THE KING'S BOOK

OF

QUEBEC

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George R. I.

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OF QUEBEC

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TO
HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY
KING GEORGE V
WHO AS PRINCE OF WALES
CROSSED THE OCEAN
TO RENDER HOMAGE
TO THE MEMORY
OF THE FOUNDER OF QUEBEC
THIS BOOK
SETTING FORTH THE ACHIEVEMENT
OF TWO RACES
IN BUILDING AN EMPIRE IN THE NEW WORLD
IS
BY HIS MAJESTY'S PERMISSION
RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY
DEDICATED.

Preface

His Majesty has graciously consented that the memorial volume of the tercentenary celebrations of July 1908 should be allowed to carry the proud title of The King's Book of Quebec.

Its preparation has been entrusted to Dr. Doughty, the Dominion Archivist, and to Colonel Wood of Quebec, the author of "The Fight for Canada." My thanks, and I venture to think the thanks of all Canadians are due to these gentlemen for the way in which they have performed their task.

The object of this volume is twofold. To unite more closely Canadians of French and of British descent; and to create a public opinion in favour of preserving the Battlefields of Quebec in a manner worthy of their traditions.

In 1905 Sir Wilfrid Laurier said:—

"La pensée dominante de ma vie a été d'har-
"moniser les différents éléments dont se compose
"notre pays. Je ne saurais dire encore que j'ai
"réussi autant que je l'aurais voulu, autant que
"je l'avais espéré, mais la pensée est vraie et elle
"finira par triompher." The dominating idea of the tercentenary celebrations has also been to harmonise the two great races of which the Dom-

inion is composed; to make each more appreciative of the contributions which the other has made to the common sum of national achievement; and to bind them together more closely by the strengthening ties of mutual affection. It is the ambition of The King's Book of Quebec to carry on this good work, and by so doing to help towards the realisation of "la pensée dominante" of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

This volume is also designed to record the fact that thanks to the contributions of 46,900 New Zealand school children and to the generosity of the Provincial Legislatures of the Dominion, of Canadian individuals and of outside friends all over the world, American as well as British, it was made possible for His Majesty, when, as Prince of Wales, he attended the tercentenary celebrations, to hand over to the Governor General, as representing the Dominion, funds sufficient for the purchase of those portions of the battlefields not yet built upon, which belonged to private owners. A special responsibility would consequently appear to be incumbent upon the Canadian people who have received from the hands of their Sovereign, in trust for the whole Empire, the title deeds of the Plains of Abraham, to preserve their ancient aspect as far as possible, and by the removal of the gaol and factory which to-day deface the scene to restore the full dignity of their historic associations.

His late Majesty King Edward VII, was among the first to be consulted with regard to the desir-

ability of celebrating the 300th anniversary of the birthday of Quebec by the nationalisation of its battlefields. With characteristic generosity he started the fund for this purpose with a donation of one hundred guineas.

His present Majesty, King George V, who had already visited Canada five times, paid Canada the compliment of a sixth visit for the express purpose of taking part in the Quebec tercentenary celebrations.

This memorial volume will explain in detail the National, Imperial and International significance of the Celebrations of which His Majesty King George V, as Prince of Wales, was the central figure.

It only remains for me in writing this Preface to express my personal thanks to the countless subscribers who responded so generously to my appeals.

I also desire to give expression to my gratitude to the members of the Battlefields Commission, especially to its Chairman, Sir George Garneau, Mayor of Quebec, who devoted himself with untiring energy to the work of making the tercentenary celebrations a success; to Sir Edmund Walker and to Colonel Denison, who never allowed the long distance which separated their Toronto homes from Quebec to prevent them from giving a punctual attendance to the meetings of the Commission; to Mr. J. M. Courtney, the Honorary

Treasurer, whose patience and vigilance in the execution of his duties will never be forgotten by those who were associated with him; to Mr. Thos. Chapais whose wise counsel at a critical moment of the preparations cleared up misunderstandings as to the object of the celebrations; and to Mr. Frank Lascelles, whose brilliant imagination and organising capacity enabled him to make the Pageant of Quebec, a revelation to the people of Canada of their own history, as well as a scenic event of world-wide importance.

The co-operation of these gentlemen, and of many others who gave their services free and without remuneration, out of love for Canada and the Empire, is in itself worthy of being recorded in the pages of this volume as a stimulating example.

I have only one cause for regret in connection with the organisation of the Tercentenary celebrations. It was, unfortunately, impossible, in the short time and with the scanty funds at the disposal of the organisers, to provide for the representation of India. I am confident that if there had been time to appeal to the Princes of India to co-operate with the peoples of the Motherland and of the self-governing Dominions, in the celebration of historical events which have as great a significance for India as they have for the other parts of the Empire, their response would have been characteristically generous and instantaneous.

The exchange with France of Louisbourg for Madras in 1748 helped to establish the Pax Britannica which ensures to the Princes of India the security of their rule, at the cost of weakening the British position in North America.

The claim of Canada on the gratitude of India has never yet been made. But when the day comes for some future Governor General, representing the Dominion, to appeal to the Princes of India to co-operate with the people of Canada, in honouring in a fitting manner the historic grounds of Louisbourg, I am confident that such an appeal will not be made in vain.

The funds required for the preparation of this volume have been furnished through the generosity of Lord Strathcona, Lord Mount-Stephen, Sir Edmund Walker, Sir Henry Pellatt, Sir William Mackenzie, Sir Donald Mann, Sir Hugh Graham Sir Edward Clouston, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Honourable Senator Wilson and Mr. E. B. Osler.

They are entitled to the gratitude of all who may be glad to possess a permanent record of the Quebec Celebrations of 1908.

It is generally admitted that the effect of the Tercentenary has been: to draw Canadians of French and of British descent closer to each other and to the Crown; to reveal to Canada, through the Review on the Plains of Abraham the strength of her manhood, and through the Pageant the culture of her people and the virtue and valour

of their ancestors; to strengthen the 'Entente Cordiale' so happily existing between the Empire and the great and friendly Powers of France and the United States; to unite on Canadian soil, the peoples of the Mother Country and of the self-governing Dominions in a celebration of common interest to all alike; to bring the growing power of the new Dominion of Canada, and the proud record and modern attractions of the ancient city of Quebec, more prominently before the attention of the world; and, lastly, to nationalize, or rather to imperialize, the sacred ground on which the foundation stone of the Empire of Greater Britain was well and truly laid.

GREY

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Edward R. & I.

The King's Book of Quebec

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE history of Canada has as its source one of the greatest of all the movements of the human mind. In a very real sense Canada is the child of the Renaissance. The emergence therefrom of a new and uncontrollable freedom burst the confining limits of mediæval thought, of mediæval art, of mediæval conditions of life, of mediæval geography. Man's mental horizon, enlarged by the rediscovery of the ancient classics, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, could no longer be bound within the narrow restrictions of mediæval speculation. Man's physical horizon was also enlarged. Explorers took the place of Crusaders. Voyages across the Atlantic, round the Cape of Good Hope and into the Pacific, succeeded the timid coastings along the shores of the Mediterranean. Just as Copernicus and Galileo revealed the immensity of the Heavens so the voyagers who were their contemporaries revealed the vast territories which lay beyond the mediæval world, and over which the great powers of Europe were to contend

for trade and for dominion. Almost simultaneously, the printing press brought within the reach of the many the learning of the few, gunpowder revolutionized the art of war, and the compass made possible the science of navigation. Such mechanical inventions as these promoted and directed an energy which had its source in the renewed vigour of the human mind. Everything conspired to make the XV and early part of the XVI century a period of unexampled progress and expansion.

It would be hard to say which of the results of this convulsive activity contributed most greatly to the well-being of mankind. Among them the discovery of America may certainly claim a leading, if not the foremost place.

For centuries the Italian city states had led in trade with the Eastern world. Venetian and Genoese traders had ventured far away from the beaten paths of traffic in search of new markets and new adventures. Late in the XIII century Marco Polo had pierced through central Asia to the court of the Grand Khan, and his description of the magnificence and the dazzling wealth of the Eastern Kingdom had stirred the imagination of Europe. Still later the Journal of Odericus and the Narrative of Mandeville added stimulus to the same spirit. Ancient authors were ransacked for hints of what lay outside the confines of the known

world, and men were fired with a new hope that beyond the Pillars of Hercules there might be a sea whose waters washed the shores of India. Later authors confirmed the theory and a fresh field of exploration was opened westward over the Atlantic. "The Portuguese," says Lord Acton, "were the first to realize that the ocean is not a limit, but the universal waterway that unites mankind." Under the leadership of Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal, the African coast was explored and the islands of the Atlantic discovered and colonized. The discovery of the Trade Winds in the tropical Atlantic revealed a means of striking out boldly for the western lands in a fashion undreamed of, and gave rise to the conjecture that the Atlantic was a majestic highway to unknown lands. Then came the famous suggestion of Toscanelli, the Florentine astronomer, who told those who asked him whether a route to India could be found round the coast of Africa, that the shortest route was likely to be not eastward but westward.

But for some time the prospects of eastern exploration were too promising to induce anyone to take up the challenge of Toscanelli given in 1474. Portuguese adventurers discovered the eastern route to India round the Cape of Good Hope before the western enterprise found a leader. At

last a young Genoese sailor who had already travelled in the service of Portugal was able to realize his dream of sailing west in search of Asia; but failing to obtain support for his enterprise in Portugal he journeyed into Spain and was found starving at the gate of a Franciscan convent. "The place where he sank down," says Lord Acton, "is marked by a monument, because it is there that our modern world began." Having, by an indomitable pertinacity, impressed Ferdinand and Isabella with the possibilities of his plan, Columbus was appointed Admiral of the Atlantic and Viceroy of all the lands to be acquired. With three small vessels he put out to sea on the third of August, 1492, and on the eleventh of October caught sight of land. The voyage though troubled by storms and by mutiny was far swifter and more successful than would have been possible but for his use of the newly-invented nautical instruments. As High Admiral he proclaimed the island discovered the possession of the King and Queen of Spain. In search of the gold and riches of India, Columbus touched several of the islands of the Bahama group and visited Cuba and the Island of Hayti. On his second voyage in 1493, Jamaica was discovered; but not until 1498 did he reach the coast of the Continent.

The discovery of the Indies gave a new interest

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to western exploration. Men speculated on the advantage to trade which would result from opening up the Kingdom of the Khan.

To Spain, an alliance with the far famed Monarch of Cathay would prove of incalculable strength; while the bringing of the message of the Cross to the multitudes of the lost seemed a mission not unworthy of the best endeavour of the Church of Christ.

In the race for western discovery, England was not to be outdone. For many years the Bristol sailors had carried on a trade with Iceland and had learned there the tradition that, centuries before, the sturdy Northmen had discovered in the far west a land which they had called Wineland. Here, it was believed, was a fertile field for adventure; and Henry VII, the father of the Royal Navy, sought the most skilled and trusted sailor in the realm to carry out his project of discovery. His choice fell on John Cabot, the veteran sailor of Genoa, who had then been, for some years, in the service of England. Cabot was familiar with the claims of the Norsemen, and in his expedition chose to go first to Iceland and then to follow the course of his northern predecessors southward and westward. In 1497 he reached the new world and, if his word be true, coasted the shore of the continent for three

hundred leagues. Not only was Cabot the first to lead an English expedition to the new world, but he was the first of Europeans—the Norsemen excepted—to reach the mainland of the American Continent.

The European conception of the new lands was being gradually transformed and with each discovery was assuming greater definiteness. To Columbus America was but a promontory of the Asiatic continent; but year by year its limits were being extended still farther northward and southward. Since the days when Vasco de Gama had rounded the southern extremity of Africa and opened a new highway to India and the East, some bold minds had ventured the belief that to the East of Asia a great sea extended. This conjecture Magellan longed to test; and in 1519, under the patronage of the young king, Charles of Spain, he started on the voyage which was to lead past the southern point of the American continent and on to the Philippine Islands. The globe had now been circumnavigated and the Columbian theory definitely disproved. America was in very truth a new world. What secrets it held, what peoples, what civilization, what wealth, aroused the anxious curiosity of an awakened Europe. America acquired a new interest and an interest, based, not on its masquerading as a portion of Asia, but on its

genuine character as a vast unexplored continent.

Such was the prize, yearly growing larger and more tempting, which the explorers were revealing to the nations of Europe. What were to be the relations of this new world to the old? To whom would the prize be adjudged? The competitors were many. Those situated on the Atlantic seaboard had an obvious advantage. The real contest overseas lay between Spain, France and England, each of them designated by geography as claimant for possessions and transatlantic trade. The Bull of Alexander VI, in 1493, apportioned the lands discovered, or undiscovered, in the western sea: Portugal was awarded all east of a line drawn one hundred degrees west of the Cape de Verde Islands, while Spain was assigned the remainder of the new world. On the death of Ferdinand in 1506 the Spanish crown passed to his youthful grandson, Charles, grandson as well of Maximilian the Emperor. The passing of Maximilian three years later brought the three great Monarchs of Europe into conflict for the honour of leadership in the Empire. Henry VIII of England, though popular in Europe, was not seriously considered as an aspirant for the Imperial throne. Between Charles the King of Spain, and Francis the King of France, battle was

waged with all the wiles and arts of sixteenth century diplomacy. Victory finally rested with Charles, who now counted among his dominions, Spain, Germany, the Netherlands, and lands still unknown beyond the Atlantic. Thus the most formidable claimant to the New World was the ruler of the largest Empire and the possessor of the highest secular title in the old. The election of Charles to the Empire was at once a rebuff to the vanity of Francis and a source of new prestige to his antagonist, and it soon appeared that almost the whole of Europe was to be involved in the contest between the two. France, fighting on interior lines, had the advantage over the scattered and motley dominions of the Hapsburg power; but a great deal depended on the attitude of the third great nation state of Europe, England.

Obviously, the policy for England, whether her interests in Europe or the New World be considered, was one of neutrality, varied by occasional intervention in favour of the weaker of the two rivals. The longer the strife of Francis and the Emperor continued, the weaker would each become, and the stronger in proportion the position of England. Europe must be maintained in a state of balance of power with England as the tongue of the scales.

Rivals in the Old World, France and Spain were bound to become rivals in the New. Neither

Francis nor Henry was prepared to acquiesce in the settlement made by Alexander VI, which could scarcely be considered, even by the Spaniards, as excluding all other powers from the Northern Continent of America. Spanish influence was soon challenged. In 1528, Francis sent out a Florentine sailor, Giovanni de Verrazano, to follow up the claim which he based on the earlier voyages of Breton and Norman fishermen to the banks of Newfoundland. Verrazano sailed from Florida, past Virginia, the Chesapeake, the Hudson, beyond Rhode Island, and the New England coast, as far even as the northern boundary of Maine and Penobscott Bay. Thus he explored the whole of the Atlantic seaboard now held by the United States, and gave Francis the right to set up a claim to share in the spoils of the New World. That great episode in the history of the world, the record of the French race on American soil, had begun.

II.

That record contains no more magnificent career than that of the first of Canadian voyageurs, Jacques Cartier.

Cartier was born at St. Malo in 1491. As a lad it was his delight to wander about the wharves and quays, to watch the unloading of the strange cargoes from the west, and to hear the sailors tell

of thrilling adventures in far distant lands. It was there that Cartier heard of a rich continent beyond the seas, and of the search for its hidden shores; and it was then that he vowed that someday he would bring back word of this new land. When he grew to years of manhood he was allowed to go with the fishing fleet on its annual voyage to the banks of Newfoundland. With the experience of each successive year he gained fresh skill and knowledge, and at the age of twenty-eight he attained the rank of master-pilot.

The restoration of peace in 1529 permitted Francis to direct his attention to the new world and to turn to advantage the discoveries of Verrazano. It was firmly believed that somewhere along the coast of the new lands there was a passage which would lead to the continent of Asia and it was the French King's fond desire that its discovery should add to the honour and wealth of France. Phillipe Chabot, High Admiral of France and a close friend of the King, had heard of the skill of the pilot of St. Malo and gladly introduced him to his master. Cartier unfolded his scheme of western discovery and secured the promise of royal assistance.

Cartier was now forty-three years of age; his skill, his endurance and his experience in frequent voyages to the most distant seas made him,

of all the sailors of France, the best fitted to carry out her projects of discovery. Into the task of equipping the expedition he threw himself with all the enthusiasm of his zealous nature. By the 20th of April, 1534, he was prepared for the voyage and, with two ships and sixty men, bade farewell to the port of St. Malo.

On the 10th of May, he reached Bonavista; but ice and contrary winds obstructed his progress and it was not until June had well advanced that he was able to pass through the Straits of Belle Isle. He then skirted the Labrador shore as far as Cumberland Bay and, turning southward, followed the coast of Newfoundland as far as Cape Anguille. Then, shifting westward past the Magdalen Islands, he touched Prince Edward Island in the region of Richmond Bay. Turning northward he followed the coast of New Brunswick across the Bay of Miramachi to a great bay which stirred in him the hope that here he had found the passage to Cathay. On the sixth of July he set out to explore the Bay of Chaleurs and had his first encounter with the Indians. Considering the great superiority of their numbers, Cartier thought it wise at first to frighten them away, but later, through the gift of a red hat to the chief, established a friendship with the natives. He was soon compelled to abandon the hope of finding in the Bay of Chal-

eurs the long sought passage to Asia and turned his course northward. Contrary winds forced him to take refuge in Gaspé Bay. Here he met another band of Indians who had come to catch the mackerel which abounded in those waters. On the morning of the 24th of July, Cartier took formal possession of the land in the name of his royal master. A huge cross bearing a shield with the fleurs-de-lis and, above it, the inscription, "*Vive le Roy de France*" was raised with appropriate ceremony and the Indians duly impressed with its solemn significance. Having induced the chief of the Indians to allow them to take two of his sons, Cartier, on the following day set sail and crossed the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Island of Anticosti. He passed the eastern extremity of the Island and sailed along the northern shore to North Point. The Labrador coast was now in sight and thither he crossed with the greatest difficulty. This northern channel, of all the inlets yet encountered, seemed the most likely to lead to Asia, but the continued violence of the tempest induced him to abandon its exploration till a later season and to turn his vessels homeward. On the 15th of August he started for the open sea and a month later was again within the Port of St. Malo.

Though the success for which he had longed

had not rewarded Cartier, his expedition was far from being a failure. He had but touched the portal of a land whose mysteries were still unsolved. He had seen much which gave promise of rich reward. The project of discovery became more clearly defined and Cartier himself was filled with a zeal to pursue still further the quest which he had but initiated. Fortunately his enthusiasm was shared by the King and the Court. The Vice-Admiral of France, Charles de Mouy, directed the fitting out of a second expedition and Francis gladly invested Cartier with the command. This endeavour had a two-fold purpose. The water-way to India must be found; and the country which Cartier had touched must be explored. It was with these objects that Cartier prepared to spend the winter in the New World.

It was a motley crew which assembled with Cartier on Whit Sunday of 1535, in the Cathedral of St. Malo. Adventurers, noblemen, hardy seamen, Indian natives and criminals impressed from the prisons, together made their confession and received the benediction of the Church. Three days later Cartier set forth with his three ships, the *Grand Hermine*, the *Petite Hermine*, and the *Emerillion*; but it was not until late in July that they assembled at the appointed rendez-vous, Blanc Sablon, a point just within the Straits of Belle Isle,

where now the boundary of the Province of Quebec reaches the coast. Continuing westward along the Labrador coast, they passed the Island of Anticosti and on the festival of Saint Lawrence found themselves in a small inlet which Cartier named in honour of the day, a name afterwards extended to the gulf and to the great river beyond. Could this at last be the passage to the Orient? The gradual narrowing of the channel aroused doubts which were but confirmed when the Indians told of fresh waters at the head of the river. Past the Saguenay, whose gloomy portals beckoned no invitation, they came upon the Isle aux Coudres, where Cartier beguiled the days in watching feats of native prowess with the game and fish. On September 7th their course was continued until the Island of Orleans was reached, whose abundant grape vines suggested to Cartier the name of Ile Bacchus. On the following day they were met by Donnacona, the lord of Canada, who was destined to play a tragic role in the drama of Cartier's adventures. The meeting was most cordial and Cartier resolved to follow the river to Stadaconé the home of Donnacona. To his right extended the shallow waters of the St. Charles, on whose shore huddled the squalid wigwams of the natives, while before him rose in majestic grandeur and solitude the rugged heights which fate was to make the

birthplace of a nation and to entwine with the fond memories of an heroic people. The Indians of Stadaconé made professions of greatest friendship to Cartier and freely told him of the country beyond. Far above on the great river was a larger town, Hochelaga. Cartier's purpose was at once fixed and his Indian guides were induced to lead him thither. But the prospect of Cartier's going to Hochelaga did not please Donnacona, and all the powers of persuasion and even of intimidation, were exhausted to prevent his departure.

On the 19th September, nevertheless, with the *Emerillion* and two small boats, Cartier set sail for Hochelaga. His voyage resembled a triumphal procession. Magnificent forests fringed his pathway on the river, while the natives showered on him their richest gifts, even to the extent of giving him of their children. The sight of a multitude of Indians swarming to the shore indicated that Hochelaga was not far distant. Thither, after a splendid reception, Cartier was led through a fine forest and past waving fields of ripening grain to the foot of a great mountain near where the Indians had built their village or town of Hochelaga. Little wonder the wily Donnacona was jealous of his western rivals; for here were cultivated fields which told of a people of industry and a settlement which bore evidence of skilled workmanship, and

of an organization vastly superior to that of the natives of Stadaconé. Surrounded by a palisade formed by rows of trunks of trees, the village proper consisted of scores of oblong dwellings, each sheltering several families. Cartier and his companions, regarded by the Indians as messengers from a higher world, were conducted to the public square in the centre of the village. The adoring natives brought forth their sick and maimed that they might be healed by the touch of these supernatural beings. Cartier was not unnaturally moved to pity at this display of ignorant homage. The depths of his religious spirit were stirred as he read to them from the sacred Gospel of the Passion of the Saviour and uttered a fervid prayer for the salvation of their souls.

But Cartier had still visions of a pathway to India and gladly accepted the invitation to survey the country side from the lofty eminence of the mountain, which he had named Mount Royal. What a noble prospect did he behold! Did his prophetic vision perceive the day when at his feet would rise a famed city of learning, a great metropolis of industry? Could he have dreamed that on those banks, and on those very waters stretched before him, would be conveyed the commerce of a new western world and the wealth of India and Cathay? More truly than his wildest fancy could

ever picture, had Cartier found the pathway to the west and the gateway of the east.

But winter was approaching and Cartier bade adieu to Hochelaga. During his absence his men at Stadaconé had been busy preparing for the rigours of the northern winter. But against the inroads of disease, no provision had been made. A malignant scurvy, before which they seemed helpless, threatened to exterminate the little band. Reduced by the ravages of disease and powerless before a crowd of treacherous Indians, Cartier and his fellows were indeed in a wretched plight. But the very natives whom they dreaded were their saviours, for it was they who taught the use of the magic *amidda*, a decoction of the leaves of a certain evergreen which speedily restored the invalids to health.

Never were the songs of spring birds so musical as when they told that Cartier's imprisonment was over. His boats were speedily fitted for the sea and a cross erected proclaiming that *Franciscus Primus Dei gratia Francorum rex regnat.* That Francis might learn of the mysteries of the new world from those best qualified to speak, Cartier had entrapped Donnacona and his two former captives and led them back to France. On the 6th of July, 1536, Cartier and the remnant of his

brave company were gladdened once more by the sight of the church spires of St. Malo.

But since Cartier's departure the kingdom of Francis had fallen on unhappy days, and its destruction at the hands of Charles of Spain seemed imminent. Of more concern to Cartier was the fact that his generous patron, Chabot, no longer basked in royal favour. Francis, however, still preserved an interest in the western venture; he had read Cartier's narrative—the *Bref Récit*—prepared at his request, and had learned from Donnacona of the wealth of mine and forest which the distant country held. It was not until five years later that the work of exploration could again be undertaken. For Viceroy of his new kingdom Francis selected a nobleman of Picardy, Jean François de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval. Roberval had received a generous grant from the royal treasury with which to equip an expedition and lead a colony to the new world. The western movement had not yet begun, and it was necessary to search the prisons for recruits to establish anew the kingdom of France. Such was the expedition of which Cartier was selected Captain General and Master Pilot.

It was the king's wish that the expedition should start as early in the spring as possible; but May was passing and Roberval was not yet

ready. It was then decided that Cartier should embark with part of the fleet and that Roberval should meet him at Newfoundland. Thus, on May 23rd, 1541, Cartier left St. Malo on his third voyage. Though Cartier was now familiar with the course, this was of all his voyages the least successful, and it was not until June was nearly ended that his vessels were united on the Newfoundland coast. For six weary weeks he waited in vain for Roberval. At last, impatient of further delay, he struck out into the St. Lawrence and reached the camp of Stadaconé on the 23rd of August.

It was now that Cartier's troubles began. The captive Indians, whose chief delight had been to gorge themselves at the frequent native feasts, had proved quite unequal to the refinements of a Parisian diet. In the rare atmosphere of modern civilization they had faded away and perished. The sad intelligence of the death of their chief had to be conveyed to the expectant natives. Their other friends, added Cartier, were married, and would never exchange their happiness and princely state in France for the greatest honours Stadaconé could confer. The Indian Chief Agona seemed satisfied; but it is doubtful if either dissimulator was deceived by the craft of the other. Cartier this time selected the site of his

encampment farther up the St. Lawrence, and at Cap Rouge two forts were built; little patches of fertile soil were coaxed into their service, and the settlement of Charlesbourg Royal was duly established. Cartier now set forth for Hochelaga and the rapids above, but learned from the natives that navigation was here impossible. On his return he was grieved to hear that Roberval had not yet appeared and that the natives, who held themselves aloof, were gathering in large numbers at the village. The forts were set in order and, with disturbing memories of a previous winter, Cartier accepted the necessity of waiting for the spring.

When spring at last arrived, and there was still no word of Roberval, Cartier decided to abandon his settlement and return to France. Thus it was that in June, Cartier, homeward bound, had entered the harbour of St. John's, Newfoundland, and to his surprise encountered the fleet of Roberval. The Viceroy of the New World had met with many delays and had been unable to sail until April, 1542. Cartier described the country as rich and fruitful, but refused to return with his commander. Whether he considered the time unsuited for a permanent settlement or whether he resented the appointment of Roberval, a stranger to the country, as his superior, or whether both

ideas influenced him, we cannot decide. Cartier determined not to return to Quebec, and when darkness protected him, stole away home. Thus ended his third voyage.

In the work of French discovery, indeed, Jacques Cartier is the pioneer. He it was who first determined, with a degree of definiteness, the limits of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence; who first explored the mighty river which was to be the highway of a new world; who first disclosed the riches of North America to the eyes of France, and, pointing to pathways of colonization still unbroken, became the herald of a new Empire of France and of a new dominion in the valley of the St. Lawrence.

III.

It was not till the early years of the XVII century that another French flotilla entered the St. Lawrence; for seventy years the natives were left undisturbed by strangers from the East. The reason is not hard to find; for these seventy years were some of the most troubled even in the calamitous history of France. This was the period of the sinister influence in French politics of the Italian intriguer Catherine de Medici, of the last degenerate rulers of the House of Valois, of the hideous carnage of the Religious Wars, of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Still, despite all this, French

enterprise continued to explore and to exploit the New World. Fishermen and fur traders carried on their adventurous commerce, a Catholic noble, La Roche, tried in vain to found a colony in Nova Scotia, a St. Malo merchant, Pontgravé, was no more successful in an effort to found a settlement at Tadoussac. At last the tide turned. The success of Henry of Navarre founded the Bourbon dynasty in France, founded, too, a régime of religious toleration, and brought to an end the horrors of civil war. The result was a sudden outburst of new energy in France, energy which inevitably made itself felt in the great open field for enterprise and acquisition—the New World. This was the opportunity of the man with whose name the history of New France is indissolubly bound—Samuel Champlain, the first colonist, the Founder of Quebec.

Champlain was born in 1567, at the small seaport of Brouage on the Bay of Biscay. His mind had been formed in youth by his father, who taught him seamanship, and by his parish priest, who made him a good Catholic. When he grew up he fought in Brittany for Henry IV, and, when the Breton war came to an end, spent two years in the Spanish West Indies, in Mexico and the Panama in visiting the principal towns, mapping out the districts of interest, and with the eye

Champlain at the Court of Henri IV.

From a painting by Frank Craig

of a true prophet, in dreaming of projects which after three centuries are now on the verge of realization. He came back to Court but "soon wearied of the ante-chambers of the Louvre," fell in with Aymar de Chastes, governor of Dieppe, and accepted a post in the expedition fitted out by that staunch old soldier of the King, which sailed in 1603 from the little port of Honfleur. The Atlantic was safely crossed. "Like specks on the broad bosom of the waters the two pigmy vessels held their course up the lonely St. Lawrence. They passed abandoned Tadoussac, the channel of Orleans, and the gleaming sheet of Montmorenci; they passed the tenantless rock of Quebec, the wide Lake of St. Peter, and the crowded archipelago, till now the mountain reared before them its rounded shoulder above the forest plain of Montreal. All was solitude. Hochelaga had vanished; and of the savage population that Cartier had found here, sixty-eight years before, no trace remained. In its place were a few wandering Algonquins of different tongue and lineage. In a skiff with a few Indians, Champlain essayed to pass the rapid of the St.Louis. Oars, paddles, poles, alike proved vain against the foaming surges, and he was forced to return. On the deck of his vessel, the Indians made rude plans of the river above, with its chain of rapids, its lakes

and cataracts; and the baffled explorer turned his prow homeward, the objects of his mission accomplished, but his own adventurous curiosity unsated. When the voyagers reached Havre de Grace, a grievous blow awaited them. The Commander de Chastes was dead."*

This calamity shifted the scene of exploration to Acadia. The Sieur de Monts had succeeded De Chastes and, with the powers of Viceroy of Acadia, this new adventurer was prepared to seek his fortune in the western world. Commercial interest had become a guiding motive in American settlement, and De Monts was granted a monopoly of the fur trade within his province. With him were associated men of noble birth, such as the Baron de Poutrincourt, and mariners of such tried experience as Champlain and Champdoré. Their wanderings centred around the storm-tossed Bay of Fundy. From Annapolis harbour with its green and fertile hills, the company set out for the bleak and barren Island of St. Croix. Not until one fatal winter, with its visitation of famine and disease, had reduced by half the ill-starred colony, was it decided to return to the more inviting slopes of Annapolis. But neither the hardships of winter nor the perils of the sea could suppress the enthusiasm of Cham-

* Parkman, Pioneers of France in the New World, pp. 219–220.

plain. Buoyant and cheerful, even when prospects were most gloomy, Champlain gave life and spirit to the colony. But he did not forget the main object of the expedition. As geographer to the company he made surveys of the country round about the Bay of Fundy and then turned attention to the coast which extended southward. Down along the Atlantic seaboard past Boston Harbour and the Port of Plymouth to Nausett Harbour, Champlain followed the windings of the coast and described with faithful accuracy this region before enshrouded in mystery.

Meanwhile the colony at Port Royal was bustling with activity. Gardens were cultivated with scrupulous care; the slopes of the Annapolis hills responded to the efforts of the pioneer farmers; while from the streams nearby a rich supply of fish was readily secured. It was of happy omen that the Indians were the trusted friends of the infant colony. Champlain and his fellows had found in kindness the secret of the Indians' confidence and the red man worked with the Frenchman in harmonious partnership for the welfare of the settlement. But conditions at home were less auspicious. The jealousy of commercial rivals had secured the withdrawal of De Monts' charter and the colony, too weak for self support, was left to decline and perish. Champlain had here been schooled in the work of

colonisation; he had discovered the practical needs of the enterprise and had learned, above all, the futility of relying on the specious parchment which represented commercial privilege and monopoly.

Despite this failure Champlain's heart was still in the work of western exploration. The lure of the St. Lawrence was yet powerful in his mind. Its numerous streams would supply abundant stores of fish and beaver; should need arise, its fertile shores would provide ample fields and gardens; the fact that it was itself the sole avenue of approach contributed to its safety from invasion, while perchance its upper waters might lead to the rich mysteries of India. With De Monts as Chief and Pontgravé as partner Champlain launched the scheme of trade and colonisation on the St. Lawrence.

In April 1608, the two partners embarked on their New World venture. Pontgravé, with Tadoussac as his base, was to trade with the natives, and Champlain was to found a settlement wherever conditions would promise most favourably. On July 3, Champlain, in the *Don de Dieu,* landed on the St. Lawrence shore below the cliff of Quebec. Before many weeks had passed, on the low expanse now commanded by Champlain's monument, and not far from the water's edge, the

pioneer residence was erected, *the Abitation de Québec.* Scarce could provision be made for its approach when winter was upon its builders. The toll of the relentless scurvy was even greater than of old, for by spring time, eight only of the twenty-eight pioneers remained.

Champlain's task was to establish and maintain a settlement of Frenchmen in the wilds of the New World, a task which had baffled his sturdiest predecessors. Even in Virginia, where climatic conditions were far more favourable than in the north, it had proved too great an undertaking for Sir Walter Ralegh. It was indeed a task for a hero. The first necessity was of course to provision the colony, and the danger of starvation was a very real one. There were two sources of supply. The colony might depend on the prowess of hunters and fishermen who had ready at hand a veritable paradise for their sport, or on the diligence of pioneer husbandmen who should begin the difficult but most profitable business of turning the wilderness into fruitful fields and gardens. On the banks of the St. Lawrence, indeed, nature had provided for most of the needs of the primitive community. The pioneer emigrant, on the other hand, could always turn to France for the satisfaction of his needs and by the barter of furs, secured with little care or toil, could

procure from the trading ships from France whatever his modest wants required.

While, therefore, the New England colonist preferred to provide for his own needs in freedom and independence, the prevailing conditions of the life of the colonist of New France led him to rely more on the motherland. The prospect of profit from trade was the most powerful motive directing emigration from France to Canada, but the interests of trade and agriculture were distinct and opposed. As the rough forests of the trapper gave place to the cultivated fields of the farmer, the sphere of the fur trader gradually receded from the groups of settlers. The bold, adventurous life of the *coureur de bois* appealed to the high-spirited Frenchman with greater force than the dull and arduous labours of the tiller of the soil. It was, moreover, the definite policy of France to preserve as far as possible the dependence of the colony on the motherland. Thus in the maintenance of the life of the infant colony, the fur trade became the paramount factor.

Next in importance in the needs of the settlement was that of defence. The existence of the fur trade depended on some guarantee of safety to the traders. A handful of Europeans, invading the wilderness of the New World would be powerless in the midst of hostile native tribes. In the

The "Don de Dieu" at Quebec

From a painting by George Reid

immediate vicinity of Quebec, and extending over the district of the lower St. Lawrence, were the Algonquin Indians, a nomadic race, ignorant of the arts and refinements of civilisation. The upper St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, and the region enclosed by the Great Lakes were inhabited by the Hurons. The latter appeared to be more industrious than the Algonquins, for they, or rather their squaws, had undertaken the tillage of the fields, while the organisation of their tribal life revealed a superior type of intelligence. Again, to the south of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie were the Five Nations of the Iroquois. Though smaller in number than the other tribes, their boldness, their alertness and ferocious savagery, made them the most dreaded of all the Indian confederacies. These important problems of maintenance and defence were the first to receive Champlain's attention.

But in a community whose life is so largely influenced by a single man, the personal element is of the greatest significance. Champlain, as his career in Acadia demonstrated, was essentially an explorer. The hope of a highway to the East was ever in the background of his ambition, while the enchantment of plying his lonely canoe over unfathomed waters and of beholding the beauty of hill, forest and plain was his supreme delight. Moreover, Champlain

was a zealous missionary of the Church. By the conversion of the Indian he hoped to prove the strength of his devotion to the cause of religion. Trade, exploration, and the Christianizing of the natives were thus the determining forces in the founding of Quebec.

The spring of 1609 found Champlain with a following sadly reduced and verging on extinction. It was then that he received an invitation from the Algonquin Indians to join them and their Huron allies against their deadly enemy the Iroquois. Where hesitation would have been fatal, Champlain did not long waver. There was but one course for him to follow: to have refused and to have aroused the hostility of the Algonquin would have been suicidal. Champlain himself, speaking of the voyage of 1615, gives a true and discerning analysis of the situation. "Whereupon Sieur Pontgravé and myself concluded that it was very necessary to assist them, not only in order to put them the more under obligation to love us, but also to facilitate my undertakings and explorations which, as it seemed, could be accomplished only by their help, and also as this would be a preparatory step to their conversion to Christianity. Therefore I resolved to go and explore their country and assist them in their wars, in order to oblige them to show me what they had so many

times promised to do." From every point of view the alliance was most desirable.

Discovery and invasion were combined for Champlain in this excursion. Up the St. Lawrence to the Richelieu, and following the Richelieu, their course brought them to the lake which thereafter bore Champlain's name. To the southwest of the lake, on a projection near Ticonderoga of later fame, the Iroquois were encountered. These fearless warriors, who scarcely knew defeat, were opposed by a new style of warfare. The arquebus, so deadly in the hands of Champlain and his two French companions, struck terror into the bands of the enemy. The victory of the allies was complete. To the Iroquois, Champlain remained an object of dread and bitter revenge; to the Huron and Algonquin, their champion and protector.

The expedition was fraught with significance for the future of the colony. The friendship of their neighbours was won; valued trading routes were opened, but the enmity of the fierce Five Nations was aroused. A weapon was forged which, for years to come, by day and night, in forest, in field, and in village, was to harass the tenants of the struggling colony and, when finally wielded by the strong arm of English rivals, was to assist

in dealing the death blow to the hopes of France in the new world.

Champlain's eyes had turned longingly to the waters of the Upper Ottawa. Could it be that these held in their keeping the secrets of China and of India? In the summer of 1612, when he was attending to the affairs of the colony in France, he was disturbed by the intelligence that Nicholas Vignau, but lately returned from America, had discovered a great sea beyond the sources of the Ottawa and had found there the remains of an English ship. Champlain's suspicions were aroused, for Vignau declared this sea to be but seventeen days distant from Montreal. Still the story had to be tested and on his return in the spring of 1613, with Vignau and two other companions, he began his exploration of the Ottawa. Though every turn revealed new charms, the journey was not without its toils and burdens, so that the sight of an Algonquin village at the edge of Muskrat Lake was most welcome. Champlain informed his Indian friends of his mission and sought their aid. But here the Vignau bubble burst. The Indians, with whom Vignau had spent in feasting and sleeping the days of his supposed journey, soon gave the lie to his fabrication. Champlain's most cherished ambition had been treated as a worthless toy by a

disreputable impostor. No reason remained for further advance and Champlain returned to the St. Lawrence bitterly disappointed.

Once committed to the policy of interference in native warfare Champlain found it impossible to retreat. Nor can it be supposed that he would have desired such an issue. The interests of the colony and of the Indians of the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa were vitally connected. The most powerful bond uniting these tribes was hostility to the Iroquois, and it was owing to this that Champlain could wield the greatest influence over them. It was clearly his policy to cement the union between Huron and Algonquin and to assume the leadership and command of their united warriors. As Parkman states, "with French soldiers to fight their battles, French priests to baptise them, and French traders to supply their increasing wants, their dependence would be complete. They would become assured tributaries to the growth of New France."

An opportunity to carry out his policy soon presented itself to Champlain. In the summer of 1615 the Indians from the district of the Ottawa and Lake Huron, assembled in solemn council at the trading post where Montreal now stands, invited Champlain to lead their forces in a grand invasion of the Iroquois. Champlain needed only

time to make the necessary preparation; but meanwhile the Indians had disbanded and returned to their homes. Champlain at once decided to follow them and meet them in their own country. Here the instincts of the explorer were given free scope. Over the course unhappily associated with the name of Vignau, Champlain proceeded to the upper Ottawa, on to Lake Nipissing and through French river to the "Mer Douce," the lake of the Hurons. Then crossing the Georgian Bay, he was able to land near the southern extremity of Matchedash Bay, not far distant from the village of the Indians. On this his first visit to the Huron country, he was accorded a reception befitting his lofty position in Indian esteem. After a surfeit of feasting, and before the warriors were prepared for their departure, Champlain was enabled to explore the Huron district—the richest and most fertile which he had yet seen in America.

By September the war party had embarked. Champlain was again to be treated to visions of new lands and waters. This time they crossed Lake Simcoe and followed the sinuous chain of lakes and rivers which finally emerges with the river Trent in Lake Ontario. When they had crossed the lake, their canoe trip was at an end; thenceforth their march was on hostile ground.

Champlain's difficulties now began. What was needed was a systematic plan of attack; but the Indians were ungovernable. The shrieking and savage warwhoops, the confusion of frenzied Indians rushing insanely hither and thither, converted the camp into a pandemonium. Under such conditions the organization and direction of an attack were impossible, and the allies were repulsed. It was of greater consequence that Champlain received a distressing wound in the knee. His presence was no longer a guarantee of victory; nor was he immune from injury at the hands of the Iroquois. The glamour which surrounded his mystic presence had vanished. The policy of interference in native warfare may have been inevitable; but its efficacy depended greatly on its success.

Champlain, unable to secure escort home, was compelled to spend the winter with the Hurons. In July, 1616, after a year's absence, he was welcomed in Quebec as one risen from the dead.

His activity, however, was not confined to the thrilling and romantic deeds of warfare and exploration. As has been seen, trade was the basis of the expansion of the colonies, and only one part of the business of trade was conducted in New France. That side of his enterprise gave him but little trouble. The friendship and the trade of the

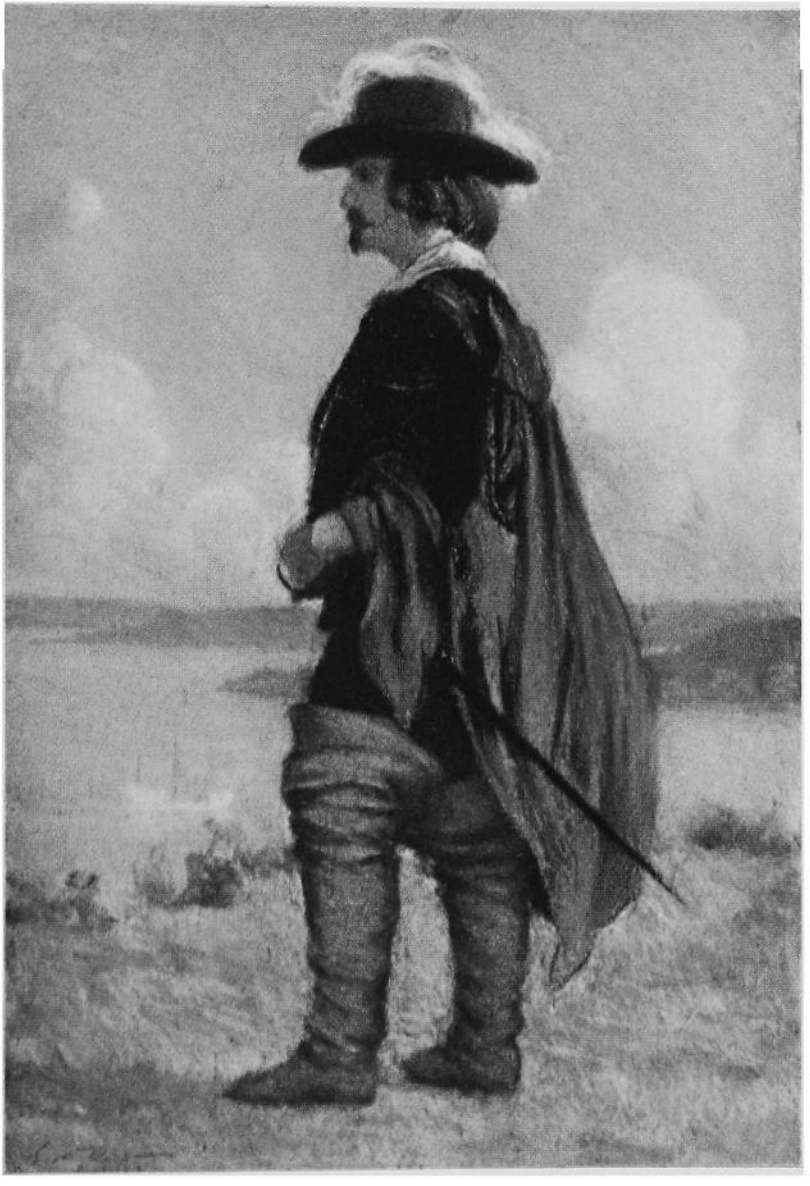
Indians were secured at one and the same time. On each excursion of discovery fresh fields were opened for the exploitation of the trader. It was in France that the more prosaic, though not less important, conditions of the colony's subsistence required attention.

The settlement had been established under a charter to the Sieur de Monts; but in 1610 his monopoly had expired. De Monts had lost heavily in the venture, and with the death of King Henry his hopes for royal favour were rudely banished. The withdrawal of the monopoly opened wide the door of colonial commerce. Swarms of greedy traders were eager to reap the harvest for which Champlain and his associates had for seasons laboured with anxious care and industry. To prevent illicit traffic the rival traders were invited to join the company and, on condition of contributing to the colony's support, to share in its profits. The merchants of Rouen and St. Malo alone responded to this generous offer, and the profits of colonial trade continued to be divided with a band of selfish interlopers. The company itself was torn by the dissensions of Catholic and Huguenot. Apart from these and other drawbacks, moreover, the climate itself proved a serious barrier to settlement.

It is not surprising that under these conditions

Samuel Champlain as Represented at the Pageant

From a drawing by George Reid



the colony should have languished. It was now eighteen years since Champlain had launched the new venture, and yet it could scarcely be said to have got under way on its turbulent voyage. Its population barely exceeded one hundred persons. With the notable exception of the Hébert family and one or two others, none of the colonists had built homes or were prepared to entrust their fortunes to the future of the colony.

It was in 1627, when the horizon of New France was beset with the thickest clouds, that it received the attention of Richelieu, the wizard of government at home. Strenuous methods were adopted. The existing charter was revoked and a new company formed, with Richelieu at its head. The great need was for settlers. Accordingly, the Company of New France, as Richelieu's associates were called, was required within one year to bring three hundred tradesmen to Quebec. It was bound within fifteen years to carry out four thousand settlers, to support them for three years and then to settle them on lands cleared and ready for agriculture. In return for the creation of a New France, the Company was granted the tenure, under the King's feudal supremacy, of all the lands of France in North America. The fur trade was to be their exclusive privilege for ever, while their monopoly of other branches of trade was limited to fifteen years.

Champlain retained an interest in the new concern and was sought as advisor on all important matters of policy. If royal munificence could avail aught in the building of a colony, bright days were indeed in store for New France.

But at this most critical period a new power, on which Richelieu and Champlain had not counted, was to take part in shaping the affairs of the New World. Charles the First of England had resolved on aiding the refractory Huguenots of LaRochelle and war was declared between England and France. At the same time Sir William Alexander was attempting to build an English Colony in Acadia. The outbreak of hostilities afforded an excellent occasion for an attack on New France. Accordingly, a group of London merchants, under the leadership of George Kirke, formed a scheme for the capture of the French settlements on the St. Lawrence, and in the spring of 1628 three vessels were fitted out under the command of Kirke's three sons.

These were anxious days in the encampment at Quebec. Supplies had not been received from France and the colony was on the verge of famine. It was then learned that a hostile band had landed and ruined the settlement at Tadoussac. Relief was approaching, for the vessels of the Company of New France, with abundance of pro-

visions, were about to enter the St. Lawrence. But alas, the ill-fated fleet was but to swell the profits of Kirke and his associates. With their only hope of aid dispelled, the pinched and puny remnant at Quebec renewed its desperate warfare with famine and disease.

Kirke preferred the least gallant mode of attack. Allowing the cravings of unsated hunger to fight his battles, he returned to England to deliver up his spoils. "Forgotten alike by friend and foe, Quebec was on the verge of extinction." In July 1629, the Kirkes returned to the unequal attack and Champlain, at the price of surrender, purchased deliverance for his famishing followers. At Quebec various re-adjustments were made. The Héberts and many of their friends remained. Champlain and the Jesuits were anxious to retire from the place which no longer acknowledged their authority, and the fortress of Quebec was left in charge of an English garrison, and under the protection of the English flag.

The period of English domination was brief. Charles, in his struggle with Parliament, was in need of money and a balance of Queen Henrietta Maria's dowry, somewhat more than two hundred thousand dollars, remained unpaid by France. To ensure the payment of this trifle, Charles restored to France his conquests in North America by the

Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye in 1632, and in the month of July, Quebec was formally restored to France.

In order to recover the fortune lost during the war the Caens had been granted a year's monopoly of the fur trade. The year soon passed, and in May 1633, Champlain was again at Quebec to receive command in the name of the Company of New France. Though reduced in capital by the disasters of the war, the Company had been reorganized and was prepared to undertake anew the building of a New France beyond the Atlantic. His three score years and six had not failed to leave their impress on the stalwart frame of the veteran founder of Quebec. Though he regarded the interests of his charge with undiminished keenness and alertness, he was no longer equal to the rigours of excursions of discovery or the perils of mingling with Indian warriors. After the restoration, the life of the colony became more sedate. Its enthusiasms were sobered by the memory of graver days, when the dangers of destruction lurked daily in its pathway; its repose was sanctified by the hallowing influences which emanated from the Jesuit mission. It is fitting that it should have been so; for the busy activities of its founder had earned for him a full measure of rest in the evening of his life. It was not long

before the end came, for on Cnristmas day, 1635, Champlain took his last farewell of the little group which clustered around the fortress of Quebec.

Whatever New France was in 1635 it owed to Champlain. His discerning judgment had selected the St. Lawrence valley as its home and Quebec as the centre of its life. His industry had laboured in France to bring forth the means by which it might be founded. In its infancy, his courage and foresight had solved the problems on which its very existence depended. His honesty and native kindliness had won the friendship of the Indians. His adventurous spirit had discovered new lands and opened rich fields for trade. When apathy or contempt at home threatened to blight the struggling fortunes of the colony nothing but Champlain's undaunted faith in its future prevented it from drooping and withering in decay. When rival factions promised to rend it asunder with their quarrels Champlain's tact and firmness restored at least a semblance of order. And finally, when an indifferent motherland hesitated even to receive the colony back into its care, it was Champlain who aroused a quickened sense of duty and responsibility. Well may Canada honour the "*preux chevalier*, the crusader, the romance-loving explorer, the curious, knowledge-seeking traveller, the practical navigator" who was the founder of New France.

IV.

Religion, more than any other, was the force which occupied and settled the New World. Columbus owned as one at least of the motives of his voyage his zeal to bring the true faith to the Empire of the Grand Khan. But if religion inspired the explorers, it inspired still more those who settled among the heathen nations of the new continent. Cartier had sailed under the benediction of the Church; but it was Champlain who laid the foundations of the work of conversion. In another and more direct form, too, religion inspired the third great colonizing nation of the age. The settlers in New England came, not as missionaries, but as refugees; the Pilgrim Fathers, seeking "freedom to worship God," left a land oppressed by religious tyranny for the wilderness of North America. More even than in New England, however, the religious atmosphere was to pervade the life of New France. The explorer Cartier, the explorer and colonist Champlain, are scarcely more important figures in the history of Canada than the writers of that page in its record "marvellous as a tale of chivalry, or legends of the lives of saints," the Catholic missionaries.

The first of the special envoys of the Church to

reach Quebec were a band of Récollet priests who were brought out by Champlain in 1613. The most distinguished of the group, Joseph le Caron, was not only the pioneer missionary to the Hurons but was the first European to explore the waters of the Ottawa and to penetrate to the forests on the shores of Lake Huron. But the mission of the Récollets was not attended with the success which the devotion of its missionaries deserved. The presence of heretic fur traders was an endless source of strife, while the Indians were too intent on following the war path to consider such an immaterial affair as their spiritual welfare. It is not surprising, therefore, that after the capture of Quebec and the return of the Récollets to France they did not again for some time resume their missionary endeavours.

The Récollets were to give place in the history of Canada to a more vigorous organization, to whose credit belong all the most illustrious achievements of the Church in New France. The Society of Jesus was the most characteristic product of the European Counter-Reformation. Its founder, Ignatius Loyola, was a genius of real originality who seeing that "it was the Papacy which had let things go to ruin," "undertook to save the Church through the Papacy," and so made his order "the perpetual militia of the Holy See for the restoration

of authority." "St. Ignatius," says Lord Acton, "directed his disciples according to the maxim that more prudence and less piety is better than more piety and less prudence. His main desire was that they should always act together, presenting a united front, without a rift or a variation." In fact, by a more than military discipline, he created a body of militant missionaries more efficient and better generalled than the world had seen. St. Francis Xavier, one of the original members of the order, had already left a wonderful record of missionary achievement. It was his spirit which inspired his brethren. Their training was so thorough and their leadership so prudent that they approached each problem as it arose in the spirit of experts, gathering and mastering a detailed knowledge of the ground to be covered, thinking no detail too insignificant to record, no risk too dangerous to be run in spreading the true faith.

Though an unsuccessful attempt had been made to establish a mission in Acadia in 1611, the Jesuits had not selected North America as a sphere of activity until 1625, when three members of the order, Charles Lalemant, Enemond Massé and Jean de Brébœuf, landed at Quebec. Three years later, owing to the capture of the settlement, they were obliged to return to France; but on the restora-

tion, their task of converting the natives was eagerly resumed.

Policy pointed to the district of the Hurons as the most promising field for missionary labour. Unlike the Algonquins, the Hurons had permanent places of settlement. Here the interests of the Church and Nation were combined, for the recognition of the spiritual authority of the priest would cement the alliance of French and native warrior and extend the commerce of New France. The mission to the Hurons was thus a national undertaking, and it was entrusted to the strongest and most virile men whom the church could command.

The hero of the mission was Jean de Brébœuf. Nature had endowed him richly with her choicest gifts. He was descended from one of the noblest of Norman families. A man of tall and stalwart build, his splendid physique fitted him for the strenuous toil of the frontier missionary. His noble birth and his training had brought him in touch with the best of French culture and refinement. These rare endowments were placed at the service of the church with a spirit of self sacrifice which endured the severest tests. In 1626 Brébœuf had gone to the Huron country, but the mission was interrupted by the capture of Quebec. Seven years later, with Fathers Daniel and

Davost, he set forth from Quebec to resume the sacred charge.

The task which Brébœuf and his companions had undertaken was one requiring infinite faith, courage and resourcefulness. The barrier of an alien language had to be overcome; to secure a mere subsistence required the adoption of the customs of a primitive and semi-barbarous people. The ceremonies and ordinances of the church had to be translated for a people to whom such conceptions were completely foreign. They must allay the prejudices of the medicine man and of the tribal potentates whose authority they appeared to usurp. To induce a people such as the Hurons to adopt a new religion demanded nothing less than the re-creation of Indian nature. In place of the spirit of hatred and revenge they had to instil the principle of love and self sacrifice, while the worship of the *Manitou* which haunted the heavens and the strange places of the earth must be replaced by the adoration of the true God and devotion to the Blessed Virgin.

That men should attempt a task of such magnitude is a tribute to their religious zeal; that their efforts met with even a measure of success attests the devotion and skill with which they laboured. Parkman held no brief for the Jesuit Order and it is his testimony that "in spite of the hostility of

the sorcerers, and the transient commotion raised by the red cross, the Jesuits had gained the confidence and good will of the Huron population. Their patience, their kindness, their manifest disinterestedness, the blamelessness of their lives and the tact which in the utmost fervours of their zeal never failed them, had won the hearts of these wayward savages."

But the war-flame of Huron and Iroquois, to which Champlain had added fresh fuel, continued to burn with increasing fury. At no time were the Huron villagers free from the devastation of the Iroquois scalping parties which continually infested the forests. The ravages of pestilence had left them but the shadow of their former strength, while the remnant became so paralyzed by fear of their impending doom that they seemed powerless to take the most obvious precautions for their safety.

In 1648 St. Joseph, the chief town of the Huron settlement, had been swept out of its precarious existence. With it perished in heroic martyrdom the brave Father Daniel. In the following spring, St. Ignace, the home of Brébœuf and Lalemant, succumbed to the invaders. St. Louis was the next to be attacked, but the Hurons, at last aroused to desperation, offered such a stubborn resistance that the Iroquois deemed it wise to advance no

farther. The life of the Huron mission had been crushed; but never had greater fortitude or more saintly devotion been manifested than in its closing days. When Huron braves sought safety in flight Brébœuf and Lalemant had scorned retreat. Their mystic faith in the things that are unseen had enabled them to welcome and rejoice in the cruellest tortures which the most brutal of savages could invent.

The end of the Huron Mission was at hand. This crushing defeat had deprived them of their leaders, had shattered their public organization, and had completely destroyed that spirit of courage and self reliance which in the former days had made their race. The Hurons no longer existed; they had become nothing but a sprinkling of scattered fugitives. Their bands were dispersed, some to the Tobacco Indians, some to the Neutrals, some even were adopted by the Iroquois. Ste. Marie, the sole remaining mission, was deserted. But one course remained. The Huron mission had to be abandoned. A remnant of the Hurons was removed to the Island of Orleans and the mission transplanted. But even beneath the shadow of the citadel the daring Iroquois did not hesitate to penetrate, and sad experience soon taught the colony of Quebec that in sheltering the Huron

they were but extending an invitation to renewed attack.

Quite as illustrious in the annals of missionary effort is the record of Isaac Jogues. Jogues had not the commanding figure or robust physique of Brébœuf. Though slight of frame, he was famed among the Indians for his swiftness of foot. His was the temperament of the student and the scholar rather than of the sturdy soldier of the church who volunteers to plant the Cross in the most dangerous quarters of the world. Of him Lalemant had said "he was quite timid, which highly exalts his courage and shows that his constancy came from above. He saw in a moment all the difficulties which might occur in a matter, and he felt the hurt naturally caused by them."

In the autumn of 1642, when returning to Quebec with a party of Hurons, Jogues, with two other Frenchmen, had been captured by a band of Iroquois warriors and was led back to the Indian villages to be subjected to those cruel and agonizing tortures which only Indians with the refined savagery of their race could devise, and which nothing less than the fortitude and sublime devotion of a Jesuit martyr could endure. When death would have brought relief, his life was spared, and the Indians, perhaps disdaining to torture him further, allowed him a certain freedom in

their villages. Aid finally came from the Dutch settlement at Fort Orange and Jogues was enabled to make his escape. The early days of 1644 found him again in France receiving the homage and reverence alike of his fellow Jesuits and of the curious throng who had heard of the marvellous adventures of the missionaries in Canada.

But the tranquil daily round of the priest in France had no attraction for the envoy of the Cross, whose pathway had been through perils unspeakable and amidst the pains of cruel torture. In the spring he was off again to Canada. An uncertain peace had been maintained between the French and the Mohawks. In order that this pact might be strengthened, Montmagny, the Governor, decided to send Jogues as special envoy to the Iroquois. In addition a mission, *the Mission of the Martyrs*, was to be founded. In 1646 Jogues was again in the villages of Hurons, but his efforts met with indifferent success and he soon returned to Quebec. The mission of the church had yet to be revived, and Jogues returned with boldness and confidence to his former tormentors. But the hostility of the Mohawk had been aroused, and Jogues was the victim on whom they wreaked their vengeance.

The history of North America offers few contrasts more striking than that between the timid,

refined and saintly Jogues and his fierce and brutal Iroquois tormentors. Yet it was to such unequal tasks as the conversion of the barbarous Iroquois that the Jesuit priests delighted to give themselves; and it is for this unswerving loyalty and supreme self-sacrifice that the world honors them.

The religious enthusiasm which illumines the history of New France took another and more substantial form in the founding of Montreal. The settlement of Ville Marie was conceived in miracle and romance. In 1636 one Jerome le Royer de la Dauversière, a tax collector of La Flèche, had seen a vision and heard the call to form a new order of Hospital Nuns and to build a hospital on the Island of Montreal in Canada. At nearly the same time Jean Jacques Olier, a young priest in Paris, had received a divine mission to found a seminary for the training of priests on this same Island. The spirit which had in such a mysterious manner opened the eyes of these two men, each unknown to the other, with equal mystery brought them together and guided them in the formation of their plans.

The scheme embraced three purposes—the conversion and training of the Indians, which required a band of secular priests, the healing of the sick, which involved the presence of hospital nuns, and the teaching of the young, to be entrusted to

the teaching sisters. But if nuns and priests were to be kept occupied, a colony must be formed. The Baron de Fancamp, a wealthy and devout friend of Dauversière was interested in the scheme and prepared to endow it richly. A grant of the Island of Montreal was secured and a band of forty colonists brought together.

But of the founders of Montreal, the man above all others entitled to fame is Paul de Chomedy, Sieur de Maisonneuve. Because he was a soldier of the church who typified the best that the crusading spirit had ever inspired, Maisonneuve had been selected as captain of the colony. With his name must be associated that of Mademoiselle Jeanne Mance. Jeanne Mance was of an honourable family of Nogent-le-Roi, and, at the time when the schemes of Dauversière and Olier were ripening, had been blessed with a vision which called her to the wilds of Canada. It was in the work of teaching and healing that her service was to be rendered.

In the autumn of 1641 the band of devotees reached Quebec; but it was too late to proceed to Montreal. Their welcome was not the most cordial. Montmagny, the Governor, was jealous of Maisonneuve, while the Company feared an invasion on their trade. The perils of settlement on the pathway of the Iroquois were painted in darkest

hues; but Maisonneuve was determined. "I have not come here to deliberate, but to act. It is my duty and my honour to found a colony at Montreal, and I would go if every tree were an Iroquois."

With the coming of spring Maisonneuve and his band were on their way to Montreal. On the 18th of May, 1642, the *Place Royale* of Champlain witnessed the birth of the Ville Marie de Montreal. With the baptism of the mission by Father Vimont, the Superior, the colony began its eventful career. Could words have been more prophetic than those which he spoke on that occasion? "You are a grain of mustard seed, that shall rise and grow till its branches overshadow the earth. You are few, but your work is the work of God. His smile is on you, and your children shall fill the land."

The work of the Church in New France may be regarded from many standpoints. Whatever view be taken of its value to the colony, there can be no doubt as to the place in the record of the world's heroes which is held by the Jesuit Martyrs. By utter self-sacrifice, by unconquerable endurance, by unshaken faith, they performed miracles which no other body of men has ever surpassed. Such devotion cannot have been without its effect even when it ended in obvious failure. The spirit of

the priest was a lesson to Frenchmen and Indians alike, and it is not the least of the glories of Canada that her history as a colony begins with a roll of martyrs. It is unjust to the Jesuits to reproach them, as they have been reproached, with the demoralization of the Indians. It was not the Christianity taught by the Jesuits which emasculated their converts. Later experience has proved that the Indians belong to that type of primitive race which loses both *morale* and *physique* from contact with a more advanced civilization. The Jesuits, who had the sole control of education, gave them the best and not the worst of what that civilization had to offer. In later days, instruction in the trades and in agriculture became one of the chief, and by no means unsuccessful activities of the Church. The Nuns were at all times leaders in the dispensing of charity. The Jesuits' knowledge of the native languages and customs, and their familiarity with the people made them useful again and again in negotiations with a hostile tribe. In diplomacy with the English, too, the envoy of New France was not seldom a priest. It is the same wealth of knowledge and experience which makes the "Jesuit Relations" invaluable for the historian of Canada, just as, at the time they were written, they supplied contemporary Europe with its only full record of the life of the colony. The "Rela-

tions" are marked in fact by all the scholarly accuracy, the conscientious minuteness of detail which the Rule exacted in its reports; the volumes are a mine of information not only on the adventures of the missionaries, but on the customs and characteristics of the Indians.

On the other side must be set the fact that the influence of the Jesuits tended, under the circumstances, to make the French settlement a mission rather than a colony. The obvious selfishness of the secular traders would no doubt have caused much more ill-feeling among the Indians had the priests not been at hand to reveal the other side of the settlers' character. Still it cannot be doubted that the development of the colony might have been more sturdy if greater play had been given, by the State, to independent commercial enterprize, and, by the church, to the spirit of self-interest, while in no way restraining the spirit of self-sacrifice. Zeal for conversion often necessarily outran the wisdom of the world, and led to seemingly quixotic expeditions into Indian territory which, however pacific their object, provoked dangerous reprisals. Moreover, the ideals of the colonist and those of the missionary are not always easy to reconcile, and the production of heroes and martyrs may not infrequently have the effect of hindering the development of that sense of security which is the first necessity of continuous life in overseas dominions.

Yet after all it may be doubted whether in the long run the spirit of the missionary is not to prevail over the spirit of the trader in the work of colonisation. The Jesuits had at least an inkling of that conception of the trusteeship of the superior race for the inferior which inspires the British rule in India and Egypt. Conversely, it was the spirit of the trader which saddled the United States with the Negro Problem. The Jesuits tried to educate rather than to exploit.

After the dispersion of the Hurons, the Iroquois sought fresh fields for conquest. Their supremacy among the Indian tribes had been established and the Mohawks, the nearest to the French of the Five Nations, renewed with greater boldness their warfare on the puny colony. The forests about Montreal were infested day and night by dusky warriors eager to snatch a victim whenever a colonist appeared unprotected. Three Rivers was scarcely more secure and Quebec itself was not beyond danger. The St. Lawrence was commanded by the Iroquois; and the trade was at a standstill. It was then that the Senecas and Cayugas—the most westerly of the Iroquois tribes—decided to wage war on their Erie neighbors. One war at a time was all that the Indian could afford, and Canada was given a breathing space.

Under these conditions proffers of peace were

The Arrival of the Ursulines

From a painting by Frank Craig

made by the Iroquois and hailed by the colony as its only hope of salvation. But Iroquois diplomacy was more deeply steeped in craft and subtlety than even Frenchmen had suspected. Mohawk and Onondaga were vieing with each other for the satisfaction of capturing the hopeless remnant of the Huron colony. The Mohawks invited the Huron chiefs to their villages while the Onondagas, not to be outwitted, invited the French to establish a colony in their midst. The life of the colony depended on the preservation of peace, and an envoy, Father Simon LeMoyne, was sent to confirm the alliance and to prepare the natives for the reception of the colony. The treatment of LeMoyne was most cordial and, after much hesitation, it was decided to send a colony to the Onondagas. Dupuy, the veteran major of the fort at Quebec, joined the expedition with a band of soldiers and about forty Frenchmen from Quebec, and the party left for the country of the Iroquois in the spring of 1656. But though the Onondoga might be friendly, the Mohawk was still thirsting for Huron blood, and cared nothing for the pact of his neighbour with the Frenchman. Even the Onondaga too, jealous of Mohawk success in invading New France, was becoming impatient of the restraint which the peace enforced. Plots were formed for the destruction of the band of Euro-

pean hostages. Dupuy's position became desperate; escape had to be purchased at any price. The Iroquois were invited to the Medicine Feast, and while their guests lay dull and heavy in slumber, Dupuy and his companions stole silently away. The mission was rescued, but the semblance of peace, for which they had risked their lives, was at an end.

In 1660 fresh incursions of the Iroquois made necessary the heroic stand of Dollard and his companions, to which we shall recur. Such heroism showed the stuff of which the colonists were made. Still it was now nearly thirty years since the restoration of Quebec, and it was yet impossible to say that the Company of New France had succeeded as a colonizing agency. The company had engaged to bring out within the first eleven years of its monopoly three hundred settlers annually. In 1642, the population was but two hundred and forty-two, and twenty years later it had reached but two thousand five hundred. The fur trade had suffered from the wars; the Hurons, its chief support, had been scattered in all directions; the avenues of trade were in the hands of hostile Iroquois.

Settlement and cultivation of the soil were impossible when every harvester laboured at the peril of his life. The colony was no more indepen-

dent than in the days of its infancy under Champlain. Three settlements had been founded on the St. Lawrence, and to these the life of the colony had been confined. Beyond Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, the country belonged not to France, but to the Iroquois. The life of the colony hung by a very slender thread; at any moment it might be snapped by the merciless Iroquois. It is not surprising that in 1663 the charter of the Company of New France was revoked and the colony brought under the direct control of the king.

V.

Louis XIV introduced a new régime for New France. He has been described as "by far the ablest man who was born in modern times on the steps of a throne," and he had in Colbert an administrator of the finest quality as a servant. Of all French statesmen none is more intimately connected with New France than is Colbert. Inspired by Louis XIV, Colbert made France and her colonies a theatre for the working out of those principles of administrative efficiency which made the "paternal despotisms" of the XVIII century one of the chief characteristics of their era. Despotism and paternalism had existed before; but it was in the XVIII century that statesmen first began to understand the immense power over its sub-

jects of a government which was prepared to administer national concerns with all the scrupulous attention to detail and the minuteness of supervision of the manager of a great business.

This spirit of thoroughness was now to find scope in directing the interests of New France. The Sieur de Courcelles was appointed Governor; Jean Baptiste Talon was selected as Intendant; while the Marquis de Tracy, the Lieutenant-General of all the King's American domains, was sent as special envoy to report on the condition of the colony.

The summer of 1665 was long remembered as a time of great rejoicing in the town of Quebec. Early in the year four companies of the regiment of Carignan Salières had landed at Quebec. In June, Tracy arrived with a brilliant following of young nobles from the Court of France and another detachment of the Carignan Salières. In the autumn the arrival of the Governor and Talon, the Intendant, with the final detachment of the Carignan regiment under Salières their Colonel, added fresh splendour to the scenes of pomp and gaiety within the Castle of St. Louis. In a few months, nearly as many soldiers and settlers had come to Quebec as it had received in the previous half century.

The question requiring immediate attention

was the defence of the colony. It was to settle this problem that the Carignan regiment had been sent to Canada. The regiment had been raised in Savoy by the Prince of Carignan in 1644. It had fought with Condé in the wars of the Fronde and had but recently won distinction in the war of Austria against the Turks. Tracy's first step was to fortify the outposts of the colony and station there detachments which might intercept the incursions of the Iroquois. But a decisive blow was necessary which would permit no doubt as to the intention of the French to linger in the Iroquois mind. Advances of friendship were made, but the methods of Mohawk diplomacy were now pretty well understood. In the spring of 1666 Tracy and Courcelles with thirteen hundred followers started on an expedition to the heart of the Mohawk settlement. The advance of this formidable army had been proclaimed and village after village was left deserted. The Mohawk, to whom till now defeat had been unknown, had fled in terrified confusion. The chastisement had been complete. Mohawk as well as Onondaga was anxious for peace and begged for a settlement of French artisans and priests in their midst. The Carignan regiment had done its work. New France was to have a respite from the deadly horrors of the scalping knife.

A work of still greater usefulness remained for this famous regiment. After the expedition of de Tracy all but four companies of the regiment were recalled to France. For those who remained Colbert had elaborated a brilliant scheme of settlement. The regiment was to be disbanded. Its officers were to become Seigneurs with extensive grants of land and funds to assist in their settlement. The men were offered smaller grants and were induced to become *censitaires* under their former commanders. By this system the needs of defence and of colonial expansion were alike admirably served. Many of the soldiers chose to found homes in the district of the Richelieu, and their presence on the frontier proved an effective barrier against invasion from the south. Of greater significance was their influence on the social life of the colony. The officers formed the nucleus of a colonial aristocracy. Proud associations gradually clustered about these various families. Local traditions were formed and a new tone was introduced into the society of New France.

Now that peace had been restored Talon devoted himself with zealous industry to the task of building up the colony. No man could have been found better fitted to carry out the policy of Colbert than his disciple Talon. He had been edu-

cated at Paris and at an early age entered the service of Mazarin. As Intendant of Hainault he had attracted attention by the carefulness and thoroughness of his administration.

The office of Intendant clothed Talon with most extensive powers. As the special envoy of the sovereign he was the general manager of the colony of New France. While the Governor was the official head of the colony and supreme in military affairs and while the bishop exercised control in the affairs of the church, it was to the Intendant that the civil administration of the colony was entrusted. His instructions from Colbert outlined the sphere of his activity: "And as the king regards his Canadian subjects, from the highest to the lowest, almost as his own children, and wishes them to enjoy equally with the people of France the mildness and happiness of his reign, the Sieur Talon will study to solace them in all things, and encourage them to trade and industry. And, seeing that nothing can better promote this end than entering into the details of their little affairs, it will not be amiss that he visit all their settlements one after the other in order to learn their true condition, provide as much as possible for their wants, and, performing the duty of a good head of a family, put them in the way of making some profit."

The feature of New France which impressed itself most strongly on the mind of the new Intendant was the possibility of its maintaining an enormous population. The supreme need was now for colonists. The burthen of Talon's letters to the Minister in France was always a request for more men. The demands of the importunate Intendant at last caused alarm and Colbert was constrained to remind Talon that the King did not propose to depopulate France in order to people Canada.

It was not the intention of Talon to make of New France a bachelors' paradise. Homes must be formed and to this end fair *demoiselles* had to be sought as wives for the lonely colonists. To the task of directing the matrimonial affairs of the colony Talon devoted himself with his usual energy and enthusiasm. In the summer of 1665 a hundred girls of the poorer class were soon provided with husbands. Peasant girls, in the vigour of good health, and capable of sharing in the more strenuous toils of pioneer settlement, were at all times at a premium. But the men of more exclusive tastes sought partners of better birth than the peasant girls. To bring to Canada spouses of superior attainments and yet to avoid offending the mothers of eligible Canadian daughters was a task involving supreme tact and delicacy. But Talon seems to have achieved complete success.

These were the days when the joys of single blessedness were of doubtful reality. For the men of the colony 'twere better never to have lived than to have lived alone. The bachelor was taxed out of existence. He was forbidden to hunt in the forests; he dare not indulge in the sport of fishing, while to trade with the natives were almost a crime. Such heroic methods did not fail to accomplish the end desired. So brightly did the torch of Hymen burn that Cupid found no opportunity to indulge in his impish tricks.

Having turned the tide of immigration to Canada, the development of the resources of the colony next occupied Talon's attention. At no period in its existence had the colony been self-sustaining. The encouragement of agriculture was of immediate importance. By establishing a model farm on the Seigniory des Islets near Quebec Talon sought to instruct the pioneers in the secrets of successful agriculture. That the cultivated area of the colony was doubled and that wheat and flour were exported to France is evidence of the success of Talon's patronage.

In the encouragement of industry and trade the activity of the Intendant was even more prominent. Agriculture alone afforded an insufficient basis for the colony's expansion. The abundance of suitable timber suggested the possibility of

launching a successful industry in ship building. Shortly before his departure from Canada Talon reported that three hundred and fifty men found employment in ship building alone. Flour mills were built in various parts of the colony. In the establishment of a brewery the ends of sound economy and humanitarianism were combined. Three hundred thousand livres a year were being spent for the purchase of brandy. By the manufacture of a milder beverage this sum would be retained within the colony and, in the words of Colbert, "the vice of drunkenness would thereafter cause no more scandal by reason of the cold nature of the beer, the vapours whereof rarely deprive men of the use of judgment."

It may be said that in Talon is found the best administrator who ever represented France in Canada. He was industrious, resourceful and impartial. There has never been any suggestion that, when opportunities for private gain were abundant, Talon used his office for personal advantage. He was the father of whatever trade and industry was developed in New France. He saw clearly the needs of the colony and undertook with an optimism and honesty which compel our admiration to provide any remedy they might require.

Whatever criticism may be made of the ad-

ministration of Talon applies, not to the personal conduct of the Intendant, but to the system which he represented and with which he was in hearty sympathy. Paternalism was the most formidable enemy to the progress of New France and paternalism had no more consistent exponent than Talon. Much immediate benefit undoubtedly followed Talon's administration; but its most significant result was to smother private initiative. The operations of government, when carried to the extent to which Talon carried them could permit of no other activity in the sphere of trade and industry, whereas the healthiest form of organization is that which permits of the harmonious co-operation of state and individual. A system which in Europe may not have been without its justification, was quite unsuited to the condition of the new and undeveloped colony of New France.

VI.

In the system of government which Louis XIV bestowed on New France the burden of responsibility rested on three officers—the Governor, the Bishop and the Intendant. Unfortunately the functions of these officials were not defined with sufficient clearness to avoid collision. The consequence was that from amidst the conflict of rival jurisdictions the man of commanding power or

personality acquired supremacy and assumed a leadership in the life of the colony. Thus during the years of peace which followed the chastisement of the Iroquois, the peculiar endowments of Talon brought him to a position of pre-eminence. The dignity, the devotion, and the zeal of Laval as representative of the church make him a national figure. But the most picturesque of the rulers of New France is the chief of governors—Frontenac.

Frontenac was essentially a soldier. When but fifteen years of age he entered the army and served under the Prince of Orange; at twenty-three he was colonel of a Norman regiment. In 1669 he was selected by Turenne to command the Venetian troops in the defence of Crete. His success on this mission placed him in the first rank of French generals.

Three years later Frontenac was selected as Governor of New France. The reason for his appointment may be difficult to determine with certainty. An opinion is ventured in the *Mémoires* of Saint Simon. "He was a man of excellent parts, living much in society, and completely ruined. He found it hard to bear the imperious temper of his wife; and he was given the government of Canada to deliver him from her, and to afford him some means of livelihood." That Frontenac's domestic life was not the most happy is

certain; but his own uneven temper may have figured as a cause. Of Madame Frontenac the same Saint-Simon writes: "She and Mademoiselle d'Outrelaise, whom she took to live with her, gave the tone to the best company of Paris and the court, though they never went thither. They were called *Les Divines*. In fact they demanded incense like goddesses; and it was lavished upon them all their lives."

Much has been told of the personal qualities of Frontenac. He has been pictured as excessively vain, with a fiery and unmanageable temper, and a will which would brook no opposition. He had apparently exhaustless energy, while his military experience had given him a rare knowledge of the special needs of the colony of New France. Nevertheless his vigour and shrewdness enabled him to overcome his apparent disabilities and constantly prompted deeds which excited the surprise and even the admiration of his friends.

Frontenac's first impressions of Quebec were more favourable than he had ever anticipated. The majestic grandeur of the citadel did not escape his soldier's eye. "It could not be better situated as the future capital of a great empire." He caught the buoyant enthusiasm which Talon had inspired in the colony and turned with eagerness to the problems which the government involved.

It was Frontenac's ambition to play the rôle in the colony which his royal master had created for himself in France. But the men and their methods were different. With the true instincts of the despotic monarch, Louis XIV had suppressed the meetings of the three estates and had transferred to the crown all the real functions of government. Not so Frontenac. With his inexperience in the arts of ruling, he thought to find in the three estates an instrument to magnify his own power and glory. At Quebec the materials were ready at his hand. Of clergy there was an abundance. The formation of a nobility gave him greater trouble. But few of the nobility of France had resigned the brilliance of the court for the hardships of the Canadian wilderness. The nucleus of the second estate was found in the few *gentilshommes* who had sought advantage by coming to the colony. In the third estate he placed the merchants, tradesmen and citizens generally. In October 1672 Canada's first parliament was convoked when Frontenac assembled at Quebec the Three Estates of New France. Thus the ancient splendour of provincial courts was to be revived and colonist and native Indian to be impressed with the power and dignity of the imperial governor.

Another reform of real importance Frontenac

soon suggested He proposed the election of a council of three aldermen for the town of Quebec. A body of local regulations was drafted and provision was made for popular assemblies in which the affairs of the town might be discussed.

The innovations of Frontenac were not received with equal enthusiasm in France. The Governor, in his innocent regard for the colony's welfare, had mistaken the policy of his benevolent sovereign. The reformed government of France was to be his model and the States-General was no longer regarded as essential to the government of France. "You should very rarely," he was advised, "or, to speak more correctly, never give a corporate form to the inhabitants of Canada. You should even, as the colony strengthens, suppress gradually the office of syndic, who presents petitions in the name of the inhabitants; for it is well that each should speak for himself, and no one for all." Thus Frontenac's initial enterprise in the field of government was not a signal success. Who will venture to assert what would have been the course of the history of North America had Frontenac been permitted to adopt his plans for colonial self-government in New France ?

The first year of Frontenac's administration was marked by an event which indicated a new era in the expansion of New France. Hitherto, and es-

pecially during the régime of the trading companies, the colony's activity had been confined to the valleys of the Lower St. Lawrence and the Ottawa rivers. Its life had been reduced to a struggle for mere existence; its efforts were confined to resisting the invasions of the Iroquois. Conditions had changed. The danger of the Iroquois had not yet been removed, but behind them and encouraging their hostility to France was the English colony of New York. Year by year the two great nations of Europe were drawing closer together in a struggle for the trade of the West. The command of the Great Lakes carried with it control of the Western traffic.

Frontenac was quick to appreciate the importance of the situation, and in 1673 built a fort at Cataraqui on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence where it merges into Lake Ontario. The founding of Fort Frontenac sealed the claim of France to the entire St. Lawrence; it established a new outpost for trade with the West and provided a more advantageous basis for treating with the Iroquois.

In his treatment of the natives Frontenac appears to the best advantage. The Indian love of splendour and display afforded him an opportunity to represent with fitting accompaniments the rank and dignity of his high office.

The character which Frontenac most delighted to assume was that best suited to impress the Indian mind. The initiation of a new and more progressive policy and the interest in the conduct of this grand courtier of New France combine to make significant the meeting of Frontenac and the Mohawks at Cataraqui in July of 1673. Frontenac took special care that the Indians should be properly impressed with the power of the arms of France. All the available troops and whatever cannon could be transported were hurried to the scene of the pageant of Fort Frontenac. Four squadrons of canoes led the procession; then followed two barges bedecked with cannon brilliantly painted. Frontenac himself came next, attended by a special guard. After that came the colonial militia flanked on one side by a special squadron from Three Rivers and on the other by the fighting force of the Hurons and Algonquins. Never had such a spectacle been witnessed by the Indian tribes of North America.

When the Iroquois had duly pondered on the significance of this array, Frontenac was prepared to meet their chiefs in conference. Here his mastery of Indian character was employed to excellent advantage. His lofty arrogance now expressed itself in conscious mastery of the situation and paternal regard for the welfare of the

Iroquois, his children. With admirable tact he won the sympathy and esteem of the assembled tribes and skilfully cautioned them against the dangers of deserting the French. His success was complete and a treaty of peace was made with the Iroquois. In the following year unwonted evidence was given of the confidence of the Iroquois in Frontenac when they sent several of their children to be educated at Quebec.

Unfortunately the same measure of success which attended Frontenac's dealings with the Indians at the frontier posts did not follow his administration of affairs in the midst of the people of his own nation at Quebec. His chief trouble was with the Jesuits. Frontenac would have vigorously asserted his loyalty to the church, though he found it difficult to agree with the Jesuits, though he had always manifested a friendly interest in the work of the Récollets. In the background of his disputes with the Jesuits was a deep-rooted suspicion that they had designed an invasion of the royal prerogative. What, to a man of his temperament, was most galling was his inability to bring them under his control. As an order they were independent of his authority, and he could countenance no rival power within the sphere of his dominion.

The particular occasion for the dispute was a

question of policy with regard to Indian relations. There was first of all the brandy question. The Jesuit missionary found the prevalence of drunkenness the chief obstacle to his task of converting the natives. An intoxicated Indian was more beast than man. The Jesuits on this score were justified in protesting against the traffic. But on the other hand, the liquor traffic was essential to the prosperity of the fur trade. The Indian demanded liquor in exchange for furs. If the French refused to provide *eau de vie* it could be procured from the English of New York. Thus the Indians would still secure their liquor and, in addition, be lost alike to the trade and missions of New France.

The second subject of conflict was the education of the Indians. Frontenac, in accord with his instructions from the king and Colbert, had ordered the Indians to be instructed in French. The Jesuits, with reason, feared that his introduction to the civilization of the contemporaries of Louis XIV would demoralize and degrade the Indian. But if the natives were to be brought within the fold of France they must learn the French tongue.

Here was the material for a bitter quarrel. Laval, the bishop and the leader of the campaign against the liquor traffic, returned to Quebec in 1675, and meanwhile Duschesneau, the new Intendant, threw the weight of his influence against

the Governor. Questions of jurisdiction and of precedence added fresh fuel to the fires. Two distinct parties were formed in the Council. The struggle between Governor and Intendant became so intense that partisans from each party waged open warfare in the streets of Quebec. In the meantime the work of administration was paralyzed. The patience of Colbert was at last exhausted and in 1682 both Frontenac and Duchesneau were recalled.

Frontenac was succeeded by de La Barre, a lawyer-soldier who had served as Intendant in several French provinces and later had been governor of Cayenne. The new governor, on his arrival, was brought face to face with a serious movement of the Iroquois against the French. The Senecas, the most western of the Five Nations, had not felt the sting of Tracy's invasion and were eager for war on the French colony. With the expansion of the trading interests of New France the Iroquois had found their hunting-grounds reduced. They, too, were compelled to seek new conquests westwards. Urged by the English and Dutch of the Atlantic seaboard, they had invaded the lands of the Indians of the Illinois—allies of the French—and were eager to gain control of the trade of the entire lake region.

With none of the native versatility or military

skill of Frontenac, de La Barre was even more extravagant in his pretensions. Still he could not have been blind to the dangers of the situation. A personal interest in the western trade keenly impressed him with the necessity of making a decided stand against Iroquois incursions. Accordingly, in the summer of 1684 he collected what forces were available and set out for the country of the Senecas. At Fort Frontenac fever played havoc with his troops. With his men sickened and disheartened invasion became impossible. Through the friendly intervention of the Onondagas, a conference was arranged at La Famine, across the lake from Fort Frontenac. De La Barre, in loud and boastful tones, vaunted the power of the arms of France. The Iroquois was not to be deceived. "I see *Onontio* raving in a camp of sick men, whose lives the Great Spirit had saved by smiting them with disease." The Iroquois proclaimed their terms of peace and de La Barre was happy to be allowed to return to Quebec. The banners of France were trailed in the dust; the colony was humiliated and the Iroquois encouraged to renew their hostility. Incidentally, de La Barre was recalled to France.

The Marquis de Denonville, the new governor, was a soldier of experience and was reputed to be a man of the highest honour. But the Indian

situation was most critical. Dongan, the English governor of New York, had perceived the French designs on the whole interior of the continent and had entered the field in opposition. Denonville and Dongan were still engaged in a warfare of diplomacy for the friendship of the Iroquois and the honors had as yet rested with the English governor. Nothing less than another scourge such as Tracy administered would retrieve the situation.

Accordingly, in 1687 Denonville gathered together the strongest army which New France had yet seen. Two thousand regulars, militia, and Indians were at his command. Eight hundred regulars, but newly arrived from France, were left to guard the settlement at Montreal. A camp was formed on the southern shore of Lake Ontario, from which the invasion of the Senecas was to be directed. But the wily Iroquois, hearing of Denonville's advance, had burned their villages and sought shelter with their eastern allies. Denonville marched to Niagara and established a post which should command the junction of Lakes Erie and Ontario.

The French had achieved a barren victory; and had done nothing to vindicate the honour of the arms of France. The injury inflicted on the Senecas was slight in comparison with the angry

thirst for vengeance which it created. And the night of Iroquois revenge was soon at hand.

On the southern shore of the Island of Montreal was the little settlement of Lachine. On the evening of the fourth of August, 1689, a violent hailstorm had early driven the unsuspecting settlers to the shelter of their homes. Under cover of the darkness and aided by the raging storm, fifteen hundred Iroquois warriors had entered and taken possession of the village. In the dead of night their horrible work of massacre began. Then and there, two hundred of the French were slaughtered. As many more were reserved for torture and in the surrounding forts nearly a hundred French soldiers were killed.

Never had such a blow been inflicted on French Canada. Montreal was bewildered and paralyzed with terror. The work of Tracy, of Talon, and of Frontenac was in peril of utter destruction. A saviour must be found, and Louis turned to Frontenac.

Frontenac alone could strike terror to the heart of the Iroquois, and Frontenac was the man for this crisis. His return to Quebec in October, 1689, at once inspired fresh confidence throughout the length of the colony. A new plan of attack was now adopted. This time the main object of the campaign was to punish the English instigators of

the Iroquois invasions. Three expeditions were directed against the New England colonies. From Montreal one party was to strike at Albany, from Three Rivers a second was to attack the settlements of New Hampshire, while from Quebec the towns of Maine were to be invaded. In these expeditions Frontenac had enlisted the hardy *coureurs de bois*, the most formidable defenders which the colony possessed. Among their leaders were the brothers Le Moyne de Sainte-Hélène and d'Iberville, D'Ailleboust de Mantet and Le Ber du Chesne. Schenectady was taken and its defenders massacred. Pemaquid, Salmon Falls and Casco Bay in turn were captured. The defenders of Canada took fresh heart, and the respect of the natives was recovered by *Onontio*.

The English colonies were eager for retaliation. Quebec and Montreal were to be attacked by land, while Sir William Phips was to command a naval expedition against Port Royal. Its defences were not in a condition to repel assault and in May, 1690, Port Royal surrendered. By this success, Massachusetts was emboldened in its designs against Quebec. Phips was given command of thirty vessels and two thousand men, and by the reduction of Quebec it was hoped to meet the expenses of the expedition.

The Frontenac whom New France delighted to

Quebec in 1837

From a water colour by Steele

honour was the brave defender of Quebec whose courage baffled his assailants and preserved for France her Canadian dominion. And never did Frontenac appear to greater advantage than on this occasion. When the word arrived of Phips' approach, the grey-haired governor was at Montreal exhorting the Indian allies to greater devotion and zeal. Taking all the men who could be spared from Montreal and assembling the inhabitants on the way, he hastened back to Quebec. On his arrival at the capital on the 14th of October he was again acclaimed by friend and foe alike as the colony's deliverer. His return had been none too early, for in five days Phips was before Quebec. The defences of the city had been neglected; but since the alarm of the English invasion wonders had been wrought by Prévost, its gallant town major, and the fortress was now prepared to withstand attack.

Thinking to find in Quebec the same submissiveness as had greeted him at Port Royal, Phips despatched a messenger bearing a summons to surrender. Not so was Frontenac to be cowed. "No," was his reply, "I will answer your general only by the mouths of my cannon, that he may learn that a man like me is not to be summoned after this fashion. Let him do his best and I will do mine." The messenger's report was not

encouraging. Blindfolded, he had been led to and from the chateau, hither and thither over barricades and defensive works which seemed to indicate enormous preparations. Quebec must be taken by sword and cannon.

Phips had planned a cannonade of the fortress from the front, to be assisted by a land attack from the Beauport shore. But meanwhile Callières had arrived from Montreal with eight hundred more men. The land attack was repulsed by Frontenac's sharpshooters. Phips now began his bombardment, but Frontenac replied in kind. So furious was the din of the cannonade that the rocky fortress trembled to its very depths. But there the damage stopped and the ramparts were scarcely injured. On the other side, Frontenac's heavy guns played havoc with the English vessels. The Admiral's standard had been cut away from the flagstaff and, drifting in with the tide, had been taken as a treasured relic by the Canadians. After a second unsuccessful land attack Phips decided to retire. In Quebec there were thanksgiving and rejoicing and Frontenac was accorded the honours worthy of so gallant a defence.

But the colony had not yet been freed from the scourge of the Iroquois. The valley of the Ottawa and the district between the Richelieu and the St. Lawrence were constantly in dread of stealthy

Indian warriors. The only condition under which the fields could be cultivated was that the settlers should labour together under the guard of a squad of regulars. One incident of these days of terror indicates the heroism of the Canadian pioneers.

On the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and some twenty miles below Montreal, was the Seigniory of Verchères. The Seignior himself was on duty at Quebec; his wife was at Montreal and their daughter Madeleine, a girl of fourteen, remained in charge at home. The men of the fort were absent, working in the fields, when the alarm of the approach of the Iroquois was raised. The only garrison of the fort was two frightened soldiers, two labourers, a man of eighty years and the two youthful sons of the Seignior. With dauntless courage, the maiden took command and placed her feeble garrison at the points of greatest vantage. The Iroquois, impressed by the appearance of strength and preparation, held back from attack until at length relief arrived from Montreal. A band of savage warriors had been held at bay for a week through the bravery of this Canadian maiden.

The Iroquois continued to give Frontenac his greatest trouble. In the winter of 1693 he led a band of Indians and Canadians into their country and taught them that he was still as powerful as

of old. The English had of late been less active in their assistance to the Iroquois, and the Indians had not been slow to perceive that they were waging war single handed. Negotiations for a peace with Canada had been unsuccessful and the Iroquois now sought to detach the Indian allies of the French. The situation was indeed dangerous, and Frontenac stooped to the level of Indian diplomacy in his reply. The Indian allies were incited to burn and torture Iroquois prisoners in the hope of preventing an alliance of all the native tribes.

But more strenuous measures were required. Fort Frontenac, ignominiously abandoned by Denonville and always a thorn in the flesh to the Iroquois, was reoccupied. In the summer of 1696 another expedition was made against the Iroquois and, though most of the villages were found deserted, was not without effect in chastising the most stubborn of the assailants of New France.

This was destined to be Frontenac's last adventure, for in November, 1698, he passed away at Quebec, at the age of seventy-eight. The great achievement of his administration had been his success with the natives. No governor of New France so thoroughly understood the Indian character. None was more loved by allies or more feared by foes. Though at the time of his death

the Iroquois had not been subdued, Frontenac's work was yet to bear fruit and Callières, his successor, was to form with them a satisfactory peace. Whatever imperfections the personality of Frontenac may reveal, whatever unpleasantness with his associates attended his administration, to his manliness, versatility, and undaunted courage must be attributed the preservation of New France, when its destruction seemed most imminent.

VII.

We have seen the process by which the dominion of France in the New World was sketched out as a "project of Empire." The explorer, the settler, the priest, the soldier, the administrator had each done his part to develop small and timid beginnings into a scheme which was nothing if not ambitious. Gradually was unfolded a vision of new world Empire, stretching from Acadia and the basin of the St. Lawrence to the valley of the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico. For the dreams of French occupation went far beyond those of their English rivals, whose little cluster of settlements they planned to envelop. French territory was to be continuous from Newfoundland to the West Indies, was to stretch west to the

boundaries of the continent and advance eastward till it swept the English into the Atlantic.

Already by the time of Frontenac's death the passion for adventure, religious fervour and commercial enterprise had done much to carry the flag of France over the continent. Early in the history of New France the eastern lakes had been made subject to French control. Fort Frontenac, Niagara and Detroit were the outposts of French dominion on Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, while Michillimackinac guarded Lake Michigan. Talon and Frontenac had been active in encouraging western exploration. In 1673 Joliet and Marquette, crossing Lake Winnebago, had reached the River Wisconsin and followed its waters to the Mississippi.

Of the pioneers of Empire La Salle was one of the most picturesque. He revived in a later age all that pure love of adventure and delight in exploration which had inspired the early voyageurs of the preceding century, and his achievement was one which the boldest of them could scarcely claim to surpass. For it was he who first trusted himself to the Mississippi River and followed its course from source to mouth. In 1681 he embarked on Lake Michigan, from thence he followed the Illinois till it brought him to the Mississippi. Down the great river he paddled till he

reached the Ohio, just below which on the eastern bank he built Fort Prudhomme. Pushing on from there, farther and farther south through the tropical vegetation of unexplored forests, he held on his way till at last in April 1682 he reached the Gulf of Mexico. The great river had unfolded its secrets, and the lands which it drained were claimed for France. In honour of his King, La Salle called the territory which his enterprise had added to the French Empire, Louisiana.

Thus the great project came within the range of practical statesmanship. The following winter La Salle did something more for its realisation by establishing a colony on the banks of the Illinois and building a fort for its protection called the Fort St. Louis. La Salle never won the confidence of de La Barre and was regarded with bitter jealousy by his enemies in Quebec; but this very fact fired his enthusiasm for his projects elsewhere—he was debarred by their efforts from pushing out into the West, and therefore grew more eager than ever to develop French influence in the Gulf of Mexico. Here he set up another Fort St. Louis and established under its shadow another colony.

But La Salle, like his prototype Sir Walter Ralegh, was not to see his dreams come true; Famine visited his new settlement, and in the attempt to re-open communications with New

France and so to get supplies, he was treacherously murdered by members of his own party. The explorers of the Mississippi were not to be permitted to enjoy the rewards of their courage and self-sacrifice. "Of all their toil and sacrifice, no fruit remained but a great geographical discovery, and a grand type of incarnate energy and will. Where La Salle had ploughed, others were to sow the seed; and on the path which the undespairing Norman had hewn out, the Canadian D'Iberville was to win for France a vast though a transient dominion."

The prophecy was, indeed, one which, magnificent as was its conception, involved for its execution a greater effort than France could make. For only by the development of flourishing settlements along the whole line from north to south could the French hope to make their occupation a real one. As it was they could establish no more than a line of forts which extended indeed all the way from Quebec to New Orleans. This was not enough to hold so vast a territory against the farmers and merchants of the English colonies. As yet it is true that the English, busy with the material problems of trade and commerce, were content, so long as English trade remained unrestrained, to leave French statesmen undisturbed in their lofty dreams. But the shrewder of colo-

nial governors were not slow to perceive that the vast interior of the continent with its wealth of trade would be closed to them forever. Hence the issue between France and England gradually developed into a struggle for the mastery of a continent.

It was in Acadia that the contending parties were first brought into direct conflict. Here had France first ventured in the sphere of New World settlement, and here, too, had England, early in the days of western expansion, secured a claim to colonial possessions. Since that time Acadia had had a troubled career. In 1654 it had succumbed to an army of the Commonwealth, but was restored to France in 1667. In 1710 Fort Royal surrendered to Nicholson and in 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht gave Nova Scotia or Acadia to Great Britain. Likewise along the Great Lakes and in the valley of the Ohio, the two contestants were manœuvring for the advantage of position. The building of a permanent French fort at Niagara in 1720 was followed a few years later by the establishment of an English fort at Oswego. The control of the Ohio was of even greater strategic importance. It held the key to the Mississippi and formed the connecting link between the northern and southern sections of the French dominions. In addition, it was the gateway from the Atlantic States to the

unknown regions of the distant west. Hence along the frontiers of New France, from Acadia to the Mississippi, the forces of the rival nations were being massed in battle array.

VIII.

The stirring events which were taking place in the Ohio Valley and in distant Acadia before the declaration of war between England and France, foreshadowed a great crisis, during which territorial disputes, aggressions and political intrigues, would give place to the question paramount, "Shall France retain her empire in the new world or shall she not?" But in the meantime the pretence of peace was maintained by the Courts, and therefore the bitter struggle in the colonies which at last committed the two powers to a war of conquest, has a character of its own.

The policy of France, as dictated from Versailles, was too narrow to promote colonization in the sense of expansion, or even to maintain permanent occupancy. Wedded to schemes of aggrandizement at home, France was inclined to leave her colony to work out its own future. Weak in population and undermined by official corruption, New France was ill-prepared for the impending contest. Great Britain, on the other hand, had the real advantage of superior numbers

in the New World, although she had no definite colonial policy, and was suffering from the ill effects of an earlier administration which indeed were due rather to ignorance than to knavery. With an imperfect knowledge of the extent or resources of a country over which authority was exercised, vast tracts of land had been ceded which had been included in previous grants. And although these questions may appear to have been susceptible of adjustment, they constantly presented problems with which the Government was powerless to cope.

The disputes touching Acadia were of long standing. By the twelfth article of the Treaty of Utrecht, Nova Scotia, "within its ancient boundaries," had been ceded to the Crown of England. But the definition of these ancient boundaries gave rise to a long controversy, and finally at the conclusion of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, when Louisbourg was restored to the French, the question was referred to a commission, each Court agreeing that no attempt at settlement should be made on the debatable ground until the decision of the Commission was made known. The shrewd La Galissonière, however, disregarding the stipulation, if he was ever officially acquainted with it, began the construction of forts and favoured settlement upon lands claimed by the English.

The importance of Nova Scotia in the future development of New France from a strategic and from a commercial point of view, was apparent to each nation; but neither power could furnish from its colonial resources an army strong enough to support its ambition.

The policy of Great Britain towards Nova Scotia was short sighted. Instead of encouraging the emigration of a desirable class intended to grow up with the Acadians and to form a united and loyal people, she allowed the French for nearly forty years to regard the country in the light of an exclusive settlement. It contained good subjects, it is true; but they were French at heart, and it remained to be proved whether under extraordinary pressure their sympathies would not incline to France. The probability of such a contingency was for years practically ignored, and when it was seriously considered the means adopted to prevent it were ill-advised. The French had divided and subdivided their lands until by the pressure of events new grants became necessary. Great Britain declared that Protestants only could acquire these lands. A prescribed form of religious belief therefore became a condition of tenure. Shirley, the energetic Governor of Massachusetts, who was largely responsible for the government of Nova Scotia, considered that British interests could not

flourish until French influence was extinguished. To bring about this end he proposed to convert the inhabitants, suggesting rewards for those who renounced their faith. The King, on the other hand, favoured an assurance to the people that they should enjoy the exercise of their religion; but in a proclamation the passage was omitted by Shirley as dangerous. The Home Government then consented to a plan for promoting the loyalty of the French by the importation of foreign Protestants, to mingle with the Acadians—a fusion possible under the British flag, but doubtful at such a critical moment, when the military organization was insufficient to protect the frontier, or to inspire confidence in the stability of British institutions. A great struggle was meantime impending, which led to the deportation of eight thousand Acadians, whose subsequent misery and suffering contributed the darkest page to the history of Nova Scotia.

But although the fate of the Acadians had a distinct bearing upon the approaching conflict, it was of secondary importance to the great mass of the British colonists, when compared with the prize which both French and English coveted—the possession of the Ohio Valley.

In the early days of British colonization settlements had sprung up, composed of people between

whom a community of interest existed; colonies had been formed, governments established, and each state had worked out its own destiny, and to a large extent had moulded its administration to meet its own particular needs.

The British possessions were at this time chiefly confined between the Alleghanies and the sea coast; and the immense tract of well watered lands beyond the mountains uniting the French posts on Lake Erie with Louisiana, had offered no temptation for exploitation. The inevitable expansion of commerce, however, had forced the great land companies of Pennsylvania and Virginia to seek new fields, and already grants had been secured upon debatable ground. In 1749 de Céleron, under the orders of La Galissonière, had penetrated into the Ohio wilderness, and, at the head of a small band, had planted six leaden plates at convenient places on the line of march. On these plates were inscribed the claims of the French monarch under various treaties to the country west of the mountains. The significance of the action of La Galissonière had not at the moment been understood by the British. The time had now arrived when the leaden plates of de Céleron were to be replaced by French forts, and plunder, disguised as patriotism, and skilfully manipulated by Bigot, was to commit France in a half-hearted manner to wild

schemes of expansion, which the genius of Colbert would have cut short, as incompatible with existing conditions, either at home or abroad. The honest and capable La Galissonière had been replaced by a man of different mould, whose motives were more questionable. Bigot, the resourceful Intendant, turned the moment to advantage as a golden opportunity for amassing large fortunes, and urged the building of forts and other aggressive measures under the direction of men obedient to his will. The forced labour of the people would be necessary to further this end, but with them he had no difficulty, since they were prepared to accept the decree of the monarch who said "It is God's will that whoever is born a subject should not reason, but obey." The King's will was Bigot's.

The British resented the manifestation of force on the part of their rivals, and the treatment to which traders who crossed the mountains were exposed; and united action on the part of the English at this juncture might have administered a severe blow to French aggression. Unfortunately each colonial state was jealous of its neighbour, and struggled vigorously to preserve its isolation and autonomy. The spirit of independence which in its final development was to sever the connection of the colonies with England was already manifest. Dinwiddie, the Governor of

Massachusetts, endeavoured to rouse the people to a sense of their common danger. But at this time local quarrels were too bitter for the people to consider questions of national import.

Dinwiddie at length decided to protest; and his determination brings into prominence the most interesting figure in the history of American Independence—George Washington. The French had erected a new fort near Lake Erie to which the name of Fort LeBœuf had been given. The Governor of the fort was le Gardeur de St. Pierre, to whom Washington was despatched to protest against the attitude of the French in a time of peace. The mission was fruitless; Le Gardeur was indifferent, and after an absence of three months of hardship and suffering, Washington returned to Governor Dinwiddie with the report of his failure.

An important stage had now been reached in the colonial struggle. Dinwiddie had wrung from the Home Government authority to oppose the encroachments of the French by force of arms, provided that it entailed no expense to England. The idea of contributing to their own defence was distasteful to the Colonies, although Virginia, by dint of persuasion, had voted ten thousand pounds for the protection of her frontier, and had organized a body of three hundred raw recruits under Washington, who was given the rank of major. The

force was ordered to proceed to the junction of the Youghioghany and Monongahela Rivers to prevent the construction of a new fort by the French.

During the march Washington encountered the French leader Coulon de Jumonville, who was on a friendly mission to the British; and mistaking the nature of the expedition, Washington gave the order to fire and Jumonville fell a victim. The French were naturally indignant and vowed vengeance. Washington in the meantime entrenched himself and hastily built a fort to which he gave the name of Fort Necessity; but after a stubborn fight he was forced to capitulate.

The British were still unprepared to declare war. At the beginning of the year 1755 two regiments of 500 men each were sent out under General Braddock to the assistance of the Colonies. The French made a counter move by sending out three thousand troops with the Baron Dieskau in command. Boscawen and Holborn sailed to intercept the French, and captured two of their vessels, but the remainder reached Louisbourg in safety.

Early in the month of June 1755 the two British regiments had been increased to two thousand men, but Braddock was poorly equipped to begin his march of one hundred and twenty miles to Fort Duquesne through an untrodden wilderness. Provisions had to be carried not only for the march

but for the expected siege, which added to the difficulties of the journey, and five miles a day was considered good progress. When nearly a month had been spent on the route a forced march brought a portion of the expedition within a few miles of the fort. Crossing the Monongahela to the sound of bugle and drum, an unnecessary accompaniment, the troops pushed forward; but as they made their way through the thick brush, the dreaded warwhoop of the Indians made them painfully conscious that they were in the presence of the foe. A moment later they had become an easy mark for their unseen assailants. Scattered behind cover, the Canadians and Indians picked off the British soldiers, whose return fire did little damage. The guns under Ord were brought into play. De Beaujeu, the French leader, was the first to fall. But the enemy again scattered, and in the course of two hours the thirteen hundred British had been reduced to five hundred and the eighty-nine officers to twenty-six! Braddock fought with reckless bravery, and had four horses shot under him; but he was in a trap from which there was no escape. Burton made a determined rush. It was of no avail. Braddock then gave the order to retreat, and at the same moment received the wound from which he died a day or two after in great agony. He was buried in the forest

and until recently the place of his death was unknown. Braddock has been universally blamed. And it is true he does not seem to have acted with prudence in crossing the river. But both he and his men were totally inexperienced in the method of warfare which alone could succeed, and every obstacle had been placed in his way by the Colonists whom he had come to assist. He should, however, be remembered as a brave soldier who fought to the last against tremendous odds for a people unworthy of his courage. The immediate effect of Braddock's defeat at that particular moment can easily be understood. Panic seized the troops and the people, and Dunbar, who succeeded Braddock, was not the man to restore confidence. The Indians, ever ready to unite their fortune with the victorious, fell with fury upon the settlements on the borders of Virginia and Maryland. The only protection on which the Colonists could rely was the body of militia under Washington, about one thousand strong, with a line of four hundred miles in extent to cover.

The French in Canada at this time were about seventy-five thousand, while the British in the Colonies numbered over half a million; yet from the point of military organization, the advantage was with the French. Every man in Canada capable of bearing arms was experienced in the

peculiar method of war which the circumstances required, while whole bodies of men or militia such as the British could raise were merely targets for the enemy in the woods. Numbers did not contribute to the strength of the British, because the Colonists had no desire to fight, and if left to themselves would have surrendered.

The effect of Braddock's defeat was also felt in the expedition of Shirley against Oswego and in that of Johnson against Crown Point. A body of provincials had been raised and placed under Johnson for the reduction of Crown Point, but Dieskau intercepted and almost captured a detachment of this expedition. Reinforcements arrived at a critical moment, the tables were turned and Dieskau was taken prisoner. The capture of the Commander-in-chief of the French was considered a great achievement; but Crown Point was unmolested and still in the hands of the French. War and bloodshed desolated the homes of the Colonists and destroyed their commerce, and over all of them hung the dread of the tomahawk and the scalping knife of the Indians. Panic-stricken, they could devise no means of defence, and surrender seemed preferable to flight.

In Acadia, while the two nations were still at peace, the determination of the British had driven

into exile the unhappy Acadians; but their own position there was by no means to be envied.

British prestige was indeed at a low ebb in America when the struggle between the Colonists was superseded by a contest between the two powers. This began officially when King George II signed the declaration of war against France in May, 1756.

At the opening of the year it was felt that the long threatened storm in North America would soon burst. But the British, as Wolfe aptly said, "were still secure in their ignorance and presumption." The power of England's "Great Commoner," however, was beginning to assert itself, and a policy was being inaugurated that would bring glory to the arms of England and establish her empire on the sea.

France, on the other hand, was content to leave the defence of her colony to a large extent in the hands of her vain-glorious and incapable Governor, whose elaborate scheme of defence, as set forth on paper, seems adequate to any emergency. To leave everything to him was doubtless a relief to a ministry weary of the burden of the colony—a burden increased by the knavery of its officials.

The situation in New France was indeed acute. Agriculture had been neglected, grain was scarce, horses were slaughtered for food, famine was im-

minent. But it should be borne in mind that this deplorable state of affairs was not the inevitable outcome of the struggle through which the country had passed; but a condition created for profit, toiled for and plotted for by the Intendant in order that he might appear as the real saviour of the colony.

In the spring of 1756, however, a new aspect was put upon conditions in America by the arrival of Montcalm, with twelve hundred troops and ample supplies. Montcalm in his own person was enough to redress the balance in favour of France. No better commander-in-chief for the French forces could have been discovered: he was pre-eminently the man for the crisis. He was a tried soldier with a considerable reputation. Above all he was loyal, with a singleminded devotion to France which was the inspiration of his life. His courage and his courtesy both gave him popularity. The interests of France in the New World could not have been in more capable hands. Those interests, however, found little support elsewhere among the directors of Colonial policy. Vaudreuil, the Governor, was conscientious enough, but he was avowedly more interested in the land of his birth than in the mother country, and disposed to resent any interference from France with the concerns of Canada. Here was one cause of friction. A more

serious one still was the point of view of Bigot who, as the royal representative in the colony, should have been Montcalm's chief supporter. But Bigot loved both Louis XIV and Canada according to the measure to which they contributed to his personal needs—and his needs were of abnormal proportions. The conduct of Montcalm throughout the campaign, until the supreme hour when he yielded up his life in defence of the colony, stands in sharp contrast to the actions of his two colleagues in that peculiar triple government upon which France relied during the last years of her régime in Canada.

England was less fortunate than France in the choice of the Commander-in-chief of her forces. Lord Loudoun, who was placed at the head of the regulars sent out from England, was no match for the brilliant Montcalm. Arriving in Albany two months after he was expected by his chief officers, he was confronted with conditions similar to those met by Montcalm—jealousy between colonials and regulars. The War Office had decreed that a colonial officer could not rank above a senior captain of regulars, and thus well-seasoned officers, thoroughly versed in the methods of the enemy, were liable to orders from a man who had never been under fire, and who had no knowledge of colonial affairs. The British general seemed un-

able to decide upon any plan of action, and much time was wasted.

In the meanwhile disaster had overtaken the British at Oswego. By clever tactics Montcalm had surprised the fort and had thirty guns directed against it before the commander was aware of the danger which threatened him. There was little effective resistance, and capitulation followed. One thousand six hundred men were made prisoners, and in a few days the fort was razed.

The year was passing away without any important move on the part of the British. Loudoun desired a change of scene, and induced the Home Government to agree to an expedition against Louisbourg. Large reinforcements were sent out, and in June 1757 he had nearly twelve thousand men at Halifax available to attack the stronghold. Still unable to decide upon a plan of attack, he wasted a month in exercising the troops, or as Lord Charles Hay said, "in keeping the courage of His Majesty's soldiers at bay, and in expending the nation's wealth in making sham fights and in planting cabbages when they ought to have been fighting." A feeble attempt was made on the 4th of August; but intelligence was conveyed to the Commander that the French expected reinforcements, whereupon the noble

lord abandoned the enterprise and sailed for New York.

In the spring of 1757 the region of Lake Champlain was the scene of unusual activity. The Indians from the distant shores of Lake Superior and from the forests beyond Lake Erie were rallying round the French standard. By midsummer a restless band, eager for the fray and only restrained with difficulty, gathered at Fort Carillon as part of the expedition against the British strongholds of Fort Edward and Fort William Henry. Montcalm's army consisted of about six thousand men with the addition of the Indians. The British forces were divided between the two forts. Webb was at Fort Edward in command of three thousand five hundred men, and Munro had two thousand men in Fort William Henry and five hundred entrenched upon a rising ground in the rear of the fort. Montcalm's first move on approaching was to occupy the route communicating with the two forts, which at the same time cut off the British troops upon the rising ground. This was accomplished by de Lévis with three thousand men. Montcalm strengthened his position, and soon had forty guns bearing upon the fort.

From the first it was found that the British could not hold out. Munro was twice offered terms of capitulation which he refused. At length he

was forced to surrender and the garrison marched out of the fort. Then followed a frightful scene which has unjustly tarnished the name of Montcalm. The Indians, disappointed of the plunder to which they looked forward at the sack of the fort, fell upon the prisoners with fury, and horribly massacred nearly one hundred before means could be taken to prevent them. Montcalm and Lévis did their best to stay the savages, and saved many lives; but the mischief was done and vengeance was threatened.

But if Loudoun wasted time in fighting sham battles, Abercromby did worse the following year at Ticonderoga. The French had been expecting an attack at this vital point, which commanded the route by way of Lake Champlain and threatened Montreal. A large body of troops had been ordered there in the spring, but the withdrawal of so many men under Loudoun had convinced Vaudreuil that it would be an opportune moment to make a diversion on the Mohawk. Montcalm had opposed this enterprise; consequently Vaudreuil insisted, and one thousand men were detached for the purpose. By the middle of June Montcalm had only three thousand men at Ticonderoga, consisting of the battalions of La Sarre, Languedoc, Béarn, Berri, Guienne, and Royal Roussillon with two engineers. The

place was by no means strongly fortified; but works were thrown up in advantageous positions.

In the meantime, the formidable army under Abercromby was encamped about half a mile from the fort. But the real hero of the army, Howe, the best soldier in America, as Wolfe had said, had been killed in a preliminary skirmish, and Abercromby was powerless to act. Something, however, had to be done, and Abercromby moved his whole force against Carillon. Montcalm's force had been increased by five hundred men under de Lévis, and Abercromby, after a seven hours' blundering assault, was completely outgeneralled and lost no less than two thousand men. This victory covered Montcalm with glory, and he is frequently spoken of as the hero of Carillon. But although he had won glory for French arms, the achievement was a blow to the jealous Vaudreuil and produced serious results in further operations.

Notwithstanding the dismal failure of Loudoun, Pitt was still determined to reduce Louisbourg, which was to be made the chief objective in the campaign of 1758. Loudoun had been recalled and the command was given to Amherst. The principal officers under him were Lawrence and Wolfe. The force consisted of about twelve thousand men. On the 2nd of June part of the fleet anchored in

Gabarous Bay, a few miles from Louisbourg, Boscawen being the admiral in command.

It was a naval and military expedition. Wolfe was the most conspicuous figure of all present. His brigade made the real attack from the boats, while the troops under Whitmore and Lawrence supported him by feints in other places. The land siege was well pressed home and Louisbourg the gateway of New France, soon fell, being shortly after razed to the ground.

Success had attended the British arms in other quarters. Bradstreet, at the head of three thousand men, captured Fort Frontenac, which Vaudreuil had left inadequately supported, although it commanded Lake Ontario and served as a base for the Ohio forts. Reinforcements had been demanded by de Noyan the commander; but in the place of troops, Vaudreuil had sent a one-armed man to the assistance of the Governor. Resistance was vain and capitulation followed. Fort Duquesne had also become a British post, and now bore the name of Fort Pitt. Forbes, in the face of great difficulties, had pushed forward the expedition and had suffered greatly during the winter's march; and when at length his bravery and determination had overcome every obstacle and he was within sight of the Fort, he discovered that it had been evacuated.

The French now began to realize that their hopes of expansion, or even of occupancy, were not promising, and that a concentration of force would be necessary. The advice of D'Avaugour, given ninety years before, had been ignored and his mere suggestions had been the cause of his recall. To maintain her possessions in the New World, he had declared that it would be necessary for France to fortify Quebec, and to garrison it with three thousand good men capable of labour as well as of fighting. Quebec thus fortified would become the foundation stone of ten other forts. The advice of La Galissonière had also been neglected, and France now found that her opportunity was lost.

The opportunity of England was therefore at hand. It was magnificently used. Pitt's conduct of the Seven Years War has been called the greatest example in history of "amphibious warfare." This second stage in the second Hundred Years War between England and France is indeed the supreme instance in British history of the triumphant use of sea power. Pitt conquered America, not, as he once said, in Germany, but on the high seas. It was the British Navy which enabled him to blockade France, to protect England, to strengthen Clive against Dupleix, to strengthen Wolfe against Montcalm. He needed his allies in Hanover to harass the eastern frontier

of France, and his allies in Prussia to keep Austria occupied. But it was the Navy which enabled him to concentrate all the forces of the allies in a simultaneous assault on all the vital parts of the French Empire all over the world. It was the Navy which captured Quebec.

As compared with the consummate strategy of Pitt, the schemes of French aggression seem vague and futile. Still they were ambitious enough. One fleet was to sail for Ireland, where the troops were to be met on landing with a general rising in their favour. The Jacobites were to be stirred into insurrection by another French fleet destined for Scotland, whilst the third and largest fleet was to convoy innumerable troop-boats across the channel as they made a dash for the south of England. To guard against this national danger the Navy developed the first regular system of blockade. Boscawen blockaded Toulon, Hawke blockaded Brest, Rodney cruised off Havre, and Admiral Smith kept the reserve fleet always ready in the Downs. Meanwhile Pitt was preparing a counter-stroke; not only at France herself where she would be stronger than England; but at her overseas possessions in America. There Montcalm had to await attack in utter isolation on the far side of an immense tract of British territorial

waters across which Wolfe advanced in perfect safety to meet him.

The squadron under Saunders destined for the invasion of Canada was a strong one, for it comprised a full quarter of the whole navy, while Wolfe's little army was only a landing party on a large scale. Saunders had over eighteen thousand sailors; Wolfe had barely nine thousand soldiers. The total British force, therefore, amounted to twenty-seven thousand men.

Pitt's scheme for the reduction of Canada was an adaptation of "The Glorious Enterprise," a plan prepared by Schuyler, of Albany, in 1689, as a counter-stroke to the attacks of Frontenac. Pownall had gone to England and explained matters to Pitt, who then replanned the old triple invasion by which the French communications between New France and Louisiana were to be cut off at the Great Lakes. A central army was to march on Montreal by way of Lake Champlain, and a combined fleet and army was to sail up the Saint Lawrence to attack Quebec. The final issue of the attack in the West depended upon that in the East, whilst Amherst's slow advance in the centre served to hold about three thousand French troops to the defence of Montreal. Thus the centre of interest in this great campaign is the city of Quebec.

Saunders and Wolfe received their secret instructions at the beginning of the year 1759 to sail for Nova Scotia in February. The final rendezvous was Louisbourg, where eight thousand men collected in May. The squadron under Durell sailed in May and on the 1st of June, Saunders with 141 vessels of all shapes and sizes, from ships of the line down to open boats for longshore service at the siege, began his dangerous voyage. The French had removed all aids to navigation; the only charts were not accurate; the captured pilots were naturally unwilling to assist, and the tides, currents, reefs and islands made the river most intricate and difficult. Yet nothing could stop the combination of skill and daring with which this formidable fleet was navigated in perfect safety up to the Island of Orleans, where Wolfe landed on the 27th of June. Nor was the fleet injured a day or two later by the French fire ships and fire rafts which successively attacked it. The picket boats met the attack well up stream, and put all the enemy's vessels ashore where they burnt themselves out harmlessly.

Wolfe established three camps. The principal one was at Montmorency, just beyond the Falls. The second was on the Island of Orleans, which was completely out of range, and the third was at Lévis, which Vaudreuil refused to occupy. The

batteries erected at Lévis pounded the town to pieces. "Ce ne fut pas un siège, mais un bombardement," is the comment written on a French plan of the time. Among the projectiles of all kinds, thirty-six thousand solid cannon balls were fired from these batteries.

Montcalm's position was, however, exceedingly strong, notwithstanding the loss of the Lévis Heights. The upper town of Quebec is built upon the extremity of a long narrow promontory which is bounded on the south by cliffs two or three hundred feet sheer above the Saint Lawrence; and on the north by lower, but easily defencible, cliffs overlooking the valley of the Saint Charles. The town was held during the siege by two thousand men under de Ramesay. It had a double tier of batteries, one on the top of the cliff, the other along the water front below them. The only open ground near was round the mouth of the Saint Charles. But this was well entrenched, and the trenches were carried along the rising shore line to Montmorency, a distance of seven miles.

Wolfe's first attempt to break through was made some distance up the Montmorency, where he tried to force his way across the fords and so attack the entrenchments from the rear. But he was repulsed with loss in a bush fight in which his regulars were at a great disadvantage compared with

the French. His second attempt was a more serious one. On the 31st of July he tried to carry by storm the Montmorency Heights, a mile on the Quebec side of the Falls. But as his troops had to be collected from several quarters in full view of the French, Montcalm easily concentrated at the right spot before Wolfe could deliver the assault. The plan was faulty; but Wolfe's instructions could not be carried out, because the Grenadiers, a thousand strong, suddenly broke into a wild charge before they could be properly formed up, and lost nearly half their numbers in a fruitless effort to scale the heights. There was nothing left but retreat.

After this repulse, Wolfe fell seriously ill, and by the end of August he was so weak that he could not direct the campaign. The Brigadiers, Monckton, Townshend and Murray, were asked to "consult together for the public utility" and Wolfe left them a memorandum suggesting three plans of attack. They rejected all his suggestions and proposed to take all the available men up the river and land somewhere between Cap Rouge and Pointe aux Trembles. Wolfe informed Pitt in a dispatch dated the 2nd of September that he acquiesced in the plan, and intended to put it in operation at once. The camp at Montmorency was very cleverly evacuated without the loss of a

man, and the troops were then passed above Quebec, most of them marching along the opposite shore, till they arrived well beyond the range of the town batteries. They then embarked on board the transports and men-of-war, and kept on floating up and down with the tide, dividing here, concentrating there, and wearing out Bougainville's corps of observation by their puzzling manœuvres.

From the 7th to the 10th of September the rain suspended all operations, and on the 10th Wolfe, having recovered from his illness, made his final reconnaissance. He was already well posted on the lay of the land in every direction, and the idea of attacking from above Quebec was thoroughly familiar to his mind, long before it was mentioned by his Brigadiers. At this final reconnaissance he chose the Foulon, where a path led up to the Plains of Abraham, within two miles of the walls. If he could get up there without any serious check, he saw that he could forestall Montcalm by forming a line of battle about three-quarters of a mile outside Quebec, where the promontory was narrow enough to be commanded by his five thousand men, and where the mixed regulars and irregulars of New France would be forced to meet his homogeneous British redcoats on a flat and open ground. No one knew exactly what Wolfe's plan was until

it was executed, as he told only each naval or military officer concerned what that individual had to do, and nothing more.

The scheme was put into execution without mishap. The French were on the alert along the north shore from the falls of Montmorency and Pointe aux Trembles, a distance of nearly twenty-nine miles—except at the one vital spot—the Foulon. Wolfe's movements were mysterious and it was uncertain where the bulk of his men were. They were naturally apprehensive of another attack on their trenches, and they were well prepared for an assault upon the town. The movements of the fleet near Pointe aux Trembles, twenty-two miles up, made them think that any new plan would probably take the form of an advance in force by land from that vicinity. One man besides Wolfe was thinking of the Foulon, and that was his chief opponent, Montcalm. On the 5th of September he had sent the regiment of Guienne to the Heights of Abraham, but on the 7th Vaudreuil withdrew it and left no defence there except the little Samos battery near Pointe Sillery and one hundred militiamen at the top of the Foulon under orders of the irresponsible Vergor. Even on the eve of the battle, the 12th of September, Montcalm had ordered the same regiment to the Heights to camp at the Foulon. How-

Review of the Historic Armies

From a painting by Frank Craig

(See page 373)

ever, Vaudreuil had again countermanded the order, saying, "We'll see about that to-morrow." But Wolfe was up there on that morrow!

All being ready on the 12th Wolfe, with 3,600 men from opposite Cap Rouge, came down in boats and arrived at the Foulon at four in the morning. The only sentry to challenge him was hoodwinked by a Scotchman, and the boats were allowed to pass under the impression that they contained provisions for the camp at Beauport. The landing was effected without loss, and Wolfe soon had a large body of men on the shore at the Foulon. As soon as the first embarkation had landed a few men who had been previously chosen for the delicate task climbed the most inaccessible part of the rock and surprised the post, leaving the winding path up the cliff's face free for the remainder of the troops. Wolfe was now master of the Heights. A detachment was told off to capture the Samos battery and the main body marched across the plateau to the Sainte Foy Road, wheeled to the right, took possession of a house about three-quarters of a mile from the walls and then formed a line parallel with the walls. All through the night the batteries at Lévis had kept up a fierce cannonade against the town to draw attention from the landing place, and Saunders had made several move-

ments with the ships to create the impression that he intended a descent on the Beauport shore.

The firing of a gun at Samos had been heard in the French camp, but soon all was quiet in that direction, and nothing further was known of the movements of the British until 6.30 a.m. when Vaudreuil was informed of the landing of the enemy. Montcalm, who was in the centre of the camp, received the news from Vaudreuil, who instructed him to hasten to the scene with one hundred men. On the banks of the Saint Charles at the bridge of boats, he met Boishebert who gave him further details. He at once ordered up the whole army; but Vaudreuil insisted in keeping 2,000 men idle in the trenches.

By nine o'clock five thousand men were formed up about three hundred yards outside the walls. Montcalm realized that he had no choice now but to fight or to be starved out, as his rations were running short. He advanced to the culminating line of ground within half a mile of Quebec and suddenly came in view of his enemy, whose right was hidden by slight inequalities, behind which the men were lying down. Whilst the French army was deploying into line, Wolfe's men rose up and advanced a hundred paces, in order to commit both sides to close and decisive action. The French then came on gallantly and with loud

shouts to the attack, whilst the long two-deep red line stood steady and silent to receive them. When within musket range the Canadians on the flanks began firing, threw themselves on the ground to reload, and positively refused to continue the advance. This disconcerted the French regulars, who thus saw both their flanks uncovered at the most critical moment. They consequently lost direction as they instinctively bore outwards to save their right and left from a deadly overlap of fire. However, this hardly helped them, as the 43rd and 47th in the British centre were thus left with a clear front, and so were able to fire into the flanks of the nearest French battalions without great danger to themselves.

Wolfe had taken post near the Louisbourg Grenadiers, on the right of the line, after having gone down his front and back again to see that everything was in order, and especially that all ranks understood that there was to be no firing until the French came within forty paces. His single gun, a six-pounder which the bluejackets had hauled up, did great execution at almost point-blank range under the direction of Captain York. The narrow interval between the armies was now fast closing; but still the thin red line stood with shouldered arms, steadfast as ever. At last the order was given to fire. The first volley

thundered from the Grenadiers, and was immediately followed by another and another, all down the British front from right to left. Under cover of the smoke the whole line took twenty paces forward, so that the two armies literally faced each other for the next few minutes. The French fired wildly, while the British fired quick, intense and double-shotted volleys, till their enemy, unable to stand it any longer, turned and fled from the field, their gallant array suddenly turned into a wild mob of panic-stricken men.

Wolfe had been wounded twice already, before the French attack began. As he turned to come back from the extreme left of his line, when he was inspecting it, a bullet shattered his wrist. He tied it up with a handkerchief and went on. Then, as he passed the centre, a second bullet wounded him severely in the groin; but he paid even less attention to this wound than to the first. And it was just as the British charge began that he was seen to reel aside, mortally wounded in the chest. He was carried to the rear and his eyes were almost closed in death, when someone on the knoll cried out, "They run, they run." "Who run?" asked the dying general, rousing himself with great effort. "The French, Sir; egad they run everywhere." "Then I die content." And almost as he said it his spirit passed away.

Montcalm received his mortal wound a few minutes later, as he was vainly trying to rally his men for a last stand. It was all that he could do to ride into Quebec, supported in his saddle by two Grenadiers. "Do not cry for me, it is nothing," he said to some woman who cried out "The Marquis is killed." But the surgeon saw that he could not live more than a few hours, and when he told him so, got the calm reply, "So much the better, I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."

The British pursuit was continued with much vigour up to the walls of the city. The French were utterly demoralized by the stunning blow which had scattered their brave array in so short a time, and the demoralization was further increased by the loss of all their generals, Montcalm, Senezergue, Fontbonne and St. Ours. They rushed pell mell for the bridge of boats, and many just got over in safety before the British were at their heels again. They owed their escape here to the gallant stand made by several hundred Canadians, under Dumas, who clung to the brushwood cover at the top of Côte d'Abraham, until British reinforcements came up in sufficient strength to rush them clear of everything.

A hurried council of war decided on a retreat to Jacques Cartier. But as soon as it was dark Vaudreuil did his best to convert this retreat into

a stampede by running away into the night with one wing of his army, without giving the least indication of his movements to the other. Before going he wrote to De Ramesay, commandant of Quebec, authorizing a surrender within forty-eight hours, if necessary. Quebec was indeed in no condition to hold out. The two thousand troops in it were mostly militiamen who were only too anxious to lay down their arms at once. The defences offered little protection from the fleet and army which were now surrounding it in overwhelming force. The inevitable capitulation followed on the 18th, when the Union Jack was hoisted over the citadel where it has flown ever since.

The winter was a terribly trying one for the little British garrison, and so many men died of scurvy that, in the following spring, when De Lévis marched out of Montreal with over 6,000 men, expecting several thousand more to join him on the way, Murray could only muster 3,886 effectives. There was a second battle of the Plains, in which De Lévis with 9,000 men defeated Murray with 3,000 on the 28th of April, 1760. A second investment followed, and De Lévis was in the act of advancing to storm the walls when the vanguard of the British fleet suddenly entered the harbour. The French now had no choice of action. They

hurriedly abandoned their camp and retreated in all haste on Montreal, by land and water.

Thus step by step the final British advance converged on the doomed colony. Murray came up steadily from Quebec in close touch with Lord Colville's squadron which the French had absolutely no means of resisting. Haviland advanced from the south by way of Lake Champlain, whilst Amherst with the main army came down the Saint Lawrence from the Lakes.

When the united British army, 17,000 strong, actually landed on the Island of Montreal, De Lévis found himself with only about 2,000 men; and the capitulation of Montreal followed two days later, on the 8th of September, 1760. The French troops were deported. The Canadians had already dispersed. The American militia went back to their lands; the fleet sailed away to its stations; the regulars took up their winter quarters—and the New Régime began. There could now be no further doubt concerning the fate of New France, for she had been sundered from Old France by the great deciding naval victories of Lagos and the Bay of Quiberon.

The treaty of 1763, though it was carried through Parliament by a discreditable vote, was quite unmistakable on the subject of the sovereignty of Canada. New France had really fallen forever in

1759; it had capitulated in 1760; and the treaty of 1763 was a mere official recognition of what had long been an accomplished fact.

The Seven Years' War was one of the most pregnant events in history, and its results have continued to exert a determining influence on the fortunes of every world-power down to the present day. The culminating event, the Battle of the Plains, marked the fall of the old régime and the beginning of the new, when two races, formerly opposed, united in a determination to make Canada worthy of a foremost position in the Empire to which she belonged.

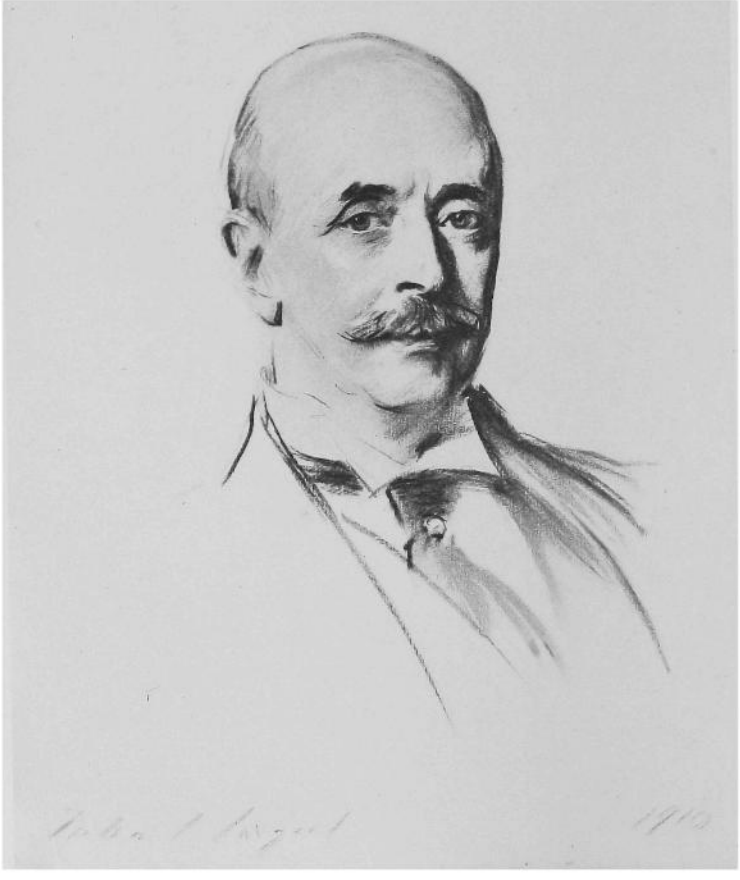
No war ever had happier sequels; for in 1775 and, still more, in 1812, the French- and English-speaking Canadians drew together in defence of their common country, side by side with the regular army and navy of a guardian Empire, and under the welcome ægis of the British Crown.

In 1775 the American revolutionists invaded Canada, partly to strike at the Motherland through her, and partly to make her the "Fourteenth Colony" of their prospective Union. The whole country was overrun, except Quebec, before which this second American invasion, under Montgomery and Arnold, was defeated by Carleton as signally as the first, under Phips, had been defeated by Frontenac eighty-five years before. Thus the two

historic opponents joined forces against the common enemy, and, in doing so, safeguarded the future Dominion for the second time. It is a strange, but inspiring, reflection that two Governors, one French and the other British, fighting in different centuries and under different flags, should both have been victorious in the cause of Canada.

1812 greatly increased and firmly consolidated what 1775 had so well begun. It roused the French-Canadians to the height of patriotic effort in their own defence. It brought home to them again, and far more forcibly, that they could never live their own life except as British subjects. It proved that the men of Quebec could fight in the cause of their country on an Ontario Battlefield. It did at least as much for Anglo-Canada, for it made Ontario historic ground, and it gave the United Empire Loyalists of the second generation an opportunity of reviving under arms the traditions which their fathers had established by exile. Finally, it did even more for Canada than for any one part of the Dominion. It vindicated the beginning of Canadian national life, for it proved to Canadians their national obligation of self-defence, the necessity for a nucleus of regular troops, and the supreme importance to Canada of British command of the sea. Here, after all, are the essentials of Empire as British statesmanship con-

ceives it; national responsibility combined with Imperial obligation; "one for all and all for one." Fifty years later, Quebec saw that meeting of the Fathers of Confederation out of which Canadian nationality arose, and the event of 1867 was nothing so much as the carrying one step further of a process which took its definite direction in the war of 1812.



Introductory

A CENTURY hence Canada will be celebrating her four hundredth anniversary. Then perhaps, more even than at the present moment, will be understood the significance of the Quebec Tercentenary. For the pageant of 1908 will form the only Canadian precedent for the great national celebration. It is the first event of its kind in the history of Canada and, indeed, in the history of the Empire.

It would be difficult to exaggerate its importance in Canadian history. It was the first occasion on which all the Provinces and, more significant still, both the great races of Canada spontaneously united to commemorate, at a single centre, an event in the national history of the Dominion. It is not too much to say, then, that the commemoration is itself a crucial event in the development of Canada as a self-conscious nation, united as one land, and united in a common past. Then, again, it is significant that the first organized Canadian army which could really be said to be, in time of peace, adequately prepared for war, was that which was reviewed by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on the Plains of Abraham.

If Canada is to remain a worthy member of the Empire she must continue to foster common feeling among all her inhabitants, as the only source of effective internal unity, and she must continue to develop her naval and military forces, as the only means of effective participation in Imperial defence. Both these causes were unquestionably furthered by the celebrations, which, though ostensibly only commemorating the past, were actually also preparing the future. In the records of the Empire, too, the Qubeec Tercentenary was in a sense unique; for it was the coming of age of the Empire's eldest daughter nation. Doubtless it will lead the way to many such festivals in the other great Dominions. It was, moreover, the first occasion on which the Empire as a whole joined to commemorate the building up of one section of the Empire itself. It was more than a Canadian, it was an Imperial celebration. In token of this, His Majesty King Edward VII consented to act as Patron of the festivities. His interest in the preparation and execution of the whole scheme was active and personal. The Vice-Patrons were His Majesty George V, then Prince of Wales, whose presence was the most signal indication of the importance attached to the Celebration as an Imperial event; the Duke of

Connaught, who wears a medal won in defence of Canada, and Prince Arthur of Connaught, who, two years before, had gone thoroughly over the whole scene of the pageant. The President, a most indefatigable worker on behalf of the scheme, was His Excellency, Earl Grey, the Governor-General of the Dominion. The Vice-Presidents included the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces and the Prime Ministers and Leaders of the Opposition from every division of the Empire which possesses a Parliament. Among them were many whose names are familiar everywhere as standing in the very first rank of Imperial statesmen—Mr. Asquith and Mr. Balfour, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Borden, Mr. Deakin, Sir Joseph Ward, and two more, whose place in His Majesty's Privy Council is in itself a lesson in British statesmanship—Dr. Jameson and General Botha.

In Canadian and in Imperial history, then, it would be hard to find a parallel to the Quebec Tercentenary. To go a step further, it may perhaps be said that in the history of the world no such international gathering has yet been seen. Quebec has been, again and again, the meeting place of the fleets and armies of three great powers, of Britain, France and the United States. And she is the only place in the world where the modern representatives of three such powers as

these have met to unite in honour of their own and one another's prowess.

Such is the significance of the celebrations of 1908. They form an epoch in the history of Canada. They are of real importance in the history of the Empire. They may be destined to point the way, in international history, to an era of world-wide peace. No apology, then, is needed for a detailed account of such a subject. First, a few preliminary pages will be devoted to an account of the gradual elaboration of the whole complicated scheme. This will be dealt with under the head of *Preparation*. Then will follow a record of all the salient features of the fête, under the head of *The Celebration*. In the third part special attention will be given to the very significant scenes dramatically represented in *The Pageant*.

Tercentennial Quebec

By Lieut.-Col. Wood

PART I.

PREPARATION

WHAT could be stranger than that the true story of the conquest of Canada, which took place in the eighteenth century, should have remained untold till the twentieth! It is all the stranger because of the deep and world-wide interest excited at the time, and of the innumerable accounts which have appeared in the succeeding hundred and fifty years. Every one of these accounts written before the present century is without exception wrong; because history can only be written from an impartial study of all the original evidence, and the collection of original evidence did not approach completion till 1900. Even the military history was not made altogether clear till 1903. The naval documents were practically unknown, even to professed students, till quite recently; and the logs of those men-of-war whose command of the sea alone made the conquest possible only ap-

peared in print for the first time in the summer of 1909.

It is not difficult to see the significance of these facts in relation to the Tercentennial Celebration. It is of profound importance to national life that the truth of history should be discovered and revealed. For the truth once made manifest is bound sooner or later to affect the public point of view, even that of the masses of people who hardly read anything but the daily paper. Many problems of to-day would be simplified, some might even be removed, by a true appreciation of the great crises in our history. Nor must it be forgotten that the English-speaking Canadians have as many distorting half-truths to forget, and as many new whole-truths to remember, as have their French-speaking fellow-countrymen. It is not too much to say that it would have been infinitely harder to get at the real truth on the subject of the Battlefields ten years ago than it is now. Ten years ago, for instance, Vaudreuil would have been exalted as a hero, and represented among the historic families whose living heads were the guests of the Dominion in 1908. Ten years ago Canadians would naturally have exalted Lévis far above Montcalm, in utter violation of historic truth. Ten years ago Wolfe might have been robbed, like Montcalm, of

his deserved renown as a consummate general; and who could have given proof positive to gainsay the detraction? Ten years ago the British Navy would not have been generally recognized as the determining factor in both campaigns. In short, it is doubtful whether there could have been a really great Tercentennial Celebration at Quebec at all, had the anniversary fallen only ten years earlier than it actually did.

It is worth considering for a moment what the Tercentenary did towards deepening the historic sense of all Canadians. Those who think about public affairs find the general source of "practical politics" in Confederation. To the ordinary immigrant Canadian life begins at the date of his own arrival. Native Canadians of English descent trace it back to their parents or grandparents. The United Empire Loyalists go back farther; but only to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. No Anglo-Canadian can trace the Canadian records of his family back beyond the date of the Conquest. But here was a Pageant to commemorate events which were already in the past when the earliest Anglo-Canadian memories begin. So convincingly, too, was this story told that no British subject could fail to grasp its meaning, and so significantly that all could see what a splendid tributary it was to the main stream of their own world-wide Imperial

story. More than this: they saw proof of the real greatness of the French régime in discovery, arms and religion, and thus had the satisfaction of realizing that the "new subjects" of George III were the vigorous off-spring of a grand stock, from which they were severed just at the moment when the condition of the parent stem was becoming a menace to both. Then, again, the Pageant made abundantly clear the inner meaning of the Frontenac scene, outwardly a French triumph and a British defeat, really an American defeat by French defenders of a British Canada. To all the great lesson was brought home that the Canada of to-day began with Champlain, and not at some indefinite period to be variously determined according to the ideas of different writers appealing to different publics. The continuity of Canadian history for three hundred years was now revealed. It originated with the foundation of Quebec, it changed its course with the taking of Quebec, it culminated in the proclamation of the Dominion at Quebec, and, finally, was commemorated by the Tercentenary at Quebec.

Thus the general effect of the Tercentenary was to show the French and British régimes as two halves of one connected whole. But its special distinction was to prove that equal honour was due to the heroes on both sides, who met in

arms at the cross roads, to decide which was the better flag to follow for the rest of the way. It has long been acknowledged that the decision then reached was the wiser of the two alternatives. Each side has long learned to honour the heroes on the other. This, however, was due more to the growth of mutual forbearance and mutual amenities than to real knowledge, till the whole subject was thoroughly investigated at the beginning of the present century in the light of the complete original evidence. To-day there is no excuse for not knowing why Wolfe and Montcalm were both great generals of equal genius, though unequal fortune. The same white light is thrown on the other characters, with the result that the soldiers and sailors come out with an even higher reputation than their own people attributed to them before, while the political chiefs appear blacker than ever. On the French side Bougainville emerges from the haze of doubt and misunderstanding as a most loyal and capable lieutenant of Montcalm in the first Battle of the Plains, and Lévis as a commander worthy of British admiration in the second. And on the British side we can now see why Murray felt impelled to fight this second battle, and why his defeat was quite as honourable as Montcalm's.

Above all, we can now appreciate to the

full the overwhelming influence of British sea-power on the issue of every action, of each campaign, and of the whole world-wide war. It was the British Navy that enabled Pitt to co-ordinate British efforts in every quarter of the globe. It was the great fleet and convoy under Saunders that brought Wolfe's little army safely to Quebec; provisioned, moved, munitioned and connected it there; and finally put it in a position to win the victory. History once more does justice to Saunders by recognising him as Wolfe's colleague. This was done by Pitt—whose verdict might well be considered final—a hundred and fifty years ago. Since then the tendency was to underestimate the function of the fleet till the last decade, when full research has once more given Saunders his true place. It must never be forgotten that Montcalm was isolated by a thousand leagues of hostile sea and hampered at every turn by an incompetent Governor, a shamelessly corrupt Intendant, and by a vile brood of dishonest political officials. While Wolfe, facing enormous difficulties with dauntless courage, was aided by a British fleet which to him was as great a source of strength as the French civilians were a source of weakness to Montcalm. Had it not been for this great disparity in resources the vanquished Montcalm

A Scene on the Grande Allée

might well have been the equal of the victorious Wolfe.

The question of preserving the Quebec Battlefields happened to become acute, just at the very time when their true history was beginning to see the light; the question of the tercentenary of Quebec came up in connection with them; the two schemes were then successfully united; and so the full story of the celebration begins with the present century.

In 1901 there was a project that the eighty-eight acres, still often spoken of as the Plains of Abraham, were to be divided into building lots. This ground was not the scene of action between Wolfe and Montcalm, and only a portion of it touched the battlefield of Lévis and Murray; but, most fortunately for the future success of the present magnificent scheme, it was bought by the Dominion. It is an essential link between the two real fields of honour.

In 1902 an unavailing protest was made against the building of the Ross Rifle factory on the spot where Montcalm drew up his left and Lévis entrenched his right. Still the public no more realized what was then being done than they did at an earlier date when the gaol was built beside the spot where Wolfe died. It was not until the publication of the original documents and plans

in 1900 that the extent of the desecration could be known.

In 1903 the hideous red brick Ross Rifle factory was set up to deface the sacred ground of the Heights of Abraham; although there were no commercial or military reasons for placing it there. To make matters worse a huge tank was built on gawky steel supports which were cemented into the old Martello Tower overlooking the St. Lawrence beside the factory; with the melancholy result that the three most conspicuous objects on the most famous site in the whole New World are a gloomy gaol, a hideous factory, and a wantonly desecrated tower. Needless to say, no plan for keeping the Battlefields as an heirloom for ever can be carried out until all these abominable incongruities are entirely removed.

In 1904 the Dominion Government gave the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec a grant to erect tablets to mark the spots where Montgomery and Arnold, who led the second American invasion of Canada, were decisively repulsed at the Près-de-Ville and Sault-au-Matelot barricades, on the last day of 1775, by Carleton's French- and English-speaking forces. The inscriptions tell their own tale:

HERE STOOD
THE UNDAUNTED FIFTY
SAFEGUARDING
CANADA
DEFEATING MONTGOMERY
AT THE PRÈS-DE-VILLE BARRICADE
ON THE LAST DAY OF
1775
GUY CARLETON
COMMANDING AT
QUEBEC

HERE STOOD
HER OLD AND NEW DEFENDERS
UNITING, GUARDING, SAVING
CANADA
DEFEATING ARNOLD
AT THE SAULT-AU-MATELOT BARRICADE
ON THE LAST DAY OF
1775
GUY CARLETON
COMMANDING AT
QUEBEC

It is not one battlefield but all the Quebec battlefields that are to be handed down to posterity, in substance, so far as possible, or in commemorative souvenir. The American Invasion of Canada in 1775 was the crisis which drew French- and Anglo-Canadians together, under one free flag. Lord Minto, who took a lively interest in the wording of the inscriptions, unfortunately left before the tablets were erected. The public does not connect his name with Tercentennial Quebec, for it is not generally known how clearly he foresaw the importance of the battlefields to our national life, what an able memorandum he wrote about them for the guidance of his successor, Lord Grey, and how strongly he urged their preservation.

So far, what public interest there was had been centred entirely in the battlefields. But in the same month that the heroes of 1775 were being honoured for the first time, Mr. Chouinard, the City Clerk, was writing for the Christmas number of the *Quebec Daily Telegraph* the first suggestion of a Champlain Tercentenary for the 3rd of July, 1908. Nothing more, however, was done in this direction for the next fifteen months.

In 1905 there was laid before the Royal Society of Canada a proposal to form an Historic Landmarks Association, which might be an Intelligence

The Scene of the Pageants, showing a portion of the Grand Stand

Department to keep all kindred societies and individuals in touch with each other, and concentrate public and parliamentary attention on the preservation of all national landmarks. This Association was inaugurated at Ottawa in 1907, and Lord Grey and Sir Wilfrid Laurier became its only two honorary officers.

In the same year, 1905, Lord Grey took up the work of preserving the battlefields. He visited Quebec in June, and, after examining the scene of both battles of the Plains, he paused at Wolfe's monument and there said that he would never rest until such sacred ground became the heirloom of all Canada and the Empire. Only three persons heard this; but many millions know to-day how magnificently the scheme has been inaugurated.

In 1906 the St. Jean Baptiste Society of Quebec took up Mr. Chouinard's suggestion for a Champlain Tercentenary in 1908, and proposed that the celebration should be a Dominion one. A subsequent citizens' meeting, called by the Mayor, proposed that the rest of the British Empire, as well as France and the United States, should also be invited to participate, and that steps should be taken to secure the patronage of His Majesty the King. In September the mayor appointed a Landmark Commission of three members, under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice, Sir François

Langelier, to study the best way of permanently marking the celebration. The Commission reported in favour of nationalising the Quebec battlefields. They felt that Champlain, as the far-seeing founder of Canada, had been pre-eminently a man of the future, that he was the first of a long line of Canadian heroes, and that the Canada he founded was kept Canadian by French and British, who won equal honour, first as opponents and afterwards as the joint defenders of a common country.

In January, 1907, a Quebec deputation waited on the Dominion Government and proposed a Canadian historical museum as a fitting permanent memorial of the coming *fête*. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, however, suggested that the preservation of the Quebec Battlefields, as an open book for posterity to read, would be better still.

Thus a society of Canadians of French descent was the first to propose making the Champlain Tercentenary a *fête* for the whole Dominion; a Commission of three, with two Canadians of French descent on it, reported in favour of keeping the Battlefields to commemorate this *fête* forever, and another Canadian of French descent, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, determined the action of the Government in the same direction. This most generous and far-sighted action does infinite honour to Canadian statesmanship.

Meanwhile Lord Grey had become an enthusiastic supporter of the Champlain Tercentenary. Then he and Sir Wilfrid Laurier in concert made the master stroke which united the Battlefields project with that of the Tercentennial celebration and carried both to a triumphant issue.

In April, 1907, it was decided to postpone the festivities till 1909, in order that the Quebec Tercentenary and the opening of the Quebec Bridge might be celebrated together. This attempt to mix two incompatibles was frustrated by the collapse of the bridge in August, 1907. Then followed a period of doubt as to whether the contemplated celebration would ever take place on a great scale at all. But in November the appointment of a commission to study the commemorative features of the field of Gettysburg encouraged the hope that the Battlefields would not be forgotten. And in January, 1908, Lord Grey came to Quebec to see if the Tercentenary could be celebrated that very summer, which was, of course, the appropriate time. At first, all except a very few declared this to be impossible. The prospect was undeniably appalling. But a good many seeming impossibilities were successfully performed before that summer was over. We had thought before Lord Grey's visit that there would be eighteen months to prepare for the contemplated celebration;

and everyone agreed that this was none too long. Now we hoped that a September celebration might give us at least eight. The enormous difficulties which had to be surmounted before most of the actual work of preparation began consumed two of these eight short months. Then, in March, we were informed that H.R.H. The Prince of Wales had consented to visit Quebec in July for the purpose of taking part in the celebration, and we suddenly found that the whole scheme, on a scale far vaster than we had ever dreamt of, had to be worked out in only four.

We have now covered in a brief review the period that led up to the tercentennial year, 1908. It remains to say a word of the nature of the problem which was before us. It was a triple problem; the Battlefields, the Tercentenary, and the joining of them together. Each aspect had its difficulties and all were made more difficult still by their inter-action on each other.

First, as to the Battlefields. Again and again it was asked, "How are you going to get round the French-Canadians?" The answer was always, "Simply by telling the whole truth." Till the whole truth was known, however, it was not easy to convince those who doubted its value. The public could only with difficulty be brought to realize that not one but two battles were to be

commemorated. It was very hard to get the *s* at the end of Battlefields into the public mind. Many English-speaking Canadians knew nothing more than that Wolfe beat Montcalm. They had never heard of the second battle of the Plains when Lévis beat Murray in 1760. It is doubtful whether most French-speaking Canadians felt the full strength of their own history. Montcalm was maligned in his lifetime and has been much misrepresented in Canadian history since. He is not well enough known, even now, as the hero of four successive victories over the British forces in four successive campaigns. It is not thoroughly understood that he provided against every possible contingency up to the very day before the first battle of the Plains, when he ordered the Regiment of Guienne to guard the path up which Wolfe came next morning. It is not realized that he was constantly thwarted and finally undone by the machinations of enemies on his own side; that it was Vaudreuil, the spiteful pettifogger, who countermanded, as Governor-General, this and many other wise orders. Nor is Montcalm known, as he ought to be, for the continual efforts he made on behalf of the Canadians against the infamous Bigot and the other corrupt officials, both French and Canadian-born, who were preying on them and bleeding them to death.

There was too much confusion of thought about Phips's attack in 1690, which was really the first *American* invasion of Canada. It was not generally realized that when Frontenac, the Frenchman, repulsed it, he was preserving our own Canada as surely as was Carleton, the Englishman, when he repulsed the second American invasion in 1775, or as were Brock and de Salaberry, when they repulsed the third American invasion during the war of 1812. Nearly everyone, also, seemed surprised that the Canadians of French descent shared the triumph of more victories than any other race in all the battles round Quebec. The Americans, through the presence of two battalions of the Royal Americans, the old 60th and present King's Royal Rifle Corps, had their part in the glory of the first battle of the Plains. The British enjoyed two victories of their own, Wolfe's and Carleton's. The French had three, Frontenac's, Montcalm's at Montmorency, and Lévis's at Ste. Foy. But the Canadians shared these three victories with the French and subsequently Carleton's victory with their British-born fellow-subjects.

Thus four races fought on five Quebec Battlefields. The Americans were on the victorious side once, the British-born twice, the French thrice, and the Canadian-born no less than four times. When we consider, further, that the win-

ning side was always composed of two races, and that the losing side never suffered the slightest dishonour by defeat, we can fully understand, not only that there is nothing to fear from the truth, but that all four races have at Quebec the unique souvenir of such an *entente cordiale d'honneur* as the whole world beside has never possessed since history began.

A synopsis of this history was embodied in a general appeal on behalf of the Battlefields which was drafted in January, but only published in its final form in April. Part IV, *The Quebec Battlefields: an Appeal to History*, was so drawn up as to take only fifteen minutes to read. But it took three months in composition, recomposition, and correction, before it was approved by all concerned, so great were the difficulties which stood in the way of every step in advance. It was published, with all other necessary information on the subject, in large French and English editions for free distribution, sent out for review in every part of the world where French or English is spoken, and reprinted in papers with a combined circulation of several millions.

The whole appeal filled a little pamphlet of 48 pages. Its title ran: *The Quebec Battlefields: an appeal issued in French and English under the authority of the Headquarters of the Quebec Battle-*

fields Association. It was divided into four parts. The first explained the functions of the Quebec Battlefields Association and all its Branches, as collectors of private subscriptions. The second explained the duties of the National Battlefields Commission as a corporate body established by Parliament and charged with the duty of administering both public and private funds in perpetuity for the benefit of the battlefields. The third was a short Quebec Chronology designed to give the public information at once on little-known but yet essential points. The fourth was the epitomised *Appeal to History* which was given so wide a circulation by the Canadian press in both languages. Of course, there were many other appeals issued by other bodies or individuals, and various information was supplied in many different ways elsewhere. Yet, as this Quebec appeal was the only official and general one that went into all the necessary details, there is probably no better way of showing how the work was faced than by giving a summary of this original programme.

But before we can understand the problem of the Battlefields we must disentangle it altogether from the Tercentenary. The latter was a Quebec, a Canadian, an Imperial, and an International commemoration of three historic centuries, in which the Battlefields were the scenes of by far the most

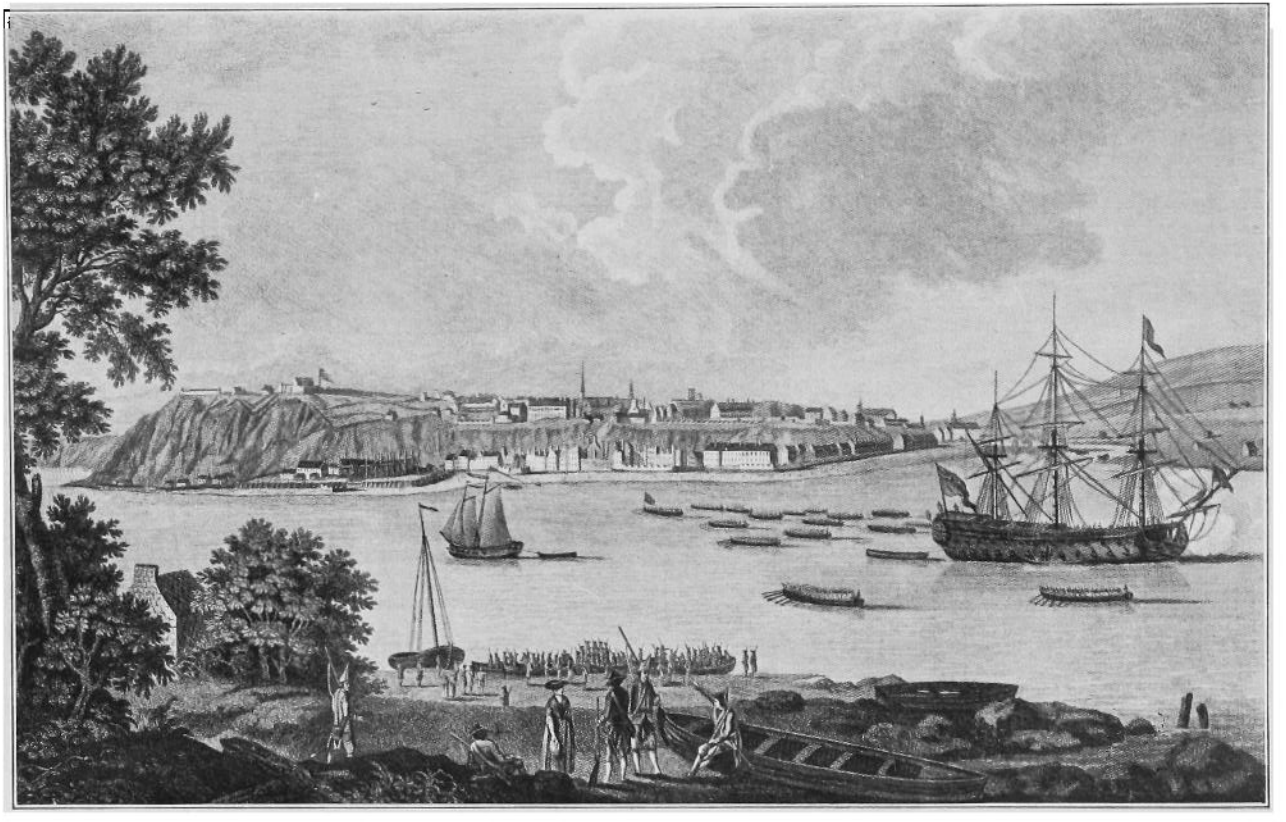
famous events. The Tercentennial Celebration would, therefore, have been absurd in the eyes of the world, if it had ignored the Battlefields. The project of commemorating the Battlefields, in its turn, found in the Tercentenary a golden opportunity, which had never occurred before and might never occur again. Moreover, the project of the Tercentenary and that of the Battlefields each appealed to a public of its own; and it was in every way desirable that these two different publics should be combined. It was consequently decided to inaugurate the Battlefields scheme during the celebration of the Tercentenary. But the Tercentenary, however great in itself, was the affair of only a few days, while the Battlefields were to be dedicated for all time. It was therefore also decided that the finances of the two should be kept entirely distinct, and that this should be explained to the public in unmistakeable terms. Moreover, the character of the Tercentenary was such that no subscriptions could be asked for it. Here were a city and a country celebrating their birthday. How could they ask anyone else to pay for it? So the only actual Tercentenary funds came from the special votes of the Dominion Parliament and the corporation of the City of Quebec; but Quebecers, Canadians, other British subjects, and French and American citizens, all came forward to help, either

by their representatives or by their personal presence. As was only right and proper, those who came merely to look on paid their entrance fees, from which of course those who took part were exempt. So much for the Tercentenary. It was paid for, in money, by the Dominion, the City and the sightseers, and in service by representative bodies and individuals of all kinds, from an international fleet, a Canadian army and the Heir to the British Throne, down to the humblest performer in the most crowded scenes of the Pageant.

To return to the Battlefields. They were recognized as objects of great interest to Quebec, Canada, the whole British Empire, France and the United States; in fact, to every member of the French- or English-speaking peoples throughout the world. It was therefore felt to be, in every way, both desirable and just to give all these people an opportunity of associating themselves with the movement, by asking them to subscribe to the fund for preserving the Battlefields as heirlooms in perpetuity. The only distinction made between the various kinds of subscribers was that subscriptions of not less than one hundred thousand dollars conferred the right of appointing representatives on the National Battlefields Commission. A way was purposely left open for any of the self-governing states of the Empire to

View of Quebec in 1760

From the drawing by Short



acquire proportionate control, by means of a proportionate contribution, of the sacred ground which is the corner stone of Greater Britain.

We shall now follow the lines of the *Appeal* by giving illustrative extracts from each of its four parts:—

I.—The Quebec Battlefields Association.

II.—The National Battlefields Commission.

III.—Quebec Chronology in the XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX and XX Centuries.

IV.—The Quebec Battlefields: an Appeal to History.

PART I.

THE QUEBEC BATTLEFIELDS ASSOCIATION

was started for the purpose of collecting money to further the nationalization of the Battlefields of Quebec. It is the people's response to the appeal made by His Excellency Earl Grey, Governor-General of Canada, on the 15th of January, 1908, at the great public meeting at Ottawa, when the Prime Minister of the Dominion, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. R.

L. Borden, joined in giving him their heartiest support.

The Association consisted of an unlimited number of local Branches, self-formed in any part of the French- or English-speaking world, self-governing, adapted to local circumstances, and only bound to work towards the common end of collecting funds. No common rules were laid down; but there was a common understanding that every effort should be made to reach every member of every community.

The work of collecting was actively undertaken by Headquarters, by Branches, by Ladies' Committees, and by mixed Committees, among all parts of the public, in schools, in trades, in clubs, in regiments, from house to house and home to home. And it is a source of legitimate pride and unbounded satisfaction that the cause was furthered in France by His Excellency the French Ambassador in London, and that the whole British Empire was given a lead by the Royal Family, headed by His Majesty the King. The Quebec Battlefields Association had nothing whatever to do with the Quebec Tercentenary, and no part of its funds were diverted to this or to any other but the single purpose of securing as a National and Imperial heirloom the historic ground of the Quebec Battlefields.

PART II.

THE NATIONAL BATTLEFIELDS COMMISSION

was appointed by the Dominion Government under the authority of an Act of the Parliament of Canada, House of Commons Bill No. 111, 1908; being the 8th year of the reign of King Edward VII.

SYNOPSIS OF THE ACT.

PREAMBLE.—"Whereas it is desirable in the public interest of Canada to acquire and preserve the great historic battlefields at Quebec, restoring so far as possible their principal features. . . . Whereas it is anticipated that, in addition to the appropriation of public moneys of Canada hereby authorised, the various provincial governments, as well as municipal or other bodies, and many private individuals, will contribute generously to the aforesaid project. . . Therefore His Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:—

I.—1. CONSTITUTION OF COMMISSION.—"The Governor in Council may appoint five commissioners, who shall hold office during the pleasure of

the Governor in Council, and who, with any additional commissioners who may be appointed under the authority of this Act, shall be a body politic and corporate, under the name of THE NATIONAL BATTLEFIELDS COMMISSION."

I.—2. "The Government of any province which contributes a sum not less than one hundred thousand dollars to the purposes of the commission shall be entitled to appoint a commissioner, and such commissioner shall hold office during the pleasure of the Government of the province."

I.—3. "If the Government of the United Kingdom, or of any self-governing colony of the Empire, contributes a sum not less than one hundred thousand dollars to the purposes of the commission, such Government shall be entitled to appoint a commissioner, and such commissioner shall hold office during the pleasure of the Government which appoints him."

[The next fourteen sections dealt with administrative details, powers of expropriation, and provision for proper inspection by the Auditor-General and control by Parliament. The sixteenth, and last, section referred to the Tercentenary, and authorized the expenditure of whatever part of a

special grant of $300,000 should be necessary to carry out the Dominion's part in a befitting manner.]

[Then came a series of explanatory notes of which the following are the most important.]

The whole of the Heights and Plains of Abraham cannot be recovered, for the obvious reason that hundreds of acres are built upon; but the Battlefields Park will include excellent typical portions, showing Wolfe's right and Montcalm's left to perfection, as well as both extreme flanks of both armies at the second Battle of the Plains, when Lévis beat Murray. From the Citadel to Wolfe's Cove, all along the St. Lawrence Cliffs, is a magnificent stretch of ground, a mile and a half long, and about a quarter of a mile wide, which is all historic, all recoverable, mostly open, and mostly public property already. The first half-mile is the Cove Fields (the old "Heights of Abraham") and is entirely military ground belonging to the Dominion. Then comes a farm belonging to the Seminary, the grounds of the Government Observatory, and those of the Gaol belonging to the Province. Next comes the open ground to which the name of The Plains is now popularly, but falsely, restricted, as they originally covered many times this area. This piece

is nearly square, and about three-eighths of a mile each way. It belongs to the City of Quebec, which will transfer it to the *National Battlefields Commission*. Lastly, comes Marchmont, which belongs to the Ursulines, and is about three-eighths by a quarter of a mile. On the opposite side of the tableland of Quebec, overlooking the Valley of the St. Charles, is a small piece of ground, with only a few houses, which is very desirable as the scene of a critical part of the second Battle of the Plains. These lots comprise all the ground necessary to the scheme for making the available parts of the Heights and Plains of Abraham into the chief feature of a Quebec Battlefields Park. Other pieces of ground which are desirable to complete the illustration of the scene of action are an acre or two on the Quebec side of Montmorency Falls, where Montcalm repulsed Wolfe's assault; another acre at Point Levis, where Wolfe's batteries were situated, &c. The farm house where Wolfe made his headquarters is still standing and in good order, and belongs to a descendant of the *habitant* who owned it when Wolfe occupied it. This might be bought; and so might a corner of ground at Pointe-aux-Trembles, where Vauquelin fired his last shot from the gallant *Atalante*; enough, at all events, to put a tablet on. Outside of the Plains, however, all that is necessary is a few small typical

pieces of land; or, where these cannot be obtained, enough space for a monument or even a commemorative tablet. The Plains, the scattered pieces of ground elsewhere, and the tablets and monuments, wherever placed, would all form part of the Quebec Battlefields Park and all be under the perpetual care of the *National Battlefields Commission.*

Avenues must be made, to give facilities for the study of the ground. They will not destroy the contours, or obliterate any sacred spot; and nothing to suggest the incongruity of a public park will spoil the essential character of the fields of battle. One Avenue will turn in from St. Louis Gate, (through which Montcalm rode back from the battle, mortally wounded) and follow the most suitable high ground, overlooking the St. Lawrence, out to Wolfe's Cove. An inner Avenue, roughly parallel with this, will define the northern, or town-side, limit of the Park. The Avenue overlooking the St. Lawrence will turn at the top of Wolfe's Cove to cross the tableland of Quebec, straight through the second battlefield of the Plains, and run on to the cliffs overlooking the Valley of the St. Charles, where it will turn townwards again. Thus, ultimately, there will be a continuous tour of at least five miles, starting from the point of Quebec overlooking the junction of the two rivers, running out, as near as possible, along the edge of the cliffs

over the St. Lawrence and St. Charles, and completed by the cross road, two miles out, from cliff to cliff. This tour alone will reveal the scenes of more than half the war-history of Canada.

PART III.

QUEBEC CHRONOLOGY
IN THE
XVI—XVII—XVIII—XIX—XX CENTURIES

1535—JACQUES-CARTIER enters the St. Charles River and winters beside the Indian village of *Stadacona*, the site of which is now included in the City of Quebec.

1608.—CHAMPLAIN founds CANADA by building his *Abitacion* at Quebec.

1625.—FRENCH MISSIONARIES arrive. Many suffer death by torture; but others always take their place.

1629.—The KIRKES take Quebec, in the name of CHARLES I. of England, who holds it three years in pledge for the dowry of his Queen, Henrietta Maria of France, and who grants his friend, Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, "*The County and Lordship of Canada.*"

1660–3.—CANADA threatened with *extermination* by *Indians*, by *famine*, by the complete *downfall* of the whole Colony, and by the most terrible *earthquakes* in her history. LAVAL, the first *Bishop*, and LA MERE MARIE DE L'INCARNATION, first Superior of the *Ursuline* nuns, persuade Canadians that their country is at the beginning of a great career and not at the end of a dismal failure. Laval founded his Seminary during the seven months of continual earthquakes. The present Ursuline convent went through four sieges in 85 years, and never lacked nuns to risk their lives in trying to safeguard it under fire, or to join the *Hospitalières* in nursing the sick and wounded of both sides in five battles.

1663.—The Chartered Company of the *Cent Associés* lapses, and QUEBEC is declared the CAPITAL of the ROYAL PROVINCE OF NEW FRANCE.

1665.—The new Royal Governor arrives, de Courcelles, the KING'S personal VICEROY and COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, the Marquis DE TRACY, the great Intendant, JEAN TALON, 212 persons of title or fortune, 12 companies of French Regulars, and many settlers who became known as *habitants*.

1690.—FRONTENAC repulses PHIPS and the New England armada which made the FIRST AMERICAN INVASION of Canada.

1759.—SIEGE OF QUEBEC and BATTLE of the PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

Inscription over Wolfe's death-place:

HERE DIED WOLFE VICTORIOUS.

Inscription over grave of Montcalm

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

Inscription on Monument to Wolfe and Montcalm together:

MORTEM VIRTUS COMMUNEM
FAMAM HISTORIA
MONUMENTUM POSTERITAS
DEDIT

Montcalm was buried in the *Ursuline* Chapel, where an *Anglican* service was held a few days later in memory of *Wolfe*.

1760.—LEVIS defeats MURRAY in the *second battle of the Plains*, and in 1860 a monument was erected AUX BRAVES who redressed the balance of victory in favour of FRANCE.

1763.—Just 100 years after declaring Canada the Royal Province of New France the FRENCH CROWN *cedes the sovereignty* to GEORGE III.

1759-74.—Canada under the generous *military rule* of MURRAY and CARLETON at Quebec.

1774.—THE QUEBEC ACT passed by the *Imperial Parliament.*

1775-6.—FRENCH and ENGLISH, under CARLETON, defeat the SECOND AMERICAN INVASION, under MONTGOMERY and ARNOLD.

1775-85.—Coming of the UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS, some of whom settled in Quebec and have descendants there at the present day.

1782.—NELSON at Quebec in H.M.S. *Albemarle.*

1783.—The *first British fortification* of Quebec.

1787.—His Majesty, KING WILLIAM IV., then a Naval Officer in H.M.S. *Pegasus,* is the FIRST MEMBER OF THE ROYAL FAMILY to visit Quebec.

1791-4.—His Royal Highness the DUKE OF KENT, father of QUEEN VICTORIA, spends three years in Quebec with his regiment, the 7th Royal Fusiliers.

1792.—THE FIRST PARLIAMENT IN GREATER BRITAIN, *under the direct authority of a Governor General,* opens at Quebec.

1799.—MONSEIGNEUR PLESSIS, *Vicar-General,* preaches a sermon in the Basilica to celebrate NELSON'S victory at the Nile, and the *Bishop's Mandement* ordains a *General Thanksgiving* for the blessings insured to Canada by the just laws and protecting arms of the BRITISH CROWN.

1799-1804.—H. M. KING GEORGE III takes great interest in the building of the *Anglican Cathedral,* as H. M. KING LOUIS XIV had done in the welfare of the *Basilica.*

1812.—QUEBEC sends her full quota to repel the THIRD AMERICAN INVASION OF CANADA. The *French* and *English* heroes on the *British* side at *Châteauguay* and *Queenston Heights* were both quartered at Quebec at different times. The street across which *Montcalm's* and *Wolfe's* men fired into each others' faces is called after *de Salaberry,* and *Brock* lived in the third house from the top of Fabrique Street.

1823.—The present CITADEL and WALLS built, after a plan approved by WELLINGTON, and completed in 1832 at a cost of $35,000,000.00, paid by the Imperial Government.

1824.—The LITERARY and HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC established by a *Royal Charter* granted by H. M. KING WILLIAM IV. This is the *senior learned society in Greater Britain.*

1833.—In August the ROYAL WILLIAM, built in and sailing from QUEBEC, makes the *first of all Transatlantic voyages entirely under steam.* Under her new name, *Isabella Segunda,* she was the *first steamer in the world to fire a shot in action,* on the 5th of May, 1836, in the Bay of San Sebastian, when helping Sir de Lacy Evans's British Legion against the Carlists.

1839.—*The Durham Report.*

1840.—The Union Act and RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

1852.—The *first French-Canadian University* founded, and called after *Laval.*

1854.—*Seigniorial Tenure* abolished.

1858.—Raising of the 100th regiment, the *Royal Canadians.*

1860.—His Majesty KING EDWARD VII, then Prince of Wales, lands at Quebec from H. M. S. *Hero* on the 18th of August.

1864.—"THE FATHERS OF CONFEDERATION" meet at Quebec.

1867.—The DOMINION OF CANADA proclaimed at Quebec.

1870.—Second Fenian Raid—Quebec again under arms. H. R. H. the *Duke of Connaught wears*

the Canadian General Service Medal for his presence at the front *in defence of Canada* on this occasion.

1870.—The *Red River Expedition*, under Colonel, now Field Marshal Viscount, *Wolseley*, has a contingent from Quebec.

1871.—The *Royal Canadian Artillery*, the *first Regulars under the Canadian Government*, has its *first parade* at Quebec.

1872-8.—LORD DUFFERIN, who, on his subsequent elevation to a Marquessate, would have liked his title to have been *The Marquess of Dufferin and Quebec*, plans many improvements to commemorate Canadian history at Quebec.

1875.—Celebration of the 100th anniversary of the *Saving of Canada by Carleton* at Quebec.

1878-83.—H. R. H. the PRINCESS LOUISE often visits Quebec with H. E. the *Marquess of Lorne*.

1879.—H. M. QUEEN VICTORIA takes great interest in, and contributes to the cost of building, *Kent Gate*, as a memorial of *her father's stay* at Quebec, 1791-4.

1883.—H. M. KING GEORGE V, then Prince GEORGE OF WALES, visits Quebec for the first time.

1884.—*Canadian Voyageurs* for the Nile Expedition rendez-vous at Quebec.

1885.—The *Royal Canadian Artillery* and 9th Regiment *Voltigeurs de Québec*, leave for the front during the *North West Rebellion*.

1897.—The *Canadian Contingent* sent to England for the *Diamond Jubilee* embarks at Quebec.

1899.—The FIRST CANADIAN CONTINGENT for the *South African War* embarks at Quebec.

1901.—Their Majesties, KING GEORGE V and QUEEN MARY, then T. R. H. the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, visit Quebec on their *Imperial Tour*.

1902.—The *Canadian Coronation Contingent* embarks at Quebec. (France sends the *Montcalm* to the *Coronation Naval Review* in England).

1905.—H. E. LORD GREY unveils the statue to those Quebecers who died in South Africa

FOR EMPIRE, CANADA, QUEBEC.

1906.—H. R. H. PRINCE ARTHUR OF CONNAUGHT, returning from *King Edward's Garter Mission* to H. I. M. The Emperor of Japan, is the 11th member of the Royal Family to visit Quebec.

1908.—H. M. KING GEORGE V, then Prince of Wales and acting as the PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE of H. M. KING EDWARD VII, attends the TERCENTENARY of the foundation of Canada by CHAMPLAIN at Quebec; and performs *The Inauguration of* THE QUEBEC BATTLEFIELDS PARK.

NATIONAL BATTLEFIELDS COMMISSION

— QUEBEC BATTLEFIELDS PARK —

·· QUEBEC ··· CANADA ··

SCALE
FEET FEET

FREDERICK G. TODD. —— LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT
: MONTREAL : P.Q :
— 1909 —

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DISTANCES AND AREAS.

DRIVES — 4½ MILES.
WALKS — 5⅛ MILES.
TOTAL AREA — 230⅛ ACRES.
AREA OF ST FOY PARK — 12⅛ ACRES
AREA OF PLAINS OF ABRAHAM — 86⅔ ACRES.