CHAPTER VII.

Canada and the English colonies—Military and commercial aspect of the situation—The Iroquois—Campaigns of 1666, 1684, 1687, 1690-1692, 1696-1697, 1702-1713, 1744-1760—Resources of Canada exhausted—Capitulations of Quebec (1759) and Montreal (1760).

The course of events which brought the old regime to its close, are, as has been stated, bound up with the vicissitudes of the political administration at Quebec. We have seen the Cent Associés before 1663, unable to defend the colony from the attacks of the Iroquois. When, in that year, Louis the Fourteenth came to the rescue of the colonists, their immediate safety became assured and conditions were made possible for the progress of the colony in the manner that has been described. But the danger of attack, from one source or another, never really ceased. Successive governors at Quebec found themselves responsible not only for colonial administration, but also for the conduct of a struggle, extending over vast stretches of territory, which was to decide the momentous question as to whether France or England should dominate North America. A very brief outline of this struggle, coming between 1663 and 1760, will complete the survey of our period.

The governor chosen by the king to inaugurate the Sovereign Council and the new system of royal administration was the Sieur de Mesy, a friend of Bishop de Laval. The two reached Quebec in September, 1663, having escaped the terrible earthquake of that year, which occupies such a conspicuous place in the annals of Montreal and Quebec. Both de Laval and de Mesy appear to have misconceived each other's position, and an open breach kept them at a distance till de Mesy's death early in 1665. The year before, September 8th, 1664, the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam which had been the near neighbour of Canada, passed into English hands. The significance of the change did not escape the governor at Quebec, nor

the traders and merchants of Montreal. New Amsterdam broke the connection between the New England colonies on the north shore and the other English colonies to the south. When New Amsterdam became New York, the English coast line was completed. A more plausible claim could now be laid to the lands lying in the valleys of the streams that fed the Mississipi from the east, and which lay along the direct line of expansion of the colonies from the coast inward. English influence replaced Dutch influence along the reaches of the Hudson. The relations between the Iroquois and the Dutch traders at Albany were now supplanted by a more omnious relation between the Iroquois and the English.

The Sieur de Mesy was replaced by the Sieur de Courcelles. In the same year the Marquis de Tracy came to Quebec to relieve de Courcelles of his duties as lieutenant-general, inasmuch as the king was planning a punitive expedition against the Iroquois and the new governor would be occupied with administrative work. The Marquis de Tracy came to take charge of the troops of the Carignan-Salières regiment, which the king had sent to Canada for the Iroquois expedition. The coming of the military relieved the fears of the colonists, but it sensibly troubled the clergy, who found in the soldiers a strain of worldliness which they would have preferred the society of Montreal and Quebec to escape. From 1665 to the closing years of the French regime, society in the colony was never without the presence of commissioned officers from the garrison troops regularly stationed in the towns and in the forts. The mandements of the bishops against dancing, the mardi gras, bals masques, and the performance of certain comedies were designed to suppress the licence which the military introduced.

The year of the arrival of the Carignan-Salières regiment, 1665, was spent in the construction of three forts along the Richelieu river. Early in the following year de Courcelles rashly attempted a winter march against the Mohawk villages. His men suffered severely from the effects of the winter march. Before the year was over de Tracy with a large force conducted another expedition to the Mohawk country, and so impressed the villagers that they sued for peace. From 1667 until 1684 the Mohawks remained comparatively quiet, but the Senecas, to the west, were beginning

to send their war-parties against the Illinios, among which French traders had already begun to follow in the footsteps of the explorers of the Mississippi.

The interval of peace with the Mohawks is occupied in part with the administration of Frontenac, who first came to Quebec in 1672. No governor of Canada ever acquired the respect of the Indians which Frontenac knew so well how to win and to retain. His stately, theatrical manner, with its assumption of patriarchal authority, carried immense weight in a council of Indian chiefs, and inspired confidence among the colonists; but it could not conceal the vices of a headstrong, tactless administrator. The king, in despair at the continued quarrel between the governor and the intendant (Duchesneau) recalled both in 1682, and sent out as intendant de Meulles, and as governor the Sieur de la Barre. Frontenac had taken one step forward in the extension of French influence to the west. De Courcelles had suggested the erection of a fort at Cataraqui, the site of the present city of Kingston. Frontenac built it and allowed his name to be given to it. Fort Frontenac was designed partly as a subsidiary base for the posts which were carrying the French line of advance to the Upper Lakes, and partly as a convenient garrison to overawe the western Iroquois.

The new governor, de la Barre, made an ineffectual attempt in 1684 to chastise the Senecas for their attacks on the Illinois. But the expedition, designed to strike a signal blow against this section of the Iroquois confederacy, ended in disaster, and de la Barre had to agree to the humiliating Treaty of Famine Cove. He was recalled and replaced the following year by Denonville. In that year the relations with the Indians of the Upper Lakes were complicated by an attempt on the part of the governor of New York, Dongan, to open traffic with them, in competition with the French traders. In 1685, 1686, and again in 1687, Dongan sent Dutch and English traders, supported by a few troops to establish regular intercourse with these Indians. The traders and the soldiers were captured by the French garrison at Detroit, and sent to Canada as prisoners. Denonville, in the meantime, attempted to renew de la Barre's policy of chastizing the Senecas. In 1687 he led a large expedition to the Seneca country, using Fort Frontenac as a subsidiary base. Instead of bringing on

a general engagement, for the Senecas wisely forsook their villages, he had to be content with burning the stores and provisions of the enemy. As one of the Canadian Indians expressed it, Denonville had overturned a wasps' nest, but had not waited to kill the wasps.

In that same year Champigny, the intendant, perpetrated an unpardonable piece of villainy against some of the Iroquois. He invited them to a feast at Fort Frontenac, made prisoners of some thirty men and ninety women, and sent the men to France to be worked in the galleys. Of itself, this would have been sufficient cause for the renewal of a general war with the Iroquois; it was aggravated by the fact that soon after his punitive expedition against the Senecas Denonville built a fort at Niagara and left a garrison there. In a correspondence with Dongan before the close of the year we find Denonville promising to liberate the traders and soldiers captured in the region of the Upper Lakes. Dongan, on his part, demands that the Iroquois ensnared by Champigny and sent to France for the galleys be delivered to the English ambassador at Paris as English subjects. This correspondence continued throughout 1688, the governor of New York adding to his demands of the previous year a request that the French should withdraw from the new fort at Niagara. Denonville yielded; he wrote to the king to ask that the captives in the galleys be returned; and he destroyed the fort at Niagara and gave orders for the abandonment of Fort Frontenac. The Iroquois, emboldened by the support of English influence, and the weakness of Denonville's administration, assumed a tone of haughty defiance. The king rightly judged that French prestige in America was on the wane, and that vigorous measures were necessary to retrieve Denonville's mistakes. He appealed to Frontenac as the only person able to cope with the situation, and recommissioned him as governor of Canada in 1689.

Frontenac did not reach Quebec until October of that year. He was too late to avert a tragedy of the month before, a tragedy which is known in Canadian history as the Massacre of Lachine. Towards midnight on the fifth of August, under cover of a hail storm, 1,500 Iroquois braves landed near Lachine. Having surrounded some of the houses, they raised their war-whoop and began a scene of slaughter. Before the astonished inhabitants could collect themselves several had been killed, and many more

dragged away for torture. There were plenty of troops in the neighbourhood to have cut off the retreat of the savages, and thus to have saved many of the captives, but for some unaccountable reason they were forbidden to leave their station. The war party remained on the island for some time, though for how long it is impossible to say. By November they surprised la Chesnaye and repeated the scene of slaughter already enacted at Lachine. The information which we have for this whole episode is based upon a despatch sent home by Frontenac after he had returned to Canada. In this, referring to Lachine alone, he speaks of one hundred and twenty persons captured, and some two hundred, men, women, and children massacred in cold blood. These figures have been confidently accepted as the extent of the tragedy. But Judge Girouard, from a careful scrutiny of the parochial registers, finds that this estimate is probably exaggerated. He can discover no more than twenty-four persons missing from Lachine as a result of the massacre of August, and some forty-two as missing from la Chesnaye as a result of the blow which fell the next November. The total of lives lost in the Montreal district would therefore not be above sixty-six. It is not unlikely that the reports of the incident were purposely exaggerated to make an impression on the king.

The mission with which Frontenac was charged when he returned to Canada in 1689 had in view something more than the defence of the colony from the Iroquois. The wars waged by Louis the Fourteenth in Europe embraced America in their scope, and brought upon Canada the necessity of participating in the world-wide struggle. The accession of William the Third of Holland to the English throne in 1688, and the subsequent part played by England in the war with France, brought Canada into open hostility with the neighbouring English colonies. Frontenac reached Quebec, charged with the execution of a campaign against the English—a campaign which had been suggested to the king by Callières, the governor of Montreal. The plan had for its objective point the capture of New York; which, if accomplished, would serve the double purpose of overawing the Iroquois and at the same time of driving a wedge into the English coast line so as to separate the northern from the southern colonies, and thus enhance the French claims upon sections of the back country into which both nationali-

ties were beginning to press. The plan miscarried; for delay in fitting out the vessels destined for the naval attack on New York obliged Frontenac to abandon it. Frontenac, however, substituted another method of attack. His first step was to send off a detachment to Fort Frontenac to countermand Denonville's orders for the blowing up of the fortifications. The troops arrived too late, and Fort Frontenac was not restored for six years. But by a stroke of diplomacy the Iroquois were brought to conclude peace with the Indians of the Upper Lakes; the latter, relieved of the danger of attack, and supported by a detachment of French troops, made their way to Montreal the next summer with canoes of beavers and opened up again a traffic that had been nearly destroyed.

In the meantime active hostilities with the English colonies broke out. There were naturally two regions opened to attack. The first lay in the direction of Albany, and could be reached by the Richelieu and the Hudson. The second lay along the frontier line of the New England colonies. In February, 1690, a detachment of troops, including Canadian militia and Indians, made their way up the Richelieu, past Lakes Champlain and George to the Hudson. They surprised the settlement of Schenectady at night, and massacred the inhabitants. The lesson was not lost upon the Iroquois. In March, a second expedition sent to the New England frontier took Salmon Falls. A third, under Portneuf, captured Fort Loyal in May. So far the offensive campaign of the French had been successful.

On their part, the New England colonists adopted a comprehensive campaign. On May 11th, Port Royal surrendered to Sir William Phipps; and the same admiral, on August the 9th, left Boston with thirty-two ships and 2,200 men to try conclusions with Quebec itself. On October Phipps brought his fleet to anchor below the city, and two days later began a bombardment, after landing 1,200 troops on the Beauport shore. On the other side, auxiliary forces came to Quebec from Montreal, and a spirited defence of the city began. The bombardment failed of its purpose, and the land party could make no headway. After six days' futile bombardment Phipps took his ships down the stream for repairs, and abandoning any further attempt that season, made his retreat to Boston.

The next year, 1691, was signalized by the stealthy march of Peter

Schuyler from the Hudson to La Prairie, in reprisal for the incident at Schenectady the year before. Schuyler surprised and fell upon La Prairie, but his success was discounted by a heavy loss of men in a stubborn fight with a detachment of French who had cut off his retreat. As the war progressed, it resolved itself into a series of attacks upon the Iroquois, paralleled by excursions into northern New England. In 1692 a detachment sent out against the town of Wells failed to capture it; but two years later over a hundred persons in Oyster River lost their lives as a result of the successful attack of the French. Lastly Fort Pemaquid fell before a French attack, and Haverhill experienced the ravages of the Abenakis. But the Iroquois suffered equally. Many of the Mohawk towns were taken, and the captives taken as prisoners back to Canada. The most extraordinary incident in this devastating conflict was the heroic action of Madeleine, the fourteen year old daughter of the Sieur de Verchères, who in the fort with two soldiers, two boys and an old man kept up the semblance of defence in such a way as to deceive the Iroquois into thinking the fort well garrisoned. For a week the Iroquois withheld their assault, by which time help arrived. In 1696, Frontenac having restored the fort named after him, advanced with an overwhelming force on one of those chastizing expeditions against the western Iroquois which had marked the failure of his two predecessors. But Frontenac himself could do nothing to bring the Iroquois to an open engagement. Hostilities extended even to Newfoundland and to Hudson's Bay, where Iberville in 1697 captured Fort Nelson.

Within a few months of this exploit the Treaty of Ryswick brought a pause in the struggle, and the following year, 1698, Frontenac was able to receive a delegation from Albany bringing the news of peace, and proposals for the exchange of prisoners. Frontenac did not survive the year. He passed away on November 28th. His services to the colony place him above all other governors of the French regime. But for the spirit which he infused into Canada during the war, the colony, under the feeble administration of a de la Barre or Denonville, might have succumbed earlier in the struggle.

The war which closed by the Treaty of Ryswick passes in American colonial history as "King William's War." During the brief interval of peace ensuing, de Callières, who succeeded Frontenac, came to an under-

standing with the Iroquois, and so removed for the time being that source of danger. In 1702, England entered into the War of the Spanish Succession, known in American colonial history as "Queen Anne's War." Hostilities lasted until the year 1713. On the English side an expedition from Boston sailed in 1707 to capture Port Royal, for Acadia had been returned to France by the Treaty of Ryswick. Failing in 1707, the New England colonists made another attempt in 1710; this time with success. This parallel with the course of the previous war appears also in another attempt to send a fleet to the St. Lawrence to reduce Quebec. Admiral Walker left Boston in July, 1711; but through mismanagement lost ten ships and nearly 900 men in the St. Lawrence. Without trying to bring the rest of his fleet up the river, he abandoned the expedition and returned to Boston. A third parallel between the two wars may be found in the ruthless border warfare kept up between the French and the New England colonists. Deerfield, in Massachusetts, was attacked in 1704 by a party of two hundred and fifty Canadians and Indians. A still larger force ravaged the New England frontier in 1708. The Treaty of Utrecht, signed in 1713, gave Acadia to England, and brought peace for thirty years, that is until the breaking out of "King George's War" in 1744.

For Canada, this long period was quite uneventful, but it brought a much-needed era of quiet to both seignior and habitant. The levies of militia recruited from the different seigneuries were fast depleting the scant population; and many seigniors found themselves obliged to abandon the cultivation of their estates. During the period comprised roughly between 1685 and 1713 immigration had almost entirely ceased, the government being too much involved in the conduct of the war to furnish funds for settlers. With the close of the war, and the subsequent death of Louis the Fourteenth, France and England entered upon an era of peaceful relations. It was a period, as noted above, of wild speculation, chiefly on the as yet unmeasured wealth to be gained from colonial enterprise. English and French commercial interests, seconded by the political rivalries of their respective governments, added the excitement of wealth to the passion, already strongly developed, for maritime power. But while merchants and powerful corporations at home watched with some excitement the expan-

sion of the colonial market, the colonists themselves found their interests turning to a question which had in it all the occasion for future misunderstandings. The colonies of both countries were rapidly making their way to the westward, and it was only a question of time before the two lines of advance should cross each other and precipitate another conflict.

France in the meantime continued to strengthen her position. Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island was rendered, so it was thought, quite impregnable by a lavish expenditure of money for fortifications. To the west, M. de Vaudreuil, who succeeded de Callières in 1703, began the erection of stone fortifications at Niagara in 1725, but he died before they were completed. A permanent garrison was stationed at the fort. Under the Marquis de Beauharnois, the next governor, a fort at Crown Point was built in 1731. The centre of this long line of fortifications was to be found in Quebec, upon the defences of which, in the military judgment of the eighteenth century, the ultimate hope of retaining Canada rested. The king spent millions on the erection of walls and bastions, but the money seems to have found its way chiefly to the pockets of the contractors, who enriched themselves at the king's expense, while the works were so poorly built as to be of little use against actual attack.

The war which broke out in 1744, known as King George's War, lasted only four years. It was marked by the brilliant capture in 1745 of the almost impregnable fortress of Louisbourg, by a colonial force under Sir William Pepperell. An expedition sent out from La Rochelle by the French government the next year to attempt its recapture, suffered too severely from storms to be effective. A second expedition despatched the year following was met and defeated by an English fleet. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle which brought peace in 1748, Louisbourg was given back to France. The French government at once regarrisoned the fortress.

From this point we can begin to see the inevitable struggle of the Seven Years War approaching. The valley of the Ohio proved to be the region in which the rival pretensions of the two sides clashed. The Comte de Galissonière, who followed the Marquis de Beauharnois in 1747, adopted a forward policy. He had in view, it is said, the settling of some 10,000 habitants in the Ohio valley, a rather extravagant proposal when it is re-

membered that in all the years of the French occupation of Canada the total number of immigrants from the home country did not exceed that figure. Nevertheless, the Comte de la Galissonière's suggestion shows that he appreciated the difficulty under which the French colonial system laboured when it came into competition with the English. Population is, after all, one of the very best assets, and it was in population that New France was conspicuously lacking. In 1749 the Comte de la Galissonière despatched de Celoron from Montreal to establish a more formal claim to the region in question. De Celoron went through the formality of burying leaden plates at different points on the Ohio River and its tributaries.

The Sieur de la Jonquière succeeded de la Galissonière in 1749, and was in turn followed by the Marquis du Quesne de Menneville in 1752. Next year the governor of Virginia sent an expedition to the Ohio valley to request the French to withdraw, on the ground of England's claim to the region. The French, however, remained. The year following, a detachment of English colonial troops began the construction of a fort on the site of Pittsburg. A French detachment took possession of the works, and completing the fort, named it after the governor, du Quesne. In two expeditions, 1754 and 1755, the English colonial forces, commanded in the latter year by General Braddock with English regulars, attempted the capture of Fort Duquesne, but without success. Rumours of approaching war in Europe made a general engagement seem imminent. As a precautionary measure the unfortunately problematical position of the Acadians, in regard to the question of allegiance, was settled by their forcible transportation to the English colonies. At last, in 1756, war broke out in Europe, and the engagement, already precipitated in the Ohio valley, became general.

The French position consisted of a long, irregular line of fortified posts. The line began at Louisbourg on the East, and travelled to Quebec; thence to the posts on the Richelieu and Lake Champlain; thence along the St. Lawrence to Montreal, and up the river to Fort Frontenac, at the eastern end of Lake Ontario on the north shore. From Fort Frontenac the next post was Niagara, at the other end of the lake, and Detroit at the further end of Lake Erie. From Niagara or Detroit a line ran southward to Fort Duquesne.

On the English side Oswego at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, on the south shore opposite Fort Frontenac, was occupied by English colonial troops, and threatened the French line between Fort Frontenac and Niagara. Between the Hudson and the Richelieu, Fort Edward and Fort William Henry gave the English a footing on this historic waterway, and threatened the line of advance upon Montreal.

Canada was at this time under the administration of the intendant Bigot and the governor, the Marquis de Vaudreuil Cavagnal, both men of ill-cherished memory. Bigot had come to Quebec at the close of King George's War; the Marquis de Vaudreuil had been promoted in 1755 to succeed the Marquis du Quesne. The French government sent over Montcalm, with de Levis, Bougainville and Bourlamaque to conduct the campaign. A census of Canada taken early in 1759 showed the total number of men capable of bearing arms to be about 15,000.

Soon after his arrival Montcalm assumed the offensive, and on August 14th captured Oswego, thus assuring the west wing of the French line of defence. The next year, striking from the centre he took Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George; and the following year held Ticonderoga, forcing General Abercromby to retreat. But these successes in the centre hardly compensated for losses in other directions. Within two weeks after Abercromby withdrew from Ticonderoga, Louisbourg had fallen, Fort Frontenac had been occupied by English colonial troops, and Fort Duquesne had been abandoned.

Then followed the decisive year 1759. In the west, the French line, weakened by the loss of Fort Frontenac and Fort Duquesne, gave way entirely with the surrender of Fort Niagara, and the recapture of Oswego. In the centre, General Amherst took Ticonderoga and Crown Point. But the decisive engagement came at Quebec when Major-General Wolfe, at the head of a landing party from the British fleet, executed a manœuvre which strategically had scarcely been considered possible. By landing under cover of night at Wolfe's Cove, and scaling the Heights of Abraham, he set at nought the careful strategic position of Montcalm on the Beauport side of the city, and eluded the corps under Bougainville which had been stationed further up the river to anticipate a landing in that vicinity. The Battle

of the Plains of Abraham was fought on the morning of September 13th, with Wolfe drawn up on a line just behind and parallel to the present de Salaberry street, between the Sillery and Ste. Foye roads, and Montcalm hurrying from the entrenchments on the other side of the city, anxious to bring on an engagement before Wolfe could complete his entrenchments. The details of this historic engagement, and the heroic death of Montcalm and Wolfe, are too well known to be repeated here. For four days after the battle the English under General Murray continued preparations for an assault, but de Ramezay, commandant of the troops within the city, acting under instructions from Vaudreuil, decided not to hazard the issue of an assault and capitulated on the 18th. General Murray occupied Quebec and took charge of its government.

With the breaking up of the winter next year, de Levis left Montreal to attempt the recapture of Quebec. Apprised of his advance, General Murray came out of the city to meet him. The engagement at Ste. Foye on April 28th obliged General Murray to retire behind the walls of the city, while de Levis advanced for a siege. The very timely arrival of an English fleet saved General Murray and forced de Levis to raise the siege. The rest of the campaign consisted of a concentration upon Montreal. General Murray from Quebec advanced in conjunction with General Amherst from Oswego. In all, some 15,000 troops marched upon the city. Finally, on the 8th of September, de Vaudreuil surrendered Canada to General Amherst, and the French regime came to its close.

Of the havoc wrought by five years of continued hostilities it is impossible to give any picture. Between the exactions of Bigot, the destruction of property, and the sacrifice of life, the suffering of the habitants was indescribable. The bombardment of Quebec wrought fearful destruction. The description written by Monseigneur de Pontbriand, two months after the event, shows in a feeling way the extent of the damage. Monseigneur de Pontbriand's letter will be found in the sketch of his life appended to the second volume of the Mandements des Evêques de Quebec.

"Quebec," he writes, "has been bombarded and cannonaded for the space of two months; one hundred and eighty houses have been fired by

grenades, the remainder shattered by cannon and bombs. The walls, of the thickness of six feet, have not been proof against this; cellars to which well-to-do people had consigned their effects had been burned, forced, and looted, both during and after the siege. The Cathedral has been entirely destroyed. In the Seminary the only habitable part remaining is the kitchen, to which the curé of Quebec has withdrawn in company with his vicar. The Seminary has suffered even greater losses outside the city, for the enemy has burned four of their farms and three considerable mills from which almost their entire revenue is derived. The church of the lower town has been completely demolished; those of the Recollets, the Jesuits and the Seminary are quite unfit for service without most extensive repairs. There is only the Ursuline Church where a decent service can be held, although the English are using it for special services. Both the Ursulines and the Hospitalières have suffered greatly. They are without means of subsistence, all their lands having been ravaged. Meanwhile, the nuns have managed to lodge themselves after a fashion, after having passed the entire time of the siege in the General Hospital. The Hôtel-Dieu is overcrowded, for the English sick are there. The episcopal palace is practically in ruins and does not afford a single habitable room; the cellars have been looted. The houses of the Recollets and the Jesuits are almost as bad; the English have made some slight repairs in order to quarter their troops there. They have billeted their soldiers in those houses which suffered least damage. They drive out from their own houses citizens who, at great expense, have temporarily repaired a room or two, or else so crowd them with the soldiers billeted upon them that nearly all have been obliged to leave this unhappy city. This they are by no means loth to do, for the English refuse to sell except for ready money, and it is well known that the local currency is paper. The priests of the Seminary, the canons and the Jesuits are scattered over what little country has escaped English domination. There are actually people in the city who are without wood for winter, without bread, flour, or meat, and subsisting solely upon a bit of biscuit and a scrap of pork which the English soldiers sell to them out of their rations. Such is the extremity to which our best families are reduced.''

This is followed by an even darker picture of the conditions outside the

city, all the adjacent country-side having been laid waste by the depredations of the English soldiery.

"No supplies are to be had from the country, which is in a more deplorable condition than the city itself. All of the côte de Beaupré and the île d'Orléans had been ravaged before the siege was even over. Farms, dwellings, presbyteries, have been put to the flames. Whatever live stock remained has been seized; those which had been driven into Quebec before the siege, have almost all been consumed by our own troops. In consequence, the poor habitant who returns to his land with his wife and children will be obliged to lodge like a savage. Their crops, only half harvested, will suffer from exposure; likewise their stock. The hiding-places which they had contrived in the forest have been discovered by the enemy, and so the habitant is without goods and chattels, without utensils, and implements for cultivating the soil and felling wood. . . . I affirm that this account of our misfortunes is no whit exaggerated, and I entreat our lord bishops and all charitable persons to exert themselves in our behalf. November the 5th, 1759."

Thus the venerable bishop addressed his countrymen before their ties with the colony in New France had been completely severed.

While the war was in progress the bishop and the clergy strengthened the patriotism of the habitants by public prayers and services in the churches. The Mandements des Evêques de Quebec contain numerous references to the ordering of these services. There is perhaps nothing more pathetic, and nothing which displays more clearly the significance of the year 1760, than the sequence of the mandements issued from time to time during the progress of the war. As the campaign opened with the aggressive policy of Montcalm we find a mandement, "Pour faire chanter dans toutes les paroisses un Te Deum en action de graces des succès des armes du roi arrivés depuis l'ouverture de la guerre." In the year following we find a similar order, "Qui ordonne de chanter un Te Deum en action de graces de la prise du Fort George." In 1759 we find a rather ominous circular letter, "A M. les Cures qui seront dans les quartiers où il est a craindre que l'ennemi ne pénètre." Later in the same year the bishop issued a mandement, "Au sujet de la triste situation de la colonie," enjoin-

ing two solemn services "dans les villes de Montreal et Trois-Rivières; la première pour M. de Montcalm et les officiers; le second, pour tous ceux qui sont morts dans la dernière campagne." Finally, as the year of capitulation drew on apace, we read in a mandement, "Pour la continuation des prières publiques" the suggestion "on ajoutera à la messe l'oraison Deus Refugium." The capitulation took place in September of that year. The full meaning of the new order of things could not be better shown than by quoting a passage from a mandement issued within a year of the surrender.

"Nous ordonnons et avons ordonné; que dans la paroisse de Montréal et dans toutes les autres du dit gouvernement, en la formule du prône, dans l'endroit où il est dit, nous prierons . . . pour le Roi, N, l'on substituera ces paroles, nous prierons pour notre très gracieux souverain Seigneur Roi George, notre très gracieuse Reine Charlotte, la princesse douairière de Galles et toute la famille royale."

These words form perhaps the most fitting ending to the narrative of our period.