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INHERITANCES FROM OUR HISTORIC PAST.

By W. F. Ganong, Ph.D.

A short time ago, a wide-awake Canadian school boy was told that a gentleman with whom he was then talking intended to write a history of one of the provinces. "Sir," said the boy to the historian, "if you do, I hope you will leave out about ten chapters on constitutional government." This story is true, and it illustrates a striking fact about history, namely, that its most important parts are often not at all interesting to young people. Yet those who devote their lives to its study agree that its most valuable portions are those which investigate the origin and development of our present social and political surroundings. By such history, they tell us, are we enabled to understand better the conditions under which we live and the problems which confront us, and hence to act more wisely as men and as citizens. Such history, too, makes available the lessons of the past for our guidance in the future. It is less interesting, it is true, than the stories of discoveries and battles and conquests, but it should nevertheless receive a full share of our attention and appreciation.

Perhaps this introduction may seem not to have much to do with my present subject; but there is at least a connection in this way, that this article deals with the origin of certain features of our surroundings, while its title may appear so unattractive that I think it best thus to bespeak the reader's attention.

Everyone knows that our common customs, language, knowledge, etc., are derived from various sources in the past; but we rarely stop to think to what periods or peculiarities of our history we are indebted for them. The history of any country falls into periods, and each of these contributes something to the succeeding ones, and through them to the present. What do the people of New Brunswick, for example, possess as inheritances from the earlier periods of their varied and eventful history?

In the Pre-historic or Indian Period, New Brunswick was occupied by two Indian tribes, the Micmacs and the Maliseets, the latter with a branch known as the Passamaquoddies. To-day, there remain among us, according to the latest census, 1627 Indians, about one-half of one per cent. of our total population, an inoffensive intelligent people, ase-

ful as guides and hunters and as makers of wooden wares. To them we owe our birch canoe, most graceful of water-craft, and our knowledge of the easiest routes of travel through the unsettled parts of the Province. The snowshoe, moccasin and toboggan we owe not so much to our own Indians directly as to the Indian tribes in general; and doubtless they would be in use in New Brunswick had our own tribes never existed. Most important, however, of all our inheritances from them, and certainly the one that will endure the longest, is our attractive place-nomenclature, especially that of most of our rivers, and of many lakes and islands. Nearly one hundred and fifty names of places in common use in New Brunswick, including those that are most characteristic and pleasing, are of Indian origin. Who is there who would exchange them for any other kind, or who does not wish we had yet more of them? Aside from names of places, however, we seem to have adopted very few, if any, Indian words, though no doubt the language of the Acadian French, who were ever the good friends of the Indians, contains some such words. Canoe, toboggan, moccasin, squaw, and a few others which are of Indian origin, were not adopted from our own Indians directly, but from other tribes through travellers and explorers. The only word I can find in use among us that may possibly have been taken directly from our Indians is *bogan*, a name applied by lumbermen and hunters to a still cove by a stream, which is probably a corruption of the Maliseet *pokelogan*, applied to the same kind of a place. We have no custom or sport derived from our own Indians, for tobogganing, snowshoeing, etc., are not adopted from them directly. In an indirect way, through the kindness they often showed to our Loyalist ancestors in the severity of the first dreadful winters, we owe them much. But on the whole our debt to this period is not great.

The PERIOD OF EXPLORATION in New Brunswick possibly began with voyages of the Norsemen to Miramichi Bay before 1000 A. D. It includes Portuguese voyages to the Bay of Fundy early in the sixteenth century, the voyage of Cartier to our North Shore in 1534, already fully described in his own words in an earlier number of this series,[1] and the voyage of Champlain to the Bay of Fundy in 1604. These voyages were of the utmost importance, at the time, in making this country known to the world, thus opening it up for trade and

[1] In Number I.

settlement, but their only recognizable results to-day are a few place-names—Fundy, Acadia, Chaleur, St. John, St. Croix, and possibly Miramichi.

The ACADIAN or FRENCH PERIOD began with the settlement by De Monts on St. Croix Island in 1604,[1] and lasted until after the fall of Quebec. To it we owe, first of all, nearly one-fourth of our population, the Acadian French, who live along the North Shore, on the Memramcook, and at Madawaska, retaining largely their own language and customs. They are a contented race, a valuable element in our population, and are likely to play a far more important part in the history of the province in the future than they have in the past. To this period, too, we owe some of the most striking incidents and saddest memories in our annals, such as Madame La Tour's defence of her husband's fort at the mouth of the St. John, and the Expulsion. From this period also we derive at least fifty, and probably more, of the place-names in use to-day; or, if we count those given recently by the Acadians, two or three times this number. We have, however, adopted from them but few other words, of which I recall only *aboideau*, *gaspereau* and *perdu* (often pronounced *budoo*), applied much like the word *bogan* already mentioned. *Portage* and a few others are not from the Acadians directly, but are of wide use. Visible relics of another kind remaining to us from this period are ruins of old forts in several parts of the province, and a few other historic objects.

The ENGLISH PERIOD began with settlements by New Englanders on the St. John shortly after 1760, and ended with the coming of the Loyalists in 1783. In this interval there came to New Brunswick many settlers from New England, Pennsylvania, England and Scotland. We have no means of knowing how many there were, but we may estimate the numbers at about two thousand, and perhaps about five per cent of our population is descended from them. So like in character were these settlers to the Loyalists who came later, and so thoroughly did they mingle with the newcomers, that it is very difficult to trace any features of language, government, etc., that we owe to them directly. From this period, however, we have derived some seventy of our place-names in use to-day, including the names of one county and several parishes, Sunbury, Maugerville, Burton, Gagetown, Hillsborough, Hopewell, Moncton, Sackville. That part

[1] Described in No. I. of this Series.

the western boundary of the province formed by the St. Croix and the north line from its source was fixed, at least in theory, in this period, and the present boundaries of some of the parishes mentioned above were determined in whole or in part when they were established as townships in this period. I cannot trace any custom, sport, words in our language, or other inheritances from this period.

The next and by far the most important period of New Brunswick history is the LOYALIST PERIOD. The story of the Loyalists has been told so well by Sir John Bourinot in his well-known book, as well as in brief in this series,[1] that it is needless to repeat it here. But everybody should know that the American revolution was due to the short-sighted obstinacy of King George the Third and some of his ministers. The Loyalists were those Americans who, while uniting with all their fellow-countrymen in condemning the oppression of Americans by the king, differed from them in their views as to the proper method of obtaining redress for their wrongs, holding that constitutional agitation and not armed revolt was the proper remedy. But when the force-party had succeeded in sustaining their views by appeal to arms, they stained their great victory by intolerance and oppression of their more conservative, but no less loyal, fellow-countrymen, and these had to flee to new homes. These were the Loyalists, the real founders of New Brunswick, her Pilgrim Fathers, her priceless accession. The Loyalists were a part of the flower of the American population and were on the average better educated, more regardful of law and order, and more valuable citizens than the people they left behind in the new states. From twelve to fifteen thousand of them came to New Brunswick, and it is safe to say that one-half of our population, including most of the best parts of it is descended from them. To this period we owe nearly everything that is best in New Brunswick to-day—the foundation of the province, its first division into counties and parishes, our laws, language, customs. In fact we owe to it so much that it is easier to describe our indebtedness by a process of exclusion,—by describing what we owe to other periods and attributing all else to this.

Following the Loyalist Period is another which may be called the POST-LOYALIST, extending to the present. In this Period there has been considerable immigration from England, Scotland and Ireland,

[1]Number 1.

and even from the United States. Probably some twenty-five per cent of our population is from these sources, but it has come so gradually and been assimilated so well, that, except for numbers, it has hardly produced any great effect upon our people as they are to-day. In this period, we have of course, developed some new customs, words, laws, etc., and have developed the province in very many respects.

Perhaps in this hasty sketch of our indebtedness to past periods, I have missed some things of importance, and if so, I hope that others will properly set them forth.

NICHOLAS DENYS.

By James Hannay, D.C.L.

The story of the rivalries and conflicts of Latour and Charnisay has been frequently told, but comparatively little has been written of their contemporary, Nicholas Denys, who was certainly a man of mark, and who enjoys the distinction of having written a book on Acadia which even at the present day can be read with interest. In these volumes, Nicholas Denys speaks to us still, while Latour and Charnisay are only known to us through the writings of others. Indeed, we are indebted in no small degree to Denys for what we know of the lives and characters of the two men we have named. Unfortunately the work of Denys is so rare that it is not available to the general public; but I am glad to know that a translation of it by Sir John Bourinot, is shortly to be published.

Nicholas Denys was born in France in the year 1598, and he came to Acadia with the Commander Isaac de Razilly in 1632, when the latter took possession of the country on behalf of the French King. Denys seems to have been well known to De Razilly prior to his voyage to Acadia, for he entered into partnership with him for the prosecution of the shore fisheries. De Razilly then dwelt at La Have, while the principal fishery was at Port Rossignol, the place now known as Liverpool, Nova Scotia. De Razilly and Denys had for a partner a Breton merchant of Auray, and a ship load of fish which was sent to him sold well. Denys afterwards sent the "Catherine," of two hundred tons, to Portugal with a load of codfish.

The vessel was under command of his brother Simon, whose title was DeVitray, and who afterwards became a captain in the French navy. DeVitray, however excellent as a commander, was not a good trader. He suffered himself to be defrauded of the proceeds of his cargo by the Portuguese and a ruinous loss was the result. A still worse misfortune was soon to follow, for Isaac De Razilly died in 1636. There is no doubt that the death of this man was the greatest misfortune that ever happened to Acadia, for it threw everything into confusion and brought on a civil war. It was particularly unfortunate for Denys; for it not only deprived him of the capital necessary to carry on his business with success, but also of the protection of a friend who was the master of Acadia. The colonization of Acadia by Isaac De Razilly, was under the auspices of that powerful association which Richilieu had founded, The Company of New France. De Razilly's death naturally led to a division of the authority which he had exercised, and Denys became governor of the whole coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Isles adjacent from Cape Canso to Cape Rosiers. It was a vast domain which the company had entrusted to his care, but without any white inhabitants except a few fishermen and the Jesuit missionaries who were settled at Miscou. Denys continued the shore fishery, and in connection with it erected two small forts—one at Guysboro and the other at St. Peters, in the Island of Cape Breton. He had also a fishing station at Miscou. Being a man of enterprise and ability, he soon began to do a profitable business, and would no doubt have become wealthy but for the troubles in Acadia in which he became involved.

We know very little of Denys' career in Acadia for many years; for while Latour and Charnisay were making war upon each other, Denys, who was far from the scene of the strife, was allowed to pursue his business in peace. But the capture of Latour's fort at St. John, in 1645, made Charnisay master of the situation and left him without any one in Acadia fit to oppose him. He soon proceeded to turn his attention to Denys who was occupying territory which he considered should be his own. Charnisay had obtained a new commission from the King as Governor of Acadia, and under the authority of this, captured Denys' forts, seized his goods, broke up his fishing establishments and ruined his settlers. Denys and his family had to leave the country and take refuge in Quebec.

Fortunately for Denys as well as for Latour, Charnisay was near the end of his violent and wicked career; for in 1650 he was drowned in the river of Port Royal, by the upsetting of a canoe. There is little doubt that if he had been anything but the hated tyrant that he was he would have been saved, for M. de la Varenne, writing from Louisburg a century later, relates the tradition in regard to his death. He says that "Monsieur D'Aunay, a French captain, with a servant, being overset in a canoe, within sight of some savages, they threw themselves into the water to save them, and the servant was actually saved. But the savage who had pitched upon Mons. D'Aunay, seeing who it was and remembering some blows with a cane he had received a few days before from him, took care to souse him so often in the water that he was drowned before he got ashore."

Charnisay's death enabled Denys to return to Acadia and resume the shore fishery at La Have. He also obtained from the company of New France a grant of all the territory from Canso to Cape Rosiers. This grant was made in 1653, and it was the intention of Denys to re-establish himself at St. Peters in the island of Cape Breton. But a new enemy of his interests soon appeared in the person of one Emanuel LeBorgne, who had been a creditor of Charnisay to a very large amount, and who now came to Acadia to take possession of all the dead man's property. As Charnisay had claimed the lands occupied by Denys, Le Borgne made the same claim and proceeded to dispossess the latter. Denys was busily engaged in founding a settlement at St. Peters when Le Borgne attacked him. Denys states that his people were then on shore clearing land, and that he himself had gone to St. Annes to see the harbor, when sixty of Le Borgne's men landed and made his people at St. Peters all prisoners. They also took possession of his vessel and its cargo which was valued at fifty thousand livres. Then twenty-five of Le Borgne's men were sent to lie in ambush on the road which Denys would take on returning from St. Annes, and as he was unarmed he was captured by this detachment and carried to Port Royal. As they passed La Have on the way back with their booty and prisoners, Le Borgne's men burnt down the establishment which Denys had there, not even sparing the chapel, which, with the fort and buildings was destroyed. Denys was placed in irons and confined in a dungeon at Port Royal, but he was liberated before the end of the year and went to France to obtain redress for

the injuries he had suffered. As a result of his efforts he received a confirmation of his grant and a commission from the king appointing him King's governor and lieutenant general "in all the country, territory, coasts and confines of the Great Bay of St. Lawrence, beginning from Cape Canso unto Cape Rosiers, the Island of Newfoundland, of Cape Breton, St. John, and other Islands adjacent." In the spring of 1654, Denys returned to St. Peters where he found his fort in charge of an officer whom Le Borgne had placed there. This person surrendered the fort to Denys on the grant of the company and the King's commission being produced. This ought to have ended the troubles of Denys, but it would seem that ill luck pursued him, for his fort at St. Peters caught fire and everything in it capable of being burnt was destroyed. His losses were so heavy that he was no longer able to maintain himself at St. Peters, but settled at the Nepisiguit near the site of the modern town of Bathurst. We may assume that the fact that the English had possession of most of Acadia, from 1654 to 1667, had something to do with his determination to remove from St. Peters. There he would have been exposed to constant attacks, but at Nepisiguit he was so far from the English colonies that he might hope to escape molestation. This was the case, and there he lived for many years in peace and comfort.

In his work, Denys thus describes his Nepisiguit property: "My plantation of Nepisiguit is on the shore of this basin at the distance of one league at the right of the entrance. At low tide a canoe could not approach it. I had to retire there after the burning of my fort at St. Pierre in the Island of Cape Breton. My house is flanked by four small bastions with a palisade, the pickets of which are eighteen feet high, with some pieces of ordnances in battery. The land is not of the best as there are rocks in some places. I have a large garden." The site of this fort and establishment can still be recognized. It is on the west side of Bathurst harbor, not very far from Bathurst village. Denys also founded a settlement on the Miramichi and established a fishery there. He returned to France in 1670 and left his son Richard in charge of the property. He was then seventy-two years old, and the next two years of his life seemed to have been devoted to the writing of his book, which was published in 1672. He did not go back to Acadia, but remained in France, dying there in 1688, at the great age of ninety years.

TRAITS OF INDIAN CHARACTER.

By Rev. W. O. Raymond, M.A.

The incidents here recorded are well authenticated and illustrate very fairly some of the characteristics of the aborigines of New Brunswick.

Indian Sagacity.

The following story found its way some years ago into the *Youth's Companion:*

Joshua Upham, of Massachusetts, was a prominent Loyalist, and, at the time of the Revolutionary war, a major in the mounted corps called the King's American Dragoons. After his arrival in New Brunswick he became one of the first judges of the Supreme Court.

On one occasion he was travelling through the woods in winter with an Indian for his guide. The snow was deep, and the Judge became at length so thoroughly exhausted that, sitting down, he directed the Indian to go on and get help, while he remained where he was. The Indian at first refused, but after much persuasion consented, on condition that the Judge should sit on a stump, which he pointed out, and if he fell off should immediately get on again. After some remonstrance the Judge promised to do as desired. He mounted the stump and the Indian disappeared. By and by the Judge fell asleep, and tumbled off the stump. He climbed up again, again fell asleep, and once more tumbled off. Then he understood why his Indian friend had made him promise to sit on the stump—namely, to prevent him from going to sleep and being frozen to death. When the Indian finally arrrived with help, he found the Judge still sitting on the stump, but with great difficulty keeping awake. He owed the preservation of his life to the sagacity of the red man.

Indian Superstition.

The late Edward Jack, of Fredericton, used to relate that while engaged in surveying, on one occasion he encamped with his party near Porcupine mountain in Charlotte county. One of the hands named Smith, climbed the mountain in quest of pine timber, and on his return told Saugus, an Indian, who was one of the party, that he had seen an old man on the mountain twelve feet high, with one eye, who called to him, "Where is Saugus? I want to eat him." The Indian was very badly scared at this intelligence. During the night an owl began to hoot over the camp, and filled poor Saugus with such

consternation that he woke up Mr. Jack to say that Smith's "old man" was coming. Next morning Mr. Jack offered Saugus two dollars to go up the mountain for a knife which Smith had left sticking in a spruce tree, but Saugus was not to be tempted by the bribe to take so dangerous a journey.[1]

Indian Endurance.

A young Maliseet Indian named Peter Loler,[2] who lived on the St. John river about thirty-five years ago, was noted in his time for swiftness of foot and powers of endurance. On a certain occasion he presented himself to the driver of the old four-in-hand stage coach for a passage from Fredericton to Woodstock, the distance being rather more than sixty miles. The driver was the celebrated John Turner, one of the most accomplished whips of his generation, and popular with all travellers. The stage coach was pretty well filled, the day was warm, and Turner after a brief consultation with his passengers declined the Indian's money, telling him in plain Saxon that "his room was better than his company." This angered Loler, who replied, "All right, John! Me be in Woodstock first!"

At 8 o'clock, a. m., Indian and stage coach left Fredericton together, and together they proceeded, and despite Turner's endeavor to throw dust in the Indian's face, the latter was always a little in advance. He stopped at every place the stage stopped to change horses (this occurred four or five times on the journey), and took his dinner with Indian solemnity along with the passengers at the "half-way house." As they drew near their destination, the Indian's savage nature seemed to assert itself; he ran like a deer, waving his cap at intervals, as he passed the farm houses, and shouting defiantly.

Turner now began to ply the whip in earnest, for he had no intention of allowing the redskin to beat him out. The passengers by this time had begun to wager their money on the result of the race, and grew wild with excitement. The Indian camping ground, three miles below Woodstock, was passed with Loler fifty yards in advance: but the camping-ground was not Peter's destination. He saluted it with a war whoop and hurried on. It was still early in the afternoon when the quiet citizens of Woodstock were aroused in a manner utterly unexpected. The stage coach came tearing into town at the heels of

[1] See Hannay's History of Acadia, p. 56.

[2] The Maliseet form of the French name Laurent (English, Lawrence).

an Indian running as for his life, John Turner plying the whip in lively fashion, and four very hot and tired horses galloping at their utmost speed. The finish was a close one, but the Indian was ahead. As soon as he had sufficiently regained his breath to speak, he walked over to where Turner was standing and philosophically remarked, "John! me here first!" Turner's answer is not recorded.

Our story should end here; but, alas for poor human nature, it remains to be told that the Indian was soon surrounded by a crowd of friendly admirers, and before the close of the day was gloriously —or rather *ingloriously*—drunk.

Indian Cruelty.

In the year 1745, a party of French and Indians captured a schooner lying at anchor near Annapolis, and the master of the vessel, William Pote, and others of those captured, were taken up the St. John river and carried as prisoners to Quebec. On their way they stopped at the Indian village of Aucpaque, the site of which is a few miles above Fredericton, where they had a most unhappy experience which we shall let Capt. Pote describe in his own words:

"At this place ye Squaws came down to ye edge of ye River, Dancing and Behaving themselves in ye most Brutish manner that is possible for humain kind, and taken us prisoners by ye arms, one Squaw on each side of a prisoner, they led us up to their Village and placed themselves In a Large Circle Round us. After they had Gat all prepared for their Dance, they made us set down in a Small Circle about 18 inches assunder and began their frolick, Dancing Round us and Striking of us in ye face with English Scalps that caused ye Blood to Issue from our mouths and noses In a very Great and plentifull manner, and Tangled their hands in our hair, and knocked our heads Together with all their Strength and Vehemence, and when they was tired of this Exercise, they would take us by [the] hair and some by ye ears, and Standing behind us, oblige us to keep our Necks strong so as to bear their weight, then Raise themselves their feet off ye Ground and their weight hanging by our hair and ears. In this manner they thumped us in ye Back and Sides, with their knees and feet, and Twitched our hair and ears to such a Degree that I am Incapable to express it, and ye others that was dancing Round if they saw any man falter and did not hold up his Neck, they Dached ye Scalps In our face with such Violence, that every man endeavored to bear them hanging by their hair in this manner, Rather than to have a Double Punishment. After they had finished their frolick that lasted about two hours and an half, we was carried to one of their camps."

Indian Humor.

Doctor Gesner relates the following story as told him in broken English by a Maliseet Indian, who was a great snuff taker:

"One time I go huntem moose; night come dark, rain and snow come fast; no axe for makum wigwam; gun wet, no get um fire; me very tired, me crawl into large hollow tree; I find plenty room, almost begin sleep. By and by me feelum hot wind blow on my face; me know hot bear's breath. He crawl into log too; I take um gun, she no go; I think me all same gone, all eat up. Then me thinkum my old snuff-box. I take some snuff and throw 'em in bear's face, and he run out; not very much likeum, I guess. Me lay still all night, he no come again. Every little while, bear he go O-me sneezum, over and over great many times. Morning come, me fixem gun and shoot em dead: he no more sneezum, no more this time."

Indian Friendship.

Benjamin Darling,[1] who was born at Marblehead in 1730, came to the St. John river in a small sloop some years before the commencement of the Revolutionary war. He used to trade with the Indians at Oromocto and also with those on the Kennebecasis. The Indians used to encamp on Keator's Neck, [2]Nauwigewauk, where in early times they raised corn and tobacco. Benjamin Darling was probably the first English-speaking settler on the Kennebecasis, and he became very friendly with the local Indian chief, from whom he bought Darling's Island for two bushels of corn, a barrel of flour, a grindstone, some powder and shot, with sundry knives and hatchets, etc. He built a house, the upper part of which served as a store-room for the Indian trade. After his wife's death, his daughter, Hannah, became his housekeeper. She had another young girl as her companion, and the two attempted to beautify their surroundings by the cultivation of flowers; but to this the Indians objected, as they also did to any attempt to clear and cultivate the land. On a certain occasion, Benjamin Darling, the "old white chief," and the Indian chief went together to the beaver dams, leaving the house in charge of the two girls. During their absence, an Indian attempted to carry off Hannah Darling's companion. The girl offered to go with him, but after

[1]The substance of this story was told me by Mr. John Darling, of Nauwigewauk, a descendant of Benjamin Darling. W. O. R.

[2] The well-known pic-nic grounds at Nauwigewauk is on Keator's Neck.

leaving the house cleverly eluded the Indian, slipped in again at the door and fastened it. The savage made several diabolical threats, whetted his knife and seizing a club advanced to batter down the door only to find himself confronted by the plucky girl with a loaded musket in her hands. She ordered him off the premises forthwith, and the Indian after glancing at her determined face slunk away. The old Indian chief was much incensed on hearing of this incident, and a few days later brought the culprit before the young woman with his hands tied and demanded of her, "Will we kill him?" To which she replied, "No, let him go." He was set at liberty and chased out of the neighborhood and forbidden to return under penalty of death.

The heroine of this story afterwards married one Christopher Watson, and is said to have attained the remarkable age of 108 years.

THE MAROONS IN NOVA SCOTIA.

By Arthur P. Silver, Esq., Halifax Club, Halifax, N. S.

When the Jamaica Maroons, terrified by the importation of Cuban bloodhounds, laid down their arms to General Walpole in 1773, they stipulated that none of their number should be sent off the island. The Jamaica House of Assembly, disregarding the terms of surrender, transported six hundred of the chief offenders to the shores of Nova Scotia. On an eminence eastward of Halifax overlooking the blue waters of Cole harbor, a few lichen covered rocks and the pit of a huge cellar mark the spot where for four years these turbulent negroes were domiciled in barracks, under some semblance of military discipline.

The authorities of Jamaica acted under the stress of a widespread consternation and terror, into which a cruel and bloody guerilla warfare of nearly a century had plunged the whole colony, and actually threatened its loss to the empire. They considered that the settling of the future of Jamaica justified their breach of faith. Who, then, were these rebels, marked by qualities which do not usually distinguish the negro race,—courage, endurance, activity, loyalty to their own kin? qualities which Englishmen never cease to admire, even in their

foes. The nucleus of this army of marauders was composed of the freed slaves of the Spaniards, who, when they reluctantly fled from Jamaica, exacted from the negroes they left behind an oath of eternal enmity to the English usurpers. They were re-inforced from time to time by fugitives of the fierce Coromantee tribe who looked down upon all other negroes and deeply resented slavery. They fortified themselves in the mountain strongholds whence they sallied forth to kill and destroy, and almost succeeded in making of Jamaica a second St. Domingo.

To understand their long and successful resistance to formidable military expeditions, from time to time sent against them, there must be considered, besides their fierce truculent nature, the inaccessible nature of the mountain fastnesses where they held their position. The history of the recent Afridi campaign has illustrated the difficulty of inflicting punishment on warlike mountaineers carrying on a guerilla style of warfare, even by a huge and well equipped military force. The Maroons of Jamaica, sustaining life almost without an effort on the exuberant growth of tropical fruits and vegetables, jealously guarding the only two or three sources of obtaining water, went to and fro among a maze of mountain paths, deviation from which meant destruction to their pursuers. On every hand huge natural pitfalls called "cock-pits," frowning precipices, impenetrable jungle growths of thorns and twisted "lianas," or rope-like creepers, assailed the advance of the inexperienced. No wonder that imposing expeditions sent against them again and again recoiled from the terrible odds which the tropical heat and the formidable character of the volcanic rocks cast against them. Repeated ambuscades kept the invaders in constant alarm. Woe to wounded captives, for whom there awaited torture and a cruel death at the hands of their ferocious enemies. Well was it for the white population that in the subsequent terrible negro outbreak of 1765 the Maroons took part against the other negroes, from whom they claimed a proud distinction in that they had never been slaves to the English. They behaved, it is true, like tigers tasting blood after a long fast, but their fury was happily diverted from Europeans.

After three or four years of peace, matters had reached a serious climax in 1773. Two Maroons had been caught red-handed stealing hogs, and were injudiciously sentenced to be flogged. The executioner

of the sentence was one of the despised negro plantation slaves. With characteristic comradeship the whole tribe made common cause with their insulted kinsmen and organized a bloody raid. Lord Balcarres, the governor of the Island, led out a strong force against them. Then there befell the usual deadly ambuscade, and two colonels, Sandford and Gallimore, with seventy-six soldiers, fell dead at the hands of unseen foes. Other disasters occurred in quick succession, when the idea occurred of "letting loose the dogs of war" on these marauders, in the shape of Cuban bloodhounds. There is no doubt that these fierce animals could have been effectually defied in their mountain strongholds, but a weak spot had been touched in their half-civilized Ethiopian minds. With all their courage these warriors were not free from the terrors which superstition and a wild untrained imagination exercise over all the African race. The mental picture of pursuit by huge blood-thirsty mastiffs proved overwhelming. As a matter of fact these dogs were trained never to "savage" a run-away unless he resisted, but to keep guard over the fugitive until the pursuers came up. To the delight and surprise of General Walpole they sent in a white flag and sued for a treaty.

Cowed by their imagination, these fierce banditti, who had kept Jamaica in a state of terror and ferment for nearly a century, who had inflicted defeat after defeat on well-equipped forces, laid down their arms. Sir John Wentworth afterwards said of them: "They mentioned the Spanish dogs as objects of terror, from the wonderful representations of them, but admit that they had never suffered by them, or even seen them; indeed I rather think they were ashamed at having been frightened by them, and that they would now be esteemed a ridiculous scare-crow."

The transportation of some six hundred of their most warlike spirits effectually broke their power in Jamaica. The question whether this desirable end was effected by quite fair means has long since ceased to haunt any living conscience. To the credit of General Walpole it is recorded that he disdainfully refused the costly sword which the Jamaica assembly voted him in reward for his signal services in terminating the war because of their breach of faith.

The first scene in the drama of the exile of the Maroons opens with their arrival at Halifax on board the three transports, the

"Dover," the "Mary" and the "Anne."[1] It is a bright mid-summer afternoon. No sooner have the anchors splashed into the blue depths of the harbor, while the canvas begins to flap idly under the breath of the languid summer breeze, than they are visited by Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, curious to see what manner of men these are who had so long contended successfully with greatly superior forces. Drawn up in line on either side the whole length of the ships, neatly uniformed, His Royal Highness was struck with their soldier-like appearance, and instantly conceived the idea that such a fine force of men were well adapted for military service.

As their royal visitor departed amid the strains of martial music and the salute of cannon, they lustily cheered "Massa Prince," or "Massa King's Son," whose visit they doubtless deemed a happy augury for their future.

A practical outcome of Prince Edward's interest in their welfare was their immediate employment on the fortification of the citadel then in progress. The energy and good-will with which they labored won for them golden opinions, and they were regarded as a valuable acquisition to the colony. The fortification known as the Maroon Bastion still commemorates their zeal and industry. No wonder that Sir John Wentworth, governor of the province, considered that he was justified in carrying out the instruction of the Duke of Portland, secretary for the colonies, "to settle the Maroons in Nova Scotia if it could be done without injury to the colony." How he subsequently deeply regretted this course remains to be told.

The Jamaica Assembly were delighted at getting these turbulent negroes off their hands. Altogether they had voted the sum of £46,000 for their sustenance, when, withdrawing their agents and commissaries, they washed their hands of the whole business and left these black men as a white elephant on the hands of His Excellency Sir John Wentworth.

Sir John's administration was marked by a restless but often unwise energy, unrestrained by the exercise of a sound judgment. He was thus often led into contradictory courses of action, and subsequently became involved in grave complications which led to his retirement. His dealings with the Maroons illustrate the weak side of his character as an administrator.

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[1] The date was July 22nd, 1796.

In spite of the protests of the Commissary of Jamaica, Sir John insisted on settling the Maroons *in a body* on an estate within five miles from Halifax. He flattered their vanity by creating captains and majors, who strutted about with insolent swagger in all the glory of cocked hats, scarlet cloth and gold lace, profoundly conscious of their newly acquired dignity. He sent an order to England for "forty gross coat and sixty gross vest white metal buttons, strong; device — an alligator holding wheat ears and an olive branch; inscription — 'Jamaica to the Maroons, 1796.'" He asked for an annual grant of £250 to provide for them a chaplain, whose services they treated with disdain, clinging to their heathenish Coromantee ceremonies and degrading Obeah superstitions.[1] In short he succeeded in raising too flattering hopes in their excitable imaginations, and the reaction resulting from their disappointment involved him in a painful and perplexing situation.

His subsequent disgust, heightened no doubt by the fact that his salary was attached for expenses incurred in their behalf, is shown in his letters to the Colonial Secretary. "From my observation of them neither Jamaica nor any other island would be long at peace nor secure from insurrection were these people among them. In fact they do not wish to live by industry, but prefer war and hunting. One captain complains that he has not a well furnished house and cellar to exercise hospitality, instead of which he must be content with a good farm and land to cultivate. Another says neither yams, bananas, cayenne pepper or cocoa will grow on his farm. A third, that there are not any wild hogs to hunt." They wished to be sent as soldiers to the Cape of Good Hope, or India. "Give us," they said, "arms and ammunition, and put us on shore and we will take care of ourselves." That is, Sir John explains, "they would murder

[1] This statement seems capable of modification. Rev. B. G. Gray wrote the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1798: "The Maroons are in number 467, half of whom are Christians." He had baptized at the close of 1797 twenty-six Maroon adults and twenty-nine infants, and reports others the next year. A considerable number of Maroon children attended his school and received religious instruction at his hands. (See Murdoch's History N. S., Vol. III, p. 158.) However, they were unstable; and Sir John Wentworth complained in 1799 that some person from Jamaica had poisoned their minds, inducing them not to go to church on Sundays—giving them feasts, liquor, horse races and cock-fights on that day—telling them that the king paid every one for going to church, and that they were cheated out of this pay by Sir John and their clergyman.
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and plunder all the inhabitants if they could only live in the woods all the year round." He calls the Maroons "a ferocious sanguinary people, inflamed with deep malice for the injurious breach of faith they conceived to have been exercised towards them, and the distresses they suffered before their arrival from a country which they supposed they had spared from ruin."

It is a curious picture presented by that huge barrack of mountaineer banditti out of employment. To support them in comparative idleness the slender resources of the struggling colony and the treasury of the British government are taxed to the extent of £10,000 a year. The dream that they might be effectively employed as militia, in event of an attack ever anticipated from the French fleet hovering off the coasts, has evaporated. Instead of that we read of a force of troops encamped near at hand to Maroon Hall to guard against mutiny or raiding. Their chaplain reports that, in spite of his efforts, "they worship false gods." Sunday is their chosen day for horse races, cock-fights and card playing. They range the woods fishing and hunting, and become a terror to peaceful inhabitants. They practice polygamy; they bury their dead with strange rites under a cairn of rocks, where they provide the ghost with a bottle of rum, pipe and tobacco, and two days' rations for his journey to the undiscovered country beyond.

Perhaps serious trouble was only averted by the quailing of their arrogant spirit under the severities of our northern winter. When their out-of-door wanderings became restricted by huge drifts of snow, and the forest trees groaned and trembled under cutting north-easters, it is small wonder that discontent became rife, and with broken spirit they demanded of Sir John, in the language of the Israelites of old, why they had been brought into this wilderness to die. We read of the unexampled severity of the winter of 1798, when the road from Halifax to Windsor became impassable from heavy snow storms; when the Prince ordered the troops to assist the magistrates in clearing the way; and on the evening of Sunday, 20th February, thirty-five head of cattle, that had been detained on their journey (forty-five miles) for near a fortnight, reached town in an emaciated condition. The sufferings of this memorable winter led the Maroons to look forward to any change as a relief. Fortunately an opening for them occurred in the colony of Sierra Leone, of which the authori-

ties were not slow to take advantage. This African colony, under the control of a company, had a few years previously received several hundreds of freed negro slaves from Nova Scotia, who had become exceedingly troublesome and unruly, and had attempted the life of their governor. The Maroons, from their proud spirit of independence, considered themselves the born enemies of all negroes who had been slaves to the English. Hence they were a desirable element to counteract their turbulent fellows. Great was the rejoicing in Halifax as the "Asia" sailed away with her freight of black freebooters, still further deteriorated by four years of idleness and petty strife. The foolish experiment of attempting to settle them in a compact body had cost nearly £100,000. On their arrival at Sierra Leone they found congenial work ready to their hands in the suppression of an insurrection among the Nova Scotia negroes. In a parliamentary submitted report two years later they are praised for their courage and activity, and described as proud of the character of their body and fond of their independence.

Here let us leave this savage but interesting people, where, in the intervals of cutting the throats of other negroes, they can bask in the welcome rays of the fierce tropical sun, and can execute the Coromantee war dance on their native heath. Sir John Wentworth marked it as one of the happiest hours of his life, when he watched the "Asia" standing out in the offing, bearing his troublesome protégés away to distant Africa, relieving his country from the Nemesis that in some form never fails to overtake the sin of slavery, and the inevitable retribution ever following outrages on humanity, white or black.

The sportsman following his game in the autumn woods occassionally stumbles across a few rude heaps of stones which cover their dead, or the crumbling ruins of Maroon Hall, now nearly concealed by the everlasting vitality of nature. These constitute the sol memorials of the four years' sojourn in Nova Scotia of the Jamaica Maroons.

THE FIRST SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG.

By Victor Hugo Paltsits, of the New York Public Library.

In the world's historic annals, the first siege of Louisburg deserves a place in the first rank of memorable martial achievements. The greatest event of King George's war, it was also the most signal master-stroke of the provincials during the English-American colonial regime. For Louisburg, fortified at very great cost, was the richest American jewel that had ever adorned the French crown.[1] The source of an enormous annual revenue for France from the fishery, it was as well advantageously situated for the protection of Canada, and proved a constant menace to Nova Scotia and New England. The destructive power of the French aroused the New Englanders. In a short time the enemy had ruined their fishery, destroyed Canso, thrice besieged Annapolis, and crippled trade and shipping.

Louisburg was built on a neck of land jutting out into the harbor, on the south-east of the island of Cape Breton, and was secured by ramparts of stone, thirty to thirty-six feet high, and a ditch eighty feet wide. On an island, in the entrance of the harbor, the Island Battery was stationed, which was garrisoned with 180 men, and defended with 30 cannon of 28-pound shot, two brass 10-inch mortars, and it had swivel guns upon its breastwork. The Grand Battery, with 28 cannon of 42-pound shot and two 18-pounders, lay direct across the entrance of the harbor. A light-house stood on a cliff opposite the Island Battery, and to the north of it was a careening place. But, withal, it was not so secure as was at first supposed. For some prisoners who had been captured at Canso in 1744, and who had spent some months at the fortress, reported, upon their return to Boston, that the garrison was mutinous, the provisions and reinforcements delayed, and portions of the ramparts defective.[2] The mortar for its masonry had been made with improper sand.[3] Such was the place against which, at a

[1] Rolt. *Impartial Representation*, vol. iv, p. 6.

[2] *Memoirs of the Principal Transactions of the Last War*, Boston, 1758.

[3] Pichon. *Genuine Letters*, p. 10.

singularly opportune time, the English colonists and the royal navy proceeded.

Various has been the ascription of the credit for suggesting this bold undertaking. But William Vaughan, of New Hampshire province, was, without doubt, one of the first to suggest it; and to Governor William Shirley, of Massachusetts Bay, must be awarded the honor of the first official act in the matter. He, with his characteristic enthusiasm, laid the plan before the legislatures of the colonies. The official body of Massachusetts, notwithstanding, and after some hesitancy, agreed to the expedition by a majority of only one vote. At least four thousand and seventy men were raised, of whom Massachusetts contributed 3,250, New Hampshire 304, and Connecticut 516.[1] Maine, then under the Bay government, raised nearly one-third of this whole army. Rhode Island, too, had equipped 300 men, who were, however, too late for active participation; and provisions from Pennsylvania did not arrive until after the capitulation.

The part borne by Maine evinces the wisdom of the choice of Colonel William Pepperrell as commander-in-chief. For in so hazardous an undertaking, volunteers could be enlisted only under the auspices of a man whom they loved and respected. Pepperrell bore an unblemished character, and was popular and resolute.[2] The day prior to his acceptance of his commission, he sought the preacher Whitefield's opinion of the expedition. His reply was not very optimistic. "For," said he, "if it pleased God to give him success, envy would endeavor to eclipse his glory."[3] However, upon entreaty, he gave to the expedition the motto *Nil desperandum, Christo duce*,[4] and preached to the men from I Samuel, chap. xxii, 2.

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[1] These are the figures usually stated, though we believe they are below the mark. The names of many of them are printed in *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, vol. xxiv, pp. 367-380, and vol. xxv, pp. 249-269; in *Coll. of Mass. Hist. Society*, Sixth Series, vol. x (Pepperrell Papers); and in Gilmore, *Roll of New Hampshire Men at Louisburg*, Concord, 1896. Gilmore says N. H. sent 502, of whom he has found 496; but Belknap, *Hist. of New Hampshire*, gave 350 men as that colony's quota, while another had suggested 354. A list of the commissioned officers, from the Registry in the British War Office, was printed by the Society of Colonial Wars. The Connecticut records are largely preserved at the State House in Hartford.

[2] There is a charming biography of him, written by Usher Parsons.

[3] Gillies. *Memoirs of Whitefield*, London, 1772, pp. 146 and 147.

[4] Nothing to despair of, if Christ be the leader.

The Massachusetts contingent sailed from the mouth of the Piscataqua in transports on March 24th, 1745, accompanied by several armed vessels. New Hampshire's quota had set out from Newcastle the previous morning. On April 4, agreeable to appointment, the fleet met at Canso, in Nova Scotia. But as the shore of Cape Breton lay environed in ice, they lingered at Canso for three weeks, until the obstruction was over. These were not idle days; for by drilling daily and capturing prizes they redeemed the time. The break in the ice occurred on April 29, and the winds and weather were propitious for a descent on the island. They, therefore, immediately set sail, and anchored in Chapeau Rouge, or Gabarus Bay, between nine and ten o'clock of the following morning, "about two miles from Flat Point Cove, where, being discovered by the enemy, a party of about 150 men was detached from Louisburg, under the command of Captain Morepang and M. Boularderie, to oppose their landing."[1] These French were met by about 100 New Englanders, and, in the engagement that took place, six were killed, several wounded and taken prisoners, and the rest put to flight; while of the English only two were slightly wounded.

Lieut.-Col. William Vaughan, at the head of a detachment of 400 men, marched on May 2nd to the north-east part of the harbor, behind a range of hills, and, burning the houses and stores of the enemy, so terrified those in the Grand or Royal Battery, which was nearly a mile off, that they spiked their guns and deserted their post the same night. "By the grace of God, and the courage of thirteen men, I entered the royal battery, about nine o'clock," was Vaughan's message to the general.[2]

Within twenty-three days after their first landing, the English erected five fascine batteries against the town. Many of the men were barefooted and ill-clad, and the nights were cold and foggy; yet against these odds they carried on their stupendous labor, dragging their cannon through a morass, in mud knee-deep. But in time many of them became diseased or fatigued, and courage gave place to murmuring. "If I were well at home, they should never

[1] *Letter from Shirley to the Duke of Newcastle*, London, 1746, p. 4.

[2] Quoted in Belknap, *Hist. of New Hampshire* (1831), p. 277; and also printed in *Coll. of the Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Sixth Series, vol. x.

find me such a fool again," was the way they gave vent to their feelings.[1]

The most advanced of the five fascine batteries was 250 yards off from the west gate of the town, so near that the English could load their cannon only under the fire of French musketry. Yet, from this station and the Grand Battery, now held by the provincials, the west gate of the town was destroyed, and a breach was made in the adjoining wall. Maurepas gate was shattered; the citadel was damaged; houses were demolished, and many French were either killed or captured.

The English made an ineffectual attempt against the Island Battery on May 26. Sixty of their number were killed or drowned, and 116 were made prisoners of war.[2] Nothing daunted, however, they were determined to become masters of that station, which they effected by the erection of a battery near the light-house, completing it by June 11. Cannonaded from this point, the French were struck with terror, and many of them left the place and ran into the water for refuge.

The fleet, under Commodore Peter Warren, had blocked up the harbor, and, by despatching ships upon cruises, captured several prizes. Its most valuable capture was the "Vigilante," a French man-of-war, on May 19th, after an engagement of several hours. She was a 64-gun ship; was commanded by the Marquis de la Maisonforte; and carried a rich cargo of cannon, powder and stores for Louisburg—the whole said to have been valued at £60,000.[3] This reverse bore hard upon the French governor, Duchambon, who despatched messengers to Nova Scotia, requesting the immediate succor of the army of French and Indians, under Marin, which was besieging Fort Annapolis Royal.[4] Marin endeavored to comply with the governor's orders, but was intercepted in Tatamagouche Harbor by Capt. David Donahew's sloop and two other ships, which annihilated those plans.[5] This exploit of Donahew was very material; for had Marin arrived during the siege, he would have harassed the

[1] *Original letter from Thomas Westbrook Waldron*, of New Hampshire, to his father, dated June 6, 1745.

[2] *Shirley to Newcastle*, p. 10.

[3] Rolt, vol. IV, p. 20. See also Drake, *French and Indian War*, pp. 209–211.

[4] *Coll. de MSS rel. à la Nouv. France*, vol. III, p. 218.

[5] *Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr.* New York, 1896, pp. 41, *ff.*

New England troops not a little, and Duchambon distinctly stated that Marin's failure to appear proved disastrous to him at a time when succor would have meant victory.

Meeting with so many reverses, and having his stock of ammunition greatly reduced, Duchambon determined to capitulate. He sent out a flag of truce on June 15th, requesting an opportunity to deliberate upon articles of capitulation. These he sent the following day, but being unsatisfactory to Pepperrell and Warren, they were rejected. They proposed other terms which the French accepted, and on June 17th Louisburg surrendered. Throughout the English-American colonies the success of the expedition was hailed with acclamation. The mother country awarded to Pepperrell the title and dignity of a baronet, and Warren was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue.

Political affairs too often lead into devious ways. The treaty of peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle on October 7, 1748. It was a "hasty and ill-digested affair, determining none of the points in dispute."[1] Cape Breton, the crowning conquest of the English in America, was returned to France in exchange for Madras.[2]

THE DEFENCE OF MACKINAC IN 1814.

By Lieut.-Col. E. Cruikshank.

After the surrender of the island of Mackinac to the British forces on July 17th, 1812, the greater part of the small garrison at St. Josephs was stationed there as the most defensible position of the two. The powerful tribe of Ottawas in the immediate vicinity had taken no part in the reduction of the place. Even after it was taken they still seemed to retain a predilection in favor of the Americans. A few days after the surrender of the fort, information was received of the invasion of Canada by an American army, which rumor considerably exagger-

[1] Wynne. *British Empire in America*, vol. II, p. 5.

[2] The historic sources for the first siege of Louisburg are quite fully stated in the bibliographic data of the following works: Bourinot, *Hist. and Descr. Account of the Island of Cape Breton*, Montreal, 1892; also first printed in *Trans. of the Royal Soc. of Canada* (1891). Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. History of America*, vol. V, pp. 434, *ff.*

ated. "This," Mr. Pothier wrote, "tended greatly to damp the ardor of the other tribes, and the very men whom Capt. Roberts appointed to a village guard were those who held private councils, to which they invited the Saulteaux, for the purpose not only of abandoning the British cause, but eventually to avail themselves of the first opportunity of cutting off the fort. This being rejected by the others, they suddenly broke up their camp and returned to their villages, with the exception of a few young and old men of little or no importance."

After the lapse of a few days the principal chiefs again came to the island where nearly two hundred Indians were assembled who were preparing to go to the relief of Amherstburg, and at a special council called for the purpose they not only declared their intentions of remaining neutral, but "reproached the commanding officer with having taken them too abruptly at St. Josephs; that their eyes were then shut, but now open, and that without them he could never have got up there, pointing to the fort; and from the general conversation at that time gave [him] to understand that the future possession of the fort depended on them."

Their arguments, however had little effect upon these Indians, who went away at once under Dickson's command, but arrived too late to be present at the surrender of Detroit. That remarkable success brought the Ottawas to their knees. "The Ottawas of the L'Arbe Croche village," Captain Roberts reported, "have repented of their errors, and have in the most humble manner implored forgiveness." He was soon after reinforced by a sergeant and twenty-five men of the Royal Veterans, and authorized to enlist a company of volunteers, which was designated the Michigan Fencibles. In November, 1812, a body of mounted men from Kentucky destroyed the French Canadian village of Peoria, on the Illinois river, and Roberts determined in consequence to maintain a body of trusty Indians upon the island to resist an attack from that quarter. About the end of February, 1813, he received an urgent appeal for supplies and assistance from the British subjects residing at Prairie du Chien. They forwarded to him a similar application from Wabasha, or *La Feuille*, the principal chief of the Sioux, and an intercepted letter and talk to the Winnebagoes from the American Indian agent, Boileau, who had lately returned from Washington with several chiefs, whom he had

induced to visit the president shortly before the declaration of war. The number of Indians dependent upon Prairie du Chien for supplies was estimated at 5,000 men, and the British traders added: "We join with them to beg that you will do your possible to succour us, being persuaded that the British government is not accustomed to suffer its subjects here, to the number of about 200, to perish."

Mr. Robert Dickson had opportunely arrived bearing a commission as special agent among the western Indians, and Mackinac became his base of operations. He lost no time in proceeding to Prairie du Chien by way of Chicago and Milwaukee, returning to the island on the 9th of June with 623 warriors, having sent another body of 800 from Chicago overland to Detroit. By that time Captain Roberts had become so ill that he was obliged to apply for leave of absence, and on September 14th Captain Richard Bullock, of the 41st Regiment, assumed command. About a month later the brig Nancy, hired as a transport from the Northwest Fur Company, which had been sent to Amherstburg for supplies, returned without a cargo, with the alarming intelligence that the entire British squadron on Lake Erie had been captured, and that both Detroit and Amherstburg were in the hands of the enemy. The Nancy had been attacked by a party of American militia after passing the St. Clair rapids, and was barely preserved by the presence of mind and skill of her master, Captain Alexander McIntosh. The safety of the garrison was in fact endangered from want of food, as they had but sixty-eight pounds of salt meat, and flour enough to last one month; but by purchasing every kind of provisions within reach, Captain Bullock succeeding in collecting a supply which he supposed would maintain his men until the end of February, and by catching fish and exercising severe economy he hoped they would be able to exist until the middle of May, when the usual fleet of canoes for the supply of the fur traders might be expected to arrive from Montreal. After consulting with Mr. Dickson, who had arrived on his way to the Wisconsin country, where he intended to winter, he recommended that six gunboats should be built at Matchedash Bay for the protection of his supplies, and asked for a reinforcement of twenty artillery-men, with four field guns and 200 infantry. He also recommended the construction of a blockhouse on the heights in rear of the fort. When this was done he thought the island might be defended with the assistance of 300

Indians. An officer and twenty-seven men of the Michigan Fencibles were detached with Mr. Dickson to occupy Green Bay during the winter, and the garrison was at once put on short rations.

The Governor General of Canada, being fully impressed with the importance of maintaining possession of Mackinac, lost no time in making preparations for the relief of the garrison as soon as Lake Huron became navigable.

"Its geographical position is admirable," he wrote to Lord Bathurst. "Its influence extends and is felt amongst the Indian tribes at New Orleans and the Pacific ocean; vast tracts of country look to it for protection and supplies, and it gives security to the great trading establishments of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies, by supporting the Indians on the Mississippi, the only barrier which interposes between them and the enemy, and which if once forced (an event which lately seemed probable) their progress into the heart of these companies' settlements by the Red River is practicable, and would enable them to execute their long-formed project of monopolizing the whole fur trade into their own hands. From these observations your lordship will be enabled to judge how necessary the possession of this valuable post, situated on the outskirts of these extensive provinces, is daily becoming to their future security and protection."

Lieut.-Colonel Robert McDonall, of the Glengarry Light Infantry, an officer of experience and tried courage, was selected to command the relieving force, and went overland from Toronto to the head of the Nottawasaga river, where it was proposed to construct boats for the expedition, about the end of February, with a party of shipwrights and seamen. The remarkable mildness of the season, which rendered it probable that Lake Huron would be navigable much earlier than usual, compelled him to abandon the project of building gunboats, and his men were employed in the construction of a number of very large batteaux only. A letter from Captain Bullock reiterating his apprehensions of great distress from want of food caused him to redouble his exertions to be ready to commence his voyage at the earliest possible moment. When the ice broke up on April 19th he began the descent of the river with thirty batteaux of the largest class, four of which were armed with a carronade each, and actually sailed from its mouth on April 25th. His force consisted of eleven

men of the Royal Artillery, six officers, and 130 men of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, many of whom were expert boatmen, and a lieutenant and twenty seamen of the Royal Navy. After an extremely stormy and dangerous voyage he succeeded in reaching the island of Mackinac on May 18th, with the loss of only one boat, the crew and cargo of which were saved.

"The difficulties which were experienced in conducting open and deeply laden batteaux across so great an extent of water as Lake Huron, covered with immense fields of ice and agitated by violent gales of wind," the Governor General observed, "could only have been surmounted by the zeal, perseverance and ability of the officer commanding this expedition. For nineteen days it was nearly one continued struggle with the elements, during which the dangers, hardships and privations to which the men were exposed were sufficient to discourage the boldest amongst them, and at times threatened the destruction of the flotilla."

Mr. Dickson arrived soon afterwards with two hundred Indians from Green Bay, and every effort was at once made to strengthen the defences of the island. The Americans were showing unmistakable signs of activity in several directions. Early in February a party from Detroit surprised a British trading-post on St. Joseph's river in Illinois, where they captured Mr. Bailey, a commissariat officer from Mackinac. A few weeks later they built Fort Gratiot at the entrance of the River St. Clair, and in May Prairie du Chien was occupied by a strong force which ascended the Mississippi from St. Louis. Information of the latter event was received at Mackinac on June 21st, and next day a chief of the Winnebagoes, who came to implore assistance, related that several Indians of his own tribe, and the wife of Wabasha, the Sioux chief, who was then at Mackinac, had been killed in cold blood by the Americans after being taken prisoners. This caused an universal outcry for revenge from the Indians on the island, who demanded to be led against the enemy.

"I saw at once the imperious necessity which existed of endeavoring by every means to dislodge the American general from his new conquest and make him relinquish the immense tract of country he had seized upon in consequence, and which brought him into the very heart of that occupied by our friendly Indians," said McDonall. "There was no alternative, it must either be done or there was an

end to our connection with the Indians, for if allowed to settle themselves in place, by dint of threats, bribes, and sowing divisions among them, tribe after tribe would be gained over or subdued, and thus would be destroyed the only barrier which protects the great trading establishments of the Northwest and the Hudson's Bay Company." He accordingly decided to make an effort to re-take Prairie du Chien at the risk of weakening his own position. A company of volunteers was quickly enrolled on the island for this purpose, to whom Bombardier Kitson, of the Royal Artillery, was attached with a small field gun. The whole of the Winnebagoes and Sioux assembled at Mackinac, numbering 155 warriors, were permitted to join the expedition, which set out on the seventh day after the news was received, under the command of Major William McKay, a veteran trader. At Green Bay he was joined by another company of volunteers, which increased his white force to 120 men; and during his advance by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, the number of Indians under his control was gradually augmented to 450. The journey of more than 500 miles was performed in nineteen days, and on the 17th July McKay unexpectedly surrounded the American fort, which surrendered forty-eight hours later with its garrison of three officers and seventy-one men.

Meanwhile a much more formidable expedition was in preparation by the American Government for the recovery of Mackinac. This consisted of detachments of artillery, and the 17th, 19th and 24th regiments of United States Infantry, numbering about five hundred of all ranks, and two hundred and fifty Ohio militia, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel George Croghan, who had gained much reputation among his countrymen by his successful defence of Fort Stephenson. Major A. H. Holmes, who had lately headed a successful raid into Canada, was appointed second in command. These troops were embarked in five of the largest vessels of their Lake Erie squadron, mounting sixty heavy guns and manned by five hundred sailors and marines. They sailed from Detroit on July 3rd, but did not succeed in entering Lake Huron until the 12th, when Cotgreave's regiment of Ohio volunteers was taken on board at Fort Gratiot, increasing the land forces to 1,000 men. Their course was then shaped for Matchedash Bay, but having no pilot familiar with those waters, and being enveloped in thick fog for several days, they abandoned the attempt to

reach that place and steered for St. Josephs, where they arrived on July 20th to find that the military post on that island had been abandoned some weeks before. A schooner belonging to the Northwest Fur Company was captured, and the boats of the squadron were despatched to destroy the Company's trading station at Sault Ste. Marie. On the 26th July the American squadron appeared off the island of Mackinac. An attack had been expected for some time, and McDonall had completed the fortifications on the high ground overlooking the fort, making his possession, as he affirmed, "one of the strongest in Canada." "We are here in a very fine state of defence," he added, "the garrison and Indians in the highest spirits, and all ready for the attack of the enemy. We apprehend nothing for the island but from want of provisions."

Foul weather prevented their ships from approaching the shore for several days, but on August 1st a party of soldiers was landed on Round Island, where they had a skirmish with some Indians. After carefully reconnoitring the harbor and approaches to the fort, Croghan finally decided to follow the advice of former residents of the island, whom he had brought with him as guides, and land his troops on the western side, where there was a break in the cliffs and the ships of war could anchor within 300 yards of the shore. From this place he would be compelled to advance through the woods for nearly two miles before gaining the cleared ground, where he hoped to occupy some favorable position from which he could assail the works by "gradual and slow approaches" under cover of his artillery, which he knew was very superior in weight of metal. Upwards of a thousand men, including a body of marines, were accordingly disembarked without opposition on the morning of August 4th, and began their march through the woods.

McDonall advanced to meet them with 140 men of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment and Michigan Fencibles, leaving fifty of the latter corps to occupy his intrenchments, but taking with him nearly an equal number of Indians, chiefly Folles Avoines from Wisconsin river. With this force he occupied a very favorable position in the woods, with a small clearing in front, over which the enemy was expected to pass in their march. It might, however, be easily turned, as there were roads on either side which he had not men enough to guard.

What followed is thus described by him:

On their advance my 6-pounder and 3-pounder opened a heavy fire upon them, but not with the effect they should have had, being not well manned and for want of an artillery officer, which would have been invaluable to us, as they moved slowly and cautiously, declining to meet me on the open ground, but gradually gaining my left flank, which the Indians permitted even in the woods without firing a shot. I was even obliged to weaken my small front by detaching the Michigan Fencibles to oppose a party of the enemy which were advancing to the woods on my right. I now received accounts from Major Crawford, of the militia, that the enemy's two large ships had anchored in the rear of my left, and that troops were moving by a road in that direction towards the forts. I therefore immediately moved to place myself between them and the enemy, and took up a position effectually covering them, from whence collecting the greater part of the Indians who had retired and taking with me Major Crawford and about 50 militia I again advanced to support a party of the Follis Avoines Indians who, with their gallant chief, Thomas, had commenced a spirited attack upon the enemy, who in a short time lost their second in command and several other officers, seventeen of whom we counted dead upon the field, besides those they carried off, and a considerable number wounded. The enemy retired in the utmost haste and confusion, followed by the troops, till they found shelter under the very broadside of their ships anchored within a few yards of the shore. They re-embarked that evening and the vessels immediately hauled off."

Captain Sinclair, who commanded the American squadron, said that, "it was soon found the further the troops advanced the stronger the enemy became, and the weaker and more bewildered our force were; several of the commanding officers were picked out and killed and wounded without seeing any of them. The men were getting lost and falling into confusion, natural under such circumstances, which demanded an immediate retreat, or a total defeat and general massacre must have ensued."

They had lost three officers and fifteen men killed, one officer and fifty-six men wounded, and two missing, while McDonall had not a man hurt.

The leaders of the expedition were too much dispirited by the result to renew the attempt, but decided to blockade Nottawasaga and French rivers in the hope of cutting off all supplies and starving the garrison into a surrender. In this project they met with no better success, as both the vessels detached for that purpose were eventually surprised and captured by a small party of troops and seamen from the island.

COMMENTS.

Montreal *Gazette:* What we said some time ago of the Old South Leaflets as affecting United States readers, is especially applicable to this experiment of Mr. Hay's, as affecting students of our own annals. At a nominal cost (ten cents a number) one is favored with a veritable treasury of tid-bits by our foremost historians, dealing authoritatively with what is most noteworthy in the records of the old regime and the new.

Kingston *Whig:* A great deal of information, valuable in an educational way and for storing in the literary archives of Canada, is being produced by this series. Canada requires national spirit and historical pride, such as is being coaxed into life.

St. John *Telegraph:* Mr. G. U. Hay is doing good work by the issue of these supplementary readings, and we congratulate him on their success. * * * The series may now be considered to be well established, and the youth of the Maritime Provinces are to be congratulated on the manner in which history is now being taught through this magazine and similar publications.

Truro *Sun:* All who are interested in the choicest bits of Canadian history should procure these leaflets.

Belleville *Intelligencer:* The table of contents is an attractive one, and filling as it does, a neglected niche in Canadian journalism, the new quarterly should receive generous support.

Montreal *Herald:* The series has been planned with the special object of giving interesting sketches on a variety of topics connected with our country's history. The result cannot fail to be of great benefit to the students of Canadian history.

St. Andrews *Beacon:* All these gentlemen (the writers for the leaflets) are well qualified by study and experience to write not only intelligibly, but truthfully, upon the subjects they have chosen. The historical accuracy of their contributions may, therefore, be relied upon.

St. John *Sun:* The whole publication is not only useful for the purpose designed, but contains historical studies of great general value. * * * Love of country is everywhere held to be a virtue in a people and love of country should be grounded in a knowledge of our country's history.

Victoria, B. C., *Colonist:* Something more than a legislative appropriation is necessary to secure the telling of the story of early Canada, so that it will impress itself upon the character of the people. All that can be done until the skilled narrator puts in an appearance is to collect as many of the data of the past as possible.

Charlottetown *Patriot:* The papers are very interesting and instructive. All who desire to know the history of their country will find the leaflets an up-to-date and delightful means of attaining this object.

Halifax *Presbyterian Witness:* These papers ought to be placed in the hands of senior pupils in our schools in order to accustom them to the pleasing exercise of looking into the sources of history, and the study of events as narrated at first hand.

St. John *Globe:* The text-books on Canadian history which from time to time have been prescribed in the public schools have not proved very successful. They have been dull and heavy reading and have been crowded far too full of minor facts and useless details. The EDUCATIONAL REVIEW has hit upon a happy plan to remedy this defect. It will issue a series of leaflets which will present the leading events and persons in our history in a clear and interesting manner. * * * The various issues of the leaflets will certainly prove an acquisition to the school as well as to private libraries.

Toronto *Globe:* The object of the publication is obviously to popularize knowledge and build up national sentiment.

S. E. DAWSON, LL. D., Ottawa: It seems to me to be a most promising idea.

Quebec *Mercury:* Number Six is a very interesting issue of a publication which increases in value.

Halifax *Herald:* These papers have enough in them to interest intelligent pupils, to teach them something of the sources of history and about authorities, and to awaken the spirit of research. That is something like a revolutionary advance, compared with history as it has usually been taught in schools. These readings should be in the hands of all pupils of the two advanced grades in all our public schools, and of some classes at the academies; and if such were the case the sale would be very large and the public benefit great.

Montreal *Witness:* The series * * * gains in interest as it reaches the sixth of the proposed twelve numbers. The matter contained is of great interest to students of Canadian history and geography. The most stirring incidents in Canadian history have been selected, many of them from original papers and documents not accessible to the general reader.