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THE
CANADIAN ANTIQUARIAN
AND NUMISMATIC JOURNAL



THE COUNTRY OF THE IROQUOIS

BY W. D. LIGHTHALL, M.A., F.R.S.L.



SPECIAL interest in the prehistoric life of the Iroquois race led me last year to take a hasty trip through their ancient country in the valley of the Mohawk River.

In July I went from Montreal to Syracuse, which is a few miles north of Onondaga, the capital of the Five Nations and seat of what was at first the most influential of the five tribes. At the north-west end of Syracuse lies Onondaga Lake, leading down to the Seneca and Oswego rivers by which the Onondagas reached Lake Ontario. Near the city are the celebrated historic Salt Springs, the outflow from chemical works connected with which gave a strange aspect of ice-like lakes to the place. To the west was the Seneca River, on the upper waters of which lay the territories of the Cayugas and of the numerous and powerful Senecas, while to the north-east lay the

large Oneida Lake near the old headquarters of the Oneida Nation, and further eastward the Mohawk territory stretching along the river of that name nearly as far as Albany on the Hudson. The Adirondacks separated all these peoples from Canada by a rocky wilderness, around which they made their way by the water routes of Lake Champlain, Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, when on the warpath.

At Syracuse I was particularly referred to two persons, the Revd. W. M. Beauchamp of Baldwinsville, a short distance beyond the north end of Lake Onondaga, who is recognized by all as the best authority on the whole subject and Honorable George S. Conover, of Geneva, who was particularly known for his researches upon the Senecas, but who I found had recently died.

The former is the author of the New York State Museum Bulletins on "Aboriginal Chipped Stone Implements" and "Aboriginal Polished Stone Articles" and also of two notable works "The Iroquois Trail" and "Indian Names." I did not meet him, but visited his house at Baldwinsville and was kindly shown by his daughter Miss Beauchamp many interesting articles of his collection, including masks, tortoise-shell rattles, pipes, many silver ornaments, and a number of photographs of people, scenes and customs on the present Onondaga Reservation near the ancient Indian town and its celebrated "Mountain". There such institutions survive as dead feasts, lacrosse, the wooden cornpestle and mortar, the grotesque masks and rattles, the hereditary elective

chiefships and the "white dog" paganism; and there lives the grand nephew of Chief David Cusick, author of the "Ancient History of the Six Nations."

Mr. Beauchamp has reprinted the latter rare book in full in his "Iroquois Trail." The present Onondaga, though some seven miles back among the low hills south of Syracuse is not so retired nor so high as the earlier towns, for all the earliest "Castles" were fastnesses far removed and on the tops and sides of hills. As safety and triumphs increased, the Iroquois tribes advanced their several towns to more accessible situations. From Onondaga eastward was the scene of the first journey of Hiawatha to found the celebrated League of the Five Nations, and it was of interest to me to note the various points of his journey, which may still be easily traced.

Leaving Onondaga Mountain and its palisaded "village" he passed down the Onondaga Creek, (which now enters Syracuse and is used to feed the Erie Canal); past the Salt Springs into the long low sandy-shored Lake Onondaga where the League was soon to be formed; thence by a short outlet which Indian tradition says he straightened by a marvelous cut of his paddle through the soil, into the Seneca River, flowing towards the Oswego River; thence up the Oneida River eastward to the great Oneida Lake, at the southeast end of which, far up Oneida Creek, to the Castle of Oneida, a nation situated up among the hills; and thence, after a short portage to the head waters of the Mohawk River itself,

flowing down a beautiful country of willow flats and pine-topped hills, from village to village until he reached the Mohawk towns west of Schenectady. Following this route I proceeded eastward along the New York Central Railway, noting some miles southward the lofty hills which caused the Iroquois and especially the Onondagas, to be styled the "Indian Highlanders"; forward along the south shore of Oneida Lake, (which however was some distance from the train) past Oneida to the beautiful City of Utica. There I was most hospitably received by Dr. Moses Bagg, of the Oneida Historical Society and shown over their beautiful Memorial Building, erected by the children of a lady friend at a cost of some \$50,000. In their Museum, besides portraits of much value and a growing library of appropriate books, are a number of Indian relics from the vicinity. The Mohawk Valley may be said to commence a few miles above Utica, where the Mohawk is a very small winding rural stream, "The brotherhood of kindred minds" led me next to stop on my way eastward, by introduction and recommendation of our archaeologist friend Dr. D. S. Kellogg of Plattsburgh, at Palatine Bridge, where I met Mr. S. L. Frey, laird of the Frey Patent of 1714, by whom and his agreeable family I was entertained in his historical mansion. Mr. Frey has rendered more service than any other person in the discovery and study of prehistoric Mohawk Sites and his collection showed at once the thoroughness of his dealings with the subject. He had already sent me a copy of his work

R. W. McEachlan, Treasurer, in account with the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal

For the year ending 18th December 1899.

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BALANCE FROM 1898	\$ 161 45
Unexpended appropriation.	10 00
	\$ 171 45
MEMBERS FEES for 1898	21.00
" " " 1899	669.00
" " " 1900	33.00
" " " Entrance	50.00
	773 00
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	1173 00
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In Box	42 67
	52 67
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MISCELLANEOUS, commission	6 88
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Antiquarians	2 00
Rent.	4 00
	27 88
	1450 00
Balance brought down	145 65
	1450 00
	MAINTENANCE
	Salary T. O'Leary \$ 399 60
	Water Tax 29 10
	Rent 1 00
	Fuel 240 40
	Light 9 06
	Printing 38 25
	Stationery 8 85
	Postage 65 01
	Commission Members Fees 38 65
	Insurance 24 75
	Sundries 45 08
	899 75
	EXPENSES
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	" Excursion 14 90
	18 90
	ANTIQUARIAN
	Printing 145 00
	Postage. 11 65
	156 65
	REPAIRS
	72 75
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	" Paintings 20.00
	73 05
	Museum, Glass Cases 48.50
	" Objects 3.00
	51 50
	Library Binding 24.75
	" Books. 7.00
	31 75
	156 30
	Balance on hand 145 65
	1450 00

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Montreal, 18th December 1899

"The Mohawks; an enquiry into their origin, etc." In this he carefully describes the various sites examined by him, putting together the historical references to them, comparing the objects found, (especially with a view to their ages) and appending notes on the recently discovered *Journal* of their earliest European visitor Arendt Van Corlaer, in 1634. One of the chief conclusions arrived at is that the Mohawks did not arrive in that country until not long before European intercourse began, only four known sites showing exclusively Indian relics, and of even these three are disputed. Such sites were moved from time to time when wood failed or from other causes so that long occupation would have left them numerous. Mr. Frey's second conclusion is that the Mohawks are the Indians of Hochelaga visited by Jacques-Cartier in 1535, a conclusion based partly on the recent appearance of the race in the Mohawk Valley and partly on the admitted identity of language, institutions and relics between the two.

"What had become of those people?" he says "An overwhelming force of wandering Algonquins had destroyed their towns: To what new land had they gone? I think we shall find them seated in the impregnable strongholds among the hills and in the dense forests of the Mohawk Valley."

The collection in Mr. Frey's "den" was very interesting to me in this connection, for, through a more learner in the subject, I was sufficiently familiar with the outlines, and was the fortunate possessor of some of the rare old relics of Hochelaga which

are of such value to archaeology. From the identity of the objects and especially the patterns of pottery, I was ready to agree with the theory of the identity of the two people, with certain qualifications. The *Journal of Van Corlaer*, which is a document of a value similar to that of the earliest Jesuit *Relations*, was discovered in Holland by General James Grant Wilson, the President of the New York Historical Society, and published by him in the *New York Independent* in 1893, and more recently in pamphlet form. Mr. Frey took me across the river to Canajoharie to meet Mr. A. G. Richmond, an authority like himself on Indian relics, and an amateur in the true sense. He is charged by the State, on account of his love of the subject, with the purchase of collections and printing of bulletins for the State Museum at Albany, a work to which he devotes much of his leisure in the intervals of a large banking business. To enter his house is like an Aladdin's dream for the student of Iroquois archaeology. What seems a large boulder on the lawn is a grooved arrow-straightener. As you stand on the porch, the very mortar of the external walls exhibits a profusion of arrowheads. A number of rare masks and other objects face you in the hallway. In the dining-room the generous host invites you to "help yourself" from a washbowl full of arrowheads from South Carolina. In the smoking-room, every space of the walls and cabinets is filled with finely mounted relics of every description, great perfect jars of Mohawk pottery hanging overhead, wampum belts, the finest

of sets of all known tools and objects of stone, horn, bone, pottery, wood and copper. Nothing can be mentioned without the genius of the place handing down or pointing to a rich group of specimens, and producing for comparison the companion object as made by European Cavemen, Esquimaux, Nahuas, Moundbuilders, and so on. Numerous perfectly unique objects of course are present, and an "overflow collection" takes up a good share of the attic. Larger collections I think exist, but it is difficult to believe that anything nearly so rare as Mr. Richmond's collection, is elsewhere to be found in the Iroquois field.

The rest of my journey was spent in a rapid run down the Mohawk river, noting the growth of the stream, the fertile flats and their willows and elms, the hills, their vegetation and rock formations, and trying to picture the possible sites of prehistoric fastnesses, and the progress of Hiawatha down the waters on his great mission.


With stops at Johnstown to see Johnson Hall, the residence of Sir William Johnson, and at Schenectady to look at "The Great Flat" chosen by Van Corlaer for his "freeburgh," my trip through the Iroquois country closed at Albany with a glance at the warclubs, bows, native hemp and other relics in the State Museum.

THE WAR OF 1812-14

BY F. W. CAMPBELL, M. D.

Deputy Surgeon General, late R. R. C. I.

(Continued.)

N the 27th of May, the American force now augmented to between 7 and 8,000 men, effected a landing about a mile from the fort, in spite of a very vigorous resistance from 250 Militia men, and 40 Indians. They were, however forced back upon the main body. Vincent and his men did all that brave soldiers could do to oppose the advance; but after a desperate struggle of three hours against odds, in which both officers and men suffered severely, he determined to retreat to save the remainder of his men. He left 350 regular troops and 85 Militia, killed or wounded on the ground. Fort George with guns spiked fell into the hands of the enemy. Vincent retreated upon the strong position of "Beaver Dam." Here he was reinforced from Fort Erie and Chippewa, and supported by a small force of the Royal Navy, he reached Burlington heights in safety, and established himself in a strong position, on what is now part of the City of Hamilton, to await orders from Quebec. Meantime a demonstration was made from Kingston upon Sacketts Harbor. On the same day that York fell, a half dozen large and a few smaller vessels sailed from Kingston, with 750 troops. Sacketts Harbor was reached about noon, but though no sign of resistance was visible, and the men were actually

in the boats, the landing was without apparent reason abandoned, and the vessels left to hang about till two days later, when it was gallantly effected, and the American regular troops routed and driven into their stockaded barracks and fort. Everything promised that this important stronghold would fall into the hands of the British, when Prevost, who is by nearly all writers, styled the evil genius of the Campaign, ordered a retreat, against the earnest protest of Colonel Drummond of the 10th Regt. Even the wounded, three of whom were officers, were deserted, and this though the re-embarkation took place in good order. This expedition was a shock to his reputation from which he never recovered. Though Dearborn had not showed any particular energy in following up his successes at York and Niagara, yet he felt the necessity of dislodging Vincent from his position on Burlington heights. On the 5th of June, Vincent was apprised of the advance of an American force of 3,500 men, under Brigadiers Chandler and Winters. Colonel Harvey, who had just arrived to assume the position of Deputy Adjutant General, offered to lead a night attack against the approaching force, in pursuance of his policy of "bold offensive operations." It was most successfully carried out at Stoney Creek. The enemy were taken unawares. The engagement lasted about an hour and a half, when the American army was completely demoralised. It destroyed its baggage and retreated to where the town of Grimsby now stands. The British retired at day light, in good order, with a hundred prisoners, which included Gen-

erals Chandler and Winters. Several guns were also captured. This successful attack on a force numbering five times its assailants, rallied the discouraged defenders of Canada and for the time turned the fortunes of war, saving Kingston and the Niagara district. The American troops now thrown back on to the edge of the frontier at Fort George, determined to surprise the British depot at "Beaver Dam." This attempt was frustrated by the gallant exploit, of a brave woman, Laura Secord, wife of a Militia officer wounded at the battle of Queenstown Heights. Hearing of the intended attack, she undertook a perilous journey of twenty miles through the woods, in order to warn Fitzgibbon, the officer in command. The timely warning which he received, enabled him to concentrate his forces, so that, with about three score regulars and 250 Indians, he was able not only to repulse the attack, but also to capture the entire attacking force of 542 men, two field pieces, two ammunition wagons, and the colors of the 14th U. S. Infantry. This brilliant exploit was followed early in July by dashing and successful sallies on Fort Schlosser and Black Rock. In the latter, where Colonel Bishopp the British Commander lost his life, the British burned the Barracks, Naval Arsenal, and a fine schooner. In the meantime things were going badly with the British, both on Lake Erie and the Western Canada peninsula. On the Lakes, Sir James Yeo was in command of the Navy, but the means placed at his disposal were utterly inadequate to enable him to maintain that supremacy which was so essential to

the defence of Canada. On the 11th of September, an engagement took place between the two navies, the preponderance being very largely in favor of the Americans. The engagement lasted five hours, when the British surrendered, every vessel had become unmanageable, every officer killed or wounded and one third of the men wounded. On the American side, the loss was 123 killed or wounded, out of a force of 600 men. This defeat was a fatal one for General Proctor. It destroyed his last hope, and ruin or retreat seemed his only alternative. He was without supplies or necessary clothing and disease was rife among his men. Amherstburg was practically defenceless, as it had been stripped of guns and ammunition to equip the fleet. He therefore decided upon destroying the forts at Detroit and Amherstburg and retreating on Burlington Heights. Tecumseh and his Indians protested but finally yielded, and adhered to the falling fortunes of their British allies with noble and unwavering constancy. The retreat began on the 27th of September, and from the careless way in which it was conducted it was evident that Proctor did not expect the American force to follow him. The bridges were left standing, the men were badly and irregularly fed, orders were absent or conflicting. The soldiers were utterly dispirited by the absence of any plan or energy at Head Quarters and were in no condition to fight even equal numbers certainly not a vastly numerically superior force.

The American troops unencumbered, rapidly gained on Proctor's force and came up to it, two miles

from a village of christian Indians, called Moravian-town. The relative strength of the forces was Americans 3,500 of whom 1,500 were mounted riflemen. British about 500 and 890 Indians under Tecumseh. The charge of the Americans soon dispersed the small band of regulars, and though Tecumseh and his men thus left unsupported fought gallantly, they were eventually forced to give way with the loss of their noble chieftain. Only about 50 escaped, the remainder were taken prisoners. Proctor with about 250 men remaining, managed to effect his retreat to Burlington Heights. His military career was by this, the saddest reverse of the war, closed forever. It however awoke in the Canadian people a spirit of more intense and dogged resolution to defend their country to the last. On the appearance of Proctor at Burlington Heights, Vincent whose Head Quarters was some seven miles from Fort George, broke up his camp, and joined him, determined to make a last stand in defence of the Western Peninsula, should the American force, make its appearance. Fortunately it was recalled to Detroit. Meanwhile on the Atlantic, British and American men of war had been engaged with alternate success and defeat on either side. About the same time the Americans tried to capture Isle aux Noix on the Richelieu River, 12 miles above St. Johns, but failed. This was followed by reprisals on Plattsburgh and Burlington by the British. In September a body of 8,000 men was collected at Sacketts Harbor, having in view the descent of the St. Lawrence, and the capture of Montreal. The em-

barkation took place on the 17th of October, and consisted of four Brigades. This was known at Kingston in a few hours, whence 8 gun boats, and a Military force of 900 men and 3 field pieces, followed the American flotilla. The American force landed near Prescott, and continued their march along the shore, their boats cruising close to American side. The General commanding the American troops was named Wilkinson, whose character and sobriety is bitterly attacked. Lt. Colonel Morrison of the 89th was in command of the troops sent from Kingston in pursuit. He debarked his troops at Iroquois, and continued the pursuit by land. On the 11th November he came up to Boyd division of 2,500 men and six field guns at a point half way between Morrisburg and Aultsville, known a Chryslers farm, and considering the site advantageous, offered battle. Wilkinson seems to have supposed that Boyds division would alone, be sufficient to meet the British. The engagement began shortly after two o'clock, and was exceedingly sharp. By 5 o'clock, the Americans were in full retreat, in fact were fast becoming a disorderly rout when a re-inforcement of 600 men arrived, too late to do more than give confidence and safety to the flying troops, who took to their boats and hid their flight in the darkness of that November night. The losses were British 22 killed, 157 wounded, 12 missing; Americans killed 102, wounded 237. About 100 prisoners were taken but there was no attempt at pursuit, the British being worn out with fatigue, and having neither cavalry or reserve. The day previous

to this battle, Wilkinson had sent forward to Cornwall to seize the government stores, a division of over 3,000 men under General Brown. In the meantime Lt. Colonel Morrison continued his advance. On the 12th November, the main American army formed a junction with Brown's division, and about sunset on this day he heard of the defeat of Hamptons force at Chateauguay. He at once determined to relinquish the proposed attack on Montreal, and began his retreat. He sailed with his flotilla up the Salmon river and went into winter quarters at French Mills, now Fort Covington. Here sickness and famine preyed upon his men until February, when boats and barracks were burned and the place abandoned, part of the force going back to Sacketts Harbor, while Wilkinson led the remainder to Platsburgh.

The importance and effect of this engagement cannot be over estimated. It was "the battle of Montreal" says one writer. By diverting the expedition from this city it completely frustrated every object for which it was formed. For a mere handful of men to defeat the largest hostile army that has ever set foot on Canadian soil, added greatly to the prestige of British and Canadian arms. We now turn to Eastern Canada, now the Province of Quebec, and for a few moments I desire to allude to the part the Roman Catholic Clergy played in this war. The head of the church was the Rev. Father Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, and born in Montreal in 1763. He was intently loyal the British Crown. In an address, which he made at the opening of

the war he said : " In considering the vexatious tricks organised against the church and people of Canada, by chiefs who were sent from the Court of Louis the 14" he frankly admitted that under the English Government, the Catholic Clergy and rural population enjoyed more liberty than was acceded to them before the conquest. After having praised the English Nation which he said had generously welcomed the French ecclesiastics, hunted out of France by the Republicans of 1792, he added " that the capitulation as well as the treaty of 1763 were so many new ties of attachment to Great Britain and that religion itself would gain by the change of domination." Holding such sentiment he issued an episcopal *mandement*, which was read in every church. In it he said " it is to you belongs the task of opposing yourselves like a wall to the approach of the enemy. They will cease to be formidable, when the God of battles fights on your side, under his holy protection, march to combat, as to victory. Sustain your reputation for obedience, for discipline, for valour, for intrepidity. Your confidence will not be vain, if in exposing your lives for the defence of your country and your hearths, you take care before all things to make your peace with God." These sentiments of the Bishop were enforced with earnestness by the clergy every where, and the result was that recruiting was most successful. On the 22nd of September 1813, Hampton, who was in command on Lake Champlain entered Canada at Odelltown, with 5,000 men. Finding his avance opposed by the outposts of

DeSalaberry, he retraced his steps and made a fresh advance by the roads leading northerly to Chateauguay. DeSalaberry with a force of 300 Canadian troops advanced to oppose him at Chateauguay, where he fortified his position with a block house and an *abattis*. Here he was unexpectedly re-inforced by McDonnell of the Ogdensburgh force. On the 28th of October two columns of the enemy 7000 strong, advanced from opposite points with the intention of surrounding and crushing the Canadians. It is needless, in fact impossible for me to enter into details of the fight. I would say however that when the first line of the Voltigeurs was driven back, De Salaberry remained with a small drummer boy, who continued sounding the advance. McDonnell also by an adroit disposition of the buglers in the woods, sounding the advance at great distances apart, induced the foe to believe that a numerous force was advancing in different directions, while a few Indians, who were in the Canadian force, added to their dismay, by hideous yells. The result was that the American column broke and fled leaving, the field and the honors of the day to the little force which with two or three exceptions, was entirely French Canadian. Among the French Canadian officers severely wounded, was Capt. de Bartach, whose daughter married the late judge Monk, and is the mother of the present member in the Dominion Parliament for Jacques-Cartier. This brilliant exploit completely frustrated the projected attack on Montreal by the combined forces of Hampton and Wilkinson.

Meanwhile Harrison's troops had been pillaging the settlers in the neighborhood of Fort George. He was succeeded by McClure who continued his policy of driving the peaceful inhabitants from their homes. Colonel Murray with 378 of the 100th Regt. and a few Indians and Volunteers, advanced against him with a view of checking his operations. McClure retreated and was followed by Murray to the immediate vicinity of Fort George. He then determined to retire to the American side. Before doing so he burned the village of Niagara, only giving an hour's notice, thus leaving 400 women and children houseless on a cold December evening. Murray at once seized Fort George. The Americans left behind them a number of heavy guns which they had mounted, magazines of shot and ammunition, and camp equipage for 4,500 men. Murray then determined to cross the river, and by a night attack capture the American Fort Niagara. The expedition landed on the American shore, 3 miles above the fort at 4 o'clock, on a very dark December morning. The advance was quickly made, and when the fort was reached it was surprised by a bayonet charge and captured. With a loss of only 6 killed and 5 wounded the British captured a fort, mounting 17 guns, took 318 prisoners captured 3,000 stand of arms and large quantities of commissariat stores. The Royal Scots and the 41st Regt. under Drummond and Riall, pushed on and took Black Rock after a sharp contest. They pursued the American militia to Buffalo, which was captured and burned. The British retired and on their way

burned the village of Black Rock, as a retribution for the burning of Niagara by McClure. As the result of this foray the British left the whole American frontier from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie a desolate scene of ruin. Thus the campaign of 1813 closed with the preponderance of success largely on the side of the British and Canadian forces. The invaders had not yet secured a position on Canadian soil, with the exception of Amherstburg, for the loss of which, more than an equivalent had been gained by the possession of Fort Niagara. On the other hand the Americans with their seaboard blockaded by British men of war, their commerce paralysed, their taxation increased, felt that the war they had forced upon Canada was pressing severely on themselves. The campaign of 1814 was opened by the American army under Wilkinson, advancing, on the 17th March, from Plattsburg, on the village of Champlain with a force of 4,000 men. A brigade, under General Macomb, was thrown into Swanton and then took possession of the village of Phillipsburg, a mile within Canadian territory, but soon rejoined the main body which advanced on March 30th, against Lacolle Mill. This was a small stone building on the Lacolle River, with a shingle roof, and defended by extemporised wooden windows barred by beams and loopholed for musketry. It was garrisoned by about 180 men, and its capture was considered so certain that a detachment was sent to the rear to cut off the escape of the defenders. Just as the engagement commenced a reinforcement of two companies of the 13th arrived

from Isle aux Noix, after a terrible march through slush, often wading through water up to their knees. This brought the total British force up to 340 men. A bridge that crossed the Lacolle river, below the Mill, led to a small house, which by means of logs, made into a breast work, was converted into a block-house. With the exception of a small clearance, these buildings were surrounded by woods. There was a foot of snow on the ground. The Lacolle River was still frozen to within a short distance of its junction with the Richelieu. The attack began at half past one, by an attempt to flank several pieces of artillery, but after repeated trials was abandoned. Later it was renewed and a 12 pounder, a 5 pounder and a five and a half pound howitzer got into position, when a cannonade of the mill began, which was briskly replied to by musketry. This was continued for several hours, during which the two companies of the 13th stationed in the woods, several times charged the guns, but eventually were compelled to retire into the block-house. During one of these charges, the American artillerymen were forced from their guns, but the odds were too great for anything of this kind being more than a temporary success. Though the mill was struck several times and somewhat damaged, though the ammunition was scarce there was no sign of surrender. Dark coming on the fight ceased, and the American force retired. The British commander could not understand this movement. Although he felt the strength of the force which attacked him, he could scarcely have conceived that

it was 4,000 strong. He therefore remained on guard all night, as he thought the movement was a feint to draw him from his position. Expecting an attack in the morning, he, during the night, brought up from the gun-boats, frozen in the river, two 18 lb. carronades which he posted at the block-house. With the coming morning there was no enemy in sight. The truth is the United States forces were exhausted by the cold and fatigue. Moreover they thought that without heavy artillery the place was impregnable. In the condition of the roads, such guns could not be brought forward. The entire American force retired to Champlain, and later the major part was ordered to Plattsburg. The British loss was 11 rank and file killed, 2 officers 1 sergeant and 43 rank and file wounded, and 4 missing, one Indian killed and one wounded. The loss on the part of the United States forces was 13 killed 128 wounded 13 missing. In the meantime the British force on this frontier, at St. John and Isle aux Noix, had been raised to about 1,000 regular troops and 450 Militia. They were however kept entirely on the defensive and the Americans were allowed to proceed in the work at Vergennes, on two vessels. So satisfied were they that an attack was intended by the British, that 500 men were brought thither from Plattsburg for their protection. When they had been launched however, Capt. Pring with two small gun-boats made a demonstration against them, which being unsupported by a land force turned out a failure. Prevost, is held responsible for this. He likewise refused to allow Sir George Drummond to attack Sackett's Harbor which

was considered necessary, to break the power, of the Americans on Lake Ontario. He was however, induced by him to agree to an attack on Oswego, which had a well defended fort. It was from this place in 1760 that Amherst sailed down the St. Lawrence, landed at Lachine, marched into Montreal, camped on the site of the priests farm on Sherbrooke street and took possession of Montreal. The British fleet, consisting of 2 frigates, six others vessels and eleven gun-boats, and carrying 1,080 soldiers sailed from Kingston on the 4th of May and on the morning of the 6th the troops were successfully landed under a hot fire from the batteries, and the discharge of 500 muskets. Advancing steadily up the hill under this destructive fire, the British gained the summit to find the defence abandoned, and the defenders in flight. Within 10 minutes from their entry the Union Jack was raised on the flag staff amid the enthusiastic cheers of the soldiers. The British lost 19 killed and 62 wounded, among the former were 2 officers and among the latter 6 officers. The Americans lost 6 killed, 38 wounded and 23 missing. Sixty prisoners were taken. Nine guns and several craft, with large stores of provisions were captured of and a large quantity of ammunition destroyed and the barracks burned. Chauncey, in command of the American fleet on Lake Ontario, was next blockaded at Sacket's Harbor, and part of his expected supplies intercepted by gun-boats, though an attempt to pursue a convoy, retreating into a creek in that neighborhood, ended in defeat, with heavy loss and the surrender of 120 men.

(To be continued.)

CHATEAUGUAY

QUI EST "TEMOIN OCULAIRE", ET SA DESCRIPTION
DE LA BATAILLE EST-ELLE CORRECTE ?

PAR L'HON. JUGE BABY



QUELQUES jours après la bataille de Châteauguay, apparaissait dans un journal du temps, une relation détaillée de ce qui s'y était passé. On jetait sur toute l'affaire un jour qui ne permettait plus les suppositions et les insinuations, la situation était clairement définie et la part d'éloges revenant à ceux qui y avait droit indiquée.

Cet écrit tout naturellement produisit dans le public une véritable sensation, et on se mit de toutes parts à en rechercher l'auteur. Les suppositions allèrent leur train, va sans dire, et la paternité en fut accordée à plusieurs; mais parmi les initiés, dans la majorité des cas, on indiquait un jeune homme de grand mérite du nom d'O'Sullivan, qui avait agi auprès de de Salaberry en qualité d'aide-de-camp, et dont la bravoure et le sang-froid durant l'action avaient été fort remarquables. Il parvint, plus tard, par ses superbes talents, à la haute charge de Juge-en-Chef de Québec. C'était un protégé des Messieurs de Saint-Sulpice de Montréal, et il mourut en 1840. Peu à peu, on s'habitua à le considérer comme tel. Cependant, les années s'écoulèrent, et quarante ans plus tard, les doutes avaient repris naissance dans les esprits, et l'auteur de "Témoin Oculaire" était à peu près oublié.

C'était en 1852, un autre jeune homme fraîche-

ment sorti du collège, rempli d'enthousiasme pour l'histoire de son pays et d'indignation contre ceux de ses aînés qui lui semblaient la négliger, était à la recherche de cette relation dont il avait quelquefois entendu parler au foyer. Il voulait la republier à l'occasion du prochain anniversaire de la bataille, et réveiller ainsi l'esprit public sur ce que le Canada devait à de Salaberry. Par un singulier hasard, il s'en ouvrit à son chef de bureau qui, fils d'un brave officier des Voltigeurs, avait en sa possession le journal français qui la contenait. De la meilleure grâce du monde M. Schiller la lui passa, et le 26 octobre suivant, "La Minerve" reproduisait la relation toute entière, précédée d'un court article signé "Castor," faisant un chaleureux appel aux Canadiens en faveur d'un monument en l'honneur de de Salaberry, notre "Héro," sur le champ de Châteauguay.

De même qu'à sa première apparition, cet écrit fut loin de tomber à plat, au contraire, et "Castor" put constater qu'il existait encore de sérieux doutes sur la question d'identité. C'était bien une autre génération qui discutait, mais on invoquait la tradition, les dires de ses pères, ce que l'on avait entendu répéter si souvent dans sa jeunesse. Il en fut tout étonné, et allait, peu encore, faire cause commune avec les dissidents, lorsqu'un léger incident lui fit maintenir heureusement sa première idée, celle que l'on lui avait toujours assuré être la seule vraie.

Quelques semaines après la reproduction en question, entra au Greffe de la Paix, à Montréal, un per-

sonnage de distinction, l'hon. sir Etienne Pascal Taché, qui venait saluer M. Schiller et lui demander, tout en en faisant le plus grand éloge, d'où venait l'écrit publié. L'ayant satisfait là-dessus, son interlocuteur ajouta qu'il avait entendu dire bien des fois que l'auteur n'était point M. O'Sullivan, au contraire de ce qu'il tenait de la bouche même de son père, le capitaine. En entendant cela, le bouillant chevalier s'emporta et assura, à n'en pouvoir douter, que M. O'Sullivan seul était l'auteur de l'article, et que ceux qui prétendent le contraire ne connaissent pas le premier mot de la chose et ne savent pas ce qu'ils disaient. "Les doutes soulevés dans le temps par des envieux, ajouta-t-il, ont été souvent rencontrés, victorieusement refutés et mis à néant, mais je crains fort qu'il en restera toujours quelque chose dans l'esprit public, grâce aux préjugés que l'on a soulevés autrefois dans la circonstance; O'Sullivan, voyez-vous, donne à de Salaberry ce qui lui appartient et que rien ne saurait lui enlever, quoiqu'en soient des manigances de ses ennemis, et c'est ce que l'on ne peut lui pardonner. Et comme il était à cette bataille—où j'étais moi-même—en qualité d'aide-de-camp de de Salaberry, et qu'il a pu tout voir et observer avec ce coup d'oeil sûr et ce jugement d'élite qui l'ont toujours distingué à un si haut degré, soit comme soldat, soit comme président, plus tard, de la cour la plus élevée du pays; on avait le plus grand intérêt à jeter le doute sur l'authenticité de l'écrit et à faire croire au public qu'il ne pouvait être d'une plume aussi autorisée, aussi

“ inattaquable. Quant à moi, ayant pris part au combat, je puis certifier sur mon honneur, de la véracité et de l’exactitude de cette relation dans tous ses détails. Rien ne me peine autant que d’entendre nier cette paternité, car c’est d’une injustice criante ! ”

Dès ce moment “ Castor ” n’eût plus jamais aucune hésitation sur le sujet ; il demeura convaincu. Dans ces derniers temps il est certain que nos historiens ont presque tous, d’un commun accord, attribué cette relation au juge-en-chef O’Sullivan. Ainsi, M. Benjamin Sulte, dans son histoire remarquable de la bataille de Châteauguay, tout récemment publiée, le reconnaît formellement, et le cite à maintes reprises. M. Kingsford, lui aussi, avait fait la même admission. Plusieurs autres écrivains que nous pourrions nommer en ont agi de même. Cependant, afin qu’il n’y ait plus lieu de douter de l’auteur, aussi bien que des détails de cette précieuse relation, nous sommes heureux de pouvoir mettre aujourd’hui sous les yeux de nos lecteurs deux lettres du plus grand intérêt pour les étudiants de notre histoire contemporaine : l’une par laquelle O’Sullivan transmet au colonel des Voltigeurs Canadiens son écrit signé de son nom de plume, “ Témoin oculaire, ” et lui demande s’il est exact, et rencontre son approbation ; et l’autre du vaillant colonel lui-même, dans laquelle il lui accorde en tout point cette approbation. Rien de plus concluant sur le sujet, d’après nous. L’un fournit une description en détail de l’action, et l’autre, le plus intéressé de tous, le chevaleresque commandant qui a

tout préparé pour la réception de l'ennemi, en reconnaît la parfaite exactitude, et lui en donne des éloges bien mérités, tout en lui exprimant le chagrin qu'il éprouve de le voir se tenir dans l'ombre, tel qu'il croyait devoir le faire.

Le lecteur non préjugé pourra donc constater et se convaincre, par lui-même, comme nous le somme que "*Temoïn oculaire*" est très certainement O'Sullivan, et que sa relation est en tout point incontestablement véridique, approuvée qu'elle est par celui qui a concerté l'action, l'a commandée seul et l'a convertie en une victoire éclatante dont les suites ont eu le plus heureux résultat pour le Canada.

Le 6 nov. 1813, O'Sullivan écrivait comme suit, en français, au colonel de Salaberry :

"Montréal, 6 nov. 1813.

Monsieur,

J'ai enfin trouvé une occasion pour vous envoyer la description de *vo*tre bataille. Je ne me suis rendu à Montréal que fort tard lundi au soir. Je suis tombé malade presque aussitôt d'un violent mal de gorge, fruit, sans doute, des misères du soldat. Je ne me suis trouvé en état de mettre la main à la plume que le mercredi, ce que j'ai fait de grand coeur, pour vous rendre la justice qui vous appartient. Est-ce bien réussi? Vous me permettrez d'en douter. J'ai fait mon possible. Je vous prie de vérifier l'anglais, car le français est horrible, et je suis trop fatigué pour pouvoir traduire moi-même. Je me suis trouvé obligé d'employer le traducteur de la "*Gazette*." Le sens est cependant assez bien rendu en français, mais

les phrases manquent du feu et de l'expression nécessaires. Lors de mon arrivée, l'on croyait assez généralement que le M. G. de W.⁽¹⁾ avait eu sa part à l'affaire, mais à présent je vous assure qu'il n'est personne qui soit de cette opinion. Le public est même indigné de l'injustice qui vous a été faite. Je n'ai pu me résoudre, quoique nous m'en ayez dit, de faire insérer mon propre nom; j'ai ressenti assez de plaisir de rendre justice à qui elle était due, et je me contente de votre approbation. J'ai fait imprimer quelques feuilles sur du beau papier; je vous envoie la plus grande partie pour que vous ayez le plaisir d'en distribuer à vos amis.

Je vous prie de me croire, avec estime, Monsieur,

Votre très-humble, et très-obéissant serviteur,

M. O'SULLIVAN."

Chs. de Salaberry, Ecr.,

Lt.-Col: Com. Voltigeurs.

"P. S. Some errors of the press have crept in from the circumstance of my not having been able to superintend the impression. I shall cause these errors to be corrected in the next "Gazette," and will send several numbers of it to be republished in England."

Six jours après, il lui répondit par la lettre suivante, datée de Chambly, lieu de sa demeure :

Chambly, Nov. 12, 1813.

My dear Sir,

It was only yesterday that I had the pleasure to

(1) Le Major Général de Watteville.

receive your letter of the 6th inst., together with your printed account of our action of the 26th ultimo. Receive, my dear sir, my very grateful acknowledgments for your kind attention to me and for the extreme trouble you have taken to show to our countrymen the merit of our extraordinary success in its true colours. You have rendered me that justice which is still denied me at headquarters, and which I no longer expect, notwithstanding the spirited representation I thought it a duty I owed to myself to transmit to the Governor, through the channel of the Adjutant-General. To this representation no answer has been given me; indeed I believe it is difficult to afford one.

You ask me whether I think you have succeeded in your exposé. My answer is, in the highest degree, nothing could have been better written and it is a production of the highest merit, which cannot fail to do the highest honor to your heart and head. If in any particular, I can permit myself to blame you, it is in the first instance for having given to my humble merit, too much praise, and in the second, for having detracted from your own by the omission of the excellent services you have yourself rendered your country by the bravery which you displayed in the action, and previously, by the pains you have taken to impress the sedentary militia with the true sense of their duty to their king and themselves.

Your exposé is replete with the most complete skill and finesse in exposing in many parts the erroneous ideas thrown out in the general order of the

27th, and no doubt your success is complete in fixing the merit where it appears to be due ; but your concluding paragraph is a perfect chef-d'oeuvre ; I never read any thing written with so much life and spirit ; to what advantage you have seized upon and brought in some extraordinary way parts of former proclamations. I assure you I am not the only person inclined to think your work a masterpiece. Every well thinking person is of the same opinion, and you will be amply repaid for your exertions by the happy reflection of having done exemplary justice to an individual and in the consolation of putting a full stop for the future to men in power doing an indignity to any one for the purpose of benefitting a friend or a favorite. Every honest men will join us in the firm hope that your exposé may thus far prove beneficial.

I trust ere this your health is fully reestablished and that you are now assisting in repelling the invasion which it is said threatens us from Sackett Harbour. May it meet with worse success than Hampton's army, is the most sincere wish of my heart. By the bye, at this juncture, Hampton's retreat is a most fortunate circumstance for this province. I think 'twould have been difficult to have managed both armies.

I am ill of a dysentery and rheumatism, but hope in a very few days again to join the advance. Getting wet or staying out at this moment would most certainly kill me. I have however received several messages, requesting I might join as soon as possible. That precaution was unnecessary. I

require no order to repair to my duty when I am able to do it. I will by first opportunity do myself the pleasure to send you copy of my letter to the Governor. Meanwhile, I have the honor to remain, with sentiments of esteem and consideration, very gratefully, my dear sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

CHS. DE SALABERRY,

Lt.-Col. Voltigeurs.

To Mr. O'Sullivan, Esq.,
Etc., Etc.

(Traduction de la lettre ci-dessus.)

Chambly, 12 nov. 1813.

" Mon cher ami,

Ce n'est qu'hier que j'ai eu le plaisir de lire votre lettre du 6 courant, ensemble avec le paquet de votre relation imprimée de notre action du 26 dernier. Recevez, cher monsieur, l'expression de ma gratitude pour vos bonnes intentions à mon égard, et pour tout le trouble que vous vous êtes donné pour démontrer à nos compatriotes, sous son véritable jour, tout le mérite de notre extraordinaire succès. Vous m'avez rendu cette justice que l'on me refuse encore aux quartiers-généraux, et à laquelle je ne m'attends plus, nonobstant les chaudes représentations que j'ai cru devoir faire auprès du Gouverneur-Général par l'entremise de l'adj. général. On n'y a pas répondu. A dire le vrai, il est difficile de le faire, je crois.

Vous vous enquérez si, d'après moi, vous avez réussi dans votre exposé ? Ma réponse est : au plus

haut degré ; rien ne pourrait être mieux écrit, et c'est une production de mérite, qui ne peut que vous faire le plus grand honneur sous le rapport du coeur, aussi bien que de la tête.

Si je puis me permettre un blâme de quelque façon, c'est de m'avoir donné d'abord trop d'éloges, et puis en second lieu, d'avoir diminué votre propre mérite, en omettant les excellents services que vous avez vous-même rendus à votre pays par la bravoure dont vous avez fait preuve durant la bataille, et au préalable, par tout le trouble que vous vous êtes donné pour faire comprendre à la milice sédentaire quel était le vrai sens de ce qu'elle devait à son roi et à elle-même.

Votre exposé met en lumière avec finesse et habileté, les idées erronément avancées dans les ordres généraux du 27 passé, et votre succès est complet, aucun doute, en donnant le mérite à qui il appartient. Mais votre dernier paragraphe est un chef-d'oeuvre du genre. Jamais je n'ai lu rien de plus vigoureux que la manière avec laquelle vous vous êtes approprié certaines parties de ces proclamations passées, et les avez rendues ici. Croyez-m'en, je ne suis pas la seule personne à trouver votre travail extrêmement bien fait. Toutes celles qui sont bien pensantes, sont de cette opinion, et vous serez grandement récompensé pour vos troubles par l'heureuse reflexion d'avoir rendu justice à un individu, et la consolation d'avoir arrêté pour l'avenir les hommes au pouvoir de commettre une indignité dans le but d'obliger un ami ou un favori.

Toutes les honnêtes gens se joindront à nous pour espérer les meilleurs avantages de cet exposé

J'espère que votre santé, avant aujourd'hui, est parfaitement rétablie, et que vous êtes maintenant à assister à repousser l'invasion qui, assure-t-on, nous menace du côté de Hackett Harbour ; qu'elle subisse un pire sort que celui qui est arrivé à l'armée de Hampton. Tel est le vœu le plus sincère de mon cœur. La retraite de Hampton est une circonstance des plus heureuses pour cette province. Il aurait été difficile, je pense, de rencontrer les deux armées.

Je suis indisposé du rhumatisme, accompagné de la dysenterie, mais me flatte de pouvoir, sous peu de jours, rejoindre les avant-postes de l'armée. Me mouiller ou coucher dehors dans le moment serait ma mort bien certainement. J'ai reçu cependant, plusieurs messages me demandant de venir au plus tôt possible ; qu'il fallait être nécessairement prudent, néanmoins. Je dois dire que je n'ai besoin d'aucun ordre pour me rendre là où mon devoir m'appelle quand je suis capable de le faire.

A la première occasion, je m'accorderai le plaisir de vous faire tenir une copie de ma lettre au gouverneur, et en attendant, j'ai l'honneur de demeurer, avec des sentiments d'estime et de considération,

Votre très reconnaissant serv.,

CHS. DE SALABERRY,

M. O'Sullivan, Ecr.

Lt.-Col. Voltigeurs."

Le vaillant colonel refère ici, sans doute, à sa lettre du 1er novembre 1813, que voici :

Advance Posts, 1st November, 1813.

Sir,

Referring to the General Order of the 27th ult., issued in consequence of the action in which I repulsed General Hampton's army, I observe with regret that the choice of the several positions which I defended is not attributed to me, neither is the disposition of the force which was immediately under my command understood to have been altogether mine, from which the greater part of the merit (if there was any contending against a whole army for the space of four hours,) is taken away from me. To elucidate this matter, it is necessary that I should state that when it was reported on the 21st ult., at Chateaugay church, at night, the enemy had surprised the picket at Peper's Road, I was desired to move with my corps to English River, and finding when there that the enemy's intention appeared to move down the River Chateaugay on his way to Montreal, I lost no time in pushing on the troops, and took up the three advanced positions, and began to fortify them as well as I could (having then only a few axes) and distributed the troops for their defence. I ordered also the famous abattis, situated two miles in front of the above stated positions, to which I marched on the 26th, from whence I reconnoitred the American Army in the act of advance, from which I completed my dispositions for the defence of both sides of the Chateaugay; from whence after an obstinate engagement of four hours, I succeeded in defeating their project of penetrating

into the country, and finally obliged him to retire to his former position, five miles back, with the loss of about 70 killed and 16 prisoners, besides a great number of wounded, about 150 stand of arms, and six drums, etc., etc., which fell into our hands. Moreover, he has since retired into his own country

It is true General de Watteville inspected my positions, and approved of them, and of the orders I had given for their defence. The dispositions to receive the enemy on the 26th, were made by myself; no one interfered with them, and no officer of superior rank came up until the action was over. It is true I was ably seconded by Lieut.-Colonel McDonell, of the Glengarry Fencibles, who had taken up a ford position two days before the action, and by all the officers under my command.

I regret also to observe in perusing the order of the 27th, that it is supposed that I had been thrown forward to cover working parties. This idea is erroneous in so much that there were no works carrying on there, but such abattis and defence as appeared to me necessary to prevent my positions from being outflanked or forced; these I ordered myself, no engineer directed them. I placed myself in front of the abbatiss with the view to begin the defence of the country. I judged it a good position from whence I could have a good view of the enemy's columns which I was apprised were in full march. This I did of my own accord. It was a desperate undertaking. It succeeded, and the enemy instead

of going to Montreal, is gone to Four-Corners. The enemy's intention is ascertained by concurring circumstances and by the report of prisoners. He was not then in full march with all his baggage and artillery for the purpose of attacking a few workmen.

These are the true circumstances attending the action of the 26th, and it grieves me to the heart to see that I must share the merit of the action, and that it must be reduced to my having covered a few workmen. Methinks if any merit is to be obtained I am entitled to the whole.

I cannot conclude without soliciting that this representation may be laid before His Excellency the Governor-General, to whose justice I confidently appeal.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed,)

CHS. DE SALABERRY,

Lt.-Col. Voltg.

To the Adjutant-General,
Etc., Etc.

(*Traduction.*)

Advance Posts.

1^{er} Novembre 1813.

Monsieur,

En réponse à l'ordre général du 27 octobre dernier, lancé en conséquence du combat dans lequel j'ai repoussé le général Hampton et son armée, j'observe avec regret que le choix des diverses positions

dépendues par moi, ne m'est point attribué, non plus que la disposition des forces mises sous mon commandement immédiat, qu'on semble mettre en doute, ce qui m'enlève la plus grande part de mérite (s'il en est d'avoir résisté durant quatre heures entières) qui pourrait me revenir. Afin d'éclaircir la chose, il est nécessaire que je dise ce qui suit : Quand il fut rapporté, le 21 dernier, à l'église de Châteauguay, que dans la nuit, l'ennemi avait surpris l'avant-poste, sur le chemin Peper, on m'exprima le désir de me voir prendre de l'avant avec mon commandement vers English River, et remarquant, arrivé là, que l'intention de l'ennemi était apparemment de descendre la rivière de Châteauguay pour se diriger sur Montréal, je ne perdis aucun temps pour avancer les troupes et choisir les trois positions les plus avantageuses et les fortifier le mieux qu'il m'était possible (n'ayant alors que quelques haches,) et distribuai les troupes pour les défendre. J'ordonnai aussi le fameux abattis situé à deux milles en front de ces positions, où je me rendis le 26, et d'où je reconnus que l'armée américaine était en marche ; sur quoi, je mis la dernière main à mon plan de défense de chaque côté de la rivière Châteauguay, et d'où, après un sérieux et obstiné engagement de quatre heures avec l'ennemi, je réussis à l'empêcher de pénétrer dans le pays, tel qu'il en avait l'intention, et en définitive, le forçai à se retirer dans ses anciennes lignes, cinq milles en arrière, avec la perte d'à peu près 70 tués et 16 prisonniers, sans compter un grand nombre de blessés, 150 fusils, six tambours, etc., etc., qui tom-

bèrent entre nos mains. Depuis, faut-il ajouter, il s'est retiré dans son pays.

Il est vrai que le général de Watteville a inspecté mes positions et les a approuvées, ainsi que les ordres donnés par moi pour les défendre. Toutes les dispositions prises pour rencontrer l'ennemi, le 26, le furent de mon chef et par moi-même ; personne n'est intervenu auprès de moi et pas un seul officier de rang supérieur ne s'est présenté avant la fin du combat. Je dois avouer, cependant, que j'ai été habilement secondé par le lieutenant-colonel McDonell, des Glengarry Fencibles, qui avait pris position au gué deux jours avant, et par tous les officiers commandés par moi.

Je regrette aussi de voir, en parcourant cet ordre du 27 passé, qu'on semble supposer que j'ai été poussé en avant afin de couvrir certains partis engagés à travailler. Cela est tout à fait erroné, d'autant plus qu'il n'y avait là aucuns travaux en voie, à part des abattis et défenses qui me paraissaient nécessaires pour empêcher l'ennemi de tourner mes positions, et c'est moi-même qui les avaient ordonnés, aucun ingénieur ne les a dirigés.

Je me suis placé en avant de l'abattis, avec l'idée de commencer la défense du pays. Je jugeai que la position était bonne, et d'où je pourrais avoir une vue de la colonne ennemie que je savais être en marche. Encore ici, j'ai agi seul. C'était une entreprise presque désespérée. Elle a réussi, et l'ennemi, au lieu de se diriger sur Montréal, s'en est retourné à Four-Corners. L'intention de l'ennemi est expli-

quée par toutes les circonstances et les rapports faits par les prisonniers. Son but, évidemment, en marchant avec tous ses bagages et son artillerie, n'était pas d'aller attaquer quelques travailleurs.

Voilà les véritables circonstances qui entourent l'action du 26 passé, et je suis chagrin, jusqu'au fond du coeur, de voir qu'il me faille partager le mérite de ce combat et que j'en suis réduit à avoir seulement protégé quelques travailleurs. Je crois que j'ai droit à tout le mérite, s'il y en a eu.

Je ne saurais terminer sans solliciter que la présente soit transmise à Son Excellence le Gouverneur Général, à la justice duquel j'en appelle en toute confiance.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur,
 Votre très humble serviteur,

CHS. DE SALABERRY,
 Lieut.-Col des Volt.

A l'Adjudant-Général,
 Etc., Etc.

Le rapport auquel le colonel fait allusion est celui-ci, adressé à l'Adjudant-Général, en date du 1er novembre 1813, et dans lequel modestement mais énergiquement, il affirme ses droits au titre de vainqueur de l'armée américaine qu'on semblait vouloir, en certain lieu, lui disputer.

Il nous fait grandement plaisir aussi de pouvoir reproduire ici une lettre du Lieut.-Col. M'Donnell, des Glengarry Fencibles, au sujet de de Salaberry, un autre témoignage indiscutable et non équivoque

en sa faveur, et qui maintient les dires de "Témoins oculaires."

Lettre du Lieut.-Col. M'Donnell à Sir Henry Terrens :

Whitehall, 14 janvier 1817.

Monsieur,

A la demande du Lieut.-Col. de Salaberry, des Voltigeurs Canadiens, j'ai l'honneur de vous dire, pour l'information de Son Altesse le Commandant Général, qu'ayant commandé en second à la bataille de Châteauguay, dans le Bas-Canada, je puis vous affirmer sur mon honneur, que le mérite du choix de la position et la manière de conduire l'action appartiennent entièrement au Lieut.-Col. de Salaberry, qui, dans l'un et l'autre cas, n'a été guidé que par son jugement seul, le Major-Général de Watteville n'étant arrivé sur le champ de bataille, de l'endroit où il était stationné, à quelques milles de là, qu'à la fin du combat, après la défaite de l'ennemi, et après qu'il avait été prévenu, par moi-même, que nous étions chaudement engagé avec l'ennemi.

Le Lieut.-Col. de Salaberry a eu la bonne fortune, en cette circonstance, d'infliger une défaite à 7000 hommes de troupes régulières, le plus grand nombre de réguliers que la nation américaine ait jamais appelé à la fois au combat. J'espère que Son Altesse le commandant-en-chef lui fera l'honneur de prendre le sujet en sa gracieuse considération.

J'ai l'honneur, etc.

G. M'DONNELL.

Sur le tout, nous croyons avoir atteint le but que nous nous étions proposé en répondant catégoriquement aux deux questions que nous nous sommes posées. Oui, "Témoin Oculaire," n'est autre que l'Honorable Juge-en-Chef O'Sullivan, et son exposé de la bataille de Châteauguay est vrai en tout point.

On nous dira avec assez de raison, peut-être, qu'il n'y avait pas lieu de produire ici ces diverses pièces authentiques, puisque le jour paraissait s'être fait enfin sur ce point d'histoire si longtemps controversé. Possible. Mais, considérant l'importance réelle du sujet, nous avons cru qu'il était absolument nécessaire que l'identité de "Témoin Oculaire" fut fixée par des autorités irréfragables une fois pour toutes, car c'est lui qui, au lendemain de la bataille, a le plus véridiquement narré les événements de cette journée si glorieuse pour de Salaberry et les armes canadiennes.

Nos faits-d'armes sont trop peu nombreux pour que nous les laissions dans aucune espèce d'incertitude; les doutes ne doivent planer nulle part, surtout en ce qui regarde notre victoire de Châteauguay.



EARLY CANADIAN PAMPHLETS

BY HENRY MOTT

The following is a list of printed ordonnances and other documents relating to Canada now in the Library of McGill College.

(Treaty of Peace)

Traité de Paix entre les Couronnes de France et d'Angleterre. Conclu à Breda le 31 juillet 1667. 16 p. (Avec privilège de sa Majesté). Paris, 1609.

(Card Money)

Déclaration du Roy, au Sujet de la Monnoye de Carte de Canada. Donnée à Paris le 5 juillet 1717. 4 p. A Paris.

Déclaration du Roy, au Sujet de la Monneye de Carte de Canada. Donnée à Paris le 5 juillet 1717. 4 p. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1717.

(Fur Trade)

Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roy, Qui ordonne que les Pelleteries et Denrées provenant du cru et Fabrique de Canada, de quelque nature qu'elles puissent estre, à l'exception du Castor, jouiront du Bénéfice du Transit. Du 21 may 1721. Extrait des Régistres du Conseil d'Etat. 3 p. A Paris, 1721.

Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roy. Portant Resta- blissement du Privilège Exclusif de la Vente du Castor, en faveur de la Companie des Indes. Du 30 may 1721. 3 p. Extrait des Régistres du

Conseil d'Etat. A Paris. De l'Imprimerie Royale. 1221.

Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roy, Qui surseoit l'Exécution de celui du trente may 1721, qui rétablit, en faveur de la Compagnie des Indes, le Privilège Exclusif de la Vente du Castor. Du vingtième juillet 1721. 2 p. Paris, 1721.

Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roy. Qui ordonne l'Exécution de celui du 30 may 1721, portant Establishment du Privilège exclusif de la Vente du Castor, en faveur de la Compagnie des Indes. Du 28 janvier 1722. Extrait des Régistres du Conseil d'Etat. 3 p. A Paris, 1722.

Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roy concernant le commerce et la qualité qui est reçu dans les bureaux de la Compagnie des Indes, en Canada. Du 30 mars 1726. 4 p. Extrait des Régistres du Conseil d'Etat. A Paris. De l'Imprimerie Royale. 1726.

(Men and arms on board ships for colonies)

Règlement, et Lettres Patentes sur Icelui, au Sujet des Engagés et Fusils qui doivent être portez par les Navires Marchands, aux Colonie des Isles Françoises de l'Amérique et de la Nouvelle-France. Du quinzième novembre 1728. 4 p. Régistrez en Parlement.

(Religious rejoicings)

Mandement de Messieurs les Vicaires Généraux de Monseigneur l'Archevesque de Paris. Qui ordonne que le Te Deum sera chanté dans toutes

les Eglises de ce Diocèse, en actions de grâces des Victoires remportées sur les Anglais en Amérique, près du Lac Champlain, et dans le Anse de Saint-Cast, près de Saint-Malo. Avec Privilège du Roi. 8 p. Paris, 1758.

(Paper Money)

Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi, Concernant le payement des Intérêts, et le Remboursement des Capitaux des Reconnoissances données en échange des papiers du Canada. Du 31 décembre 1763. 2 p. Extrait des Régistres du Conseil d'Etat. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1766.

Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi. Qui proroge jusqu'au 1er avril 1764, le délai des déclarations à faire concernant les Papiers de Canada. Du 5 janvier 1764. Extrait des Régistres du Conseil d'Etat. (Signé Caumartin). 2 p. A Paris, 24 janvier 1764.

Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi, Concernant les Reconnoissances qui seront données en payement des Papiers du Canada, liquidés en conséquence de l'arrêt du Conseil du 29 juin 1764. Du 2 juillet 1764. Extrait des Registres du Conseil d'Etat (signé Le Duc de Choiseul), 4 p., à Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1764.

Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi, Qui annule tous Billets de Monnoye, Lettres de change et autres titres de créance du Canada, qui n'ont pas été produits dans les délais fixés. Du 20 février 1768. Extrait des Registres du Conseil d'Etat, 2 p. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1768.

Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi, Qui ordonne le payement des Coupons d'Intérêts des Reconnoissances pour les dettes du Canada, échus au 1er janvier 1769, signé Phelypeaux. Du 6 mai 1769, Extrait des Registres du Conseil d'Etat, 2 p. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1769.

Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi, Qui ordonne le payement des Coupons d'Intérêts des Reconnoissances pour les dettes du Canada; échus au 1er janvier 1769. Signé, Phelypeaux. Du 6 mai 1769, Extrait des Registres du Conseil d'Etat, 2 p. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1769.

(Cancellation of Canadian Money)

Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roi. Qui annule tous Billets de monnoie, Lettres de change et autres titres de créance du Canada, qui n'ont pas été produits dans les délais fixés. Du 20 janvier 1768, Extrait des Registres du Conseil d'Etat, 2 p. Paris, 1770.

(How to prove "noblesse" in the French Colonies)

Lettres-Patentes du Roi en Forme d'Edit, concernant les Anoblissemens dans les Colonies Françaises, et les preuves de Noblesse à faire dans le Royaume par les Habitants des dites Colonies. Données à Versailles, le 24 août 1781. Enregistrées en la Cour des Aides, le 10 décembre 1782.

(Formation of a Corps of Infantry at Montreal)

Ordonnance Provisoire du Roi, concernant la Formation et la Solde du Corps d'Infanterie de Montreal. Du 12 mai 1785. De par le Roi. 28 p. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1785.

MEDALS AWARDED TO CANADIAN INDIANS

BY R. W. McLACHLAN

(Continued)

- 10 *Obv.* GEORGIUS III D. G. M. BRL. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. F. D. Half length figure of George III, laureated, to the right; across the bust is the ribbon of the garter. *Rev.* HAPPY WHILE UNITED A landscape with a British officer to the right and an Indian chief, to the left, holding a long pipe of peace, both seated with their backs to the ocean. To the left is a tree, and above their heads two counter-stamps, N. | YORK and DCF.; *Ex.* 1764 size: 50 m.

This is a cast medal and, as the stamp shows, made by the same silversmith as designed the Montreal medal.

- 11 *Obv.* GEORGIUS III DEI GRATIA bust of the king in armour to the right. *Rev.* To the right, in the foreground, is a wolf snarling at a lion on the left. In the back ground is a church and house embowered among trees. There is a crack showing across the lion and the spire. There are eight trees to the right with full foliage; size 58 m.
- 12 *Obv.* Same as last. *Rev.* As last. The wolf is smaller and farther away from the lion, while there are only seven trees with lighter foliage; size 58 m.

THE MEDALS OF THE WAR WITH THE THIRTEEN
COLONIES (1775-80)

were given for the purpose of winning the wavering warriors to the cause of Canada, as may be seen by the following quotations: "Upon the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, Charles de Langlade . . . was persuaded by Captain de Pyster . . . to take an active part in the war . . . and this, as de Pyster remarks in his *Miscellanies*, was equivalent to securing all the western Indians in our interest. He was soon required to raise an Indian force, and repaired to Canada for its defence with a large body of Sioux, Saukes, Foxes, Menomonees, Winnibagos, Ottawas, Pattawattamies and Chippewas. He marched to Montreal, and upon arrival, a grand council was held . . ." (1). It was, no doubt, on this occasion that Governor Haldimand gave to each of the chiefs the great medal with a certificate, one of which reads as follows:—

" Frederick Haldimand, Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec, Ec. Ec. Ec., General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in said Province and Frontier, &c. &c. &c.

To Chawanon, Great Chief of the Folles Avoines.

In consideration of the fidelity, zeal and attachment testified by *Chawanon, Grand Chief of the Folles Avoines* to the King's Government and by virtue of

(1) *Grignon's Recollections* which appeared in the Third Annual Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1857. Page 229.

the power in me vested, I do confirm the said *Chawanon. Grand Chief* of the *Folles Avoines* aforesaid having bestowed upon him the *great* medal, willing all and singular the Indian inhabitants thereof to obey him as *Grand* chief, and all officers and others in His Majesty's service, and to treat him accordingly. GIVEN under my hand and seal, at Montreal, this *seventeenth* day of *August*, one thousand seven hundred and *seventy-eight*, in the *eighteenth* year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King defender of the Faith, and so forth."

By His Excellency's command,

Fred. Haldimand.

E. Foy.

This document, which is preserved in the archives of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, throws a clear light on the history of the medal (1)

There are three sizes of this medal, of the largest of which I have two varieties, but Betts claims there are four. One of these appears to be only a difference in the size of the flan, while the other is taken from a description in a British Museum catalogue, this may be only a difference in the manner of describing the medal. I have examined about

(1) A fac simile of this certificate is given in the "Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," Washington, 1896, Part I, plate 1, at page 46. Another certificate which bears the name of "Quiwoiscouche-camme Grand Chief Lherbe Croche" (L'arbre croche) Indians is described in the American Journal of Numismatics, Boston, 1896, Vol. XXXI, page 8.

fifteen of these medals, either from the specimens themselves or good rubbings, and have only been able to distinguish two varieties.

13. *Obv.* GEORGIUS III DEI GRATIA. Youthful bust of George III to the right in armour. Seven rivets appear down the front of the armour.

Rev. The royal arms on an oval shield, surrounded by the garter inscribed HONI. SOIT. QUI. MAL. Y. PENSE supporters, a lion to the left and a unicorn to the right; the paw of the lion touches the N in HONI. The quartering of the arms shows England and Scotland in the first, France in the second, Ireland in the third and Hanover in the fourth. Motto: DIEU. ET. MON. DROIT on a ribbon below; size 78 m.

14 *Obv.* As last, but eight rivets are shown on the front of the armour.

Rev. As last, but the lion's paw only reaches the I in HONI; size 77 m.

15 *Obv.* Similar to 13.

Rev. Similar to 13; size 59 m.

I have taken this description from Betts (1), as I have not had an opportunity of examining an example of this size, nor have I seen a rubbing.

(1) Page 234, No. 600.

(To be continued.)