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THE
FENIAN INVASIONS OF CANADA

OF
1866 AND 1870

AND
THE OPERATIONS OF THE MONTREAL MILITIA
BRIGADE IN CONNECTION THEREWITH.

A LECTURE

Delivered before the Montreal Military Institute, April 23rd, 1894,

BY

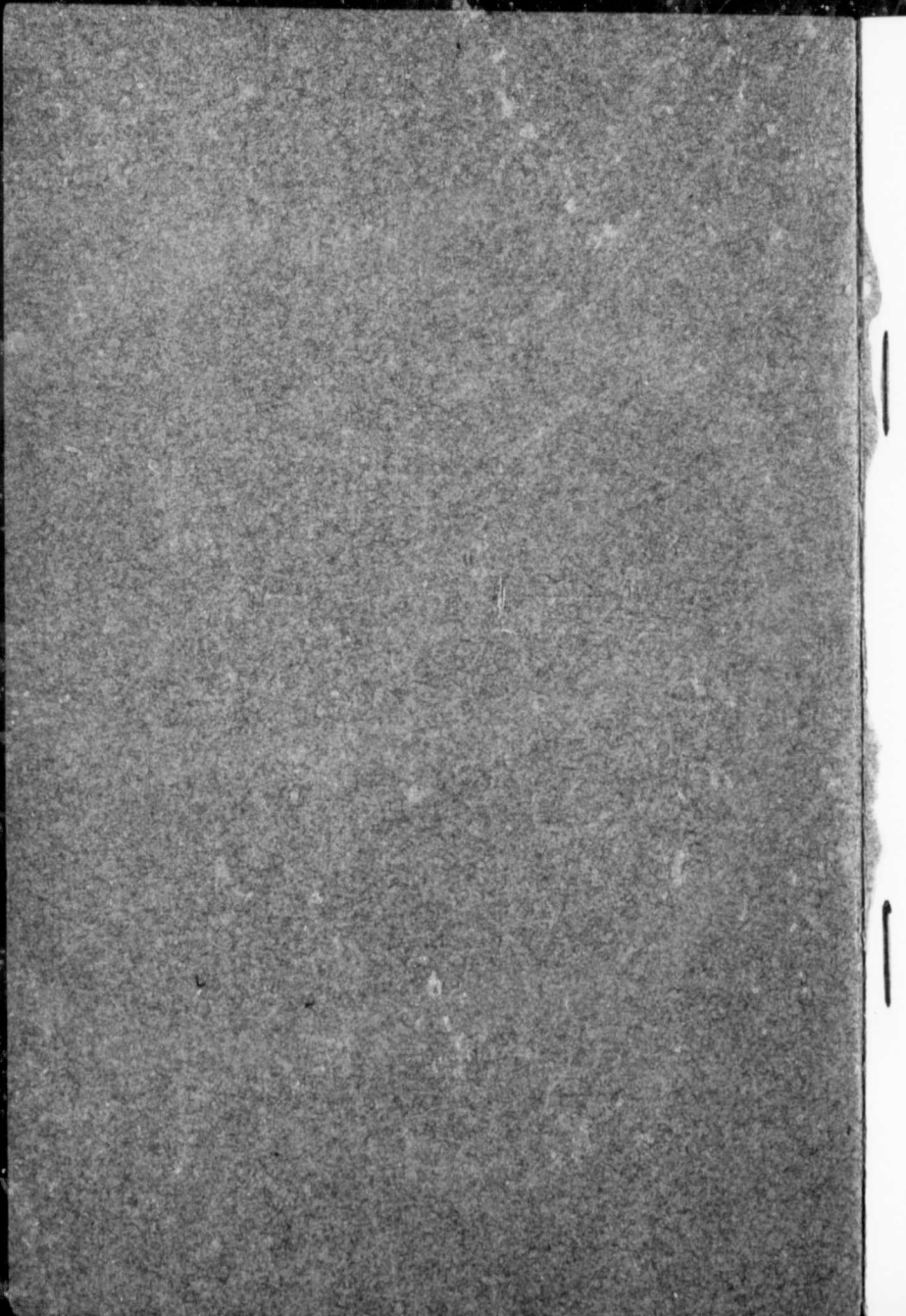
FRANCIS WAYLAND CAMPBELL

M.A., M.D., C.M., L.R.C.P., London, D.C.L.

Deputy Surgeon-General Royal Regiment of Canadian Infantry

PRICE . . . 25 cents.

MONTREAL:
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PREFACE

The two lectures on the Fenian invasion of Canada, in 1866 and 1870, were delivered before the Montreal Military Institute on the 23rd of April, 1898. They are now published by request. The younger generation of Canadians have but a slight idea of the extent to which Canada was stirred by the wanton invasion of its soil, or of the alacrity with which its militia responded to the call to arms. These lectures is the first attempt which has, so far, been made to bring together the history of the two raids on the Eastern frontier, and the part which the Militia Brigade of Montreal took in connection with them. In this respect they are important and interesting. Their compilation necessitated consultation of the daily press, and resort had to be had to the Parliamentary Library, at Ottawa where alone files of newspapers of the years 1866 and 1870 are to be found. It was not till thirty years had elapsed that the services of the Canadian Militia, on both of these occasions, was recognized by the Government of Canada, which in 1898 decided to issue a general service medal with a clasp for each raid. The issue of this medal was warmly appreciated by the veteran survivors. In this connection much credit is due to the Prime Minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and Sir Frederick Borden, Minister of Militia, for grasping the situation, and pushing the issue of these medals to a successful completion.

To Major Seath, of the 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers, is, I believe, due the credit of suggesting a general service medal for Canada, with clasps for war services, such as the Red River Expedition, in 1870, under Col. Wolsley, now Field-Marshal Lord Wolsley and the Fenian invasions of Canada. Objection was made to a single medal for these services—the idea of a general service medal, with clasps for special services, solved the difficulty.

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General Service Medal for Canada.

*Bars have been issued for the Red River Expedition of 1870,
Fenian Raid 1866 and Fenian Raid 1870.*

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The Fenian Raids of 1866 and 1870

AND THE

Operations of the Montreal Militia Brigade in Connection with them.

GENTLEMEN.—Few, if any, among my audience were old enough to appreciate the stirring events connected with the Fenian excitement, both in Ireland and in this country, and which culminated in the raid into Canada, in June, 1866. At that time I had been ten years in the Militia—for six of which I had been Assistant Surgeon of the 1st, or Prince of Wales Regiment—the other five I had passed in the several grades of Private, Corporal, Sergeant and Hospital Sergeant—The first and second grades in No. 2 Company of Independent Rifles, commanded by my old friend, Captain Fletcher, now Lieut.-Col. Fletcher—the two last grades—in the same Company, but then forming part of the 1st Batt. Vol. Militia Rifles of Canada—commanded first by Lieut.-Col. Dyde, and subsequently by Lieut.-Col. Wylie. In 1866 the Militia force of Montreal was in name much as it is to-day, but numerically it was much stronger, some of the regiments or battalions consisting of nine companies, of 55 rank and file, the 1st Batt. being of this strength. In Cavalry, in 1866, we had three troops, whereas, we have had, till lately, but one; though we now have a squadron, which, numerically, will be of strength equal to two existing in 1866. We had then, also, a Company of what was called Foot Artillery, and the present 5th Batt. (Royal Scots) was known as 5th Batt. Royal Light Infantry, and the 65th Batt. was known as the 4th Batt. "Chasseur Canadiens," and the 6th Batt. was the Hochelaga Light Infantry. From the capitulation of Montreal, on the 8th September, 1769, up to 1870, Montreal was a garrison town. It never was without a Regiment of the Line, and a Battery of Royal Artillery, and a few Royal Engineers, and up to the final departure, in 1870, of Imperial troops, it always was the

THE FENIAN RAIDS OF 1866 AND 1870.

residence of the General Commanding Her Majesty's forces. But in 1861 the imminent danger of war with the United States, over the removal of the British ship, "Trent," by an American man-of-war—of Mason and Slidell—commissioners from the so-called Southern Confederacy, caused Britain to despatch to this country a small army corps. From that date, and almost up to the date of the Fenian raid, Montreal had in garrison four regiments, two of them being a Battalion of the Grenadier and Scots' Fusilier Guards, two Batteries of Royal Artillery, two Companies of Royal Engineers. I mention this fact for the purpose of expressing the opinion that the presence of these troops did much to inspire the Military enthusiasm of the young men of our city, and that, though then having but a population of 70,000 souls, its Militia strength was over 2,000; while now, with over 250,000, we rarely have a muster of 2,000. This, I think, in round figures, is about our authorized strength. A Military School in this city would, in some degree, help to keep the Military idea, at least, constantly before the public, from whose gaze it is practically banished, save during the periods of annual drill; but this is a digression, and I must retrace my steps. Early in 1866, the Fenian organization in the United States had assumed somewhat gigantic proportions, many of its members being drawn from those who had served during the American Civil War. Inured by several years' service in the field, to the clash of arms, they rebelled against return to the peaceful industries of life, and eagerly seized upon any scheme, no matter how visionary, where fighting seemed possible. As the Fenian organization contemplated, in addition to money being sent to the leaders in Ireland, an attack on Great Britain, through Canada—it is not to be wondered that the Military Department of the Fenian brotherhood did not lack recruits. The Fenian organization was first established in Ireland, in 1857. The following year, Stevens, its Head Centre, as its Chief was called, came to the United States and arranged for its extension to that country. In 1863 he returned to the United States, and found only 10,000 enrolled. His idea was to strike only in Ireland, and for this purpose he asked for money to purchase the sinews of war. This was promised him, and he returned to Ireland; but dissensions among the brotherhood took place, and the promises made were not

fulfilled. This was, it is said, due to the fact that one of the delegates sent over to Ireland from New York, to investigate the condition of things there, lost some important documents, which fell into the hands of the Police, and resulted in numerous arrests. In a speech delivered early in 1866, in New York, Stevens said: "All we want is war material. At the moment we have in Ireland 200,000 Fenians; 50,000 drilled, 50,000 partly drilled, and 100,000 quite undrilled. We, in Ireland, heard the melancholy news of your disruption here, but we still had hope. We did not think it possible that you would withhold from Ireland, in the supreme moment of her need, the succour which you had promised to give." He then explained that he had permitted his arrest in Ireland, because, having failed to take action within the time promised, on account of failure from the United States, he thought that, by being put into prison, he would arouse the enthusiasm of his United States followers. This does not seem to have followed, and he effected his escape, and alludes to it as follows:—"It did not require any extraordinary effort, for which the true hearts around that Dublin prison, it would not have been possible for the Government, even though the walls had been adamant, and though it had regiments stationed within its walls, to keep me. That was the time of our greatest power in Ireland, and, if at any time between the 24th of November and the end of December last (1865), you had sent to Ireland a small force or only a few superior officers, with the necessary war material, I believe as firmly as in my own existence that Ireland would be an independent country to-day." He then adds that he came once more to endeavour to reconcile, and to effect union. I give this as a sample of much that is found in the papers of that date. It is believed that to a large extent union was effected, and upon the basis of an attack upon Canada. About this same time a large meeting was held in Dublin, and resolutions passed, declaring that the Fenian conspiracy had attained such proportions as to cause well-founded alarm, and urging the authorities taking effective measures to crush it. My audience can well imagine that the people of British America (it was a year previous to Confederation, when each province, save what is now Quebec and Ontario, had an independent existence) were not uninterested spectators of this Fenian organization. The

first note of actual warning came on the 1st of February, in the following telegram from Hamilton:—"Rumour reached here of a Fenian movement on the frontier. The guards of the 16th Regiment in garrison have been doubled, and generally unusual vigilance is noticed. The Volunteer Militia officers have been notified to hold themselves in readiness for service."

On the following day, Feb. 2, I find the following from St. Johns, Que.:—"Rumours of Fenian attack are in circulation. Ball ammunition issued to the troops. Major Campbell, Royal Canadian Rifles, left hurriedly to take command of Isle aux Noix. Great activity prevails among the garrison."

FEB. 3.—Two companies of Militia ordered out at Brockville, and supplied with ball ammunition. Sentries on St. Helen's Island have been doubled.

FEB. 13.—Large Fenian meeting in New York; 10,000 present. General Sweeney is named Fenian Secretary of War, and is reported to have made large purchases of war material. At this time all the Montreal Militia corps are advertising for recruits.

FEB. 14.—Large and enthusiastic Fenian meetings were held to-night all over the United States.

FEB. 26.—The Military Committee of the Fenian invasion now in Session at Pittsburg have adopted the war plans of General Sweeney, which is an invasion of Canada, and immediate action is promised.

FEB. 28.—It is reported that it is intended to seize British Columbia, and establish a harbour for Privateers on the Pacific Coast.

The British Minister at Washington has drawn the attention of the American Government to this rumour.

FEB. 29.—Fenian Convention at Pittsburg adjourns. General Sweeney gives a concluding address, which closes in the following words:—"My object is the deliverance of the land of my boyhood from the accursed yoke of the usurper, and if I decide to strike the enemy 3,000 miles from its base, and within a few miles of ours, I am confident I will be sustained."

MARCH 1.—The *Witness*, in an editorial to-day, says: "While it would be unwise to magnify the danger of this movement, it would be equally unwise to ignore it."

On this date the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in

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Ireland. Ten Fenian centres of New York meet, and decide the time for action has arrived.

MARCH 5.—The British Minister at Washington protests against the liberty which the United States Government is allowing the Fenians.

MARCH 7.—A large Fenian meeting held in New York last evening. Bonds of the Irish republic produced for the first time, and were disposed of in large numbers.

OTTAWA, MARCH 9.—Troops are expected here in a day or two. There are now guards day and night, on the Parliament buildings and public offices.

MONTREAL, MARCH 9.—The City was in a state of great excitement all day, and wild rumours were afloat, not only as to what might be expected on the frontier, but as to the condition of affairs in Montreal itself. This was intensified as it became known that during the previous night, a guard of 60 men of the Garrison Artillery, under Major Ferrier, a Captain, and three Subalterns, had paraded at the Armoury, and were disposed as follows:—Main Guard, in the Central Fire Station, Craig Street; 30 men; and 10 men at the City Hall (then Bonsecours Market), Crystal Palace, then on St. Catherine Street, and the Armoury, which latter was on Victoria Square, and is now occupied by Ames, Holden & Co. Each Guard was under command of an officer. The streets were also patrolled. Guards from the Imperial troops were also placed at the residence of Sir John Michel, the Commander in Chief, and of Major-General Lindsay, Commanding the District. A number of Imperial troops were kept under arms all night at the Barracks, ready to turn out at a moment's warning. Orders were issued last night from Ottawa calling out 10,000 Militia.

MONTREAL, MARCH 10.—The entire Montreal Brigade of Militia which has been called out for active service mustered last night. Every Company was of full strength, and the entire force was inspected by Col. Dyde. The order calling out 10,000 men was read. It is dated, "Ottawa, March 8," and gives the names of the Corps called out. The Commander-in-Chief, in the order, says:—"It is not necessary to address any observations to the officers and men now called out for active service, on the importance of strict attention to their military duties, and he is assured that, should the threats of attack realize, the Canadian Volunteers of the present day will, with God's blessing, meet with as much

success in repelling such a criminal and wanton outrage against humanity and civilization as was given to their ancestors when they were called upon to roll back from their territories the tide of legitimate war."

MARCH 12.—The Montreal Militia Brigade, Cavalry, Artillery and Infantry, paraded to-day, 2,000 strong.

MARCH 13.—A Company of the Chasseurs Canadiens, 69 strong, left Montreal to-day, for the frontier. The balance of the regiment on duty numbers 373 rank and file. Total strength on service, 442 rank and file. A Company from Varennes and Vercheres was sent to St. Johns; a Company, from St. Therese, to Frelighsburg. A Company from Terrebonne was sent to Waterloo. Before leaving Terrebonne, they attended Mass at 5 a.m., and listened to a farewell sermon. The men of all these Companies were full of enthusiasm.

MARCH 15.—A Company of the Victoria Rifles, under Captain Macdougall, left to-day for Lachine.

MARCH 16.—The Richelieu Light Infantry were reported to-day as being on duty at St. Johns, in full strength.

MARCH 21.—General Sweeney's force is reported to number 53,000 men, and it is expected to be double that number in a month.

MARCH 22.—The whole of the Montreal Brigade of Militia paraded to-day on the Champ de Mars. Seven prisoners belonging to the Shefford Light Infantry, who had been tried by Court-Martial, for insubordination, were placed in front of the Brigade, and the result of the Court-Martial read to them. The sentence was 60 days' imprisonment.

MARCH 23.—The whole Garrison, Imperial and Militia, paraded to-day, for route-marching. Two Companies of the Hochelaga Light Infantry left this afternoon for the Eastern frontier. They were played to the station by the Band of the Prince Consort's Own Rifle Regiment.

MARCH 27.—A large and enthusiastic meeting was held in Montreal to-day, to provide funds for the families of the Montreal Volunteers on Service. \$16,975 was subscribed at the meeting.

MARCH 28.—Three Companies of Volunteers from Three Rivers and West Gore arrived in Montreal to-day, and went forward to the Eastern frontier.

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MARCH 29.—The parade state of the Montreal Brigade of Militia shows a strength of 2,250 on service. The total number now on service, in response to the call for 10,000 men, is reported to be a little over 14,000. This is to be at once reduced to the number called for.

MARCH 31.—The Montreal Volunteer fund now amounts to \$30,000.

APRIL 3.—Orders were issued to-day, relieving the Montreal Volunteers, except those on frontier service, from permanent duty, except two days a week, when Brigade parades will be held. The Company of Victoria Rifles at Lachine returned home to-day.

APRIL 9.—Guard-mounting continues every night in Montreal.

APRIL 11.—A number of Fenians were arrested in Toronto. The houses of some of them were searched, and a large quantity of arms found. This has intensified the excitement, which had been showing signs of subsiding. Eight men were arrested to-day, at Cornwall, on the arrival of the train from Toronto. All were heavily armed and were ticketed to Portland. They were placed in the gaol at Cornwall.

APRIL 12.—A Company from the Victoria Rifles and from the Royals left by train this morning for Cornwall.

APRIL 16.—The Volunteer Relief Fund amounts to \$38,232. The guards, during the last two days, have been furnished by the Victoria Rifles and the Chasseurs Canadiens. A report is prevalent of a descent by the Fenians at St. Andrews, N.B., and a telegram from Eastport, Maine, says that 400 Fenians have arrived there *en route*, and that others are arriving by every train.

APRIL 18.—Private Laughlin, 1st Prince of Wales Rifles, tried for deserting from his Company, at Stanstead, was found guilty, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

APRIL 21.—Captain Cole's Battery, Montreal Garrison Artillery, of fifty men, returned to Montreal to-day, from Stanstead—Subaltern officers, Lieuts. Baynes and Ernest Stuart.

APRIL 24.—The detachment of the Hochelaga Light Infantry, under Captain Geddes, returned from Isle Aux Noix to-day.

APRIL 27.—The "Chasseurs" and the Prince of Wales Rifles, each nearly 500 strong, paraded this evening for clothing. Between them they got 180 tunics and a few shakos.

MAY 5.—Guards are still mounted at night, and the Saturday parades of the Militia Brigade still continue.

MAY 18.—Three hundred regulars left Halifax for St. Stephen, N.B., and three hundred more for St. Andrews, This evening the Prince of Wales Regiment paraded very strong, but in plain clothes.

MAY 23.—This evening the Prince of Wales Regiment mustered very strong—500 serge tunics and 200 shakos were issued, but no regimental trousers. Col. Devlin addressed the men, and stated that though he wished the Regiment to make as strong a muster as possible on the Queen's Birthday, yet as the Government was not able to supply the Battalion with trousers before that date, he would ask only those men who could supply themselves with dark coloured trousers to turn out. The result of this address was the collection on the Queen's Birthday, at the Armoury, in Victoria Square, of as motley a crowd of trousered volunteers as I think was ever brought together. All shades were there; a great many very dark, a great many medium dark, and some almost as light as the lightest Canadian grey. Yet, from among this motley crowd, sufficient were selected to form a fair-sized Battalion, and they marched to Logan's farm and took part in the review.

MAY 30.—Head Centre Stephens, who returned to New York about a month ago, announces his opposition to attacking Canada, while the watchword of the Sweeney-Roberts faction is: "On to Canada." The movement of Fenians to St. Stephen, N.B., is believed to be a feint.

MAY 31.—Fenians all over the Border States are moving toward the Canadian frontier, and the greatest excitement prevails. The Canadian Government this evening called out the entire Militia force of Upper and Lower Canada for active service. In the proclamation calling them out, His Excellency the Governor-General, Commander-in-Chief, says:—"At former times the Commander-in-Chief has had occasion to call for the active service of the Volunteer force to maintain international obligations, and as a precaution against threatened attack. These threats have now ripened

into actual fact. The soil of Canada has been invaded, not in the pursuance of legitimate warfare, but by a lawless and piratical band, in defiance of all moral right and in utter disregard of all obligations which civilization imposes on mankind. Upon the people of Canada this state of things imposes the duty of defending their altars, their homes and their property from desecration, pillage and spoilation. The Commander-in-Chief relies on the courage and loyalty of the Volunteer force, and looks with confidence for the blessing of Providence on their performance of the sacred duty which circumstances have imposed on them."

Victoria Bridge is to-day guarded at both ends.

JUNE 1.—The news to-day from the West is exciting. This morning, 1,500 Fenians crossed into Canada and took possession of Fort Erie, which had no garrison. They cut the telegraph wires, and after resting, started for Chippewa. The Queen's Own, and Grenadiers, from Toronto, and 13th Battalion of Hamilton, left this evening for the front, followed by the 16th Regiment (Regulars), under command of Col. Peacock. From one end of the country to the other the Volunteers are assembling, and the wildest excitement prevails. To-night, at 10 o'clock, the following marched to Point St. Charles, and took train for St. Johns. Two Batteries of Montreal Garrison Artillery, under Captains Brown and Hobbs; one Company 1st P. W. R., under Capt. Bond; one Company Victoria Rifles, under Capt. Bacon; one Company Royals, under Capt. Kenneth Campbell; one Company "Chasseurs," Capt. Labelle. The Artillery went to Isle aux Noix. During the day two Field Batteries of Royal Artillery, and 100 men of the Rifle Brigade, also left for St. Johns.

JUNE 2.—There are now 800 Fenians at St. Albans, The *Witness* to-day thus speaks of the situation:—"As might be expected, the startling and thick coming items of telegraphic news respecting Fenian invaders and their doings, created no little excitement in the city yesterday. Neither fear nor despondency, however, had any share in the mingled feelings with which this news was received and discussed. All classes seem to entertain a kind of grim joy at the opportunity apparently about to be afforded of repulsing and punishing the men who so long and so unjustly have annoyed Canadians with threats which are now being carried into

cruel and lawless execution, by the most unjustifiable invasion of our soil. The business streets were deserted, and the leading thoroughfares more than usually thronged."

These words but inadequately express the situation. The streets were filled by men of the Prince of Wales, and Victoria Rifles, answering the call to muster at noon, and proceeded to the frontier. As they gathered at the Victoria Armoury, in Victoria Square, we even at this late date, can fancy how quickly the blood coursed through their veins as an extra was put into their hands, of which the following is a copy:

FIRST BATTLE FOUGHT.

A NUMBER KILLED ON BOTH SIDES—QUEEN'S OWN, AND
13TH BEHAVING GALLANTLY.

"TORONTO, JUNE 2.—Early this a.m. the Volunteers took train to Ridgeway, where they disembarked. The Fenians were found encamped in a bush. The Canadian Volunteers at once attacked, the Queen's Own firing the first shot. The fight is now general—the Volunteers driving the Fenians; a number killed on both sides; the Volunteers behaving gallantly."

When, however, the truth of this engagement was known, it was found some one had blundered, with the result that the Queen's Own lost four killed, and forty-one wounded, and the 13th Batt., seven wounded; subsequently, several in both battalions died from the results of the campaign. This event is only incidentally alluded to here, as my main object is to deal with the operations of the Montreal Militia, in connection with the raids on our Eastern border. Still, as the battle or fight at Ridgeway was the most serious encounter which the Canadian Militia had with the Fenians, I could hardly help mentioning it, and of saying a few words regarding it. The operations on the Niagara frontier were directed by General Napier, and the force immediately placed to meet the Fenians was the Queen's Own, of Toronto; the 13th Batt., of Hamilton, and the 16th Regiment of Regulars, the latter under the command of Col. Peacock. Col. Booker, of the 13th Batt., as senior officer, assumed the command as Brigadier. By orders from Col. Peacock, the Volunteers were to leave St. Catharines, at a certain hour on the 2nd

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of June, and to make connection with him at Lime Ridge, where they were to disembark from the cars. Being ready to leave at an hour earlier than had been named, they did so, and, in consequence, arrived at the point of junction shortly before the time named by Col. Peacock. Instead of waiting for Col. Peacock, who was himself delayed, Col. Booker pushed on, evidently hoping to have Col. Peacock almost immediately in his rear. Suddenly and unexpectedly Col. Booker came upon the Fenians, and at once attacked them. In a short time the engagement became general. All accounts which I have read give the Militia great praise for pluck and enthusiasm. All at once the cry of "Cavalry" was raised, when Col. Booker ordered his Brigade to form square, which they did with a fair amount of steadiness. The Fenians then poured into this square several volleys, and many men fell; whereupon Col. Booker ordered the force to retire, which was effected with a good amount of steadiness, though the Fenians followed for some distance, keeping up a fairly steady fire. Later in the day, on the arrival of the 16th, the Fenians retired, being hotly pushed by that Regiment. This engagement gave rise to a bitter controversy between Col. Peacock and Col. Booker, and resulted in Col. Booker's resignation.

Let us now return on this same 2nd of June, to our own City of Montreal, where excitement was intense. We left the 1st Batt. Prince of Wales Rifles, and the Victoria Rifles assembling at the Victoria Armoury, in Victoria Square. At 5 p.m., all being ready, the line of march was taken to the Bonaventure Station, where a train was waiting to convey them—no one—not even the officers, knew whither. The crowd in the station was so large that it was with difficulty the men could make their way to the cars. About six o'clock the train left, amid a scene of the wildest enthusiasm. As I went to the front with this column, I will briefly describe what occurred during its nearly three weeks' service. Arriving at Lachine, we quickly disembarked and marched on to the Ferry boat and were taken across to Caughnawaga. Here, we found a train waiting, and we then learned that our destination was Hemmingford. While the force was embarking, Sergeant-Major O'Mahony, of the Prince of Wales Rifles, who had been an Imperial soldier, gave utterance to treasonable sentiments, and disappeared. Major Hill (lately deceased at Winnipeg), who was in command of the regi-

THE FENIAN RAIDS OF 1866 AND 1870.

ment, ordered an escort to search for him, and to bring him, in dead or alive. After a long search he was discovered, and sent back to Montreal under escort. He was confined for some time in the Montreal gaol. It was fully eleven o'clock, before we reached Hemmingford, where we found a guard of the 51st in charge of the station, the rest being in the village. The men were housed in barns, and the officers were taken in charge by various farmers. Some few fared well, others badly. I was among the former, being hospitably taken care of by the Rev. Mr. Patterson, Presbyterian Minister. At 6 a.m. all were astir and a camp formed not far from the railway station, and a side track built, so as to run materials right into camp. On the 4th June, half of Major (now Lieut.-Col.) Stevenson's Battery, and twenty men of No. 1 Troop, Montreal Cavalry, joined us, as also did Lieut.-Col. Devlin, who assumed Command of his Regiment, the 1st Prince of Wales. On the 5th, the Victoria Rifles broke camp and left for Huntingdon; the Prince of Wales, the Battery and Cavalry did the former later in the day; but for some reason were so detained that the men had to be placed in the pews of the two or three churches, to get a few hours' rest. I passed the night of the 5th June in the telegraph office, and thus became acquainted with all that was going on along the frontier. So alarming were the reports of large bodies of Fenians being in our immediate vicinity, who were preparing to attack us *en route*, that enquiries were made as to whether there were sufficient cars at Caughnawaga, which could be sent to Hemmingford for us. If there had been, we would have returned to Caughnawaga and been taken to Huntingdon, via Port Lewis. Fortunately, the cars which had brought us to Hemmingford were on the Island of Montreal, so that of necessity we were to follow the road which in some places is within less than half a mile from the frontier. It had rained heavily up till 1 o'clock on the morning of the 6th, and half-past two saw dawn breaking with a heavily-clouded sky, and a hot, suffocating air, not a breath of wind stirring. Before 3 o'clock, the Battery, Cavalry and Prince of Wales Regiment were drawn up before Johnson's Hotel, and after a few words from Col. Devlin, marched out of the village, just as 3 o'clock was striking. The roads were simply awful; literally ankle deep in mud. Havelock, eight miles distant, was reached at 7 a.m. Here, arrangements had been made for breakfast,

and the scene was one that I can never forget. The officers had the meal in a room in the hotel; but they could hardly get served, as the women were all crying bitterly, word having just arrived that the Victoria Rifles had been attacked by the Fenians the previous afternoon, while *en route*, and had suffered heavily. As you can imagine, this was stirring news. At this point, fully 80 waggons were waiting for us, and into them the whole of the Infantry were soon placed and the journey continued. At Franklin, preparations had been made to give us a dinner in the covered shed at the side of the Hotel. The pouring rain had leaked through the roof, soaking the bread, buns and tablecloths; but the men were hungry, and notwithstanding these drawbacks, made an excellent meal. At this place, Col. Devlin was taken ill and compelled to go to bed. It has been repeatedly stated that the news which we received at Havelock caused him to funk, and that he assumed illness. I wish to state most emphatically that such statements are not true. I saw Col. Devlin, who was most anxious to proceed, and that it was on my urgent advice that he remained behind, under the care of my friend, Dr. Ferguson, of Franklin. After a rest of an hour, the force proceeded, the Artillery and Cavalry being ordered to Huntingdon, whither the Victoria Rifles had gone, and the Prince of Wales Rifles to Durham (now known as Ormstown). With a view of affording support in case of an attack, the "Prince of Wales," instead of going direct to their destination, accompanied the Artillery and Cavalry to near Huntingdon, when it left them and continued its journey, backwards, so to speak. Before reaching Ormstown, a dense bush of several miles had to be traversed, which was literally alive with mosquitoes, and the men suffered greatly. Just as dusk was coming on, the Regiment arrived at its destination, and at once proceeded to make camp. The distance travelled was about thirty-two miles, and the men, who had but little rest for several days, were completely worn out, and were unfit for any further duty that night. This fact I reported officially to Major Hill, in command. The result was that a mounted force consisting of about forty young farmers was organized, and patrolled the roads all night. Although the early evening had been sultry it turned bitterly cold about midnight, and as the men had only serges, and not even one blanket per man, they passed a very disagreeable night. Next day, the camp was in good

shape, and the officers established their mess at McEacheran's Hotel. Several days passed with not anything to relieve the monotony, when, one night, about 12 o'clock, a trooper of the Montreal Cavalry galloped up to the officer's quarters, and handed Col. Devlin, who some days previously had rejoined his regiment, a note. This was informing him that that night a Fenian force from Malone would make an attempt to pass between Huntingdon and Ormstown, to commit depredations on the Beauharnois Canal, and that possibly *en route* we might be attacked. It had been arranged with the inhabitants that in the event of any sudden call at night, they would at once place either candles or lamps in their windows, as moving about in the village after dark was, to strangers, not an easy matter. Scarcely had the "assembly" sounded, when the village was all aglow with light, which was most serviceable. The call was promptly responded to, and at 1 o'clock four companies were despatched to Anderson's Corners, about four miles distant. The men had become practically bootless, and only a day or two previously had taken possession of a supply of boots, which had been sent by the Relief Committee, in Montreal, for the Victoria Rifles. These boots had to pass through Ormstown, and, as the Prince of Wales Rifles thought that they needed them more than did the Victorias, took possession of them. The night was intensely dark, and the march was over clay roads, sticky from incessant rain. The result was, these ill-fitting boots stuck in the clay, and many were drawn off the men's feet. In this way, quite a number lost their boots, and continued the journey in their stockings. Arriving at Anderson's Corners, pickets were thrown out at the intersecting roads, which were patrolled till 7 o'clock, when they received orders to return to Ormstown. In the meantime, the remainder left at Headquarters were not idle; the planks on the Bridge crossing the river were all removed, and the Ormstown side of the bridge and road were barricaded by immense logs, which, it so happened, were found in large numbers in the immediate neighbourhood. This was the only exciting event of the stay of the Prince of Wales at Ormstown. It was quite sufficient, however, to renew attention to the fact, which had been reported to Headquarters in Montreal, that the Prince of Wales Regiment was in no condition to repel any serious attack, as many of the Snider rifles, with which they were armed, were useless. Some were

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without ramrods; some had broken nipples. The report of this condition of affairs had been conveyed to Montreal by Captain Henry J. Clarke, a well-known Irish lawyer of this city, and who subsequently took a prominent part in Winnipeg politics, and where he went some eight or nine years ago. Incidentally I may say that a few years later this gentleman was recognized at a Chicago railroad station by a number of Chicago Fenians, who attacked him. In the mêlée he was severely injured, and would in all probability have lost his life had it not been that, being a Mason, he was able to make the fact known, when large numbers rushed to his assistance. This Captain Clarke brought back to Ormstown a sufficient number of what was then called the short rifle, to arm the whole regiment, and from that moment the regiment felt that if required they would be in a position to give a good account of themselves. Unfortunately, when his regiment returned to Montreal, he wrote a letter to one of the newspapers, signed "A Naked Volunteer," the general tenor of which may be recognized by the following extract:—"When the Prince of Wales Regiment was leaving by the train, with their brave brothers in arms, the Victorias, and as they took leave of their friends, their cherished wives and helpless children—with a shout of defiance for the enemy on their lips and tears for those they loved best in their eyes—when they were on their way to risk all, to risk their lives in the cause of country, what would these fellow citizens have said had they known at that moment that the Government was sending those brave men forward, armed with rifles which had been condemned years before, and declared by a Colonel of the Guards "to be fit for nothing but old iron." This letter caused much excitement, which was increased by Captain Clarke's name being removed from the list of officers of the Canadian Militia. At Huntingdon, the Victoria Rifles, Cavalry and Stevenson's Battery had but little excitement during their stay, though of work there was plenty. Their presence there, however, along with some other Volunteer Militia Battalions, showed the Fenians at Malone that Canada was prepared for them, while it gave the inhabitants a sense of absolute security. On the 13th of June, an escort from the Victoria Rifles, under command of Sergeant Kerby, brought into Montreal a Fenian spy captured at Huntingdon. The following extract from a

letter written by Private S. O. Shorey of the Vics, from Hemmingford, and printed in the *Witness*, will give an idea of what the men had to endure, and I know every word of it to be true: "We are lying in mud around the Camp fire. We have been half starved since we came here. My feet are wet, and I have not another pair of socks. If I had I could not put them on, for if I took off my boots I could not get them on again. All the boys are troubled with colds, rheumatism and sore throats. We have been soaked with mud and water ever since our arrival."

SUNDAY, JUNE 3, was an anxious day in Montreal; it was Procession Sunday, and the leading thoroughfares were densely packed by sight-seers and persons seeking for the latest news. Twelve o'clock had just struck, and the procession was passing up St. James Street, when the sound of martial music was heard. Instinctively the procession came to a standstill, then loud cheers were heard, the procession opened its ranks, and amid a scene of excitement, as was rarely or ever seen in Montreal, the 25th King's Own Borderers passed along, *en route* for Cornwall and a part for the Eastern frontier.

Later in the day the whole Militia force remaining in Montreal paraded on the Champ de Mars, and were addressed by Major General Lindsay. Major Stevenson's Battery and half a troop (No. 1), are to leave to-morrow for Hemmingford. The former had difficulty in obtaining horses, but were at last supplied by Mr. Shedden, of the Shedden Company. A subscription was started to purchase horses for the Battery, which by the 14th of June amounted to \$2,165. Among those who subscribed \$100 were the following: J. G. McKenzie, Morland, Watson & Co., Dr. Fisher, Alex. Bunton, John Frothingham of Frothingham & Workman, Lewis Kay & Co., George Stephens, Crathern & Caverhill, William Dow & Co., Alex. McGibbon.

JUNE 4.—Two hundred Fenians, with six officers, arrived at Malone yesterday, making the entire number there in the neighbourhood of 1,000 men, fairly armed and equipped. The *Witness* of to-day says: "What shall we say of our Volunteers who have sprung to arms in every part of Canada at almost a moment's notice? The hearts of the people go with them to the front. The Grand Trunk Railroad has been of the utmost service in this emergency. The iron horse was ready at all hours, and whenever let loose

thundered away with long train of cars filled with troops. When this was at night, a pilot engine preceded.

"The 7th Fusiliers arrived up to-day from Quebec, 1,000 strong. Two gun-boats manned by men from H. M. Ship 'Pylades,' are doing duty in the river above the Victoria Bridge. The 17th Regiment from Halifax is on its way up the river to Quebec."

"JUNE 5.—The steamer 'Royal,' on which work went on night and day since the 2nd inst., preparing her as a gun-boat, left Montreal to-day, for the protection of the Beauharnois and Cornwall Canals. She has been furnished with four guns, two of them Armstrong's. On her foredeck there have been raised bulwarks of twenty ft. by eighteen ft. formed of beams nine inches thick and cased with iron. These wooden walls are about six feet high, and are pierced for the guns, one on each side, and two in front; also lookout holes for small arms. She is manned by 50 men from the 'Pylades.'"

"JUNE 6.—The Chasseurs Canadiens, under Lt.-Col. Courso, left yesterday for Laprairie. They are billeted in the houses in the village, and are held in readiness to start at a moment's notice either for St. Johns or St. Remi, according to the movements of the invaders."

JUNE 7.—The *Gazette* of this morning says: "We are requested to state that from the hasty manner in which the Volunteers left the city, they are unprovided with many articles necessary for health. Request is made for blankets, flannel underclothing, woollen shirts, socks and boots. They have been marching in very heavy rains, and sleeping on wet straw.

"Much excitement was created yesterday by a report that a serious attack was threatened the Missisquoi frontier, by a large body of Fenians—said to be 2,000 strong—coming by several roads from Highgate and Swanton. Capt. Carter, of the 16th Regiment, who is at St. Armand, with a small body of militia, sent out scouts to feel their approach and found the information to be correct; acting under instructions he fell back on his supports at St. Johns."

JUNE 8.—The *Gazette* of to-day says: "The Fenians between Newport on Lake Magog and Malone number not less than five thousand men. They are encamped at various places within a few miles of the frontier in squads of various sizes. They are more or less armed. The force between

St. Armand and St. Albans is not less than twelve hundred men. Reinforcements are arriving at St. Albans by every train, not less than four hundred having arrived there yesterday. Among the Fenian force on this frontier is a Cavalry Regiment, said to be eight hundred strong. The men are fully supplied with saddles, bridles, sabres and pistols. They are without horses, which they intend to obtain by raids on the border farmers."

A bill suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act was introduced into Parliament, and had its first, second and third reading this afternoon. It at once received the assent of the Governor-General and became law. To-night, in Montreal and elsewhere, several arrests were made, which helped to increase the excitement, especially as the evening papers announced that in case of a sudden emergency occurring which required the rapid assembling of the Militia still in the city—the alarm would be given by fifteen strokes on the big bell in the Parish Church of Notre Dame—to be repeated after an interval of two minutes, then followed by simultaneous ringing for several minutes of all the five bells.

Great activity exists at Quebec; Armstrong guns and entrenching tools are being sent West.

A detachment of Fenian Cavalry captured Frelighsburg this morning. Between Frelighsburg and Pigeon Hill, the Fenian force is fully five hundred strong. At the latter place they have hoisted a large green flag. They are raiding all over for provisions and horses.

JUNE 9.—The 5th Batt. "Royals" and a detachment of Montreal Cavalry under Lt.-Col. Lovelace left to-day for Hemmingford.

The "Chasseurs Canadien" were to-day moved from Prairie to St. Johns. The 7th Regiment (regulars) left with a Field Battery for Farnham.

Fenians have taken possession of St. Armand; as they marched their number was fully one thousand five hundred and their line a mile long, and consisted mainly of young men. They only remained a short time, as our force which had fallen back to St. Alexandre, being reinforced, again advanced, and the Fenians retired before it. The Rifle Brigade, a portion of the 25th Regiment and the Royal Guides (Cavalry) from Montreal, under Capt. D. Lorne McDougall, reached St. Armand this afternoon. Finding the place evacuated by the Fenians and in possession of our

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forces, they at once started for Pigeon Hill. When within half a mile of it, the Fenians were found in considerable numbers. The Rifle Brigade advanced from the North and the Fenians retired toward the border firing a few shots. The half Battery of Armstrong guns unlimbered and prepared for action, the 25th Regiment being held in reserve. The Royal Guides galloped to the lines with a view of cutting them off. In this they were successful, for the Fenians were soon seen in their rear, behind a barricade which the Fenians had erected. The Guides charged toward them, jumped the barricade (many of the troopers being members of the Montreal Hunt), and fell upon them pell-mell, sword in hand, and scattered them in all directions. The Guides captured sixteen prisoners, the rest were chased to the border, when the pursuit ceased. Pigeon Hill, Cook's Corner and Frelighsburg were then occupied by our troops. All the Missisquoi frontier is now clear of Fenians and all important points are strongly held by our troops. The 17th Regiment from Halifax came from Quebec to Montreal to-day; they are six hundred strong, having left three companies at Quebec. They will replace in Montreal the regular troops now on the frontier. This evening the companies of the Montreal Garrison Artillery still remaining in Montreal went into the College Street Barracks. This Barrack was the old Montreal College, and had been so occupied since the Trent excitement of 1861-2.

JUNE 11.—At 10 o'clock this morning the sixteen prisoners taken by the Royal Guides at the Skirmish, on the 9th at Pigeon Hill, arrived in Montreal under charge of a company of the 25th Regiment (King's Own Borderers). A large body of police, fully armed, were at the station to keep back the immense crowd that was in waiting. They were hand-cuffed in pairs. Fully half of them seemed under twenty years of age, and all seemed to be much cast down. They were marched to Notre Dame St., where a car of the Street Railway was waiting for them. They were placed in the car, under an escort of the 25th Regiment, and with several troopers of the Montreal Cavalry riding on each side, started for the gaol. The street was crowded nearly all the distance, while hundreds followed all the way; cries of "hang them, hang them," greeted them almost incessantly.

The following are the stations of the Montreal Militia Brigade on this date, June 11:

Montreal Garrison Artillery, 2 companies at Isle aux Noix, Capt. Hobbs.

Victoria Rifles, 1 company, St. Johns, Capt. Bacon.

Royal Light Infantry, 1 company, St. Johns, Capt. Kenneth Campbell.

1st Batt. P. W. Rifles, 1 company, St. Johns, Capt Frank Bond.

1st Batt. P. W. Rifles, 8 companies, at Durham (now Ormstown), Lieut.-Col. Devlin.

Victoria Rifles, 5 companies, at Huntingdon, Major Heward.

Field Battery, 2 guns, at Huntingdon, Major Stevenson.

No. 1 Troop Cavalry, 1 troop, at Huntingdon, Major Smith.

No. 2 Troop Cavalry, part 1 troop, Cornwall, Capt. Ogilvie.

6th Batt. Hochelaga Light Infantry, 1 company Isle aux Noix, Major Isaacson.

6th Batt. Hochelaga Light Infantry, 1 company, Stottsville, Major Isaacson.

Chasseurs Canadiens, 8 companies, St. Johns, Lieut.-Col. Coursol.

5th Batt. Royal Light Infantry, 7 companies, Hemmingford, Major Grant.

No. 2 Troop Cavalry, ½ troop, Hemmingford, Lieut.-Col. Lovelace.

Royal Guides, 1 troop, St. Johns, Capt. McDougall.

6th Batt. Hochelaga Light Infantry, 3 companies, Cornwall, Lieut.-Col. Hawkes.

JUNE 13.—Last night a party of twelve men from No. 6 Company of the Montreal Garrison Artillery left for Terrebonne and St. Therese to hunt up deserters from the Volunteer Militia Corps of those places who were hiding in the bush.

JUNE 15.—To-day the Imperial Regiments and the Montreal Volunteer Militia on the Missiquoi frontier and from St. Johns returned to Montreal.

The sixteen Fenian prisoners were removed this morning to Sweetsburg for trial. They were hand-cuffed in pairs and each pair was guarded by a soldier of the 25th Regiment and a Government policeman. They were sent for trial to Sweetsburg, where the district court opened the last day of November. As that town is very near the

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frontier and as threats of rescue had been made, the Government deemed it advisable to send a fairly strong Military force to prevent any such attempt succeeding. A detachment of sixty-five rank and file of the Royal Light Infantry, under Major Kenneth Campbell, was detailed for the service, having as Company Officers, Captain James Harvey and Lieut. Heaton.

They left Montreal early on the morning of 1st December, detrained at West Farnham, and were conveyed to Sweetsburg in country teams. There they were joined by a like number of volunteers drafted from several battalions.

The prisoners had been conveyed to the jail there by a small Military escort and thirty men of Government police known then as the Water Police. The force available was therefore one hundred and sixty men and eight officers. Those in charge of the rural company were: Capt. Peter Smith, Lieut. Sixby and Ensign Robinson. Lieut.-Col. Osborne Smith was in supreme command, and Lieut.-Col. Ermantinger had charge of the civilian force. A noticeable feature of this force was the fact that it was the first body of British troops armed with breech-loading weapons. The men on the way out had their regular muzzle loading Enfields, but with them on the train were cases containing one hundred and sixty Spencer carbines, a very effective, though a short and clumsy breech-loading rifled arm. At Sweetsburg the latter were served out to the men, and the rifle with bayonet only used by the sentries. For the new and peculiar arm Major Campbell had to draw out a new manual and firing exercise (called platoon exercise in those days), and then instruct the men in its details.

The service was a very arduous one. The weather was intensely cold. The jail square had to be kept clear of snow, and guard duty was of an exacting nature. There were seven posts which involved a large guard and every night an in-lying picket of twenty-five men who were not allowed to remove even their accoutrements. Some of the posts were very much exposed and there were no sentry boxes. The men were drilled very thoroughly, and made wonderful progress. The rural detachment were men of splendid physique, though not nearly as neat or quick as the city men, but for fatigue work their cheerful willingness put to shame the latter's grumbling ways.

The conduct of the whole force was excellent, and the town people gave the men handsome entertainment.

The trial of the prisoners took place before Judge Francis Johnson. Mr. T. K. Ramsay, Q.C., was the prosecuting officer. Two of the prisoners were found guilty, but the Government dropped the cases of the remainder. The city men then returned to Montreal, and the rural ones to their respective homes at the end of January. Col. Osborne Smith returned to his duties in the city soon after the trial began, leaving the details to Major Campbell, who communicated with him every day by telegraph.

On the 18th of June the Prince of Wales Rifles, Victoria Rifles, Royals, Hochelagas, Garrison Artillery, and the two guns of Major Stevens' Battery arrived home, and received an immense ovation. Writing of this reception the *Witness* of June 19, says: "Many homes were rendered happy yesterday by the return of beloved ones from the frontier, where they have been encamped for the past two or three weeks. It was indeed a proud sight to see corps after corps, returning in heavy marching order, with their brown blankets slung round their shoulders.... Every eye gazed with pride on our noble defenders, who have been enduring exposure and hardship that we might have peace and security. Every heart went up in gratitude for their safe return."

The City of Montreal, from its three weeks of intense excitement, relapsed once more into its ordinary routine, but all looked forward to the reception which it was arranged would be extended on Saturday, the 23rd of June, to the entire force—regular and volunteer—which had been on active service. That day was bright, beautifully clear and warm. Long before 4 o'clock, the hour appointed for the troops to arrive, the Champ de Mars was a dense mass of human beings, except that portion reserved for the military. Every window from which a view could be obtained was occupied by ladies. Prompt on time, the troops, in heavy marching order, and preceded by their respective bands, playing lively airs, marched on to the ground and took up their position in quarter distance column in the following order:—

Royal Guides Cavalry, Capt. D. Lorne McDougall.
17th Regiment, Major Heigham.
1st Batt. Rifle Brigade, Major Nixon.
30th Regiment, Lieut.-Col. Pakenham.

Montreal Garrison Artillery, Lieut.-Col. Ferrier.

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Montreal Engineers (2 companies), Major Kennedy.
Victoria Rifles, Lieut.-Col. Heward.
Royal Light Infantry, Major Grant.
Hochelaga Light Infantry, Major Isaacson.
Chasseurs Canadien, Lieut.-Col. Coursol.
Prince of Wales Regiment, Lieut.-Col. Devlin.
No. 1 and No. 2 Troops, Montreal Cavalry, Cpts. Ogilvie
and Perry.

Major Smith, commanding the Squadron.

The Royal Artillery and Major Stevenson's Battery were drawn up on Craig St., there not being room for them on the Champ de Mars.

Major General Lindsay commanded the Division.

Lieut.-Col. Elrington commanded the Regular and Imperial troops.

Lieut.-Col. Pipon commanded Royal Field Artillery.

I have not been able to find out who commanded the Militia Brigade, but think it was Lieut.-Col. Dyde.

The Mayor read an address of welcome, and gratitude, after which the entire Division marched past, each corps in its turn being loudly cheered, while the ladies waved their handkerchiefs and fans. The reading of the following District Order from Major General Lindsay closed the proceedings, after which the various regiments marched to their respective quarters, and were dismissed.

MONTREAL, 23rd of June, 1866.

The emergency which has caused the Volunteer Militia of Canada to spring to arms having passed, the Major General Commanding the District acknowledges the important services they have rendered. The patriotic spirit exhibited by employers and employed placed at the service of the Crown in a few hours a force of upwards of twenty-two thousand in the two Canadas (U. C. and L. C.), which, if the occasion demanded, could have been augmented to such numbers as required.

While anxious for peace, Canada is showing herself prepared for war, and the Major General is gratified in bearing his testimony to the noble and independent spirit which proves that Canada has reason to be proud of her citizen soldiers.

It seems as if it would not be right to close this history of the raid of 1866 without a word regarding the stand which was taken by the Hon. Thos. D'Arcy McGee, the

most distinguished Irishman which has ever appeared in Canadian history, and which stand resulted in his assassination. Mr. McGee had been a rebel in Ireland, and continued a rebel in the United States. In the early fifties he was induced to settle in Montreal, and engage in newspaper work, editing the *New Era*. From this he entered politics, becoming a thorough loyalist, and in the raid of 1866 was conspicuous for his denunciation of the Fenian organization. His views will be understood by the following incident:—

The Rev. Father Hendricken, of Waterbury, Conn., wrote Mr. McGee in favour of a Fenian of that place who was among the prisoners taken at Ridgeway. Mr. McGee replied as follows:

OTTAWA, JUNE 14, 1866.

“Dear Father Hendricken,

“I am in receipt of your request that I use my influence to save Terence McDonald, now a Fenian prisoner in our hands. There are few things you could ask me to do which I would not do for ‘Auld Lang Syne;’ but my dear old friend, the thing you ask I cannot do. Terence McDonald, like the rest of his comrades, left his home (if he had any), his honest employment (if he followed one), to come several hundred miles to murder our border people, for this Fenian filibustering was murder, not war. What had Canada or Canadians done to deserve such assault? What had the widow of our brave McEacheran done to Terence McDonald that he and his comrades should leave her with five fatherless little ones? What had our gallant countryman, Ensign Fahey, done to them that he should be crippled for life? What did our eight young comrades—the darlings of mothers, sisters and wives—the flower of our College Corps—do to deserve their bloody fate at Ridgeway? The person for whom you ask my interference was one of those who sought our people out on our soil, and maimed and slew as many as they could, and those who sent them exalt in the exploit. They must, therefore, take the consequence of their own act.

“I need hardly say to you, who have been in Canada, and who know how free, how orderly, how religious this people are, that no spirit of vengeance will direct the trial of the accused. McDonald and all the Fenians will have every justice done them—publically, in the broad light of day, but

to whatever punishment the law hands him over, no word of mine can ever be spoken in mitigation, not even under those circumstances, if he were my own brother.

"I grieve I must deny you, but so it is."

During the winter and summer of 1867, the Fenian circles continued a vigorous life in the United States. When a candidate for the West Division of Montreal for the first Parliament of Confederation, Mr. McGee, in my hearing, when addressing a public meeting of the Electors, used the following words as expressing his opinion of Fenians: "Well, gentlemen, looking back at the events of the last two and a half years, I have not one word to unsay, no act to regret as against that crazy conspiracy. A more atrocious plot as against Canada, especially, never was hatched in the heated passions of bad men. I told you long ago its leaders were knaves, and their followers dupes." The contest in this election was intensely bitter, but Mr. McGee was elected and took his seat. His manly denunciation of the raid was not forgotten by his enemies. Early on the morning of the 7th of April, 1868, after having delivered, in the House of Commons, a most brilliant and conciliatory speech on Confederation, which was then bitterly opposed in the Maritime Provinces, he left the house with a friend. This friend accompanied him part of the way to his boarding-house, and bade him good-night. A long good-night it was to be, for just as Mr. McGee was putting his latch-key into the lock, the assassin, within a few feet from him, fired, the ball passing through the head from back to front, entering the door, and the greatest Irishman Canada has ever seen fell dead. Although the deed was not seen by living being—the murderer was soon in custody, and expiated his crime on the scaffold. A public funeral, such as has seldom been seen, was given him in the City of Montreal, and his name should never be forgotten by the Dominion, whose early infancy he did so much to strengthen.

After I had written this portion of my lecture I became accidentally aware of a fact, which I am sure is known to few, if any, in Canada, and is of interest now that it has been decided to give a medal with bars for the campaign of 1866 and 1870. The fact to which I allude is this: The only Victoria Cross ever won in Canada was won during this raid, and under the following circumstances:—On the 9th of June, 1866,

Private T. O'Hea, of the 1st Battalion of the Rifle Brigade, was one of an escort, under Sergeant Hill, in charge of a railway van, containing two thousand pounds of ammunition, *en route* from Quebec to Kingston, for the use of the Militia on the frontier. On reaching Danville the van was found to be on fire and was hastily pushed down the line away from the station, the inhabitants of the neighbouring houses flying in terror. O'Hea ran down to the van, burst open the door, and extinguished the fire.

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The Fenian Raid of 1870

The 24th of May, 1870, opened with a downpour of rain, and a heavy overcast sky, disappointing to the thousands who had been looking forward with pleasure to the review at Logan's farm. The Militia Act of 1869, under which, practically, I believe we are now acting, saw the Montreal force enrolled anew, but it had not by any means been fully supplied with uniforms. As an instance of this I may say that Major Frank Bond, commanding at the time the Prince of Wales Regiment, purchased trousers and serges for a large number of his men. Still in various ways arrangements had been made whereby the Montreal Militia would make at least a creditable appearance. The weather, however, put a damper on the public. Not so with the Militia, who in considerable numbers assembled at the Drill Hall, at the time, and now, on Craig street, a little after ten o'clock. As I wended my way thither I was struck by the sight of several mounted officers and troopers galloping past me, in a direction opposite to that in which I was going. Evidently there was something unusual in the wind, but the idea of a Fenian invasion was farthest from my thoughts, as it certainly also was from the minds of the Canadian people when they retired on the night of the 23rd of May. On reaching the Drill Hall I found that the review was off, but that a Fenian raid was on the tapis and that in accordance with orders from Headquarters the entire Militia force was placed on active service, and were to remain under arms. Later in the day, the Montreal Troop of Cavalry, under Captain Muir, and one Company from the Montreal Garrison Artillery, 1st Prince of Wales, 3rd Batt. Victoria Rifles, 5th Royals and 6th Hochelaga Light Infantry, were selected for immediate service on the frontier. An hour was given them to get a meal and say good-bye to their friends. The rest of the force was dismissed with orders to report the following morning at 5 o'clock. A little

before 6 o'clock, the service companies marched out of the Drill Hall, headed by the Band of the Montreal Garrison Artillery, and Prince of Wales Rifles. The line of march was by Craig St., Place d'Armes Hill and St. James St. to the Grand Trunk Station. The streets were densely crowded, and the enthusiasm of the people was immense. During the afternoon the horses of the Cavalry had been placed in box cars and attached to the special train, which was to take the troops to the front. About seven the train drew out of the station, amid the cheers of the dense mass which packed the depot. From every house which commanded a view of the train as it passed on its way to the Victoria Bridge came one continuous cheer and waving of handkerchiefs. The greatest enthusiasm pervaded all classes. It was almost nine o'clock when the train reached St. Johns, where the station was guarded by a detachment of the 21st Battalion, Richelieu Light Infantry. Col. Osborne Smith, D.A.G., went to St. Johns with the service companies, and was accompanied by Capt. Gascoigne, Scots' Fusilier Guards, our present G. O. C. acting as Brigade Major. These officers held a consultation with Lt.-Col. Fletcher, D.A.G., of the District, and Lieut.-Col. Marchand, our present Provincial Premier, who commanded the Richelieu Light Infantry. The result of this interview and of telegrams from Major General Lindsay, at Montreal, was that the force was disposed of as follows: The Company of Montreal Garrison Artillery, under Capt. Wickstead, was sent to garrison the fort at Isle aux Noix, which is about 15 miles up the Richelieu River from St. Johns, which had been vacant for some time owing to the disbandment of the Royal Canadian Rifles—Imperial troops. The Companies of the Prince of Wales under Capt. Bulmer, Royals under Capt. Mackenzie, and Hochelagas, Capt. Gardner, were billeted in the town. The remainder—some 90 men in all—consisting of the Company of the Victoria Rifles, officered by Capt. Crawford, Lieut. Greenshields and Ensign Oswald and the Cavalry, officered by Capt. Muir, Lt.-Col. Lovelace acting as Lieut. and Coronet Lockerby, continued on the train to Stanbridge Station, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Osborne Smith. A picket of the Richelieu Battalion accompanied them to Desrivieres Station, where they were left as an out-post to look after the safety of the railroad track. Soon after midnight the train reached Stanbridge

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Station, and the force was soon on its march to the Village of Stanbridge, seven miles distant, the baggage soon following under a guard, commanded by Sergeant (now Lt.-Col.), Massey. The night was intensely dark, not a star shining, and the roads ankle deep in mud. Stanbridge was reached about three in the morning, and the bare floor of the Hotel hall gave the Victoria Rifles a welcome repose. The knapsacks and blankets arrived an hour later, and were a welcome addition to their comfortless condition. The Cavalry got equally good accommodation in houses in the village. In the meantime, the Frontier Militia had been called out. The 52nd received orders on the night of the 24th of May to concentrate the companies from Waterloo, Granby, Sutton Flats and Sweetsburg at Dunham. The Company from Mansonville was to guard the pass near that village. The call to arms was quickly responded to, and by noon the men were at the appointed *rendez-vous*, and were ordered to Eccles Hill, where they arrived that afternoon. Col. Chamberlain, commanding the 60th Battalion, received orders in Montreal, where he had just arrived from Toronto, to call out his Battalion. This he did, directing them to muster at Stanbridge Village with despatch, and at once left to meet them there. The order was responded to with magic celerity and by 3 o'clock all were on the march to Stanbridge, where Col. Chamberlain arrived in the evening. An advanced picket of twenty-four men was at once sent to Cook's Corners, about two miles from the boundary line, while the rest of the Battalion took up position near Eccles Hill, on the road to Franklin, Vermont, where the Fenians were reported to be several hundred strong. Rapidly as these two Battalions had mustered, and been sent to the front, they had been preceded by an irregular body of men, who styled themselves "Home Guard," and was composed of frontier farmers, men who had suffered from the raid of 1866. Learning of the Fenian advance, it was but the work of a few hours, to assemble about thirty strong. They wore as a distinguishing mark a red flannel sash, and posted themselves on Eccles Hill, about three hundred yards from the boundary line, a very strong position, which in 1866 had been seized by the Fenians. A picket of this Home Guard kept watch during the night. It was a time of much anxiety, for they knew the foe in front of them numbered ten to their one. About 4 o'clock in the

morning they were relieved by a picket from the 60th Battalion, and fell back to Cook's Corner, which was also occupied by a Company of the same Battalion.

For the moment we will return to Montreal. A prominent citizen residing in Prince of Wales Terrace, gave a ball to celebrate Her Majesty's birthday. It was attended by the officers of the Rifle Brigade (which regiment was under command of Lord Alex. Russell), and officers of the Royal Artillery. About one in the morning, while the merry dancers had enjoyment to the full, consternation was depicted upon every face at the sudden receipt of an order for every officer to report at once, for departure for active service on the frontier. The ball soon ended, and the guests departed, few to sleep, most to lie awake and wonder whether this incident in miniature, so like the night in Brussels, previous to Waterloo would be followed, as it was, by the clash of arms, and the wounding and possible death of those who had been so lately their partners in the dance. At 6 a.m. the Rifle Brigade and Royal Artillery left by special train for St. Johns, where they occupied the Barracks. Early in the day of the 25th, the remaining companies of the Montreal Militia Brigade assembled at the Drill Hall and completed arrangements for departure. About five o'clock in the afternoon, headed by their bands, the following corps, viz.: 1st Prince of Wales Regiment. Major Bond; 3rd Victoria Rifles of Canada, Lieut.-Col. Bethune; 5th Royals Major Grant; 6th Hochelagas, Major Martin, left the Drill Hall, and marched to Point St. Charles, followed by enthusiastic spectators and receiving a rousing ovation. They were soon on a train which conveyed them to St. Johns. Here they disembarked, and arrangements made for quarters. They were rough indeed—the hard plank of the floor of the Town Hall—others a similar soft spot in an old unoccupied building once used as a hotel, and in various buildings—some in billets where they got their supper. In the matter of commissariat supplies, it was evidently intended to live on the country through which the brigade might pass. In this matter the Prince of Wales Rifles and Victorias fared the worst. Bread could not be had at any price, but after considerable foraging, they were supplied with crackers, butter and cheese. One paper says: "This evening a group of officers of the Prince of Wales Rifles could be seen buttering their crackers with

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their swords." When the town had apparently settled down for a quiet night and the clock struck the hour of eleven, the sound of the assembly rang clearly through the streets of St. Johns, awakening those who were asleep, and creating an excitement which can well be understood. It required but a short time to get the brigade formed up, which was now augmented by the service companies left at St. Johns the previous night. Col. Marchand, of the Richelieu Light Infantry, now assumed command as Senior Officer, and at midnight the force was on board of a special train, and left at once for St. Armand, where it arrived just as day was breaking. The line of march was soon taken up for Pigeon Hill. A company of the 60th Battalion was on guard at the station, under Capt. Sixby. The men divested themselves of their knapsacks, which were placed in wagons. It was a pretty sight to see this force of over a thousand men wending its way along the undulating road of this beautiful part of the Eastern Townships. The advance guard was No. 1 Company Prince of Wales Rifles under Capt. John Rogers. Every precaution was taken against surprise, as it was quite within the possibilities that the brigade might be attacked *en route*, the road being a favourable one for an enemy, being lined at frequent intervals with thick woods and overlooked by many rocky and wooded hills. The brigade was accompanied on its march of some eight miles by the Rev., now Bishop Bond, who was the chaplain of the Prince of Wales Rifles. When within a mile of Pigeon Hill the column was halted, and soon a trooper from the Montreal Cavalry arrived with an order from Col. Osborne Smith, for the force to return to St. Johns, as it was believed that the repulse of the Fenians the previous day, by the force at Eccles Hill, had ended—for the time at least, the possibility of a second attack. After a rest of about an hour, the force, with heavy hearts, set out on its return march, arriving at St. Armand about five o'clock, not having had a meal since their make-shift supper at St. Johns the night before. Barrels of pork and hard tack were waiting the arrival of the brigade at St. Armand. With this, and a large number of eggs, for which the country around St. Armand was scoured, an attempt was made to supply the tired men with a meal. This was a matter of much difficulty, for St. Armand consisted of but half a dozen houses, and the means of cooking for so

many men was an actual impossibility. Some fared fairly well, others got nothing, and the approach of darkness brought the miserable attempt of feeding the force to an end. Once more it embarked on the train which was waiting for it, and started for St. Johns, where it arrived about ten o'clock. Next day, the Company of Montagnards, a French Canadian Company from St. Jean Baptiste Village, arrived at St. Johns under Capt. Simpson and Lieut. D. Battersby, and were attached to the Hochelaga Light Infantry. The brigade, with the St. Johns Company of Garrison Artillery, and two companies of the Richelieu Light Infantry, were held as a reserve force. On the 3rd of June the Montreal Corps were relieved from duty and returned home.

We must now return to the force at Eccles Hill, and speak of what was transpiring there on the 25th of May in their immediate front, and which led to the despatch from St. Johns of the Montreal Brigade, whose movements I have just described. The Fenian force, destined for the attack on Canada, by the road leading to and past Eccles Hill, had its Headquarters at St. Albans. On the 23rd of May, Fenians began to arrive in squads of ten or twenty men, and during the previous night a large number of carts were engaged in carting boxes containing clothing, rifles and ammunition, which were secreted in the woods in the vicinity of Franklin Centre, just 3 miles across the border from Canada. In this way they managed to get there an equipment for at least five thousand men. The barrels of the rifles were disconnected from the stock, and in this way the boxes were not of a suspicious shape. On the 24th of May, between three hundred and four hundred Fenians were encamped at Hubbard's Corners, half-way between Franklin Centre and the line, where they were busily engaged in getting their arms in order, and uniforming the men. A large proportion of the rifles were breech-loaders, this one I now show you having been taken by myself out of one of the boxes. The scenes in the vicinity of the Fenian Headquarters were of a wild and exciting character. The American farmers suspended their labours, and viewed, it is said, with satisfaction, the preparations for the invasion of Canada, while many teams were engaged transporting boxes for the Fenians, which had been concealed in the woods. Three field pieces were mounted and got ready for

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service. They were small, but were rifled, and threw a six pound shot. Early on the morning of the 25th, the Fenians advanced their pickets to the brow of a small hill, overlooking the valley, from which rises Eccles Hill and through which runs the boundary line; Eccles Hill was already occupied by Canadian Militia. The Fenian reserve, four hundred strong, occupied the road from Franklin Centre toward the line. Their uniform consisted of a dark blue shell jacket, trimmed with green and yellow braid, dark grey trousers, but a few wore light blue. Nearly all wore the French Military cap, their accoutrements, the usual cross and waist belt, some had the letters U. S., others a harp on the clasp, and also on the ammunition pouch. Every man had forty rounds ball cartridge. The barrels of the rifles were bright. About 11 a.m., several Fenian sentries were advanced to a few yards from the lines. In anticipation of a speedy attack, Col. Smith had made preparation for defence. The Home Guard, about twenty-five strong, were posted among the rocks and brushwood toward the base of Eccles Hill; about a Company of the 60th Battalion, under Lieut.-Col. Chamberlain, near the brow of the hill, on both sides of the road, up which the enemy were expected to come after crossing the line. This being done, Lieut.-Col. Smith and Capt. Gascoigne started for Stanbridge, to bring forward the Cavalry and Victoria Rifles. Before reaching it they were overtaken by a messenger from Col. Chamberlain informing them that he was about to be attacked, whereupon Lieut.-Col. Smith returned and Capt. Gascoigne hurried forward to bring up the reserves. Before Lieut.-Col. Smith reached Eccles Hill on his return the attack had commenced. As the Fenians marched down the road, about three hundred strong, about twelve o'clock, they presented a formidable appearance. They marched with the regularity of veterans and the barrels of their rifles glistened in the noon-day sun. They marched with fixed bayonets, and rifles at the shoulder. When within a hundred yards of the boundary, General O'Neil addressed them as follows: "Soldiers of the advance guard of the American Irish Army, for the liberation of Ireland from the yoke of our oppressor—for your own country—you now enter that of the enemy. The eyes of your country are upon you. Forward." The advance company was from Vermont and was commanded by Capt. Cronan, of

Burlington, and he said in reply: "General, I am proud that Vermont has the honour of leading this advance. Ireland may depend upon us to do our duty." With a cheer they rushed toward the boundary line, at the double. Scarcely had their feet touched British soil, when crack, crack, went the rifles, from the Canadian Militia on Eccles Hill, and John Rowe, who had been doing sentry duty close to the iron post marking the boundary, and had joined the advancing company, fell dead, shot through the side. This fire of the Canadians disconcerted the Fenians and for a few moments they halted, as if undecided how to act. They then opened fire on the Canadians for about twenty minutes, several of the Fenians being wounded and removed to shelter. Then Capt. Cronan fell, severely wounded in the side and handed over the command to a brother officer. General Lewis, who was mounted, was shot in the leg and was removed from his horse and carried to the rear. Evidently the fire of the Canadians was telling, not only on the bodies of the Fenians, but also on their *morale*, for the main body of the Fenians, three or four hundred strong, under Col. Donnelly, who were brought forward to take part in the action, could only be induced to face for a few minutes the music of Canadian rifles. In vain the officers implored them to advance—only about fifty could be induced to do so. They opened and kept up for a short time a brisk fire, but the fire from Eccles Hill was becoming very effective; every now and again a Fenian fell wounded and was conveyed to the rear. At last the entire Fenian force broke into wild disorder, and retreated over the lines, seeking every possible shelter. Behind these covers they seemed to regain confidence, and kept up a pretty steady and continuous fire upon the Canadian forces. This was the state of things when Lieut.-Col. Smith came galloping along the road and up Eccles Hill, in full view of the Fenians. He was received with enthusiastic cheers from the Militia and Home Guards, while the Fenian bullets came whistling dangerously through the underbrush and flattened against the rocks and boulders, from behind which the Canadian Militia returned their fire with interest. This continued for about half an hour, but for three hours longer the Fenians kept up a skirmishing fight. In the meantime, Capt. Gascoigne had arrived at Stanbridge, and found the Company of the Victoria Rifles at dinner. It required but

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a few moments to give the necessary orders, not only to the Victorias, but to the Cavalry. The assembly and the double was sounded and in a few minutes the force was ready for departure, each man of the Rifles being supplied with sixty round of ball cartridge. A miscellaneous string of vehicles was soon on hand, into which the Victoria Rifles Company were quickly placed, as also was a small detachment of the 60th Battalion, which had collected at this place. Headed by the Cavalry, the force dashed off at a gallop to the scene of action. Leaving this force on its way we return to Eccles Hill, to find that just after Lieut. Col. Smith's arrival, a picket of ten men of the 60th Battalion under Lieut. Baker, which was posted on the right rear of the hill nearly a mile distant, as soon as they heard the firing commence started for the scene of danger. The post which they vacated was an important one, and commanded the road which leads from the United States up through the valley, about three miles to the right of Eccles Hill, between it and Pigeon Hill, and flanked the Canadian position. It was of the highest importance that this road should be guarded against surprise, so, much against their will, this picket was at once sent back to re-occupy their out-post. The Montreal Troop of Cavalry arrived shortly after and picketed their horses in a hollow on the summit of the hill, and waited orders. Following quick on the Cavalry came the Victoria Rifles, who on arriving at the foot of the hill, jumped from their waggons and marched up the hill and took position among the rocks and commenced firing at the Fenians. Shortly after a flag of truce was raised by a number of the Fenians over which considerable discussion took place among the Home Guards, especially as a number of women made their appearance, near where these Fenians were stationed. Lieut.-Col. Smith refused to take any notice of this truce beyond suspension of firing, necessitated by the position of these females. In the meantime, several of the Home Guard advanced to the line, when General Dwyer asked for suspension of hostilities, for the purpose of removing their dead and wounded, several of whom were lying around. Being told that the officer commanding the Canadians refused to have any communication with him, General Dwyer, told them to go back, for he would in ten minutes recommence firing. They took his advice, and before they had time to

regain their former position—crack, crack, again went the Fenian rifles, which, however, soon ceased.

Between four and five o'clock, while the Canadians were taking their first meal that day, considerable stir was noticed among the Fenians on the brow of the hill, who were reinforced by one hundred men under Major Moore, belonging to the 4th New York Irish. It was evident they intended to make a demonstration and attack with a view of relieving their comrades who virtually were prisoners in the houses on the lines. They at once opened a very heavy fire and fairly raked the base of Eccles Hill. The imprisoned Fenians also opened a furious fire, under cover of which and that of Moore's Veterans, they hoped to be able to retreat up the hill. Major Moore moved a portion of his men through the wood and opposite the right flank of the force on Eccles Hill, taking with them a small breech-loading field gun. To frustrate any attempt at flanking, Lieut.-Col. Smith strengthened the picket line to the right, and at the same time sent Capt. Muir's troop of Cavalry to patrol between the extreme of the picket line and Pigeon Hill, distant nearly two miles, and thus guard the roads from the United States and protect his right flank against surprise. They did most efficiently this dangerous duty. In the meantime, firing was kept up for fully half an hour by both sides. No Canadians were wounded, for the fire of the Fenians was either too high or too low, but a number of them fell before the fire of the Canadian Militia. About six o'clock they showed signs of demoralization, and in spite of the entreaties of their officers, they fell back on Franklin Centre. About this time word was brought Lieut.-Col. Smith, that a body with a field-piece were in the right valley, and that they meant mischief. The 60th Battalion and the Home Guards were deployed to advance to the boundary line and drive them away. The 60th in the centre extended in skirmishing order, and advanced down the hill through the brushwood; the Home Guards extended on the left on the other side of the road on which their right rested—while on the extreme right, the Victoria Rifles, under Capt. Crawford, were posted on a spur of the hill, as a reserve to support the skirmishers if required. The advance of the 60th, and the Home Guards, was made in splendid style. The advance of the Canadians was quite unexpected, and the Fenians made a spirited attempt to stop it, but only

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for a short time when they broke into disorder and retreated. Many who had sought shelter in houses broke from their shelter and joined in the retreat, which rapidly turned into a rout. They threw away their rifles, accoutrements and even portions of their uniform to accelerate their speed. The Victorias, it is said, despite instructions to the contrary, opened fire on the enemy. Every minute Fenians could be seen falling, but were soon up again and limping away, showing that they had been wounded. By sunset the Fenians had all disappeared, and the Militia were with difficulty halted at the boundary line. At this moment word was brought Lieut.-Col. Smith that a Fenian officer and six men, who had secreted themselves in the cellar of a house on the line, were anxious to surrender. Capt. Gascoigne went with a guard of twelve men belonging to the Victoria Rifles, to secure them. The officer was Capt. Carleton, but before the escort arrived he had retreated with his men, and in doing so was badly shot in the foot. When the retreat was complete, it was found that they had left behind on the road the body of the Fenian Rowe. It was brought in by a body of Canadian Militia sent for that purpose, and was interred on the side of Eccles Hill. The accoutrements and uniform were removed, and a grave dug into which the body was placed, and a cairn of stones erected to mark the spot. The burial was impressive, the shade of evening was fast gathering, as without prayer or ceremony, the deluded man found his grave in the soil on which he had forfeited his life. Rowe's uniform was brought to St. Johns and presented to Prince Arthur, who received a certificate signed by Dr. Hunt of the Rifle Brigade, and myself, giving its history. The Prince, before departing from Canada, told me he still had it, and I believe that last year when our respected District Officer Commanding was in England, His Royal Highness told him he still preserved this trophy of his first active service. He also told me the same, when as Duke of Connaught he was, a few years ago, in Montreal, on his way from India to England. The night following this attack entailed arduous work on a portion of the force for Lieut.-Col. Smith picketed the boundary line for over a mile. One-third of the force was thus engaged. The remainder, most without blankets or overcoats, slept on Eccles Hill and all suffered greatly, as it was intensely cold. By 5 a.m., next morning, breakfast

was ready, and being partaken of, the Militia were prepared to resist another attack, which was never realized. They, however, remained in camp, the duties being very harrassing owing to constant rumours of a renewed attack, till the 4th of June, when the force returned to their various headquarters, and were relieved from duty.

On the 30th of May, Lieut. General Lindsay, accompanied by his staff, and H. R. H. Prince Arthur, Lord Alex. Russell of the Rifle Brigade, and a number of Imperial officers visited the camp and inspected the troops. Being drawn up in square he addressed them as follows:

"Col. Smith, officers and men of the Militia, I have come to-day to give myself the gratification of seeing you after your short service in the field. This short service was, however, of the very highest service to the country. A portion of you were the first to meet the Fenians and were soon supported by every soldier sent to the front. Capt. Muir's troop of Cavalry, and a portion of the Victoria Rifles, also took part in the fighting of the day. All by their good service, energy and promptitude have achieved the utter defeat and demoralization of the Fenians. I wish to impress on you, first, that the repulse was due to the accuracy of the fire. This it was which turned off the attack. I don't mean to say that it saved the frontier, but you were saved the risk of further annoyance and the cost in blood and otherwise of retaking the frontier by the accuracy of the fire and the gallantry and spirit all displayed in seizing and holding it, the volunteers from Montreal, from the vicinity and the people here. You are successful and the success is due to your own efforts. No one else has helped you. The regulars were, however, ready to start to your assistance at an hour's notice, and held a position most important for defence. They were at St. Johns, which commands both banks of the Richelieu, and could have repelled any attack on either flank. But you resisted and repelled this attack yourselves. Another thing should be noticed. The President of the United States issued a proclamation, very proper and friendly in itself, but of no actual use to you, as you had to repel the attack yourselves. The United States sent troops, which are near at hand, but you had to do the work yourselves. As Lieut.-General Commanding Her Majesty's forces in Canada, I thank you, but not simply in that military capacity. As Lieut.-General, I also represent

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the Queen and Governor-General, who represent the Queen. In their name I thank you. I also have the great satisfaction of being accompanied by His Royal Highness, Prince Arthur, who is serving in Canada with his Regiment, the Rifle Brigade. He was ready to help you. You all nobly came forward quickly, readily, and in great numbers. Indeed, I never saw greater readiness. Lieut.-Col. Smith, I congratulate most heartily. He has often been in command on the frontier. He was under me during the raid of 1866. I sent Col. Smith here, feeling satisfied that his minute and thorough knowledge of every road, stream, hill and plain, I might almost say, fence—on our exposed frontier—his previous service and acquaintance with military life, in addition to his great natural military abilities, rendered him peculiarly fitted for this command. To the Cavalry my thanks are also due. I fully recognize their services in the pressing emergency. A more useful body there could not be than they have shown themselves."

We now turn our attention to the Huntingdon frontier, where equally exciting scenes were being transacted. About ten o'clock, on the night of the 25th of May, the Montreal Garrison Artillery and the Company of Montreal Engineers marched out of the Drill Hall, amid the cheers of thousands, to the Grand Trunk station, at Point St. Charles, where they took train for Coteau Station. It was after one, on the morning of the 26th, before they got away, and it was half past four before they reached the Coteau. The men had been on duty all the previous day in the Drill Hall, and were tired and weary, yet they marched with a quick step and a willing heart the two miles which they had to traverse before they reached the boat which was to convey them across the river St. Lawrence to Port Lewis. On arrival there, waggons were obtained to convey the baggage, and by nine o'clock they were on the march over the plank road to Huntingdon. This road for almost its entire length leads through a swamp, and not a house to be seen. At length, the fine agricultural district of Huntingdon was reached. The change from stunted tamarac to magnificent maples, beeches and elms with rich foliage and refreshing shade was very welcome, and a halt of ten minutes afforded the men a little relief from the intense heat of the noonday sun. Half a mile from Huntingdon, the 50th Battalion met them, and escorted them into the town. They were warmly welcomed by the

inhabitants, who had passed an anxious night. We must now, for a few moments, retrace our steps to find ourselves in the good old city of Quebec, on Her Majesty's Birthday, which was quietly passed, dampened by a cold, drizzly rain. Nothing of consequence regarding the Fenian raid had reached the public. However, shortly before seven, when the streets were deserted, and when the bugle was sounding for dinner at the Citadel Mess-Col. Bouchier, the Commandant of the Garrison, received an urgent telegram from Headquarters at Montreal, ordering the 69th Regiment immediately to the frontier at Huntingdon, and the Royal Artillery to be held in readiness to follow, if required. The staff of the Garrison was at once called together to make the necessary arrangements. Orderlies were hurriedly despatched to warn such officers as lived out of barracks. As might be anticipated, all worked in unison, and shortly after two o'clock, on the morning of the 25th, to the lively strains of their band, the gallant 69th marched out of the Citadel, to the Grand Trunk wharf, where their necessary equipment was completed. They were also supplied with three days' cooked rations. About half-past three, amid the cheers of many who had assembled to wish them "Godspeed," the boat left her wharf for Levis, where a special train was waiting for them. They were soon on board, and between four and five o'clock the iron horse was rushing them toward Montreal. There was no railroad to Huntingdon in those days, and it was late on the night of the 26th—some delay took place in Montreal—when the 69th marched into that village and pitched their tents. They were under command of Col. Bagot, who at once assumed command of the Brigade, and issued orders for the entire force to parade at half-past three the following morning. Though all were weary and footsore, every man was in his place at the appointed hour. Forty rounds of ball cartridge was served each man. They were relieved of their knapsacks, which, with the blankets, were placed in waggons, with spare ammunition and the tools of the Engineers. Breakfast was then partaken of, and at a quarter to five o'clock, the Brigade moved off in the following order and strength:—

50th Battalion "Huntingdon Borderers," Lieut.-Col. McEacheran	225
69th Regiment, under Major Smyth	450
Montreal Garrison Artillery, Lieut.-Col. McKay	275

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Montreal Engineers, Major Kennedy	80
Total strength	1,030

The waggons brought up the rear. The morning was bright and clear, yet pleasantly cool. The road lay through a beautiful country with Trout River winding on the left, sometimes skirting the edge of the road. At many houses along the way, the farmers had in readiness pails of milk and cold water, for the use of the men, a kindness which they fully appreciated. At half-past eight, Col. Bagot received a despatch from Lieut. Butler, of the 69th (now the distinguished General), who had gone forward during the night with a few scouts, that at daylight a large body of Fenians had crossed the lines, marching half-a-mile into Canada, where they were entrenching themselves. One of the scouts had been fired upon. Captain Rose's Company (now Sir C. Rose), of the Montreal Garrison Artillery, was ordered to proceed, under Major Hobbs, along the next concession road to prevent any flanking movement from that quarter, while the rest of the Brigade proceeded on its way. Arriving about an hour later, at a rising ground near Holbrooke's corner, the force got its first view of the enemy. Very clearly they were able to distinguish the glitter of their guns—they were evidently drilling—at a distance of about a mile and a-half. As the report passed from Company to Company that the Fenians were in sight, and that now there was every chance of a fight, the effect on the spirits of the men was wonderful. The sun by this time was high, the march had been long, and a large number were suffering from tender and blistered feet. On receipt of the news that the enemy was in sight, and had actually invaded Canada, all pain and fatigue was in a moment forgotten, and all were anxious to have a part in the impending engagement. The Brigade was halted for a few minutes' rest, during which the orders for the attack were promulgated. By the aid of a glass, it was seen that the Fenians had taken up a position across the road, about a mile distant, with their right resting on the river, and their left covered by woods. They had worked hard since daylight, Lieut. Butler informed Col. Bagot, entrenching themselves, and strengthening their position, by piling up logs and rails, so as to form a barricade three and a-half feet high, and extending all along their front. On their right they had dug a trench a little more than a foot deep, to increase still further their cover.

Lying behind their barricade, they had a clear sweep of the open fields, for about 400 yards, over which the Canadian troops must pass to attack them, while, not more than 100 yards in the Fenian rear, was a thick bush, which afforded an admirable retreat, while numerous buildings continued for some distance beyond the boundary line. The country that lay between the two forces, was of a broken character. In a hop field about 100 yards in front of the entrenchments were the advanced Fenian skirmishers. While preparing for the attack, Col. Bagot received a plan from Lieut. Butler of the Fenian position and surroundings, after which he ordered an immediate advance. Addressing Col. McEacheran, he ordered him to deploy three companies of the 50th Battalion, on the left, and four companies on the right—that a Company of the 69th would form the centre, and advance along the road—a Company of the Garrison Artillery to cross the bridge, and advance up the East bank of the river. These orders were promptly carried out. Of the Borderers, Captain McLaren's, Captain Feeny's and Captain Anderson's Companies deployed to the left, while Captain Cairns', Captain Gardiner's, Captain McDonald's, and Captain Johnston's deployed to the right. It was but a moment's work for them to leap the fence, and extend, which they did with enthusiasm and a precision which could not be excelled. Lieut.-Col. Fletcher, assisted by Major White, led the right division, while Lieut.-Col. McEacheran, of the Huntingdon Borderers, took charge of the left. A Company of the 69th Regiment, under Captain Mansfield, extended on the road, while the remainder, as a reserve, under Major Smythe, followed in quarter distance column. Captain Doucet, with his Company of the Montreal Garrison Artillery, crossed the bridge, and proceeded, as ordered, up the left bank, with the intention of flanking the enemy. A Company of the Garrison Artillery under Captain Hatt was stationed at the bridge, to guard it. The remainder of the Artillery, with the Montreal Engineers under Command of Lieut.-Col. Mackay and Major Kennedy, followed as supports. Such was the disposition of the force. To the Huntingdon Borderers was assigned the post of honour, because, as Col. Bagot said, they were fighting for their homes, and therefore had the best claim to be the first to meet the enemy. Their gallant conduct fully justified the confidence Col. Bagot placed in them. The firing was commenced by the Borderers, on the right, who, as they advanced,

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poured their fire into the bush and hop yard, about 500 yards in front of them, which were occupied by the advanced pickets of the Fenians, who at once briskly returned the fire and fell back on their entrenchments. On the left, Col. McEacheran reserved the fire of his men till they had cleared a house occupied by a Mr. Holdbrook, and its outbuildings, when a volley was fired. Almost immediately, Captain Mansfield's Company of the 69th opened fire, and from the Canadians, a brisk fire was maintained, as they continued steadily to advance. When within about 350 to 400 yards, the Fenians delivered their first volley, which went whizzing over the heads of the Militia, who continued steadily to advance. On they went, through the fields and over the fences, still firing as they advanced. Two more volleys—somewhat irregular—were fired, and just as our men emerged from the hop fields, and entered upon the open which lay between them and the Fenian barricade, they saw the enemy start and run for the bush behind them, disappearing suddenly behind the shelter it afforded. Mortification and anger at their escape quickened the pace of the Canadians. That portion of the barricade across the road was dashed aside by the 69th, and through the opening thus made, or over other parts of the barricade, our men dashed. But the Fenians had been too quick for them, and in their flight into the United States they threw away everything which could impede their flight. Indeed, so rapid was their retreat that Col. Bagot ordered the woods on the left to be searched, under the conviction that many were hiding there. This was promptly and efficiently performed by a Company of the Montreal Garrison Artillery, under Captain Hatt, assisted by Captain and Adjutant Baynes, and Lieut. Fitz-George, of the 69th, but not a Fenian was to be seen; all had fled. Our men advanced to the boundary line, when Col. Bagot ordered the bugle to sound, cease firing, and then the halt. Three rousing cheers were then given by the entire force, and after a short rest, all were marched back to Holdbrook's. At this place the Borderers remained with the Artillery and Engineers. The 69th marched a mile further, and pitched their tents for the night. Later in the day the entire Volunteer Militia retired, and made Camp alongside of the 69th. In the evening, the Montreal Field Battery arrived and joined the Camp. While this engagement was going on, the Hemmingford Rangers (51st Battalion) and the Voltigeur de

Beauharnois Rifles (64th Battalion) arrived, and were held at Huntingdon as a reserve. Only one Canadian Militiaman was wounded, a man named Monigny, of the 50th Battalion, who had a flesh wound in the forehead, made by a splinter from a bullet. On examination, subsequently, both the hop poles and the barricade gave proof of the excellent firing of our men. Many of the hop poles were broken and stripped, while the top bars of the barricade were riddled with bullets. The firing of the Fenians was much too high, and several of the rifles picked up on the field were found to be loaded. As regards the casualties to the Fenians, they admit one killed, and several wounded. Wearied by the hard work of the day, and proper precautions having been taken, the Canadian force turned in early, and stillness was the condition of the Camp long before "lights out" was sounded. Late at night, a report reached Col. Bagot that a reinforcement of 400 Fenians had arrived at Malone, and that the whole force was again organizing for another attack. In consequence of this, orders were issued for the whole Brigade to assemble at 3 o'clock next morning, and for all to be in readiness to turn out during the night at a moment's notice. At the hour named, just as daylight was breaking, the whole force was drawn up in quarter distance column. No further information having been received, and nothing having occurred to cause alarm, in a short time the parade was dismissed, with the exception of a Company of the Garrison Artillery, which was posted for a short time a mile distant. This was soon found to be unnecessary, and was withdrawn. After breakfast, Col. Bagot, with Major Smythe, Major Grey and Lieut. Fitz-George, A.D.C., visited the scene of the previous day's skirmish. On his return, he issued the following Brigade order:

Hendersonville, 28th May, 1870.

Lieut.-Col. Bagot congratulates the force on the result of yesterday's operations.

The rapidity of the march from Huntingdon, the extension into skirmishing order of the Borderers, under Lieut.-Col. McEachern, the rush and seizing of the entrenched position by this Regiment and Captain Mansfield's Company, 69th Regiment, all deserve his warmest commendation.

To what is this success attributable. Emphatically to the discipline of the force. In this lies the whole secret. Soldiers retain this quality, and your Commander guarantees success.

By order,

T. H. CHARLETON, Capt.
Brigade Major.

During the day little was done in Camp. The weather was intensely hot, and the men were suffering from chafed feet and blistered faces. They were allowed to enjoy a day's rest. About five o'clock in the afternoon, orders were received for the 69th to return to Quebec. Accordingly, during the evening, it was put in order for an early start on the morrow. Late at night, Lieut.-Col. Ferrier arrived in Camp, and assumed command of the Montreal Garrison Artillery, which, during his detention in Montreal, had devolved on Lieut.-Col. McKay. Considerable anxiety existed during the evening, lest the Fenians, who were still in Malone in large numbers, might make a sudden dash over the lines, and inflict damage. Nor was the fear groundless, for as was afterwards learned, General Gleason, and a Father McMahon, on the parade ground, near Malone that afternoon, made great efforts to incite the men, especially those who had arrived since the engagement, to renew the attack. In this they failed entirely, as the men were completely demoralized by the brilliant attack of the Canadian Militia the previous day. Bright and early the next morning, the Canadian Camp was astir, to witness the departure of the 69th. While drawn up in column, awaiting the order to move, Col. Bagot addressed them as follows:

"Men of the 69th, before we take up the march for home, I wish to say a word to you on the events of Friday. You had the honour then of fighting against a common foe, side by side with the Volunteer soldiers of this country, and with them of triumphantly driving out the dastardly invaders. From you I expected the conduct in the field which you displayed, for I knew that the training which you have undergone would show itself when the day of action came. I wish, however, to express here, the satisfaction I derived from watching the cool and regular manner in which the skirmishers

of the Volunteers under Col. McEacheran, extended in front of the enemy's entrenchments, and afterwards the steady way in which they advanced and kept up the fire. As the free Volunteers of these counties, I allowed them the honour of the principal attack, which was divided with them—by only one Company—Captain Mansfield's, of this Regiment. Their gallant demeanour under fire, showed how fully they merited the confidence I had reposed in them. Like the descendants of true Britons, they fought for the defence of their hearths and homes, and for the freedom received as a priceless inheritance from their sires, and nobly did they acquit themselves in a manner all worthy of the free soldiers of a free country. Men of the 60th, three cheers for our comrades in arms, the Canadian Volunteers."

Loud and hearty were the cheers given. As soon as they were ended, the regiment moved off, amid the prolonged cheers of the Volunteers. They entered the village of Huntingdon about nine o'clock, singing lustily, with a Fenian coat suspended from a bayonet, while many in the ranks carried Fenian haversacks and knapsacks as trophies. As they neared the parade ground, their faded and shot-torn colours (now, I think, reposing in the Anglican Cathedral of Quebec), were unfurled, and their fifes and drums struck up a lively air. They remained in Huntingdon till the next morning at five, when they left for Quebec.

Sunday was passed quietly in the Canadian Camp, church service being held in the afternoon. As much uneasiness still existed with respect to the doings of the Fenians, Col. Ferrier permitted several officers of the Garrison Artillery to visit Malone in plain clothes. Among those who went was Lieut. Oswald. On their return late in the evening, they reported that the Fenians in and around Malone numbered from 1,200 to 1,500. They were met with everywhere, and were much disheartened. A large number of United States troops had arrived, and that all danger of further trouble was at an end.

At six o'clock on Monday, the 30th of May, the Canadian Camp broke up, and the force left for Huntingdon, the Montreal Field Battery leading, followed by the Montreal Garrison Artillery and Engineers, the rear being brought up by the Borderers. At the houses along the route, they were greeted with hearty cheers, and the farmers, with the same thoughtfulness they had shown to them on their march to

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the front, had in readiness, by the wayside, cold water and milk, for their use. It was half-past nine before the Brigade reached Huntingdon, and notwithstanding that two battalions were quartered in the village, the Hemmingford Rangers and Beauharnois Voltigeurs, a cordial welcome was given them; a good supper and comfortable accommodation provided for all. Next morning at nine o'clock the whole force assembled on the parade ground to receive His Royal Highness, Prince Arthur, who was expected to arrive about that hour, but it was after eleven before he arrived. He was accompanied by General Lindsay, Col. Elphinstone, V.C., Lord Alex. Russell and a brilliant staff. They at once proceeded along the lines and inspected the force. This being concluded, the Brigade was formed in close column, when General Lindsay addressed them, much in the same terms as he used when addressing the Brigade on the Missisquoi frontier. One sentence in it, however, I quote. It is as follows:—"Col. Stevenson's Battery would also have been here had it not been detained for want of horses." The officers of the rural battalions were then called to the front for presentation to the Prince. While this was going on, the Montreal Militia left the ground and marched to a landing about a mile and a-half west of Port Lewis, which they reached about half-past four, not having had food since their early morning breakfast. The steamer "Corinthian" was waiting for them, and at five o'clock, all being on board, she left for Montreal. About seven the city was reached, the immediate vicinity of their landing place being black with people. The march to the Drill Hall was a perfect ovation—cheer after cheer rose from the crowds who lined the streets. That building reached, arms were stacked, and after a few words from the Commander of each unit, the men were dismissed from active service which had lasted exactly ten days.

Reviewing the situation, it is abundantly evident that preparations had been made for an inroad into Canada on a pretty extensive scale. With this object in view, they prepared and brought to various points of the Eastern frontier armament and equipment for large bodies of men. The men, however, did not materialize in the numbers expected, and though those who did come made a faint attempt to carry out the programme allotted to them, it failed for various reasons, the principal one of which was the rapid concentration of the Canadian Militia on the frontier. Writing of the

stores collected at, or about Malone, by the Fenians, the Editor of the *Huntingdon Gleaner*, says: "From the time of the arrival (May 23), of the first batch at Leahy's farm, where their Camp was formed, there was a constant stream of Fenians pouring into the Camp from all quarters. Wag-gons loaded with boxes of army ammunition and stores, that had been concealed in the cellars and barns of neighbouring sympathizers, were incessantly arriving, till the amount was sufficient to equip 10,000 men. It passes all belief the quantity of stores of every kind which had been accumulated. We think we are below the estimate in stating that a quarter of a million dollars would not pay for all that was sent to the frontier. There were boxes of rifles, bayonets, water bottles, knapsacks, haversacks, belts and uniforms, barrels innumerable of pork and biscuits. In fact, the most wonderful part of the movement was the completeness and extent of the preparations. To say that such a quantity of stores could reach the frontier without the knowledge of the United States Government is absurd. The *New York Tribune* laughed at the Fenians as an army without a Commissariat; the truth is, it was a splendid Commissariat without an army worthy of it."

The last act in connection with this raid on the Eastern frontier was the following general order issued by Lieut.-General Lindsay:

Headquarters,
Montreal, 4th June. 1870.

"Canada has once more been invaded by a body of Fenians, who are citizens of the United States, and who have again taken advantage of the institutions of that country, to move without disguise large numbers of men and war-like stores to the Mississquoi and Huntingden frontiers, for the purpose of levying war upon a peaceful community.

From both these points the invading forces have been instantly driven with loss and in confusion, throwing away their arms, ammunition and clothing, and seeking shelter within the United States. Having a scrupulous regard for the inviolability of a neighbouring territory, the troops were ordered to the halt, even though in pursuit, upon the border.

The result of the whole affair is mainly due to the promptitude with which the Militia responded to the call to arms, and to the rapidity with which their movements to the

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The Huntingdon skirmish.

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front were carried out, and the self-reliance and steadiness shown by this force, as well as by the armed inhabitants on the frontier.

The regular troops were kept in support, except on the Huntingdon frontier, where one Company took part in the skirmish.

The Proclamation of the President, and the arrival of the Federal troops at St. Albans and Malone, were too late to prevent the collection and transport of war-like stores, and an inroad into Canada.

The reproach of invaded British territory and the dread of insult and robbery have thus been removed by a handful of Canadians, and the Lieut.-General does not doubt that such services will receive the recognition of the Imperial Government.

The Lieut.-General congratulates the Militia upon this exhibition of their promptness, discipline and training, and in dismissing the men to their homes, he bids them carry with them the assurance that their manly spirit is a guarantee for the defence of Canada."

Thus terminated the second and last Fenian raid into Canada, both of which showed that the Militia of that day possessed, as I believe does that of the present day—that spirit of loyalty, pluck and endurance which first showed itself in the repulse of Montgomery at Quebec, in 1776, and which, in 1812-14, at Detroit, Lundy's Lane, Queenstown Heights, Chrysler's Farm, and Chateauguay, enabled it to save Canada to the British Crown, and shed upon it a lustre of which any nation might be proud, and which time can never efface.