

CHAPTER XVI.

Addresses, petitions, political agitation—Uneasiness of the Canadians on account of the American sympathizers—First attack on Canada by Congress troops, May, 1775—Formation of the legislative council—Martial law proclaimed, June, 1775—No militia organization—Very few regular troops—The Canadians wish to be neutral—Taking of Chambly, St. John's, Sorel, Montreal and Three Rivers by the Americans, autumn of 1775—Siege of Quebec, winter of 1775-1776—Arrival of British troops, May, 1776—American forces retire.

The passing of the Quebec Bill in 1774 and the American invasion of 1775 are two events following each other so closely and, in regard to Canada, so much linked together, that they form but one chapter, although we have preferred to separate them into two parts.

Carleton to Dartmouth, November 11th, 1774: "The most respectable part of the English residing in this place (Quebec), notwithstanding many letters received from home, advising them to pursue a different course, have presented an address expressive of their wish to see universal harmony and a dutiful submission to government continues to be the characteristic of the inhabitants of this province, and assuring me that nothing should be wanting, upon their part, to promote so desirable an end. I believe most of those who signed this address were disposed to set up their declaration, which probably would have been followed by those who did not, if their brethren at Montreal had not adopted very different measures.

"Whether the minds of the latter are of a more turbulent turn, or that they caught the fire from some colonists settled among them, or in reality letters were received from the General Congress, as reported, I know not; certain it is, however, that shortly after the said Congress had published in all the American papers their approbation of the Suffolk County Resolves (September 9th), in Massachusetts, a report was spread at Montreal that

letters of importance had been received from the General Congress. All the British there flocked to the coffee house to hear the news. Grievances were publicly talked of, and various ways for obtaining redress proposed, but that government might not come to a true knowledge of their intentions, a meeting was appointed at the house of a person then absent, followed by several others at the same place, and a committee of four named, consisting of Mr. Walker, Mr. Todd, Mr. Price and Mr. Blake, to take care of their interests and prepare plans for redress.

“Mr. Walker . . . takes the lead, and is not unmindful of his friend Mr. Maseres upon the occasion. Their plans being prepared and a subscription commenced, the committee set out for Quebec, attended in form by their secretary, a nephew of Mr. Walker, and by profession a lawyer. Immediately upon their arrival here, their emissaries having prepared the way, an anonymous summons was posted up in the coffee house for all the British subjects to meet at a particular tavern, and a messenger sent round with a verbal notice to such as might not have seen the written summons. At this first meeting a committee of seven, consisting of Mr. John Paterson, since gone to London, Mr. Zachariah Macaulay, Mr. John Lees, senior, said to intend going home this fall, Mr. John Aitkin, their treasurer, Mr. Randal Meredith, Mr. John Welles, and Mr. Peter Fargues, was appointed to prepare and adjust matters with those of Montreal. Several discreet people at Quebec and Montreal declined attending those meetings, as soon as they discovered what they aimed at.

“There have been several town meetings since, as they are pleased to style them, and meetings of the joint committees, at which it is said, they resolved to write letters of thanks to the mayor and corporation of London, to some of the merchants in the city, and to Mr. Maseres, for having taken the province under their protection, and praying a continuance of their zealous endeavours in so good a cause. They intend a handsome present in cash to Mr. Maseres, with the promise of a larger sum, in case he succeeds. Petitions are likewise to be presented to the King, to the Lords, and to the Commons, but of all this I speak doubtfully, as they have taken uncommon pains to keep their whole proceedings from my knowledge.

“This much is certain, that the Canadians feel some uneasiness at these

proceedings. They are surprised that such meetings and nocturnal cabals should be suffered to exert all their efforts to disturb the minds of the people by false and seditious reports, calculated to throw this province into the same disorders that reign in the other parts of this continent. They express some impatience and indignation at being solicited to join in such proceedings and are not without their fears, that some of their countrymen, under the awe of menacing creditors, and others from ignorance, may have been induced to put their hands to a paper, which, they are assured, is intended to secure their lands and property, and take from the governor the power of seizing them to his own use, or sending them and their families up the country among the savages, or waging war at his own pleasure upon the Bostonians, in short to relieve them from the oppression and slavery imposed upon them by those Acts of Parliament. They are the more apprehensive these and such like reports may have had effect upon some weak and ignorant people, that from the precision necessary in the translation, the Acts themselves have not as yet been promulgated.

“I have assured the Canadians that such proceedings could never affect the late measures taken in their favour, nor did I believe they ever would succeed with government upon any occasion, so that they might remain in perfect tranquillity upon that account.

“Notwithstanding my thorough conviction of the assurances I have given them, and that all these town meetings, all the reports, breathing that same spirit, so plentifully gone forth through the neighbouring provinces, can for the present only excite a trifling and momentary agitation, I cannot but regret such examples should be set to the people of this province, and think government cannot guard too much or too soon, against the consequences of an infection, imported daily, warmly recommended, and spread abroad by the colonists here, and indeed by some from Europe, not less violent than the American. I am informed all persons from Boston for Canada are searched for letters and strictly examined, if they have any verbal message from General Gage for me, so that I am not likely to hear from the General before the navigation opens next summer.”

For a long time there had been friction between Great Britain and her colonies in America. Those who left England to seek new homes across the

Atlantic were self-reliant men, and from early colonial days they had shown a desire to manage their own political affairs without outside interference. Their assemblies had long been in a state of chronic antagonism toward the governors and officials sent from England. Taxation imposed by the mother country was particularly repulsive to them. During and after the war of 1744-1763, the British troops gave offence to the "colonials" on several occasions. In their dealings with the people, officers and soldiers assumed a tone of superiority which seems to have rankled deep in the breasts of that democratic community. Under the law all commerce by sea, including the coasting trade of America, had to be carried in British ships. When the first resistance in arms—after exhausting all arguments—was made in the port of Boston, George III. adopted rigorous measures to subdue the "rebels." That monarch was then almost an autocrat in his government. His ministers were selected by himself. No one of them was responsible to Parliament.

After the British ministry had found that the Americans would not submit to the Stamp Act (1765), they tried putting a small duty or tax upon tea and some other articles entering the country, but many of the colonists said that while their representatives were not allowed to sit in the British Parliament, they would not pay taxes ordered by it; and they banded together not to buy goods from England till these taxes were taken off. Several times, and in different places the people became so angry that they mobbed the government officials, broke the windows of those who sided with them, and did other lawless things.*

The troubles between Great Britain and her colonies had not excited much interest in Canada, except among the few English-speaking people of Quebec and Montreal. The majority of these being immigrant traders from the older colonies, sympathized with the Americans as they were sometimes called. The Canadians, brought up under an absolute rule, were naturally on the side of authority embodied in the governor, his council and his troops, but, weary of war, they now desired to stand neutral.

The singular conduct, or rather the duplicity of the American Congress prevented the Canadians from listening to their proposals. That body

*Emily P. Weaver: *A Canadian History for Boys and Girls*, p. 122.

issued two addresses: one to the people of England complaining of the passing of the Quebec Act because it was a concession to the French Catholics of that country; the other sent direct to the Canadians to put them on their guard against the same Act: "a specious device, a painted sepulchre for burying your lives, liberty and property," and "we are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us." The Canadians made a comparison of the two addresses at leisure.

The petitions to the King, Lords, and Commons were received by Maseres in London about the 12th of January, 1775, and delivered by him to the proper parties. The British element in the province complained that they were deprived of the protection of the writ of habeas corpus and of trial by jury; and said that a general assembly was a necessity. The signatures are given here in alphabetical order:—

John Aitkin, Francis Anderson, James Anderson, Peter Arnoldi, Wm. Ashby, Francis Atkinson, Nicolas Bayard, J. Beck, John Bell, Jean Bernard, Joseph Bindon, Jacob Bittez, James Blake, John Blake, Josiah Bleakley, John Bondfield, Joseph Borreelee, D. Bouthillier, Lemuel Bowles, Thomas Boyd, Nicolas Brown, William Callander, Daniel Cameron, Lewis Chaperon, Edward Chinn, John Chisholm, John Comfort, John Connolly, Christy Cramer, Henry Crebassa, Christ. Cron, Robert Cruickshank, James Cuming, Duncan Cumming, Charles Daily, Lazarus David, Thomas David, jr., George Dawson, Richard Dobie, James Doig, C. Dumoulin, François Dumoulin, Henry Dunn, John Durocher, William England, Lawrence Ermatinger, P. Fargues, James Finlay, Richard Flanagan, David Sales T. Frank, George Davison, Alexander Fraser, James Fraser, Malcolm Fraser, Simon Fraser, Simon Fraser, jr., Thomas Fraser, Benjamin Frobisher, Joseph Galbraith, David Geddes, Benaiah Gibb, Hinrich Gonnermann, Charles Grant, J. Grant, George Gregory, James Hanna, John Hare, jr., Aaron Hart, Alexander Hay, Andrew Hays, William Haywood, Jacob Vander Heyden, Benjamin Holborn, Abram Holmes, Samuel Holmes, Joseph Ingo, Samuel Jackson, Robert Jackson, N. Janis, James Jeffrey, George Jinkins, J. Joran, Isaac Judah, John Kay, William Kay, George King, Godfrey King, George Wright Knowles, William Laing, Archibald

Lanfort, Alexander Lawson, Gavin Laurie, James Leach, John Lees, John Lees, jr., Charles Le Marchant, Meshach Levy, Simon Levy, John Lilly, John Lynd, Robert McCay, Patrick McClement, John McCluer, John McCord, John McCord, jr., Allan McFarlane, Peter McFarlane, Robert McFie, Andrew McGill, Roderick McLeod, Thomas McMurray, Richard McNeall, Simon McTavish, Zachary Macaulay, Sein Mann, Edward Manwaring, Jacob Maurer, James May, George Measam, J. Melvin, Randle Meredith, Alexander Milmine, Jonas Clarke Minot, John Mittleberger, Solomon Mittleberger, Michel Morin, James Morrison, Samuel Morrison, George Munro, William Murray, John Neagle, Johan Nikal, James Noel, Patrick O'Donell, William Pantree, John Painter, Alexander Paterson, Allan Paterson, John Paterson, James Perry, Frederick Petry, Michael Phillips, A. Porteous, John Porteous, James Price, J. Pulman, John Renaud, John Richardson, jr., Hugh Ritchie, James Robinson, John Ross, John Saul, Jacob Schieffelin, Adam Scott, David Shoolbread, James Sinclair, Geo Singleton, Francis Smith, Lauch Smith, Ezechiel Solomons, Levy Solomons, John Stenhouse, Phill. Strickman, John Sunderland, John White Swift, James Symington, Cabot Thorne, Isaac Todd, Joseph Torrey, John Trotter, Richard Vincent, Richard Walker, Thomas Walker, Thomas Walker, jr., Alexander Wallace, James George Waltz, John Welles, Adam Wentsel, James Dyer White, Robert Willcocks, S. Young.

On these petitions a motion was made in Parliament for the repeal of the Quebec Act, and was supported by the whole strength of the opposition, but a great majority in both houses maintained the Act. Lord Dartmouth wrote on the 7th June, 1775, after the vote that the motion "met with no greater encouragement without the doors of Parliament, and to all appearance the people of England, in general, concur in the measures which have been adopted."

On the 1st April the skirmish of Lexington set fire to the American revolution. The 1st May following the Quebec Act was to come into force, but owing to the existing condition of affairs hardly any step was taken to that effect. The American Congress issued an address to the Canadians, on the 29th of that month.

In his letter of the 13th March, 1775, Carleton speaks of the continued

agitation of the British element against the change in the system of government introduced by the Quebec Act, and also of the circulation of a printed translation of the letter addressed to the Canadians by the Continental Congress of Philadelphia.

Early in May a band of "Green Mountain boys," under Ethan Allan, seized Fort Ticonderoga "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." The capture of Crown Point followed.

Walker appears from the first threat of hostilities by the discontented colonies to have been in correspondence with his friends in Boston, and to have been recognized as a willing agent in Canada for its subjugation. On the 20th May, 1775, Benedict Arnold wrote him from Ticonderoga, introducing Captain Nineham, who had been sent on a mission to the Caughnawaga Indians to obtain their co-operation, the letter being in such terms as served to show that Walker was heart and soul in the cause of the Bostonians. Nineham brought with him a letter dated 20th May, from Ethan Allan, addressed to "The Councillors at Kocanawaga," urging the Indians not to fight for King George, but to lie in ambush to shoot his soldiers. "We want," he said, "our brother Indians to help us to fight, for I know you are good warriors and can shoot well and I think it is right for us to kill them and that our brother Indians also kill them," promising them plenty of rum. That Caughnawaga was a hot bed of sedition during the war and a place of resort for emissaries from the revolted colonies is abundantly evident from the correspondence and reports of that period.

That Walker was deep in the confidence of Arnold is evident from the contents of a letter written from Crown Point, on the 24th May, in which he is asked to send from time to time "the number of troops with you, their movements (and designs if possible) and if joined by the Canadians or Indians. If any number of the former you may assure them they will soon see an army of Bunker's Hill men in the heart of the country. I have here and at Ticonderoga about one thousand men, and expected to be joined in a few days by two thousand more."

The Congress disallowed the taking of Crown Point and St. John's, as a matter of policy, to keep the appearance of peace until the fall season

and then enter Canada in the absence of the British troops and when too late to obtain any help from England.

Carleton went back to Quebec where he formed the legislative council under the provisions of the Quebec Act. In the royal instructions given to Carleton, on the 3rd January, 1775, the members appointed to form the council are as follows: Hector Theophilus Cramahé, Lieut.-Governor, the Chief Justice, Messrs. Hugh Finlay, Thomas Dunn, James Cuthbert, Colin Drummond, Francis Lévesque, Edward Harrison, John Collins, Adam Mabane, De Léry, St. Ours, De Contreœur, the secretary of the province, George Alsopp, De la Naudière, Lacorne St. Luc, Alexander Johnstone, Conrad Guky, De Bellestre, De Rigauville, and John Fraser.

Articles 12 and 13 of these instructions contain the germ of future misunderstanding relative to habeas corpus and trial by jury, as they say that it will be the duty of the council to consider "whether the laws of England may not be, if not altogether, at least in part the rule for the decision in all the cases of personal actions grounded upon debts, promises, contracts, etc., . . . nor can they follow a better example than that which the common law of this kingdom hath set in the provision made for a writ of habeas corpus. . . ."

Article 20 refers to the Roman Catholic Church: "It is a toleration of the free exercise of that religion only, to which they are entitled, but not to the powers and privileges of it, as an established church, for that is a preference which belongs only to the Protestant Church of England."

The troops in the Province of Quebec, at the date of June 5th, 1775, were only 744 all told, composed of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, the 7th Royal Fusiliers, and the 26th Foot.

Carleton to Dartmouth, 7th June, 1775: "On the 19th of last month, I received intelligence from General Gage, by sea, of the rebels having commenced hostilities in Massachusetts, and requesting I would send the 7th regiment, with some companies of Canadians and Indians to Crown Point. . . . The next morning, Captain Hazen arrived express at Quebec, and brought me an account that one Benedict Arnold . . . landed a considerable number of men at St. John's, surprised the detachment there and made them prisoners. . . . The same evening another express brought

an account of the rebels having landed at St. John's a second time. . . . and most probably would have been cut off . . . by Major Preston, had they not been advised of the march of the troops by one Bindon, a merchant of this town, upon which they crossed the river. . . . While this party, commanded by one Ethan Allan, remained at St. John's, he sent a letter by this same Bindon, addressed to one Morrison and the British merchants of Montreal, lovers of liberty, demanding a supply of provisions, ammunition, and spirituous liquors, which some of them were inclined enough to furnish, had they not been prevented.

“The little force we have in the province was immediately set in motion and ordered to assemble at or near St. John's. The noblesse of this neighbourhood were called upon to collect their inhabitants, in order to defend themselves, the savages of those parts likewise had the same orders, but though the gentlemen showed great zeal, neither their entreaties or their example could prevail upon the people; a few of the gentry, consisting principally of the youth residing in this place and its neighbourhood formed a small corps of volunteers under the command of Mr. Samuel Mackay and took post at St. John's. The Indians showed as much backwardness as the Canadian peasantry.

“Not six hundred rank and file fit for duty upon the whole extent of this great river, not an armed vessel, no place of strength; the ancient provincial force (militia) enervated and broken to pieces; all subordination overthrown, and the mind of the people poisoned by the same hypocrisy and lies practised with so much success in the other provinces, and which their emissaries and friends here have spread abroad with great art and diligence.

“Within these few days the Canadians and Indians seem to return a little to their sense. The gentry and clergy have been very useful upon this occasion and shown great fidelity and warmth for His Majesty's service, but both have lost much of their influence over the people. I propose trying to form a militia, and if their minds are favourably disposed, will raise a battalion upon the same plan as the other corps in America as to numbers and expense.

“Since my return to this province, I have seen good cause to repent my having ever recommended the Habeas Corpus Act and English criminal

laws. These laws, now used as arms against the State, require more public virtue and greater fidelity to their prince than is generally to be met with among the set of people here, that take the lead upon all occasions. To render the colony of that advantage to Great Britain it certainly is capable of, would require the re-introducing of French criminal laws and all the powers of its government.”

A proclamation was issued on June 9th, declaring martial law and calling upon the militia to turn out in defence of the country. It had always been recognized during the French period that the governor might call upon the seigneurs to enroll their habitants for military service in the interests of the Crown, and, as Carleton was extremely anxious to increase the defensive strength of the colony to the utmost point, he asked (June 9th) the seigneurs to muster their *consitaires*, to repel the invaders. Most of the seigneurs, taking the view that the representative of the Crown had a legal right to command their own service and that of their dependents, promptly conveyed the orders to their habitants, but they met with very little favourable response, for in many cases the habitants took the ground that, with the cession of the colony, their obligation to do military service had passed out of existence.*

The old militia organization was considered obsolete because it had ceased to be looked upon as a permanent institution, but the citizens of Quebec were anxious to show that they still had in mind the services the militiamen could render the country and the Crown in a moment of emergency. On the 29th June, they made their offer to the governor “not only in response to his call, but on account also of their sense of duty on such an occasion as this; they hope the militia will be put on their ancient footing in Quebec, the same as Your Excellency has done for Montreal lately.” Carleton’s acknowledgment, 3rd July, says that their offer is full of good sense and expresses obedience to the wish of the sovereign; he adds that the militia of Montreal and Three Rivers being now nearly completed in their arrangements, he will immediately attend at Quebec for the same object. On his return to Quebec, 2nd August, the governor set to work, and on the 11th September, Cramahé held a review of the new corps on the Place d’Armes.

*Munro: *Seigniorial System*, p. 211.

Murray and Carleton were in favour of fortifying Quebec and the reorganization of the militia; also the creation of a Canadian regiment. However, nothing in that way was done, except that, in 1764, a corps of Canadian volunteers was formed hastily and sent to the great lakes against Pontiac. When the American rebellion broke out, Carleton wrote that the gentry of Canada had been painfully disappointed during the last fifteen years because none of them were offered service with the army and that "they do not relish commanding a bare militia. They never were used to that service under the French government.* Besides the sudden dismissal of the Canadian regiment raised in 1764, without gratuity or recompense to officers, who engaged in our service almost immediately after the cession, or taking any notice of them since, though they all expected half pay, is still uppermost in their thoughts and not likely to encourage their engaging a second time in the same way. As to the habitants or peasantry, ever since the civil authority has been introduced into the province, the government of it has hung so loose, and retained so little power, they have in a manner emancipated themselves, and it will require time and discreet management likewise, to recall them to their ancient habits of obedience and discipline. Considering all the new ideas they have been acquiring for these ten years past, can it be thought they will be pleased at being suddenly and without preparation embodied into a militia and marched from their families, lands and habitations to remote provinces, and all the horrors of war which they have already experienced?"

Printed appeals from Congress to the Canadians were circulated in immense numbers, which were dropped at every house in the parishes near Montreal. In June, 1775, Walker was at Repentigny spreading news among the habitants that the Bostonians were coming in force, that they would harm no one who kept quiet, but that those taking arms against them would suffer. At his own house a week or two later he spoke so freely that his wife was obliged to caution him, telling him he talked too much and that his words would hurt him. This confirms the statement elsewhere, that he was a rash, hot-headed man. About the end of June he was at Chambly, promis-

*On the contrary, most of the expeditions made by the militia during the years 1665-1759 were commanded by men of the nobility.

ing money, arms, and powder to the Canadians, one of whom stated that Walker was on Chambly Mountain looking out for the Bostonians, and that he had offered him 2,000 francs if he would join him.

A letter from John Brown, one of Arnold's lieutenants, dated 1st of August, summoned Walker to Chambly "on business of high importance." The letter was accompanied by another from Schuyler, and the statement that other friends had been sent for to Caughnawaga to attend the same meeting. Inside it was addressed to "Messrs. Walker, Price and such others as they shall communicate," but was intercepted. It is unnecessary to follow in detail this man's movements, who acquired a factitious prominence from the brutal outrage committed on him in 1764, but was otherwise of little importance.

The battle of Bunker Hill, near Boston took place on the 17th June, thus putting the colonies in open war with Great Britain. On the 2nd August Governor Carleton assumed the command of all the forces in Canada.

Lord Dartmouth was fully relying upon Carleton's previous assurances of what could be expected from Quebec in support of the British interests on this continent, if only the French laws and system of government were re-established and the noblesse and clergy restored to their former ascendancy. Hence, when the crisis was precipitated at Boston, he wrote to Carleton, July 1st, 1775, saying that "the King relies upon the loyalty and fidelity of his Canadian subjects for their assistance to suppress rebellion, and it is His Majesty's pleasure that you do, if you see no objection, immediately upon the receipt of this letter take the proper steps for raising a body of 3,000 Canadians in such form and manner as you shall judge most proper, to act as light infantry, either in a separate corps or in conjunction with His Majesty's other troops, as shall upon consulting General Gage, be thought most expedient."

Lord Dartmouth wrote to Governor Carleton, 24th July: "It is His Majesty's pleasure that instead of 3,000 men which you were authorized to raise by my letter of the 1st instant, the number to be raised be 6,000, and I have accordingly given directions for an additional supply of arms, clothing and accoutrements in proportion."

Chief Justice Hey writing from Quebec to the Lord Chancellor, 28th August, draws a gloomy picture of the situation and explains the sentiment of the Canadians, so brusquely transformed into an attitude of indifference at the very hour of peril:—

“Your Lordship will remember how much has been said by us all of the loyalty of the Canadians, their obedience and gratitude, their habitual submission to government and their decent, civil and respectful demeanour to those who had the conduct of it, but time and accident have evinced that they were obedient only because they were afraid to be otherwise, and with that fear lost (by withdrawing the troops) is gone all the good disposition that we have so often and steadily avowed in their names and promised for them in ages to come. Yet I am sometimes willing to think that fear, joined with extreme ignorance and a credulity hardly to be supposed of a people, have been overmatched by the subtility and assiduity of some colonial agents who were very busy here last winter, and that they are not at bottom an ungenerous and disobedient people. That temperate management and gentle methods of persuasion and instruction may yet bring them to a sense of their duty and; indeed, their interests, and when they are made to understand that the true point of fear should be that of sitting still and not putting themselves into a state of defence, they will take arms not only for their present defence, but when supported by a body of the King’s troops be ready for any offensive service that the time may demand; which in my opinion would strike more terror into the colonies than General Gage’s army doubled or trebled at Boston. . . . I believe it to be as true as any thing can be that the colonies without the assistance of England, would have been reduced from north to south by this province in the last war.”

By the 17th September the rebels had succeeded in making peace with the Indians who all left the camp at St. John’s, and many of the Canadians of that neighbourhood had joined the enemy “and not one hundred, except in the towns of Montreal and Quebec, are with us,” says Chief Justice Hey. In fact, the country people did not side with the British, but it seems that the towns had a better understanding of the situation.

On the 18th September Arnold began his march from the mouth of River Kenebec to reach Quebec.

Cramahé to Dartmouth, 21st September: "I am sorry to transmit to Your Lordship the disagreeable account of a disagreeable business. Some time in the beginning of this month, upon news of the rebel army approaching, General Carleton set out for Montreal in great haste. On the 7th instant, the rebels landed in the woods near St. John's, and were beaten back to their boats by a party of savages encamped at that place. In this action the savages behaved with great spirit and resolution, and had they remained firm to our interests, probably the province would have been saved for this year, but finding the Canadians in general averse to the taking up arms for the defence of their country, they withdrew, and made their peace.

"After their defeat the rebels retired to Isle aux Noix where they continued, till lately, sending out some parties, and many emissaries, to debauch the minds of the Canadians and Indians, in which they have proved too successful and for which they were too well prepared by the cabals and intrigues of these two last years. . . . No means have been left untried to bring the Canadian peasantry to a sense of their duty, and engage them to take up arms in defence of the province, but all to no purpose. Justice must be done to the gentry, clergy, and most of the bourgeoisie as they have shown the greatest zeal and fidelity to the King's service, and exerted their best endeavours to reclaim their infatuated countrymen. Some troops and a ship of war or two would in all likelihood have prevented this general defection.

"Some of the King's old subjects have joined the rebels, and it were to be wished all of them inclined to that cause had done the same—we should be the safer for it. . . .

"Lieutenant-Colonel Maclean, with about eighty of his new raised corps and twenty of the Fusiliers, besides a militia composed of the inhabitants of the town (Quebec) is all that we have to repair its breaches and defend it. General Carleton, who is still in Montreal, has not received a line from Your Lordship since the 15th of April."

Ethan Allan with 150 men rashly attempted, towards the end of September, to take Montreal, then a place of over twelve thousand inhabitants. Most of the regular troops had been withdrawn to garrison St. John's.

Allan took possession of some house on the outskirts, but was dislodged by Major Carden, who attacked him with a force of 280 men, of whom only thirty were regulars, the rest being Montreal volunteers. After five of his men had been killed and many others wounded, Allan surrendered (25th September).

Montgomery had laid siege to St. John's, where Major Preston was in command of nearly seven hundred men, many of them Canadian volunteers from Montreal. For nearly seven weeks Preston kept Montgomery at bay, but Carleton was unable to send him succor as the Americans occupied the country between there and Montreal.

Below St. John's there was a stone fort at Chambly defended by Major Stopford, with a force of about eighty men. Learning that it contained artillery, Montgomery sent a detachment to capture it, and after a few hours' siege it surrendered. Preston, nevertheless, held out at St. John's for two weeks longer, and only gave up when all hope of succor was gone, and he and his men threatened with famine. They were accorded the honours of war in recognition of their brave defence (31st October).

Pierre Ducalvet, a merchant in Montreal, was born in Quercy, near Languedoc, France, according to his own statement, others say he was of Swiss origin. For the sake of religion—being a Protestant—he abandoned his property and went to Acadia in 1758 as a commissary in the French administration, which is an established fact, as we know he acted as King's storekeeper there, but was he a Protestant at that time? It is a well understood rule of the French service that no Huguenot could be employed with the military forces in the colonies. Anyway he was under Vergor and Bigot at Miramichi. How did he come to Quebec after the reduction of Louisbourg in 1758? By the articles of capitulation of that place he should have been a prisoner of war and transported to England. If he had resigned before the capitulation, he would have been like the merchants and their clerks, transported to France, but as a commissary he formed part of the garrison.* After the taking of Quebec, he says he was charged by Governor Murray with keeping the inhabitants within the limits of submission and obedience in which he was happily successful. Upon these state-

*Dr. Douglas Brymner: *Canadian Archives*, 1888.

ments (which are somewhat difficult to reconcile with each other) and on the ground of being an unfortunate and steadfast Protestant, he presented a petition to George III. (30th January, 1767), for a lieutenancy in the army for a nephew, and for a pension for life for himself. As a specimen of his style, the close of the petition may be quoted: "It is in the name of my fidelity and my services, recognized and attested by the governor and Your Majesty's other general officers in Canada; it is in the name of the Protestant religion, for which I have lost everything, and which now speaks for me; it is in the name of the most ardent desires which he ceases not to form for the glory and prosperity of Your Majesty's reign, that of his most faithful subjects takes the liberty of addressing to you these requests."

Ducalvet settled in Montreal, entered into trade and was made a magistrate. In the introduction to his *Appel à la Justice* (1784), he states that he inherited a competent fortune from his ancestors and that it had largely increased in his hands, but in two memorials written several years before he declares that he had lost his property on account of his religion.

Whether by purchase or otherwise, Ducalvet was in possession of the seigniory of Rivière David (Yamaska) before 1774, and on the 9th July of that year he signed a petition for the grant of more land in addition to what he had already. Here, in 1775, we have to deal with him as we have done with Walker, for he was a man of the same character. The fact appears to be that from the first, Ducalvet was in communication with Montgomery, and acted as his agent in disseminating his proclamations through the French parishes. This is clearly proved by a letter from Montgomery to him, dated at Laprairie on the 9th November, 1775, which was intercepted and afterwards sent by Carleton to Lord Dartmouth on the 20th of the same month. He even went so far as to hold a commission in the regiment commanded by Moses Hazen. In the troubled condition of the province, at that time, Ducalvet was safe, but there can be no doubt he was watched after its recovery, but was apparently too cautious to commit himself further.

Arnold with eleven hundred men had come by the route of the Kenebec to the head waters of the Chaudière and down that stream to where it

enters the St. Lawrence, nearly opposite Quebec, arriving there 9th November. By reason of the hardship of the long march of six weeks many had to be sent back, and Arnold's force had dwindled to eight hundred before he reached his destination. He pitched his camp (13th November) on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, some distance from Quebec, up the river and awaited Montgomery's coming.

Governor Carleton seeing the advance of the Americans at Longueuil and Laprairie, left Montreal on the 11th on board of one of the vessels commanded by British officers. They sailed down the river as far as Sorel, where they were stopped by the Americans and went back to Lavaltrie, where the soldiers, the war material and the ships fell into the hands of the enemy on the 19th November.

From Lavaltrie, two days before, Carleton had gone in a row boat, with his aide-de-camp De Lanaudière, the chevalier de Niverville and a sergeant by the name of Bouthillier, under the direction of Jean Baptiste Bouchette, a very well known navigator of those days. The little craft avoided with difficulty the patrols and the corps moving across the St. Lawrence, until coming to Three Rivers, the home of De Niverville, where they found themselves mixed up with the American officers and their men, but they managed to pass unnoticed and after dinner proceeded on their route, leaving De Niverville at his own house. The troops of Arnold gave them several alarms as they approached Quebec. Finally, on the 19th the governor entered the town and ordered the bells to ring for a public meeting.

Montgomery having occupied Montreal on the 13th November, arrived at Pointe-aux-Trembles, near Quebec, on the 1st December, thus making his junction with Arnold. All his forces there amounted to less than two thousand men. Carleton had a mixed garrison of about sixteen * hundred men; the regulars did not exceed three hundred. Those who left the town were largely English-speaking sympathizers with Congress. The population of Quebec was about five thousand.†

*Some say about 1,200. See *Canadian Archives*, 1904, p. 384.

†For the name, occupation and residence of each of the militiamen of Quebec during the winter of 1775-76, see *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, September and October, 1906.



DEATH OF MONTGOMERY.

Quebec was bombarded during the whole of December. In the early hours of the 1st January, feigned assaults were made at all the gates which faced the plains and the parish of St. Roch. Meantime, amid falling snow, Montgomery marched out to carry the post on Champlain Street alongside the St. Lawrence and from there to ascend Mountain Hill Street. Captain Chabot,* in charge of the first barricade, was on the alert, and a murderous fire greeted the Congress troops. Montgomery fell, his men retreated. Arnold was wounded at the St. Roch gate and 431 of his men taken. Finally the Americans were repulsed everywhere, with a loss of five hundred men.

During the winter feeling ran high in Montreal. General Wooster insisted that the Canadian seigneurs should give up the commissions they held under the British Crown, offering them new appointments under Congress. With much difficulty he obtained the commissions, but the majority of the noblesse declined to serve under Congress. Some were so outspoken in their expression of loyalty to British rule that Wooster threatened to banish them from the city. Later on the failure of Montgomery's assault upon Quebec was not without effect upon the habitants. They had also many reasons to be dissatisfied with the Congress troops.†

Captain Joseph-Marie Lamotte, of Montreal, having been made a prisoner, succeeded in recovering his liberty and reached Lord Howe, who gave him letters for General Carleton. On his arrival at Montreal he learned of the situation at Quebec and in company with a young friend, Joseph Papi-neau, travelled on foot during the month of February, by the south shore of the St. Lawrence, going from presbytery to presbytery, avoiding notice in day time and suffering much from cold and other hardships. The news they brought was that the fleet would arrive on the first day of opening of navigation, so that Carleton could assure his people that the siege was merely a matter of time. He told the Irishmen to postpone St. Patrick's day until May, in order to have a double celebration and more means to meet it. Lamotte and Papineau enlisted in the garrison and remained there till the arrival of the fleet. Of the Lamottes, father, son and grandson, we

*See *Bulletin des Recherches*, September, 1906, p. 284.

†W. H. P. Clement: *History of the Dominion*.

have a very honourable record. Papineau was elected to the legislative assembly in 1791, and made a name for himself; his son, Louis-Joseph, is still better known among us.

General Wooster went to Quebec early in January. On the 17th of that month Walker had an interview with him on the Plains of Abraham.

In the spring of 1776 three commissioners were appointed by Congress to see what could be done to secure the adhesion of the Canadians to their cause. They were: Benjamin Franklin, Rev. Charles Carroll and Samuel Chase. The mission was a failure. After visiting Montreal these gentlemen returned to Philadelphia with a report that nothing could be done.

During the spring of 1776 Congress troops kept coming into the province, and some of them joined the army before Quebec. The garrison was in good health, while there was much sickness in the camp of the besiegers. Towards the end of April, General Thomas arrived to take command of the operations, but on the 6th May came the British fleet, with nine thousand troops. General Thomas left so quickly that his uneaten dinner was found upon his table. His artillery and camp stores remained behind him.

Carleton followed up the Congress troops rather slowly and did not reach Three Rivers before the 8th June, at the end of the day. Meantime, the militia of the district of Montreal were active. At the Cedars, on the 19th May, Major Isaac Butterfield, an American officer, surrendered with 300 men, to Captain George Foster.

In a rash attempt to regain lost ground, General Thompson retraced his steps and went down as far as Sorel in an attempt to capture Three Rivers (8th June), but his troops were cut to pieces on the common of that town and he was taken prisoner.

Montreal saw the Americans retreating on the 15th of June. Then came the Declaration of Independence, signed at Philadelphia, 4th July, 1776.