly supply.

One flash of sunshine lights up the latest phase of French rule the sturdy devotion of the Canadian militia towards its oblivious mother country; their feats at the Beauport engagements, on July 31st, 1759, their usefulness as auxiliaries, after the battle of the Plains of Abraham, and at Levi's victory at Ste. Foye, on April 28th, 1760, a day glorious to French arms, but a bootless victory.

You have just witnessed the fall of the curtain over the last scene of the great French drama, a pageant once so gorgeous at Quebec—now, alas! very sorrowful. Let us, for a moment, dwell on the stern justice visited by oblivious France, on the leading actors in the recent scenes of public plunder, rapine, lust³—some say—treason, perpetrated; fifty-five of them had been indicted.

On December 10th, 1763, a Royal commission of twenty-seven judges, at the Chatelet, in Paris, presided over by M. de Sartines, lieutenant-general of police, delivered the following sentences, on François Bigot and his accomplices, who for fifteen months had been locked up in the Bastille awaiting their trial:—

BIGOT.—Perpetual banishment; his property to be confiscated; 1,000 *livres*, fine, and 800,000 to be refunded.
 VARIN.—Perpetual banishment; his property to be confiscated; 1,000 *livres*, fine, and 800,000 to be refunded.
 CADET.—Nine years' banishment; 500 *livres*, fine, and 300,000 to be refunded.
 PENISSEAU.—Nine years' exile; 500 *livres*, fine, and 600,000 to be refunded.
 MAURIN.—Nine years' exile; 500 *livres*, fine, and 600,000 to be refunded.
 CORPON.—Condemned to be admonished in Parliament; 6 *livres* to the poor, and 100,000 to be refunded.

¹ Le Chlon d'Or, by Wm. Kirby: New York and Montreal, Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co., 1877.

² L'Intendant Bigot, by Jos. Marmette: Montreal, George E. Desbarats, 1872.

³The accusations, says Dr. H. Miles, which were more or less completely proved, were substantially as follows: "That illegal compacts existed between Bigot and four other officials, for the purpose of monopolizing to themselves the commerce of the colony, and which resulted in the commission of innumerable frauds; that false entries were made relative to commodities and necessities purchased for the King's service, in which the prices and quantities were overstated, so as to produce enormous gains to those concerned in the transactions; that on one occasion the cargo of a captured English merchant vessel had been purchased on the King's account for eight hundred thousand francs and then charged nearly two millions; that in course of 1757 and 1758 the confederates had realized profits amounting to twenty million francs on two single transactions concerning the purchase of provisions and equipments; that Bigot and his accomplices, for the purpose of effecting these gigantic frauds, bribed the commandants, commissioners and guardians of stores at the different forts; that, under the pretext of provisioning the different fortified stations of the colony, charges were made for the transport of supplies which were fictitious, existing only on paper; that at the very time when the soldiers were without necessities the King was charged for rations and complete sets of equipments never furnished to the troops; that cargoes of merchandise, imported at the expense of the King, were sold to contractors and then re-sold to the King at a fourfold price; that while the King was made liable by means of false entries for the payment of supplies two or three times over, the soldiers and militia were suffering from want and obliged to buy at their own cost those necessaries which had been provided by the King for their use; that the Intendant and his subordinates, as well as several officers being in league to defraud the King, those who were injured could not obtain justice or even raise their voices against the administration, and that no honest merchants were permitted to have any shares in the contracts for supplies; that Bigot caused the sale of peltry, on the King's account, to be made at very low prices to his agents in order to profit by the subsequent disposal of it in the ordinary way of business; and that finally Bigot and his subordinates were guilty of constantly making untrue declarations and entries to conceal their fraudulent practices, falsifying everything relating to the actual expenses by changing their title, nature, object and amounts." Miles's History of Canada, French Regime, p. 350.

ESTEBE.—Condemned to be admonished in Parliament; 6 *livres* to the poor, and 100,000 to be refunded.
DE NOYAN.—To be admonished in Parliament; 6 *livres* to the poor.

BRAED.—Nine years' exile from Paris; 500 *livres* fine, and 100,000 to be refunded.

MARTEL DE ST. ANTOINE.—Condemned to be admonished in Parliament; 6 *livres* fine, and 100,000 to be refunded.

The ten offenders were to be incarcerated in the Bastille, until the amounts were paid.

Dussieux adds, that the pretty Madame Penisseault succeeded, through the Duke of Choiseul, Louis XV's minister, in obtaining for her husband a pardon with permission to retain his ill-gotten gain. This is the last trace that we find in history of the Canadian Aspasia.

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