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#### THE SCOTSMAN IN QUEBEC

Whose heart was loyal to his word, Whose hand was faithful to his sword, Who won a hero's world-renown, In every quarrel save his own.

I is not generally known that from the very earliest period of the history of the Province of Quebec the Scottish race have been in some manner connected with its settlement and development.

Every Canadian of Scottish extraction should be proud of the fact that the very vessel which sailed up the St. Lawrence, and from the arrival of which was to date the foundation of French Canada, was steered by a Scotsman, the now noted Abraham Martin, dit ecossais, whose Christian name is immortalised in connection with the famous heights along with the memories of Wolfe and Montcalm.

The fact that the Scottish sailor was the pilot of the Don de Dieu is merely one more instance of the worldwide genius of the Scotsman as a

master-man in all ages and among all lands and peoples.

That he received the lands where the battle was afterward fought as a reward for his skill and labour is also evidence of the Scotsman's gift

in acquisition the world over.

The sons of the land of the heather had to penetrate everywhere in their restless adventuring, and even French Canada could not escape the almost universal experience. In truth it has seemed that, the world over, wherever practical skill, sagacity, and hard work were needed, a Scotsman has ever been found in the forefront, ready to essay the difficult task, and to achieve the seemingly impossible undertaking.

It is, however, a strange picture to contemplate,

this presence of the Scotsman, Abraham Martin, on this pioneer vessel of New France. This adventure to Canada was the undertaking of a French people; a great French discoverer was the leader of the expedition; the Don de Dieu was a French ship sailing from a French port to found a French province in the wilds of the New World, under the mandate and prestige of a French monarch; and yet as the brave little vessel forged her way past the gloomy and forbidding entrance and sailed up that vast lonely gulf into the great, silent, eld-haunted river it was the hand of that lonely, self-contained, dour Scotsman who guided the wheel; and it was his indomitable will that would not be defeated, and his unerring brain that marked the latitude and longitude, and guided,

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by the compass or the stars of heaven, the first Canadian vessel into her virgin port.

How true a prophecy was this of the future of the vast region which lay beyond that narrow river gateway, wherein many notable Scotsmen, thief among whom were Macdonald and Strathcona, were to control, during a remarkable century of our own history, the direction and development of its great destinies. Indeed, this picture of the pilot Abraham Martin is but one of many examples in Canadian history of the energy, endurance, and daring of that remarkable people the iron-souled children of famous Northern Britain, who had then, and have had ever since, their hands on the wheel-spokes of all great ventures of the modern world.

Sir James McPherson Lemoine, the noted Quebec historian and essayist, himself a Scotsman in descent, makes, in his "Scot in New France," a suggestive remark to the effect that Master Abraham, the Scotsman, may have experienced but a mild regret at seeing a new Governor of Scottish descent, Louis Kirke, the Calvinist, hoist his standard on the bastion of Fort St. Louis, which had just been evacuated by Champlain.

Another significant picture is given by Lemoine; he writes: "The first British Governor of Quebec, a Scotsman, General James Murray, as it were, took loyally and bravely the keys of the city gates from the last French Commandant of the place, Major de Ramezay, a Ramsay of Scottish ancestry."

He also hints, as others have done, that some of Cartier's sailors were Scotsmen, and he suggests that Michel Herue was no other than a Scotsman, Michael Harvey.

A very interesting and remarkable work is that of the French savant, Francisque Michel, entitled "The Scot in France."

It shows that for centuries there was a close connection between Scotland and France, and that since the year 1400, when Scotsmen landed by thousands in France to fight the English, many of that nation have continually settled in the country, and he cites many names of noted families showing plainly a Scottish origin, such as Sichelant (Sutherland), Coninglant (Cunningham), Dromont (Drummond). For centuries the Scottish Ramsays had settled in France; De Ramezay's father was for twenty years Governor of Montreal. Later, under British rule, another Ramsay, the Earl of Dalhousie, was to represent his monarch at the Castle of St. Louis.

In 1745, when the Scottish Highlanders had made a vain and last attempt to restore the Jacobite Prince to the British throne, France was indifferent; and it is significant that many of the Fraser Highlanders who stormed and took Quebec under Wolfe so shortly afterwards had been strong Jacobites and followed Prince Charles in 1745. It has been suggested that the kilted scalers of the Heights of Abraham, were only too eager to avenge on her chief colony what they considered as France's bad faith with the Jacobite cause.

Those hardy mountaineers, who thought nothing of exposure to frost and cold, whose diet and dress and manner of life inured them to all hardships, became ideal soldiers and afterwards splendid settlers, when once they had become accustomed to the necessities and habits of a pioneer colony.

The Highland garb they wore by choice in their regiments and out of them; and even an Act of Parliament failed to do away with this most picturesque of all costumes civil or military.

In 1780, it will be remembered, the soldiers of the 42nd and 71st Highlanders mutinied when ordered to wear the Lowland military dress, and in the end they recovered their rights to wear their ancient dress; so that to-day among the finest British regiments, both Regular and Militia, are the kilted corps of the Highlanders.

History shows that as soon after Culloden as 1759, it was Fraser's kilted Highlanders who stormed and captured Quebec, and planted the

British flag on the ramparts.

The Master of Lovat had been a Jacobite, and his father, the noted Lord Lovat, was one of the two last Scottish lords beheaded at the Tower in London, paying the penalty of treason in the Jacobite cause. The young Master, who, but for his father's attainder, would have been Lord Lovat, commenced early to evince his loyalty to the House of Brunswick in gratitude for the pardon granted to him; and seeing, as so many soon did, the rank

folly of the late rising and the great injury which it had caused to the flower of Scotland's clans, he turned his attention to the purpose of using the splendid fighting stock of the Highlands in the cause of Britain rather than against her. His estate had been lost, his wealth gone, and he a suspected man; all he had left was the hereditary attachment of his clan to their chief. In spite of all this, he went to work to raise a Highland regiment, and in the space of a few weeks had recruited fully 800 men, who were ready to fight anywhere under his leadership.

The Cadet gentlemen of his clan and other officers and neighbouring gentlemen added 700 more; and the result was the famous Fraser Highlanders. They wore the full Highland dress, with musket and broadsword, dirk and pouch.

The list of the officers of the Fraser Highlanders, whose commissions are dated January 5, 1759, were:—

Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant: Hon. Simon Fraser.

Majors: James Clophane; John Campbell, of Dunoon, afterwards commanding the Campbell Highlanders in Germany.

Captains: John McPherson, brother of Clunie; John Campbell, of Ballimore; Simon Fraser, of Inverlochy, killed on the Heights of Abraham, 1795; Donald Macdonald, brother of Clanronald, killed at Sillery, 1760; John Macdonald, of Lochgarry, afterwards Colonel of the 76th or Macdonald's Regt.; Alexander Cameron, of Dun-

gallon; Thomas Ross, of Culrossie; Alexander Fraser, of Culduthel; Sir Henry Seton, of Abercorn, Bart.; James Fraser, of Belladrum; Simon Fraser. Capt. Lunn died a general in 1812.

Lieutenants: Alex McLeod; Hugh Cameron; Ronald Macdonald, of Keppoch; Charles Macdonald, of Glengarry, killed at St. John; Roderick McNeill, of Barra, killed on the Heights of Abraham; Wm. Macdonald; Archibald Campbell, son of Glenlyon; John Fraser, of Balnain; Hector Macdonald, brother of Boisdale, killed 1759; Allan Stewart, son of Innernaheil; John Fraser; Alexander Macdonald, son of Boisdale, killed on the Heights of Abraham; Alexander Fraser, killed at Louisburg; Alexander Campbell, of Aross; John Douglas; John Nairn; Arthur Rose, of the family of Kilravock; Alexander Fraser; John Macdonald, of Leeks, died at Berwick, 1818; Cosmo Gordon, killed at Sillery, 1760; David Baillie, killed at Louisburg; Charles Stewart, son of Col. John Roy Stewart; Ewen Cameron, of the family of Glenevis; Allan Cameron; John Cuthbert, killed at Louisburg; Simon Fraser; Archibald McAlister, of the family of Loup; James Murray, killed at Louisburg; Donald Cameron, son of Fassifern, died on halfpay, 1817.

Ensigns: John Chisholm; Malcolm Fraser, of Errogie; Simon Fraser; James Mackay; Malcolm Fraser, afterwards Capt. of the 84th Regt. Royal Emigrants; Donald McNeill; Henry Munro; Hugh Fraser, afterwards Capt. 84th Regt.;

Alexander Gregorson, Ardtornish; James Henderson; Robert Menzies; John Campbell.

Chaplain: The Reverend Robert Macpherson.

Adjutant: Hugh Fraser.

Quartermaster: John Fraser.

Surgeon: John McLean.

The Fraser Regiment comprised thirteen companies, numbering in all 1,460 men, who upheld the military honour and reputation of the Scottish race.

A host of men of the Fraser name throughout Quebec and other parts of Canada trace their descent back to this famous regiment. Likewise do numerous Macdonalds, Campbells, Rosses, Stewarts, Murrays, McPhersons, Camerons, McKenzies, and Munroes, who are now Canadians of several generations.

The regiment was disbanded in 1764. But in 1775, when the call to arms to defend the country for the King went forth, none were more eager to respond than the Fraser Highlanders who were settled in Canada; and out of them, and other loyal Highlanders from the St. Lawrence to Newfoundland, was raised the 84th or Royal Emigrants, spoken of elsewhere in this work. These became the garrison of Quebec during that awful winter of siege when they held Canada for the Empire.

The following extracts are from the manuscript journal of Col. Malcolm Fraser, then lieutenant of the 78th Regiment of Fraser's Highlanders, relating to the operations before Quebec in 1759.

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Colonel Fraser died in 1815 at the age of eightytwo:-

8th May 1759.—Set sail from Sandy Hook, under convoy of the Nightingale, Captain Campbell, having Colonel Fraser's Regiment on board. . . . Captain Campbell was of Colonel Fraser's Regiment.

Sunday, 1st July.-I was ordered with Ensign McKenzie to the

colours.

18th Fuly.—Kennedy's Grenadiers were on board the Diana. 20th Fuly.—A man of Capt. Simon Fraser's Company (63rd) killed.

21st Fuly.—Lieutenant Charles McDonald of our Grenadiers wounded in the thigh. . . . About fourteen privates, all Highlanders, wounded.

24th July.-Col. Fraser with 350 men of his Regt. marched

down river to take prisoners.

26th Fuly.—Lieut. Alex. Fraser, junior, returned to camp. . . . In evening the Colonel came to camp, wounded, with Capt. McPherson wounded by the same shot.

31st July .- Col. Fraser's Regt. embarked in boats to cross the

river at Point Levy.

tst August.—This day General Wolfe in his orders had the following paragraph: "Amherst's and the Highland Regiments alone, by the soldier-like, cool manner they were formed in, would undoubtedly beat back the whole Canadian Army if they had returned to attack them."

15th August.—Capt. John Macdonald, seven subalterns (of whom I was one), eight sergeants, &c., crossed over from Point

Levy to the Island of Orleans.

23rd August.—We were reinforced by a company of Rangers under Capt. Montgomery of Kennedy's or 43rd Regt. . . . Joined by Capt. Ross, with his company. . . . Capt. Ross joined Colonel Murray. . . . Brigadier Murray has returned to his detachment.

3rd Sept.—This day died, my worthy Captain, Alexander Cameron of Dungallon, universally regretted by all those who knew him as a fine gentleman and a good soldier.

4th Sept.—Arrived Captain Alexander Fraser of Culduthel with a 14th Company to our Regt. Capt. Cameron was interred in front of our colours.

13th Sept.-In a short time the whole army was landed at a place called Le Foulon (now Wolfe's Cove. . . . Our regiments were then ordered by Brigadier-General Murray to draw their swords and pursue them (the enemy who were now fleeing). . . . Our Regiment, the Highlanders, . . . behaved extremely well. . . . At this time the rest of the army came up. . . . General Murray having put himself at the head of our Regiment, ordered them to march through the bush of wood.... We had a few men killed and officers wounded. . . . The enemy . . . began firing on us from the bush and from the bank . . . they killed and wounded a great many of our men, and killed two officers, Lieutenant Roderick, McNeill of Barra, and Alexander Macdonald, and John MacDonald, and John McPherson, volunteer, with many of our men were killed before we were re-inforced : and Captain Ross . . . of the third Regt. . . . was mortally wounded in the body by a cannon-ball from the hulks in the River St. Charles. . . . We had of our Regiment, three officers killed and ten wounded, one of whom, Capt, Simon Fraser, afterwards died. Lieutenant Archibald Campbell, thought to be mortally wounded, recovered. Capt. John McDonald through ooth thighs; Lieut. Ronald McDonald through the knee; Lieut. Alex. Campbell through the leg; Lieut. Douglas through the arm. who died of the wound; . . . Ensign Gregorson, Ensign McKenzie, and Lieut. Alex. Fraser, all slightly; I received a slight contusion in the right shoulder or rather breast, which pains me a good deal. . . . Thus (he says) ended the battle of Quebec, the first regular engagement that was fought in North America, which has made the King of Great Britain master of the Capital of Canada, and, it is hoped, ere long will be the means of subjecting the whole country to the British Dominion; and if so, this has been a greater acquisition to the British Empire than all that England has acquired by conquest since it was a nation, if I may except the conquest of Ireland in the reign of Henry the Second.

Thus writes this gallant Scottish officer in his

journal, and how true were his words as to the importance of this battle our history has since shown. The most significant fact, however, for the purposes of this work, was that this history-making battle was fought and won, as this journal shows and as all history acknowledges, largely by Scotsmen.

But though the day was won, the French, a gallant foe, were not yet conquered; and we learn more of what happened in Col. Fraser's journal. He continues:—

We lay on our arms all the night of the 13th of September.

17th Sept.—Monsieur de Ramsay (Fraser gives it the Scottish spelling), Governor of Quebec, sent out a flag of truce. . . . Article of Capitulation signed on the 18th.

— Oct.—Admiral Sanders sailed for England. On the ——General Moncton sailed, having appointed Brigadier Murray (a

Scotsman) Governor of Quebec.

Col. Fraser does not bear out Lemoine regard-

ing the kilts and the severe climate. He says:—

1st Dec.—The winter is now very severe.
20th Dec.—The winter is now almost unsupportably cold. . . .

The garrison in general are but indifferently clothed, but our regiment in particular is in a pitiful situation, having no breeches, and the Philibeg is not at all calculated for this terrible climate. Col. Fraser is doing all in his power to provide trowsers for them, and we hope soon to be on a footing with other regiments in that

respect.

13th Feb., 1760.—Detachments sent over to drive the French from Point Levy (they crossed on the ice), Lieut, McNeill of our Regt, and some men wounded.

24th Feb.—The General went to attack him (M. St. Martin) with the 15th, 28th, and Col. Fraser's Regts.

and March.—Capt. Cameron of our Regt. was pitched on by the General as a proper person to command at Lorette, as he

spoke French.

17th March.—Capt. Donald McDonald of Col. Fraser's Regt. with the Light Infantry, &c., attacked the French Post—took eighty persons . . . returned . . . having suffered very much by the excessive cold of the preceding night; several having lost the use of their fingers and toes. The scurvy, occasioned by salt provisions and cold, has begun to make fierce havock in the garrison.

26th Apr.—Information that Levis with 12,000 men, regulars

20th Apr.—Information that Levis with 12,000 men, regulars

Canadians and savages coming.

27th Apr.—Governor marched out with Grenadiers, &c. . . . Vanguard of the French army appeared. . . . Sent orders the 28th, 47th and 58th and Col. Fraser's Regt. to march to St. Foy and cover his (the Governor's) retreat. . . . The company of volunteers of the garrison, commanded by Capt. Donald McDonald of our Regt. . . having been almost destroyed . . . Colonel Fraser's Regt. being in danger of being surrounded. . . . We had about sixty killed and forty wounded, and of thirty-nine officers, Capt. Donald McDonald and Lieut. Cosmo Gordon, both killed; Lieut. Hector McDonald and Ensign Malcolm Fraser died of their wounds. . . . Twenty-three officers wounded, of this number Col. Fraser . . . Capt. Alex. Fraser wounded.

1st May.—Capt. Cameron, dangerously burnt and bruised. . . . Lieut. McGregor, left on the field wounded, narrowly escaped being killed . . . said he saw the savages murdering the wounded.

These extracts afford some idea of the prominence of Scotsmen in the memorable battle and siege.

Another vivid picture is possible fifteen years later, when the 84th or Highland Emigrant Regiment defended Quebec from the Americans.

During all that terrible time, in the face of fearful odds, Col. McLean, the head of the VOL. I. K 145

regiment, proved himself to be a fine type of Scottish commander. With traitors, disease, and famine to contend with, and the whole province outside of the walls of Quebec in the hands of the American Army, the Governor, Guy Carleton, with his brave officers, McLean, McKenzie, and Hamilton, and others equally brave, withstood the foe and kept the province for Britain.

For these important services the officers and men received grants of land in the province. Major Nairn received the seigniory of Murray's Bay and Lieut. Malcolm that of Mount Murray. The men of their companies settled about them, and one of the noted Scottish colonies in Quebec Province was formed.

In that locality the names of McLean, McNeill, and other clan names connected with the famous 78th Regiment are to be found. But the mass of this noted fighting stock has been so absorbed in the French population that it is doubtful how much of Scottish stock is not now animating the present-day French Canadian. They settled all over the province; and in the year 1880 the then known descendants numbered fully three thousand.

But there are other Scottish settlements in Quebec, besides the great scattered stock, which has come in from time to time during the nineteenth century. Among these, Metis was founded in the year 1823 by Mr. McNider, of Quebec: and there are many Scotsmen of good standing and means settled in the Baie des Chaleurs district.

These are neither of United Empire Loyalist origin nor descended from the Fraser Highlanders.

Of these, Lemoine mentions William McPherson, who was for years Mayor of Port Daniel. Lemoine himself was grandson of another McPherson, a noted United Empire Loyalist, who was born in Inverness, Scotland, in 1752. With this family there had settled, about the year 1790, a numerous colony of Kennedys, Arnetts, Morrisons, and other Scottish and United Empire Loyalist families. In addition to these settlements, all through the province will be found intermarriages, with the best French families, of Scottish officers of the different regiments, as is instanced by such families as those of Stuart, Fraser, McPherson, and Campbell. The present Baron de Longuiel is in the male line of the great clan of Grant.

It will be impossible to deal with all the Scotsmen in the province since its foundation. But the Scottish element in the cities of Quebec and Montreal will be of interest to readers of this work, and much of this will be referred to in other chapters later on. In this connection, however, the religious element in the life of the province, which will be examined later, is important, as the Scotsman is nothing if not religious. In the year 1802 a memorial to King George the Third was signed at Quebec city by leading Scotsmen asking for a site for a Presbyterian church. It is dated October 5th. The list of names which follows is representative of the business and professional men of the day: Alexander Sparks 147

(Minister); Jas. Thompson, jun.; Fred Stuart; Jno. Greenshields; Chas. G. Stewart; Jas. Sinclair; Jno. Urquhart; Wm. Morrin; Jno. Eifland; Jno. Barlie; Geo. McGregor; Wm. Holmes; James Ward; Jno. Purssi; J. Brydon; Jno. Fraser; James Somerville; J. A. Thompson; Wm. Hall; Wm. Thompson, jun.; D. Monro; J. Blackwood; M. Lymburner; W. Roseburg; Jno. McCords; J. G. Hanna; J. McNider; Adam Lymburners; Jno. Lynd; Peter Stuart; Wm. Grants; J. A. Todd; Jno. Mure; Jno. McLeod; Hugh Munro; Geo. Geddes; Archd. Donaldson; Sandford Hoyt; Robt. Haddon, sen.; Robt. Haddon, jun.; Alexander Hadden; Wm. Brown; Geo. Morrison; Jno. Goudie; G. Sinclair; Walter Carruthers; Wm. Petrie; Jno. Ross; Wm. McKenzie; Thos. Saul; J. Ross, jun.; Jas. Mitchell; Geo. King; Alex. Thompson; Jas. Orkney; J. Neilson; Danl. Fraser; A. Ferguson; Robt. Eglison; Robt. Cairns; Wm. A. Thompson; Wm. McWhirter; John McDonald; Jno. Auld;

That the influence of the Scotsman in the intellectual life of the province was not wanting is shown by the royal charter granted to the Quebec Literary and Historical Society by William the Fourth on October 5, 1831. In the list of charter members appear the names of many prominent men of Scottish birth—such as George Earl of Dalhousie; John Caldwell; Hugh Caldwell; 148

Ino. Shaw; Charles Hunter; Wm. Anderson;

Hugh McQuarters, jun.

Archibald Campbell; Charles Campbell; John

Saxton Campbell; John P. Cockburn; Andrew W. Cochrane; John Davidson; Wm. Findley; Jas. B. Forsyth; John Fraser; John Malcolm Fraser;

James Hamilton; Wm. Henderson; Wm. Lyons; Fredk. Maitland; John McNider; Wm. McKees; Wm. King McCord; Rodk. McKenzie; John I.

Mills; Wm. Rose; James Smillie; Hon. and Rt. Rev. Chas. James Stewart, Lord Bishop of Quebec; James Stuart; David Stuart; Andrew

Stuart; Robt. Symes; Rev. Daniel Wilkie. In 1835 the corresponding secretary was George Okill Stuart.

Robert Sellar, in his history of Huntington, Chateauquay, and Beauharnois down to the year 1838, gives us a glimpse of the Scottish Settlement in that part of Quebec. The first Scotsman whom he mentions, as in

the settlements, is a Scottish United Empire Loyalist, John Fisher, who was a native of Killin, in Perthshire, Scotland. Fisher moved into Hemingford in 1800. A little earlier, in 1798, Rach Gordon, a Scottish Loyalist, at Sorel, settled on one of the first three lots in Havelock. In 1801 Andrew Gentle, of Stirlingshire, a brewer, arrived with certificates of his good character from the minister of Dunblane. He came by way of the States and brought an American wife. He settled in Hemingford. Near him settled James Gilfillan, a Highlander. About 1808 Archibald

Muir, another Scotsman, was manager of the first great mill on the English River. In Franklin,

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Dewar, a Scottish blacksmith, established his trade in 1811.

As has been seen, Hemingford's infant settlement had her Scotsmen. Likewise the young settlement on the Chateauguay had its representative of this indomitable race. In 1800 a Mr. Goudy came to the settlement. He was the forerunner of the great body of Scotsmen who were afterwards to settle the community. He sold his farm to a relative, William Ogilvie, who left Scotland in 1802. About 1810 John Milne, from Aberdeen, was the agent for making out deeds of the Seigniory. In 1800 John Simpson, a Scottish millwright, built a mill at Beauharnois. Opposite St. Martine there settled William Reed. Each year saw the coming in of more Scottish settlers. Alexander Hassock, from Cromarty, came in 1801, and settled in North Georgetown. He was followed by his nephew-in-law, James Wilkinson, and John Raleston, from Ayrshire, who claimed to have known Robert Burns.

At English River in 1807 settled James Wright, a shoemaker, of Cupar. Other Scottish settlers were Somerville, a miller, Andrews, Williamson, Alex. Logan, from Ross-shire, John Hervie, Neil Morrison, from Lochgilphead, Argyllshire, John Stewart, Thompson, James McClatchie, from Ayrshire; Renshaw, a schoolmaster.

In 1802 the Nephton arrived at Quebec with seven hundred Highlanders on board. They were chiefly from Glenelg, in Ross-shire. Many of them at first settled on Sir John Johnson's property in

Chambly, but finding much of the land too swampy three of their number, John Roy McLennan, John Finlayson, and Finlay McCauig, in 1812, found lands for many of them in Beauharnois. The rest went to Glengarry in Upper Canada.

Many of the officers of the Scottish regiments settled in the city of Montreal, and some of them, with other adventurous Scottish spirits, founded the North-West Trading Company, so noted in the fur trade. Others became prominent business men and financiers. These were augmented by many other Scottish emigrants, who, as time went on, made themselves masters of Canada's trade and finance. Wherever her vast wilds were, by her lakes and rivers, in the lone North-West, there Montreal Scottish traders adventured or sent their agents, until they became the builders of financial and trading Canada. Many of the most noted of these progressive and persistent Scotsmen will be mentioned in other parts of this book. But there are to-day many distinguished representatives of the Scottish colony in Montreal. The names of a few, like the late Honourable Sir George Drummond; the Honourable A. B. Angus; Sir Montague Allen; Sir Hugh Graham; the Honourable Robert Mackay; the Honourable Jas. Meighen; and Sir William Macdonald, are among a long list of present-day Scotsmen who dominate the financial and commercial world of Canada.