

FROM THE CRUSADES TO QUEBEC



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GUERIN

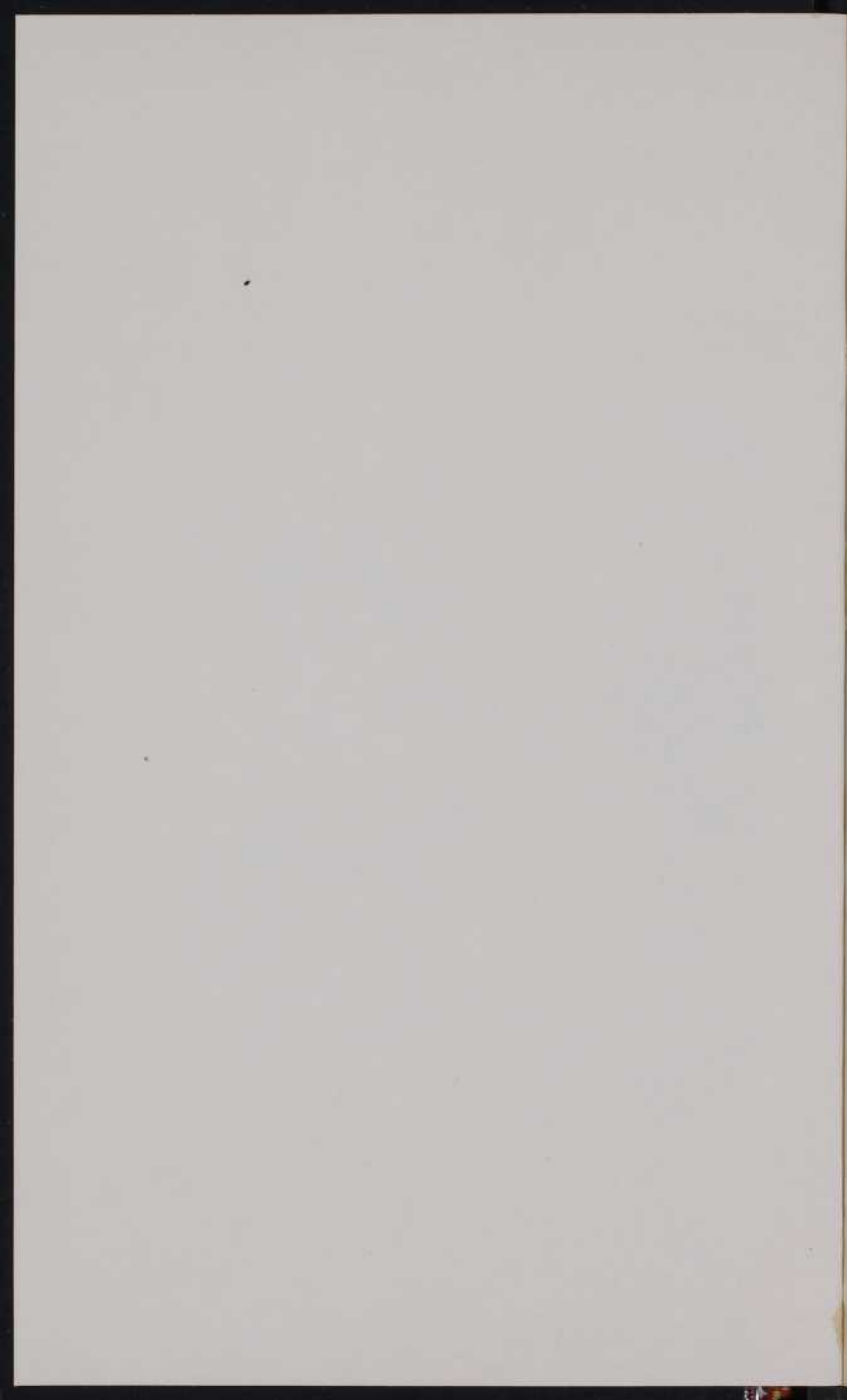


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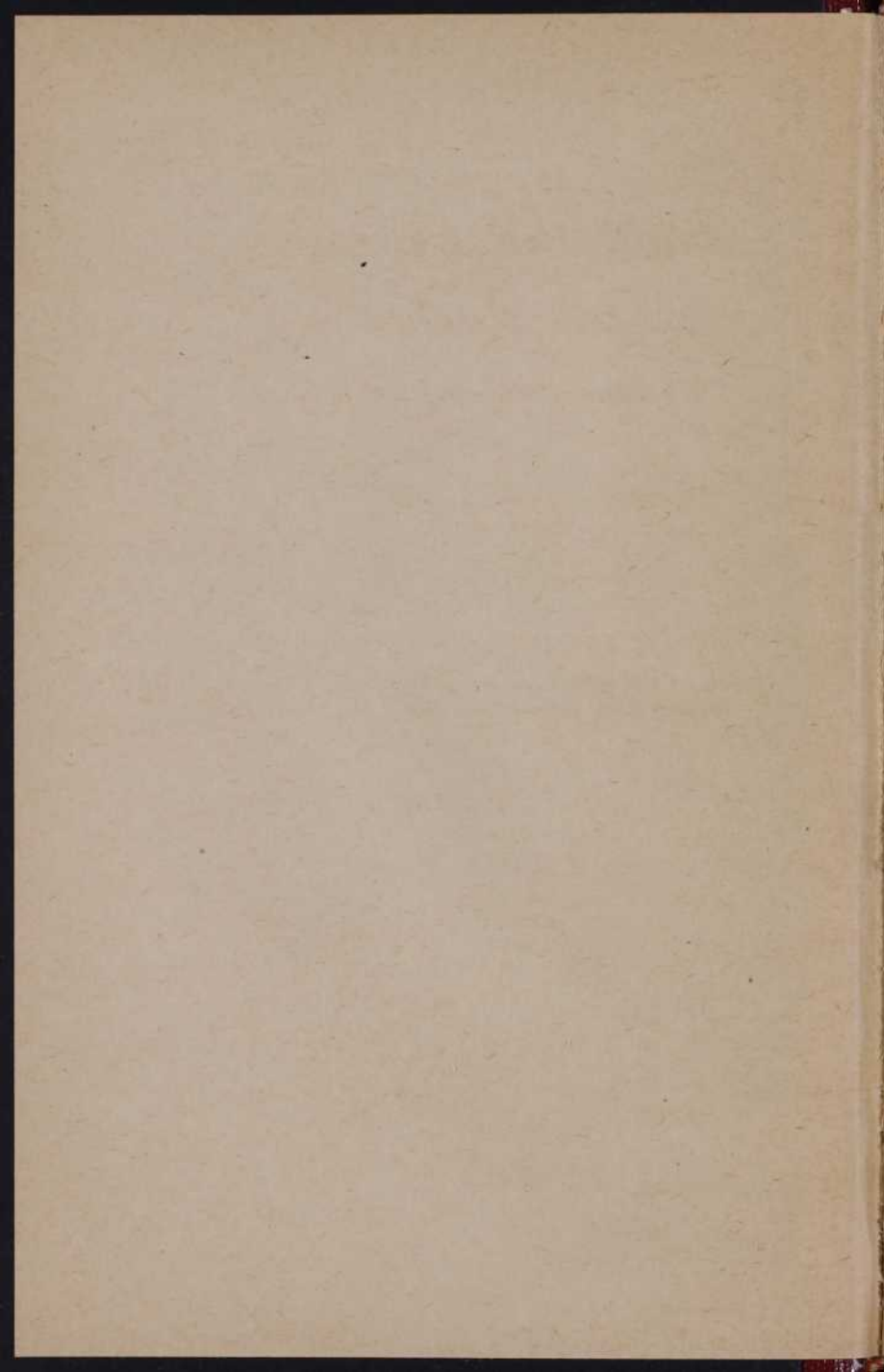
Québec







From the Crusades to Quebec



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"The Knights of Malta in the New World"

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*To the DEAN and MEMBERS
of the Faculty of Letters of the
University of Montreal
this little book is dedicated.*

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CHAPTER I

APOLOGIA

THE spirit of romance was never more keenly shown than amongst those first settlers that sailed up the great river which was to prove itself the lifestream of New France. Its broad expanse was to become the highway to the West. The voyageur, the explorer and the black-robe were to dip their paddles in its friendly waters. It was to bear upon its flow the furs and the riches of the great unknown.

Here in a far-off wilderness a new nation was coming into being. The spirit of Old France was being planted anew amongst the pines and the maples. Here the rule of the Bourbons was to be benevolent and the reigns of France's kings were to pass in pageantry across the pages of this new land's story.

Henry IV, delightful old cynic that he was, was to be the first to rule over the City of Quebec. His flag so prophetic of the New World of the North, white for

the snowfields, strewn with his golden lilies, rose to the masthead on Champlain's little fort. Louis XIII and the Grand Monarch were those who played the role of France's Royal benevolence and sent across the seas not only the settler, the artisan, the soldier and the missionary, but also the courtier, the Knight and the Seigneur to heighten the romance that was to become Canada.

The satins and the laces of the Royal Court were to brush against the feathers and paint of the Indian. The sword of steel was to parry the tomahawk. Men who had vowed their lives to the fighting of the infidel turned their backs upon the Saracen and lifted again the banner of the White Cross against a new enemy.

The Order of Malta, that had first served the Christian pilgrims in their journeys to the Holy Land had now assumed a new duty and men who wore its Cross upon their doublets came to help found a new nation in the forests of the North. What their role was and what they achieved deserve study, for they represent the best that history has.

Their presence might never have been known had not, in 1782, a stone bearing the Arms of their Order, been found amongst the ruins of the Château Saint Louis at Quebec. This is mute testimony that they were not mere persons of passage but rather that their stay had been of sufficient importance to leave behind evidence of their sojourn. Where this stone stood and what it indicated has long been a subject of surmise but its existence must not be overlooked.

That their influence should be felt in the government is natural. Knighthood, in an Order that has carried on unbroken since the Crusades, must have left an imprint upon their personalities and upon the work that they had undertaken. Unfortunately of their story, very little is available, yet hidden in the pages of old letters and reports a word is now and then found, telling that members of the Sovereign Order of Malta were to be found amongst those who served the cause of France in the New World. What inspiration filled them with the zeal to colonize as well as to conquer is hard to determine. Perhaps a desire to establish Christianity on a pagan soil as well as a love for the beautiful land from which they sprang, sent them upon their long voyage.

The interests of their Order also, during the first years of the colony, seem not to have been entirely absent from their thoughts. Their place, in a world that was emerging from an era of Conflict with the Saracen, was changing. The role of protector of the pilgrims which they had filled for centuries weighed less heavily upon their mail-clad shoulders and their place, in the economy of Europe, as a great feudal power was waning before the rising strength of absolute Monarchy. There were, amongst them, men who saw renewed greatness for their Order hidden in the mists of the future and who even dreamed that the new land which lay, to the West across the seas, might be for them a new home and a new Empire and that the rule of Malta might extend, some day, from Acadia and Quebec, in the north, to the palm strewn sands of the Carribean.

There is reason to believe that, during the first half of the Seventeenth Century when this influence amongst the founders of New France was uppermost, they contemplated taking over the whole of the New Venture for themselves and building in the new world a Great Power, with the Cross of Malta emblazoned upon its colours, wherein the feudalism of their Knightly Order would be found flourishing in the Western World. They actually accomplished this in the French Antilles and New France proved a strong temptation for their ambitions. A few of their Knights had already come to the New Colony, others were to be expected.

High officers of the Order, particularly of the Langue of France, foresaw great influence for their members in the development of the new land, extending even to the idea of undertaking its colonization and ultimately placing it completely under the folds of their own standard. Undoubtedly, during these early days a place to meet within the walls of the fortress of Saint Louis had been prepared for them.

Great Orders have existed in Europe, the Teutonic Knights in Germany, the Knights of the Sword in the Livonia, the Great Spanish Orders, but none were greater than Malta. It is indeed fitting that this was the Order that is to be found in the forests and clearings of New France.

Malta, or the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, as it is also known, has as a patron the same Precursor who was to become the patron of Quebec.

This was a tie with these Swordsmen of the West who helped to impress upon the pages of history the romance that permeates its chapters. They too brought into our land the chivalry of France at the height of her magnificence.

They were also symbolic of a militant Christianity that had brightened the Middle Ages. This, combined with the glamour of the Court of the Louis' and the Gallic agility of mind that had served to light the intellect of the renaissance, had inspired them to come and to plant their seed in a western soil in a hope that it would flourish and flower in this very land of France-across-the-seas.

To what extent its spirit actually did take root in this clay of Canada or merely died on the barren rock of Quebec was a subject of much discussion during the middle years of the Nineteenth Century. Would that this interest had survived and that the people of Quebec had preserved intact its story. Whatever was its end, were it fraught with success or failure, such soldiers of the Christian Cross could not fail to have added a page to the history of this foundation which is unlike any other in the Western World.

The footprints of their spurred feet across the pages of our history are long since blotted out and the proof of their presence, though unassailable, is not clearcut enough to give them the place in our national drama which we would wish them to possess and which should be theirs by right of their role in the history of Europe.

No country in the world had a more Christian birth than this Canada and it is natural that a tie between this land and the cradle of Christianity, Jerusalem, should be diligently sought.

The sojourn of these Knights of the White Cross on the shores of the St. Lawrence is therefore of special interest. Was their work in this New World merely a romantic chapter to inspire the writers of our historical records to inflame the imagination of our romantic scribblers, or was theirs an attempt to bring to this country all the pageantry and panoply of centuries; or did they come here to help plant the flag of France's kings solidly in this soil?

The object of this little book is to impress upon the people of this Province an incident in their chronicle of which they know little and to interest them again in a neglected chapter in their history. So few people, also, know what the Cross of Malta really signifies and the evolution through which it passed before it assumed the form known to the people of today. It was worn across the world and its story is an epic of militant Christianity in which our New World shared.



CHAPTER II

THE ORDER OF MALTA IN FEUDAL EUROPE

THE story of the part played in the history of Canada by the Sovereign Order of Malta helps to tie this land across the seas with that great confraternity which ruled in mighty splendour on the shores of the Mediterranean, that held fiefs and seigneuries, established langues, built priories across the continent of Europe and played an important role in the civilization of the Middle Ages.

Its narrative goes back almost ten centuries, for the tale that it tells begins in 1023. It was then that some merchants of Amalfi, in the Kingdom of Naples, purchased a site in Jerusalem where once stood the Frankish Hospital, founded by Charlemagne two hundred years before, and which had been destroyed by the Caliph Hakim Biamrillat in 1010. The Hungarians also showed them the way, for by the year 1000 their king, St. Stephen, had established his Magyar foundation.

These men from this Italian town which at that time still recognized the suzerainty of the Greek Emperors, were trading actively⁽¹⁾ with Asia Minor and the East, for these then controlled the commerce of Europe.

The hospital that they built was a small affair but it was destined to be the birthplace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, later in its history to become the Sovereign Order of Malta. In the beginning it was rather a hospice to serve as a haven or shelter for the poor pilgrims and travellers who had made their way to the Holy City.

These followers of St. John engrossed in their humble role of serving the weary, soon extended their cares to the sick but their modest foundation gave no indication that in time it would rank amongst the great Orders of the world. For over a century they limited their calling merely to one of charity and succor and gave no thought to the military role that lay ahead.

In 1113, Pusal II issued a Bull appointing one of their number named Gerard as their titular head. Little is known of him, for the name of his family and the place of his birth have been sought without success. He was the first to give to the little group

1. de Vertôt, M. l'Abbé, de l'Académie des Belles Lettres — *Histoire des Chevaliers Hospitaliers de St-Jean de Jérusalem* appelés depuis Chevaliers de Rhodes et aujourd'hui Chevaliers de Malthe. Chez Claude-Jacques-Charles Durand, Libraire — Paris, rue du Foin St-Jacques, au Griffon — 1778 avec approbation et privilège du Roi, 7 vols. — Vol. I, p. 17.

the form of a religious congregation, but it fell to his successor, Raymond du Puy, to convert it into an order of chivalry and this change was confirmed by Pope Calixtus II in 1120.

Its characteristics were now far different from those brought from Amalfi. To their humble duty, of serving the sick and weary pilgrims, had now been added the military role of defending the travellers against the attacks of the Moslems.

Their first house had not prospered but had rather languished on alms collected in Italy only. It needed funds and a source of revenue sufficient to sustain its work indefinitely. Godfroy de Bouillion became their helper. He bought for their sustenance the Seigneurie of Monboire, in Brabant.(2) This was their first feudal holding and confirmed their international status. In a few years they were enriched by many such grants both on the continent of Europe and in Asia Minor itself.

Gerard had placed his foundation under the protection of St. John the Baptist and separated those working in the wards as hospitallers from those who were actually members of the religious state. He ordained that the rule of St. Benedict was to be followed and that all who entered the Order should take their vows at the foot of the Holy Sepulchre.(3)

Shortly before Gerard assumed his office as titular head, Peter the Hermit preached the first Crusade.

2. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 52.

3. Loc. Cit.

This was to them a great moment for it gave them actual importance.

Travel in Europe at that time was slow and arduous. Pilgrims from many lands made their way slowly eastward, across the Alps, through the valleys of the great rivers, towards the Mediterranean, but now there were added to their numbers the fighting men of the Continent bent on freeing the Holy Land of the infidel.

Though Gerard had founded well his hospice, it was under his successor, Raymond du Puy of Dauphiné, that it flourished. This Knight had entered Palestine in the Armour of a Crusader, but on the completion of his service, he returned to the Hospice of St. John, seeking admission as a member.

He erected splendid buildings for his community, close to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He also drew up the rules and customs which carried on, with various modifications, throughout the history of the Order of Malta. He writes—

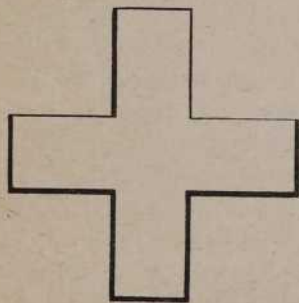
“I made the present regulations to be observed in the house of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Jerusalem. I wish, therefore, that all the brothers who shall engage in the Service of the poor and in the defense of the Catholic Church, shall maintain and observe, with the Grace of God, the three things which are promised to Him which are Chastity, Charity and Obedience. That is to say, they will do all that they shall be commanded to do by the Grand Master; and to

pass their life without possessing anything personal, because God will demand an accounting on the Day of Judgment."

Raymond Dupuy, Master."(4)

The vows they took were the simple vows of religion, that is of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience.

In 1192, Richard Cœur de Lion recognized their knightly and sovereign character when he gave to the Hospital of Jerusalem, its Masters, Brothers, and to all its tenants, the right of "demesne" with all the liberties and customs that Royal Power can give on all its territory, possessions and administrations, etc., "free from all obligation to bear arms or furnish horses in the King's service".(5)



The first Cross of the
Knights of St. John.

During the first two centuries of their labours, they wore upon their black robes a white cross with square ends, similar to the present Cross of Savoy (*Fig. No. 1*) and it was not till 1259 that Pope Alexander IV authorized for their use the Knightly Cross of Eight Points. This thereafter, they wore on

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 13-14.

5. Elizabeth W. Schemerhorn — "On the Trail of the Eight-Pointed Cross"; A study of the Heritage of the Knights Hospitaller in Feudal Europe — 1940 — G.P. Putnam's Sons — New York — p. 21.

their habits and it was also used to mark all the property of the Order.(6) This form of Cross appears to have been the badge of the Crusaders and it is an interesting fact that Eugenius III granted the red Cross of this form to the Templars during his pontificate of 1145 to 1153. The Order of St. Lazare also, which devoted itself to the care of lepers, wore it of green.

The Eight points of the Cross were of special significance, for each point represented one of the Eight Beatitudes contained in the opening of the Sermon on the Mount. Each of these ideals was to be regarded as the token of an obligation assumed personally upon themselves by all Crusader Knights. These were: Blessed are: 1, "the poor of spirit"; 2, "the meek"; 3, "they who mourn"; 4, "they that hunger and thirst after justice"; 5, "the merciful"; 6, "the clean of heart"; 7, "the peacemakers"; 8, "the persecuted for justice sake".

It was Alexander also who established the difference between the Knights, or fighting men, and those serving in the wards and exhorted that throughout all the Parish Churches of Europe—"the Order be enriched with offerings and donations so that it might grow and increase".(7)

The Knights soon established hospices, in many of the seaport towns of the Old World, to help gather together the Pilgrims and speed them on their way towards the Holy Places in Jerusalem.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

7. Vertôt, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 64.

The Princes of Europe lent their aid and commanderies were established at St. Gilles in Provence, at Seville in Andalousia, at Taranto in Southern Italy and at Messina in Sicily as well as in several other suitable localities.(8)

Christendom had now a serious enemy. Islam was driving the Cross from the very land that its shadow had made sacred and the Continent felt itself in danger from the Moslem hordes, for the fear of the infidel had spread across Europe.

On the Feudal Grants that they had acquired, castles of their Order were springing up in all the countries of the Continent and nobles, fired with the romance of the Crusades, gave their "dime lands" and houses to help the cause of Christ.

On the fall of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, in 1191, the Knights passed to Cypress. From there they carried on their Holy War against the Moslems till they conquered Rhodes in 1309.

They had become the rivals of the Templars. Their battlemented strongholds, with towers crowned by beacons, served to guide the pilgrims on the road or to alarm the countryside of an approaching danger, while their keeps offered protection to the people.

Lands, fiefs and rentes were given to them everywhere and their Commanderies became the rallying points for the Crusaders as well as for those awaiting to depart on their journey to the Tomb of Christ.

8. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 55.

On the suppression of the Templars in 1307, Clement V, by a Bull, gave them still greater grants, for they received five hundred and sixty Commanderies formerly held by their rivals. These were spread across the face of the Old World, each commandery comprising from five to fifteen villages, with farms, manors, vineyards and châteaux.(9) At the height of their power they held in the various states of Europe, over five thousand holdings. Many of these had begun in a small way and had grown to large estates, while kings and nobles placed their children in their care.(10)

They were now great overlords and the head of a Commandry demanded and received all the rights, honours and privileges which his feudal status demanded. No great seigneur could exact more than they could. The masses of the people in Feudal Europe were quasi-serfs and were subject to the *Corvée* when work was needed. The Seigneurs had their right to their "dimes" and rentes of grain, fowl and flour milled in their mills. If, on the road, they were overtaken by darkness, they could spend the night at the house of anyone who lived within the bounds of their seigneuries. The Commander also could claim certain honourary privileges, such as a special pew in the Church with his arms emblazoned upon it, and other minor courtesies.(11)

9. *Ibid.*, p. 22, also Colonel E.J. King, "The Knights of St. John in the British Empire" — 1934, St. John's Gate, London, E.C.1. — p. 41.

10. Schemerhorn — *op. cit.* p. 39.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

They had acquired the status of a special class. They were great landholders and overlords under the Sovereign in whose realm their seigneuries were situated, and at the same time subject to obedience to their Grand Master. During the Feudal era this situation was possible and the various sovereigns often used these knights on diplomatic missions and as ambassadors to other lands.

As their feudal holdings developed, their castles grew stronger. Under the ever-present peril of Islam, these came to be regarded as havens of safety. As one went inland from the Mediterranean the danger lessened and the strong points became less fortified, till as one approached the English Channel the reason for defense disappeared and when one reached England the Great Priories were in reality gentlemen's estates of much beauty and riches.(12)

They were now a veritable power and their Grand Master was in reality an independent and sovereign ruler. When Solyman II drove them from their island in 1530, Charles V granted them the Island of Malta under the nominal suzerainty of the Kings of Spain. It is from this date that the title "Knight of Malta" came into being. The Maltese Cross, as the Cross of the Knights is popularly called, is a complete misnomer. The Eight Pointed Cross had already been theirs for well nigh two and a half centuries. The rude forms, often given this name, which consisted of little more than four triangles joined at the apex

12. Loc. Cit.



Portrait of a young man by Titian.

(Prado Gallery, Madrid.)

(Kindness of the Consul-General of Spain at Montreal.)

and resembled in everyway the Cross Patée, were probably amongst the earliest designs of the Cross of the Beatitudes.

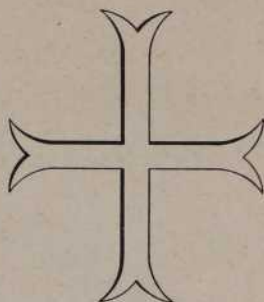
It is certain that the first eight pointed Crosses were not the geometrical perfections that are worn today, but it was essential that the Cross should have eight points. The White Cross which was of linen or other white material was worn on the breast first of the Cappa Clausa, the great black sleeveless cloak which covered their habit, and later on the supertunic which replaced it and which gave greater freedom of movement. This was authorized by Innocent IV in 1248. In 1259, Alexander IV again reformed the costume. He determined that in times of peace the habit should be black with the eight pointed white Cross on the breast and in time of war it should consist of a red surcoat worn over the armour and bearing a plain White Cross extending across the whole garment.

There is a splendid illustration of this in the Cathedral of Siena where there are two portraits by Pinturicchio (Bernardo di Belto—1455 to 1513). One represents a Knight kneeling in prayer in full armour and wearing over it the scarlet surcoat charged with the full White Cross, while on the ground beside him is his helmet ornamented with two ostrich feathers, one red, the other white. The other painting is of Alberto Arringhieri, a Knight of Malta, dressed in black and wearing, on the left shoulder of his great black cloak, a small white eight pointed Cross.

R VINCENTIO
ANASTAGI DOPPO
SSERE STATO GO
VERNATORE DELLA
CITTÀ VICCHADI
MARETHAVERCO
CUM BELLASSE
RO DELLA VEDDIA
ADVI. IDELE DVE
CUM BAGNIEDECA
MILICIE DEN TROSI
TROVAROQUE ADVI
DOPAGNIDITAI COM
DOPV VOLTA ADVI
COMPAGNIE DIETNA
VSARGEIT MAGIOR
DELA MAGA VONORAI
IN HVOLTA DI GRAY
MA SEODITRE COM
EMORIN MITRO DELLA
GRIDELEGARE L'AN
NO 1586 DELE TAVA



The various national influences undoubtedly caused differences in the conception of the Cross of the Crusades. Early portraits of the Knights show many of them wearing a Cross of Eight Points but with the Arms enlarging and dividing only at the ends. (*Fig. No. 2.*) This is beautifully illustrated in Titian's "Knight of Malta" in the Prado Gallery. It is the portrait of a young man, bearded and dressed in a satin doublet on the breast of which is applied a Cross of this form.



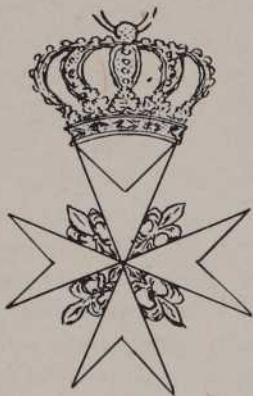
An early version of the Cross of the Order.

It is noteworthy that Titian lived from 1477 till about 1550 and the portrait would be that of a Knight at the very time that the Order was leaving Rhodes and entering Malta, also that Titian and Pinturicchio were both painting at the same time, yet the Crosses in the paintings are depicted quite differently by the two artists. These very portraits may have been done while the subjects painted were still Knights of Rhodes and the title of Knights of Malta was merely attributed to the pictures during later times. El Greco (Dominico Theotocopuli, 1548-1614) painting almost a century later had already adopted the modern form, as we know it



Portrait of Vincentio Anastagi, Knight of Malta, by El Greco.

(Frick Collection, New York.)



The Cross worn by Knights
of the Sovereign Order.

today. (*Fig No. 3.*) His portrait of Vincentio Anas-tagi now in the Frick Col-lection in New York is a splendid example of how a Knight of Malta wore his Cross at this time,

The old cities of Eur-ope still show proof of the presence of these knights of the past. One finds, in Old World corners, names of streets and places that indicate their sojourn. In Arles one enters the "rue du Grand Prieuré" and the "Hôtel St-Jean". In Paris the "rue du Temple" leads to where once stood the "Temple"—the home of the Knights Templar and in other places and cities the "Bois-de-Malte", the "Bois St-Jean" or the "Bois du Commandeur" remain as monuments to their passage. In old cathedrals and amongst the ivy-covered tombs of those long past, one finds everywhere the effigies of crusaders, many still wearing on their chiseled mantles the Cross of Malta to show to a disinterested world that a great Order has played a role in history.(13)

In the early years those seeking entrance required to have been knighted by a Christian prince who

13. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

held the power to bestow knighthood and were obliged to prove that their titles of nobility were incontestable, also that they were born of parents "noble of name and of arms". No one who had ever engaged in commerce was eligible for admission and no traffic, barter, or the lending of money at interest was permissible.(14)

In time, the ranks of these men of Malta became divided. There were those who were professed by taking their religious vows of chastity and poverty. There were others who were extern to the Order who generally lived outside of the houses of the Priories and Commanderies. These had received knighthood but had not bound themselves by knightly vows and were known as Knights of Honour and Devotion. Finally there were others who entered later but who lacked the sixteen quarterings of nobility that had always been exacted. These were admitted through the goodwill of the Grand Master and were called Knights of Magistral Grace. There were also the clerics who did not receive knighthood and there were the servants.(15)

The Knights could receive permission to enroll in the armies of Christian princes. They could, therefore, serve their sovereigns loyally and at the same time render homage to their Grand Master.(16) It was, it is true, a divided allegiance, but that was not incompatible within a feudal setting where

14. Vertôt — *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 23 and p. 38.

15. King, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

16. Vertôt, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 247.

nationalism, as understood today, did not exist and where the actual limits of a state were not easy to define. They entered the armies of their various rulers and served them devotedly, yet when monarchy became supreme and autocratic, the dual role of duty to the ruler and membership in a worldwide order, that was also sovereign, was no longer regarded as possible.

In time the Order in Europe formed itself into territorial groups. The international character which it had assumed made its extension imperative. Extreme national ties had not yet come into being. The Reformation was yet to appear and religious differences were unknown, while the crescent of Mohammed joined all together for their common safety. Knights and nobles of all allegiances flocked to its banners. These groups, or main divisions, became known as "Tongues" or "Langues" of the Order. There were nine of them, those of "Provence", "Auvergne", "Navarre", and the great *Langue de France*". There were also those of "Italy", "Anjou" and "Catalonia", of "England", "Germany", and that of "Castile and Portugal".(17)

The "*Langue de France*" appears to have been the closest knit to France-across-the-seas and to have supplied most of the Knights who came to the New World.

The Order of St. John arrived in the British Isles in its earliest years. Three great centres were

17. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI.

established, at Kilmainham in Ireland, Torpichen in Scotland and Buckland in England. Though not the seat of the head of the Order in Britain, the principal monastery of the Knights was in the borough of Finsbury on the northwest side of London. At this place there was a well near which miracle plays were performed by the Parish Clerks of the city. The locality took its name from this "Well of the Clerks"—Clerkenwell—and this well existed into the middle of the eighteenth century.

Founded in 1100, this was a Priory indeed and grew to great wealth. The massive gateway was built in 1504. Henry VIII suppressed the monastery and confiscated all the properties of the Order in his realm. The buildings themselves were destroyed by the Protector Somerset who used much of the material for his palace in the Strand, and only the Gatehouse remained a mute testimony to the priceless heritage of a splendid age.

However, the Order was re-established by Queen Mary Tudor though it seems never to have functioned. Yet this served a useful purpose, that of preserving a link in the chain connecting Britain and the most ancient Order of Chivalry in the world. Out of this came the resuscitation of the new British Langue. Though completely independent, this British Order was built on the inspiration of the Sovereign Order of Malta as are all the Orders of St. John throughout the countries of the world.

It flourishes throughout all the lands of the British Commonwealth and is now known as the

"Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in the British Realm". It, probably more than any other Saint John Order, excepting the Sovereign Order, has approached the original ideals of the Order of Malta, for besides having its Ambulance Brigades it operates and sustains a large Ophthalmic Hospital in Jerusalem. In Canada it has an important Priory.

1945 was of particular interest to the Order of Saint John, for in October, a mission from the British Order called upon Prince Chigi-Albani, the Grand Master of the Sovereign Order. Sir Harry Luke, K.C.M.G., a Knight of Justice of the British Order, accompanied by his Esquire, Major P. A. C. Luke, M.C. of the Rifle Brigade, proceeded to Rome bearing a letter to His Highness, the Grand Master, from Lord Clarendon, the Sub-Prior of the British Order.

They were most graciously received at the Palazzo Malta, in the Via Condotti, by the Grand Master accompanied by the Chancellor of the Order, Marchese Rangoni Machiavelli and other High Dignatories including the Marchese Patrizi, the Duke of Presenzano, representative of the Grand Priory of Naples and Sicily, Count Pecci, the Minister of the Sovereign Order to the Holy See, and two English Knights of the parent Order, Colonel Count de Salis of the Irish Guards and Brigadier E. L. Artimage, O.B.E.

Sir Harry Luke presented Lord Clarendon's letter to Prince Chigi, in which he expressed the

desire of the British Order that their mutual collaboration in "the Holy cause of Christian Charity" should continue and intensify.

In replying to Lord Clarendon, Prince Chigi accepted, with great sympathy, the good wishes of the British Order and said that he would greatly welcome the appointment of a Liason Officer between the British Order of St. John and the Magistracy of the Sovereign Order of Malta at Rome, asking also that these sentiments be communicated to the Duke of Gloucester, the Grand Prior.

On October 15th, Sir Harry was received in private audience by Pope Pius XII, to whom he was presented by the *Chargé d'affaires* of the British Legation to the Holy See. His Holiness conversed in Italian with the Envoy of the British Order, displayed great interest in his mission and was most gracious and cordial. The Mission closed its work with a banquet at the British Embassy, given by the British Minister, Sir d'Arcy Osborne, at which were present, as well as the Grand Master, Prince Chigi-Albani, the High Officers of the Sovereign Order, including the Marchese Conestabile, Prince Ruffo di Scaletta, the Duchess of Sermoneta, Baron Malfatti, Signor de Gasperi, the Foreign Minister of Italy, and the Signora de Gasperi.

From this visit a new era of relations was established. After a lapse of centuries a rapprochement was brought about between the British Order and the parent Order. Brigadier Artimage was appointed liaison-officer at Rome, he served in this role till his

return to England when he was succeeded by Sir d'Arcy Osborne himself.

In 1947, the Earl of Iddesleigh, the Chancellor of the Association of English Knights of the Sovereign Order, received the Secretary-General, the Secretary and other officials of the British Order at the House of Lords, where a cordial discussion took place regarding the relations and co-operation between the two Orders.

The Chapter-General of the British Order, held on December 4, 1947, was attended by two representatives of the Sovereign Order, Major Sigismund Trafford, the President of the English Association of the Sovereign Order and the Earl of Iddesleigh.

After the opening ceremonies and before the general business had been disposed of, Major Trafford, on behalf of the Grand Master, invested Sir Harry Luke with the Cross of Merit, First Class with Crown, of the Sovereign Order and, at the same Chapter-General, Major Trafford and the Earl of Iddesleigh were recommended to H. R. H. The Grand Prior, for admission as Knights of the British Order.

A new link had been forged between the Parent and its Offspring after a lapse of centuries.

The Great Order reached its pinnacle just prior to the Reformation. But this great upheaval shook it to its very foundations. In the states that accepted the new religion, the Order was suppressed and its lands were seized. In Germany the Priory of Brandenburg joined the Reform in a body, at the same time keeping a loose connection with the

Sovereign Head through the "Langue of Germany".
 (18) This Priory was reorganized and secularized in 1810. In 1853, it was revived as the Johanniten-Order.(19)



The Cross of the
German Order.

During the Napoleonic occupation of Prussia its estates were confiscated. In 1853, when Fredrich Wilhelm IV revived this ancient Prussian branch as the Johanniten Order, he ordained that the Grand Master was always to be a member of the Prussian Royal family. The insignia of the German Order has the Black Eagles of Prussia between the Arms of the Cross (*Fig. No. 4.*) Though the Order was open only

to members of the Protestant faith, it never overlooked the fact it was the child of the Sovereign Order and courteous relations were always maintained between them, while the Emperor William II

18. Guigue de Champvans de Farémont — *Histoire et Législation des Ordres de Chevalerie*. Paris, Institut Historique et Héraldique de France — 1932, 6 rue Charles Weiss 6 — p. XXVII.

19. King, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

was admitted to the Sovereign Order in Rome as a Bailiff Grand Cross of Honour and Devotion.

Like the emblems between the Arms, the Crowns



The Cross of the Order of St. John in the British realm.

which adorned the Crosses differed in the various countries. In Austria, the Austrian Crown surmounted the decoration, while in England, the Sovereign's badge bears the Tudor Crown of the United Kingdom (*Fig. No. 5*) and the Crown of Prussia is used to complete the insignia of the German Order. The French and Italian branches also use Royal Crowns.

In France, the Order reigned unmolested till the Revolution when the lot of the knights became that of other religious houses and they lost most of their possessions. Though they weathered that storm, their power had waned. In Austria-Hungary, Italy and Spain, they were still sovereign. Two world wars destroyed the old Empire of the Double-Eagle and today they have few possessions and little influence in the once-great land of the Hapsburgs. Till the last conflict their ambassadors were still accredited to Budapest and Vienna as representatives of a Sovereign State.

Though their Pories are now few, national associations made up of knights resident in various lands are again numerous, but their role is a different one, for their military past is but a memory. Their work today is again humanitarian only and in the last two conflicts their hospitals and ambulances, bearing the Cross of their Order, were to be seen in all the warring lands.



CHAPTER III

THE NEW WORLD ITS FIRST EXPLORERS AND THEIR MONOPOLIES

THE opening years of the sixteenth century saw Spain supreme in the New World. Already the golden harvests, gleaned from her conquests were arriving at her ports. The riches of Central and South America, torn from an old and magnificent civilization, in the name of God and by right of conquest, were raising the prestige of the Don amongst the Kingdoms of the Old World.

French Arms had suffered severely in Italy and the fratricidal fighting of her religious wars had lowered her prestige and her finances. She needed money. François the First hated Spain and her glories, yet he also sought to share in the wealth of the lands beyond the Atlantic but Spain closed the frontiers of all her possessions from the prying eyes of Frenchmen.

The merchants also of the French ports, jealous of the prosperity of their kind in the lands to the South, were demanding their part of the gold that was pouring into Europe from across the seas.

Frenchmen, already knew the Northern Waters of America. For at least a century, their fishermen had been casting their nets on the Grand Bank of Newfoundland. The bleak and rockbound coasts of Labrador and the Gulf of St. Lawrence had seen the sail of Basque and Breton upon their forbidding tides and these hardy mariners had left the trail of their passage. In 1497, John Cabot visited Newfoundland and named it Bacalaoos, the Basque word for codfish. He had found this term already in common use amongst the natives of the island.

Fishing was flourishing in these waters as early as 1517, so that Frenchmen knew, full well, of the existence of the great Continent that lay to the West, even many years before Jacques Cartier ever set sail from Saint-Malo.

In 1506, a mariner named Denis of Honfleur explored and sounded the Gulf of St. Lawrence and in 1508 another adventurer, one Aubert of Dieppe followed.

Ten years after, the Baron de Léry attempted to establish a settlement on Sable Island, where he found many wild cattle, decendants of animals left behind by others who had failed in a similar attempt, and were believed to have been Portugese.

The knowledge that France possessed of this New World was not alluring. She was much too occupied in war with the Italians to give time to the development of this forlorn land where only storms, snow and wild beasts were supposed to abound. Yet the merchants were restive and demanded action, for they sought commerce. The traders of Spain were prosperous and the Spanish outposts in the New land were carving an Empire that was fast placing their Sovereign amongst the foremost of Europe.

The King and the Government were equally desirous of growing rich and anxious to satisfy the clamours of their subjects, hungry for barter with the natives of the far off continent. From the Royal point of view there were other things of equal and greater importance. They had to do with the prestige of France. The Crown had to be uppermost in all adventures and the servants of the Crown were quite satisfied to encourage expeditions to the Continent of America provided that the necessary expenses did not come from the Royal Purse. The Crown would authorize any private enterprise provided it brought prestige to the Mother Country.

Contrary to most popular beliefs, the first attempt to establish the French race on this continent was due to the initiative of men of commerce and not to the Nobles, the Crown or the Government. True, the King gave it his blessing and was quite prepared to accept any glory that might accrue, provided always that the pattern followed would be the feudal one in operation in the Mother Country.

The King must be supreme and all honours and glory should come from him. All land would be held through him and the Governor would be his representative. Titles, Seigneuries, Baronies and Marquisates might be given in his name and he was to receive all fealty and homage through the person of his Vice-Roy. The feudalism of the old world would be planted again in a new setting with all its splendor and romance, but without too much expense to the Privy Purse.

The merchants took matters into their own hands. There were always leaders ready to organize companies prepared to undertake to plant the fleur-de-lys in an unknown land and in return grow rich in the fur trade. Royal monopolies were easy to acquire and partners were easy to find.

The first adventure set sail in 1523. It was financed by the Silk Merchants of Lyons who hoped that a shorter route to China, the home of silk, might be the result. The man chosen to command was a Florentine, John Verrazzano. He never reached China but he did explore the whole coast of North America from Maryland to Newfoundland and he made a complete report of the Atlantic seaboard. François the First was enthusiastic and claimed, as his, this vast and unexplored region by right of discovery and the Merchants who defrayed the costs of the adventure hoped at least, to share in the profits.

At home matters were not so auspicious. French arms were on the verge of disaster and France's

defeats in Italy, were telling sadly upon her prestige. In her tribulation she soon forgot her Empire and Verrazzano fell into the hands of the Spaniards who hanged him as a pirate.

During these troublesome years, Spain was succeeding everywhere and her Colonies were prospering. Already in 1511, Pope Julius II had erected an Archdiocese in Santo Domingo and, by 1538, the University of Saint-Thomas had been established there. Elsewhere in Central America success crowned her Standard and her endeavours.

There was one Frenchman however, who refused to forget. Philippe de Brion-Chabot had assumed the post of Admiral of France, and was determined that his country should share in the wealth that was pouring into the Iberian ports. Nothing would deter him from profiting by the discoveries of the Florentine.

About this time (1534) there lived in the walled town of Saint-Malo an adventurous and intrepid sailor, a hardy Breton of forty years. He was Jacques Cartier. Chabot chose him to lead a small fleet that was to sail to the West, and if possible, complete the work of Verrazzano and find the short route to Cathay.

He set out from Saint-Malo and steered for Newfoundland. Passing through the Straits of Belle Isle, he entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence then known as the "Golfe des Trois-Frères", and anchored off the Island of Anticosti. But the leaves of the forest were already turning to red and gold and the winds

were veering to the North. All this glory of autumn splendor filled him with a dire foreboding of the approach of winter so he set his sails for the open sea and returned to France.

Unlike the voyage of Verrazzano, this expedition was paid for out of the Royal Exchequer, so that Cartier was a servant of the King. His reports fired again the imagination of the French people and kindled in them the desire to play their part in the New World's trade.

In the following year, backed by Chabot, Cartier sailed with three small ships. After a tempestuous voyage he headed again towards the great river, where, with the aid of Indian pilots he reached the Island of Bacchus, at the mouth of the St. Charles. There he left a large part of his crew to build a winter habitation. Then past the towering cliffs of what is now Quebec, he sailed up the river till he reached the long low island with its round green hump of Mount Royal, lying like some great animal with the fields of maise growing golden at its feet. Here Cartier lingered but a short time, then turned his prow and headed for the quarters that were being prepared.

The winter proved to be of a rigour quite unknown to these sons of sunny France, who were both unable and unfit to withstand the snows and frosts of the New World. Scurvy decimated them. Twenty-six of their number died and those who survived returned, discouraged and desolate, to their homes across the seas.

Cartier's report of his expedition could offer little to the King. He told of snow, disease, unfriendly natives and naught of the gold of the Spanish conquests. Yet out of the suffering and travail of this voyage, the land of New France was born.

The traders of the French towns were undaunted. They sought wealth wherever it might be found. The Merchants of Rouen and "a creditor from Lyons" demanded traffic with the natives of the St. Lawrence. They personally organized and financed a second Company. At this time, a Nobleman of Picardy, Jean-François de la Rocque, Sieur de Roberval had received from his Sovereign a Royal Charter to found a Colony as well as a long series of useless and bombastic titles. The merchants joined forces with him. In five small ships with Jacques Cartier in Command the little band set sail, while Roberval remained in France to complete the details of the settlement.

On arrival in Canadian waters, Cartier and his followers received a far different reception from that which they had anticipated. Unfriendly and haughtily aloof, the Indians were not willing to aid him. Again memories of past hardships guided his helm and he returned to France with his charges. Roberval did not sail till 1542, but he also was doomed to distress. Faced with frosts of winter, hostility from the natives, crushed by disease and torn by strife amongst themselves, in desperation, the members of his party waited for help from France. Cartier was sent to rescue them and thus ended the

second attempt to colonize the country through private enterprise.

As the years rolled on, French sails became ever more numerous in the northern waters of the New World. They were constantly to be seen along the coasts of Canada, as the demand for codfish was being replaced by barter for the pelts of the beaver and the lynx. The Port of Saint-Malo was thriving and the rude Bretons regarded this commerce as their right, while in their greed for trade, all thought of colonization was forgotten.

The Maloin merchants were not to remain long in undisputed control, for soon a rival was to appear. The Marquis de la Roche sought from the Crown the right to establish Frenchmen on the shores of Northern America. His private purse was to pay all expenses. In return, as well as the usual collection of empty titles and honours, he demanded the monopoly of the fur trade and quasi-sovereignty over a vast and unknown land.

To collect colonists, he gathered the sweepings of the jails and prisons and sailed with a motley collection of law-breakers, thieves and murderers to establish France anew. He landed his felons on Sable Island, off the coast of Acadia, as de Léry had done, while he went to seek a more suitable site, but a storm blew his frail craft out to sea and back to the Mother Country. These miserable creatures were left to fend for themselves and to subsist on what wild life they could find. For five years they lived, quarrelled and murdered each other. Then a

vessel was sent to bring them back to France. Only eleven had survived but these had collected a quantity of valuable furs and landed as wealthy men—la Roche died in misery.

The Nobles of France had proved themselves to be but poor colonizers, yet the Bretons, with their usual Celtic tenacity, clung to what they considered their patrimony and a merchant-pilot of Saint-Malo organized a new partnership. He was Pontgravé, but associated with him he had two men of different make and different station. One was a Huguenot Sea-Captain, Pierre de Chauvin, the Governor of Honfleur while the other was a Knight of Malta, Aymar de Chastes, Governor of the City of Dieppe and Gentleman of the King's Bed Chamber. This extraordinary trinity were to defray, together, all the costs of the expedition and establish their trading posts at the mouth of the Saguenay River. If they ever had any intention of colonizing the new country, the idea seems to have been soon forgotten in the lucrative benefits of their barter.

Chauvin and de Chastes were old companions in arms in the Kings Service, though of different faiths and points of view. Loyalty to their Sovereign and to their business interests were sufficient to unite them closely, yet it is amusing to find a professed Knight and oath-bound celibate who had dedicated his life to the glory of a Noble Order that was, at that time, little less than a religious congregation, and an avowed and convinced Calvinist, who in no way shared the pious zeal of his associate, serving as close linked partners in the Indian trade.

With de Chastes, the Order of Malta enters the story of Canada. The settlement which the triumvirate erected at Tadoussac was the first attempt to establish a permanent post, that had met with any success, and a Knight of the Sovereign Order was one of its Creators. On the death of Chauvin, de Chastes became the veritable owner of all New France and head of the Colony under the King.

De Chastes died in 1603 and was buried in the Church of St. Remi in Dieppe. What was left of his partnership with Chauvin was absorbed by a new colonization enterprise formed by a syndicate of Merchants of Saint-Malo, Rouen and LaRochelle. The venture was guaranteed by Du Guast, Sieur de Monts. Like Chauvin, he also was a Calvinist and together they had visited Tadoussac, he was therefore no stranger to the new country. De Monts headed for Acadia with a company made up of one hundred and twenty artisans and farmers. They were of both Catholic and Reformed faiths and had with them priests and pastors. Throughout the voyage, the wars of religion were kindled in miniature. Religious discord reached the point of fisticuffs amongst the colonists, much to the disedification of the ships crews, who were far from being bigots of any persuasion. This disunion helped in no way to preserve the cohesion of the Company.

De Monts was a chivalrous character. At an early age he attached himself to the person of Henry IV and even after his monarch's acceptance of the Catholic faith, he remained loyally in his service, in which he reached the rank of Lieutenant-General.

In 1613, still another private company was formed, this time again by the merchants of Saint-Malo and Rouen. Champlain, who had returned to France to find a patron for his fledgling Colony at Quebec, was the spirit behind this new attempt to interest the people of the mother-land and bring aid to his work. Though the King was always willing to confer honours and appointments, better still he could accord monopolies of trade. This was the bait that brought the funds into the New World and Champlain received the sole privilege of trading in the St. Lawrence district for a term of eleven years. Though he had personally sought colonists, he met with scant success and the Company failed to bring more than six families a year to the Colony at Quebec. As a result his charter was revoked in 1621.

What remained of Champlain's failure was absorbed by still another enterprise organized by the Duc of Montmorency, the brother-in-law of the Prince de Condé. Champlain guided him in what was to be done that Quebec might succeed. The Duc received the usual monopolies until 1635. Though Montmorency, who was a godson of Henry IV and had fought against the Huguenots in the Wars of Religion, he formed a partnership with Guillaume de Caen and his nephew Emery who were both Calvinists of most militant practice. In a short time, discussions and disorders between the Catholic Clergy and the new Calvinist monopolists rose to a point which augured badly for the people of the little town of Quebec. The Caens persisted in their Calvinism to a point where they not only assembled their Protestant

sailors in service but forced the Catholics to join them in prayers and hymns. The wars of religion were being echoed again in the woods of New France.

Champlain, in desperation, appealed to Paris. Eighteen years had passed since he had landed and the population of Quebec numbered one hundred persons of both sexes and all ages. The colony languished and the Caens grew rich on the proceeds of the fur trade. Parkman says of them: "In a single year they brought from Canada twenty-two thousand beaver skins, though the usual number did not exceed fifteen thousand". Finally, the general situation existing in New France was brought to the attention of Richelieu.

The great Cardinal realized the failure of the commercial exploitation by the merchants and their neglect to colonize the territories that they had received. This had to stop. The fur trade with the Indian had brought wealth to the traders to such an extent that they had completely forgotten their duties to the colony and in their prosperity they had done almost nothing to develop the land or to place colonists in its clearings.

Cardinal Richelieu organized his own Company—"The Company of New France", sometime called "the Company of Richelieu", but generally known as the "Company of the Hundred Associates". This was destined to control Canada from 1627 to 1663. It was also based upon private subscription collected from one hundred persons who desired to gamble on the future of a continent and share in the wealth

that was to be made in barter with the natives. The placing of people on the soil had also an important place in its policy and its founder was determined to save the Colonists from exploitation by the traders as well as to preserve the colony from the devastation of religious strife. To accomplish this, Calvinists were excluded from participation.

The first list of the members reads in much the same fashion as those of the other companies. (See Appendix I.) The subscribers were culled from the merchant class, though mostly from Paris and Rouen, as well as from officials chosen generally from the financial offices and departments. As head of the Company, Richelieu had as assistant a nephew, Isaac de Razilly, who had a role to play in the history of the new world that could never have been forseen. He was a Knight of Malta, and had already sailed the waters of the Western Atlantic. To this man, Canada owes much of the success of its foundation. It would seem that he had much to do with the choice of those who were to be numbered amongst the hundred participants.

Each partner bound himself to furnish a sum of 3,000 livres, a very paltry amount indeed when one realized the magnitude of the undertakings. For the area covered by their monopoly lay from Florida to Newfoundland while, to the Westward, their sphere extended to the Great Lakes. Throughout this vast empire they were to deal in furs, fish, seek gold and generally render rich those who gambled in the venture as well as to colonize and establish the

black-robe and the missionary. But again the basis of the land tenure was to be a feudal one evolving from the Sovereign and the Crown retained all its rights to confer honours, titles and nobless.

During the years of its administration, greatly due to the influence of de Razilly, the Order of Malta became powerful in its councils and played a role in the management of North America that, had it succeeded, might have changed the course of history in the colony, placed the order firmly on the shores of America, and brought New France itself definitely under sovereignty of the Grand Master.

The new Company was little more successful than its predecessors for reverses soon befell it. The capture of Quebec by the Kirks brought it a loss of 165,000 livres. This caused law-suits to be filed against it and demands made upon its capital. The de Caen's claimed damages of 79,000 livres due to the English victory and a family named Langlois demanded 45,000 livres more from it. In a short time the associates were in dire financial straits.

New names were soon to appear upon its roll. In the light of later events, it is easy to discern that they were written there by the hand of Razilly. There were men of high birth and wealth who had served the Order of Saint John in the desert and in the Mediteranian waters off the Barbary Coast. Razilly held a high post in the Order. He was a professed Knight and his interests were centred in the chivalry to which he had committed his life. These

interests he brought with him into his new efforts on behalf of his uncle and the Company.

His first recruit was Charles Huault de Montmagny, his own relative, a fellow Knight who was to devote his later life to the service of this Knighthood as a high Officer of the Grand Priory of France and as a professed Knight. Montmagny was followed by Henri de Longuilliers de Poincy, who was related to him, and again by Noel Brulart de Sillery, a man of great riches who had been his Sovereign's Ambassador to Rome. Both Poincy and Sillery were members of the Order of long standing. They had dedicated their lives to its service and were bound by vows of celibacy and obedience to its Grand Master. Another recruit who joined them at this time was Jean de Lauzon, also related to de Montmagny, who was destined later to become the Governor of New Colony.

They were all of the courtier class, wise in the ways of the world and of war. Their early years had been spent close to the Royal Court and their opinions would naturally predominate in the councils of the company, over those of the traders and burghers of the towns of France. Within a short time their power became great and the future of New France lay within their hands.

By 1636, three of them ruled in the world across the seas. De Montmagny commanded New France from the heights of Quebec, Razilly governed Acadia while de Poincy was his King's representative in "les Isles d'Amérique"—The French Antilles. In the

lands of France-in-America from Florida to the coasts of Labrador, the Order of Malta was supreme and her Knights were now the Viceroys of France's King. These men were all related to each other by ties of family, even to Richelieu himself. All of these were unmarried, were without family responsibility and appear to have been of prosperous estate. The vows that they had taken prove that their paramount interest was the Order of Malta in whose armies they had spent their youth. There is little doubt that they placed their loyalty to their Grand Master before that which they owed to their King.

Poincy was the first to prove this. When his term of Government in the South-Seas terminated, he refused to hand over his office to his successor on the command of Mazarin and even arranged the purchase of Saint-Christophe with its adjacent islands by the sovereign Order from the Crown of France and remained in office as the representative of the Grand-Master.

Razilly, on the other hand, governed in Acadia. Notwithstanding the fact that this territory was regarded as a preserve for the fur trade and for fishing and not open to colonization, he attempted to induce Antonio de Paulo, the Grand-Master to establish a Priory on the Atlantic coast either at La Hève or at Chibouctou where Halifax is now situate.

Montmagny, in Quebec, showed his interest in the Order in many ways. Some writers even say of him that 'he worked but for himself and the Order of

Malta". At Paris, his intentions appear to have come under suspicion and lest he follow the example of de Poincy and refuse to transfer his authority to his successor, he was recalled in 1648, before he had completed his term of office.

The New World had opened new vistas for the Order. In New France, colonization, under the control of private Companies, had been a failure and financial ruin appeared inevitable. In 1632, a special subsidiary company was formed to save what was left of the original investment of the "Hundred Associates". In 1641, ruin again faced the adventure which showed a deficit of over 70,000 livres.

Malta was now approaching her opportunity. There is little doubt but that these three Governors of France across the seas were of one mind. The Order would be the saviour, for it was rich and intensely interested in the venture. In "The Jesuit Relations" of 1636-1841 it is mentioned that:

"The Grand Master, a man full of courage, of wisdom and of virtue, is pleased, as I have been informed, with the reports made to him concerning New France."

He could not have been ignorant of what was happening and this is proved by his later purchase of Saint-Christophe. Also, at this time the Père Le Jeune, in his reports says:

"The Knights of Malta had just announced that they were to colonize Canada."

There is no doubt but the transfer—probably by purchase—of the bankrupt adventure in New

France from the Crown to the Order was mooted, most likely engineered and abetted by Poincy, Razilly and Montmagny who sought nothing better than to place the territories of their jurisdiction, under the flag of the Order and to create a new Malta in the New World.

Benjamin Sulte, in his "*Pages d'Histoire du Canada*" feels that this expediency could only have existed in 1635. The contrary seems more likely. As time went on, the financial situation became worse and the possibility of refinancing the Company became more difficult. The death of Richelieu in 1642 was a severe blow to the Administration. While Richelieu lived, the alienation of French territory from the Crown of Louis XIII would have been well nigh impossible but with his passing it would have been much facilitated. It is well to notice that the transfer of Saint-Christophe took place only after his death. The propitious time for such a purchase would have been between 1642 and 1648 when Montmagny was recalled, or even until 1663, when, with only a handful of associates left, the company was finally dissolved and New France assumed its place directly under the Sceptre of the King.

Unfortunately, at this time, the Order was not in a financial position to undertake such a stupendous task and the idea was abandoned. From this time on the King ruled in Canada and the merchants and traders were made subservient to the good of the colony.

All possibility of creating a new Empire of Malta in the Western World disappeared and with it a great dream that would have changed the whole future of América and placed upon the shores of the New World, the storied Cross of the Beatitudes and the Chivalry of the Crusades.



CHAPTER IV

THE ROLE OF MALTA IN THE FOUNDATION OF NEW FRANCE

WERE it not for a stone bearing the Arms of the Order and the date 1647, which has been built into the entrance gate of the Château Frontenac Hotel at Quebec, the fact that there were ever Knights of Malta in Canada might easily have been overlooked and forgotten.

The origin of this stone has been the subject of much conjecture and the identity of the building that it adorned a topic of discussion and controversy amongst the writers of Quebec's history. In 1888, two well known authorities on Canadian historical lore, Messieurs J.-Edmond Roy, and N.-E. Dionne carried on a heated correspondence in the newspapers of the City of Quebec on this issue and on the part played by the Knights in the first decades of the colony.

In this year, Monsieur Roy published his work "L'Ordre de Malte en Amérique" which covered the

first years of Quebec's history and the Knights who were present during the administration of the "Company of a Hundred Associates". His conclusions are logical and clear but the story of the Soldier Knights is one that must not be lightly glanced over and deserves special consideration, if only for the romance which it contains.

It was not till after the British Conquest that the stone was found. No reference to it appears during the Old Regime and no building is indicated on any old map or plan of "Quebec before the Siege" which might be identified as the property of the Order. The British guns had badly battered the Old Chateau of St. Louis and the debris lay uncleared for many years. On September 17, 1784, some workmen were busy levelling the ground in the yard—some writers say digging a trench—when they found the stone. Their foreman, James Thompson, realizing its historical significance had it inserted into the wall of the gate of the 'New' Château which replaced the 'Old' one and which became known as the "Chateau Haldimand".

Thompson in his Journal writes as follows:

"The miners at the Château, in levelling the yard dug up a large stone from which I have described the annexed figure. I could wish it was discovered soon enough to lay conspicuously in the wall of the new building, in order to convey to posterity the antiquity of the Château St-Louis. However, I got the masons to lay the stone in the cheek of the gate now building."

The new chateau stood till 1894 when it was demolished to make way for the Château Frontenac Hotel of today.(20)

Upon the stone is cut a simple Cross of Malta. When one realizes that the date it bears, 1647, was only thirty-nine years after the foundation of the City of Quebec by Champlain, 1608, it takes on great significance. It proves that the Order of Malta had already assumed an interest in the new country from the very time of its first settlement and was seeking a foundation upon the new continent that was calling to the Old World. The City on the Rock was but a clearing in the forest and the white men who defended it but a handful, watchful of the red-skin who lurked in hiding awaiting his chance to rid his land of his new found foe. The Knights of Malta who had reached this world were faced by new weapons, for here the scimitar of the Saracen had made way for the scalping knife of the Iroquois. These were chivalrous times and not only were there knightly deeds to be done but the religious obligations of the Order were not to be forgotten—the story of France and the conversion of the infidel were both the functions of those who wore the Cross upon their surcoats.

There is no evidence to be found in the archives or in the history of either the City or the Province of Quebec which would indicate that the Knights were

20. Pierre Georges Roy, *La Ville de Québec, Sous le Régime Français*. Redempti Paradis, King's Printer, Quebec 1900. Vol. I, pages 183, 184.

ever numerous enough in New France to have established a Priory. However, there is much testimony to be found that individual knights played a gallant role in the foundation of the colony, chiefly during these early years. It is natural, therefore, that they should have desired an office or meeting place where they might assemble or preserve the records of their deeds. That this building should form a part of the Governor's residence is quite explainable. It was the most imposing pile in the little town and it was de Montmagny's own castle. What other person in the colony could have had such a plan for it could have come only from one who was a Knight himself.

What part of the "Old Chateau" this stone adorned has been the subject of much conjecture. Monsieur Gagnon, in his "Fort et Château de St-Louis", says it was found near the inner wall of the Château itself.(21) The most accepted surmise is that the Knights had their small building within the confines of the Château's enclosure. There is another theory that a chamber was put aside for the Order within the actual fortifications which adjoined the "Old Chateau" and that the stone stood over the entrance to it. To confirm this theory, Dr. Dionne has pointed out the fact that to the small street that passed it, de Montmagny had given the name of

21. Ernest-Amédée Gagnon, « *Fort et Château de Saint-Louis* », Québec 1895. Typographie Léger Brosseau, p. 15.

On sait que la pierre trouvée au mois de septembre 1784, en nivelant le terrain, non loin de la façade intérieure du Château Saint-Louis, porte une croix de Malte avec le millésime 1647.

"rue Mont-Carmel" in honour of the Order of Malta, which he claims had a subordinate branch known as the Order of Mont Carmel. Mr. Pierre-Georges Roy, in his "*Rues de Québec*" varies little from this assertion.(22) Yet, the Order of Mont Carmel was rather an adjunct of the Order of St. Lazare, which confined its work to aiding the lepers and was later united with it. It is therefore not advisable to offer this little street of Mont-Carmel as a proof that Malta ever had quarters in the fortifications.

This chamber was supposed to be located in a Bastion which had been built originally of wood but which de Montmagny had reconstructed in stone. There is to be found in the archives of Notary Tronquet, at Quebec, a contract dated the 18th of October, 1646, drawn up between the habitants of Quebec, represented by Jean Bourdon and certain workmen "to build walls of a bastion situate at the foot of the alley of Mont-Carmel, a dependency of Fort St. Louis, Quebec, and which flanks the door of the Fort, to be four toises long and twelve feet in height.(23) This would certainly not be suitable for a Priory and would at best be a small room which could hold but very few persons. If this bastion were rectangular, it would have measured about twenty-five feet square on the outside. The walls, as was the

22. Pierre-Georges Roy, *Les Rues de Québec*, Lévis, P.Q. 1932, pages 135 and 136. (Appendix 2).

23. A toise measured $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet, French measure. This is the scale used on Bourdon's maps and is still in use in some parts of rural Quebec in the measurement of masonry and cordwood.

custom, would have been at least three feet thick, possibly more, for three feet was not considered excessive in the old stone houses of this period. The inside dimension, therefore, would have been about nineteen or even seventeen feet square and would have probably resembled a dungeon more than anything else.

Monsieur Ernest-Amédée Gagnon in his book "*Le Fort et Château de St-Louis*" gives another story. It is probably a different version of the same transaction but it is worth mentioning. In it Jean Bourdon appears to have signed a contract with some workmen, in the Chateau St. Louis itself. This Act is dated October 17th, a day before the other contract. It is made with two masons and a mortar mixer ("un corroyeur")(24) to repair the walls of a "bastion situate at the foot of the Alley of 'Mont Calvaire', a dependency of Fort St. Louis at Quebec". This contract specifies that these workmen were to undertake "no other work without the consent and permission of Sieur Bourdon, until this bastion was completed".(25)

One may question if this is not the same contract that Tronquet legalized the following day? Here the

24. See P. 320 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* Cinquième édition, tome premier, chez J.-J. Smits & Cie, Imp.-Lib. Paris, 133, rue de Tournon, l'An VII de la République (1798-1799).

« Corroyeur le mortier, pour dire mêler ensemble la chaux et le sable. »

25. Pierre-Georges Roy, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 149 (appendix 3).

little street is called "Mont Calvaire" and not "Mont Carmel". This mixing of names does not confirm in any way the suggestion that the name of the street had any connection whatsoever with the Sovereign Order.

This Jean Bourdon deserves a special mention in the history of the City of Quebec and in the Chateau of St. Louis in particular. He came to New France in the years of its early history. His birthplace was Cande-le-Vieil, at Rouen; there he reached this world on August 8, 1601, seven years before the foundation of the City in which he was destined to spend his life and in the development of which he was to play a major role, in the surveying of its site and in drawing the plans for its buildings. He arrived in the colony in 1634. He was then 33, and on September 9th of the following year he married Jacqueline Patel.(26)

He succeeded well and did much of the architectural planning of the Chateau itself. Both under Champlain and de Montmagny he laid out many of the original streets of the city. His map of Quebec, made in 1640, is one of the earliest we possess today. A copy is to be found in the archives of Laval University at Quebec. The original of his plan of 1660 showing the Château St-Louis is still extant in Paris.

His roles in the new land were many. Not only did he succeed as a surveyor, but also as Solicitor

26. Émile Vaillancourt, *La Conquête du Canada par les Normands*. Paris, Dumont Fils and Montreal, G. Ducharme, 1933, p. 33 (appendix 4).

General, and landowner, but he was also an explorer of renown and acted as interim Commander at Three Rivers during the fall of 1645. On his death at Quebec on February 12, 1668, he left eight children and he was buried in the crypt of the basilica in the city that he had helped so much to build.(27) His name appears amongst the benefactors of the church where his bones lie.(28) His were the plans that de Montmagny followed in the building of the Chateau and it is he who would have been responsible for the construction of a building or office for the Knights of Malta.

In the early entry of these Knights Hospitallers, as they were known, into the annals of New France, is demonstrated the fact that the very man who engaged Samuel de Champlain to sail across the seas to found the City of Quebec was, as we already know, a Knight of Malta. He was Aymar de Chastes, the partner of Chauvin and Pontgravé.

One of the most daring navigators in the early history of the New World was this intrepid sailor whom de Chastes chose to plant the flag of France on the shores of the St. Lawrence. Champlain was born at Brouage, on the Bay of Biscay, in 1567. Following in the footsteps of his father, he sought service in the

27. Vaillancourt, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

28. Pierre-Georges Roy, *La Ville de Québec*, *op. cit.*, Col. 1, p. 120.

« Parmi les personnages ou notables de marque au régime français qui se firent inhumés dans la cathédrale, mentionnons (plusieurs noms)... Jean Bourdon. »

Royal Navy and during the Wars of the League he fought valiently for his King, who in return granted him a small pension. Peace to him was oppressive and he sought action. Filled with curiosity at the success of the Spaniards, in the Mexican Seas, who jealously excluded all prying Frenchmen and even threatened all trespassers with death, he conceived the idea of visiting the forbidden territories of the West Indies. The perils of the voyage pleased him.

An uncle of his, who was known as "the Provençal Captain" (*le capitaine Provençal*) was held in high regard amongst the French Mariners, was in charge of a fleet repatriating a Spanish garrison, which had served with the League and was about to sail from Blovet. Here, Champlain joined his relative and embarked for Spain.

On reaching Cadiz, the captain from Provence entered the service of the Spanish King and through his influence had Champlain appointed to command a ship designed to sail for the West Indies as part of a fleet under Don Francisco Colombo, a Knight of Malta. It might well be surmised that it was through this connection, on his return to France, he sought de Chastes, for without doubt Colombo at least knew of his colleague in the Order, if he had not had personal association with him.

The expedition lasted two years. Champlain visited the principal ports of the Islands and the Mainland where he penetrated as far as the City of Mexico. Returning by way of Panama, he forsook the

possibilities of joining the two oceans by a canal. In his memoirs he writes:

"By which the voyage to the South Seas would be shortened by more than fifteen hundred leagues."

He submitted a long report of his experiences to Louis XIII. This is an extraordinary document, illustrated with pictures that are almost childish, mostly in colour and drawn by himself of the flora and fauna of the New World. Many of these are so weird and fantastic that it is hard to believe how he could have conceived them. They show Indians under many conditions and in various surroundings, animals that surpass the wildest imagination, chameleons, dragons and wild creatures of his fancy such as a griffon, supposed to be found in Mexico, having the body of a bird, the head of an eagle, the wings of a bat and the tail of a crocodile. Perhaps he received the inspiration for this from a cockatrice emblazoned on the shield of some extinct Knight.

Home from his travels, he was held in high esteem as a navigator. His restless thoughts still strayed across the seas and he became filled with the desire to participate in the efforts of France in her cold and northern sphere. He became an active participant in the Companies that were attempting to develop the new possessions, and in 1603, he sought the authority needed to colonize and found Quebec.

Having sailed the Southern Seas under the pennant of a Knight of the White Cross, it was

natural that he applied to a Knight of the Langue of France. Aymar-de-Clermont de Chastes was a grey-haired veteran of the Civil Wars and held the confidence of his King. He was the last surviving member of the "Company of Chauvin" and the highest authority amongst the monopolists in New France. He had been admitted as a professed Knight in 1566 and he held the rank of Commander in the Order of Malta. A devout Catholic, he was strong, resolute and moderate. He resisted the excesses of both the League and the Huguenots. It was to his sovereign, Henry IV, that he repaired to gain the royal consent necessary for the settlement that was to become, three years later, France's first City on the shores of the St. Lawrence. Parkman says that:

De Chastes came to court to beg a patent of Henry the Fourth (to found Quebec); "and", says his friend Champlain, "though his head was crowned with grey hairs as with years, he resolved to proceed to New France in person, and dedicate the rest of his days to the service of God and his King" . . . To the King, therefore, de Chastes repaired. The needful consent was gained, and armed with a letter to Pontgravé, Champlain set out for Honfleur.(29)

In 1612 Champlain had returned to France to seek succor for his fledgling in the Western World. He needed a powerful protector and he addressed

29. Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, Frontenac Edition — Toronto, 1900 — Vol. II, pages 62, 63 and 64.

himself to a Prince of royal blood, Charles de Bourbon, Comte de Soissons. He described to him the potential wealth, resources and riches of the New Land. Parkman again says of him.

"On reaching Paris he addressed himself to a Prince of the blood, Charles de Bourbon, Comte de Soissons; described New France, its resources, and its boundless extent . . . and begged him to become the guardian of this new world." (30)

Benjamin Sulte describes Soissons as a Knight of Malta and gives the Abbé de Vertôt as his reference. This seems incredible for he was a married man and no biographer of his makes mention of him as a member of the Order.

This brought the Royal House into the plan that Champlain held so close to his heart and gave the Bourbon family itself a place in the history of the New World at the very beginning of the foundation of the settlement that was to become in future years a great depository of French culture and civilization. Charles de Bourbon was born in 1566, the son of the first Prince de Condé. He was therefore the cousin of Henry IV and served with distinction at the side of his sovereign at the battles of Arques and Ivry. He courted without success Catherine de Bourbon, the King's own sister, but she married Henry of Lorraine, the Duc de Bar.

After Charles' own marriage the King refused to him the right to use the fleur-de-lys on his Arms.

30. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 190

This so aggravated him that he abandoned the Court. On the death of Henry IV, he seemed about to join some of the malcontents who were appearing against the regime, but the Queen Regent, in order to calm his temper, made him the Governor of Normandy.(31)

Under the influence of Champlain and filled with the ambition to develop the New World, to satisfy this interest, the Regent willingly accorded him the commission of Viceroy to the Colony. But he died the same year. The vacant protectorship of the new land fell upon another Bourbon, Henri, Prince de Condé, who was the husband of the famous Charlotte de Montmorency, "whose blonde beauties so fired the heart of Henry IV".(32)

Charles de Bourbon appears to have outwitted the King in his desire to preserve the fleur-de-lys on his Arms, for the "Armorial du Canada Français" gives his blazon as—"azur à trois fleur-de-lys" or "the Royal Arms of France", but "differenced by a bordure gules".(33)

31. R.P. Louis-Marie Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire Général du Canada*, Ottawa, University Press, Vol. II, p. 659.

32. Parkman, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 91.

33. Édouard-Z. Massicotte et Régis Roy. *Armorial du Canada Français*. Beauchemin, Montréal 1915, p. 3.



CHAPTER V

THE FIRST KNIGHTS IN THE NEW WORLD

ON Champlain's death, no actual successor was named till 1636. The Colony was governed by an interim viceroy. He was Marc-Antoine-de-Bras-de-fer de Châteaufort. What more romantic name could have been chosen for such a post—"Iron Arm of the Castle-Fortress". Though Champlain was not a Knight of Malta himself, Bras-de-fer was one of long standing and he had with him as his King's Lieutenant in Three Rivers the Chevalier Antoine-Louis de Bréhaut de Lisle who was a colleague in the Order.

What year he actually arrived is not known. In 1635 he became Champlain's Lieutenant and on Champlain's death, in December of the same year, as the body of the King's Representative was being borne from the church, he took over the reins of government. To those assembled at the service he read the authority that he had received from the "Company of a Hundred Associates" to act in such

an emergency until the arrival of a new encumbent. He ruled until de Montmagny arrived, when he handed him the keys of the fortress.(34) During his office he had a notice mounted on a post in front of the parish church, forbidding under certain penalties all blasphemy, drunkenness and the missing of mass on Sundays and had a stocks erected as a deterrent.(35)

He became Governor of Three Rivers where he remained till 1638. Then he probably returned to France. The only "Act of fealty and homage" that is registered as having been made before him was that of Robert Giffard, the Seigneur of Beauport, and dated December 31, 1635.(36)

Notwithstanding the charm of his feudal name, Bras-de-fer, left few traces of his administration behind him and after his retirement we lose track of him entirely.

Champlain's official successor appeared only in 1636. Then Charles-Huault de Montmagny received an official commission from the King as Governor of New France.

Quebec was but a village and Montreal had not even come into being, yet de Montmagny began the building of a castle on the rock. Finding the wooden fort and pallisade that Champlain had erected completely inadequate he rebuilt again on the finest

34. Pierre-Georges Roy, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 135 (appendix 5).

35. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 136 (appendix 6).

36. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 151.

site in all New France with the great St. Lawrence flowing at its feet. To the East lay the Island of Orleans, then known as the "Isle of Bacchus", and the broad expanse of the river flowing towards the sea; to the West the great cliffs that held within their bounds the course of the waters that were to become the highway of the fur trader and the black-robe. On this strategic point the "Chateau of St. Louis"—part castle, part fort, rose once more and it was destined to play a splendid role in the history of the new land.

In this domain of the redskin, it was a facile task to transfer the obligation that the Order had imposed upon him to defend the faith from the attacks of the Turcomans to the onslaughts of the Iroquois, for he was a Knight of Malta in its strictest sense. Descended from Jacques Huault, a Lieutenant-General of Malta, he had been admitted to the Order on May 3, 1622. He had served in its galleys against the Turks and the Moroccans and had crossed blades with the Corsairs of Algiers and of Tripoli.

It was in 1632 that he cast his eyes to the westward and became a director of the "Company of New France" which at this time had amongst its governors two other Knights of the White Cross, his relative de Razilly and de Sillery who were also Commanders in the Order of Malta. The tradition of his early service against the infidel must have permeated his whole life for Parkman in his "Old Regime in Canada" says of him "de Montmagny was half a

monk for he was a Knight of Malta".(37) Throughout his stay in New France he had been filled with zeal for its advancement and for the conversion of the Indians. He worked in close co-operation and harmony with the Jesuits in their efforts to bring this about; in fact, he had scarcely arrived in Quebec when he acted as godfather to a dying Indian who was about to be baptized.

The Iroquois held great affection for him and adopted him to themselves. They gave him the name "Ononthio" which in their language meant the "Great Mountain". This was the Latin equivalent for Montmagny—mons magnus. One can see quite clearly that his Jesuit friends had probably inspired the choice, for the inhabitants of the forest would scarcely have chosen this synonym unaided.

This brought about an amusing situation, for the Iroquois had so much associated the name of "Ononthio" with the office of the Governor, that after the departure of de Montmagny they conferred it upon his successors, and for some time the succeeding royal representatives were known by this name. In 1658, there is a record of the Iroquois coming to Quebec to see the Viceroy d'Ailleboust in which he is also called "Ononthio".(38)

When, in 1648, he relinquished his post after twelve years in his King's service, and retired to his

37. Francis Parkman — *The Old Regime in Canada* — Frontenac Edition, Toronto 1900, Vol. I, p. 165.

38. Gagnon, op. cit., p. 19.

home in the land of the Louis', he re-entered the service of his Order and was made Receiver of the Priory of France. In 1650 he turned over to the "Company of a Hundred Associates" all his possessions and interests in Canada and being unmarried he took the vows of a Professed Knight. When one realizes his great devotion to the ideals of the chivalry that had inspired his youth it is easily understood that when building the "Chateau of St. Louis", he should look to the future of the Order and dream of a role for its knights in what was to become New France. The date on the stone, that stood in the wall of the building provided for them, proves that it was built during his term as Viceroy. What actually he held in store for Malta in this western land will never be known but he undoubtedly envisaged for it a great Priory and high power.

History gives him another call to fame for he was the owner of the first horse in Canada. This creature was a source of much awe to the Indians who had seen naught of animals in other than their wild state. To them it was another species of moose or elk, notwithstanding its complete docility, for domesticity in great beasts was completely unknown to them and they spoke of it as the "Moose of France".³⁹ No horse had yet been brought to New France. All plowing had been done by manual labour or by the use of oxen. The *Compagnie des Habitants*—the local association of the people—had sent to France

39. Pierre-Georges Roy, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 182 (appendix 7).

for the animal at their own expense. It was purchased as a present for "Monsieur le Gouverneur" and it arrived in Quebec on June 25, 1647. The *Journal of the Jesuits* tells of the vessel bearing it passing Tadoussac two days previously on its way up the St. Lawrence. For many years it was the only horse in Canada.

It was not until 1665 that any other horses arrived in the colony. In this year, on the ship with the Soldiers of the Carignan Regiment and with eighty girls sent as brides for the settlers who awaited them at Quebec, there came twelve horses and two stallions from the royal stables, sent by the King's bounty. The voyage had been long and trying and had proved particularly hard on these animals. Twenty horses had been shipped but eight died during the voyage, for the trip had lasted three months and ten days, so there is little wonder that these poor beasts should have been the victims of such a long time at sea.(40)

In his old age, de Montmagny is said to have returned to the New World and to have joined de Poincy on the Island of St. Christophe and there to have spent his last years. The authority for this is a memoir of Aubert de la Chesnayes, written in 1676.(41)

Though de Montmagny was the greatest of the Knights of Malta to have adorned Canadian History,

40. Gagnon, op. cit., p. 29 (appendix 8).

41. Joseph-Edmond Roy, *L'Ordre de Malte en Amérique*. Québec, 1888. Imprimerie Général, A. Côté & Cie, p. 19.

there were others who played their role in the story of the St. Lawrence. Amongst the Members of the "Company of a Hundred Associates" who were the veritable owners of the adventure of New France was Nicola Bruslard, Marquis de Sillery who, though he never came to Canada, had much to do with its foundation, and was an active Knight.

The elder de Sillery was an exceptional personage. He shone at the Royal Court where he enjoyed the complete confidence of his King. Henry IV had appointed him Chancellor of France and of Navarre and he held the post for many years. He was sent to Rome to negotiate in the matters appertaining to the nullification of the marriage of Henri-le-Grand and Marguerite de Valois. His efforts in behalf of his Sovereign were successful and he earned the King's gratitude and sympathy. So much so was this the case that the King wished that future generations would remember the zeal and success of his Chancellor and ordered that a medal be struck to commemorate the event.(42)

The Marquis de Sillery reached the age of 80 years, still in his Sovereign's service, and he died in 1624, always Chancellor of France. He ordained that his third son, also Bruslard de Sillery, should follow his footsteps. At the age of 18 he left for Malta, there to spend twelve years in the armies under its banners. Here he was enrolled amongst its members

42. Abbé Louis-Édouard Bois, *Étude Biographique, le Chevalier Noel Brulart de Sillery*, Québec 1871, Augustin Côté & Cie.

in 1598. On his return to France he was given the Commandry of Troyes with an annual income of 40,000 livres, and became an active courtier in the service of his King. He was appointed Ambassador to Spain in 1614 and to Rome in 1622.

This mission to the Holy See was fraught with all the magnificence that the supremacy of France demanded. De Sillery, himself, wished it to surpass in magnificence all the other Crowns of Europe and he placed aside a sum of sixty thousand écus to be spent upon his triumphal entry. The description of this progress of the envoy of the Bourbons through the Eternal City, when compared with even the best that the present day offers, reads like a chapter of the "Thousand and One Nights". He was a man of great riches and his gold was placed lavishly at the disposal of his King. The Abbé H. A. Scott in his "Notre-Dame-de-Sainte-Foy" throws much light on this event. He says that the spectacle was superb, that:

"He entered the City in an open carriage, built like a "calèche", all of brilliant gold and gilt even to the wheels. The horses were shod with plates of silver held in place by a single nail so that, should they become detached, they might be picked up by the poor, to whom also, he threw quantities of money. His carriage was surrounded by twelve gentlemen, well mounted and superbly turned out, as well as twelve valets on foot in rich livery, who followed the carriages that the Pope had sent to honour him. His Holiness was on a balcony to witness the entry.

The Ambassador was dressed as a Knight of Malta with his Cross of the Order enriched by diamonds."(43)

The reason for this display and the desire to impress the Pope is what holds us most of all, for it had to do with no other than Richelieu himself and the success or failure of the mission had much that would influence the History of France. The Abbé Scott says that:

What is interesting to us, is that the principal object of M. de Sillery's mission was to obtain the Cardinal's hat for Richelieu as a reward for the reconciliation which this prelate had brought about between Marie de Médicis and her son Louis XIII (1620-1621).

He was successful: Richelieu himself informs us of this in a letter of the 13th of June, 1622, in which he thanks the Marquis de Puisieux, to whom he feels himself partly indebted for the good efforts of his uncle, the Commander de Sillery, in this affair of the cardinalate."(44)

We may judge from this that Richelieu was privy to the plot and had approached de Sillery

43. Abbé H.A. Scott, S.T.D., "*Notre-Dame de Sainte-Foy*", *Histoire Civile et Religieuse d'après les Sources*. Québec 1902 — J.A.K. Laflamme, Québec 1902, Tome I, 1541 — 1670, p. 49.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 50, quoting Avenel, "*Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Lettres, instructions diplomatiques et papiers d'État du cardinal de Richelieu.*" Paris, Imprimerie impériale, 1853, I, pp. 713-714 (appendix 9).



Noël de Bruslard de Sillery.

Portrait preserved in the Convent at Troyes in Champagne

(Abbé Scott — *Histoire de Notre-Dame de Ste-Foye.*)

through de Puisieux and thereby became indebted to a Knight of Malta who carried with him the influence of his Order, in his desire to achieve for him the great Roman dignity that was to aid him so much in his efforts in behalf of Louis XIII.

Looking back at these events over the centuries, it is hard to reconcile the Ambassador bearing upon his breast the White Cross studded with diamonds, surrounded by his gentlemen-in-waiting, followed by his lackeys and seated in his golden coach, with the simple black-robed priest, burning with zeal for the salvation of the painted Savages on the shores of the St. Lawrence and the welfare of a handful of poor French colonists, who in their awe would have trembled to approach his person in their homeland across the seas.

It is well to remember that, gorgeous though his uniform appeared, it was that of Malta and the wearer of it was really a religious bound by the rigid vows of a Professed Knight, of celibacy and obedience to the dictates of his Church. In his Order he reached the rank of Balli-Grand Cross but resigning all his honours and appointments at Court, when at the age of 57, he entered the priesthood in 1634. He was a personal friend of St. Vincent de Paul, the patron of the needy and much influenced by his example he used his fortune for the benefit of the poor. We learn from the "*Jesuit Relations*" in volume XIV, page 289 that:

"By special dispensation from Rome he was, however, allowed to retain possession of his

still great fortune that he might personally spend it on pious and charitable works."(45)

It was Isaac de Razilly's efforts that persuaded him to join the "Company of a Hundred Associates" and had interested him in Canada.(46) In 1637 he sent de Montmagny funds for the establishment of a settlement to be built four miles above Quebec which was hoped would house twelve numerous families, as well as a number of Algonquin converts. The Jesuits were in charge and six nuns arrived from France to open a school for the settlers. He sent to the colony twenty workmen to build this village which in time was destined to bear his name and which now forms the Quebec suburb of Sillery.(47)

This statement of Andrew Bell in his "History of Canada" is confirmed by the Abbé Bois who says:

"Commander de Razilly, who was always vitally interested in the colonization of New France had the good fortune to bring Monsieur de Sillery into the Company of the Hundred Associates."

The most romantic story of all the tales of the Order in America was that of Henri de Longuilles,

45. Sulte, op. cit., Vol. II, page 64.

46. Andrew Bell, *History of Canada from the Time of Its Discovery Till the Union Years 1840-41*. Montreal 1862, Lovell, Publisher.

..." Mon. de Rozille (sic) had interested him in the well being of Canada and had persuaded him to join the Company of the Hundred Partners. "

47. Sulte, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 64 (appendix 10).

Chevalier de Poincy and his great dream of Malta in the New World. Although appointed Lieutenant-du-Roi in New France, he appears never to have taken his post so he was not actually associated with the history of this land of the St. Lawrence, but he stands out as one of the most brilliant knights who served the Order in the western hemisphere. He was a relative of de Montmagny who probably had him appointed to his Canadian honour and who most likely inspired him with the urge of planting the roots of the Hospitallers in the world that had come into being beyond the seas. He held the post of Governor of "Les Isles d'Amérique", or, in reality, the ruler of the French Antilles. There he erected for himself a fortified chateau, built in the form of a citadel, mounting twenty-five cannon. He had several ships with which to defend his island against the Corsairs.(48) He had established himself so thoroughly in his domain that when his term as Governor expired he refused to hand over his authority to his successor, but he used the power which he had acquired in favour of the Order of Chivalry to which he belonged. At this time the Ambassador of Malta to the Court of France was the Bailiff of Souvré. It was through his efforts that de Poincy purchased for the Knights the Island of St. Christophe in the West Indies. The contract was

48. Vertôt, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 176.

.....Ce commandant y avoit fait construire un château fortifié en forme de citadelle et il avoit plusieurs vaisseau pour la défense de l'île contre les entreprises des Corsaires.

signed and ratified, both in Paris and at Malta in 1652.(49) The deed of sale included not only the Island itself but also the Islands of St. Barthelemi, St. Martin and Ste. Croix and a few smaller ones adjacent to them. The contracts covered also all the buildings, lands, black slaves, merchandise, munitions and provisions held by the King of France in these isles. The sale was confirmed by letters-patent of Louis XIV and the Grand Master named the Chevalier de Sales to assist de Poincy, who was very old at this time and who was never destined to bring into existence this great dream for he died shortly afterwards.

Monsieur J.-E. Roy calls the Governor of St. Christophe, Philippe de Louvilliers-Poincy, while Monsieur Léon Gérin speaks of him as Henri de Longuillies de Poincy. This appears to have been the form most commonly used in France, for Gérin describes a visit to Paris in 1885 when he says that he saw in the ruins of the Palais des Thermes at the Ancient Abbey of Cluny a tomb with the following inscription: "In Eternal Memory be there Justice —Henri de Longuillies de Poincy, Knight" (words almost obliterated) "in his lifetime King's Lieutenant in Canada and Captain in the Isles of St. Christopher, after having given to the church at Caen a golden chalice, a damask chasuble, an ivory crucifix and some other ornaments, he left to them by his testament fifty-two livres as a perpetual annuity for

49. Benjamin Sulte, *Pages d'Histoire du Canada*, Granger Frères, Montréal 1891, p. 255 (appendix 11).

which will be said a high mass every week".— Unfortunately this slab is not dated.(50)

The Abbé de Vertôt helps to clear up this misunderstanding, when he tells us that amongst the professed Knights in the "Langue de France" there was a Philippe Louvilliers de Poincy. It was under this form that he had been admitted to knighthood in 1604, forty-eight years before his purchase of St. Christophe. The dream was that of a great man, no timid soul should have dared such an adventure, for we know that he also cast his eyes longingly on Guadaloupe and Martinique which he desired to add to his domain. He would fain have placed all the French possessions in the West Indies under the banner of Malta and created a new knightly empire in the New Continent.

In 1713, by the Peace of Utrecht, St. Christophe was given to England and is now known as St. Kitts in the Leeward Islands. Poincy had ideas that were too advanced for the imagination of the Knights, who through comfortable living may have become soft. Not only did such a project require great daring but also great riches and the Order became alarmed at the expense of an undertaking of such magnitude for this was to be a Priory that would in time rival the parent seat of Malta. It was vaster and lay at the gateway to a new civilization. Not only France was there but also Spain and, in such surroundings, this was destined to be a Priory indeed but in 1655 caution overcame their daring and this priceless possession

50. Ibid., p. 251 (appendix 12).



Stone bearing the Arms of the Order of Malta, found buried in the Court of the Château St. Louis, on September 14th, 1784.

was sold to a private company. Had this been retained what a history would the Order have written in North America! Malta would have grown anew, but a new and greater Malta would have arisen in the blue waters of North America. The flag of the crusades would have flown in sovereign right over the palms and flowers of the Isles of the Indies spreading its influence of civilization over the Western World.

In this same year a new name appeared in the story of the Order in the New World.

When Charles V beleaguered Algiers, a hundred Knights wearing the White Cross upon their scarlet surcoats bore the brunt of the infidel attack. Conspicuous amongst them was Nicola-Durand de Villegagnon who was later to take command at Malta and play an important part in the expulsion of the Moors. The Grand Master was then a Spaniard and with him Villegagnon quarreled. This was not surprising, for he appears to have agreed with but few. Also, as Vice-Admiral of Brittany, he found himself in deep feud with the Governor of Brest. He is interesting to us for he has his place in the history of England during those fatal years that brought to a close the drama of the House of Scotland.(51)

It was he, who in 1548, ran the gauntlet of the English fleet, and brought Mary Stuart, the future

51. Parkman, *Pioneers of New France*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 25.

"Few could match him in the gift of persuasion; and the intrepid seamen whose skill and valor had run the gauntlet of the English fleet, and borne Mary Stuart of Scotland in safety to her espousals with the Dauphin"

Queen of Scots, when only a child of six years, safely to France for her "fiancailles" with the Dauphin who was destined to become François II.

He came under the influence of Coligny and joined the Reformed Religion. With the Great Admiral he prepared the establishment of a Huguenot settlement in Brazil. The site was to be on an island in the Bay of the Rio Janeiro. It was a daring plan as it ran counter to the interests of Portugal already established there.

The main body of the colonists were Huguenots but soon many adventurers bent upon lust for fortune attached themselves to the enterprise. There was the usual sprinkling of young nobles fretting under the restraint of the Court, of restless lads called by the excitement of the unknown, of sailors seeking the profit of the high seas and the flotsam and jetsam and the French cities bent upon whatever booty the new colony could offer.(52)

The Catholic chiefs and the King's party were not averse to the expedition for it afforded not only a welcome opportunity of encouraging the Huguenots to leave France, but also it gave to France a foothold

52. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 26.

"The body of the emigration was Huguenot, mingled with young nobles, restless, idle and poor, with reckless artisans, and piratical sailors from the Norman and Breton seaports."

53. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 27.

"Nor were the Catholic chiefs averse to an enterprise which, by colonizing heresy, might tend to relieve France of its presence."

amid the Spanish possessions which was what she sought above all.

On arrival Villegagnon and his followers built a sort of fort on their island and called it Fort Coligny in honour of the Admiral. It was a foolhardy gesture for it was placed right under the guns of the Portuguese. Then he placed himself in command. But he soon proved to be a hard taskmaster and the lash and pillory were the punishment for the smallest misdemeanor. His wild and adventurous crew soon resented being flogged into submission and in a short time were in incipient rebellion.

Henry II desired to encourage the colony and sent him a new detachment under the command of Villegagnon's own nephew, Bois-Lecomte.⁽⁵⁴⁾ This numbered 290. Most of them were Huguenots and Geneva sent a large number amongst whom were several Calvinist Ministers. But many Norman sailors, more bent upon piracy than religion, had also joined the party and manned the ships. These hailed every vessel that was weaker than their own and on some pretext boarded each one and plundered them all from stem to stern.

Villegagnon received his new colonists surrounded by evidence of great austerity and as a devout member of their faith, but in a short time he found himself in the midst of a theological controversy with the

54. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

"Another embarkation was prepared, in the name of Henry the Second, under Bois-Lecomte, a nephew of Villegagnon. Most of the emigrants were Huguenots."

Ministers and in complete disagreement with them. These he shipped back to France and turned against the Huguenots that he himself had brought to the New World. He declared himself deceived by Calvin and through the mediation of the Cardinal of Lorraine he returned to the Catholic faith. The Calvinists sailed for Geneva while he went back to France and the few who remained in Brazil fell a prey to the Portuguese and the natives. Parkman says:

“Villegagnon himself soon sailed for France, leaving the wretched colony to its fate . . . Spain and Portugal made good their claim to the vast domain, the mighty vegetation, and undeveloped riches of ‘Antartic France’.”(55)

What his status in the Order of Malta was at the time of his death is not known. The island which was the scene of this drama was rechristened by the Portuguese, the Island of São Sebastião.

This extraordinary man, in his youth was a model of righteous piety and what is most interesting is the fact that he was a nephew of de Sillery.(56) This comes to light through a letter of Madame de Trelon, the sister of de Sillery, who had a very

55. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 23-32.

56. Scott, op. cit., p. 52.

« Néanmoins cette conversion, qu'il faut entendre simplement du passage à une vie plus parfaite, ne venant pas assez vite au gré de la comtesse, cette pieuse chrétienne voulut le toucher d'émulation par l'exemple de M. de Villegagnon, leur neveu, aussi chevalier de Malte. »

sincere admiration for this nephew and his religious devotion. Abbé Scott speaks of her as being anxious to hold him up as an example to her husband:

"Observe", she says, "this young Knight who works but for God: always occupied by the works of charity and of piety, his table serves but what the rules of Malta ordain; he conforms to the written rules and becomes the admiration of all the world."(57)

One would judge that it was in later life that he developed the independence and lack of judgment which did him so much harm in his meaningless adventure in Brazil.

Notwithstanding this disastrous escapade the members of his family appear to have held closely to the Order for, several years later, we find their names upon its rolls. René-Durand de Villegagnon was admitted on June 7, 1631 and Noel-Durand de Villegagnon became a Knight on March 30, 1632.

Isaac de Razilly was easily the most important amongst the directors of the "Compagnie des Cent Associés". A member of an old and noble family of Touraine and a nephew of Cardinal Richelieu, he was a man of power. He became a Commander in the Order of Malta in 1626 and became the Knight

57. Loc. cit.

« Voyez, lui dit-elle, ce jeune chevalier qui ne travaille que pour Dieu : toujours occupé aux œuvres de charité et de piété, sa table n'est couverte que selon les règles de Malte ; il se conforme à tout ce qui y est écrit et se rend l'admiration de tout le monde par sa haute vertu. »

May 1627
Londres

Très-haut & bien aimé Seigneur La recommandation du Roy 'que se voyant
honorable pour un si grand commandement / cell de Monsieur le Grand
Maître et de son Lieutenant ne peut obliger de passer de si brief et
d'une si petite alé pour. L'usage d'un autre d'autant plus de Liberté d'estre
satisfait que la Langue de France y a donné son consentement et que la
cognoissance que nous avons de son mérite et de son honneur rendent au
Roy a fait quil y a ses allies qui n'ont pas qu'une grace par elle a
cella la / bien que leur importance pour la conséquence / soit leur
employ. Vous en voyez donc lui expédier avec cette lettre et attendant
que l'occasion s'offre de vous en procurer de plus grand Dieu quil vous
vienne en la garde Malte le 6 Septembre 1627 Et paulo

Letter from the Grand Master of the Order of Malta to
Isaac de Razilly announcing his nomination to the Commandry
of Isles Bouchard.

Je vous prie bien au revoir —
(Signature de Razilly)



N^o 11-

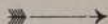
Reverse of the letter showing the Seal of the Grand Master bearing his Arms quartered Malta.

*(Généalogie de la Famille de Razilly,
Dominion Archives, Ottawa.)*

Commander of Isles Bouchard, a commandry that was situated in the Department of Indre-et-Loire. He had already been to the New World and, together with his brothers, one of whom, Gabriel, had been admitted to the Order of Malta in 1591, he enjoyed the esteem and patronage of his great relative in all his ventures. His illustrious uncle had him named "Lieutenant of the King and the Cardinal"(58) in New France and the Ministry in Paris placed the colonization of Acadia into his hands. France had just been confirmed in her possession of that colony by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. Richelieu had little intention actually of settling the country but rather of putting it aside as a great storehouse for furs and fish. He divided the whole area amongst three men: de la Tour, a Monsieur Denis and de Razilly himself. To him was handed the administration and de Razilly entered into his role of Governor.(59) There he held in his own right about a third of all the land of what is now Nova Scotia. Though a magnificent domain, it was a great responsibility. Equally loyal both to his King and to the Order to which he belonged he conceived the idea

58. Sulte, *Histoire du Canada*, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 136 (appendix 3).

59. Loc. cit.



The three de Razilly brothers, François, Isaac, and Claude, planting a Cross on the Island of Maragan, in the West Indies, 8th September, 1612.

(*Généalogie de la Famille de Razilly*,
Dominion Archives, Ottawa.)



of weaving the Knights of Malta into the fabric of colonization which he was making and establishing a Priory of the Order in this new country. Port Royal was to have been the seat of the Prior and when writing to the Grand Master on February 3, 1636, he begged assistance from Malta. He explained that most of the Knights being mariners by profession, they would be eminently suited to found such an undertaking.⁽⁶⁰⁾ The idea of a Feudal Colony under the rule of Malta was not a new one and it appealed to the imagination of many. Unfortunately, at this time the Order was occupied with other more important matters for it was spending 200,000 écus on the fortifications of Malta and no action was taken. De Razilly died in November 1636 and with him passed this great and romantic opportunity.

In 1634 he gave to his brother, Claude, a large concession as a seigneurie, which included the ports of "La Hève" and "Port Royal". This was the land on which Isaac de Razilly hoped to place the Order. One would judge that this brother was expected to hold it for the Knights of Malta. In 1630, he also received Sable Island and the next year he found that sixteen Frenchmen had built a fort on that sinister place. On Isaac de Razilly's death,

60. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

« Razilly conçut le projet de s'associer les Chevaliers de Malte qui, presque tous marins, pouvaient être tentés de posséder un fief sur les Côtes d'Amérique du Nord ; malheureusement ils refusèrent, étant trop engagés ailleurs, pour seconder les vues des pionniers de l'Acadie. »

Claude succeeded him as Lieutenant-General for the King in Acadia.

He was not the only member of his family to have served under the banners of the Sovereign Order, for we find that several years later another had emulated his example, for Gabriel de Razilly became a Knight of Malta on October 31, 1697, and that Jean-Baptiste de Razilly was admitted while still a minor on March 11, 1700.(61)

Frontenac, as well as de Montmagny had a Knight of Malta serving under his colours for the Chevalier Thomas de Crisafy had long known the responsibilities of the Order. He had come to New France with his brother, the Marquis Antoine de Crisafy who was given command of Fort Frontenac on the shores of Lake Ontario and became the Lieutenant-du-Roi at Montreal and Governor of Three Rivers in 1703.

These brothers who also appear in some documents as Crisafy-Grimaldi were born in Messina and had seen service in the armies of the Order in Spain and in Morocco. In Sicily they rebelled against Spain and entered the service of France. The Chevalier de Crisafy had fought valiantly against the Indians in the woods as a Company Commander. He had worn the Cross of the Beatitudes for many years and perhaps the fact that he was a member of the Order placed an added burden on his shoulders. In a short time the two brothers found themselves in

61. Vertôt, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, p. 307.

financial difficulties and on October 15, 1691, we find Frontenac writing from Quebec to the Ministry in Paris asking for assistance for the "Chevalier de Crisafy, a Knight of Malta, who wants to receive enough to subsist in this country".(62) In the following year, 1692, the Ministry responded that they would act upon Frontenac's request "as soon as the occasion presented itself", and in turn Frontenac informed the Ministry that he had transmitted this news to M. de Crisafy.(63)

Again in the following year, the Ministry writes that the King is satisfied with the services rendered by M. de Crisafy and will give due consideration to his request.(64)

Frontenac does not desist and on November 4, 1693, he again petitions the King but apparently without action. In 1694 he writes that "it is getting difficult to hold some of the officers in Canada who are desperate as in the case of the Crisafys, which would have been impossible were it not for the

62. Pierre-Georges Roy, éditeur, *Rapports de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1927*, Redempti Paradis, King's printer, p. 67 (appendix 14).

63. Ibid., p. 93.

« J'ai fait savoir, Monseigneur, à M. M. Crisaffy, ce que vous m'avez mandé sur leur sujet et que je leur conseillais d'attendre tranquillement les effets de la volonté que vous leur faisiez connaître que Sa Majesté avait pour eux »

64. Ibid., p. 142.

« Sa Majesté trouve bon qu'il assure les Srs. Crisafy qu'elle est satisfaite de leurs services et qu'elle en fera considération particulière dans les occasions. »

hope held out to them.(65) Finally, Frontenac writes again on November 9, 1694, saying that "the Crisafys desire to return to France to lay their claims before the King, as we have promised to get them justice. This appears reasonable, as they lost sixty thousand livres rentes in Sicily when they joined the King's party and now possess nothing more than they receive from their Companies".(66) What became of the Chevalier Thomas de Crisafy little is known. He never rose above the rank of Captain and he never married for he was a "professed Knight who had taken the vows of a religious of the Order of Malta". His brother, the Marquis died at his post at Three Rivers in 1709. He had settled in the Colony and had received the Cross of Saint Louis. In 1700, he married Madeleine Ruelle d'Auteuil, the daughter of François Madeleine Ruelle, Chevalier and Seigneur d'Auteuil et de Monceux and his wife who was Marie-Anne Juchereau. They never had children and after his death the Court of the Colony, with gross ingratitude, confiscated his belongings for the reason that he had never been naturalized.(67)

65. Ibid., p. 191.

« J'ai eu bien de la peine à faire prendre cette résolution à Mrs. de Crisaffy, et sans l'assurance que je leur ai donnée de la bonne disposition où vous étiez pour eux, il m'aurait été impossible de leur arrêter. »

66. Ibid., p. 204 (appendix 15).

67. Aegidius Fauteux, « *Les Carnets d'un Curieux* » published in "La Patrie", Aug. 18th, 1934, p. 39.

Frontenac was succeeded as Governor by LeFebvre de la Barre. He also was a Knight of Malta who had served his apprenticeship under the flag of the Order off the Barbary Coast, where he had distinguished himself in Command of a ship before Alexandria in 1667.(68)

He was not young when he sailed up the St. Lawrence and when he stepped ashore at Quebec a scene of desolation lay before him. A disastrous fire had swept the lower town of the City and left it in ruins. Fifty-five buildings were in ashes. Amid the cheerlessness of what he saw before him but one house stood—that of the merchant, Aubert de la Chesnaye. All the warehouses and their contents had been consumed and the Colony faced the approach of winter surrounded by the prospect of great hardships. Under these dismal circumstances la Barre took over the Government.(69)

He was an old officer who had in his young days achieved notable success against the English in the West Indies where he had taken Antigua and Montserrat(70) but this experience availed him little for here he was faced with a different enemy—the Iroquois who at this time were being encouraged by

68. Vertôt, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 210.

69. Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France Under Louis XIV*, Toronto 1900, pp. 72-92.

70. Bell, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 268.

"La Barre was a marine officer who had distinguished himself in action against the English in the West Indies from whom he took the islands of Antigua and Montserrat."

the Governor of New York, Colonel Thomas Dongan, to dig up again the tomahawk, which had been buried for a long time, and attack New France.(71)

He was a bombastic old fellow who thought much of his person and his pocket-book and in a short time he became involved in intrigues to his own advantage. The temptations of the fur trade and of barter with the Indians, both allies and enemies, were greater than the frailty of his nature could resist and he fell an easy victim of his avarice.

Though an officer of no great ability he liked to rest upon his past military achievements and he preferred rather to be called Monsieur le Général than Monsieur le Gouverneur. Though he copied his methods of government, he lacked both the vigour and ability of Frontenac. His avidity to make money through the power of his office, legitimately or otherwise, adds little to his credit.

His lamentable enmity towards Cavalier de la Salle(72) and the hard feeling which existed between

71. Leblond de Brumath, Bachelier de l'Université de France. *Histoire Populaire de Montréal, depuis son origine jusqu'à Nos Jours*. Montreal 1909 — Granger Frères, 1699, rue Notre-Dame, p. 163.

.....« A peine le nouveau Gouverneur, M. de la Barre eût-il posé le pied sur le sol de la Nouvelle-France... que le Colonel Thomas Dongan, Gouverneur de la Nouvelle York, poussait les Iroquois à déterrer la hache de guerre ».....

72. Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France*. Toronto 1900, Frontenac Edition, p. 88.

"La Barre, who hated La Salle and his monopolies, assured them that he should be punished. It is affirmed, on good authority, that he said more than this, and told them they were welcome to plunder and kill him."

them was most unfortunate for the New Country. Of his letters to the Ministry many are as empty as they are bombastic. He even condoned the Iroquois for plundering the French traders and their Indian allies who went through the forest "without his permission".(73) He played the Iroquois against La Salle and has been even accused of telling the chiefs of the Senecas and Cayugas that they were welcome to pillage the canoes of the great explorer.(74)

His relations with the different Indian tribes who were not allies of France became so involved that notwithstanding all his protests of loyalty and all his bombast, he was recalled by the King in 1685. His record in Canada leaves little to be said in his favour. He was a self-seeking old dandy, more interested in his velvets and laces and a well-filled purse than in the good of New France and he acquired naught save the disdain of the colonists.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 91.



CHAPTER VI

CANADIAN BORN KNIGHTS ENTER THE ORDER

THE last Knight of Malta resident in Canada under the French Regime was the Abbé Eustache de Lotbinière. He was a member of an old and illustrious Canadian family, and the first member of the Order to have been born in Canada. His father was Eustache-Chartier de Lotbinière who had married Françoise d'Avesnes de Meloise and, on her death, he had entered the priesthood to become the Archdeacon of the Chapter of Quebec. Following in the footsteps of his father, the son also entered the church and chose a rigorous branch of the Franciscan Order, the Recollets, where he was known as the "Père Eustache". But he proved to be a restless subject and left the monastery yet only to return again seeking readmission to another branch of the Friars Minor, the Cordeliers. The impatience of his personality unsettled him and leaving the convent of the Gray-Friars for a second time, he

sailed for France. There he was admitted to the Order of Malta and later returned to Quebec.

Again in a short time he became involved in a controversy with Mgr Briand, the Bishop of Quebec, and with Mgr d'Esglis, his coadjutor, about both of whom he complained not only to Rome but also to London. Mgr Briand is very severe in his condemnation of him and when writing in his own defense to the Vatican he speaks of him as having been sent from Canada whence he went to France. There he spent two years, after which he returned to Quebec much to the annoyance of his superiors and to his relatives whom Monseigneur Briand describes as finding "Me too good to him".(75)

The Abbé de Lotbinière then disappeared from the scene, but not for long. He appeared again amid the troops of Benedict Arnold and marched with them up the Chaudière to meet Montgomery before Quebec. He had joined the army of the American Colonies in revolt and had become the first Catholic Chaplain in the rebel forces and with them he advanced against Canada. Mgr d'Esglis, whose mother was a de Lotbinière, and who was his cousin, did his best to counsel him but to no avail. In 1782, General Livingston (undoubtedly his former Commanding Officer) petitioned Congress to grant him a pension in recognition for the services he

75. Mgr Auguste Gosselin, Litt. D., de la Société Royale, *l'Église du Canada depuis Mgr Laval jusqu'à la Conquête*. Québec, 1924 - Part III, 1760-1765, pp. 99-102 (appendix 16).

had rendered to the cause of the United States.(76) This grant was finally made and the Abbé de Lotbinière ended his days at Bristol in 1786.

Rebel propaganda had succeeded to a certain extent in undermining the loyalty of some of the habitants in the Quebec district. American officers acting under orders from Congress raised two regiments in the country around the old capital from amongst the restless Canadians. These were known as the "Congress Own" and were in reality the first purely American troops. Other battallions were all units of the Military Organizations of the various states in rebellion. One of these two regiments was under the command of Colonel Moses Hazen and the other under Colonel James Livingston. It was in this latter regiment that the Abbé became the Chaplain on January 26, 1776. His regimental pay was \$41.30 a month and he complained bitterly at the trouble he had to collect it.(77)

By the end of the war, he had become much dissatisfied and in 1785 he sent a lacrimose petition to the U.S. Congress in which he says that he had not joined the rebels to perish of cold and hunger and because the agreement entered into by him with General Arnold in January of that year had not been lived up to. He says that it is a disgrace that a priest born in 1716, laid low by gout and rheumatism, who had given up an annual allowance of 750 livres a

76. Information supplied by a member of the family.

77. Pierre-Georges Roy, *Fils de Québec*. Première Série, Lévis 1933, pp. 188, 189, 190 (appendix 17).

year in order to espouse the cause of Congress, should be menaced by death and famine.

Mgr Gosselin gives a different version of this loss of pension. For some reason which has not been divulged, the Abbé de Lotbinière appears to have received previously a pension from the British authorities. Mgr. Gosselin places this at three hundred francs rather than 750 livres and claims that due to the Abbé's attitude and to the complaints addressed by him to London against his Bishop and superiors the Government cancelled the grant.

This is likely to be the true version. It all took place before he joined the American forces. It was probably the cause of the animosity which he held against the English and the chief reason of his deserting to the enemy even in the face of the orders of his ecclesiastical superiors.

An elder brother, the Marquis Michel-Chartier de Lotbinière who had married a Mlle Chaussegros de Léry was Montcalm's engineer officer who built Fort Carillon, the present Fort Ticonderoga. In return for this great work he was granted a seigniory on Lake Champlain. After the British Conquest he went to London to have this grant confirmed but he failed. He then went to Paris where he joined Benjamin Franklin and returning to Canada he made a strong effort to raise the French Canadians in the cause of the American Revolution. Another brother was the Parish Priest of Pointe-aux-Trembles, near Quebec, who remained loyal to Canada's new allegiance. The Abbé's place in the Order of Malta

is exceptional for he was Canada's first Knight of the White Cross.

The only other Canadian-born Knight of Malta in the days of the French Regime was also a picturesque character, a Canadian who fought at Culloden and the bearer of the old Scottish name of Douglas. This Clan appears to have held ties with France from very early times for we find amongst the navigators sailing out of Honfleur, in 1582, Guillaume Duglas who was master of the ship *Jehan* in 1579 and of the *Espérance* in 1600. Even in the Regiment de Carignan one of the family wore the uniform of King Louis. He was Jean-Louis de Douglas, a Lieutenant and a Chevalier de Saint-Louis but Sulte lists him amongst those who returned to France in 1668, so he played but a small role in the history of Quebec.(78)

The Chevalier François-Prosper-Sholto de Douglas who came to Canada as a Captain in the Regiment de Languedoc, seems to have been of old Jacobite stock. His family possessed an estate and castle at Montréal-en-Bugey, in France, and it was there that he was born in 1725. One account of this antecedents is that his branch of the Clan was descended from George Douglas, Earl of Dunbarton, Knight of the Order of St. Andrew, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the British King and Lieutenant-General in the Royal Armies, who appears to have followed James II into exile. The *Gazette de France* says that he died at

78. Benjamin Sulte, *Le Régiment de Carignan*, Mélanges Historiques, publiés par Gérard Malchelosse, Montréal 1922, G. Ducharme, 133, rue Saint-Laurent, p. 85.

Saint-Germain-en-Laye on the 21st of March, 1692.(79)

This François-Prosper de Douglas joined the French army at the age of nineteen, when he received a Second-Lieutenancy, a Lieutenant in 1744, he achieved his Captaincy in 1746. He fought the last battles of France in Canada and was wounded at Carillon in 1758. There he received the Cross of St. Louis. He had married at Montreal (Canada), Charlotte-de-la-Corne St-Luc, a true daughter of New France, and in 1757 their son was born—Louis-Archambault de Douglas — at Montreal (Canada).(80)

After the British Conquest, the elder de Douglas returned to the France of his family. His military career must have been successful, for we find him described in the registers of his regiment as an efficient officer. The report of 1765 says of him: "He serves well"—that of 1764 "full of zeal"—and

79. Alexandre Mazas. *Histoire de l'Ordre Royal et Militaire de Saint-Louis, depuis son institution en 1693 jusqu'en 1830*. Paris 1860. Firmin Diot Fils & Cie, rue Jacob 56, 3 Vols., Vol. I, p. 316.

80. Antoine Roy, *Rapport de l'Archiviste de Québec*, Québec 1944-1945, page 100.

« Lettres de Dariel, Commissaire de Guerre... Nous avons eu beaucoup de mariages de soldats et deux d'officiers, Monsieur de Douglas et de Monsieur de Parfourru, capitaine au Bataillon de Languedoc. Le premier a épousé une d'elle et l'autre la fille d'un bourgeois ».

Pierre-Georges Roy, *Toutes petites choses du Régime Français*, Québec 1944. Éditions Garneau, 2e Série, p. 63 (304 pp.), (appendix 18).

in 1767, that "he does his duty with zeal and application". The following year, he retired from the army with a pension of five hundred livres and settled down in his Castle at Montréal-across-the-Seas.(81)

His son, Louis-Archambault de Douglas, attended the College of the Quatre-Nations and then entered a dragoon regiment where he served till the death of his uncle, Charles-Joseph de Douglas, Count and Seigneur of Montréal-en-Bugey, Chevalier of St. Louis and Captain in the Royal Scottish Regiment in the French service. He appears to have been the senior member of the family and, having no male issue, designated his nephew as his heir.

In 1745, together with his brothers, he accompanied Charles Edward, the Young Pretender to Scotland and distinguished himself at the capture of the Hazen Sloop. He was wounded at Culloden and in 1770 died at his chateau from the effects of the injuries he had received twenty-five years before.

There were several members of the family serving under the fleur-de-lys and the list of promotions in the French army of 1740 shows a Comte de Douglas receiving his Colonelcy in the Regiment of Languedoc. According to Mazas, he was born at Castlehill, in Scotland, in 1712 and received the title of Baron of Castlehill. He entered the regiment of Prémont in 1733—Captain in 1735, he was wounded at Prague in 1742 and in 1744 transferred to the Royal Écossais.(82)

81. Mazas, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 415.

Louis-Archambault de Douglas succeeded his uncle not only in his estates but in his title and became Comte de Montréal. His military career did not equal that of his father or of his family, but he settled down quietly on his domain where he was twice married. In the French Revolution, he suffered many hardships and during the Terror he was imprisoned for some months at Nantua, but liberated on the death of Robespierre, he was brought triumphantly home by the inhabitants of Montreal. Later, he was named President of the Canton, member of the General Council of Ain, elected to the Chamber of Deputies as a Royalist in 1815, he was Mayor of Montréal-en-Bugey in 1830. He died on February 27, 1842, a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, of the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus of Italy and a Knight of Malta.(83) The Order was not new to these Scottish émigrés, for as early as 1681, Joseph-Hyacinthe Douglas of Laôn was admitted on January 25th of that year.(84)

Though perhaps a fairly colourless personality himself, he represented a most colourful past. His background was replete with romance and with the family of de Ramezay, his family of Douglas brought into this land of Canada that strange link between France and Scotland which persisted for so many years.

83. Benjamin Sulte, *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*. Organe du Bureau des Archives. Québec 1901. Pierre-Georges Roy, Éditeur. Vol. VII, pp. 221, 222, 223.

84. Vertôt, op. cit., Vol. VII, p. 294.



CHAPTER VII

THE POSITION OF THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA IN THE COLONY AND THEIR POWER IN THE GOVERNMENT

CONTRARY to popular belief, too much faith must not be placed in the stone found in the court-yard of the Château, as evidence.

All the claims as to existence of a Priory of Malta in Quebec and of a building to house it have been made during the British regime and by Englishmen. No French writer of the Old Order mentions it, and it is certain that if such a place ever existed there would undoubtedly have been some reference to it or to its work in France-across-the-Seas. This fact forces one to feel that the French word "hospitaliers" or "hospitalières" may have been misinterpreted and its ordinary French signification of merely "a person employed in hospital duties" may have been distorted and given a chivalrous interpretation which was never intended. No historian living in the city itself has made the statement and one is made to believe

that perhaps a limited knowledge of the French language may have led some passing writer astray.

In his journal of the Campaign of 1759, Captain John Knox lists amongst the buildings in Quebec "an important house, but unfinished, for the Knights of Malta".(85)

In volume II (October 1, 1759) page 453 of his diary, he even gives Montreal a Priory, and when writing of that city he says:

"The streets are regular, the houses well constructed and particularly the Public Buildings, far exceeding those of the Capital of Canada in beauty and commodiousness. That of the Knights-Hospitalier being extremely magnificent."

The only conclusion which one may draw from these accounts of Knox's trip is that he was writing from hearsay or perhaps due to a much too restricted knowledge of the French tongue he allowed himself the liberty of crediting the Knights of Malta with all hospitaller activities in the colony. Certainly no other writer has ever claimed a house for the Order in Montreal. Neither do the oldest maps of Quebec, nor of Montreal, show such a building.

To confirm his inexactitude and worthlessness as an authority one has just to follow his description of Quebec wherein he says that the residences of the

85. Capt. John Knox, *An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the years 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760*. Edited by Arthur G. Doughty, Toronto, 1914. The Champlain Society, Vol. II, p. 202.

Bishop and Governor-General are built of brick. He writes:

‘But the residence of the Bishop by its situation on the top of the precipice between the high and low town suffered very considerably from our batteries as did that of the Governor-General before mentioned, which are both built of brick.’

No public building in Quebec at this time was built of brick. This statement of Knox shows clearly how careless he was in what he wrote.

It is well, when reading Knox to bear in mind the *Journal* of Peter Kalm the Swedish botanist and traveller who visited Quebec just ten years before Knox wrote. He describes both Quebec and Montreal but makes no reference or mention of any building for the Knights of Malta in either town. Kalm was a serious and sympathetic writer who actually wrote of what he saw.

It is well also to remember that Knox was writing in 1759—the very year of Quebec’s capitulation. The whole city was a shambles. The bombardment of the British fleet had left little but blackened walls and it was a very poor time indeed to describe the buildings and their beauty when so little of the city was really left standing.

The *American Gazetter* in 1763 in an article which had already appeared in “*Il Gazzettiere Americano*” in Livorno, Italy, and which was translated from English to Italian and then again into French, writes as follows:

"Quebec is well built, fine buildings, churches and palaces abound. The house of the Hospitallers, a noble building of squared stone is said to have cost forty thousand livres."(86)

In the Italian version, the word Hospitallers is rendered by "Cavalieri Gerosolimitani"—"Knights of Jerusalem". This may have been the source of the error. Hospitallers to the Italian translator were naught but Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or Malta. The Italian version reads as follows:

"La Casa dei Cavalieri Gerosolimitani, Ch'è una fabrica superba di pietre quadre, e che dicesi esser coustata 40,000 lire ster."(87)

According to this, the cost of the house is given in "Lire Sterling"—which makes no sense at all. All the French versions speak of Livres or French Pounds. This again would appear to be an absurd amount particularly when one realizes that in 1647, the date appearing on the stone, the European population of the whole colony could have numbered scarcely more than three hundred. Again when one considers the difference in money values at that time compared with today, as well as the difference existing in wages of labour itself and the cost of materials during the first years of the seventeenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, the amount is out of

86. Pierre-Georges Roy, *Ville de Québec*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 184.

87. Joseph-Edmond Roy, *L'Ordre de Malte*, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

all reason, even at the present day this cost would be considered most unreasonable.

The Abbé Bois suggests that the Knights of Malta, resident at Quebec in these early years, de Montmagny, Bras-de-fer Sillery, etc., built an office or meeting place in the court of the Chateau St. Louis at the cost of forty thousand livres, French money. Unfortunately the Abbé Bois gives no authority on which he bases his statement and which is not proved by any document or by any contemporary historian or report.

What is still more unfortunate is that the Abbé Bois overlooks the fact that Sillery not only never settled at Quebec, but never even set foot upon the soil of New France. An oversight of this kind detracts much from the value of the Abbé's work as a book of historical reference.

Monsieur J.-Edmond Roy, in his work "The Order of Malta in America" published in Quebec in 1888 draws the following conclusions which cover very completely the evidence available to him at the time—that the Knights of Malta intended to play an important role in America—that they really started the construction of a building in Quebec—and that no Priory of the Knights ever existed in the Colony. How great they intended this role to be is of much conjecture. It may have been a great dream planned by those whose lives were built around the ideals of the Order, and had as its scene much of North America. This fact should be considered seriously, for we must realize that a very significant yet

interesting, situation had arisen in the New World, during the first years of its development.(88)

New France was in its babyhood. Quebec was a village of about fifteen families hugging the base of the rock and a few trading posts struggled for existence along the shores of the St. Lawrence, when a foreign fleet flying the flag of England appeared upon its broad waters. The Kirks sailed up and seized Quebec. These three brothers, Louis, Thomas and David who held a commission of Admiral from the British King, were Frenchmen born in Dieppe, but Huguenots who were filled with hatred for the France of Richelieu and in revenge had taken service in the English navy.(89)

When Canada was returned to the French crown, famine stalked the few colonists who remained and the "Company of a Hundred Associates" was in dire straits. There is no doubt but that the influence of the Order of Malta was very great amongst its directors for we find that all three Governors of the French possessions in North America wore the White Cross of the Order. They were all veterans of the wars against the infidel and had sailed in galleys under the standard of Malta, through the blue waters of the Mediterranean. De Montmagny still imbued by a burning ardour for the glory of his knighthood was at Quebec and ruled the colony of Canada. De Razilly, equally devout to the tenets

88. Pierre-Georges Roy, *Ville de Québec*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 184 (appendix 19).

89. Bell, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 105.

of his youth spent in the service of the Grand Master held his miles of forest and governed Acadia. This also was a part of the New World that had been given to "The Hundred Associates". We know that notwithstanding Richelieu's intention of not developing it for colonization, de Razilly had other ideas. Again, Malta was placed ahead of the desires of the Cardinal, for it is doubtful if his efforts at colonization were exercised in proportion to the role of a simple trading post or if he had not planned to establish the Order upon his estates as Seigniors. Was the Cardinal a party to this idea? It was most unlikely. Though Richelieu was close to the Order he certainly was not of it. That the attempt was actually made to place the Order as sovereign upon the Atlantic seaboard is certain. De Poincy also was a ruler in the Mexican seas, as they are described. The French Antilles were under his control and he showed that the loyalty he owed the Sovereign Order was greater than that he owed the Crown of France.

Was there an understanding or secret pact between these to create for the Order a great role in the New World? Most certainly.

These men were all close to the Company. They knew its distress and they probably feared for its future. Therefore what could be better than that America, as it was then understood, be placed under the banner of Malta. France would benefit, Malta would become greater. A new role would be hers, far from the Barbary pirates and the nomads of the deserts, safe from the Turks and the Sarasens.

Those knights who were also directors of "The Hundred Associates" might retrieve for the Company the losses that it had suffered by the simple process of handing over its assets in France-across-the-Seas as well as its liabilities to their own Order. At this time Malta was rich, powerful and sovereign. It ranked amongst the world's empires. It could easily undertake the task of making a New World as well as of relieving "The Hundred Associates" of its obligations towards its shareholders and its duties towards the Crown of the Louis'. The new role would also conform to the traditions that the Order had upheld in the East. There was a new infidel to be conquered or converted, the redman of the forest. There was wealth to be found and a civilization to be created. It could be a tempting situation.

As we have seen, Sulte felt that this expediency could only have existed about the year 1635.(90) He is wrong in placing the date during Richelieu's life time. However, such a theory cannot be brushed aside, particularly when one realizes that de Montmagny, who became a professed Knight, was personally interested and that he and de Poincy were blood relations, that it was to St. Christophe and to this relative that de Montmagny went upon his

90. Sulte, *Pages d'Histoire du Canada*, op. cit., p. 241

« Je suis convaincu que si le projet de confier le Canada aux Chevaliers de Malte a existé, ce dut être en 1635 seulement. Bien qu'il put dater de 1625, époque où Razilli exposait, dans ses mémoires remarquables, son plan de Colonie et bien qu'il ait pu être caressé encore jusque vers 1650, par Sillery, Poincy, Montmagny et autres ».....

retirement and it was there he spent the remaining years of his life and it is said that it was there he died.

It might also be recalled that de Montmagny in turn was a relative of the Great Cardinal. Was de Poincy also related by blood to Richelieu? This we do not know, but he was a family connection.

Yet, there is one witness who has already been quoted and should be regarded as an authority of the first order. That witness is the famous Jesuit, Père Lejeune who arrived in Canada in 1632 where he remained several years. He was responsible for some of the most interesting of the Jesuit *Relations*. When writing his reports for 1636, he speaks of "The Grand Master of Malta, as being pleased, as I have been informed, with the reports made to him concerning New France".(91) Sulte, in his "*Mélanges Historiques*", writing of Lejeune and his reports, describes that in Quebec he saw but misery and desolation at the time he was writing his *Relations*, for it was at this time that the Knights of Malta had just announced that they were to colonize Canada. The white population at this date had reached ninety persons at which Lejeune marvelled and hoped soon to see the hundred mark passed.(92)

It is unlikely that, if Malta intended to colonize Canada, the Knights wished to do so for the benefit

91. Jesuit Relations, op. cit., Vol. XI, pp. 48, 49.

Extract from the "Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. XL, Hurons Quebec 1636-1641 (appendix 20).

92. Sulte, *Mélanges Historiques*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 35.

of France. It appears more reasonable to suppose that it would have been for their own interest and for the Order which they served.

The Cardinal was, himself, at the head of the "Hundred Associates" with de Razilly(93) and was fearful for the survival of the whole adventure and he might rightly have been so.

Though the colony may have passed successfully through the occupation of Quebec by the Kriks, as well as through the financial crises which had so often menaced the "Company of New France" during the second quarter of the seventeenth century. the influence of Malta might well be traced throughout the whole reign of Louis XIII and we may well surmise that woven into the web of this family connection, the Order would be found.

Significant, indeed, is the fact that the Ambassador of the Grand Master to the King of France was no other than Richelieu's own uncle, the Commandeur de la Porte, who had formerly been the Governor of Le Havre, but who had turned his full allegiance towards the Knights of Saint John. This is another link between the Order and the Cardinal which should be borne in mind as it is not difficult to sense, through this relationship, the existence of a strong

93, Bell, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 101.

....." The Cardinal-Minister, Marshal d'Effiat, Commander de Razilli and Samuel Champlain, were members of the Company ; and the settlers were nobles, chief merchants or burgesses of substance in the principal cities and trading marts of France."

influence in favour of Malta and its Knights through the Cardinal and his associates.

The King's great favourite appears to have been in frequent contact with his relative, the Ambassador, and when writing to him in favour of Isaac de Rasily's brother, de Launay-Rasily, in July 1636, he addresses Malta's representative as "Mon Oncle".(94)

Richelieu's father, François du Plessis, Sieur de Richelieu and Vervilière, was married to Suzanne de la Porte, the sister of the Grand Master. Her parents in turn were François de la Porte, a lawyer practising before the Parliament of Paris, and Claude Bochart, his wife. This last name should not be forgotten, for it was to be heard frequently, a few years later, within the walls of Quebec, and at this very epoch, this family had its representative in the ranks of the Order. In 1639, Honoré de Bochart de Champigny became a Knight of Malta, thereby forging another link between the Cardinal and the White Cross.

Neither was the arrival of Quebec's first Bishop without its significance. Though not a "Knight of the White Cross" himself, his family was not unknown amongst the members of the Order. Even the castle,

94. A. Laval, *Généalogie de la Famille de Rasily*, Tournaine, Anjou, Poitou. Paris, Imprimerie-Librairie Vve A. Goupil 1903, p. 360 (586 pages).

Richelieu to Monsieur de la Porte, juillet 1636. « Mon oncle, j'ay veu ce que vous m'avés escrit touchant le Sr. de Launay. Je l'aurois volontiers considéré si j'eusse sceu premièrement ce que vous m'en mandés. »

where he was born, had served to house its members. The Castle of Montuel, where his ancestors lived, had been built by the Templars and on their suppression in 1312, it passed into the possession of the Knights of Malta. In the sixteenth century, through alliances with the family of Mezières, it became the property of the Laval family.(95)

François de Montmorency-Laval ruled the Church in New France from his episcopal throne in the Basilica at Quebec. He was born at Montigny-sur-Avre in the Diocese of Chartres. His father was Hugues de Laval, Chevalier and Seigneur of Montigny and his mother was Michelle de Péricard. In their parish church, many of the registers of the baptisms of the family members are still to be found. Unfortunately, the Bishop's own record is missing, for there is a lapse in the records for the years 1601 to 1627,(96) but there is one entry which serves to prove the connection of the family with the Knights of Saint John.

On February 16, 1701, a baby named Joseph-Charles, the child of André Forget and his wife, Marie-Anne Legrain, was baptised in the parish

95. Abbé Auguste Gosselin, *Litt. D. de la Société Royale du Canada, Le Vénérable François de Montmorency Laval*, Dussault et Proulx, Québec, 1901, p. 3 (appendix 21).

96. *Ibid.*, p. 403.

« Mais on n'a pas l'acte de naissance ou de baptême de Mgr de Laval ; cet acte n'a pas jusqu'ici pu être retrouvé nulle part. Dans les registres de Montigny-sur-Avre, qui commencent en 1573, il y a une lacune de 1601 à 1627, que nous avons pu constater nous-même. »

church. The godfather of the child was Joseph Laval de Montmorency, Knight of Malta and Commandeur of Louviers who had been admitted to the Order on November 15, 1685, and the godmother was Charlotte de Besançon, the wife of Gabriel Laval, Sieur de Montigny. Joseph Laval signed the record as "Chevalier Laval".(97)

When we realize that Jean-Bochart de Champigny, who became Intendant of New France in 1686, was of a 'Malta family', it is well to bear in mind that Richelieu's grandmother was Claude de Bochart and a relative of the new official who landed in Quebec in July of that year with his wife, Madeleine de Chaspoux and two of their children. He was descended from an old Burgundian family, dating from Guillaume Bochart, Seigneur de Noroy, "Gentleman serving Charles the Seventh", who was the grandfather of Richelieu's mother and that this family had members amongst the Knights of the White Cross, for Guy-Bochart de Champigny was admitted to the Order at Paris on the 15th of June, 1658 while another of the same title, Jean-Louis-Bernard de Champigny joined the Order on the 28th of June, 1721.(98)

Bochart de Champigny was, therefore, a relative of the Cardinal, while his wife, Madeleine de Chaspoux, was a relation of Bishop Laval. When one adds to all this the fact that Montmagny was also a

97. Ibid. (Édition de 1901), p. 408 (appendix 22).

98. Verrôt, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, p. 321.

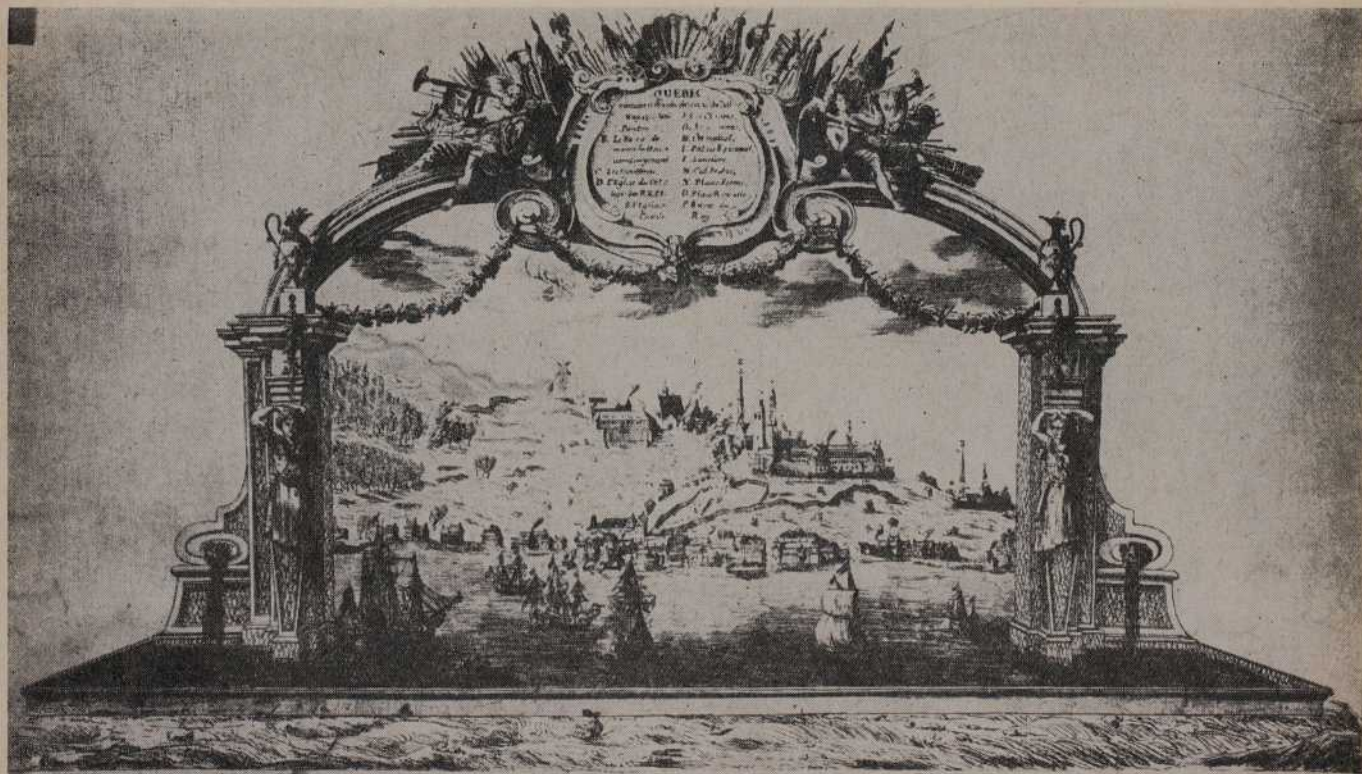
relative of the Cardinal as well as of de Poincy, and all had their connections with the Sovereign Order and with the "Company of a Hundred Associates" it is not difficult to see that though Richelieu had been dead for almost half a century, the power of his personality must still have lived and had thrown over all New France a net of family influence, scintillating with the Crosses of Malta. Though the idea of actual possession of the Colony of New France by the Order may have vanished, its sway and power could still hardly have been ignored.

By this family connection extending through the Order, the Company and through France herself, a powerful chain of influence must have been felt in every part of the New World where the lilyed fleets had dropped anchor.



View of Quebec, embellishment on Franquelin's Map of North America, 1699, showing the Chateau Saint Louis as built by de Montmagny with the Hill of Mont Carmel and its windmill in the background.

(Original in the Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique de la Marine, Paris. Courtesy Dominion Archives, Ottawa.)





CHAPTER VIII

THEIR PLACE OF MEETING IN THE FORT AND CHATEAU SAINT-LOUIS

BENJAMIN SULTE in his "Pages d'Histoire du Canada" disagrees with the Abbé Bois and with Monsieur Roy and pushes aside the idea that the Knights ever had a room in the Bastion on the rue Mont-Carmel. He says that though it is true de Montmagny was the builder and may have placed the Arms of Malta above its entrance, it could not have cost more than five hundred dollars and could not possibly have been the building referred to in any of the works just mentioned in the last chapter and certainly could never have approached such a figure as forty thousand livres.(99)

99. Sulte, *Pages d'Histoire*, op. cit., p. 249.

« Je calcule que, en 1640, on achetait avec un franc de vingt sous, l'article qui coûte aujourd'hui soixante centins. Donc 40,000 francs représentent une maison actuelle de trente mille piastres. Le bastion de M. de Montmagny ne devait pas coûter cinq cents piastres de notre monnaie »...

However, he felt that it was in no way impossible that de Montmagny had the stone placed there or in the walls of the château itself as a mark of his devotion to the Order which he had served so long. That he would have dared to place it above the entrance of the Château St-Louis, which after all was royal property, appears to Sulte, illogical. The Royal Arms of France were fastened above the gates of the city, some of these were even carried away by the English troops on the capitulation and within recent times returned to the authorities of Quebec. Champlain had done this very thing in 1624. When he built his chateau, he placed a stone bearing the Arms of the King and those of the Cardinal (Riche-lieu) into the foundations. This stone also was found in 1830. It was saved and placed in the wall of a house in lower town at the corner of Notre Dame Street and a street called "Sous-le-Fort". In 1854 this house was destroyed by fire and the stone disappeared. Writing of this, Champlain says:

"The 6th of May, 1624, the masonry of the foundations was commenced, into these I placed a stone on which were cut the Arms of the King and those of "Monseigneur" (the Cardinal) with the date of the time and my name inscribed as Lieutenant of my said lord (Seigneur) in the land of New France."

It would seem, therefore, most unlikely that any other than the Royal Insignia would be carved above the residence of the King's personal representative. That for this same reason he could not anymore have

placed his own personal arms in either place. This idea that of placing the Arms of Malta into a wall as a token of devotion would impress one as being a far-fetched conclusion, for it would hardly have been a compliment to the Order which he held in such high esteem and to which he intended to devote his life on his return to France, to have placed its arms upon a blank wall or over the entrance to some cubby-hole in the fortifications which was destined to be of no particular use.

To return to the work of Monsieur J.-Edmond Roy, one may go beyond his conclusions and be reassured that there were Knights of Malta meeting at Quebec and that they possessed a place of assembly, that such a place was actually built and that the stone that marked it is still extant and now rests in the portal of the Château Frontenac Hôtel in that city.(100)

The presence of the Knights of Malta and their role in the history of New France is a romantic episode in the story of the country which must be accepted by all. Yet what does this stone bearing the Arms of the Order signify within the walls of the Château itself? It must be regarded as visible evidence that they were actually there.

It is well therefore to study the progress of the fort and castle from the first years. The original building was erected by Champlain in 1620, just

100. The legend appearing beneath the stone in its present setting is not based upon any historical fact.

twelve years after he first landed in New France to found the City of Quebec. This was known as the "demeure sur la montagne"—the habitation on the mountain.¹⁰¹

Three years later he speaks of the difficulty of climbing the mountain to reach Fort Saint-Louis.⁽¹⁰²⁾ It must have been a flimsy affair for in 1624 the roof was blown off, so in that year he started the foundation of a larger building to replace the first fort which had sadly deteriorated, but a few months later he returned to Paris where he remained for two years. On his arrival back to his duties in America he found that there had been nothing done towards carrying out his orders. He then took charge himself and built his second fort. On the capture of Quebec by Kirk, Champlain again left for the land of his birth but returned to Canada in 1633, took up his residence in his new castle, and there he lived till his death.⁽¹⁰³⁾

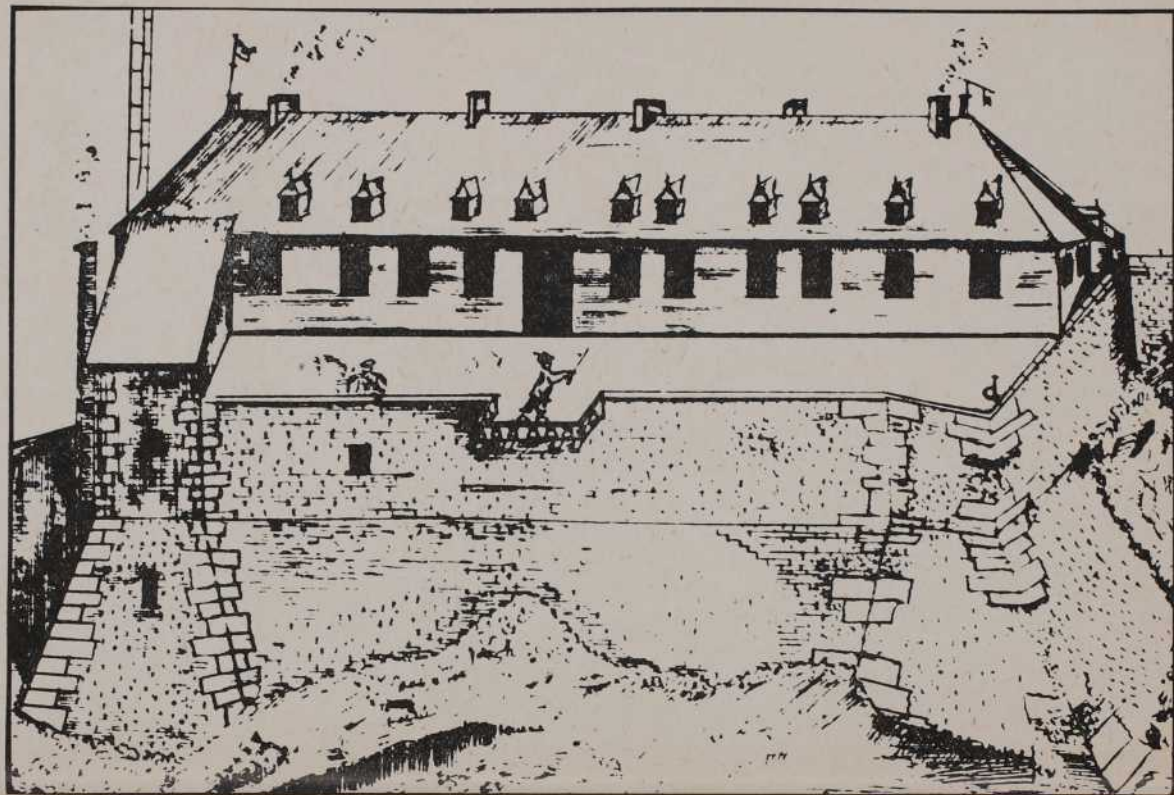
101. Gagnon, *op cit.*, p. 14.

102. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

....." In 1623 Champlain wrote as follows : l'incommodité que l'on recevait à monter la montagne pour aller un Fort Saint-Louis me fit entreprendre d'y faire un petit chemin pour y monter avec facilité, ce qui fut fait le 29 de novembre et sur le fin du dit mois. » . . . This is the first mention of the Fort as the Fort Saint-Louis that appears..... "

103. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

« Ce ne fut qu'en 1626 que Champlain commença l'érection du fort plus spacieux qu'il devait habiter à son retour de France, en 1633, après l'interrègne des Kirk et jusqu'à sa mort. »



The influence of Malta was not as yet apparent and there is nothing to indicate that during his lifetime there was any thought of establishing a haven for its members in the castle. In 1636, de Montmagny undertook the complete reconstruction of the fort and the château. In this he had the advice and assistance of Jean Bourdon, who probably acted as architect and drew up the plans. If these could be located, the mystery of Malta's shield might easily be fathomed.

This construction was known as the third Fort Saint-Louis. It was within these walls that de Montmagny built the stone residence that was to house the Governor of New France till Frontenac tore it down to replace it with a still larger and more imposing residence for the representative of the Grand Monarch in the New World, one which would be more in fitting with the dignity of the Bourbon tradition and that would impress upon the English to the South the fact that the Roi Soleil really shone on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

De Montmagny's method of building was massive, even though it was not destined to last very long. He replaced the old walls by others, sixteen feet in height, and rebuilt the château in a manner more indicative of its importance and permanency. It stood on a high stone revetment and was of two stories, one of stone and the other in the eaves of the



Enlargement of the detail on Franquelin's map of 1683 showing the Chateau St. Louis as built by de Montmagny.

(Courtesy of the Dominion Archives, Ottawa.)

roof. It bore a striking resemblance to some of the very old houses still to be found on the Island of Orleans.(104) Here he lived throughout his term as Governor. The fort or fortifications that surrounded the residence were of irregular form, having two bastions on the inland or city side but were without a moat.(105) The château itself was not extensive and judged by our standards of today would be regarded as small, occupying only a corner of the space covered by the present Château Frontenac.

The fortifications on the western side were in fact but a stone wall extending from the Southwestern-most corner of the château to a bastion which covered the western angle of the fort.(106) This is the point near which the rue Mont-Carmel met the gates.

On an elevation to the Northwest stood a small hill. This was the Mount of Carmel. The name must have dated from the foundation of the colony. Jean Bourdon, on his Map of Quebec of 1660, shows it. In the old pictures of Quebec of about this time it is

104. Francis Parkman, *Old Regime in Canada*, Toronto 1900, Frontenac Edition, Vol. II, p. 36.

"It was a long low building roofed with shingles." Also refer to Franquelin's Map.

105. Pierre Georges Roy, *Ville de Québec*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 535.

"Bracqueville de la Potherie about the year 1700 describes the fort as follows :

« Le Château est sur le bord d'une grande côte escarpée, de trente toises. Il est irrégulier dans sa fortification, ayant deux bastions du côté de la ville, sans aucun fossé. »

106. Refer to Franquelin's Map.

clearly defined even before the street was laid out. On it stood a windmill and the view of Quebec appearing as an embellishment on Franquelin's map of 1699, the original of which is in the Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique de la Marine at Paris, shows it clearly. Though the date of this map is 1699, the picture of the city used to ornament it was made at a much earlier time. From these maps and pictures it is very clear that de Montmagny gave the name Mont-Carmel to the little street for the simple reason that it ran from the windmill on Mont-Carmel to the door of the fort. Also bearing in mind that the Order of Mount Carmel was rather associated with the Order of Saint Lazare and not with Malta,(107) it is hard to agree with Monsieur Roy when he says that de Montmagny gave the name to this alley as a mark of homage to the Sovereign Order. This story of unknown origin had long become an accepted legend, but there is more evidence against it than in its favour.

At this very time the Order of Mount Carmel was very much in evidence for it had been created by Henry IV just two years before the actual fountion of Quebec itself. In 1608, when Champlain began to lay out the plan for his new city, the Order was united by Royal Decree, to the Order of Saint Lazare. The two Orders were given a Grand Master in

107. Nouveau Larousse Illustré. Paris, tome X, p. 510.

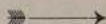
.....« ordre institué en 1606 par Henri IV en l'honneur de la Vierge, sur le modèle de l'ordre de Saint-Lazare, mais qui ne pouvait être composé que des Français. L'Ordre fut réuni, en 1608, par Henri IV, à celui de Saint-Lazare. »

common who took his oath of office to each separately. The chief distinction was that the Order of Saint Lazare was an international one open to people of all lands while the Order of Mount Carmel was restricted to subjects of the French King only.

The Order had its representatives in New France, who were in no way connected with the Order of Malta. Notable amongst them was the Baron Le Hontan, that gallant young infantry subaltern who never allowed the restraining bounds of fact to spoil a good story. He was a Knight of Mount Carmel, for he is so described in a baptismal record of a child to whom he acted as godfather.(108) Also another great Canadian name is prominent amongst them. It is that of Baron Philippe-Antoine de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, the brother of Pierre de Vaudreuil, the Governor of the Colony at the time of its fall, and who was killed at the Battle of Prague on September 5, 1742. Pierre-Georges Roy, in his "Fils de Québec" speaks of him as being a Knight of both the Orders of Saint-Lazare and of Mont-Carmel.(109) The people of the colony must have had a better knowledge of these various Orders than many of those who write about them today. It appears more likely that

108. J. Edmond Roy, *Le Baron Le Hontan, Reports of the Royal Society of Canada*, Ottawa, 1894, p. 93 (appendix 23).

109. Pierre Georges Roy, *Fils de Québec*, Première Série, Lévis 1930, p. 139.



Old view of Quebec showing Mont Carmel capped by the windmill arising behind the Chateau St. Louis.

(Courtesy of the Domion Archives, Ottawa.)



QUEBEC, *The Capital of NEW-FRANCE, a Bishoprick, and*
Seat of the Soverain COURT.

1. The Citadel. 2. the Casble
 3. Magazine 4. Recotels
 5. Ursulines. 6. Jesuits 7.

7. Cathedral of Our Lady.

8. The Palace of Seminary. 12. The Common Hospital.

10. The Hôtel Dieu.

11. St. Charles River.

13. The Hermitage of the Recolets.

14. The Bishop's House. 15. The
 Parish Church of the Lower Town.

16. The Upper Town. 17. Lower Town.

18. The Platform & Battery of Cannon.
 19. The Isle of Orleans. 20. Point Lévee.

the Hill was named in honour of this Order which was then in high prominence in France.(110)

The hill of Mount Carmel, capped with its windmill, stood between Saint Louis Street, just behind the old military hospital, and Cape Diamond, where another fort was built on about the spot that is occupied now by the King's bastion. It was of stone construction and has long ago been absorbed into Quebec's fortifications.

In 1660, thirteen years after the date given on the stone—1647—as we have seen, the Governor, d'Argenson, ordered Simon Denys, the Receiver-General of New France to make an inventory and to report on the condition of the Fort and Chateau.

This inventory did not remain long in Canada. It is probably still extant in the Archives of "La Marine" in Paris. It is divided into two parts, the château itself and its contents, and the other, the condition of the fortress and buildings. Parkman does not treat it with much respect, for in his "Old Regime in Canada", Vol. II, page 36, he says:

"In 1660, an exact inventory was taken of the fort and château, a beggarly account of rubbish. The château was a 'long low building roofed with shingles'."

110. Champvans de Farémont, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

.....« Le Roi de France Henri IV, par edit de 1608 la plaça sous un commun magistère avec l'Ordre royal de Notre Dame de Mont Carmel, récemment fondé ; chaque ordre, tout fois, existait sans qu'il y eût suppression ou confusion, le Grand-Maitre prenant serment pour chacun des Ordres. »

Through the kindness of Monsieur Antoine Roy, the efficient and courteous archivist of the Province of Quebec, and the son of Monsieur Pierre-Georges Roy, who has done so much to preserve the history of Quebec Province for future generations, this inventory has been made available for this work.

Deny's findings were alarming, for the defenses were in a lamentable condition. He mentions particularly that the great bastion on the western end had fallen into ruin and had had to be entirely demolished. (111)

In 1663 a contract was let for the reconstruction of the fort and of the château itself. Other contracts were made again in 1664 and 1665.(112) These appear to refer to the bastion at the foot of the rue Mont-Carmel in which the Knights of Malta were supposed to have had their quarters and on which the Arms of the Order were said to have been mounted. Its life had indeed been a short one, for it had not survived thirteen years.

Franquelin's map of the fort was drawn as a picture map, in perspective, twenty-three years later, and is intended to show the work required to be done.

111. Parkman, *Old Regime in Canada*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 36.

112. Pierre Georges Roy, *Ville de Québec*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 341 (Cif. post).

Le 28 novembre 1663, le Conseil souverain reçoit de nouvelles offres pour les réparations du château et du Palais..... « Une délibération du Conseil Souverain, du 25 juin 1663, nous explique le pourquoi des réparations qu'on fit subir au Château Saint-Louis et au Palais en 1663-1664-1665. »

5^e 1^{re} A 11

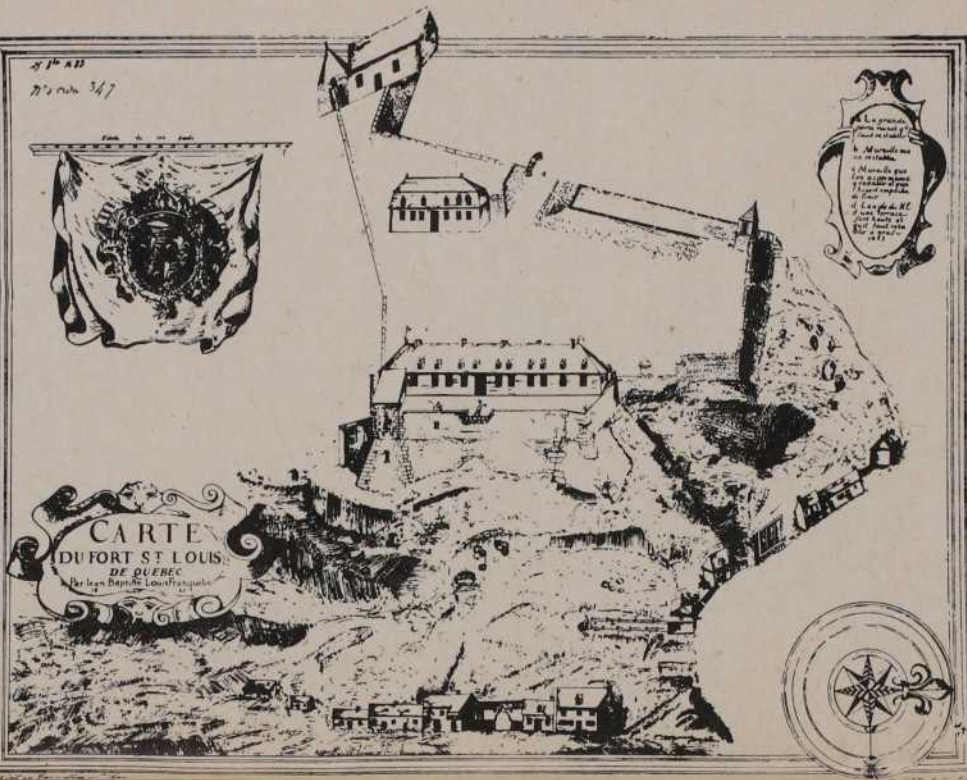
N^o 347

Plan de la ville



CARTE
DU FORT ST LOUIS
DE QUEBEC

Par Jean Baptiste Leveillé



It should be noted that in the legend on the shield in the top corner, the principal gate (la Grande Porte) is still described as being in ruins, that the wall between the gate and the bastion as well as the bastion itself have been rebuilt(113) while that between the gate and the northwest corner is partly repaired but the work has been stopped on account of winter and that the Northeast angle of the terrace of the château itself has been built anew. This map also shows how small the whole fortification was and how little it extended to the west.(114)

A building in the court is also shown but the plan is so distorted that this is difficult to identify on other plans and maps although but few exist.

Jean Bourdon's own map of Quebec, dated 1660, shows the plan of the fort as a rectangle having some small towers that may represent bastions. He also shows two buildings in the court of the fort but there is nothing to indicate their purpose.

113. Benjamin Sulte, *Organization Militaire au Canada*. Reports of the Royal Society of Canada, Ottawa, 1896, Section I, p. 8.

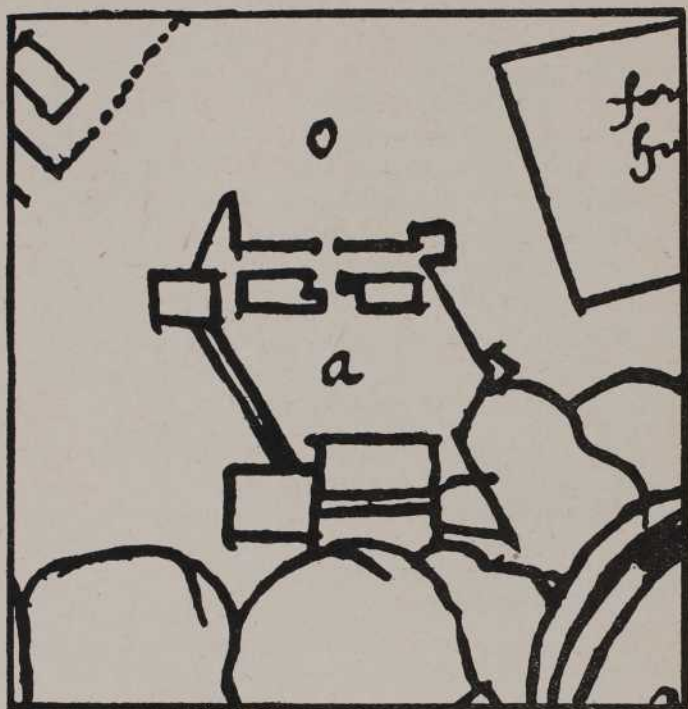
"It had been rebuilt anew. It had taken the form of a wall which reached this bastion and in place of it, a square tower had been built for purposes of defense and also to serve as a prison."

114. Refer to Franquelin's Map.



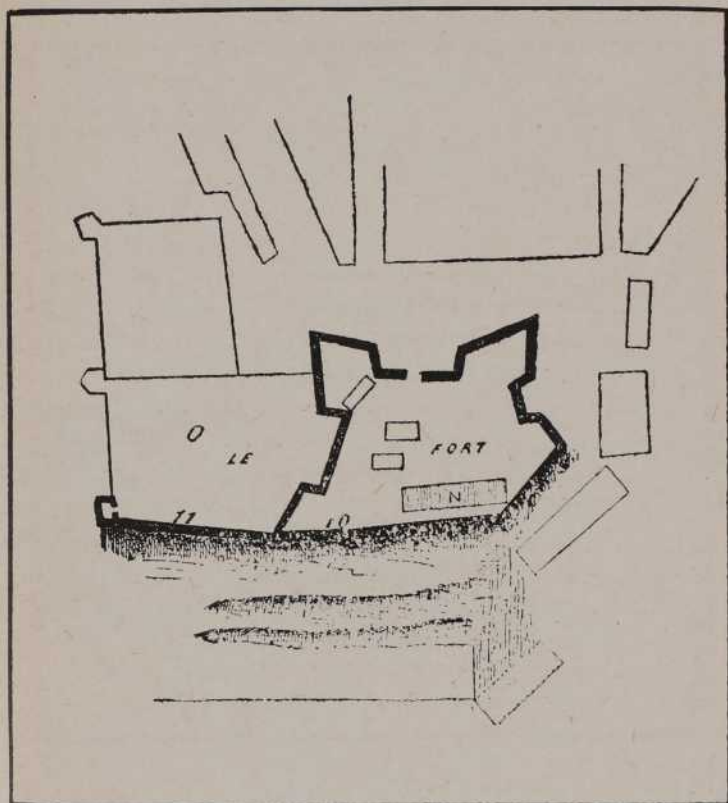
Franquelin's map of the Fort and Chateau showing the repairs completed and those still to be made in 1683.

(Courtesy of the Dominion Archives, Ottawa.)



Jehan Bourdon's plan of the Fort and Chateau St. Louis, 1660. (Original preserved in the Depot des Fortifications des Colonies, Paris.)

(Courtesy of the Dominion Archives, Ottawa.)



Last plan of de Montmagny's Fort and Chateau St. Louis dated September, 1693, the year in which Frontenac began his demolition and reconstruction.

(Gagnon : *Fort and Chateau St. Louis.*)

"Le Château et Fort de Saint-Louis" by Ernest Gagnon contains two interesting plans. Except that we may notice the enlargement of the whole fortification, the presence of much greater redouts or bastions, little can be derived from them. On the plan of 1693, in the Westernmost corner there is quite a large building described as the "powder house" while two new buildings appear in the court. Yet in the plan contained in Monsieur Gagnon's work and described as "extract of plan sent with a letter from Messieurs de Callières and de Champigny on August 6, 1700", the buildings are all shown in their original positions near the gate and not in the centre of the courtyard.

Villeneuve's map of the City of Quebec of 1685 gives an elaborate drawing of the fort which differs from the others and rather resembles Franquelin's plan. The clearest plan of all is that bearing No. 358 in the "Dépôt des Fortifications des Colonies", in Paris. It draws the fort as it was in 1694. The rebuilding appears to have been completed. It shows a collection of buildings in the court including a small residence for "Monsieur le Comte". Unfortunately, nothing can be found in any of these maps that would enlighten us in any way regarding an "office for the Knights of Malta". The date on the stone precludes completely its insertion into the walls in any of the many reconstructions through which the fort and château may have passed.

➡

Chateau St. Louis, insert on a plan of the fortifications of Quebec, 1694. (Original in the Depot des Fortifications des Colonies, Paris.)

(Courtesy of the Dominion Archives, Ottawa.)



TABLE POUR L'INTÉLLIGENCE DU PLAN.

1. Monnaie par les poudres du Roy, le par les bourgeois.
2. Logis des poudres.
3. Logis de l'Artillerie.
4. Monnaie, monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.
5. Monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.
6. Monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.
7. Monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.
8. Monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.
9. Monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.
10. Monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.
11. Monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.
12. Monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.
13. Monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.
14. Monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.
15. Monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.
16. Monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.
17. Monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.
18. Monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.
19. Monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.
20. Monnaie, le par les bourgeois, le par les bourgeois.

PLAN DE LA VILLE
ET CHATELAIN
DE QUINCY.
PAR F. S. G. B.
N. L. V. R. E. F. A. C. T. U. E. N. T.

RIVIERE S. LAURENS.

PLAN · EN GRAND · DV FORT · *général*

ancien Le Logis de Monsieur Le Comte de Francienac

H *for*

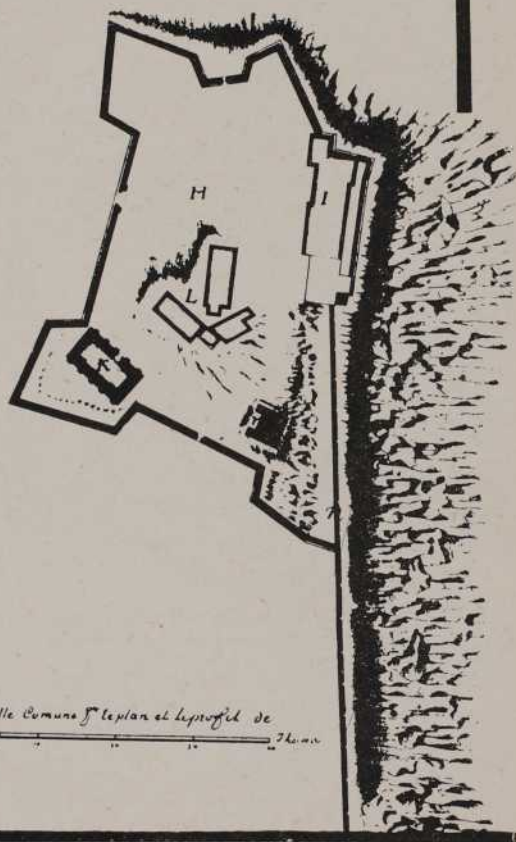
I Logis qui N'est bastie qu'aux deux tiers

K Magasin a poudre

L petite Maisonnette a jeter l'eau qui serue Cepend' de logement
a Monsieur Le Comte

M Glaciere

N petite Batterie de peu d'usage



Echelle Commune du plan et du profil de

Thuan

It is interesting also to examine what lay behind its gray stone walls in 1660. The inventory of *Sieur Simon de Denys* gives a description of the interior of the *château*. He lists many rooms and some of the contents but, unfortunately, from his notes it is not possible to designate any one of them to the use of the Order of Malta. It is very disappointing that nothing is mentioned in the entries of their furnishings and equipment that could point out a particular place of their meeting.

He describes the *château* as follows:—(*See Appendix No. 24.*)

“Firstly in the large body of the building, —in the kitchen we find a table, a . . . (word missing), a fire-shovel with tongs and fire-dogs of iron; in it are two windows with sashes that do not open and with outside shutters as well as a window and latched door. Near the kitchen is a gallery (hall) in which there is a cupboard locking with a key, a latched door, a window with shutters and a cupboard above the door.”

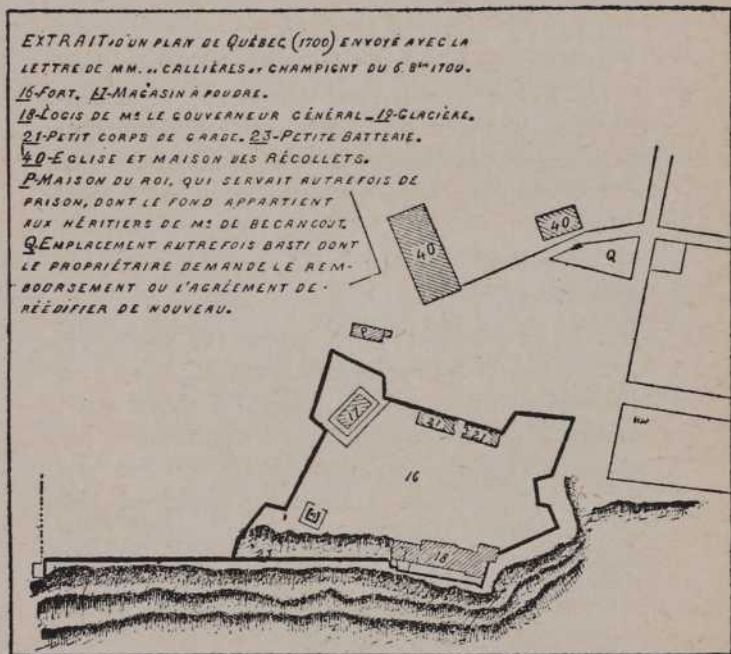
“In the following room, locking with a key, are two windows with sashes, blinds and shutters, in which also will be found a table, a pair of andirons, four doors with latches and bolts, also off it a room (cabinet) locking with a key, with a window



Villeneuve's plan of the City of Quebec of 1685 showing the extent of de Montmagny's Fort and Chateau St. Louis.

(Original in the Depot des Fortifications des Colonies, Paris.)

(*Courtesy Dominion Archives, Ottawa.*)



Plan of the Fort and Chateau St. Louis sent in a letter of MM. de Callieres and de Champigny dated October 6th, 1700. (Note the difference in the distribution of the buildings within the Fort.)

(Gagnon : Fort and Chateau St. Louis.)

having blinds and shutters and in the hall a gun on a rack."

"Following is another hall with a window having sashes, shutters and blinds."

In the hall which adjoins the one which locks with a key, is a window with a sash, blinds and shutters, in which will be found a folding-table; while beside this is a room also closed by a door with a key which has a window with sash, blinds and shutters.

"The hall and one cupboard which locks with a key."

"In the last room, in which the door locks with a key, is a window with a sash, blinds and shutters wherein will be found a table and a wooden chest, a cupboard in the chimney corner which locks with a key, and beside this is a room closed with a padlock having a window at the back which has shutters."

"All the said rooms, halls and galleries are panelled with boards standing on end—"up and down" (*par hault et par bas*)."

"A gallery (terrace) with balustrade faces the water on the ends of which are sentry boxes, one of which is closed with a door and key."

"In the basement, the posts and floors are in good condition, and here were found three tubs which are no longer of any use. There is a door locking with a key and steps (*échelle*) to descend thereto by way of the kitchen."

"In the garret there is a dove-cot and in it were found seven or eight pikes."

"In another body of the building is a low room with a fireplace in which there is the oven, a bread kneading trough, a table and a laying-tool of iron (*to remove bread from an oven*) as well as a door, closing with a key, the windows having iron bars and shutters."

"In another hall adjoining are two rooms, in one of which is a cabinet (*cabane de façon*) on which is an old iron clock, dismantled and out of use; a window with sash and shutters, two seats, both of these rooms are panelled and lock with a key."

"In the guardhouse is a camp-bed, two rooms, the rack with twelve guns and for furnishings were found an old cauldron, three copper plates, a frying pan, a saucepan and a fire-shovel,—the whole as described."

The French is old and it is often difficult to give a modern English equivalent. The rooms are called 'cabanes' and the halls 'salles'. Unfortunately, the inventory fails completely for our purpose of indicating a place that might have been set aside for Malta's meetings.

With de Montmagny's departure the interest in the Order as well as its influence waned fast. Frontenac did not share it and had no connection with it. He rather sought the Crosses of his King for he later received the Order of Saint Louis. He would never have replaced the stone in any construction of his,

already, in his time Malta would scarcely be appreciated in the city that it had once cast eyes upon. Gagnon agrees that it would never have been set back in its former place during the reconstruction of 1694.(115)

But to return to Benjamin Sulte's "Pages d'Histoire" in which he suggests that the stone was placed as a "votive offering" in the walls of the château itself, could we not suggest that it was placed there for another and perhaps more plausible reason. At the time of the building of the Château by de Montmagny, the Order was at the height of its influence in Canada. While the Company of the Hundred Associates was in the depths of financial difficulties. Malta itself was at the pinnacle of its power and the representative of Louis XIII had planned for it a part in the history of this new land that he was founding. None of the maps or plans, either of Quebec or of the château itself give an inkling of the existence of any building that can possibly be identified or even tentatively considered as a meeting place for these "Chevaliers of the White Cross". Neither does the inventory of Simon Denys give any indication of any room or quarters prepared for the use of the Knights within the walls of the building.

115. Gagnon, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

.....« Cette pierre, qui à l'origine, était sans doute placée au dessus de la porte d'entrée ou dans un autre endroit bien en vue du premier château St. Louis, gisait vraisemblablement où on l'a trouvée depuis quatre-vingt-dix ans, c'est à dire depuis la démolition de 1694..... »

The rigors of the winter, the necessity of heat for the comfort of those who were to meet there, the great falls of snow that would block the approaches to any house or bastion would render such a place impractical. Only persons of Canadian birth who have lived in the rural parts in old stone houses devoid of central heating can realize the difficulty of making comfortable a building of this nature, once the chill of winter has permeated its walls. The early French settlers knew this. De Montmagny himself must have felt such a chill even in the Château Saint-Louis. When the cold blasts of February blew across the St. Lawrence or swept down from the Laurentian Mountains fireplaces burning logs, cut in adjacent forests, were the only warmth available to these hardy pioneers, while only adequate comfort could be found in a room that had never been allowed to "cool off", where a fire had been constantly kept alight.

It has been suggested that de Montmagny had reserved or designated a room or meeting place within the Château itself as the headquarters of his favourite Order? Having cited what evidence is available and having found most of it negative, such a contention can be completely brushed aside. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Gagnon states the stone was found adjacent to the wall of the Château on the inner side, that is facing on the courtyard and not near where the bastion formerly stood.(116)

116. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

The whole picture of the problem has become an historical jigsaw puzzle with the "Stone of Malta" still without a place. Basing the contention that the Château itself contained the "Hall of Malta" merely upon the human nature of de Montmagny personally, who would naturally not seek hardship, cannot possibly be accepted as the solution.

Few old plans are available. Though there is the copy of the one by Jean Bourdon of the city in 1640 in the archives of Laval University, it is of too early date to be of help. There is also the one made by him in 1660 which has already been referred to. This is the earliest Quebec map preserved in the "Dépôt des Fortifications des Colonies" at Paris. Most of these French maps have been photographed and are to be seen in the Dominion Archives, at Ottawa. There is a complete list of the Paris possessions to be found there. It is indeed disappointing to find that the very early plans of the fort and château have not been preserved.

The early archives of the Sovereign Council are popularly supposed to have been destroyed in a fire on Epiphany in 1713. Monsieur P.-J.-O. Chauveau, the great authority on the Sovereign Council, disagrees and claims that this fire never took place. His belief is that other fires and the moving of the archives from place to place were as disastrous as this fire was supposed to have been; also that the sieges, the change of regime through which Quebec passed as well as the restricted quarters in which the

archives were kept menaced the very existence of the documents.(117)

It is well to bear in mind that the originals of the old Quebec maps are mainly to be found, not in Canada, but in Paris and those which we possess, both in the federal and provincial archives are, in great part, but photostatic copies. It is therefore very unlikely that the original drawings of the château itself will ever be recovered in Canada.

If the plans of Jean Bourdon, "Engineer, Cartographer and Solicitor-General" could be located there is little doubt but the answer to the riddle would be possible. He, without the slightest question under de Montmagny's guidance drew the plans of the château, but unless some long hidden cache of records should come to light, it is much to be feared that the key to the "Headquarters" of the Sovereign Order in Canada lies amidst the bones of the first great surveyor of New France in the crypt of the basilica of Quebec.

The Arms of Malta could hardly have stood over some secondary entrance of the château or even over a window to indicate a room, put aside for the use of the Knights. Sulte may have intimated the true solution but not for the reason that he suggested, that of a votive gesture on the part of de Montmagny, but rather to indicate that the Knights of the White

117. Pierre Joseph Olivier Chauveau, *Notice sur la publication des registres du Conseil Souverain et Conseil Supérieur de Québec* ». Imprimerie Générale, A. Côté et Cie, p. 59, Québec 1885 (appendix 25).

Cross had quarters within the walls and that the Order was not only close to the heart of the Governor but was also well rooted in the Government of the Colony, which at that time it even contemplated taking under its own banners.

Knowing as we do that de Montmagny was overbearing, extremely sure of himself and safe in the feeling that the bankrupt colony was soon to fall, like a ripe plum, into the lap of Malta, he placed the Arms of Malta over the main entrance. De Poincy had succeeded, why not he? and what is more—Richelieu was dead. There was little in his way. The unforeseen happened and scarcely had the stone been placed in position when France demanded his return.

There is no doubt but that the authorities in Paris expected trouble from him, such as they had had from his cousin and felt that he too might refuse to relinquish his authority, if allowed to remain until the completion of his term. Perhaps also, the news that he was preparing to install the Order in the Château and that its Arms were already in place may have reached the Home Office. We shall never know.

His conduct on his return to France bears out this contention, for he left completely the service of his Sovereign and devoted the remaining years of his life to the service of the Order of Malta.

By nature he was a centralizer who drew authority to himself. In turn, though he was authoritative to an extreme, he showed a gracious sympathy

towards the habitants and took their part against the Company, in which he was, himself, interested when he procured for them the right to share in the fur trade.

Frontenac was of different timber. When he demolished de Montmagny's château he would not have cast a thought upon the Arms of Malta for he was essentially a "King's Man" and his only loyalty was to the Crown. Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, was born in 1622 and had as his godfather his king, Louis XIII. A dashing horseman, brought up at Versailles and Saint-Germain, for eleven years he was "Colonel of the Cavalry of Normandy" and served across Europe. In camp and in court he was always close to the person of his King. A great gallant, he made a romantic marriage with "The divine Louise de la Grange-Trianon de Neuville" (for so she is described) but which, unfortunately did not prove to be a happy one.

A General of France, his life in the woods of the north must have seemed different indeed—far from the civilization and glamour that surrounded him from childhood. He always welcomed war and his answer to the messenger of Admiral Phipps who demanded his surrender, while the English fleet lay at anchor ready to destroy Quebec, was typical of his dash and gallantry: "I know not your King William, usurper, who has violated the most sacred rights of blood by desiring to dethrone his father-in-law. As for your General, I have no answer to make to him, save from the mouths of my cannon".

To Frontenac, Malta was something foreign and the stone bearing its arms was buried where it fell, in the court of the Château, near where the main door stood. The new château which arose was stronger, greater and more worthy of the "King's Man" who was to rule, from within its walls, over a feudal empire that owed its loyalty, wholly and undivided to him who wore the Crown of Saint Louis.



CHAPTER IX

THE SOLDIER KNIGHTS ON CANADIAN SOIL

It is also most probable that other Knights of Malta came to the New World amongst the officers of the French navy or amongst those of the great French regiments which landed on the shores of New France during the conflicts of the Spanish-Succession and the Seven Years' War. The Regiment Carignan-Salliers which arrived in Quebec in 1665 had amongst its personnel the élite of France and the villages of Quebec that lie along the Richelieu and the St. Lawrence bear the names of its leaders. The seven famous regiments of France that came to the Colony under de Montcalm—Guienne, La Reine, Languedoc, Royal Roussillon, Béarn, Berry and LaSarre, had many of the great families of France upon their lists of officers—and it is very likely that some wearers of the White Cross of St. John would be found in their ranks.

There appears to have existed a rivalry between the Royal Orders of the King and the Sovereign Order. It is true that the wearer of the Order of

Malta owed a dual or divided allegiance, not only to his King but to the Sovereign Head of his Knightly Association. This did not come to a head till 1723. Then Louis XIV's decree that an officer could not be a wearer of both the Crosses of Malta and of his Order of St. Louis was promulgated. No reason is given for this decision to withhold his personal Order from these descendants from the Crusades, but it is quite reasonable to expect the King to demand the complete allegiance of his subjects, particularly of those who held the Royal Commission in his armies.(118)

The Roi Soleil must have had his reasons for this attitude, but he never divulged them. From the very beginning of his reign he displayed an antipathy to the Sovereign Order and showed clearly his dislike for it but it was not till the close of his life that he actually raised a barrier against its members.

In 1723 one exception to the new ordinance was made. This was in favour of Brigadier de Lautrec and this became the exception that proved the rule.(119)

This officer enjoyed an excellent reputation in the military circles of France. His brilliant success had been overlooked for a single reason—that he was a Knight of Malta and for him alone the barrier that

118. Aegidius Fauteux, *Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis au Canada*, Montréal 1940. Éditions de Dix, pp. 13, 14.

« Dès le début, Louis XIV avait statué que l'on pourrait être à la fois de l'Ordre de Saint-Louis et de l'Ordre de Malte, mais sans en donner expressément la raison. »

119. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Louis XIV had raised against all who belonged to this Order, was lowered.(120)

There were occasions on which the officers who were Knights of Malta preferred their association with the world's oldest Order, to the Orders of their Sovereign. Sometimes we find an officer commanding a regiment who is a Knight of Malta but does not hold his King's Order while officers far junior to him, even his Captains of Companies, wear the scarlet ribbon of Saint Louis.

The French monarchy was undergoing change. The feudalism of the Middle Ages was becoming less and less while the power of the King was growing. No longer could the territorial noble claim the allegiance of his tenants for the star of nationalism was rising and countries not counties were to be the limits of a man's allegiance.

Malta was international. Though individual Knights served their Sovereigns loyally, they still were members of a body that was unrestricted by frontiers. Those of them who had become professed Knights were members of a religious fraternity bound by rules and obediences as binding as those of any

120. Alexandre Mazas, *Histoire de l'Ordre Royal et Militaire de Saint-Louis depuis son Institution en 1693 jusqu'en 1830*. Firmin Didot, fils et Cie., Paris 1860, rue Jacob 56, p. 302.

« Cet officier jouissait de beaucoup de réputation dans le monde militaire ; ses brillants services n'avaient pu le faire admettre parmi les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis par le seul motif qu'il faisait partie de l'Ordre de Malte ; on leva en sa faveur l'interdiction dont Louis XIV avait frappé les officiers appartenant à cette corporation. »

Jesuit or Benedictine. Their Order was conceived in Feudalism. Their outlook was feudal and their interests were of the whole of Christianity.

The King, on the other hand, was drawing all things to himself. The strong-castle and the private army had to bend to his desires. All things were to be in him and from him. The new ideas which came from Versailles had no place in the policy of Orders that were sovereign in themselves.

Richelieu's outlook was broad. He could reconcile both states and put them to his own usage. He fought the Huguenots and he used them. He could wear the red of his princely office as a proud churchman, yet he stood before the walls of Rochelle, booted and spurred and with girded sword, as he watched the siege of the city with as much ease as he could grace his throne in the sanctuary, mitred and in golden cope. He could accept Malta; he could use it in his Company and in the New World.

Louis XIV was but a child when he succeeded to the throne—but France had Anne of Austria and she had her Mazarin. He was the creation of Richelieu and could be expected to carry on in Richelieu's tradition; but it must be remembered that, though he also held the rank of Prince of the Church, he was not a priest. Richelieu was a churchman as well as a servant of his sovereign, but above all he was a great Frenchman.

It was rather in his later years that his interest in his King's behalf transcended his interest in his

Church. Georges Goyau writes that he showed zeal for the Church in his earlier life but that he:

"Ended by assuring the young king, Louis XIII, that the desire of the clergy was to have the royal power so assured that it might be like a firm rock that breaks all that hurls itself against it."(121)

Mazarin was a churchman in dress only and of Italian nationality. He served France, but above all, the Queen Regent, and was bound to her by that enigmatic tie that has become one of the puzzles of history . . . Of this Goyau says:

"Anne's affection for him was the best guarantee for his continuance in office. The precise character of his relations with Anne of Austria is one of the enigmas of history. Certain letters of Anne of Austria to Mazarin prove that the Queen Regent was attached to the Cardinal . . . 'Still my sensibilities have no part in it', she said to Madame de Brienne. Few historians give credence to Anne's assertions on this point and some go so far as to accept the allegations of the Princess Palatine in her letters of 1717, 1718 and 1722, according to which Anne of Austria and Mazarin were married."(122)

This was not impossible, as he was not a priest and it is pointed out in Larousse that—"il n'était pas prêtre quoique cardinal".(123)

121. Georges Goyau, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Robert Appleton Co., New York 1911, Vol. I, p. 47.

122. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93, Vol. X.

123. Larousse, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 1011.

Mazarin undoubtedly lent himself wholeheartedly to the Gallicanism of his master and desired to achieve complacency, on the Pope's part, towards France. More and more, both nationally and religiously, Louis was surrounding his person with power. Malta at the same time was Catholic and Sovereign. The more the King became the State, the less place there was for international chivalry. The climax came when the *Roi Soleil*, standing before his throne at Versailles cried out: "*l'État, c'est moi!*". Then all outside influence had to cease. The State was the King and the Church in France from then on was struggling within itself against the menace of a French national religion.

Far away though it lay, the Valley of the Saint Lawrence felt the effects of what was passing beyond the seas. The authorities both lay and ecclesiastic, were commanded from the royal palace. The moment of France's greatness was realized in the Colony and it is reasonable to expect that the apotheosis of French monarchy would fire the hearts of Frenchmen in the woods of Canada as readily as on the streets of Paris.

Feudalism was gone. A link that bound the chivalry and courtesy of one country to another could not exist amidst royal despotism and noisy nationalism. The reign of the Papacy had been longer than that of the Royal Houses of France and the Order that had lived through centuries under the protection of the Popes was naturally distasteful to the New Order. Malta was the victim.

It is unlucky indeed that Monsieur Roy did not carry his study of the Order of Malta further. Though he proved, living at a time when interest in history of this sort was much more active and surrounded by the scenes of which he was writing, that Malta never had a Priory on the rock of Quebec, this was not a reason why the presence in the Colony of these Soldiers of the Cross should not be noted. They played a part. They were prepared to play a much greater part. Their influence in the "Company of a Hundred Associates" had been very powerful. At the time when this great Company was dissolved, Malta, which had always been a factor in French Arms, must still have been represented in the French armies in Canada.

It is very unfortunate indeed that the army lists of that time do not mention the fact if any of the officers of the French army were Knights of the Sovereign Order. There could not have been many. Only a few have been found and these deserve a mention in the history of a Great Order and of a Great Country.

Amongst the earliest of the military Knights to be found serving in Canada was an officer of the Carignan Regiment, the first detachment of the regular French troops to come to the New World to fight the Iroquois and act, not only as protection to the new colony, but in time to become actual colonists themselves and found along the southern frontier a line of seigniories that were to prove the backbone of the French settlements along the Richelieu River.

It is remarkable that this advance guard of France's army could boast of two wearers of the White Cross.

On the cadre of this Regiment there was a Captain Hector d'Andigné, Chevalier de Grand'-Fontaine, who had previously seen service in the Regiment de Poitou.(124) That he was a Knight of Malta comes to light through a rather remarkable coincidence. Nothing is mentioned of this fact on the roll of his regiment. His name merely appears amongst the others but the Order to which he belonged is not mentioned and the part he may have played in its forces against the Saracen is ignored.

On January 11, 1668, a member of his family, René d'Andigné, Seigneur de Calluère in the parish of Gennes near Château-Gontier, desired to prove that he was of noble lineage. He appeared before the Commission of the "Généralité de Tours" to substantiate his right to noblesse. He declared that he was the representative of the younger branch of the house of Grand'Fontaine d'Andigné de Ruille in Anjou. He added to his claim that of his two brothers, on terms of equality—"ses frères puisnés"—Eustache and Hector. He said that Hector—"a Knight of Malta, commanded the Carignan Regiment of Infantry to serve the King in the Canadas".(125)

124. Pierre Georges Roy, Éditeur, *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, organe du Bureau des Archives, Québec, Vol. XVII, p. 194.

125. Capt. Charles E. Lart, "The Noblesse of Canada", *Canadian Historical Review*, Toronto : University Press, 1922, Vol. III, p. 229.

Charles-E. Lart, quoting from the "Recherches de Touraine 1666-1668", says:

"In the Regiment of Carignan came also a German regiment called the "Regiment de Balthasar" after its colonel. These two units, under Colonels de Carignan and Balthasar, formed a demi-brigade called the Régiment Carignan-Balthasar. Colonel Balthasar died in 1665 and was succeeded by Colonel de Salières, the name of the regiment being changed to "Carignan-Salières". In 1668, the two colonels and two companies of sixty men each returned to La Rochelle. The remainder, however, stayed in Canada and one of these retired colonels was replaced by Hector d'Andigné. René d'Andigné, Seigneur de la Calluère, of the parish of Gennes near Château-Gonthier, appearing before the commissioners for the Généralité de Tours, on January 11, 1668, in order to prove his noblesse, declares that he is the representative of the younger branch of the house of Grand'Fontaine d'Andigné, of Ruilles in Anjou, together with Eustache and Hector d'Andigné, "ses frères puîshes, le dit Hector, Chevalier de Malte, commandait le régiment d'infanterie de Carignan pour le service du Roy en Canadas". His arms are given in this visitation as argent, trois aigles de Gules, onglées, bectées d'Azure. (Recherches de Touraine, 1668-1669.)"

This wearer of the White Cross was born in 1627 and was created a Knight of Malta, the very year

that his brother claimed his noblesse, that was in 1668. This year was eventful for in it he received his Captaincy in the Carignan Regiment in which he appears to have achieved his Colonelcy shortly after. In all the rolls of his Regiment he is called Monsieur de Grand'Fontaine, for the Carignan had two other Sieurs d'Andigné amongst its officers who were cousins of his.

When Acadia was returned to France by the Treaty of Breda, he was sent as Governor.(126) His role there was an interesting one for it was he who, in 1670, was destined to petition the return of the colony, and to receive it in the name of the French King from the hands of the English plenipoten-tiaries.(127-128)

He has left many records both of his military career and of his family but there is none of any marriage and one might well be inclined to feel that perhaps he had become a professed Knight.

His service in Canada has been well defined. On his arrival in New France he was sent with his Company for duty along the Richelieu River and we

126. Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 59.

127. Francis J. Audet in « *Rapport de la Société Royale* ». Le Régiment de Carignan, Section I, 1922, pages 132, 133 (appendix 26).

128. Sulte, op. cit., p. 93.

« au mois de septembre 1670, Monsieur de Grandfontaine reçut du Capitaine Walker le fort de Pentagoet a titre de gouverneur français. »

learn that Monsieur de Courcelles had ordered him to proceed with his men to build a road from Fort Saint-Louis at Chambly to Fort Sainte-Thérèse situated at the rapids about six miles further up the river. On the completion of this task he and his command went into quarters at Quebec. Here he spent the winter months of 1665 and 1666.(129) In a short time he became an adept at Indian warfare and he was soon designated for higher things. According to Monsieur Regis Roy, he is said to have made a short trip to France, sailing in September 1668, but very little is mentioned of it for shortly after we find him back in Canada (if he ever left it).

It is possible that he was made a Knight of Malta while on this voyage—if not, he has the unique distinction of having received the Order while in Canada.

A special company was recruited in France for service under him in Acadia and with it crossed the seas four Infantry companies to man the forts of New France.(130)

129. Roy et Malchelosse, op. cit., p. 51, *Mémoire de M. de Salières*.

« Le 22, Monsieur le Gouverneur a fait sortir les compagnies de la Motte et Grandfontaine et les a employés a faire le chemin de ce fort à celui de Saint Louys et de la les sud. compes se doivent embarquer pour aller à Kebcq passer l'hiver. »

130. Ibid., p. 40.

« Au cours de nos recherches nous avons trouvé que des recrues formant une Compagnie pour l'Acadie (celle de M. de Grandfontaine) et au plus quatre compagnies de soldats pour les garnisons des forts arrivèrent de France en 1670. »

In Acadia he had, as second-in-command, another officer who left his name indelibly impressed upon the history of Quebec. He was le Capitaine Jacques de Chambly, another company commander in the same Regiment. It was he who built the fort on the Richelieu, which after several reconstructions and restorations still bears his name. It stood on the land that had been granted to him as a seigniory where the town of Chambly stands today. On de Grand'Fontaine's return to France, de Chambly took over the reins of government from him.

Andigné ruled for the King in Acadia till 1675 when he returned to his native land. There he rejoined the French Army and fought in Cayenne and was wounded at the Battle of Tobago against the Dutch. In return for his services, the King gave him a pension of 800 livres and made him a Chevalier of St. Louis. He died at Brest on July 6, 1678. It is unfortunate indeed that the military lists mention only decorations conferred by the King of France and ignore the Great Orders of Chivalry that have come down through the ages.

Andigné is the first of the Soldier Knights who came to New France for military purposes alone. Unlike Montmagny, De Lisle, LaBarre and the others, who were more colonial administrators than soldiers, most of these Knights of Coat-Armour had followed their profession of Arms in the Armies of the Order itself. Most of them had spent many years of their youth, if not mounted at the head of Squadrons of Turcopoles, then on the decks of the galleys of

Malta cruising the seas off the north coasts of Africa freeing the passages for Pilgrims to Palestine from the marauderings of the Corsairs of Islam. It would be interesting to know if these adventurers were professed Knights for there is little to show that they were married men. We know that Montmagny himself had entered the Order completely and had taken his vows after his retirement as Governor. There is no record to show that d'Andigné had not also adopted the same mode of life. That strange status half soldier, half religious, is difficult to comprehend in a modern age such as the present one. How a man could vow his life to a career of the most active fighting which would require him to kill or be killed to free the Holy Places of the Infidel, and at the same time vow with equal solemnity his life to one of religious rigour and mortification including the putting aside, completely out of his life, any question of ever marrying, is one which is intriguing in the extreme to the volatile mode of life of the present day.

Following d'Andigné, there was de Crisafy of whom we have already seen. He too was a Soldier Knight who never went beyond the pale of his regiment and who played no part in the administrative life of New France, but who had dedicated his life to the precepts of Malta. His brother, the Marquis de Crisafy quite outshone him and left after him a very definite place in the story of New France. There may have been many others though, through what material we have available, to find them would be well nigh impossible.

In the same Regiment with him there was another. He was a Lieutenant, unattached to any Company, and little is known of him. He appears to have been quite young and is the first Knight of Malta whose name is rather connected with Montreal than with Quebec. His military career was unspectacular yet the records that he left of his passage are replete with the early history of the city of Ville-Marie. He appears to have taken quite a part in the small social life of the little town. The names of those with whom he was in daily contact read like the roll of the heroes of the City's foundation.

He was Flotard de Lescure. In some instances, it is spelled Flottant, but the former appears to be the more correct version. Messieurs Regis Roy and Malchelosse in their "Régiment de Carignan" describe him as a Knight of Malta(131) and this is eminently well brought out in the Registers of the Parish of Montreal where he appears to have been stationed. Sulte lists him as having returned to France in 1668, but Tanguay places him still in Ville-Marie in 1670.(132) In 1669, on January 17th, there was a baptism in the parish church when "Messire Flotard de l'Escure, Chevalier de Malthe" was the godfather to Gabriel, infant son of "Henry Perin and Jeanne Merin, his wife". The godmother

131. Roy et Malchelosse, op. cit., p. 76.

« Lieutenant non placé, Flottant de Lescure, Chevalier de Malte ».

132. Mgr Cyprien Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes*. Montréal 1886. Eusèbe Sénécal et fils, Éditeurs, Vol. I, p. 233.

was "Dam'elle Jeanne-Cécile Closse, daughter of Messire Lambert Closse, Major. of this place". She was acting as proxy for Mademoiselle Mance, the Administrator of the "Hospital of St. Joseph of Ville-Marie".(133) This entry places our gallant Knight amongst the very founders of the country. Lambert Closse, whose effigy in bronze adorns the base of the Maisonneuve statue on the Place-d'Armes in Montreal, had a seigniory in what is now the centre of the city, and his house stood where the Montreal General Hospital is today. The Mademoiselle Mance, who was his partner in this baptism, was Jeanne Mance, the heroine of Ville-Marie and the foundress of the Hôtel-Dieu Hospital.

On the 28th of the same month, he again acted as godfather to another baby. This time to another Gabriel, the son of Charles Testard, Sieur de Folville and Anne de la Marque, his wife. He is again described as "Messire Flotard de Lescure, Chevalier de Malthe". The godmother was Barbe d'Ailleboust, daughter of Messire Charles d'Ailleboust, "Sieur Demusseaux, Judge Civil and Criminal of this district".(134)

133. *Registres de Montréal*, 17 January 1669.

Baptême de Gabriel, fils de Henry Perin et Jeanne Merin sa femme. Parrain, Mre Flotard de l'Escure, Chevalier de Malthe. Marraine Dmle. Jeanne Cecile Closse, fille de Messire Lambert Closse, Major de ces lieux, faisant pour Mlle. Mance, administratrice, de l'Hôpital St-Joseph de Ville-Marie.

G. Perôt, Curé

His social functions kept him busy, for on November 25th of this year he was present at a wedding and even appeared on the Marriage Contract. It was the marriage before J. Perôt, curé, of André Rapin, habitant, native of St. Paul in the parish and country of Poitou, diocese of Laôn, son of Pierre Rapin, deceased, and of Marie Boufandeu, to Clémence Jarry, daughter of Éloi Jarry (deceased) and of Jeanne Méré of this parish.(135) The witnesses were Charles LeMoyne, Sieur de Longueuil, Jacques LeMoyne, Church Warden of the Parish; Pierre Gadbois, Master Armourer; Jacques Picot, "Church Warden in Office"; Charles Dailleboust, Esquire, Sieur des Musseaux, Judge Civil and Criminal of the District and Flottard de Lescure, Knight of Malta who signs "Chevalier Lescure".

The marriage contract of this union is preserved in the Court House of Montreal.(136) It is a beauti-

134. Ibid., 28 janvier 1669.

« A Esté baptisé, Gabriel, fils de Charles Testard, Sr. de Folville et d'Anne de la Marque, sa femme.

« Parrain, Mre. Flotard de Lescure, Chevalier de Malthe. La Marraine Dmle Barbe Dailleboust, fille de Mre. Charles d'Ailleboust, Sr Demusseaux, juge civil et criminel de ce lieu.
G. Perot, Curé. »

135. Ibid., 25 novembre 1669 (appendix 27).

136. Extract of marriage contract of Pierre Rapin and Clémence Jarry, preserved in the Archives of Montreal (appendix 28). (Document no 572 appendix 39, Court House, Montreal.)

ful document, written in a Gothic hand by Bénigne Basset, the Notary of the City;—the contracting persons were one and common in all their goods, “possessed and to be possessed” (en tous biens, acquets et conquets) according to the laws of the Prévoté and Vice-County (Vice-Comté) of Paris, followed and held in this country (suivi et garder) but not including the debts and hypotheques acquired before the marriage and the husband was to give a dowery of 300 livres (pounds) “as is the custom” . . . The witnesses are again the LeMoynes, Abraham Souat and Françoise Lavalterie, and Nicola Voyer for the husband, and for the bride, “The Rev. Father-in-God, Messire Gabriel de Quelus, priest, Abbé of Notre Dame”; “The Noble Flotard, Chevalier, Seigneur de Lescure”, Dailleboust Bailiff of the said Island—and the Notary Basset.

After 1670, he disappears from the scene and probably returned to France.(137)

Though Flotard de Lescure does not leave the impression of having been an officer of any great moment and his place in Canadian history, modest indeed, he has left a record of his presence that is much more clearly defined and documented than many more picturesque heroes in the Story of New France. He does not appear to have been married and it is likely that he was a professed Knight.

137. Sulte, *Rgt. de Car. op. cit.*, p. 84.

« Passés en France, ou dont la trace se perd après 1668, Flottant de Lescure ».

As the French Regime approached its great climax and the Army that crossed the seas to save New France arrived, the finest of the French forces landed in Canada. Regiments heavy with the history of their exploits and seeking even greater glory against their ever great rival England. The officers of these had on their Cadres the finest names of France, the best of the Royalist Party, it is most likely that there were wearers of the White Cross amongst them, for the names of their families were often to be found on the rolls of the Order itself.

During the siege of Quebec, though Montcalm was the Commander of the Army in the field yet under personal orders of the Governor, de Vaudreuil, the garrison defending the city itself was under the Lieutenant-du-Roi, de Ramezay. During the first days of August 1759, he was taken ill and sent to the Hôpital Général,(138) where his sister was the superioress of the nuns.

During this illness the command of the city's defences was given to the Chevalier de Bernetz. His tenure was to last till de Ramezay's health was restored. This new commander was a soldier by

138. Sir Arthur George Doughty, *The Siege of Quebec and Battle of the Plains of Abraham*. Quebec 1901. Dussault and Proulx, Vol. V, p. 295.

....." Another messenger was dispatched to the General Hospital to convey the same information to de Ramezay, the Governor of the town, who for several days had been a patient at this hospital, of which his sister was the Superioress."

profession.(139) In 1756 the Second Battalions of the Regiments of LaSarre and Royal Roussillon sailed from Brest for Quebec. Monsieur de Senezergues was the Officer Commanding the Regiment de LaSarre and the Chevalier de Bernetz commanded the Royal Roussillon. He was an old and experienced officer who headed this fameux regiment but what is of interest is that he was Knight Commander in the Order of Malta.(140)

He had scarcely been a month in charge of the city's defences when the English landed at L'Anse-au-Foulon. His scouts brought him the news that the redcoats of the British troops were to be seen on the Plains of Abraham. He notified de Vaudreuil and Montcalm who, after a short consultation with the Governor, mounted his horse and galloping through the St. Louis gate found his enemy already in battle position. De Bernetz's message to de Vaudreuil still

139. Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 102, 103.

....." Bernetz was a retired Colonel of the Royal Roussillon Regiment, and for a month past had been acting as Commandant of Quebec, in the absence of M. de Ramezay, who was on sick leave."

140. Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, *Les Malignités du Sieur de Courville* (parlant de Jean-Baptiste-Nicholas-Roch de Ramezay), Vol. I, p. 106.

« Monsieur de Ramezay était Lieutenant-du-Roi de la ville : il devoit naturellement commander en l'absence de Monsieur de Vaudreuil, à moins que ce gouvernement n'y mit un officier général. Cependant, comme il était point aimé de Monsieur de Vaudreuil, il eut la disgrâce que l'on confia le commandement de la basse ville a Monsieur de Bérnetz, Chevalier de Malte. »

exists and it is interesting to note that in his hurry he forgot to date it.(141)

He threw out piquets of fifty men each at L'Anse-des-Mères at Samos and at Sillery and prepared to defend the old town itself. Though much of his correspondence is still in existence little has been written about him and in none of it is his association with the Order of Malta mentioned. It is only by a chance remark in the article "Les Malignités du Sieur de Courville", contained in "Les Mémoires sur le Canada depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760", which appeared in the "Bulletin des Recherches Historiques" for March 1944,(142) that we know that he was a member of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. The fact that M. de Bernetz was a Knight of Malta precluded him from membership in the Order of St. Louis. His loyalty was divided. Under him many of his officers held this mark of royal recognition which he could not receive and the Cross of St. Louis was never to be his.

On September 1759, the second day after the Battle of the Plains of Abraham and also after the death of Montcalm, the French commander, de Ramezay, called a Council of War to decide upon what action should be taken to defend what was left of the City of Quebec itself. The Council met in de Ramezay's own house on St. Louis Street and he himself presided over it. The British forces flushed with success were at the gates, food in the city was

141. Doughty, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 104 (appendix 29).

142. *Bul. Res. Hist.* Vol. L, No. 4, p. 106.

running low and Montcalm was dead. There was little that could be done. Fifteen of the senior officers of the defeated army were to be consulted. De Ramezay read to the Council a message from de Vaudreuil and pointed out that the city had been bombarded and "canonaded" since July 12, invested by the enemy for the last two days and that food was almost exhausted. He asked that each officer, after deliberation, should write his opinion on what action should be taken.

All save one favoured capitulation—de Bernetz agreed with the majority and his opinion was short and to the point. "J'opine attendu la dizette des vivres qui nous manquent totalement de capituler aux conditions d'obtenir du Général anglais la capitulation la plus honorable à Québec le 15 7bre 1759—Le Chl'r de Bernetz". Unfortunately, this short paragraph does not display any great military ardour on his part.(143)

The only dissenter was an artillery man, the Captain de Fiedmond. He alone stood firm in his demand that the defence be carried on to the very end. His opinion was scarcely a sentence which read: "De réduire encore la ration et pousser la défense de la place jusqu'à la dernière extrémité à Québec le

143. Pierre Georges Roy, *Ville de Québec*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 455.

Procès-verbal du Conseil de Guerre tenu à Québec le 15 septembre 1759.

15 7bre 1759—Fiedmond". The majority prevailed and Quebec surrendered.(144)

On the capitulation of the French forces in Canada, M. de Bernetz probably returned to his native land for we see no more of him. When the Armies of King Louis crossed the seas forever this Knight of Malta left the scene of his last battle and we hear no more of his exploits.

Of all the Knights of the Order that have graced the pages of Canadian history the most colourful and gallant was François-Charles de Bourlamaque. He was of Italian origin, and many of his family had served the Order of Malta. A dashing soldier, brave and fearless, he fills better than any other historical figure the popular conception of what a member of the Malta Order should have been at a time when it was at the height of its power and when chivalry was at its best, even though buried deep in the dark green woods of New France.

When de Vaudreuil, the new Governor, arrived at Quebec he had with him a staff made up of distinguished officers of career. Bourlamaque was one of these. He had started his military life in the Régiment du Dauphin and at this time he held the rank of Colonel of Infantry and ranked third in order of seniority amongst the French commanders in the colony.(145)

144. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 454.

Procès-Verbal du Conseil de Guerre tenu à Québec le 15 septembre 1759.

145. Le Jeune, *op. cit.*, pp. 232, 233, 234.

The regular British troops as well as the American Colonials and their Indian allies were infiltrating northward through the forests, preparing to strike against the French positions at Quebec and Montreal. They numbered in all sixty thousand men. The French and their Canadian militia men waited for them, twenty-one thousand strong, holding the vital passes through which the invading troops should have to advance.

To hold back the attacking army, Montcalm ordered Bourlamaque to Lake Champlain, there to take over the command at Fort Carillon, now known as Ticonderoga. The battle fought there was a bitter one and proved to be the greatest victory for French arms in the war of the Conquest of Canada. Montcalm himself was the General Officer Commanding and led the centre of the line at the head of the Royal Roussillon and the Regiment de Berry. De Lévis with the Regiments of Guyenne Bearn and La Reine led the right wing, while Bourlamaque at the head of the Regiments of La Sarre and Languedoc commanded the left flank.(146) Doughty in his "Siege of Quebec" gives the plan of battle as follows:

"On the morning of the 8th of July, the French battalions worked again to reinforce the entrenchments. At 10 o'clock the light troops of the English began to show themselves. At noon the whole Anglo-American army was seen marching against Carillon. Immediately the French troops lined the entrenchments. On the

146. Doughty, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 236.

left La Sarre and Languedoc, with Bourlamaque; on the right, Bearn, La Reine and Guyenne, with Levis; in the centre, Royal Roussillon and Berry with Montcalm himself. Two companies of volunteers protected the shore of the river. In the plain, on the other side, were placed the colonial troops."

Seven great regiments, holding the best battle honours of the Royal Armies and led by three gallant gentlemen, the flower of the French Nobility was war-dressed in the panoply of romance and lives in contrast, yet as a tribute, to the fact that such a sordid thing as present day conflict could have been once a glorious calling in which courtesy and gallantry were the rules of the game.

Colonel de Bourlamarque fell badly wounded at the head of his troops and had to be carried from the field, but victory had been won and he had contributed to its success. The Order to which he was affiliated could feel naught but pride in the gallantry of this wearer of its Cross while leading the French left wing.(147)

At the Battle of Chouaguen, or Oswego as it is called in most English histories, five stands of English colours fell into French hands. The flags of two regiments from England as well as of three regiments of the New England militia, those of Shirley, Pepperell and Schuyler were to be deposited in the

147. Gosselin, *l'Église du Canada*, op. cit., 3e partie, p. 540 (appendix 30).

parish churches of Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec.

Montcalm chose Bourlamaque to carry his trophies to the capital of the colony where two of these flags were to be hung in the Quebec basilica. On a Sunday afternoon in 1759, he was met at the door of the cathedral by the Canon, Godefroy de Tonnancourt, a member of an old and noble family in Canada. In a speech which was a model of brevity(148) for de Bourlamaque was a man of few words, he handed the colours to the ecclesiastic.(149) These flags did not live for long in their new setting for they soon disappeared, probably destroyed in the fire that consumed the interior of the church in July of the same year. On the fall of New France, the two stands that had been deposited in the parish church at Montreal were returned by de Vaudreuil and de Lévis to Colonel Haldimand who accepted them in the name of the British Army.(150)

Bourlamaque was not present at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, he was still in the district of Lake Champlain, but on the death of Montcalm he became the Second-in-Command to de Lévis. At the battle of St. Foye, he was in the front of the fighting, but a cannon shot killed his horse and wounded him severely.(151)

148. Gosselin, *l'Église du Canada*, op. cit., 3e partie, p. 461 (appendix 31).

149. Pierre Georges Roy, *Ville de Québec*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 263 (appendix 32).

150. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 264.

151. Pierre Georges Roy, *Ville de Québec*, op. cit., Vol. II, page 264 (appendix 33).

At the close of the campaign, before retiring from Lake George, Bourlamaque blew up Fort Carillon and Fort St. Frederick rather than let them fall into England's hands. Amherst received them as ruins for the destruction was not his.(152) During his service in Canada he received from his King a salary of 18,000 livres.(153)

On the signing of the Treaty of Paris, he saw the land that he had come to save become a British possession and he left for France. In the following year, 1763, he returned to the New World but not to Canada. He had been made the Governor of Guadeloupe.

"The Armorial du Canada Français" describes Bourlamaque as a "Chevalier Honoraire" of the Order of Malta. This at first is rather, intriguing. but when one realizes that he was a commander of the Order of St. Louis everything becomes quite clear. The Statute of Louis XIV of 1723 prevented his belonging to both Orders, and to overcome this, his association with Malta had to be an honorary one. He could not be bound by the Orders of the Grand Master and by those of his King. However, whatever his status in the Order was he cast lustre on the insignia which he wore.

152. Gosselin, *l'Église du Canada*, op. cit., Part III, p. 505.

« Amherst n'était pas un homme pressé, il n'eut que le temps de s'emparer de Carillon et de Saint-Frédéric, sans avoir même le plaisir de les détruire, Bourlamaque les ayant fait sauter lui-même, avant de les quitter, après s'y être défendu le plus longtemps possible. »

153. Ibid., p. 495.



CHAPTER X

MALTA'S CONNECTION WITH CANADIAN FAMILIES

THE rolls of the Order at Malta contain names of families who were intimately connected with the foundation and development of Canada. If the Canadian bearers of these names did not personally wear the Cross of the Beatitudes, it is certain that they belonged to families who were closely connected with the Order.

Monsieur J.-Edmond Roy, in his work on Malta gives a list of Knights whose family names were indigenous to the history of the country, as well as the dates on which they were admitted:

- 1606—Christophe-François de Lévis-Ventador;
- 1622—Jacques de Tilly;
- 1625—Louis-de-Stutt de Tracy;
- 1631—Louis-Tannequi de Courcelles;
- 1627—Armand-de-Joyeuse de Grandpré;
- 1639—Honoré-de-Bocart de Champigny;
- 1656—Octave-de-Brisay de Denonville;

- 1659—Roland-Barrin de la Galissonnière;
1688—Jean-Baptiste-de-Boissin d'Argenson;
1699—Philippe de Beaujeu;
1724—Pierre-Emanuel de Dourroy Laberivière.

All these names appear upon the pages of Canadian history borne by men who played their part in its making and some of these same families are still to be found amongst the present day residents of the Province of Quebec.

Though Christophe-François de Lévis Ventador may never have crossed the seas to clear the forests of the new land, his relative Henri de Lévis, Duc de Ventador was Viceroy of New France from 1625 till 1627 and over a century later the Chevalier François-Gaston de Lévis was second-in-command to Montcalm in 1756 and at the close of the Seven Years' War, he returned to his motherland to become a Marshal of France. In 1675, over fifty years after Jacques de Tilly became a Knight of Malta, a Chevalier de Tilly was made a member of the Sovereign Council of the Colony. Louis de Stutt de Tracy had his family in the New World in the person of a Chevalier de Tracy, who was the "Lieutenant-General of the King of France" in Canada from 1665 till 1667. The de Courcelles family was represented by Daniel de Courcelles who was governor of New France from 1665 till 1672 and the Intendant de Champigny who served in Quebec from 1686 till 1702 was of the family of Henri-Bocart de Champigny who was made a Knight in 1639 and whose family was related to that of Richelieu.

Jacques-René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, became the eleventh Governor just thirty years after the admission of his relative Octave.

Ninety years after Robert Barrin de la Galissonnière was admitted to the Order, Roland-Marie Barrin, Marquis de la Galissonnière became the administrator of the colony. We also find amongst the Knights that de Vertôt has handed down to us another member of the family who wore the White Cross, for Achille Barrin de la Galissonnière entered the Order on November 2, 1688.(154)

The Viscomte d'Argenson was Governor from 1658 till 1661 while his relative Jean-Baptiste d'Argenson also received his White Cross in 1688.

The Langue of France had another Knight of the same name who entered the Order twenty years before. In December 1668, Joseph-Ignace de Voyer de Paulmy d'Argenson was admitted. It is interesting to note also that Pierre-Marc de Voyer d'Argenson was made the Minister of War of France in 1743 and retained the office till 1757.(155) It was he who chose Montcalm to command in Canada and it was to him that Montcalm addressed his reports on de Vaudreuil's attitude towards the French officers.(156)

The family of de Beaujeu of whom Philippe was a member has been prominent in Canada till the present day. It produced Daniel-Lienard de Beaujeu,

154. Vertôt, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, p. 285.

155. *Loc. Cit.*

156. LeJeune, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 80, *cif. post.*

the hero of the battle of Monongaheila in 1755 where he contributed much to the defeat of Braddock.

Another hero of Canadian history was Coulon-Villiers de Jumonville who was killed in the encounter with Washington at Great-Meadows, some historians claim through the treacherous use of a flag of truce. This family was intimately connected with the Order during the years of its greatest glory and his death, though that of a mere boy and a subaltern officer, was a great loss to the New Country.

The Abbé de Vertôt furnishes us with other names intimately interwoven into the fabric of New France. Jacques-de-Biencourt de Potrincourt, admitted to the Order in 1545, François-de-Lottin de Charny, in 1698, Michel de la Potterie of Beauvais, who became a Knight in August 1663, Charles Sabrevois de Mousseaux of Chartres who entered in 1620 and Louis-de-Boele d'Argenteuil who entered the Priory of Champagne in 1699, are some examples of names borne by families prominent in the history of Canada.

A great Canadian family with Malta traditions but which Monsieur Roy has not included is that of Lacorne. It is true that their connection with the Sovereign Order dated back many years, but nevertheless this family had graced the galleys of the Knights at a period that was most potent for Christendom. In making proof of his "noblesse" Sieur de La Corne placed before the Sovereign Council at Quebec an extract from the Articles of Marriage of one of his ancestors. It was dated the 21st April, 1482, just ten years before Columbus sailed from Palos. It

deals with the union of Luc de la Corne, Esquire, Sieur de Chaptès, son of Jean-Louis de la Corne, and of Mademoiselle Antoinette d'Allemagne. In the presence of others of whom one was Jacques de la Corne, Esquire, Knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.(157)

The de la Cornes were a truly Canadian family who carried their swords unsheathed through the forests of the New World for many years. They fought both the Indians and the English until the fall of France and continued to reside in Canada as Canadians after the English occupation. Jean-Louis de la Corne, Sieur de Chaptès was born in the Village of Chaptès in the commune of Beauregard-Vandon, Puy-de-Dôme in 1666. He was Major at Three Rivers in 1714, King's Lieutenant in Montreal in 1726, where he married Marie-Pecaudy de Contre-cœur who gave him nine children and who died in 1732.

His eldest son, Louis, was born in Montreal in 1696 and received the Seigniorship of Terrebonne. He married Elisabeth de Ramezay, and he served his King with distinction. Another, the second son, the Chevalier Louis-Luc de la Corne, was born at

157. Pierre Georges Roy, *Lettres de Noblesse Érection des Comtés et Baronies insinuées par le Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France*. L'Éclaireur Limitée. Vol. I, p. 240 - 1920.

« Articles de mariage entre Luc de la Corne, Écuier, Sieur de Chaptès, fils de Jean Louis de la Corne, son père, et damelle Antoinette d'Allemagne, en présence de — (plusieurs noms) — et Jacques de la Corne, Écuier, Chevalier de l'Ordre de St-Jean de Jérusalem, à Clermontferrant, Signé Rollet, 21 avril 1482. »

Fort Frontenac in 1703. He was in command of a detachment of 250 Canadians and some Indians in the Acadian Campaign of 1741, and died in 1761. The youngest brother was the most spectacular. Saint-Luc de la Corne was born in 1711. He spoke Indian fluently, and was known as "le Général des Sauvages". He also campaigned in Acadia under Coulon de Villiers who had around him the most brilliant of the first generations of Canadian born officers. These were gallants after the fashion of the mother country, but added to their valor the virtue that (as Parkman says): "They were all adepts in the warfare of surprise and sudden onslaught in which the Canadians excelled".(158)

From this list, which Monsieur J.-Edmond Roy has given, there is one great omission. It is that of the name of Montcalm. This great hero of the French Regime and of the defence of Quebec was not a Knight of Malta himself but his family had had a very intimate connection with the Order and no list can be complete without mention of it.

Louis-Joseph de Montcalm Gozon, Baron de Gabriac, was born in the Chateau of Candiac near Nimes,(159) on the 29th of February, 1712. His father was Louis-Daniel de Montcalm and his mother, Marie-Thérèse-Charlotte de Lauris de Cas-

158. Francis Parkman, *Half a Century of Conflict*, Toronto 1900, Frontenac Edition, Vol. II, p. 185.

159. Doughty, *Siege of Quebec*, Vol. I, p. 130.

(3) "The castle of Candiac belonged to the parish of Vauvert."

tellane Dampus. An ancestor of his, Jean de Montcalm had, in 1438, married Jeanne de Gozon a grandniece of one of the most famous of the Grand Masters of the Sovereign Order, Deodat de Gozon.(160)

In 1582, the family of Montcalm added to their own name that of their illustrious ancestor, as a tribute to the Gozon blood that flowed in their veins and quartered with their own the Arms of Gozon which had been borne by the illustrious Grand Master.

Though Montcalm arrived in Canada as the Commander of all the troops, both French and Canadian, he was definitely under the orders of de Vaudreuil, the Governor of New France, whom he was to regard as his superior. Pierre-François de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil was a Canadian. His father before him who has been Governor from 1703 till 1725, was also born in the new land. The Governor was very much a son of Canadian soil and in his relations with Montcalm showed clearly his bias in favour of everything that had its origin in his own country and his suspicion of everything from France-across-the-Seas.

Doughty writes of their relations as follows:

"... The minister of war had even written to Vaudreuil that the latter should perhaps be entrusted with the command not only of 'les troupes de terre' but also of 'les troupes de la

160. Loc. cit., (appendix 34).

marine' and the militia. On that point the Governor was free to exercise his own discretion. He could widen the scope of Montcalm's military jurisdiction or restrict it. His decision was not to be doubted. "The General", he wrote to the Minister, "ought to concern himself with nothing but the command of the troops from France". (161)

Montcalm was quick to sense this feeling against him and in a letter to Monsieur d'Argenson, when writing of Vaudreuil he wrote: "I am on good terms with him but not in his confidence which he never gives to anybody from France".

It is strange to note that from the earliest years, in fact from the very time that people began to be born in the colony, a definite nationalism was seen to develop in them in favour of all that emanated from their own country. Doughty again speaks of their feud and complaints to the Ministry as follows:

"... On the other hand Montcalm wrote to M. de Machault, the Minister of Marine: 'The Governor-General overwhelms me with politeness; I believe him to be satisfied with my conduct towards him, and I think it convinced him that general officers can be found in France who will study the public good under his orders, without pretension or finesse. He is acquainted with the country; possesses in his hands both authority and means; is at the head of business; he it is who must prescribe it; it is mine to relieve him of the

161. Doughty, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 130.

details relative to our troops, in what regards discipline and the execution of his plans'."

"... M. de Vaudreuil" said he, "particularly respects the Indians, loves the Canadians, is acquainted with the country, has good sense, but is somewhat weak, and I stand very well with him."

"He does not say anything about Vaudreuil's love for the French, and it would appear that there was a touch of sarcasm in the words 'respects the Indians, loves the Canadians'."

A few days later he wrote again to M. d'Argenson: 'I am on good terms with him, but not in his confidence, which he never gives to anybody from France. His intentions are good, but he is slow and irresolute'.(162)

Montcalm was made to feel that he was not of the Canadian people—the people that he had come to save for the Crown of France. On his death the book of his failure was closed. When his broken body was carried from the field of the Plains of Abraham the gold and white flag for which he fought fluttered to the ground like a dying dove and the great romance was over.

The King permitted his widow to retain a part of his pension which amounted to 4,000 francs and each of his children received an amount of 900 francs. The elder son was placed at the head of his father's old regiment and the younger one, who was a

162. Doughty, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 147, 148.

Knight of Malta, received a Company in it. The name of Montcalm-Gozon had returned to the rolls of the great Order, and in the veins of the new Knight flowed the blood of the hero of the French regime and that of a famous Grand Master.(163)

Though the Marquis de Montcalm did not himself wear the Cross of the Order, his son carried on the tradition of his forebears.

Had it not been that James Thompson had had the foresight to save from destruction the stone that bore the eight-pointed Cross, the story of this Great Order might well have been forgotten.

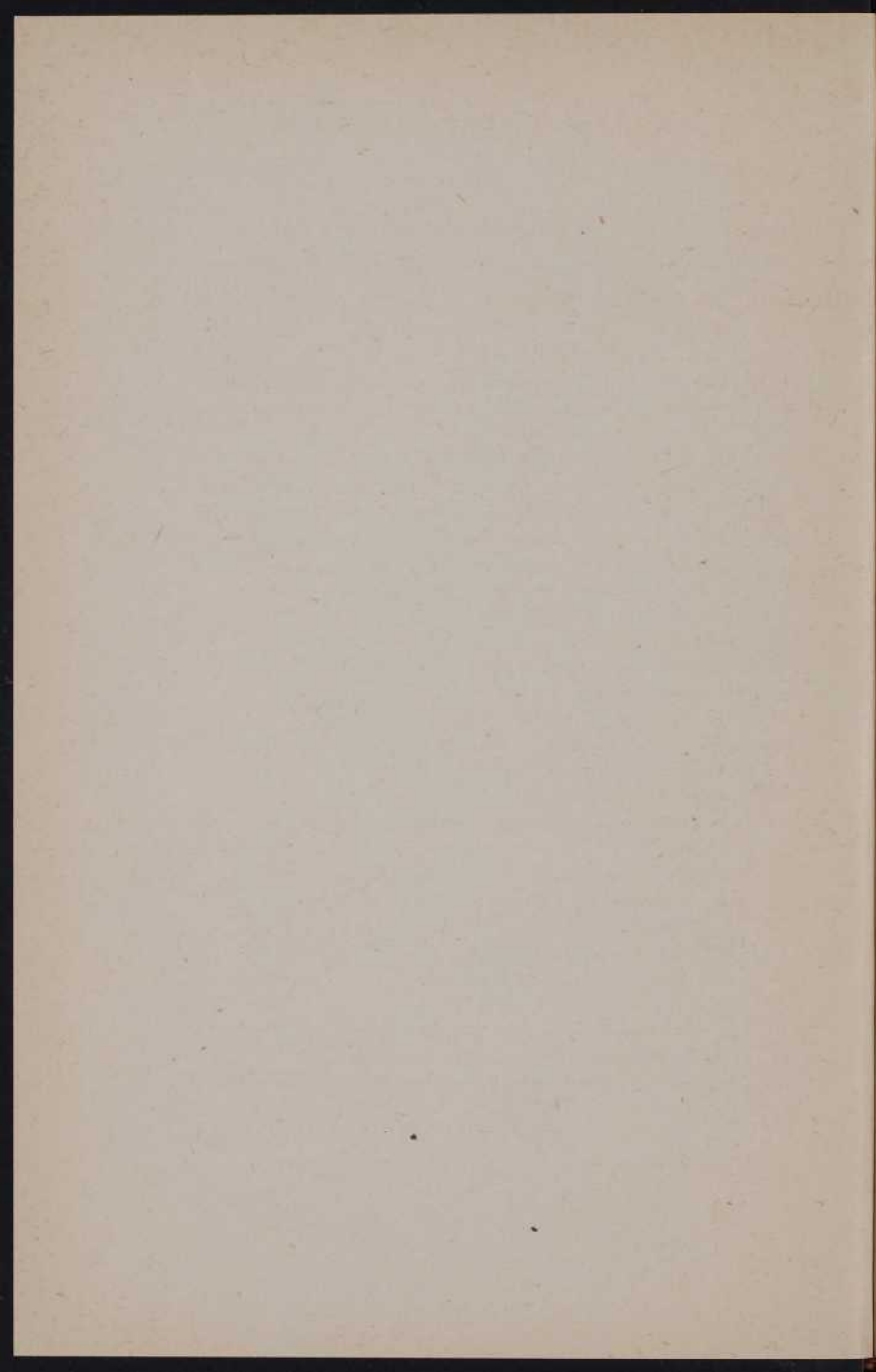
If the Order had taken over the colony, the feudalism, of Europe-of-old, would have been rooted in the New World and would probably have survived long after it had disappeared from the sunny land of France. Malta would have remained a power in this western world even after its eclipse in the Mediterranean. Its influence on the Anglo-Saxon supremacy in North America would have been very great indeed and this ascendancy would certainly never have reached the power that it holds today in the land which is now Canada. Yet it has left a romantic story that shall never tire of telling. A great drama was opened in those early years of Quebec, but the curtain fell too soon.

No other country on the American continent, either north or south, has a greater heritage, for what

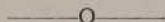
163. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 197, 198.

was founded in the very age of chivalry was to live again in the woods of the North. The Cross of the Beatitudes has had its place as well in the snows of Quebec as on the sands of the east, and the oldest Order in Europe has played its parts in the story of Canada.

Appendix



THE ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF THE
"COMPANY OF THE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES"



1. Messire Armand, Cardinal de Richelieu, Grand Maître, Chef et Surintendant Général de la Navigation et Commerce de France.
2. Messire Antoine Huzé, Chevalier des Ordres du Roi, Marquis d'Effiat, Chilly et Lonjumeau, Conseiller du Roi en ses conseils et Intendant des finances.
3. Messire Isaac Martin de Marvoy. Conseiller du roi en ses conseils et Intendant de la Marine.
4. Jacques Castillon, bourgeois de Paris.
5. François Saint-Aubin, Paris.
6. Louis d'Ivry, Paris.
7. Pierre LeBlond, Paris.
8. Martin Anceaume, Paris.
9. Simon Claventin, Paris.
10. Louis Houel, Sieur de « Petit-Pré ».
11. François Derré, Sieur Gand.
12. Jean Bourguet, Paris.
13. Adam Mannessier, Bourgeois et Marchand du Havre-de-Grâce.
14. François Bertrand, Sieur du Plessis Saint-Pré.
15. Martin Haguener, Notaire au Châtelet, de Paris.
16. Adam Moyen, Bourgeois, Paris.
17. Guillaume Nicolle, Avocat du Grand Conseil.
18. Gilles Royssel, Sieur de Senneville.
19. André Daniel, Docteur en Médecine.
20. Charles Daniel, Capitaine pour le Roi en la Marine.
21. Jacques Berruyer, Sieur de Mauselmont.
22. Maître Pierre Boulanger, Conseiller du roi et élu à Montivillers.
23. Jean Ferron, Conseiller du roi et Payeur des espèces de Messieurs de la Cour du Parlement de Rouen.

24. Claude Potel, Marchand, Paris.
25. Henri Cavelier, marchand de Rouen.
26. Jean Papavoine, marchand de Rouen.
27. Simon le Maistre, marchand de Rouen.
28. Jean Guénet, marchand de Rouen.
29. Claude de Roquemont, Sieur de Brisson.
30. André Ferru, marchand-pelletier, de Paris.
31. François Castillon.
32. Antoine Reynault, Sieur de Montmort.
33. Hugues Cosnier, Sieur de Belleau.
34. Jean Poncel, Conseiller du roi en sa Cour des Aydes, Paris.
35. Sébastien Cramoisy, marchand-libraire, Juré, Paris.
36. Guillaume Prévost, marchand, Paris.
37. Gabriel Lattaignant, Ancien Mayor de Calais.
38. Daniel du Chesne, Conseiller et Échevin de la Ville française du Havre-de-Grâce.
39. Maître Michel Jean, avocat de Dieppe.
40. Nicolas le Masson, Conseiller du roi.
41. Messire Isaac de Razilly, Chevalier de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem.
42. Messire Gaspard de Loup, Sieur de Monsau.
43. René de Bethonlot, Sieur de la Grange Fromenteau, Ayde des Maréchaux de Camps et Armées de Sa Majesté.
44. Jean de Tayot, Conseiller du roi, Trésorier de France et Général des Finances à Soissons.
45. Jean Vincent, Conseiller et échevin de Dieppe.
46. Nicholle Langlois, veuve de feu Nicolas Blondel, Conseiller et échevin de Dieppe.
47. Jean Rozée, Marchand de Rouen.
48. Samuel de Champlain, Écuyer, Capitaine pour le Roi en la Marine.
49. Nicholas Eslye, Sieur du Pin, Lieutenant-Général en la haute Justice de Mauny.
50. Jean Faffet, marchand bourgeois de la Ville de Bordeaux.
51. Georges Mori (Morin), Chef de Penneterie de Monsieur le Frère du Roi.
52. Messire Paul Bailly, Conseiller et Aumônier du roi, Abbé Saint-Thierry ou Mont d'Or de Reims.

53. Louis de la Cour, Principal Commis de l'Espagne.
54. Maître Ythier Holuer, Conseiller du Roi et Trésorier Général de France en Provence.
55. Simon Alix, Conseiller et Secrétaire du roi.
56. Jacques Paget, Conseiller du roi et Récéveur des tailles de Montdidier.
57. Pierre Robineau, Conseiller du Roi et trésorier Général de la Cavalerie légère de France.
58. Charles du Fresne, Secrétaire de Monsieur le Général des Galères.
59. Jean de Saige, Conseiller du roi et récéveur des tailles à forêts.
60. Charles Robin, Sieur de Coursay.
61. Messire Charles Robin, Sieur de Veau, Conseiller du roi et Grand-Maitre des Eaux et Forêts de Touraine.
62. Maître Thomas Bonneau, Sieur du Plessis, Conseiller et Secrétaire du Roi.
63. Jacques Bonneau, Sieur de Beauvais.
64. Raoul Lhuillier, marchand de Paris.
65. Charles Fleuriau.
66. René Robin, Sieur de la Rochefurou.
67. Mathurin Bourdeau, bourgeois de Paris.
68. Robert Godefroy, Conseiller du roi et trésorier général de l'Extraordinaire des Guerres.
69. Claude de Bragelogue, Conseiller et secrétaire du roi, Surintendant et Commissaire Général des Vivres des Camps et Armées de France.
70. Jacques Bordier, Conseiller et Secrétaire du roi.
71. Maître Claude Margonne, Conseiller du roi et receveur-général à Soissons.
72. Maître Hiérosme de Saint-Onge, Conseiller du roi et trésorier de France en la Généralité de Champagne.
73. Étienne Hervé, bourgeois de Paris.
74. Jean Verdier, Conseiller et secrétaire du roi.
75. Maître Bertrand de Champlour, secrétaire du duc de Retz.
76. Maître Pierre Feret, secrétaire de Monsieur l'Archevêque de Paris.
77. Maître Antoine Cheffault, avocat en parlement.

78. Barthélémy Quentin, Sieur de Moulinet.
79. Prégent Proust, Bourgeois de Paris.
80. Pierre le Ryer, Conseiller et Secrétaire du Conseil Privé du roi.
81. Maître Jean Potel, conseiller et secrétaire du Conseil Privé du roi.
82. Maître Nicholas Le Vasseur, conseiller et récéveur-général des finances de Paris.
83. Octavio Mey, bourgeois de Lyon.
84. Bonaventure Quentin, Sieur du Richebourg.
85. Maître Pierre Aubert, Conseiller et secrétaire du Roi.
86. Maître Guillaume Martin, Sieur de la Vernade, Conseiller du roi et récéveur général des Finances en Bretagne.
87. Aymé Lirou, Conseiller du roi et trésorier général de France à Paris.
88. Claude Girardin, marchand de Rouen.
89. Simon Dablon, Syndic de Dieppe.
90. Jean Chiron, marchand de Bordeaux.
91. Jean David, marchand de Bayonne.
92. Maître Étienne Pavillon, Conseiller du roi et trésorier provincial des guerres en Saintonge.
93. Jean Pontac, bourgeois de Paris.
94. Claude LeMyre, bourgeois de Paris.
95. Didier le Myre, bourgeois de Paris.
96. Pierre Desportes, Sieur de Lingniers.
97. Guillaume Vernière, Paris.
98. Claude de Chastelin, Commissaire extraordinaire des Guerres.
99. Jean de Jouy, Paris.
100. Pierre Fontaine, Sieur de Nully.
101. Jean Pelleau, Conseiller et Secrétaire du roi et audiencier en la Chancellerie de Guyenne.
102. Antoine Nozereau, marchand de Rouen.
103. François Mouet, marchand de Rouen.
104. Jacques Du Hamel, marchand de Rouen.
105. Jacques Dauson de Bourzau, Conseiller du roi en sa cour du parlement de Bordeaux et Président aux enquêtes d'icelle.

106. Jean Dauson de Bourran, Conseiller du roi en sa cour du parlement de Bordeaux et Président aux enquêtes d'icelle.

N.E. Dionne, Samuel de Champlain, Tome II.

No 2—Footnote 22.

« Au greffe du Notaire Tronquet à la date du 19 octobre 1646, se trouve un marché entre les habitants de Québec, représentés par Jean Bourdon, ingénieur et arpenteur et certains ouvriers pour revestir de murailles un bastion qui est au bas de l'Allée de Mont Carmel dépendant du Fort Saint-Louis de Québec dont un des flancs de quatre toises de long sur douze pieds de hauteur... C'est de Montmagny, deuxième Gouverneur de la Nouvelle-France qui donna à la rue Mont Carmel le nom qu'elle porte depuis bientôt trois siècles. »

No 3—Footnote 25.

« Faict et passé au Fort Saint-Louis de Québec l'an 1646 et 17ème jour d'octobre après-midy, entre Jean Bourdon, ingénieur et arpenteur, représentant « Messieurs les habitants de la Nouvelle-France » et Louis Robineau dit Breton, Tous-saint Tireau dit Lagrange, tailleurs de pierre et Denis Chenillard dit Argentcourt, corroyeur, pour faire « revestir de murailles d'un bastion qui est au bas de l'Allée Mont-Calvaire, dépendant d'un fort St-Louis de Québec », il est dit que les ouvriers ne pourront « entreprendre aucun ouvrage sans la volonté et consentement du dict Sieur Bourdon sy ce n'est toutefois après le bastion faict. »

No 4—Footnote 26.

Bourdon, Jean de Saint-François, procureur-général et ingénieur en chef de la Nouvelle France. Né à Saint-Cande-de-Vieil de Rouen en 1601. Épousa en premières noces, le 6

septembre 1635, à Québec Jacqueline Patel et en secondes noces, le 21 août 1655, à Québec, Anne Gasnier. Inhumé à Québec le 12 janvier 1668 — huit enfants.

No 5—Footnote 34.

Mr. Roy says that Père Le Jeune writes of Bras-de-fer de Châteaufort in the following terms :

« Au sortir de ses devoirs funèbres, Monsieur de Châteaufort prit sa charge selon le pouvoir que lui en donnait Messieurs de la Compagnie par les lettres qui fut ouvertes et lues à l'heure même en présence du peuple assemblé en l'église... M. de Châteaufort garda le pouvoir jusqu'à l'arrivée de M. de Montmagny le 11 juin 1636... M. de Châteaufort fut ensuite chargé du Poste des Trois-Rivières, en qualité de Gouverneur... il resta Gouverneur jusqu'au 6 février 1638. A partir de cette date, on perd complètement sa trace. »

No 6—Footnote 35.

« Le 29 décembre 1635, M. Bras-de-fer-de-Châteaufort faisait afficher à un poteau devant l'église paroissiale, la défense sur certaines peines, de blasphémer, de s'enivrer et de manquer volontairement la messe, les dimanches et les jours de fêtes. On attachait un carcan à ce poteau, et on plaça tout auprès un cheval de bois pour y exposer les coupables. »

No 7—Footnote 39.

In the Jesuit Relations of 1665 we find :

« Le seizième de juillet arriva le navire du Havre portant des chevaux dont le Roi a dessein de fournir ce pays. Nos sauvages, qui n'en avaient jamais vu, les admiraient, s'étonnant que les originaux de France (c'est ainsi qu'ils les appellent) soient si tractables et si souples à toutes les volontés de l'homme. »

No 8—Footnote 40.

.....« Nous trouvâmes ce navire extrêmement embarrassé par 18 cavales et 2 étalons des harnois du Roi et dont les foin pour les nourrir occupaient toutes les places ; dans l'entrepont étaient quatre-vingts filles d'honneur pour être mariées à notre arrivée à Québec, et puis nos 70 travaillants avec équipage formaient une arche de Noé. Notre traversée fut assez heureuse qu'elle durât trois mois et dix jours pour arriver au dit Québec. »

No. 9—Footnote 44.

Chose intéressante pour nous, l'objet principal de la mission de M. de Sillery était d'obtenir le chapeau du cardinal pour Richelieu, en récompense de la réconciliation que ce prélat avait opérée entre Marie de Médicis et son fils Louis XIII

(1620-1621).

Il y réussit : « Richelieu nous l'apprend lui-même dans une lettre, du trente juin 1622, où il remerciait le marquis de Puisieux auquel il se croyait en partie redevable des bons offices de son oncle, le commandeur de Sillery, en cette affaire du cardinalat. »

No. 10—Footnote 47.

.....« En 1634, il (M. de Sillery) fut ordonné prêtre. Balli Grand-Croix de l'ordre religieux et militaire de St.-Jean de Jérusalem, Commandeur du Temple de Troyes, etc., il renonçait à ces marques de distinction dans un pur esprit de humilité et en vue de faire le bien. En 1637, il donnait à M. de Montmagny les fonds nécessaires à l'établissement de Sillery près de Québec, selon un projet conçu depuis deux ans. Un peu plus tard il ajouta à ce premier don. »

No. 11—Footnote 49.

.....« La seconde consiste à acquérir les droits de propriétaire de l'Isle et de tâcher en même temps d'y faire comprendre les îles de la Guadeloupe et de la Martinique et autres îles voisines.

Cette négociation, conduite avec habileté par le Balli de Souvré, aboutit en plein succès. L'isle de Saint Christophe est vendue à l'Ordre par contrat passé à Paris et ratifié à Malte en 1652. »

No. 12—Footnote 50.

.....« In memoriâ aeternâ erit jutus Ps. III Henri de Longuillies de Poincy, chevalier, en son vivant lieutenant de roi en Canada, et capitaine aux isles de Saint-Christophe, après avoir donné à l'église de céans un calice d'or, une chasuble de demas, un crucifix d'ivoire et quelques autres ornements, lui a légué par testament cinquante-deux livres de rente annuelle et perpétuelle, à la charge d'une messe haute toutes les semaines ».

.....« Priez Dieu pour lui,

« Le corps peut mourir,

« Mais l'âme est immortelle

« Et comme elle était belle

« La Justice de Dieu la fera peu souffrir

« Ainsi soit-il ».....

No. 13—Footnote 58.

« Isaac de Razilli, appelé Chevalier ou Commandeur, était de l'Ordre de Malte et fut nommé Commandeur en 1627. Il était Officier supérieur de la Marine, etc., etc.,« Il était de la Compagnie des Cents-Associés. Le Cardinal de Richelieu, son parent, le fit nommer ' Lieutenant pour le roi et monsieur le Cardinal ' en la Nouvelle France. » (1632).

No. 14—Footnote 62.

« Mémoire du Gouverneur de Frontenac au Ministre en faveur de divers officiers et autres particuliers (15 oct. 1691) « Les Sieurs Chevalier et Marquis de Crisafy continuent à supplier Sa Majesté de vouloir donner le moyen de pouvoir subsister en ce pays » « en accordant au premier qui est Chevalier de Malte, une pension sur quelque bénéfice, et à l'autre une gratification toutes les années. »

No. 15—Footnote 66.

« M.M. de Crisafy désireraient y passer pour représenter leurs services à Sa Majesté..... Nous leur avons promis de leur rendre cette justice auprès de vous et de vous supplier de procurer quelque pension du Roi au Marquis et une bénéfice au Chevalier, nous paraissant raisonnable que l'on ait quelque égard à leur naissance et à la perte qu'ils ont fait de plus de 60,000 L. de rente en Sicile.....ne possédant d'autres biens que ce que leur compagnie leur produit ».

No. 16—Footnote 75.

Mgr. Briand writing to Cardinal Castelli in answer to complaints by Abbé de Lotbinière says of him :

....« Je n'ignorais pas que vous pourriez avoir des plaintes contre moi par deux voies, et contre mon coadjuteur par une voie, savoir par son propre cousin germain qui a quitté deux fois les Récollets, la première fois pour se faire Cordelier et la seconde, de l'Ordre de Malte. C'est un prêtre sans religion, sans sentiments, la honte et la confusion de sa famille, une des plus distinguée de cette colonie..... Il m'a dit à moi-même qu'il écrivait aux Cours de Rome et de Londres. A celle-ci, on l'a renvoyé comme un misérable. A celle-là, j'apprends qu'il a aussi écrit.....ce pauvre misérable à cause de ses écrits en cour de Londres fut privé d'une pension de trois cents francs que le gouvernement lui faisait »..... Again he says..... « Le prêtre de Lotbinière, cousin germain de mon coadjuteur, était religieux

recollet, interdit par mon prédécesseur, renvoyé du Canada, chassé de tous les diocèses de France où il a demeuré pendant deux ans, devenu de l'Ordre de Malte, obligé de s'enfuir des Isles, il est enfin réfugié ici... Ses parents, des plus distingués du pays, ne le voient pas et me trouvent trop bon à son égard. »

No. 17—Footnote 77.

The Abbé de Lotbinière writes :

.....« Plut à Dieu », disait-il, « que je n'eus jamais rencontré le Général Montgomery à son arrivée au Canada, je ne serais pas rendu à périr de froid et de faim parce que l'arrangement conclu entre le Général Arnold et moi, le 26 janvier 1776 n'a pas été tenu » « C'est une vraie honte qu'un prêtre né en 1716, battu de goutte et de rhumatisme qui a perdu un revenu annuel de 750 livres pour avoir aidé au Congrès, soit ainsi menacé de mourir de faim et de froid sous vos yeux. »

No. 18—Footnote 80.

M. Roy throws more light on this romance, speaking of M. de Parfourru he says — « Comme plusieurs autres officiers des régiments Français, Mon. de Parfourru se laissa prendre aux charmes des Canadiennes, et le 11 janvier 1757 il épousa à Montréal, Marguerite de Couagne fille de René Couagne et de Louise Pothier. La famille de Couagne était une des familles les plus considérées de Montréal, mais Monsieur de Couagne était dans le commerce, et la noblesse française avait alors bien des préjugés contre les gens de commerce. »

NOTE : The family de de Parfourru had also its connection with the Order, for on January 9th, 1625 Guillaume de Parfourru of the Diocese of Coutances was admitted — see Vertôt, Vol. VII, p. 247.

No. 19—Footnote 88.

« Monsieur Roy cite la note suivante de M. l'Abbé Bois

.....Les Chevaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, établis à Québec, Bras-de-fer, Montmagny, Sillery, etc., avait construit un bureau dans la cour du Château St-Louis. Il avait coûté 40,000 livres de la monnaie française.....M. Roy adds..... « malheureusement le témoignage de l'Abbé Bois est appuyé sur aucun document ».

No. 20—Footnote 91.

....." The Grand Master of Malta, a man full of courage, of wisdom, and of virtue, is pleased, as I have been informed, with the reports made to him concerning New France. His Most Christian Majesty, Monseigneur the Cardinal, and Messieurs the Directors and Associates, have given us as governor one of his Chevaliers, whom I would willingly call, with due respect to all those brave soldiers of Jesus Christ, the honour of Malta and the good fortune of our Colony. Monsieur, his Lieutenant, who wears this same honourable Cross, walks so strictly in his footsteps, that we all have reason to acknowledge our great obligations to this holy soldiery, constantly armed for the glory of the Christian name..... "

No. 21—Footnote 95.

« C'est le château de Montuel, qui fut construit, dit-on par les Templiers ; on voit encore la statue d'un Chevalier de cet ordre au-dessus d'une des ouvertures du second étage. Après la suppression des Templiers (1312), ce château passa avec ses dépendances, entre les mains des Chevaliers de Malta. Plus tard, au seizième siècle, il devint la propriété des ancêtres de Mgr. de Laval, seigneurs de Montigny, par leur alliance avec les Mézières. »

No. 22—Footnote 97.

Extrait des registres de Montigny-sur-Avre. « Fut baptisé Joseph Charles, fils d'André Forget et Marie Anne Legrain, sa femme, parrain, Joseph de Laval, Chevalier de Malte, Mar-

raïne, Charlotte de Besançon, femme de Gabriel Laval, Sieur de Montigny. » Signé Le Chevalier de Laval, Charlotte de Besançon, cousin, Prieur de Montigny. »

No. 23—Footnote 108.

« Le mardi onze décembre mil six cent quatre-vingt-onze a été baptisée dans l'Église Paroissiale de Notre Dame de Québec par moy prestre missionnaire soussigné, Geneviève, fille de Pierre Moisan et Barbe Rateau sa femme.....parrain, Armand Louis de Lom d'Arc, Baron de la Hontan et Herleche, Chevalier de l'Ordre de Notre Dame de Mont Carmel. »

INVENTAIRE ET ÉTAT DES LIEUX DU FORT ST-LOUIS

L'an mil six cent soixante le dernier jour de septembre du matin estant dans le (1) de Québec, nous Simon de Denis, procureur fiscal et receveur général de nos (2) de la compagnie de la Nouvelle France estant resquis de Monseigneur le vicomte d'Argenson Gouverneur et Lieutenant général pour S. Mte. en ce pays procèdent à la uisite de l'estat du fort et ce en la présence du Sr. de Grandchamp commis à cet effet par mon dit seigneur le gouverneur nous nous serions adressés à la personne du sieur Gillet commis pour le soing des dites artilleries, armes et munitions lequel nous aurions requis de nous conduire et montrer le dit fort ses appartements et magasins d'armes pour le tout estant vu et visité estre inserré dans le présent procès verbal pour servir et valloir ainsy que de raison.

Et à ce faire auroit esté présent Louis Théandre Chartiers écuyer, sieur de Lotbinière, Lieutenant général civil et criminel

(1) Note by M. Pierre Margry : " The paper was eaten " (« le papier était mangé »). This should read « Château St-Louis ».

(2) The word « Seigneurs » to be inserted here — de L.M.

en la jurisdiction de Québec sénéchaussé de Nouvelle France.

Et procédans aux fins que dessus tous ensemble nous serions transportés ainsi qu'il en suit.

Premièrement dans le grand corps de logis. Dans la cuisine où s'est trouvée une table a , une pelle à feu avec pincette et chenets de fer et sont deux croisés avec chassis dormant et contrevents et une fenestre et une porte à loquet, proche la cuisine est une galerie, dans laquelle il y a une armoire fermant à clef, une porte à loquet, une croisse et contrevents, et une armoire au-dessus d'une porte.

Dans la chambre suivante fermant à clef sont deux croisés avec chassis, uolets et contrevents. Dans la salle sont trois croisés garnies de uolets, contrevents et chassis, dans laquelle s'est trouvée une table, une paire de chenets quatre portes fermantes à loquets et uerrous, et un cabinet fermant à clef avec une croisée garnie de uolets et contrevents et un fusils dans la salle sur un ratelier.

Suit une autre galerie avec croisée, chassis contrevents et uolets.

Dans la salle joignant la salle fermée d'une porte à clef est une croisée garnie de chassis, uolets et contrevents dans laquelle s'est trouvée une table ployante, à coté est un cabinet fermé d'une porte à clef et la croisée garnie de chassis uolets contrevents.

La galerie et une armoire fermant à clef. Dans la dernière chambre la porte fermant à clef est une croisée avec uolet chassis et contrevent où s'est trouvée une table avec layette, une armoire au coin de la cheminée fermant à clef et à costé est un cabinet fermé d'une porte à serrure et croisée derrière garnie de contrevents.

Toutes les dites chambres, salle et cabinet et galleries sont lambrissées par hault et par bas.

Une gallerie balustrée regardant sur l'eau aux bouts de laquelle sont deux guerittes dont l'une s'est trouvée fermée d'une porte à clef.

Dans la cave les poutres et planches en bon estat s'est trouuée trois cuviers qui ne valent plus rien. Une porte fermant à clef et une eschelle pour y descendre par la cuisine.

Dans le grenier à costé est un colombier et s'est trouvé sept ou huit piques.

Dans un autre corps de logis : Est une chambre basse à cheminée dyfis laquelle est à present le four, le petrin et une table, le couchoir de fer, tel que la porte fermante à clef, les croisés avec des barres de fer et contrevents.

Dans une autre chambre joignant est deux cabinets, dans l'un est une cabane de façon sur laquelle est une vieille horloge de fer démonté et hors de service, une croisée avec chassis et contrevents, deux sièges, et lambrissés toutes deux fermant à clef.

Au-dessus des dites chambres sont deux aultre chambre, en gallentas à cheminée, dans chacune desquelles sont quatre cabanes plus deux cabinets dont fermé à clef.

Dans le corps de garde est un lict de camp, deux cabanes, le Ratellier orné de douze fusils servant à la et pour tout meuble s'est trouvé une vieille chaudière, trois plats de cuivre, une poille à frire, une marmite et une pelle à feu, le tout tel quel.

Pour le fort.

La grande porte a été restablie cette année et ce que suit, la barrière est en ruine et hors de service, l'enceinte du fort de murs non achevés en état tel quel, les parapets totalement ruinés sur la grande porte la plate-forme estant sur la ditte grande ou est assis une gueritte le tout ruiné, le grand bastion du costé de l'ouest menassent une entière ruine a été entierrement démolí et a esté fait à neuf un mur qui a retranché le dit bastion et au lieu d'icelluy a été fait une tourre quarrée pour deffense et pour servir de prison, le rempart passent sur la grande porte allant du dit bastion à la guerritte qui est du cote du Nord est entierrement ruiné par dedans toutes les échelles desgrés servant à monter sur iceux remparts et dans le magasin des armes pouries et hors de service, sur le coing de la muraille qui regarde le nord est a esté fait une gueritte de bois et une eschelle pour y monter.

Pour artilleries cinq pièces de canons de fer, une dite crevée et une pièces avec leurs fus.

Dans le magasin des armes estant sur le corps de garde s'est trouvé ce que suit quatre vingts quatre mousquets dont cinq âfu le reste en serpen.....la pluspart uicies.....neuf hors de service.

Vingt-cinq canons de mousquets dont sept ou huit crevés. Cinq pistolets de service et cinq uieux pistolets hors de service avec fourreaux. Trente sept caryqines tel quel. En un coing est un monceau de toutes.....(3) de fusils pistolets et moucquets.

Deux cents pierres à fusil, environ neuf livres de Mesche. Un recoin où sont quantité de cuirasses et bourguignottes. Un sceau de bois plein de clous et ferrailles une scie de trauers.

Et audessus du dit magasin, sont vingt ou trente fusils de mousquets, un demi baril ou environ de salpêtre, la porte du dit magasin fermant à clef, au pied de la muraille du dit magasin est un baril où il y a des boulets de canon.

Dans le magasin aux poudres fermant à double tour, porte et clef, s'est trouvé en icelluy demi baril de poudre mouillée, ou enuiron quatre vingt dix huit livres de poudre fine en paquets, plus environ vingt cinq liures de poudre fine dans un autre baril. Plus enuiron soixante liures de poudre fine et environ quatre cent liures de balles à mousquet. Un soulmon de plomb d'enuiron cetn liures.

Faict et clos les jours et an que dessus.

Signé. Louis Théandre Chartier, Denis, Grandchamp et Gillet. Le contenu cy dessus est conforme à l'original qui est demeuréez mains de notre secrétaire que nous auons.....(4) signer avec nous.

Par Monseigneur,
GILLET.

This document, which I believe has never before been published, was co-ied into one of the ten or twelve volumes of

(3) The word « sortes » to be inserted here — de L.M.

(4) Insert the word « faict » here — de L.M.

un published documents now in the Library of the Legislature of Quebec. These books in turn were copied by the Department of Archives at Ottawa. The original, if I am not mistaken, is in the "Archives de la Marine" in Paris.

P.G. ROY.

Those in charge of the Archives at Quebec claim that they have no knowledge of the whereabouts of these volumes today.

T. G.

No. 25—Footnote 117.

.....« Déjà, la Sœur Juchereau disait que les registres du Conseil Supérieur avaient été perdus dans l'incendie du jour des rois, 1713 ; heureusement qu'elle s'était trompée. Mais que d'autres incendies, de demenagements — équivalents, d'après M. Jony, à des incendies — de sièges, de changement de regime, d'installations insuffisants ont menacé l'existence de tous ces documents. »

No. 26—Footnote 127.

Hector d'Andigné de Grandfontaine, fils cadet d'Hector de Grandfontaine et Anne Andigné, naquit le 17 mai 1627 à Ruillé — Froid-Fonds, près Château Gonthier, Département de Mayenne. Venu au Canada avec Monsieur de Tracy, il retourna en France en 1668. Le 25 mars 1669, il accepta le commandement d'une compagnie de cinquante hommes devant servir au Canada. Il fut désigné par Colbert, le 22 juillet suivant pour recevoir des Anglais, le gouvernement de l'Acadie et la restitution de forts. (These dates do not agree with either Sulte or Roy and Malchelosse, and appear to be inaccurate).

No. 27—Footnote 135.

Mariage entre

« Andre Rapin, habitant de St-Paul, en paroisse et Pays

de Poitou, évêché de Laôn, fils de Jean Rapin et Marie Boufandeau, et Clémence Jarry — fille de Eloi Jarry et Jeanne Méré, de cette paroisse.

Témoins Charles LeMoyne Ecy, Sieur de Longueuil
Jacques LeMoyne, marguillier de cette paroisse
Pierre Gadbois, Maître Armurier
Jacques Picot, Marguillier en charge
Chevalier Flottard de Lescure, Chevalier de Malthe
Charles Dailleboust, Ecy, Sieur de Musseux, (sic)
Juge civil et criminel de ce lieu
Bénigne Basset, Notaire.

G. Perot, Curé. »

No. 28—Footnote 136. Document No. 572 — appendix 39 —

Cœur House, Montreal.

« Bénigne Basset, Notaire et tabellion de la Coste et Seigneurie de l'Isle de Montréal en la Nouvelle France... et les témoins subsignez ... furent presents André Rapin habitant demeurant, fils de défunt Pierre Rapin et Marie Boufandeau, père et mère, natif de Saint Paul en Paroisse et pays de Poitou, et Clémence Jarry, fille de défunt Éloi Jarry et Jeanne Méré ; Charles et Jacques Le Moyne, Sieurs de Longueuil, Abraham Souat, François Lavalterie et Nicola Voyer... de la dite Jarry, Jeanne Meré Révérend Père en Dieu Messire Gabriel de Quelus prestre abbé de Notre Dame, Noble Flotard, Chevalier, Seigneur de Lescure, Dailleboust Baillef de la ditte Isle... un et commun en tous bien acquets et conquets, suivant la prevoté et vice-comté de Paris suivie et gardée dans ce pays... ne seront tenues les dettes et hypothèques l'un de l'autre, faites et créées avant la solennité du mariage... ; La dite future épouse sera douée de la somme de trois cents, livres pour lui faire douaire prefix suivant la ditte coutume l'an g bic (sic) soixante et neuf 24 novembre après-midi.

Signé Abbé de Quelus
Chevalier de Lescure

ANDRÉ RAPIN (He appears only to have
been able to print his name)

Le Chevalier de Lemoyne

C. D'Ailleboust

Catherine Legardeur

Basset. »

No. 29—Footnote 141.

... " Ill news travels apace, and this first rumour was soon supplemented by the startling intelligence, contained in an official dispatch to Vaudreuil, from the acting Commandant of the town, M. le Chevalier de Bernetz, that Wolfe's army had indeed landed at the Foulon, and was now marching towards the town, along the road leading from Ste. Foy. "

....." His pickets only advanced to the first ridge of land beyond the town, when they saw that it was too late for them to prevent the landing of the English forces, and immediately withdrew. Messengers were at once dispatched to the camp at Beauport for assistance, bearing official intelligence to Vaudreuil of the position and movements of the invading army. The information was conveyed to him in a note from de Bernetz, which he wrote so hurriedly that he forgot to date it. "

No. 30—Footnote 147.

The annalist of the Hopital Général, la mère Catherine de Saint Ignace (born Mlle. Juchereau Duchesnay) wrote :
.....« Mon. de Bourlamaque, deuxième Général des troupes de terre se trouva à la vue des ennemis, à la tête des premiers bataillons et sans avoir le temps de les ranger. L'Artillerie anglaise ne manque pas, en les voyant paraître, de faire une décharge qui en mit beaucoup hors de combat. Mon. de Bourlamaque fut blessé et obligé de se retirer. »

No. 31—Footnote 148.

His speech was as follows — « Monsieur, nous vous pre-

sentons, de la part de M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil, des drapeaux, pris à Chouaguen sur les ennemis du Roi. Il les a consacrés à Dieu par vos mains et les depose en cette Église, comme un monument de sa piété et sa reconnaissance envers le Seigneur qui Benit la Justice de nos armes et protège visiblement cette colonie. »

No. 32—Footnote 149.

Canon Godfroy de Tonnancour answered Bourlamaque in the following terms :.....« Monsieur, ces monuments de votre courage et en même temps de la protection divine que vous apportez dans cette église de la part de Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil, sont certainement une offrande agréable aux yeux de Tout Puissant. Il est le Dieu des Armées, c'est lui qui a donné la force à vos bras c'est à lui que le chef qui vous conduit doit cette intelligence et ces ressources avec lesquelles il a confondu les ennemis de la justice et de la paix. Le Seigneur recevra sans doute avec bonté les actions de grâce que ses Ministres vont lui rendre de concert avec les guerriers défenseurs de la Patrie.

« Demandons-lui de nous continuer des secours si nécessaires demandons-lui la paix après la victoire et qu'il couronne ses bienfaits par la durée d'un gouvernement avec lequel la colonie n'adressera jamais à Dieu, que des actions de grâce. »

No. 33—Footnote 151.

« Lévis pour prévenir son dessein, fit retirer au moment sa droite à l'entrée du bois qui était derrière elle, et abandonner le moulin du Dumont par ses grenadiers. Ses dernières brigades étaient près d'arriver, et ce mouvement en arrière leur abrégea la distance. Ce fut alors que Bourlamaque tomba grièvement blessé par un coup de canon, qui tua son cheval sous lui ».....

No. 34—Footnote 160.

« Louis-Joseph de Montcalm-Gozon, Lord of Saint-Veran

Candiac, Tornemire, Vestric, Saint-Julien d'Arpam, baron de Gabriac, was born in the Château de Candiac, near Nîmes on the 29th of February 1712. His family belonged originally to the province of Rouergue. The Christian names of his father were Louis-Daniel ; his mother was Marie-Therese-Charlotte de Lauris de Castellane-Dampus. The child was christened in the church of Vauvert, his grandfather on the maternal side, the Marquis de Castellane-Dampus, was his godfather ; and his godmother was his great-grandmother on the same side, Madame de Vaux. »

(2) " In 1438, Jean de Montcalm had been wedded to Jeanne de Gozon, grandniece of the famous Knight Diodat de Gozon, grandmaster of the illustrious Order of Saint-John of Jerusalem. But it was only in 1582 that the Montcalm family assumed the name of Gozon. "

INDEX

— A —

- Acadia, 41, 43, 49, 90, 113, 161, 162, 163, 183.
Alexandre IV, 15, 16, 21.
Ailleboust d', Viceroy, 70.
— Barbe, 166.
— Charles de Musseaux, 166.
Algiers, 43.
Amalfi, 11, 13.
Anastagi Vincento, 24.
Anjou, Langue d', 26.
Anne of Austria, 155, 156.
Anse-au-Foulon, 170.
Antilles, French, 48.
Argenson d', Governor, 132.
— Jean-Baptiste de B. d', 179, 180.
— Pierre-Marc de Voyer d', 180.
Argenteuil, Louis de Boele, 181.
Armitage, Brigadier E.-L., 28, 29.
Arnold, Benedict, 100, 101.
Arles, 24.
Argues, Battle of, 65.
Arringhieri, Alberto, 21.
Auteuil, Madeleine-Ruette d', 95.
Auvergne, Langue of, 26.

— B —

- Bacalaoos, 35.
Bacchus Island of, 39, 69.
Barbary Coast, 47, 96.
Barre, Le Febvre de la, 96, 163.
Basset, Benigne, 168.
Bearn, Regiment of, 152, 174.

- Beaujeu, Philippe de, 179, 180.
Belto, Bernardo di, 21.
Benedict Saint, rule of, 13.
Bernetz, Chevalier de, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173.
Berry, Regiment of, 152, 174.
Blovet, 62.
Bochart, Claude, 117, 119.
— de Champigny, 117, 119.
Bois, Abbé, 111.
— Le Comte, 85.
Bourlamaque, François-Charles de, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177.
Bourbon, Comte de Soissons Charles, 65.
— Catherine de, 65.
— Henri, Prince de Condé, 66.
Bourdon, Jean, 57, 58, 60, 127, 135, 147, 148.
Bouillon, Godefroy de, 13.
Brandenburg, Priory of, 27.
Brazil, 84, 87.
Breda, Treaty of, 161.
Briand, Mgr, 100.
Brion-Chabot, Philippe de, 38, 39.
Britain, 27.
British Order (St. John), 27, 28.
— Commonwealth, 27.
— Isles, 26.
Buckland, 27.

— C —

- Cabot, John, 35.
Caen, 80.
— Emery de, 44.
— Guillaume de, 44, 47.
Cadez, 62.
Callières de, 138.
Calixtus II, 13.
Canada, 28, 80.
Carignan Regiment, 72, 103, 152, 158, 159, 160, 161, 165.
Carrillon, Fort, 102, 104, 174, 177.
Cartier, Jacques, 35, 38, 39, 40.

- Castille and Portugal, Langue of, 26.
Catalonia, Langue of, 26.
Cathay, 38.
Cayugas, 98.
Champlain, Samuel de, 44, 45, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 67, 68, 123, 125, 129.
Charles V, 83, 191.
Chastes, Aymar de, 42, 43, 61, 64.
Château Frontenac, 53, 55, 124, 128.
Chambly, Capt Jacques de, 163.
Charlemagne, 11.
Chauvin, Pierre de, 42, 43, 61.
Chateaufort, Marc-Antoine-Bras-de-fer de, 67, 111.
Champigny, Honoré Bochart de, 138, 178, 179.
Chauveau, P.J.D., 147.
Charny, François de Lottin de, 181.
Charles Edward (Pretender), 105.
Chesnays, Aubert de la, 72, 96.
Chibuctou, 49.
China, 37.
Chigi-Albani, Prince, 28, 29.
Chouaguen, Battle of, 175.
Clarendon, Lord, 28, 29.
Clement V, 18.
Clerkenwell, 27.
Closse, Lambert, 166.
— Jeanne, 166.
Cluny, Abbey of, 80.
Cœur de Lion, Richard, 15.
Coligny, 168-169.
— Fort, 85.
Colombo, Don Francisco, 62.
Compagnie des Habitants, 71.
Company of New France, 45, 69, 116.
— of Richelieu, 45.
— of a Hundred Associates, 45, 50, 54, 67, 71, 73, 87, 112, 113, 114, 120, 146, 158.
Conestabile, Marchese, 29.
Condé, Prince de, 44, 65.

- Cordeliers, 99.
 Corsairs, 69.
 Corne, La, 181, 182.
 Courcelles, Louis-Tennequi de, 178, 179.
 — M. de, 162.
 Crisafy, Antoine, Marquis de, 93, 95, 164.
 — Thomas, Chevalier de, 93, 94, 95, 164.
 Culloden, 103, 105.
 Cyprus, 17.

— D —

- Dauphin, Regiment of, 173.
 Denis of Honfleur, 35.
 Denonville, Octave de Brisay de, 178, 180.
 Denys, Simon, 132, 133, 141, 145.
 Dionne, N.-E., 53, 56.
 Dongan, Colonel Thomas, 97.
 Douglas, Guillaume, 103.
 — Jean-Louis de, 103.
 — François Prosper Sholto de, 103, 104.
 — George, Earl of Dunbarton, 103.
 — Louis Archambault de, 104.
 — Charles Joseph, Comte de, 105.

— E —

- England, 19, 27, 83.
 — Langue of, 26.
 English Knights, Association of, 30.
 Eugenius III, 16.
 Esglis, Mgr d', 100.
 Fiemond, Capt. de, 172.
 Florida, 46, 49.

— F —

- Fort Frontenac, 93.
 France (Antarctic), 86.
 — Langue of, 26.
 Francis I, 34, 37.

- Francis II, 84.
Franklin, Benjamin, 102.
Franquelin, 133.
Frederick, William IV, 31.
Frontenac, Louis de Buade, Comte de, 93, 94, 96, 127, 150, 151.

— G —

- Gagnon, Ernest-Amédée, 56, 58, 139, 145.
Gerard, Grand Master, 12, 13, 14.
Galissonnière, Roland Barrin de la, 179, 180.
Gérin, Léon-N., 80.
Gasperi, Signor de, 29.
— Signora de, 29.
Gilles, Saint, 17.
German Order, 31.
Germany, Langue of, 26, 31.
Giffara, Robert, 68.
Gosselin, Mgr, 102.
Gloucester, Duke of, 29.
Gozon, Déodat de, 184.
Grand'fontaine, d'Andigné de, 159, 162, 163, 164.
Grandpré, Armand de Joyeuse de, 178.
Guadeloupe, 81, 177.
Guyenne, Regiment of, 152, 174.

— H —

- Hakin, Biamrillat, Calif., 11.
Haldemand, Chateau, 54.
— General, 176.
Halifax, 49.
Hapsburgs, 33.
Hazen, Colonel Moses, 101.
Henri II, 83, 85.
Henri IV, 43, 44, 64, 66, 73, 129.
Henry VIII, 27.
Holy Sepulchre, 13.
Honfleur, 64.

Honour and Devotion, Knights of, 25.
Horses, first in Canada, 72.
Hontan, Baron le, 130.
Hault, Jacques, 69.
Huguenots, 42, 44, 64, 84, 85, 112, 155.
Hungarians, 11.

— I —

Iddesleigh, Earl of, 28.
Innocent IV, 21.
Ireland, 27.
Irish Guards, 28.
Iroquois, 69.
Isles Bourdon, 90.
Italy, Langue of, 26.
Ivry, Battle of, 65.

— J —

James II, 103.
Jerusalem, 10, 11.
Jesuits, 70.
Jesuits Relations, 50, 72, 77, 115.
John Saint, the Baptist, 13.
Johanniten-Order, 31.
Juchereau, Marie-Anne, 95.
Julius II, 38.
Jumonville, Coulon-Villiers de, 181.

— K —

Kalm, Peter, 109.
Kilmainham, 27.
Kirks, The, 47, 112, 116, 125.
Knox, Capt. John, 108, 109.

— L —

Laberivière, Pierre-Emmanuel de Dourroy, 179.
Labrador, 35, 49.
La Hève, 49, 92.

- Languedoc, Regiment of, 103, 152, 174.
La Reine, Regiment of, 154, 174.
La Rochelle, 43.
La Sarre, Regiment of, 152, 170, 174.
Lart, Charles E., 160.
Lautrec, Brigadier de, 153.
Lauzon, Jean de, 48.
Laval, François de Montmorency de, 118.
— Joseph, 119.
— Hugues de, 118.
— University, 60.
Lazare, Saint Order of, 16.
Le Jeune Père, S.J., 50, 51.
Le Moyne, Charles, Sieur de Longueuil, 167.
— Jacques, 167.
Lery, Baron de, 34, 41.
— Mlle Chaussegros de, 101.
Lescure, Flottard de, 166, 167, 168.
Lévis, Ventador de, 178, 179.
Lisle, Antoine-Louis de Brebant de, 67, 163.
Livingston, General, 100, 101.
Livorno, 109.
Lorraine, Cardinal of, 86.
— Henry of, Duc de Bar., 65.
Lotbinière, Abbé Eustache de, 99, 100, 101, 102.
— Eustache-Michel-Chartier de, 102.
— Marquis Michel-Chartier de, 102.
Louis XIII, 51, 63, 75, 116, 150, 156.
— XIV, 80, 153, 155, 157.
Luke, Sir Harry, K.C.M.G., 28, 29.
Lyons, 40.

— M —

- Machiavelli, Marchese Rangoni, 28.
Magistral Grace, 29.
Malfatti, Baron, 29.
Malta, Island of, 19, 23, 80.
Mance, Jeanne, 116.

- Maryland, 37.
 Mary Tudor, Queen, 27.
 Mary Stewart, Queen, 83.
 Mazarin, Cardinal, 49, 155, 156, 157.
 Medecis, Marie de, 75.
 Meloïse, Françoise d'Avesnes, 99.
 Merchants, French, 35, 37, 40, 43, 46.
 Messina, 17.
 Mexican Seas, 62, 113.
 Mexico, 63.
 Mezieres, family, 118.
 Mohammed, 26.
 Monserrat, 95.
 Montboire, Seigniory of, 13.
 Mont Carmel, 57, 121, 128, 129, 130, 132.
 Mont Calvaire, 58.
 Montcalm, Marquis de, 151, 169, 170, 171, 174, 176, 183, 184,
 185, 187.
 Monts, Dugast de, 43.
 Montgomery, General, 100.
 Montigny-sur-Avre, 18.
 Montmagny, Charles-Hault de, 48, 49, 51, 56, 57, 60, 61, 68,
 69, 79, 93, 111, 112, 114, 115, 122, 123, 127, 129, 144, 145,
 146, 148, 149, 163.
 Montmorency, Charlotte de, 66.
 — Duc de, 44.
 Montréal-en-Bugey, 103, 105.
 Montréal, Comte de, 106.
 Montréal, 108, 109.
 Montuel, Castle of, 118.
 Moose of France, 71.
 Mount Royal, 39.

— N —

- Naples, 11.
 Navarre, Langue of, 26.
 Newfoundland, 35, 38, 46.
 Nova Scotia, 90.

— O —

- Ononathio, 70.
Ophthalmic Hospital, 28.
Osborne, Sir d'Arcy, 29, 30.
Oswego, 175.

— P —

- Panama, 62, 63.
Parkman, 45, 64, 69, 86.
Paris, 24, 80.
Pascal II, 12.
Patel, Jacqueline, 60.
Patrizi, Marchese, 28.
Paulo, Antonio de, 49.
Peace of Utrecht, 81.
Pecci, Count, 28.
Pepperell's Regiment, 175.
Pericard, Michelle, 118.
Peter the Hermit, 13.
Phipps, Admiral, 150.
Pinturricchio, 21, 23.
Plains of Abraham, battle of, 171.
Poincy, Henri de Languilliers de, 48, 49, 50, 72, 79, 80, 113,
80, 113, 114, 115, 120, 149.
Poitou, Regiment of, 159.
Pontgravé, 42, 61, 86.
Port Royal, 92.
Portuguese, 35, 64, 85.
Prisenzano, Duke of, 28.
Priory of Canada, 71, 107, 111, 158.
Provence, Langue of, 26.
Puisieux, Marquis de, 75, 77.
Puy, Raymond du, 13, 14, 15.

— Q —

- Quebec, 29, 44, 63, 109.

Ramezay de, 169, 171, 172.

Razilly, Claude de, 92, 93.

— Gabriel de, 93.

— Isaac de, 46, 47, 49, 69, 87, 92, 112, 113, 116, 117.

— Jean-Baptiste, 93.

Recollets, 99.

Reformation, the, 26, 30.

Rhodes, 17, 23.

Richelieu, Cardinal de, 45, 49, 51, 84, 90, 112, 113, 114, 115,
116, 119, 155, 179.

Rocque de la, Jean-François, Sieur de Roberval, 40.

Robespierre, 106.

Roche, Marquis de la, 41, 42.

Rome, 74.

Rouen, Merchants of, 40, 43, 44, 60.

Royal Roussillon Regiment, 152, 170.

Royal Scottish Regiment, 105.

Roy, Antoine, 133.

— J.-Edmond, 53, 80, 111, 124, 158, 178.

— Pierre-Georges, 133.

— Regis, 162, 165.

— S —

Sable Island, 35, 41.

Sabrevois de Mousseaux, Charles, 81.

Saint Barthelemy, Island of, 80.

— Christophe, 49, 50, 72, 81, 114.

— Foye, battle of, 176.

— Germain-en-Laye, Treaty of, 90.

— Germain-en-Laye, 103.

— Luc, Charlotte de la Corne, 104.

— Louis, Fort and Chateau, 6, 8, 54, 56, 57, 58, 60, 69, 125,
127, 132, 141, 146.

— Malo, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44.

— Remi, 43.

— Stephen, 11.

Sainte-Croix, 80.

Salis, Count de, 28.

Salle, Cavalier de la, 80, 97, 98.
Saguenay River, 42.
Scaletta, Prince Ruffo di, 29.
Scott, Abbé H.A., 74, 75.
Schuyler's Regiment, 175.
Senecas, 98.
Shirley's Regiment, 175.
Scotland, 27.
Sermoneta, Duchess of, 29.
Seville, 17.
Sillery, Noel Brulard de, 48, 69, 73, 74, 75, 76, 86, 111.
Solyman II, 19.
Somerset, Protector, 27.
Souvré, Bailiff of, 79.
Spain, 19, 34, 36, 38, 62, 74, 95.
Sulte, Benjamin, 51, 114, 122, 145, 148.
Sword, Knights of the, 8.

— T —

Tadoussac, 43, 72.
Taranto, 17.
Templar, Knights, 16, 17, 18, 24.
Teutonic Knights, 8.
Titian, 23.
Theotocopuli Dominico, 23.
Three Rivers, 60, 61, 68, 95.
Thompson, James, 54.
Tilly, Jacques de, 178, 179.
Tongues of the Order, 26.
Torpichen, 27.
Tours, Généralité de, 159, 160.
Traffard, Major, 30.
Tonnancourt, Canon Godefroy de, 176.
Tracy, Louis-de-Stutt de, 178, 179.
Troyes, Commandeur de, 74.
Trois Frères, Gulf of, 38.
Tronquet, notaire, 57, 58.
Turcomans, 69.

— U —

United States, 101.

United States Congress, 101.

— V —

Valois, Marguerite de, 73.

Vatican, 100.

Vaudreuil, Baron Philippe Antoine de Rigaud de, 130.

— Marquis de, 130, 169, 170, 172, 173, 184, 185, 186.

Verrazzano, John, 37, 38, 39.

Vertôt, Abbé de, 65, 81, 180, 181.

Villegagnon, Nicola Durand de, 83, 85, 86.

— René Durand de, 87.

— Noel Durand de, 87.

Villeneuve (cartographe), 138.

Vincent de Paul, Saint, 77.

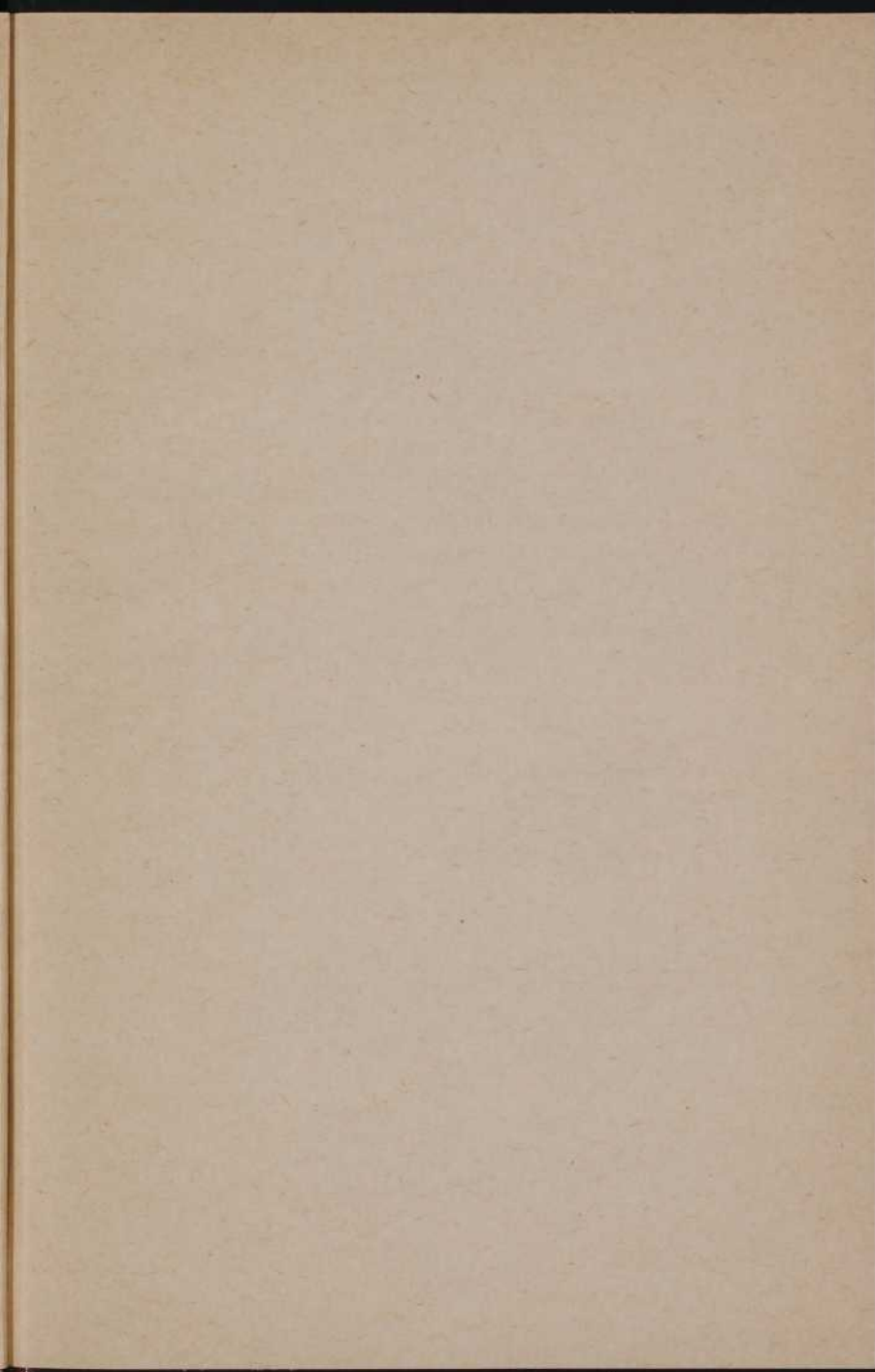
— W —

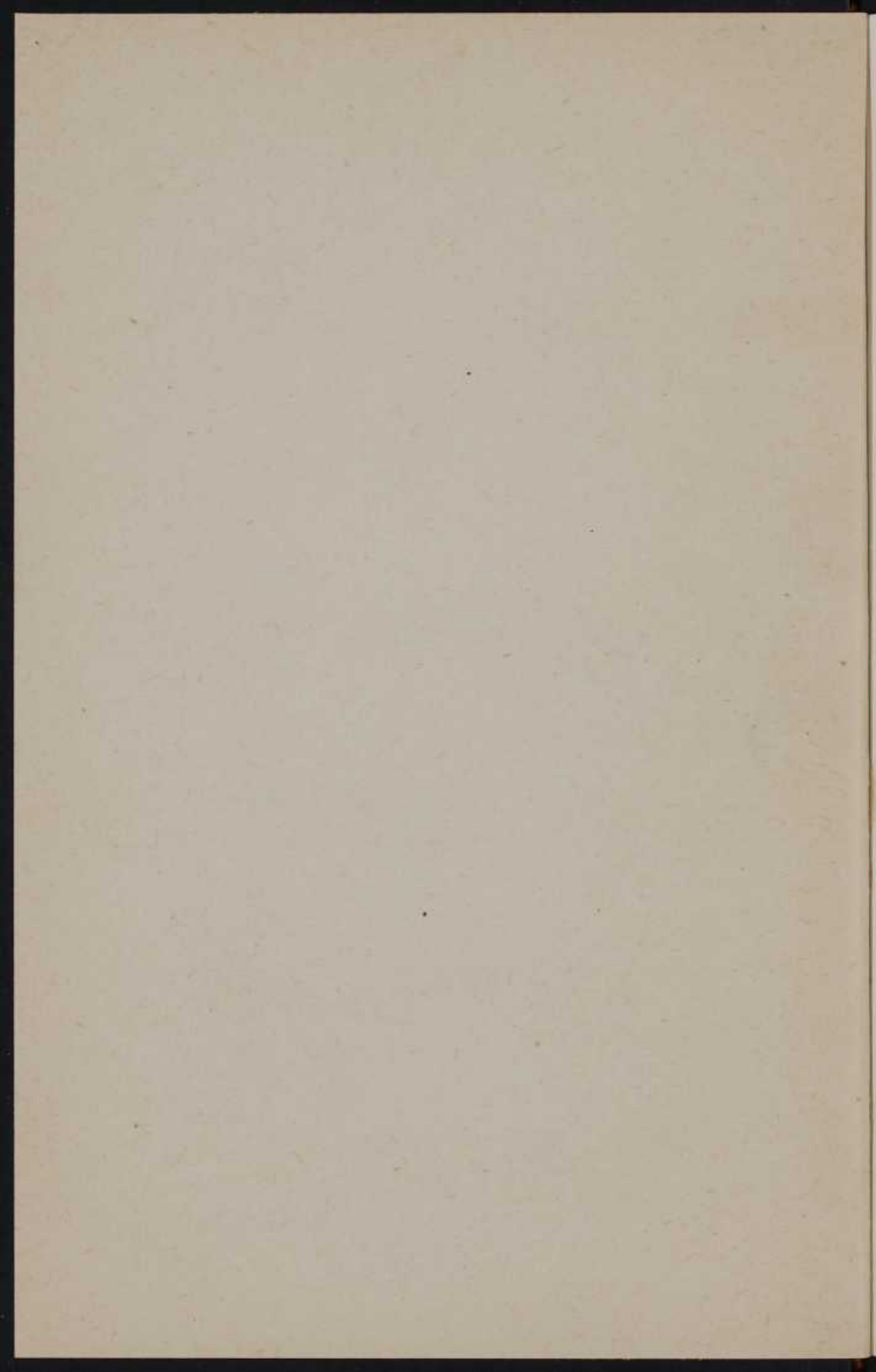
Washington, George, 181.

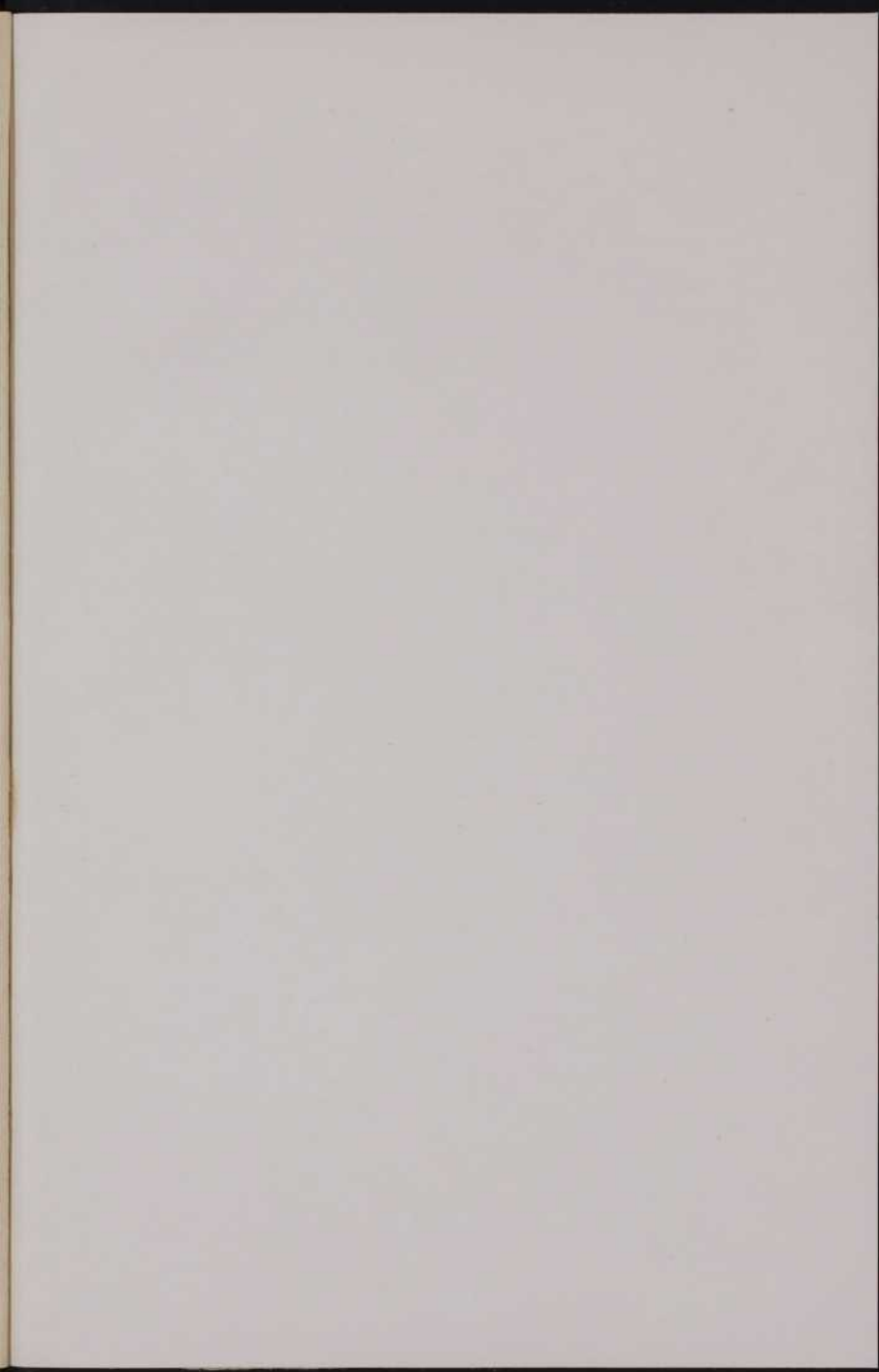
West Indies, 62.

William II, Emperor, 32.

William III of England, 150.







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