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**THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.**

BY JUDGE ALLEY,

*Read at a Meeting of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society.*



HE early settlement of Prince Edward Island may be treated either with regard to its partial settlement between the years 1719 and 1758 by the French, whose descendants form a goodly number of its present population, or with regard to its later and more general settlement under British rule. The material the subject affords, if dealt with in its twofold aspect, would present a field too comprehensive to be embraced within the limits of a single paper, and I shall therefore confine my present remarks to the Settlement of Prince Edward Island under British Rule.

I need scarcely premise that this Island, then Isle St. Jean, was a possession of the French Crown until 1758. In that year Louisburg, the Capital of Cape Breton, and one of the chief strongholds of French Power in America, was surrendered to the British forces under the command of General Amherst, with whom was associated

the illustrious General Wolfe. The fall of Louisburg involved the loss of the Island of St. John as well as of Cape Breton to the French, and immediately afterwards, a detachment of troops under the command of Colonel Lord Rollo took possession of the Island under the terms of capitulation, and removed the French troops stationed there, and many of the inhabitants as prisoners of war. In the following year Quebec was taken by General Wolfe, and by the treaty of Paris effected in February 1763, Canada, Cape Breton, and this Island were all ceded to Great Britain. After this treaty, the Island of St. John was annexed to Nova Scotia, and remained subject to its government until 1769 when it was created a separate colony.

After the Island became a British Possession, very little time was suffered to elapse before steps were taken with a view to its permanent settlement. The Earl of Egmont, then first Lord of the Admiralty took the initiative in this respect. In December 1763, he applied to the Government for a grant of the whole island, to be held under a system of Feudal tenure which was set forth in detail in a memorial presented by him to the King. Under this scheme the island was to be held by him as Lord Paramount or Capital Lord of the Fee, by a tenure of finding twelve hundred men for its defence. Upon the assumption that it contained 2,000,000 acres, it was proposed to divide it into 50 parts of equal extent called Hundreds, each embracing 40,000 acres, which were to be severally subdivided into 20 Manors of 2000 acres each.

Of the 50 Hundreds into which it was to be thus divided, 40 were to be granted to 40 different persons, to be held by them as Lords of the Hundreds for ever. Each hundred was charged with an annual payment to the Earl as Lord Paramount, of £20 Sterling, and the furnishing of ten men for the defence of the Island; and of the 20 Manors into which these Hundreds were to be severally subdivided, 10 were to be granted by each Lord of the Hundred to 10 different persons to be called Lords of the Manors, each of whom was required to pay annually therefor forty shillings sterling, and also to furnish one man by his tenure for purposes of defence. Each of these Lords of the Manor was also required to establish in his Manor two freeholders having each Freeholds of 200 acres, which were to be held by each of these by finding one man for defence of the Island, and by paying the Lord of the Manor annually four shillings sterling.

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There were thus to be,—  
One Earl or Lord Paramount of the whole Island.  
40 Lords of Hundreds.  
400 Lords of Manors, and  
800 Freeholders.

Under their tenure, the Lords of Hundreds were each required to contribute ten men, making in all 400, and the Lords of Manors and Freeholders had each to contribute one man, making in all 400 and 800 respectively, by which means a total force of 1600 men could be raised when required for the defence of the Island.

The 10 remaining Hundreds (400,000 acres) were to be reserved to the Earl as Lord Paramount, out of which he was to set apart 15,200 acres for the Capital Town and principal place of trade of the Island, which was to be entitled to a Charter with a Magistracy for maintaining and regulating order therein, and with Fairs to be held four times in every year, and markets twice a week, with all things incidental by the Common Law thereto. A lot of 400 acres was to be inseparably annexed to the person of the Lord Paramount for the Town Residence of the Earl and his successors in office for ever. He was also required to set apart a Lot of 100 acres for the Town residence of each Lord of the Hundred, a Lot of 10 acres for the town residence of each Lord of the Manor, and a Lot of 4 acres for the town residence of each of the Freeholders, which were all made subject to a Fee farm or Burgage rent to him, the rent of the Lords of Hundreds being forty shillings, of the Lords of Manors five shillings, and of the Freeholders two shillings and six pence sterling per annum. Out of the lands reserved to the Earl, he was also to set apart 200 acres for market places, Store-houses, Public Buildings, and other Public uses, subject to an annual rent of four shillings sterling, and 600 acres as a Common, where the cattle of new-comers could be temporarily pastured upon payment of a license fee.

The remainder of the lands after the granting of the 40 hundreds and the setting apart of the other lands for the various purposes already mentioned, was to be reserved to the Earl for establishments intended to be made for himself and his nine children, his friends and dependants, to be held subject to the building and maintaining forever of a strong Blockhouse or House of defence, mounted with

ten pieces of cannon carrying each a ball of four pounds weight a circuit of three miles every way from the Blockhouse.

Of the 20 Manors in each hundred, 10 were required to be granted to Lords of Manors as already stated. The remaining 10 Manors in each Hundred (20,000 acres) were to be reserved for the Lord of the Hundred, who was required to set apart out of the same 500 acres as a Site for a Market Town, consisting of 100 lots of 5 acres each, which were to be open to occupation by any person upon his erecting a habitation thereon, and paying to the Lord of the Hundred a Fee-farm rent of four shillings sterling per annum. The remainder of the land in each Hundred was to be reserved for the Lord of the Hundred, subject to the building and maintaining by him of a Block-house mounted with eight pieces of cannon carrying each a ball of four pounds, with a circuit one mile every way.

These castles or block-houses were to be the Capital Seats of the Lord Paramount and Lords of the Hundreds respectively, and the lands around them within range or circuit of the cannon balls were to be kept on hand or leased for short terms not exceeding twenty one years for their greater security,—the Block-houses being also designed as places of general retreat and protection for all who held by tenure, and other settlers on the Island, upon any alarm of sudden danger. Each of the ten Lords of Manors in every hundred, was in like manner required, after having set apart two Freeholds of 200 acres each for the Freeholders therein, also to set apart 100 acres for a Village of 20 lots of five acres each, to be open to occupation similar to the Market Towns, and each subject to the payment of two shillings and six pence sterling annually to the Lord of the Manor. The remainder of the land in each Manor (1500 acres) was to be reserved for the Lord of the Manor, subject to his building and maintaining thereon a strong house as his Capital Seat, with a circuit of 400 acres around the same to be annexed thereto for ever.

Under the proposed plan there would be,—

One County Town —

40 Market Towns — and,

400 Villages in the Island, embracing in all 75,200 acres.

The Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction was to be vested in the Earl to be administered according to the Common and Statute Law of

England by officers of his appointment. Besides the general Court of the Earl as Lord Paramount, called the County Court of the Island, a General Hundred Court and a Court-Leet were to exist in every Hundred, and a Court Baron in every Manor, and it was to be a condition of the tenure in all cases, that suit should be paid by every tenant to the Courts of his Superior Lord. It is observed by the Memorialist that "these courts wisely established by Alfred and others of our Saxon Princes to maintain order, and bring justice to every man's door, were obviously essential for a small people forming or formed into a separate and remote society in the vast, impervious, and dangerous forests of America, intersected with seas, bays, lakes, rivers, marshes, and mountains, without roads, without inns or accommodation; locked up for half a year by snow and intense frost, and where the settler can scarcely straggle from his habitation 500 yards even in times of peace, without risk of being intercepted, scalped, or murdered."

Besides the force to be provided by the Earl under his tenure, all male inhabitants from the age of 16 to 60 were to be required in case of war or threatened invasion to bear arms, on being summoned by the Earl's Proclamation for a general array, and the advantages of the proposed scheme from a military point of view are thus set forth in the Memorial. Each hundred was to consist of a tract of land somewhat less than eight miles square, and as each Lord of a Hundred was obliged to maintain for ever a Block-house therein as his Capital Seat, and for a place of retreat and rendez-vous for the settlers, every inhabitant therein and throughout the Island, could have recourse on any alarm of sudden danger, to a place of security within four miles of his habitation. "And thus," he adds, "the whole people residing within the hearing of a cannon fired at the Block-house of their respective Hundreds, and each Block-house likewise being thus erected but eight miles asunder, within distance to hear such cannon respectively from the Block-houses of its adjoining Hundreds, — one cannon fired at the Block-house of any one Hundred, and the signal repeated from the next, and so on from the one to the other, will be sufficient to give the general alarm, and to put every inhabitant of the whole Island from one end of it to the other, under arms and in motion in the space of one quarter of an hour."

The Memorial whose leading features I have thus outlined was drawn with much ingenuity and ability, and evinced a knowledge of Feudal Tenures which elicited favourable comment. But the project it set forth to transfer to the New World an effete system of Feudalism, with its Courts Leet and Courts Baron, and all its incidents of Suit of Court and Military service was ill-suited for the age, and entirely unfitted to meet the requirements of the new Colonies about to be established in America. Hence it met with little favour from the Government, though pressed upon their attention with great persistency and vigour by the Earl of Egmont, aided by a number of influential men, including Peers, members of Parliament, officers of high rank in the Naval and Military service, and prominent merchants whom he had enlisted as co-adventurers with him in his undertaking.

In planting colonies or plantations as they were then called, England's chief object was to extend her trade, and all matters relating to their settlement were usually placed under the administration of a Board, called the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. In January 1764 thirty of the Earl's associates above referred to, addressed three several communications on the subject of this body to whom the Memorial had been referred by the King. In February following, the Commissioners submitted their report setting forth that the scheme was calculated to answer the purposes of defence and military discipline, rather than to encourage those of Commerce and Agriculture, and seemed totally and fundamentally adverse in its principles to that system of tenure and settlement of property which had been adopted in the colonies with so much advantage to the interests of the Kingdom, and they therefore could not see any sufficient reason for advising his Majesty to comply with Lord Egmont's proposal. They concluded their report as follows: "We have not thought proper to take the opinion of your Majesty's servants in the Law upon the question whether your Majesty can legally make the grant desired by the Earl of Egmont, because we cannot think it expedient either in a political or commercial light for your Majesty to comply with his Lordship's proposals; and as your Majesty has been pleased to annex the Island of St. John to your Province of Nova Scotia, we humbly recommend the settling it upon the plan and under the regulations approved by your Majesty for the settlement of that



Province in general." Though Lord Egmont addressed two further Memorials to the King in support of his project, this recommendation of the Board was adopted by the Government, and the scheme received its quietus by a Minute of Council on 9th May 1764, whereby it was ordered that no grants of land should be made in the Island of St. John upon any other principles than those comprised in the reports of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

On 23d March 1764, Captain Samuel Holland, 60th Regiment, was appointed Surveyor General of the northern district of North America, and directed to act as such, subject to the orders and instructions of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. His district was defined to comprehend all his Majesty's territories in North America to the North of the Potomac River, and of a line drawn due west from the head of the main branch of that River as far as his Majesty's Dominions then extended. As an accurate survey of the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and of the valuable Islands lying within it appeared to their Lordships to be of most pressing expediency, in order to accelerate the different establishments proposed to be made with a view to carrying on the advantageous fishery for which that coast and these Islands were so commodiously situated, the Surveyor General was instructed to confine his attention and first care to those parts of his district. The Island of Cape Breton and St. John and the Magdalens being recognized as of the greatest importance with respect to the Fishery, he was directed in the first place to make surveys of these Islands. He was instructed to begin with the Island of St. John, which he was to divide into Counties, parishes and Townships, giving to each of these divisions a due proportion of whatever advantages the Island afforded of sea-coast, navigable rivers or otherwise, and so that the townships might not be laid lengthwise along the coast or banks, but as far as possible in form of oblong squares from the sea-coast up into the country. In October 1764 Captain Holland and his surveying party — 31 in all — arrived on the island in His Majesty's ship *Canceaux* and immediately proceeded with their surveys which were prosecuted with such energy that they were completed in little over a year, and on fourth October 1765 he was enabled to transmit to the Board of Trade and Plantations, the plans and a descriptive report of the country as

required by his instructions. The Island was found to embrace an area of 1,365,400 acres and was laid off in three counties, with County Towns and 67 Lots or Townships as at present — all of which excepting two inland Lots contained about 20,000 acres each. In 1764 Captain Holland was appointed by General Murray then Governor of Canada, a member of the council of that Colony. He also held at a later period the office of Surveyor General of Canada, and in the Crown Lands Department of Quebec there is to be found a book known as Major Holland's Letter Book, containing copies of all his official correspondence while engaged in these surveys, and of his final reports thereon, which are of a specially interesting character.

To mark their sense of the services of the Military and Naval officers who had taken part in the late war, the Government at its close had offered free grants of land in Canada and Nova Scotia to such of them as were willing to settle in these colonies, and many eagerly embraced this offer. On the rejection of Egmont's scheme, it was determined to grant the island in accordance with the recommendation of the Board of Trade, and applications were thereupon made for like grants of land there, by the Earl's associates and others — many of whom were officers of the Naval and Military Service. As these applications were numerous, the Board gave notice by advertisement published in the London Gazette to all the petitioners to appear before them on a given day, when they selected those possessing the most meritorious claims. The name of each of these applicants written on a slip of paper was then drawn from a Ballot-box, by an indifferent person in the presence of the Board, the Lots from One to Sixty-Seven being awarded in successive numbers as these papers were drawn. Thus with the exception of a small inland Lot (No. 66) reserved for the King, two lots (Nos 40 and 59) reserved for two firms who had established Fisheries upon them with the consent of Government, and reservations for three County Towns, the whole Island was granted away in a single day (23d July 1767) to a number of Military and Naval Officers, Members of Parliament, and other favourites of the Crown.

It may be deemed worthy of record that among these original grantees were the names of General James Murray, Governor General of Canada, General Guy Carleton, then Lieutenant Governor (afterwards

Lord Dorchester). Vice Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, Commander of the Fleet at the taking of Quebec, Francis McKay Surveyor of Woods of Quebec, Samuel McKay of Montreal, Hugh Findlay, Postmaster of Quebec, and Samuel Holland Surveyor General of Canada, the two latter being also Members of Council in that Province. Murray Harbour, and Carleton, are districts or settlements in the island deriving their names from the two first named of these grantees.

As a solatium to Lord Egmont, the Board of Trade offered him on 5th June 1767, any entire parish comprising five townships or 100,000 acres which he might see fit to select, but his Lordship on the following day addressed a letter to the Board declining their offer. These Lots were all granted subject to certain conditions of settlement, the most important of which were the payment of a quit rent varying from two to six shillings sterling per 100 acres, whereof one moiety was to be payable in five, and the balance in ten years after the date of their allotment, and the settlement of each Township within ten years in the proportion of one person to every 200 acres by European foreign Protestants, or persons who had resided in America at least two years before the land was granted. No attempt was made by the majority of the proprietors to comply with the conditions of their grants, either by settling their lands or paying the quit rent from which the salaries of the Public Officials and other expenses of the Colony were to be defrayed, and their noncompliance with these conditions gave rise to the land question, which agitated Prince Edward as long as it continued a Colony under the British Crown.

In 1768, a petition was presented to the King by the principal proprietors of these townships praying that the island should be disunited from Nova Scotia, and established as an independent colony. In order to make suitable provision for the support of its Government until the inhabitants should be in a condition to provide for that purpose, by a revenue arising out of taxes and duties, it was proposed that the grants which had been taken out by the proprietors should be surrendered, and new grants issued under the Seal of the Island of St. John, under which the annual payment of the first moiety of the quit rents should be made to commence from the first of May 1769 instead of from 1772 as at first provided, and the time for

payment of the last moiety should be extended from ten to twenty years. This proposition appearing to be well calculated to forward the settlement of the Island of St. John was consequently accepted, and Captain Walter Patterson one of the original grantees of lot 19, was by Commission dated 4th August 1769 appointed its first Governor and Commander in Chief. Though the Island had been almost entirely denuded of its former inhabitants at the Conquest, excepting a few who had evaded the British by escaping to the woods, and its entire population including these wretched Acadians could not then have exceeded 1000 people, it was deemed necessary in the interest of good government that Governor Patterson should have an assistant to aid him in the discharge of his gubernatorial functions, and Thomas Des Brisay a Captain in the Royal Artillery, was at the same time appointed Lieutenant Governor. Under the circumstances, Mr. Des Brisay could not have been much oppressed with official cares and responsibilities.

While most of the proprietors took little interest in their lands, and held them simply for purposes of speculation, in the expectation that they would increase in value by the improvement of adjoining lots, and the gradual settlement of the colony, there were a few who honestly sought to settle their lands, and to develop the resources of the country. Among those, none deserve more honourable mention than Robert Clark, a Quaker, who was proprietor of Lots 21 and 49. He and his partner Robert Campbell the owner of one half of Lot 20, made most uncommon exertions for the improvement of their lands, and the furtherance of the settlement of the colony. As early as 1773, they sent out a number of settlers under the charge of an overseer, and established an extensive lumbering business at New London, a settlement in lot 21 on the north coast of the Island, which they prosecuted for some years to the great advantage of the colony, though at a great loss to themselves. Some idea of the extent of their business, and of their outlay in carrying it on, may be derived from the following extract from a petition, on behalf of Mr. Clark, presented to the House of Assembly in 1786 by John Cambridge who was sent out by him from England as his agent, after the death of his partner in 1783. He says: "Your petitioner need only remind the House, for he is persuaded they want no proof, that Robert Clark has been

one of the greatest benefactors, if not the greatest benefactor to this Island. One of the Members of the present Assembly, who came out as Agent for Clark & Campbell in 1775 and supercargo of the *Snow Elizabeth*, a vessel of about 200 tons, freighted with goods from London to this island, can inform the House if required that Clark & Campbell were then to his knowledge £14,000 or £15,000 in advance to their concern on this island. It is well known that the inhabitants from all parts of the Island were generously credited from his large Magazine of universal stores, and the island was greatly benefitted by the great number of artificers he brought out from England as indented servants. In 1774, he imported from the Province of Quebec in a vessel of two hundred tons at a large expense, a cargo of cows, sheep, and horses with which he generously supplied the poor indigent settlers, and the inhabitants of Prince County are ready to testify that their numerous stock arose from this large and timely importation." The French inhabitants of the island when it was surrendered to the English, are said to have owned 10,000 heads of cattle, and it is stated in McGregor's History of British America that a large number of horses ran wild through the eastern part of the country after the conquest. Many of the French who escaped from the island at that time, may have killed or found means to remove their stock with them, and such as they left behind in the western part of the Island must have become extinct, for at this time — 15 years after the conquest — there were no horses nor cattle in Prince County. From the horses imported by Clark & Campbell sprang what was known as the Canadian or Normandy breed which was for a long time the only breed of horses on the island.

Though Clark afterwards established a store in Charlottetown, New London was the headquarters of his operations, and where the chief business was carried on. In honour of London, his native city, he gave the settlement the name it bears, and the place where the company conducted their business, and erected their buildings, was called by him Elizabethtown. This name and place have been long forgotten, and no traces can now be found of its former existence excepting the sites of some of the buildings, and the old graveyard at the harbour, which was the last resting place of the first inhabitants. Among those who were in the employ of Clark and Campbell

at New London, was Mr. Benjamin Chappell afterwards Postmaster of Charlottetown, and for many years a respected resident of the colony. Mr. Chappell was a man remarkable through life for his earnest piety, and one who always took an active interest in the cause of religion. As the services of Ministers of the Gospel could not easily be obtained in those days, he often filled their place in the little community of Elizabethtown, and there is a place scooped out of the bank at the harbour, where it is said he used to stand when conducting religious services, and which from this circumstance, and from its former shape, (for its shape by the action of the tides and other eroding agencies has undergone some change in a hundred years) bears the name of Chappell's chair. Chappell, always kept a Diary or Journal of what was going on around him. These books are still in existence in the possession of his descendants, and contain much curious information relating to himself and to the times in which he lived. From the Journal which he kept while residing in New London, I find that there were 69 men in Clark and Campbell's immediate employment, or dependent upon their establishment at Elizabethtown in 1775, who, together with their families numbered in all 129. Among the list are to be found the names of Adams, Anderson, Chappell, Cole, Coffin, Stagman, and Warren, all of whom have living representatives in the island at the present day.

Mr. Clark continued his active exertions for the settlement and improvement of the Colony up to the time when the Revolutionary War broke out in 1775. At this time, he had adventured £20,000 in his establishment there, when the outbreak of hostilities, before any return could be realised, almost entirely suspended further operations in following up the scheme which he had commenced in such an enterprising spirit, and by their continuance all he had done, and a large expenditure he had made, mouldered away and was irretrievably lost. The business of his concern on the island was afterwards carried on under great disadvantages and difficulties. They sent home their timber by vessels which generally returned with cargoes of merchandise and supplies suited to the wants of the colony, and these vessels were exposed to continual risk of capture by the American Privateers, which infested the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Chappell in his journal gives an account of the anxiety felt by the settlement

on one occasion when a suspicious looking craft believed to be an American Privateer was observed for some days hovering around in the neighbourhood of New London, at a time when one of their vessels was expected to arrive, and he also speaks of the plundering of Malpeque by a privateer in 1778.

In fact during the continuance of the war, the island hardly deserved the name of a Government or colony. It was a new country in every respect, its settlement having only commenced three or four years before, and it had not produced in any one year a sufficient supply for the wants of its inhabitants. In 1775 the Governor left it, as well as most of the active resident proprietors. Some of these latter left in distress, while others entered the Imperial service. Phillips Callbeck the Administrator, with two or three officers of Government remained in the Province, and they were captured and carried off by an American Privateer from Marblehead, as prisoners of war in November of the same year. The old colonies which had been the usual sources of supply to its inhabitants, being in rebellion, furnished no further aid. Every avenue to it was dangerously infested with privateers, there was no internal defence, no medium of commerce, no credit, exchange, or communication with the outside world. Mr. Clark's stores until they were exhausted were the only resource. These stores and supplies, provided at great expense, had arrived very opportunely for the inhabitants, to feed and to clothe them, when they were in the greatest distress, though unable to pay for them, nor were the officers of government exempted from the necessity of using equally with others, a resource that was open to all. In 1774, he proposed to set up stores in lot 49, and by that means to establish settlers on it, as he had done on lot 21, but he was dissuaded from this project by the Governor who represented to him the greater advantage the island would derive by the establishment of his stores in Charlottetown. Thus induced, he took those measures which proved, though highly beneficial to the colony, extremely disastrous to his own interests, and which finally contributed in a large degree to his ruin. At the same time that he imported the stock from Quebec for the people of Prince County, he sent a large quantity of merchandise to Charlottetown, and in December of the same year (1774), a cargo

belonging to him, consisting principally of provisions arrived from New York, the greater part of which was expended for the support of the settlers in Charlottetown, who would have been reduced to the greatest distress, and as stated in a letter of one of the officers of Government, must have actually starved had it not been for the arrival of these supplies.

The unproductive condition of his property on the island, upon which such a large outlay had been made, and the death of his partner involved Mr. Clark in financial embarrassment, and notwithstanding the fact that he had paid his quit rents up to the commencement of the war, and had contributed so much to the welfare of the Colony, the Governor in Council instituted arbitrary and oppressive proceedings against his lands, during the existence of the war, at a time when there was no specie on the island, and no means of remitting it there in payment of the quit rents, and when the state of the times rendered the settlement of the colony absolutely impracticable. By these means, Lot 44 was sold for a debt of £140 in the year 1781, when Mr. Clark was absent from the Island, and was bought by the Governor himself, although the officers of Government, for the payment of whose salaries these rigorous proceedings were professedly taken, stood indebted to Clark at the time in upwards of £1500, and the amount he owed could have been readily discharged by merely exchanging a receipt. In this way he was ruined, tedious and expensive proceedings were afterwards instituted by him before the Supreme Court of the Island, and carried thence by appeal to the Privy Council for the restitution of his lands, which were protracted for years, and although they ended in the restoration of his property, and the dismissal of the Governor and his council from the public service, they reduced poor Clark to poverty and ruin.

The names of Sir James Montgomery, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, and John McDonald of Glenaladale, Captain of the 14th regiment of Highlanders, and Grandfather of William C. McDonald, Esquire of Montreal, are also deserving of a prominent place among those proprietors who took an active interest in the early settlement of the colony. In the year 1770, the Chief Baron sent out about sixty families under the care of two overseers —



Messrs Higgins and Lawson — with labourers to assist them in establishing the new settlers in their respective holdings and for some time afterwards he liberally expended large sums of money for that purpose; and in 1772 there arrived under the care of Captain McDonald's brother for the purpose of settling lot 36, a vessel with three hundred Highlanders, who were furnished with a year's provisions, besides subsistence for the passage, clothing and implements of husbandry. There were also with them, an overseer and labourers, and they were supplied with every requisite for raising crops to support them the following year. Notwithstanding all this, when they learned that the previous year's crop had failed, the dismal prospect before them, and the distress that universally reigned around them greatly discouraged these Highland Settlers, who were little accustomed to habits of agriculture in their native land, where they had earned their subsistence by the grazing or pasturage of cattle, and Captain McDonald was obliged on his arrival the following year, to undertake to provide them with provisions in case of failure of their crops, in order to induce them to remain in the country. For this purpose he chartered a vessel in Boston while on his way to the Island to convey thither a year's necessaries and provisions for his settlers, and on his arrival he found another in the harbour of Charlottetown, laden with a like supply, which his brother had been obliged to purchase in Quebec in order to keep the people from leaving the island.

For several years, he continued to support these people until they were enabled to shift for themselves, supplying them with cows, horses, sheep, and swine which he imported at large expense from other colonies, and at the same time instructing and superintending them in farming operations, as well as showing them an example on a farm of his own. He was always remarkable for his true Highland hospitality, and being then the only person on the island who had anything in reserve, his hospitality and liberality were called into active exercise. He was the constant recourse of everyone in extreme distress, and there were many such indeed in that day. His house appeared more like a Public House than a private dwelling,— it is said that it was no uncommon occurrence to see 20 or 30 men lying on straw, of a night in the place he had for a kitchen, who besides being provided for, while under his roof, were seldom allowed to depart without a

viaticum when they left his door. Even the officers of Government were partakers of his hospitable relief. At the earnest request of the first Chief Justice — Dupont — then very old and infirm, he supplied him with food during the last winter of his life, at a time when he had not a week's supply of provisions to preserve him and his family from starvation, nor any means of obtaining relief except from Captain McDonald's stores.

To minister both to the temporal and spiritual wants of his settlers, he brought out from Scotland a Doctor and a Priest, and the arrival of the latter — the Reverend James McDonald — who was the first Catholic missionary on the Island under English rule, was the means of retaining the Acadians, who had long been discontented for the want of a clergyman of their own persuasion, and on that account were disposed to leave the Island. These Acadians numbering about 700, were a moral, sober, and robust people, and hence desirable settlers. They were also very expert in the use of the axe, and extremely useful in fishing and hunting, and in building boats and such houses as then existed, and their removal would have been a serious loss to the English settlers in the infant state of the Colony. The services rendered by Mr. McDonald are well summed up in an affidavit of William Allanby one of the original proprietors and the first Receiver General and Collector of Customs of the Island, from which I have made the following extract: "If it be considered the large and respectable number of settlers Mr. McDonald brought to the Island, the stock of cattle either purchased by him for them, or by themselves from other colonies, the many articles of great use to the former inhabitants which were brought to the Island by him, and in short from his generous endeavours, every person in the Island must feel himself indebted to him, who has any sentiment."

Before Mr. McDonald had time to place the affairs of his Estate on a satisfactory footing, and to settle all his tenants on their respective locations, the American War broke out, and an officer arrived on the Island with a message to him from head-quarters, conveying information that he had been appointed among others, under His Majesty's Sign Manual to take measures for preventing the Highlanders recently emigrated to America from being seduced by the insurgents from their allegiance, and for organising them into a Regi-

ment in His Majesty's service, and that he was expected to join this regiment without delay. At the outbreak of hostilities, it was deemed of special importance to attach to His Majesty's service these Highland emigrants scattered over America, and to effect this object, commissions were offered to their leaders. Mr. McDonald was one of the chief of these, — he was a son of Alexander McDonald the Chieftain of Glenaladale, who fought with the Clan-Ranald Corps for Prince Charlie at the battles of Prestonpans and Falkirk, and died from wounds received at Culloden in 1746.

Although Mr. McDonald had never before this, belonged to the service, and his absence from his estate was sure to occasion serious loss to him, and derangement to his affairs in their then unsettled condition, he gallantly responded to what he regarded as a call of duty to his King and country, and served with credit throughout the whole war as Captain of the Regiment which he had thus aided in raising, the 84th Regiment of Highlanders. His brother Donald who followed him shortly afterwards, became lieutenant in the 100th Regiment and was killed in action in 1781.

With the comforts and conveniences which are now enjoyed, and the facilities for travelling through every part of the country that now exist, it is impossible to realise the hardships and privations which the early settlers were obliged to endure in their lonely home in the wilderness. Independent of the establishments to which I have referred, no other place existed on the Island where food, clothing, or medicine could be procured, excepting Charlottetown. A journey to Charlottetown was then accounted a great undertaking, which took several days to accomplish. No roads existed through the trackless forests, unless it were an occasional bridle-path, or an Indian trail which tended only to mislead, and the early traveller had to make his way trusting to his pocket compass as his guide, or at a later period by pursuing a path way through the woods marked out by trees blazed for the purpose. His journey was not free from danger, particularly if he strayed from his proper course. Much of the land which is now perfectly dry, consisted of swamp, while it was covered with wood, and no better idea can be conveyed of the perils incident to a journey through the woods than is afforded in the following account of a journey to Murray Harbour, made by the father of

the late Colonel John Hamilton Gray, C.M.G., and grandfather of Mrs. William Abbott of Montreal, which is extracted from one of our earliest newspapers — the *Miscellany* of the Island of St. John, published in Charlottetown on the 4th January 1792.

“ On Monday second instant, the Honble Major Robert Gray, Secretary to His Excellency Lieutenant Governor Fanning left this town for Murray Harbour, where he will embark on board the Schooner Assistance, and take his passage to London carrying with him the despatches of His Excellency to His Majesty’s Secretary of State.

“ We are happy in being able to mention that the Major with those who accompanied him, after having undergone the greatest fatigue, and been in imminent danger of their lives, arrived safe at Murray Harbour. From almost the first moment of their departure to the hour of their arrival at Murray Harbour, they were incessantly assailed either by tempestuous winds, dreadful torrents of rain, or heavy falls of snow, which not only rendered their journey inconceivably difficult, but threatened them with immediate destruction. Being obliged to encamp in the woods, without wigwam or other shelter from the inclemency of the weather, and sometimes passing through frozen swamps that gave way at almost every step, in which they frequently sunk so deep as to require each other’s assistance to get out, it is miraculous that in so perilous a situation no one perished. It were impious not to acknowledge that the hand of Providence is conspicuously observable in the preservation of the Major, and those who were with him, at a moment too, when inevitable destruction appeared to await them.” (Murray Harbour is a Port on the south side of the Island about forty miles distant from Charlottetown.)

With travelling through thickets, and sinking in swamps at times, little progress could be made by travellers in a day, and they were generally obliged to encamp for the night in the woods, as houses of entertainment were then unknown. In those days many made their journeys around the shores or sea-coasts, they swam the rivers with horses, and forded them in shallow places when on foot, or crossed them with canoes, and they waded all the creeks and small streams, or crossed them on tall pines which were sometimes thrown

across for the benefit of foot passengers. In the winter they travelled on snow-shoes around the coast to Charlottetown. The journeys made in this way were attended with much danger—as well from the ice moving off as it did on at least one occasion with its living freight, as from the risk of perishing in the snow storms, or in the severe cold to which they were liable to be exposed in the Straits of Northumberland. About 1786, and before there was a blazed track through the woods, several of the pioneers of Bedeque, a settlement in the western part of the Island, were returning from Charlottetown in this way, when one of their number Richard Robins, who was an old man, became exhausted as they were crossing Seven Mile Bay. His fellow travellers having ineffectually endeavoured to carry him along with them, seated him between two boulders of ice and hastened to the nearest house on shore for assistance. On their return they found him in the same position they had left him, frozen to death.

The early settlers were often reduced to great extremities for want of food, and were obliged to travel long distances to obtain it, in order to save themselves and their families from starvation. The first settlers of Malpeque numbering 147 persons, among whom was Chief Justice Stewart came to the island in 1770, and were wrecked at the end of their voyage in a northeast gale and snowstorm on the Bar at the entrance of Prince-town harbour, their vessel being a total wreck, but all hands were saved. Having arrived late in the season, these immigrants were in great distress owing to the loss of their effects, and they endured great hardships during the following winter. Had it not been for the kindness shown by the French to them, they would in fact have been reduced to a state of absolute starvation. To sustain life, they hired some French fishermen to go for provisions with their dogs to St. Peter's on the Northeast side of the Island, where there was a considerable French Settlement, and some of their own party in the month of March were obliged to go to the North Cape for Sea Cow Flippers for the same purpose. It was nothing unusual for the first settlers to travel ten to twenty miles for a bag of potatoes which they carried home on their backs, and many of them took pleasure in afterwards telling of these experiences, with a view of impressing on their sons the trials and hardships they underwent, to provide them with the comforts that surrounded them. It has

been well said that these early settlers lived by pinching and poverty, industry and strong faith. Many were reduced to the greatest extremities for the means of sustenance and oftentimes in the absence of the father in the search of food—to adopt the language of McGregor's History—“A few roots were all that tender mothers could procure to allay the importunate calls of their children for bread”. And who can realise the mother's feelings as she sat in her solitary hut in the forest, with her little ones around her during her husband's absence or the sleepless nights she spent in her lonely vigil awaiting in anxious suspense his long looked-for return.

When the settler first entered on his green-wood farm, the prospect before him was enough to discourage the stoutest heart, and to daunt the bravest spirit. He found himself in the midst of a dense and gloomy forest with wild animals and Indians as its only inhabitants, and covered with groves of pine, beech, birch and other trees which had to be levelled to the ground by his sturdy arm before he could expect to receive any return from the virgin soil. In sickness or in health he was alike dependent upon his own resources, there were no roads, oftentimes no neighbours within miles, and no means of communicating with the outside world. Yet the pioneers of civilisation on Prince Edward Island by industry and perseverance, surmounted all the difficulties that stood in their way in clearing the forest,

**Till desert wilds beneath their hand  
Became like Goshen's fertile land.**

Within the limits of this paper I cannot attempt to portray the hardships these pioneer settlers endured, and the privations incident to their lives in the forest. A wondrous change has been wrought in the face of the country and in the circumstances of the people in 100 years. Green meadows and fruitful fields now cover the ground where the primeval forest then stood, in all its silent beauty and grandeur. The humble and rudely constructed cabin of the early settler has been succeeded by the spacious and commodious homestead of the independent farmer whose table bountifully supplied with the most substantial food, is in pleasing contrast with the first settlers poor and oftentimes scanty fare. Mowing and reaping machines with all their modern appliances have taken the place of the scythe and the flail,

and the labour of the farmer which was then entirely performed by his stalwart arm is now lessened in a large degree by the numerous labour saving implements at his command. With a fruitful soil which is ever ready to yield good returns to the industrious husbandman, and with facilities for prosecuting his labour in securing these returns to which our forefathers were strangers, the sons of Prince Edward Island have not much cause of complaint against the country they should be proud to call their home. By industry, farmers who know how to moderate their desires, can always obtain in this country a comfortable means of existence and owe no man anything, with a fair prospect of independence. Many are nowadays allured by glowing and overdrawn description of other places to leave their homes, and to sever themselves from the associations of a lifetime in the delusive hope of making a fortune with less labour than is necessary to make a living in their native land. Whilst some who have sought their fortunes abroad have succeeded in life, the experience of the majority of them has abundantly proved that they would have been better off if they had remained in their own country, to which they have returned in many cases after years of absence with light pockets and with heavy hearts.

Let me in conclusion quote for their descriptive merit the following lines of unpretending verse on Prince Edward Island, written after his return to England by one of its early residents, who had spent many years in the colony,—

.....  
 Nor can I that sweet Isle forget,  
 (It lives in my affections yet.)  
 Which Cabot of immortal fame  
 First found, and gave a sacred name.  
 As on the deck the veteran stood,  
 With joy the sylvan land he viewed :  
 Bright contrast to that barren shore,  
 Just left behind and found before.  
 In her best robes of summer green,  
 How fair and lovely was the scene !  
 The stately forest newly dressed,  
 As if to meet her eastern guest ;  
 And harbours of majestic form,  
 Their barks to shelter from the storm.  
 .....

.....  
 Fair crystal streams in plenty found,  
 Arise and fertilise the ground,  
 As onward in their course they tend,  
 And with the mighty waters blend.  
 No land can boast more rich supply,  
 That e'er was found beneath the sky ;  
 Nor purer streams have ever flowed,  
 Since Heaven that bounteous gift bestowed.

.....  
 Though winter's long, and storms severe,  
 They purify the atmosphere,  
 Till Summer's balmy breezes blow.  
 And health and happiness bestow.  
 Here lovely Hebe might reside,  
 In vernal bloom and youthful pride.

And though no lofty mountains rise,  
 In grandeur towering to the skies ;  
 With awful majesty appear,  
 And hoary locks perpetual wear ;  
 Nor fearful glens, nor caves abound,  
 As the romantic lands are found,  
 Here hill and dale attract the sight,  
 And mountains of less soaring height ;  
 And shady grove and fertile field,  
 Charm with delight and plenty yield ;—  
 Of all the islands in the west,  
 To me the fairest and the best,  
 Dear land farewell ! My feet no more,  
 Shall tread on thy delightful shore ;  
 No more shall I that landscape see,  
 Which oft was viewed and dear to me ;  
 Where years were spent, forever past,  
 Where willingly I'd spend the last.  
 My memory loves on thee to dwell  
 Beloved Isle, again farewell !

Charlottetown, P. E. Island, }  
 25th November, 1893. }

GEORGE ALLEY.



## PREMIER FORT FRONTENAC (1)

Par BENJAMIN SULTE.

## II

Avant de continuer le récit du voyage du gouverneur et de sa troupe notons que M. Charles Le Gardeur de Tilly, comme on le voit par le premier volume des jugements du Conseil Souverain, pages 759, 777.

Mentionnons aussi un épisode que j'ai omis dans l'article du mois d'avril. Au moment de partir de Québec M. de Frontenac intenta un procès à son cuisinier, nommé René Blanchard, qui s'était quitté sous de faux prétextes, avait emprunté de l'argent au nom de son maître d'hôtel, et enlevé des effets à Jean LeChasseur, son secrétaire. Le 5 juin, le Conseil Souverain rendit jugement en appel. Blanchard devait restituer six livres à Marie Laurence, veuve d'Estache Lambert, trois livres à Pierre Nolan, puis un capot, une chemise, une paire de bas, et vingt-quatre livres cinq sous quatre deniers à Le Chasseur ; plus, conduit, à la grande place de la basse-ville et appliqué au carcan pour y être pendant trois heures, avec un écriteau sur la poitrine portant cette phrase : " Domestique engagé qui a délaissé le service de son maître sous un faux donné à entendre." Condamné en outre à servir trois ans par force tel maître qui lui sera indiqué et à tels gages qui lui seront ordonnés en justice. Et encore, à payer cinquante sous pour chaque journée qu'il s'est absenté de chez M. de Frontenac, dix livres d'amende envers le roi et tous dommages, intérêts et dépens du procès principal et de l'appel ; ces sommes seront prélevées sur ses gages futurs. La cérémonie du carcan eut lieu le même jour, qui était un lundi. René Blanchard n'a pas fait souche dans le pays.

Aux approches des Mille-Iles, la petite armée dut prendre des précautions pour s'éclairer, car il est peu d'endroit ainsi favorable à une embuscade que les multiples chenaux de ce paradis terrestre.

(1) Dans mon précédent article, veuillez lire :

Page	71	ligne	8,	Penobscot.
"	71	"	17,	Sokokis.
"	72	"	2,	1670.
"	73	"	1,	pour motif le bien.
"	74	"	10,	puissance.
"	74	"	33,	étant donc.
"	75	"	12,	insensiblement,
"	77	"	5,	qu'il méditait, aussi.

Frontenac n'en dit rien dans la longue lettre où il raconte cette expédition. Cela ne doit pas nous surprendre puisque, dans une marche militaire, on agit toujours de la sorte, à moins que de manifester la plus dangereuse imprudence. Notre imagination, aujourd'hui, s'arrête plus volontiers sur l'aspect poétique de la situation. Figurons-nous, en effet, ces quatre cents hommes entrant dans le dédale des îles, au mois de juillet, alors que la végétation a revêtu celles-ci de ses plus gracieuses formes. Je me demande si les beautés naturelles de ces lieux vraiment enchanteurs ont captivé l'attention de la troupe, à commencer par ces chefs. Il est possible que non. Avant le siècle où nous sommes, ces merveilles ne comptaient pour rien aux yeux des hommes. Les découvreurs et les explorateurs de nos vastes contrées ne voyaient dans les montagnes, les cours d'eaux et les forêts que des choses banales, appelées montagnes, rivières, lacs et bois. Ils observent sur ce sujet un silence qui m'étonne toujours et, comme ils savaient peindre par une dénomination heureuse les sites devant lesquels ils passaient, on peut croire que c'était, pour eux, l'art suprême d'exprimer leur admiration. Décrire un paysage leur semblait puéril, or n'ayant ni dessinateurs, ni artiste en ce genre parmi eux ils laissaient se produire la grande nature du Canada, et se contentaient de lui imposer des noms. Ce n'est pas ainsi que nous faisons. Nos touristes exhalent avec plaisir leurs sentiments. Crémazie en donne un exemple dans les vers qu'il a consacrés aux Mille-Îles :

Quand Ève, à l'arbre de la vie,  
De sa main eut cueilli la mort,  
Sur la terre à jamais flétrie,  
On vit paraître le remords.

Puis, Adam s'en fut sur la terre  
Qui déjà pleurait avec lui,  
S'abreuver à la source amère  
Où nous devons boire aujourd'hui.

Et les Archanges, sur leurs ailes,  
Prenant l'Éden silencieux  
En haut des sphères éternelles  
Le déposèrent dans les cieux.

Mais, en s'élançant dans l'espace,  
Ils laissèrent sur leur chemin  
Tomber, pour indiquer leur trace,  
Quelques fleurs du jardin divin.

Et ces fleurs aux couleurs mobiles,  
Tombant dans le fleuve géant,  
Firent éclore les Mille-Îles  
Ce paradis du St Laurent.

Les Sauvages de ce paradis n'étaient pas loin et pouvaient, d'un moment à l'autre, apparaître sur la scène ; c'est peut-être pour cela que nos Canadiens n'accordaient qu'une attention distraite aux splendeurs qui les entouraient. Sous un autre rapport, je n'affirmerais pas que les chansons du pays normand n'aient pas résonnées en cette occasion sous les dômes verdoyants des Mille-Iles et dans l'air pur qui laissait voir le ciel bleu. Si l'on ne chantait pas encore *Vive la Canadienne*, il y avait au moins la *Claire Fontaine*, *Par derrière chez ma Tante* et *Dans les prisons de Nantes* au fond du répertoire de tant de braves canotiers. A peu de distance de la rivière Cataracoui, le 12 juillet, la flotille fut saluée par M. l'abbé d'Urfé et des chefs Iroquois qui venaient au devant d'elle. Les chefs exprimèrent au gouverneur le plaisir qu'ils éprouvaient de le rencontrer et lui dirent qu'ils seraient bien aise de le voir mettre à terre à Cataracoui où ils se proposaient de le prier de recevoir leur soumission. Heureux de la tournure que prenaient les affaires, il accepta de bonne grâce et fut conduit à quelques centaines de pieds de l'embouchure de la rivière, dans une anse spacieuse et commode au bord de laquelle l'armée bivouaqua ; les cabanes sauvages n'étaient pas loin de l'endroit. Tout semblait réglé d'avance comme un papier de musique.

Une cérémonie imposante se préparait pour le lendemain, 13 juillet. La diane sonna dès la pointe du jour ; on étendit des toiles par terre devant la tente du gouverneur ; à sept heures, au bruit du tambour battant aux champs, une garde d'honneur entoura la tante de M. de Frontenac et la troupe s'aligna en double ligne jusqu'aux cabanes des Sauvages. Soixante anciens parmi les Iroquois passèrent entre les deux files et allèrent prendre place sur les tapis déjà mentionnés. Après avoir fumé le calumet, Garacontié, chef Onnontagué, le plus important de tous les Iroquois, prit la parole. De 1654 à 1677, époque de sa mort, il a été constamment l'ami des Français et grand apôtre de la paix avec eux. On le voit à la tête de presque toutes les ambassades durant un quart de siècle. C'est lui qui, en 1658, sauva les soixante Français établis chez les Onnontagués. En d'autres circonstances, il arracha aux supplices vingt-six Français. Charles LeMoyne fut délivré par lui en 1665. Lorsque Mgr de Laval le baptisa dans la cathédrale de Québec, en 1670, sous les yeux de plusieurs chefs sauvages et d'un auditoire nombreux et recueilli, sa

marraine fut mademoiselle de Bouteroue, fille de l'intendant ; M. de Courcelles, gouverneur-général, son parrain, lui donna son propre nom de Daniel. C'était un diplomate, un orateur d'un rare bon sens et il mourut dans tout son prestige, laissant à un neveu, Garacontié ou Garakonhié, la mission de poursuivre son œuvre, ce que celui-ci exécuta avec talent jusqu'à 1693 où nous perdons sa trace.

" Je parle, dit en substance, Daniel Garacontié, au nom des cinq tribus iroquoises, qui se sont réjouies en apprenant, par le Sieur de La Salle, ton dessein de maintenir la paix et de les regarder comme tes enfants. Ils te promettent de suivre tes ordres comme ceux d'un père. Les capitaines de chaque canton sont ici et vont s'exprimer de la même manière que moi, pour te montrer que nous sommes unanimes dans ton amitié." Alors vinrent les discours et les présents qui accompagnaient chaque " parole ", selon l'usage de la nation.

Frontenac avait pour interprète Charles Le Moyne. Il abonda dans le sens adopté par Garacontié, repoussa l'idée de la guerre ou d'une invasion agressive, fit des promesses, se montra chagrin de ne pouvoir parler leur langue, les cajola avec cette grâce et cet esprit supérieur qui le distinguait, bref, emporta tous leurs suffrages.

Le sieur Baudin, enseigne au régiment de Carignan, qui venait de se faire concéder la seigneurie de Berthier au lac Saint Pierre et qui la vendit en 1674 au capitaine Berthier, traçait, durant ces échanges de politesses, les fondations du fort, avec tant de promptitude que, après le diner, les travailleurs firent jouer la pioche, en même temps que les charpentiers coupaient le bois nécessaire à la construction. Il n'entra ni pierre ni brique dans l'ouvrage.

La brigade des miliciens des Trois-Rivières installa les campements des troupes, sous les yeux de Frontenac, qui se tenait au milieu d'elle ; elle construisit le fort. La brigade de Sorel y travailla aussi quelque peu. Les deux corps repartirent de Cataracoui le 21 juillet, l'ouvrage étant terminé. Deux ans auparavant, au cours du voyage de M. de Courcelles à Kente, ce gouverneur raconte que M. de Varennes, gouverneur des Trois-Rivières, avait fait des merveilles, ainsi que M. de Loubias, seigneur de Nicolet. (1)

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(1) *Paris Documents IX*, 81. 90-413.

Une seconde entrevue solennelle eut lieu le 16, sur le soir. Frontenac, voyant que les Iroquois étaient émerveillés de la rapidité d'exécution des Français, emplifia sur son précédent discours et les ravit en exposant au long la politique qu'il désirait suivre à leur égard. Il alla jusqu'à leur conseiller d'aimer les Hurons et même de faire apprendre à leurs enfants la langue française, afin de ne former avec eux qu'une seule famille. Sa surprise était grande de voir que, après tant d'années écoulées depuis qu'ils connaissaient les Français, ils n'avaient pas apprécié les beautés d'une langue qui faisait l'admiration de l'Europe. Son intelligence, pourtant si remarquable, ne lui disait pas que le Sauvage est inébranlable sous ce rapport. Dans tout ce qu'un homme fait il mêle toujours quelque chose emprunté au milieu où il a vécu. Garacontié a dû, par la suite, le dissuader de recommencer cette tentative, car il ne faut jamais "scandaliser" les Sauvages.

"Le 20 juillet, dès le matin, les Iroquois prirent congé de M. de Frontenac; les uns partirent pour le grand village, d'autres pour Villemarie (1), d'autres enfin pour Kenté ou ailleurs; et leur départ fut cause que, l'après-midi du même jour, le gouverneur permit aux escadres de partir le lendemain, se proposant de ne retenir avec lui que ses gardes, sa maison et quelques volontaires, qui faisaient, en tout, vingt-cinq canots. Mais le soir du même jour, il reçut des nouvelles qui lui firent douter si les escadres ne devaient pas différer leur départ. M. de Fénelon lui mandait que les députés de Ganatchés, Thiagon, Galnairaské, Kenté et Gancions, devaient se rendre, le vendredi au soir, ou au plus tard samedi matin, à Katarakoui, au nombre de plus de cent, pour le saluer et lui professer de leur obéissance. Néanmoins, il jugea, par les procédés des Sauvages qui venaient de partir, qu'il n'avait pas de grandes précautions à prendre contre les autres, ni besoin d'une plus nombreuse escorte que celle qu'il s'était proposé d'abord de retenir; les escadres partirent donc le lendemain et, les députés annoncés par M. de Fénelon étant arrivés, il leur fit les mêmes recommandations qu'aux autres, et tous promirent d'y être fidèles." (2)

(1) On fondait alors la mission du Saut Saint-Louis pour les Iroquois disposés à devenir chrétiens.

(2) Faillon : *Histoire de la Colonie III*. 405-472.

Je n'ai pas trouvé la date du départ du comte de Fontenac de Cataracoui. Mettons que c'était le 24 juillet.

Il est constaté que le premier fort de Frontenac a été construit du 13 au 24 juillet 1673, et non pas 1672 comme le veut l'inscription gravée sur les casernes de Kingston.

M. l'abbé Ferland donne un bon résumé de toutes ces opérations :

“ M. de Frontenac avait approuvé le projet de bâtir un fort sur les bords du lac Ontario, pour surveiller les mouvements des Iroquois, qui venaient de terminer heureusement la guerre, entreprise depuis plusieurs années, contre les Andastes et les Chaouanons. Déjà ces barbares s'efforçaient de détourner le commerce des pelleteries vers les provinces anglaises. Pendant l'hiver (1672-73) il fut informé par les Jésuites et par La Salle qui était chez les Iroquois, que les Anglais tâchaient d'engager ceux-ci à conclure un traité avec les Outaouais et à rompre la paix avec les Français. Comme les pays qui bordent le lac Huron et le lac Supérieur fournissaient la plus grande quantité de fourrures, les marchands de la Nouvelle-York auraient voulu détourner les nations Outaouaises de descendre à Montréal, et les engager à suivre la rivière qui tombe dans la baie de Kenté, et de là dans le lac Ontario. Bientôt des magasins anglais se seraient établis dans les cantons Iroquois, et auraient attiré de ce côté une grande partie du commerce de l'ouest.

“ Frontenac fit inviter les Iroquois à le rencontrer au printemps (1673), lorsqu'il irait visiter la mission des Sulpiciens à Kenté. Comme l'intention du gouverneur était de construire aussi promptement que possible le fort qui devait le rendre maître du lac Ontario, il fit de grands préparatifs et, vers la fin de juin, il partit de Montréal, avec une flotte de quatre bateaux plats et de cent vingt canots, qui portaient six canons et quatre cents hommes.

“ Après avoir examiné les environs, Frontenac se décida à placer le fort sur une pointe, près de l'entrée de la rivière Cataracoui ; et jugeait que, de ce point, il serait facile de surveiller tous les mouvements des Iroquois et des Outaouais, sur la partie inférieure du Lac. Les chefs Iroquois furent gagnés par les manières nobles et engageantes du gouverneur ; ils se laissèrent facilement persuader de ne mettre aucun obstacle à la construction du fort, et partirent convaincus que cet établissement leur procurerait de grands avantages. (1)

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(1) Lettre de M. de Frontenac, 1673.

“ Dans ses entretiens avec eux M. de Frontenac avait fait une telle impression sur les esprits des Iroquois de l'ouest, que tous retournèrent enchantés de leur réception, et publiant hautement les louanges d'Ononchio. Ces bonnes dispositions des chefs neutralisèrent les efforts que faisaient les Hollandais pour les indisposer contre les Français. La Hollande venait de recouvrer Manhatte ; les amiraux Binks et Evertsen s'en étaient emparés sans coup férir et, bientôt, la province toute entière (Etat de New-York aujourd'hui) entra volontairement sous la puissance de ses anciens maîtres.

“ La Salle joua le plus grand rôle dans cette entreprise, après M. de Frontenac et tous deux semblent avoir, dès lors, eut des vues pour attirer de ce côté une grande partie du commerce de l'ouest.

“ On construisit une barque pour la navigation du lac Ontario et l'on proposa d'en bâtir une autre sur le lac Érié, (1) dès qu'un nouveau fort (2) sur la Niagara aurait été établi.

“ Le projet fut si bien reçu que M. de Frontenac commença de suite les travaux avant qu'ils (les Iroquois) n'eussent le temps de revenir sur leur première décision. L'enceinte du fort fut immédiatement tracé ; au bout de six jours, il avait été fermé et mis en état de défense. Pendant ce temps, l'on avait préparé pour la culture environ vingt arpents de terre. Le nom du gouverneur fut donné au nouvel établissement, et l'on essaya même de remplacer le nom sauvage du lac (Ontario) voisin par celui de Frontenac.

“ Le gouverneur fournit le magasin de Frontenac de marchandises et de munitions de guerre ; il y laissa un commandant avec une petite garnison, et donna pour aumônier le Père Gabriel de la Ribourde, Récollet.” (3)

Il y avait alors trois ans que les Récollets étaient revenus au Canada. M. de Frontenac les protégea constamment de préférence aux autres ecclésiastiques de la colonie.

M. Taillon a, mieux que personne, raconté la fondation du Cataracoui, parce qu'il a eu sous les yeux plus de documents que n'importe lequel de nos historiens. Ses réflexions valent aussi la peine que l'on s'y arrête :

(1) La Salle exécuta ce projet en 1670.

(2) Le premier fort Niagara ne fut bâti qu'en 1657 et resta bientôt abandonné.

(3) *Cours d'Histoire du Canada* II, 92-4.

“ Les dépenses que M. de Frontenac avait faites pour le compte du roi dans l'établissement de son fort s'élevèrent à la somme de dix mille livres, et elles auraient été incomparablement plus considérables, s'il eût dédommagé les habitants de leurs frais et de leurs travaux, car ils avaient été obligés de faire, à leurs propres dépens, deux cents et même trois cents lieues d'une navigation aussi pénible que périlleuse, d'exécuter les travaux nécessaires à la construction du fort et de transporter dans leurs canots tous les objets que demandait cette entreprise. Ces corvées très onéreuses et jusqu'alors sans exemple dans la colonie, firent murmurer en secret plusieurs de ses habitants.” (1)

Pour colorer ses exigences d'une raison plausible, le gouverneur disait que le nouveau fort servirait de comptoir au roi pour le commerce des fourrures, car il était dès lors entendu que la compagnie des Indes était virtuellement abolie. Toutefois, l'argument avait une allure singulière puisqu'il obligeait une colonie agricole à faire des sacrifices de temps et d'argent dans l'intérêt des marchands qui ne devaient pas manquer d'en profiter puisque visiblement le roi concéderait à ces derniers l'exploitation des divers postes de traite, ce qui eut lieu, en effet. En même temps, le 5 juin 1673, un édit était promulgué défendant aux colons, “ à peine de vie, de vaquer dans les bois plus de vingt-quatre heures sans permission expresse, attendu que des courses de ce genre, sous prétexte de chasse ou de commerce de pelleterie avec les sauvages, sont entièrement contraire à l'établissement de la colonie du dit pays.” Si, d'une part, le gouvernement prenait des mesures pour empêcher les cultivateurs de négliger leurs terres, d'un autre côté le gouverneur-général activait si bien la passion du commerce que les coureurs de bois augmentèrent en nombre, d'année en année, au préjudice de la population stable.

Dans le système de tenure des terres introduit en Canada, l'imposition de journées de corvée devenait un droit du seigneur. C'était déjà suffisant pour déplaire aux censitaires. Lorsque l'on étendit ce pouvoir en le donnant aux chefs de l'armée, les plaintes commencèrent à se faire entendre. Vers 1700, le mot corvée était devenu tout à fait odieux. Sous le régime anglais, qui tanta de faire revivre les

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(1) Faillon : *Histoire de la Colonie*, III. 471.

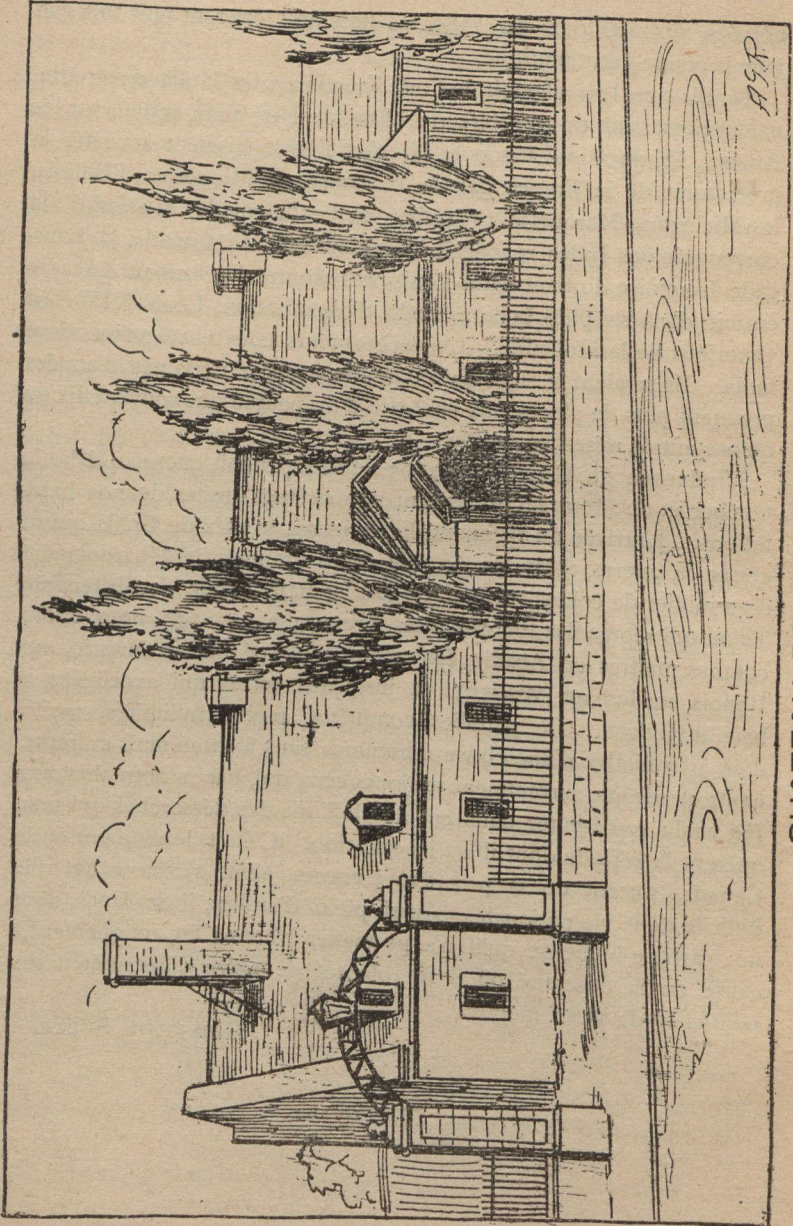


corvées, aux alentours de 1780, les habitants crièrent plus fort que jamais contre cette pratique.

Tandis que l'on plantait le fort Frontenac, les Hollandais reprenaient possession du territoire de l'Etat de New York actuel, sur les Anglais, M. de Saint-Lusson et Nicolas Perrot faisaient accepter le protectorat de la France dans le Wisconsin, le Minnesota, l'Illinois, le Michigan, Marquette et Jolliet descendaient le Mississipi, la compagnie des Indes renonçait à l'exploitation du Canada, la bourgade Iroquoise du Saut Saint-Louis près Montréal se formait, l'Acadie entrait dans sa plus belle période d'organisation, Louis XIV était victorieux de la Hollande. Ces événements couvrent à peine vingt mois. Ils seraient le sujet d'un bon chapitre car certaines d'années prennent plus de place dans l'histoire d'un peuple que souvent dix ou quinze autres mises ensemble.

L'influence du Canada en 1665 ne se répandait guère au delà de Québec et de Montréal qui étaient les extrêmes limites de nos habitations. L'arrivée du régiment de Carignan, la paix de Bréda qui fit cesser la guerre entre les Anglais et les Français, le débarquement d'un millier de colons sur nos rivages, la main habile de l'Intendant Talon qui réorganisa toutes choses, firent que, en 1673, nous étions comme maîtres en Acadie, également à Gaspé, au lac Ontario, aux Illinois, sur le haut Mississipi et jusqu'aux terres qui avoisinent la baie d'Hudson. De pareilles conquêtes, moitié militaires, moitié dues à l'initiative d'une classe d'hommes sans fortune mais entrepreneurs et adroits, surprennent toujours ceux qui lisent notre histoire. J'ai voulu représenter dans cet article l'une des démarches qui marquèrent la période dont il est ici question. C'était le moment où le Canada, sortant de sa première jeunesse, allait s'exercer au rôle difficile de la vie nationale. Aussi, plein d'ardeur, il se lança dans une carrière immense qu'il n'a pu mener à bonne fin, uniquement à cause de la nécessité où il fut bientôt de servir d'instrument aux politiciens du vieux monde.

BENJAMIN SULTE.



CHATEAU DE RAMEZAY.

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**HOW THE CHATEAU DE RAMEZAY WAS SAVED.**

By R. W. McLACHLAN.

As the Royal Society of Canada had accepted an invitation to hold its annual meeting, for 1891, in Montreal—it had hitherto always met at Ottawa—a committee of citizens was appointed to arrange for the event. One of the arrangements, decided upon by this committee, was that there should be issued, for the use of the visitors, a “hand-book” giving an account of the Society, together with a short history of Montreal and its institutions. The latter part of the work was entrusted to me ; and as I came to write about the old Government House—the Château de Ramezay—and the many incidents and events connected with the history of the city that were enacted within its walls, the thought of its preservation occurred to me whereupon I wrote these words :

“ Should not the Government make the building over to the city with the proviso that it should be retained as a specimen of Old Montreal. A museum could here be collected of objects bearing on the history of the city. A goodly collection of these things could yet be got together, which might soon be lost.”

The next morning, after writing this paragraph, having occasion to call at the office of Messrs Lighthall and Macdonald, I related to these gentlemen what I had written. They both stated that the same thoughts had occurred to them and that they had had two or three conversations on the subject. On the spur of the moment the first committee “on saving the Château” was improvised and it was decided that the matter should be brought up for consideration at the next meeting of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society. This was accordingly done at the meeting of this Society held on the 17th of March 1891 at which the following resolution was passed :

“ Whereas few of the old historic buildings of Montreal remain, and the most noted of these is threatened ;

And whereas some one of them should be retained amongst us as a memento of the old regime ;

And whereas no public library and museum exists in Montreal, where objects of historic interest to the city may be preserved, and where a collection of its archives may be housed ;

Be it resolved, that a committee of the Society be appointed to arrange for the calling of a public meeting of citizens to take steps to secure the Château de Ramezay for the city and to collect the necessary funds to maintain therein a historical museum and library."

The following gentlemen were named as the committee. The Honorable Justice Baby, the Honorable Edward Murphy, Messrs Charles T. Hart, R. W. McLachlan and de Lery Macdonald.

The engagements which some of the members of the committee had undertaken in connection with the preparation for the meeting of the Royal Society prevented it from immediately entering upon its work, but at this meeting the Honorable Justice Baby who had been appointed as delegate from the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society confined his report mainly to speaking of the historic interest of the Château de Ramezay and of the desire of antiquarians that it should be preserved as a relic of our past.

During the summer of the same year a meeting of citizens was called to arrange for celebrating the 250th anniversary of the founding of Montreal; and the Château de Ramezay committee thinking this a favorable opportunity for pushing its scheme, suggested that the purchase and dedication of this building would add greatly to the permanent interest of the celebration. But the proposition was treated with scant courtesy by the chairman—the then mayor—and the meeting was dismissed without giving those present an opportunity to express their views on the subject. But the committee, nothing daunted by this rebuff, bided its time until another opportunity should occur. This came when sub-committees of the general committee were being struck. They succeeded, after considerable effort, in having one appointed to study the question of saving the Château. Into the hands of this new committee the old committee appointed by the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society resigned its labour. The new committee was composed of Messrs Rouer Roy, chairman; S. C. Stevenson, vice-chairman; R. W. McLachlan, secretary with a number of other gentlemen interested in the question.

Their first meeting was held on the 9th. of November 1891 at which were present Messrs Rouer Roy, S.C. Stevenson, de Bellefeuille, L. Allard, L. Huot, M. de Beaujeu and R. W. McLachlan. At this meeting it was decided to find out what abatement in the price of the

property the government could be induced to make and how the building could be made useful and attractive to the city.

But, as the committee were not encouraged by any public sympathy, and they could not alone move the government, nothing was accomplished at that time, and it did not meet again for a whole year.

In the meantime the directors of the Montreal Exposition Company, having determined to make the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of Montreal a special feature of their exhibition of 1892, asked the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society to collect and arrange a special historical exhibit. The society having consented to this proposition appointed a committee to carry it out and this committee went to work with such a will that they secured the finest exhibition of the kind—a veritable South Kensington Museum—ever shown in Canada. One special feature of this exhibition was the number of historical portraits gathered together. The success and historic interest of the Canadian Portrait Exhibition given by the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society in 1887, in commemoration of its 25th anniversary was such that M. de Lery Macdonald bent all his energies to its repetition in an improved form in the Historical Exhibition of 1892, with the view of founding in connection with the proposed Chateau Ramezay museum a historical Gallery similar to the National Portrait Gallery in London. The addresses delivered on the closing day of the Exhibition dwelt mainly on the educational benefit such a collection, formed into a museum, would be to Montreal and that the feasibility of establishing an Antiquarian Museum had been demonstrated by this exhibition.

These facts inspired the Chateau Ramezay Committee with new life, and it met soon afterward when among other business transacted, a delegation was appointed to again wait upon the Provincial Government. But the delegation only obtained vague promises on which no definite action could be taken, so nearly another year elapsed before it again became active.

This renewed activity was brought about by a gift to the city of a fine private collection of books by Mr. Henry J. Tiffin to serve as a nucleus for a public library for Montreal. About the same time in compliance with the demands of the working men a special Library

Committee was appointed by the City Council ; and in a conference between this committee and the trustees of the Tiffin Library, when the question of a suitable building was brought up, the propriety of purchasing the Château de Ramezay for the purpose was suggested. Acting on this suggestion Mr. Lucien Huot, one of the Tiffin Library trustees, brought the matter before the Château de Ramezay Committee at a meeting called for the purpose on the 13th of August 1893. At this meeting it was resolved to circulate a petition asking the City Council to purchase the Château de Ramezay to be set apart " for the purposes of a Public Library and Museum ". It was also resolved to ask for an interview with the Provincial Government to point out the necessity for a reduction in the price of the property. The Secretary according to instructions wrote at once to the Premier asking him to name a time when the delegation could be heard. The following reply was received in due course.

Québec, 17 août 1893

R. W. McLACHLAN, ECR.,  
55 Rue Ste-Monique, Montréal.

Monsieur,

L'Hon. M. Hall est à Montreal et y restera, me dit-on, jusqu'à mardi prochain. L'Hon. M. Nantel doit s'y rendre ces jours-ci et y sera probablement lundi. J'ai moi-même l'intention d'y aller. Nous pourrons vous rencontrer au bureau du gouvernement, 76 rue St-Gabriel, lundi prochain, à 11 heures.

J'ai l'honneur d'être votre serviteur,

L. O. TAILLON.

A large delegation consisting of members of the committee and citizens met at the time appointed and pressed upon the Government the desirability of preserving the building. The Honorable M. Taillon replied to the effect that the movement had his full sympathy and that the Government would do all in their power to help but he advised the committee to find out what the City Council were prepared to do, then the Government would be ready to state definitely what they would do.

As the Château de Ramezay was advertised to be sold by auction on the 24th of October, this left the committee two months in which to act. The petition was prepared and freely signed, but little progress seems to have been made. Many had given up all hope, when

as a last effort the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society stepped into the breach and passed a resolution asking the Mayor to call a public meeting to discuss this question. In accordance with this request the meeting was called by the following advertisement :—

PROCLAMATION.

Montreal, 12th October 1893.



TO HIS WORSHIP THE MAYOR OF MONTREAL.

“The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal through the undersigned their committee appointed for that purpose, in view of the advertised sale by the Provincial Government on the 24th instant, of the Château de Ramezay, the principal remaining relic of the early history of Montreal, and in view of the threatened loss to the public of such a landmark, hereby request Your Worship to call a meeting of citizens at some central place to consider means for preserving the building with a view to its reservation for a public library and historical museum and other purposes.

Walter E. Lyman, R. W. McLachlan, W. J. Kerr, W. D. Lighthall, Henry H. Lyman, Edward Murphy, J. A. Nutter, H. J. Tiffin, John S. Shearer, P. N. Breton, J. B. Learmont, Lucien Huot, Rouer Roy, Henry Mott, George H. W. Birch, A. de Léry Macdonald, Alain Macdonald.”

“Agreeable to the above request I hereby call a public meeting of citizens to be held at the Mechanics Institute on Tuesday the 17th October, instant at three o'clock p.m.”

ALPHONSE DESJARDINS,

Mayor.

Mayor's Office City Hall }  
Montreal, 13th October 1893. }

At this meeting the Mayor presided and after appointing R. W. McLachlan to act as Secretary, called the meeting to order. After the Honorable Edward Murphy, Messrs. Lucien Huot, de Léry Macdonald, H. H. Lyman, George Hague, H. J. Tiffin, J. B. Robillard and a number of others had spoken, strongly favouring the purchase of the Château de Ramezay by the City and its preservation as a historic memento, the following resolution was passed on motion of J. S. Shearer, seconded by W. D. Lighthall.

“Resolved that his Worship the Mayor be hereby requested to forthwith call a special meeting of the council for the 23rd instant to consider the desirability of purchasing the square of land and build-

ings, including the Château de Ramezay, which are to be sold by public auction on the 24th instant."

The Mayor stated that a special meeting had been called for the date asked for, and that the request of this meeting would be made the first order of the day.

On the day appointed the members of the committee went as a deputation to the Council, bearing the following petition signed by over two thousand citizens.

TO HIS HONOR THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF THE  
CITY OF MONTREAL.

Whereas the building belonging to the Quebec Government, on Notre Dame Street, opposite the City Hall, known as the Château de Ramezay, now occupied as the Magistrates' Court, is advertised for sale by auction and may in all probability be demolished;

And whereas the Château de Ramezay is one of the few remaining buildings of the old regime, and by reason of its historic importance, as a monument of old Ville-Marie, should be preserved;

And whereas a public library and museum has been a long felt want, and it is expedient that one be established without delay;

And whereas the Château de Ramezay is admirably adapted for the purpose

We the undersigned, Electors of the City of Montreal, respectfully advise and request that the said Château de Ramezay be purchased by the City of Montreal, for the purposes of a public library and museum.

After the petition had been discussed for some time, it was decided to purchase only that portion of the property on which the Château stands, as appears by the following extract from the minute book of the City Council at the

SPECIAL MEETING HELD MONDAY 23rd OCTOBER 1893.

Order 6 petition from

The Electors of the City of Montreal advising and requesting that the Château de Ramezay be purchased by the City of Montreal for the purposes of a public library and museum.

Moved by Alderman Beausoleil

Seconded by Alderman Wilson

That the Mayor be authorized to purchase that part of the Government property, to be sold by auction to-morrow, known as the Château de Ramezay, for the city at the upset price fixed by the Government, and that a committee composed of the Mayor, Aldermen Ville-



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neuve and Kennedy be appointed a committee to interview the Government and arrange for the purchase of the said property on the above terms, and that article 34 of the Rules and Orders of Council be suspended for the purpose in this instance.

Moved in amendment by Alderman Jeannotte  
Seconded by Alderman Kennedy

That the question of the purchase of the Government property known as the Château de Ramezay be referred to a special committee, composed of His Worship the Mayor, Aldermen Villeneuve and Kennedy with instructions to interview the Government to have the sale of the said property postponed for one month.

Moved in sub-amendment by Alderman Rainville  
Seconded by Alderman Brunet

That the following words be added to the amendment, viz. "And if they cannot secure the said delay, the said committee be authorized to purchase the said property at the upset price fixed by the Government, and that as amended the amendment be adopted.

And the question being put on said sub-amendment, it was carried and resolved accordingly."

The next day the sale took place at the Sheriff's office in the Court house, and several members of the Château de Ramezay Committee, and others interested in the preservation of the old building were present, and encouraged the Mayor to persevere in the purchase, for he feared lest there should have been an attempt to run the price up. In compliance with the Mayor's request, Mr. G. W. Parent, the Government's auctioneer, put up the Château part of the property first, and as there was no competition it was adjudged to the city at the upset price. As the plan, by which the property was subdivided into lots, called for a lane which would cut off two or three feet from the rear of the Château, and as the balance of the land, not occupied by this building, would prove most convenient for City Hall extension, which would soon be needed, the Mayor suggested to the members of the committee the advisability of purchasing the lot on the corner of Notre Dame street and Jacques Cartier Square, which was the most desirable part, and the key to the balance of the property. He had no doubt that the city would agree to take the whole over when the matter should have been properly reported on by the finance com-

mittee. Acting on this hint, one or two members of the Château committee started bidding for the lot in question, and as one member failed through fear, another came to the rescue until it was finally adjudged to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society for \$6.05 per square foot. Mr. H. J. Tiffin, who was present, kindly gave his check for the required deposit, and thus the whole property was saved.

The committee then set to work to obtain from the government a fulfilment of their promise; and in response to a deputation which waited on them, at Quebec, a rebatement of \$10,000 in the price was obtained. This concession was granted under the conditions that the City maintain the Château de Ramezay, and establish therein a historical museum.

A deputation also waited on the finance committee and urged the advisability of taking over the whole property, and of establishing the proposed civic museum and library. Several promises of valuable collections were reported at this meeting. In due course the finance committee reported to the Council

“That in virtue of a resolution passed by the City Council on the 23rd of October last the City purchased through the Mayor and Aldermen Kennedy and Villeneuve, especially appointed for the purpose, a large part of the property belonging to the Provincial Government, situated between Notre-Dame, Claude and Leroyer streets and Jacques Carter Square by public auction on the 24th of October last.

“That in compliance with the desire of the public and to make fit use of the said property your committee have come to the conclusion that it is in the interest of the City to acquire the whole property.

“That they communicated with the Government on this subject and asked for a complete and perfect title to the whole of the said property at the upset price fixed by the Government's agents.

“That the Government complied with their request and has consented to transfer all the property in question and all the lots into which it is divided, at the upset price, the whole as described by the statement attached to this report except the lots bought by Messrs H. J. Tiffin, L. A. Drapeau, Geo. T. Parent and Alderman Villeneuve, which the Government declare cannot be transferred without paying to Mr Tiffin the sum of \$5487.85, the difference between the upset price and the price which he paid for lot No. 80-19, to Mr L. A. Drapeau \$1350 for lot No. 80-19, \$2150 to Mr Geo. T. Parent for lot No. 80-20 and \$1000 to Alderman Villeneuve for lot No. 80-5; but to remove all obstacles the Government has given \$10,000 to

pay this surplus of \$9787.85 and be in a position to transfer the whole property to the City free from all charges and encumbrances.

"That under these conditions your committee recommend, to the Council, to purchase the said property and to authorize the Mayor and City clerk to accept the transfer of the adjudication of the lots bought by Messrs Tiffin, Drapeau, Parent and Villeneuve, and to sign all other deeds necessary for the purchase of the whole property which property is to be delivered on the first of May 1894."

Respectfully submitted

Committee Room, City Hall, }  
Montreal, 1st December 1893. J

N. A. HURTEAU,  
J. PERREAULT,  
WM. FARRELL,  
J. McBRIDE,

This report was taken up at a special meeting of the City Council held

Thursday, 7th December 1893.

The order of the day being read to consider the report of the Finance Committee on the purchase of the Château de Ramezay pro- perty the above report was brought up and read

On motion by Alderman Hurteau  
Seconded by Alderman Clendinneng

"It was resolved that the said report be adopted."

The building was thus secured, but the power to make it useful in accordance with the petition of the citizens, had yet to be obtained. With this end in view the City Council asked the Provincial Legislature to sanction the following among other amendments to the Charter :

"The said City Council may establish a public library for the said city, by passing a by-law fixing the amount which it intends for such foundation and determining all the necessary conditions for the management of the said library."

On the 14th of December 1893 a delegation was sent by the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, to Quebec to push passage of the Library amendment before the private bills committee of the Legislative Assembly. They were empowered by the Society to suggest an addition to this amendment giving the City the right to establish a "museum and historical gallery," and to place the whole under the

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management of a board of directors. These suggestions were not entertained by the private bills committee of the Assembly and the amendment itself was thrown out by the private bills committee of the Legislative Council.

After this defeat of the library scheme, the promoters of the plan for utilizing the old Chateau began to despair of success, but on the 30th day of December 1893, the Government came to the rescue, and although it omitted all mention of the public library, provided for the founding of a museum in the Château de Ramezay by the passing of the following resolutions through the legislature.

“Whereas the lots of land, forming the square comprised between Notre-Dame, Claude and Leroyer streets, and Jacques Cartier Square in the city of Montreal, belonging to the Government of the Province of Quebec, were sold at auction on the 24th of October 1893, in conformity with the provisions of article 2221\* of the Revised Statutes and of Orders in Council numbers 349 and 506† of the year 1893, and the greater portion thereof was adjudged to the Corporation of the City of Montreal.

Whereas the said Corporation intends to acquire the whole property comprised in the above mentioned square and has prayed for a grant from the Government of the Province of Quebec of \$10,000. to allow of its keeping on the said premises a museum of national antiquities, to which may be added a museum of geology, mineralogy, botany, natural history and others of a similar nature in which will be more particularly kept, articles of Canadian origin, and whereas such an institution would be a great advantage to the public; be it therefore :

*Resolved*, 1, That a rebate of \$10,000 be granted to the Corporation of the City of Montreal upon the price of the lands sold to it on the 24th of October 1893, upon the express condition that the said Corporation undertakes to keep upon the premises so purchased,

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\* This article passed in 1875 (35 V., C. 14, §§. 1, 2 and 3) authorized the sale of this property by auction; the passing of an order in council for the purpose of arranging for the sale, dividing it into lots and the fixing of an upset price; also the setting apart of the moneys realized from the sale, for the purchase of land and the section of buildings for Jacques Cartier Normal School.

† By the first of these orders, appraisers were appointed to divide the property into lots and fix the upset prices to be placed on the different lots. The second authorized the acceptance of the report of the appraisers.

from and after the 1st of July 1895, a Canadian archaeological, historical and scientific museum to which the public shall have free access; such rebate however not to modify in any way the conditions of the adjudication of the 24th of October 1893 and the charges and obligations arising thereunder.<sup>(\*)</sup>

*Resolved, 2,* That the Government be authorized to pass a deed with the said city to insure the fulfilment of the above obligations with the right of imposing such other conditions as the Lieutenant-Governor in council may deem expedient."

All that now remains to be done is for the Mayor and City Clerk to sign the deed accepting the transfer of the property and to make a beginning with the museum. There is little doubt but that permission to maintain a public library will be granted at the next session of the Provincial Legislature. The trustees of the Tiffin library are ready to place the books under their trust, in the Château, as soon as room can be made for them. While a valuable private collection has been offered to the city under favourable conditions to found the museum, and further, the promise of a good beginning has been made towards the proposed National Gallery.

In the course of a few years at most, the Château de Ramezay public library and museum may become one of the most attractive institutions of the city, thanks to the persistent efforts of members of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.

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### PAST AND FUTURE.

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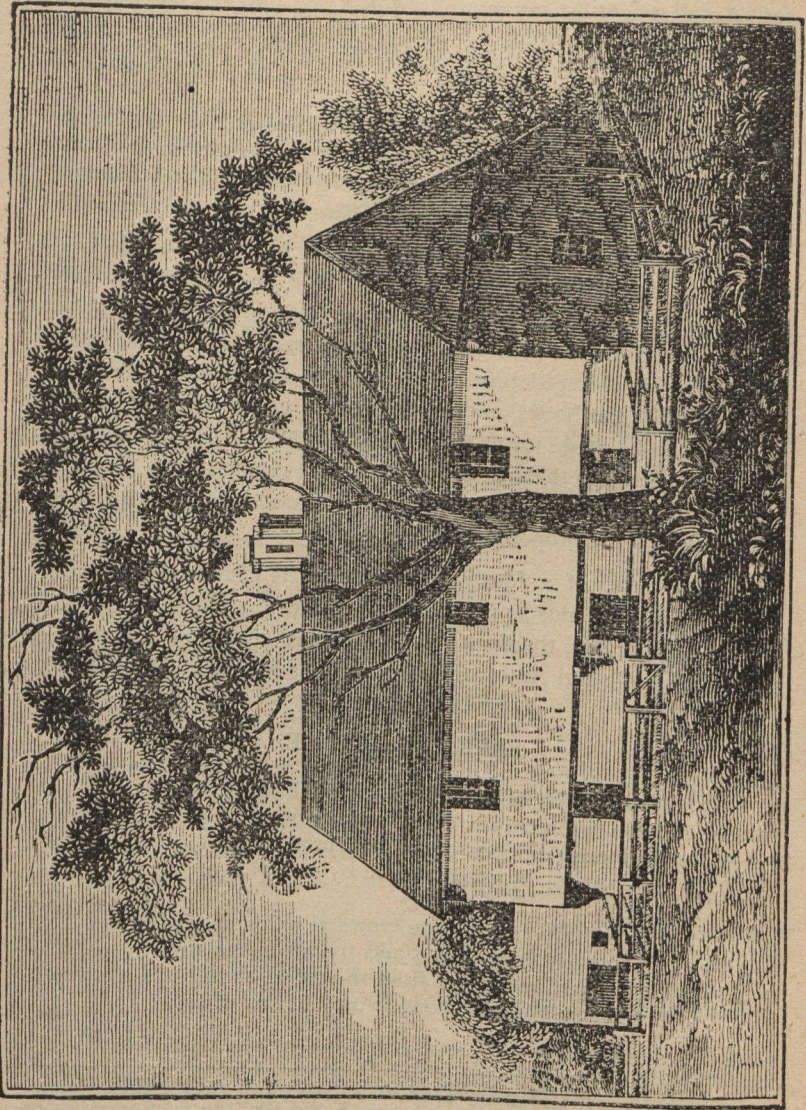
History may tell us of the vanish'd past,  
Or chronicle the days now sweeping by;  
A gloomy shade is round the future cast,  
Unsearch'd, unsearchable by mortal eye.

Forest have been where crowded cities rise,  
And left their domes and turrets in the air;  
And stars have faded from the far-off skies,  
Passing away, no tongue may tell us where.

H. M.

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<sup>(\*)</sup> These are the ordinary conditions governing sheriff sales, coupled with the stipulation that the purchaser should pay the auctioneer's commission for selling the property.



DEERFIELD MANSION HOUSE.

### DEERFIELD MANSION HOUSE

We have pleasure in presenting our readers with a view of the old Mansion House at Deerfield, Mass., in the County of Franklin, which escaped the conflagration of that town, by the French and Indians, under Hertel de Rouville, in Queen Anne's war, on the 29th of February 1704.

The following description of the old house is taken from the *American Magazine* published at Boston in 1835;—the house was then standing.

The edifice is situated near the Brick Church, in the centre of the village; its age is not precisely known, but from the best data may be stated at one hundred and fifty years. The ground plan is forty-two by twenty-one feet, with an elevation of two storeys; a chamber and a garret extending the whole length of the building. Excepting the walls, which are filled in with brick, the structure is of timber, of a large size and firm texture, most of which remains sound, even to the sills, and the primitive clap-boards at the gables, are in a good state of preservation. Other parts of the edifice have been repaired, and do not exhibit so unique a contour as its age would indicate.

This ancient structure excites the curiosity of all visitors who are acquainted with the history of Deerfield, and particularly its *front door*, which is made of double pine boards, firmly attached by iron nails, in a tessellated manner; and near its centre is a triangular perforation, made with the tomahawks of the Indians at the time the town was destroyed.

The house was then owned by Capt. John Sheldon, and occupied by his family, including a son and his wife. The doors of the house being firmly bolted, and the windows barricaded, the Indians found it difficult to gain access; and after they had perforated the door, a musket was thrust in and discharged obliquely into the eastern room, which killed the Captain's wife, then rising from her bed in the opposite corner,—the Captain being absent from home at the time. The perforation of the fatal ball is still seen in the wall, and through the original door leading to the front entry. The door has been

removed from its place, but is still preserved.(1) Marks of other balls are seen in the ceilings and timber in various parts of the same room.

During the attack upon the door, the Captain's son and his wife, who lodged in the chamber over the room in which Mrs Sheldon was killed, leaped from the east window, with the hope of escaping from the enemy; but the descent was so violent, upon the crusted snow, that the wife sprained her ankle, and being unable to flee, was seized by the Indians, while the husband escaped to the woods.

The house and a small church, were the only buildings within the fort, that escaped destruction. Another dwelling-house, situated about ten rods south-west of Sheldon's, was defended by seven men and a few women, by keeping a deadly fire on the assailants; but after the enemy left the place, these brave defenders pursued them into an adjacent meadow, and attacked their rear; while thus engaged, the town suddenly took fire and was consumed.

The house represented in our illustration, being one of the largest in the place, was occupied by the enemy as a *depot* for their prisoners; and on quitting it they set it on fire, but it is supposed to have been saved by the gallant men in the neighbourhood.

At the time of the attack, the central and most elevated part of the village was enclosed with palisades, including about 20 acres, near

(1) The old door is still to be seen in the Memorial Hall at Deerfield, where it is an object of great interest; it is described in the catalogue of the Relics, as "the venerable, tangible door, which was saved from the Old House and such other remainders of the great conflagration and the assault in 1701, as have been preserved, form mute but eloquent memories of that direful night."

The following extracts from the Catalogue describing the various relics from the Old House will serve to show the value of the collection.

**DOOR OF OLD INDIAN HOUSE.**—Built during the closing years of the 17th century, by Ensign John Sheldon. This house went through the conflagration of 1701. It was taken down in 1840, and after some years the door was purchased by D. D. Slade, M.D., of Chesnut Hill, Boston. At the request of the citizens of Deerfield he relinquished it, and the celebration of its return was held March 2nd 1868. It was placed under the control of Trustees, and stood in the hall of the Pocumtuck Hotel, and was saved at the burning of that building, and finally deposited in the Memorial Hall. The hole, chopped through by the Indians, in their assault, still shows the jagged cuts and bruises, now as then.

Other objects of interest are

**HORSE-SHOE**, once hung as a talisman over the inner casing of the front door of the old house, when it was built, 1690-1700.

**THE DOOR POSTS** from the old house.

**WOODEN BRACKETS**, which supported an upper projecting storey.

The bullet which killed Mrs. Sheldon is also there.



the north-west angle of which the present house is situated ; but this fortification afforded but a feeble defence. The snow, then very deep, was drifted against the palisades, which enabled the enemy to pass over them, and to penetrate to the centre, before they were discovered ; the guard usually kept up, having retired to their houses.

The mode of fortifying at that time, was rude and imperfect, calculated only for defence against slight attacks of musketry. In some instances, single houses were enclosed with palisades of round or cleft timber planted perpendicular in the ground, and the larger works about villages were constructed in the same manner, but generally without ditches and flanking posts. Log houses were sometimes pierced with loop-holes, on every side, through which a fire could be directed upon assailants.

The walls of many of the framed buildings were lined with brick, musket-proof, the upper storeys projecting over the lower, and loop-holes prepared to fire down upon an enemy, in a close approach : and sometimes flanking parts, resembling bastions, were erected at the angles.

A work called a *mount* was often erected at the most exposed points, resembling a block-house, so elevated as to give a view of the neighbouring country ; and when these were wanting, *sentry boxes* were sometimes placed upon the roofs of houses.

The early settlers, unable to construct expensive forts, and procure artillery and munitions of war, relied more on bone and nerve, in the defence of their cottages and villages, than on *art and science*. Hardy and brave, almost to a fault, they braved danger in every form, and finally triumphed over an enemy of no mean prowess. The condition of the early frontier settlers was not unlike that of the ancients, previous to the invention of gunpowder and fire-arms, as is ingeniously expressed in the following lines :

*When bows and weighty spears were used in fight,  
The nervous limb declared the man of might ;  
But now gunpowder scorns such strength to own,  
And Heroes, not by limb, but souls are shown. (2)*

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(2) There are in all, perhaps, ten or a dozen powder horns, in the collection, with interesting carvings on them of various emblems ; one of them was carried by Eben Searle in the Meadow Fight on February 29th 1704.

**MAJOR-GENERAL SMALL.**

GOVERNOR OF GUERNSEY.

The memorial of Lieutenant-Colonel John Small, Commandant to the second battalion late 84th Regiment of foot. (*Canadian Archives,—Ottawa Volunteers C 791 page 1-1794-1797*).

Humbly sheweth, that the memorialist has served as an officer upwards of forty-two years, thirty-five whereof abroad, and on constant duty.

His first commission as Second Lieutenant in the Earl of Drumlanrigs Regiment is dated the second of June 1747, since which period he has been in every active campaign where the troops of Britain have seen service on the continents of Europe and North America and in the West Indies.

He served all the War that was declared in 1756, as a Subaltern and Captain in the 42nd (or Royal Highland Regiment), the latter rank attained at the Siege of Havana in 1762, was reduced as one of the junior Captains, with the second Battalion of that Corps in April 1763: yet when on half pay he continued on active service in America, and having acted (by the Commander-in-Chief's desire and approbation) as a public Staff Officer with Brigadier General Bouquet, who commanded the troops against the Western Indians until these nations were reduced to sue for peace in November 1764, when he was despatched with accounts of the success of His Majesty's Arms, from the interior of the country between the Ohio and the Mississippi to headquarters at New York, and from thence entrusted by the Commander-in Chief to convey his despatches to great Britain (relative to the recent service) for His Majesty's information.

The usual reward for services of this nature (nor even a compensating allowance for the expense of a passage in the packet) was never applied for, or received by your memorialist.

A few months thereafter (in April 1765) he exchanged, by purchase, from a half-pay, with a Captain in the 21st. Regiment of Foot (or Royal North British Fusileers) then under orders for North America in which he continued upwards of ten years and until June 1775, when at the earliest dawn of the late unnatural rebellion and subsequent War (after having been Senior Captain several years in

the last mentioned Corps) he proposed and did with the sanction and approbation of his Commander-in-Chief, raise a Regiment of Highlanders in North America (whereof upwards of three hundred were of his personal acquisition). This Corps consisting of two Battalions (to the second whereof he was appointed Major Commanding,) was by His Gracious Majesty's pleasure put on the British roster in December 1778 (numbered the 84th) and in November 1780 on the recommendation of Sir Henry Clinton, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army in North America (as well as Colonel-in-Chief of the 84th Regiment), the memorialist was appointed Lieutenant Colonel Commandant to said Battalion, with which he continued to serve until its reduction in October and November 1783, and in April 1784 when the first disbandment thereof took place, that event having been delayed by the dispersion of the several companies stationed on service in different places from Newfoundland to Jamaica.

The non-commissioned officers and privates, as well as the officers of the 84th Regiment being (by the original terms of levy sanctioned by the Government) entitled to a stipulated quantity of lands at the reduction, the memorialist deemed it his duty to fulfil minutely and specially the said conditions, and it is with great satisfaction that he can assert that at very great expense, trouble and fatigue, he accomplished the desirable object at last, previous to his departure from Nova Scotia in January 1786, where he left several hundreds of the Battalion he commanded, with increasing families, comfortably settled on the fertile, healthy tract of land, where they enjoy (as a reward for their faithful services) the fruits of industry and from whence (if future exigencies of State require it) they and their advancing offspring will be cheerfully ready again to serve their King and Country on the field.

For a relative report of this fact, a copy of a letter from Major General Campbell, then Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's troops in the Northern Colonies on the Atlantic Ocean, addressed to the Right Honorable Lord Sidney, Secretary of State, etc., is herewith presented.

The memorialist forbears inserting here a detail of his military services, he deems it a far more availing and consistent criterion to

refer for information thereof to the Generals under whom, and with whom, he had the honor to serve during the last three Wars.

Of these respected and distinguished characters, he only takes leave to mention Lord Amherst, Lord Heathfield, Lord Dorchester, Sir William Howe, Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Robert Murray Keith, to whom an appeal is cheerfully made in the fullest confidence that strict justice will be done.

If after a professional list of this nature the memorialist's conduct will be found such as meeting the approbation of His Most Gracious Majesty, he begs leave to express his desire to be again employed on active duty and in case His Majesty's service may require an additional force to be stationed or employed in the British Colonies in North America and the West Indies, he very humbly conceives his universal knowledge of and influence with the inhabitants of that country will enable him to raise (as expeditiously as any officer in the British Army) a corps similar to what he heretofore levied and served with, many of the officers whereof are now actually settled and resident in Nova Scotia and the neighboring Colonies, whose services and good conduct were so conspicuous and favorable that the memorialist considers it his duty to recommend them, which he very humbly does, to His Majesty's protection for being employed and replaced in their former rank.

The memorialist himself submits this representation to your consideration, entreating earnestly it may be laid at His Majesty's feet, and as in duty bound will forever pray.

(Signed) JOHN SMALL.

JULY 1789.

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#### **A RELIC OF THE BEAVER CLUB.**

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The following extract from the "*New York Times*" of May 28th 1894, is of more than passing interest, and is worthy of preservation.

"At the auction sale of the property of the late actress, Rosina Vokes, at 9 West Twenty-eighth Street, yesterday, a snuff-box was

sold for \$41, and the purchaser exclaimed, so that everybody in the auction room could hear him: "I would have given \$1,000 for that!"

Almost every one interested in the sale smiled when the remark was made, thinking the purchaser was only joking. But after the sale a letter to the purchaser was produced to show that he was in earnest. It was dated yesterday at the Hoffman House, and was addressed to Mr. Brian G. Hughes, by his cousin, E. Hughes. It said:

There will be a sale to-day at Kreiser's, 9 West Twenty-eighth Street. The "lost snuffbox" is to be sold. I don't know how it got into the hands of Rosina Vokes. It is No. 581 in the catalogue, and was presented to your grandfather, James, by the Earl of Dalhousie. Its intrinsic worth is about \$200; as a family heirloom, \$1,000 to you. It may go for a song."

The snuffbox is a small affair of solid silver, with solid gold edges. An inscription on the inner cover reads: "The Earl of Dalhousie to James Hughes, Esq., in remembrance of the Beaver Club, 24th May, 1824." The Beaver Club was founded in Montreal, Canada, in 1791, John Jacob Astor being one of the original members. It was dissolved in 1824, when the Earl of Dalhousie, then Governor General of Canada, presented each of the twenty members with souvenir snuffboxes."

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### THE PHANTOM PRIEST.

From *Legends of LeDétroit*, by MARIE C. W. HAMLIN,

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Beneath the sunny skies of Italy, on the banks of the Arno, not far from "Florence the Beautiful," the guide points to an old monastery as the last relic of an order now almost extinct, the Recollets. With the deep feeling of interest which the slightest relation of home awakens in a foreign land, we turn with kindling eyes and tender emotions surging through our hearts, to gaze reverently upon the building as on the face of an aged friend. For from beneath that massive archway came forth a brave, courageous band, who first left the impress of their footsteps on the virgin soil of our fair city, within those gloomy walls they were trained by an austere and ascetic rule

to meet those dangers and hardships inseparable from the explorations of a new country; and their heroic and almost supernatural efforts to convert the savage, have challenged the admiration of every age. Wherever the lily of France unfurled itself to the new breezes of America, the cross became its flag-staff, and the rude birchen chapel the mile-stone to record the missionaries' progress.

In 1670 there resided in Florence an ancient family of wealth and distinction named Del Halle. Its heir and last representative belonged to the "*jeunesse dorée*" of the day. He blended in his character that happy union of manly qualities which satisfied his haughty father's ambition, with those gentler accomplishments which made him the idol of his mother's heart. Early betrothed to Adelina, the daughter of a princely house, their future promised to be as unclouded as the sunny sky of their native land. But, like the simoom which blackens and lays low all over which it passes, the fell destroyer, "the black death" of the fourteenth century, again visited Florence, converting its palaces into charnel-houses, leaving mourning and desolation hanging like a pall over the doomed city.

One morning young Del Halle awoke to find no response to his call of father or mother, no loving bride to catch the first dawn of returning consciousness. All had been swept away by the dreadful scourge, and he sat alone in his deserted halls, with memory and grief as his companions. The recollections of other days with their bright pictures, would rise up with their mocking delusions. But ever and anon the face of an aged Recollet monk, at whose knee he had listened in boyhood to the marvellous tales of the missionaries of his order in the wilds of Canada, came like refreshing dew to cool his parched soul. A few weeks afterwards he knocked for admittance at the monastery gate, willingly leaving behind the pleasures, the refinements, and the brilliant prospects so alluring to his years. He exchanged the costly robes of the Florentine noble for the serge; the sword for the breviary; and thus at the early age of 20 did the heir of the Del Halle become the humble Frère Constantin. Ten years later he was sent to France and from thence sailed to Montreal. It was in Montreal he met La Mothe Cadillac, a young French officer, who was enthusiastic over a scheme of founding a colony in the beautiful "Détroit du Lac Erié." The frank, easy manners of the

officer, his keen intellect, and his undaunted energy won the affection of Frère Constantin, who entered with all ardour into the project of his friend.

Owing to various political causes, the necessary permission and grants were slow in coming, but Cadillac's patience and perseverance were at last rewarded, and on the 5th of June 1701, with his little band of fifty soldiers and fifty Canadians, with M. de Tonty as captain, Messrs Dugué and de Chacornac as lieutenants, he sailed from Montréal. Frère Constantin del Halle accompanied the troops as chaplain, with Father Vaillant, a Jesuit who was going as missionary, to the different tribes. They arrived at Détroit July 24th 1701. Shortly afterwards the tinkling sounds of the bell summoned the garrison to early mass and told that the chaplain had already begun his work. By the simplicity of his manners, the uniform sweetness of his disposition, and his austere life, he gained the respect and affection of all. The deep shade of melancholy which tinged his features told the unfortunate that here was one who had known sorrow, and who would lend a sympathetic ear to the tale of their misfortunes and give the balm of comforting words to their bruised hearts. The little children, drawn by the sympathetic instincts of childhood would nestle their heads against him and shyly put their tiny hands in that of "le bon Frère."

Among the officers who were stationed at Fort Pontchartrain (as Cadillac had called his post, in honor of Jerome Phélyppeaux, Count Pontchartrain) was Etienne Veron de Grandmensil, keeper of the king's storehouse, who had become enamoured with the dusky daughter of a Pottawatomie chief. This tribe, though friendly to the French, had resisted every effort to convert them to Christianity. A prophet of their nation had foretold that as soon as they should desert their Manitou for that of the white man, their lands would pass away, their wigwams be burnt, and their tribe scattered. Young de Veron, unable to overcome the obstinate prejudice of the old chief against Christianity, in the ardour of youth and passion, thought of allying himself to his Indian sweetheart, by the Indian rites, and betaking himself to the lodges of the Pottawatomes. Frère Constantin remonstrated with de Veron, who belonged to a noble family of Quebec, spoke of his father's hopes in him, his mother's love and

of his duty as a soldier of France, told him to be patient, and the old chief would relent ; but threatened, if he persisted, that he should incur the severest penalty of the church,—excommunication. The Indian maiden, worried by her father's command to wed a warrior of her nation, and stung by the apparent indifference of her lover, determined to put an end to her sorrow. Stealing away from her wigwam one stormy night under the kindly protection of the darkness, she plunged into the turbulent waters. An agonizing cry brought succour to the shores but she sank away before aid could reach her, and a few days after her body was found floating in the Détroit.

Shortly after Frère Constantin was called temporarily away to another mission, and as days passed and he still lingered, although the *coureurs des bois* had reported his leaving the mission before them, Cadillac became uneasy ; for time and the constant dangers and perils of those days only served to cement the links of a friendship so happily begun years before, in Montreal. It was noticed that a cloud rested on Cadillac's brow, which the tender solicitation of his wife, the fair Thérèse Guyon, could not chase away, nor the infantile graces of his favourite child, the little Thérèse, the pet of the colony,—as she was the first born and baptized in the fort—soothe by her caresses. Strange stories were whispered by the Indians to the soldiers, of a haunted spot on the Savoyard. (1)

These reaching Cadillac's ear seemed to lend a colour to his own sad forebodings of the fate of his friend. It was said that at dawn every morning faint sounds of a bell might be heard, and different parts of the mass distinctly made out, and that a voice, as mournfully sweet as if it had its source in crushed tears, would float on the midnight air, chanting in Latin the *Miserere*.

It was noticed that for some time Churlion, the Pottawattomie chief, sat before his wigwam, occasionally muttering to himself, then drawing his blanket over his head would vanish for days in the forest. The medicine men sadly shook their heads, and pointed significantly to their foreheads, saying the great Churlion was bewitched.

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(1) A beautiful stream which meandered above the present Russell street, crossed Congress and Larned streets and emptied into the Detroit near the Michigan Central Depot.



One evening an Indian presented himself at the gate of the fort, and asked to see Cadillac. Admitted to the commandant's presence, he stated that Churlion had sent for the chief of the white men ; that when the young men returned from hunting that day they had found their great chief lying as one dead in the forest. Cadillac followed his guide and soon stood by the dying warrior. He confessed having murdered Frère Constantin to revenge himself for his daughter's death. He feared to take his scalp as it might betray him, and bring upon his tribe the vengeance of the French. He had known no peace since, for the spirit of the priest seemed to haunt him in the moaning reeds. He heard his voice in the rustling leaves, and a strange fascination led his footsteps to the spot where the murder occurred. That the previous night he wandered there, the bright moon illuminated the forest, and he could see as in the day light, that the tall form of his victim stood in his path, and with outstretched arms besought him to have his bones lie in consecrated ground—that until then the Indian would be haunted—and with the sound of rushing waters in his ears, the chief knew no more until he awoke in his wigwam, and sent for Cadillac.

The sad news was soon known in the colony, and Cadillac went to the spot indicated by the Indian. In the bottom of a tree, covered by leaves, they found the body of Frère Constantin. They placed it on a litter formed of the fragrant boughs of the spruce. Father de la Marche came to meet the body, which was borne by the officers of the Fort, followed by the weeping people. Tenderly they laid it to rest in the consecrated earth as he had so earnestly desired. The last of a princely race rested in the forest of a new world. No stately Mausoleum received his remains ; no pompous tablet told his lineage, or recorded his deeds. The pines chanted his *requiem*, the tears of his flock were his epitaph, and the innocent hands of children strewed his grave with the wild flowers of the woods.

In 1724, when the new Ste Anne's Church was built, Alphonse de Tonty had the remains removed from the humble grave, and placed in a vault prepared beneath the altar, in the presence of all the people of the colony, to whom Father Bonaventure related the edifying life and death of the saintly priest, Frère Constantin del Halle.

**LA VIEILLE RUE NOTRE-DAME.**

FROM "CHRONIQUES," PAR M. HECTOR FAHRE.

Montréal, 1er mai 1862.

Il y a dix ans que je fus admis à flâner dans la rue Notre-Dame et à étudier le Droit. De ces deux professions que j'embrassais avec une inégale ardeur, il en est une au moins dont j'ai pratiqué tous les faciles devoirs avec une consciencieuse fidélité. Dans l'une, j'ai été clerc, et clerc médiocre, lisant Pothier lorsque c'était la prose légale de nos patrons que je devais transcrire de ma moins mauvaise écriture, et lisant Chateaubriand lorsque je devais lire Pothier ; mais dans la profession de flâneur, j'ai été maître dès le premier jour. A première vue, j'ai adopté la rue Notre-Dame, et la rue Notre-Dame m'a adopté. Tous les jours, beau temps, mauvais temps, pluie, neige, le 2 décembre comme le 24 février, le 24 mai comme le 24 juin, je n'ai pas failli à la tentation, au devoir, de me promener rue Notre-Dame, de quatre heures à cinq.

L'historien futur de la rue Notre-Dame devra me faire causer. Je lui fournirai des renseignements précieux, des souvenirs piquants ; je lui ferai connaître ce que c'est au juste qu'un flâneur convaincu.

Il faut qu'il vienne bientôt cette historien ! car la rue Notre-Dame se dépouille de sa vieille physionomie, la rue Notre-Dame des anciens jours s'en va rapidement. Elle n'est plus étroite et resserrée sur tout son parcours ; le chemin de fer urbain augmente le nombre des passants, trouble les conciliabules des flâneurs au coin des rues, et leur donne le scandale de la vitesse.

Saisissons quelques traits de la vieille rue avant qu'ils ne s'altèrent ! Consacrons lui une chronique en attendant l'histoire ! Qui aurait plus le droit d'en parler que celui qui l'a beaucoup aimée.

Il faut d'abord s'entendre sur ce qui constitue vraiment la rue Notre-Dame. Le règlement municipal nomme ainsi la longue et étroite rue qui s'étend du faubourg St Joseph au faubourg Québec ; mais cela est du dérèglement. La rue Notre-Dame des flâneurs, la vraie, est comprise entre le coin de la Place d'Armes et le coin de la rue St Vincent. Un pas plus loin, vous êtes déjà un peu dans la rue

St Joseph ou dans la rue Ste Marie ; Nelson, impassible sur sa colonne, est au-delà de la frontière ; l'aspect change, le trottoir se dégarnit, le passant ressemble au passant des autres rues, au passant de la rue St Paul ou de la rue St Laurent : il regarde devant lui, il marche, il arrive, mais il ne se promène plus.

Que de souvenirs dans cet étroit espace ! que de flâneurs y ont promené leur curiosité, leurs caprices, leurs ennuis ! Demandez à vos grands parents qui voguent dans les eaux de la soixantaine sous pavillon neutre, comment on y flânait autrefois, plus gaiement, plus familièrement qu'aujourd'hui.

La ville n'avait alors qu'une rue, la rue Notre-Dame ; il y avait une rivière dans la rue Craig ; on allait à la chasse rue Sherbrooke ; il fallait être armé jusqu'aux dents pour se risquer vers le *Beaver Hall*. L'été on faisait des parties de canot, de la Place Viger au Griffintown ; on pouvait pêcher à la ligne Place-à-Foin.

Il faut regretter amèrement qu'aucun flâneur de cette époque ne nous ait laissé de mémoires, écrits au jour le jour, avec des portraits esquissés en marge. Que d'anecdotes sont perdues ! que de délicieux traits des mœurs sont effacés ! que de jolies figures de promeneuses sont oubliées ! Personne n'a songé, et personne ne songe encore à recueillir, à élever, à conserver dans la mémoire les enfants perdus de la gaieté Canadienne.

Je voudrais voir un homme d'esprit, qui aurait longtemps vécu dans le commerce et l'intimité de nos aînés, se faire leur historien, leur biographe ; nous introduire dans le monde d'il y a cinquante ans, d'il y a vingt-cinq ans. L'esprit d'aujourd'hui n'est plus l'esprit d'hier, il est plus cherché, il est moins original, il est moins gai surtout. Leur esprit, à eux, venait de leur gaieté ; le peu de gaieté que nous avons vient de notre esprit. Le grand art de s'amuser pour s'amuser, s'affaiblit de plus en plus ; on ne sait plus préférer l'éclat de rire à tout même à l'esprit et surtout à la médisance.

Il y a encore quelques flâneurs du passé, mais ils flânent peu dans la rue Notre-Dame. Ils ne font qu'y passer. Comme ils se promènent surtout pour leur santé, ils vont chercher le grand air dans les grands chemins, aux environs de la Montagne. En revanche, ils sont des guides sûrs dans Montréal, des thermomètres infailibles de l'esprit public : ils marquent les nouvelles. Ils savent où l'on danse

ce soir, où l'on mourra demain ; ils connaissent le chiffre de faillites, l'heure des enterrements, la date des mariages, l'âge et la parenté des trois quarts de la population, le plan et le coût des maisons qui se construisent, la série des propriétaires et locataires de chaque logis. Il semble que les accidents les envoient avertir : ils y assistent toujours ; puis, ils s'en vont par la ville répandant le récit. Vous les voyez aller de passant en passant, la douleur publique peinte sur la figure, en débitant le fait divers du lendemain.

Ils ont toujours été le principal témoin de l'accident, le premier arrivé sur le théâtre du sinistre, le dernier parti. Ils ont proposé l'avis qui a prévalu, le secours qui a tout sauvé. Ils se félicitent d'avoir été là, si à propos, et se demandent avec une curiosité inquiète ce qu'on aurait fait sans eux.

Le plus spirituel de ces flâneurs, celui qui a le plus vu, le plus raconté, assistait à une assemblée publique il y a quelques années. Un orateur, entraîné par l'improvisation, en vint à parler du grand incendie de 1852. Au premier mot, le flâneur lâche un cri de joie, traverse la foule, bondit sur l'estrade, et s'écrie, l'œil encore illuminé par un reflet de l'incendie :

“ C'est moi, qui ait vu le feu, le premier ! ”

Et il raconte l'origine du désastre ; il décrit la maison qui en fut la première victime ; il suit l'élément dévorant dans sa course immense ; et il n'abandonne la parole que lorsque tout est brûlé.

Le flâneur moderne de la rue Notre-Dame est un être multiple. Les variétés abondent. Il y a d'abord au premier rang, le type suprême, le flâneur cosmopolite. Celui-là flâne partout où il se trouve ; il saurait ne pas flâner ; il flânerait dans l'unique rue d'un hameau, s'il y avait encore des hameaux. Je connais un ancien flâneur de la rue Notre-Dame, proscrit de sa patrie par les nécessités de l'existence qui, dans le petit village où il est exilé, ne manque jamais au devoir de flâneur avant le coucher du soleil ; il se promène dans la seule rue de son village, entre les quatre ou cinq maisons qui la bordent, et les ménagères de ces maisons règlent les pendules sur lui. Ce flâneur incorrigible, ce flâneur incorruptible, est un des hommes que j'honore le plus.

Le flâneur cosmopolite ne tient compte de rien de ce qui décourage ou ralentit, dans sa course, le flâneur ordinaire. Il n'a d'autre

but que la flânerie. Sa curiosité s'adresse à tout. Plus il y a de passants, de passantes, plus il y a de spectacles, plus il est joyeux. Mais il sait se contenter de peu et trouver sa proie dans la disette comme dans l'abondance. Il supporte patiemment les importuns, lorsque les importuns l'arrêtent devant un joli chapeau. Il rentre après cela dans le travail aussi satisfait que Titus lorsqu'il avait accompli une bonne action romaine.

Au-dessous du flâneur cosmopolite, il y a le flâneur proprement dit, celui qui flâne lorsqu'il fait beau et que la rue Notre-Dame est giboyeuse. Il y a le flâneur-amateur qui n'y paraît que de temps à autre, dans les belles saisons. Il y a aussi les flâneurs qui ne vont que par bandes, et dont la promenade est scandée de relais aux coins des rues et aux bords des fontaines.

Ce n'est pas tout, et je ne prétends pas signaler toutes les variétés de flâneurs. Il y a encore le flâneur timide qui a besoin d'un prétexte pour flâner ; il est toujours sur la route du bureau de poste, petite vitesse ; il va et vient en attendant les malles, qui, pour lui, arrivent invariablement après le départ des promeneuses.

Il faut ajouter à cette liste le flâneur *d'occasion*, celui qui flâne en attendant quelqu'un, ou pour voir quelqu'un, pour voir la dame de ses pensées, ou le chapeau fané de la dame de ses pensées porté par une des bonnes de la maison. Le but de la promenade atteint, ce flâneur s'éclipse. Les vrais flâneurs n'ont qu'une médiocre estime pour ces flâneurs-là, qui utilisent la rue Notre-Dame et la paient d'ingratitude.

Enfin, il y a les flâneurs de contrebande : l'homme d'affaires échappé de son bureau ; l'ancien flâneur domicilié à la campagne qui vient chercher dans la rue Notre-Dame ses anciennes connaissances, le fantôme de sa jeunesse, les souvenirs de sa cléricature. D'ordinaire, ceux qui se permettent ces petites excursions de leur demaine, ont pour *cicerone* un flâneur émérite, qui commente le texte qu'ils ont sous les yeux.

On reconnaît facilement le faux flâneur, celui qui ne flânait pas hier, et qui ne flânera pas demain. Il a la démarche mal assurée ; il va trop vite, ou trop lentement ; il ne sait pas s'arrêter au coin de la rue ; il ne sait pas tout voir sans trop regarder ; enfin, il menace de se perdre sans cesse dans la foule des passants.

Voici quelques uns des articles du code du flâneur de la rue Notre-Dame :

1. Tous les hommes sont nés pour être des passants mais il n'y a que quelques passants qui soient nés pour être des flâneurs.

2. On devient passant, mais on nait flâneur.

3. Le chemin de fer urbain est un passant, mais il ne sera jamais un flâneur.

4. Le père d'un passant peut être un ex-flâneur, et plus souvent encore le fils d'un passant est un flâneur.

5. On cesse d'être flâneur en devenant père de famille, propriétaire ou conseiller municipal.

6. Le veuvage, la perte de sa propriété, ou de son élection municipale fait rentrer le flâneur dans ses droits et son titre.

7. Un flâneur trouvé coupable d'avoir porté un parapluie par simple précaution, ou d'être rentré dans un magasin à cinq heures de l'après-midi pour faire un achat sérieux, est déchu de son grade et renvoyé dans la rue St Paul.

8. La plupart des passants voudraient être des flâneurs. Dans tout passant, il y a un flâneur mort jeune.

9. Les passants s'arrêtent un peu partout : au coin de la rue St Jean-Baptiste, aux quatre coins de la rue St Gabriel ; les flâneurs ne s'arrêtent qu'au coin de la Place d'Armes, côté Lyman, au coin de la rue St Lambert, et au coin de la rue St Vincent.

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### THE TAKING OF LOUISBURG.

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Mr. Samuel Adams Drake concludes his history of "*The Taking of Louisburg*" with a supplementary chapter entitled "*Afterthoughts*",—which is an interesting summing up of the subject :

" And now comes the strangest part of the story. We get quite accustomed to thinking of the American colonies as the football of European diplomacy, our reading of history has fully prepared us for

that : but we are not prepared to find events in the New World actually shaping the course of those in the Old. In a word, England lost the battle in Europe, but won it in America. France was confounded at seeing the key to Canada in the hands of the enemy she had just beaten. England and France were like two duellists who have had a scuffle, in the course of which they have exchanged weapons. Instead of dictating terms, France had to compromise matters. For the sake of preserving her colonial possessions, she now had to give up her dear-bought conquests on the continent of Europe. Hostilities were suspended.

All the belligerents agreed to restore what they had taken from each other, and cry quits ; but it is plain that France would never have consented to such a settlement at a time when her adversaries were so badly crippled, when all England was in a ferment and she hurrying back her troops from Holland in order to put down rebellion at home, thus leaving the coalition of which she was the head to stand or fall without her. France would not have stayed her victorious march, we think, under such circumstances as these, unless the nation's attention had been forcibly recalled to the gravity of the situation in America.

In some respects this episode of history recalls the story of the mailed giant, armed to the teeth, and of the stripling with his sling.

As all the conquests of this war were restored by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Cape Breton went to France again.

Thus had New England made herself felt across the Atlantic by an exhibition of power, as unlooked—for as it was suggestive to thoughtful men. To some it was merely like that put forth by the infant Hercules, in his cradle. But to England, the unnatural mother, it was a notice that the child she had neglected was coming to manhood, ere long to claim a voice in the disposal of its own affairs.

To New England herself the consequences of her great exploit were very marked. The martial spirit was revived. In the trenches of Louisburg was the training school for the future captains of the republic. Louisburg became a watchword and a tradition to a people intensely proud of their traditions.

Not only had they made themselves felt across the ocean, but they

now first awoke to a better knowledge of their own resources, their own capabilities, their own place in the empire, and here began the growth of that independent spirit which, but for the prompt seizure of a golden opportunity, might have lain dormant for years. Probably it would be too much to say that the taking of Louisburg opened the eyes of discerning men to the possibility of a great empire in the West: yet, if we are to look about us for underlying causes, we know not where else to find a single event so likely to give birth to speculative discussion, or a new and enlarged direction in the treatment of public concerns. What had been done would always be pointed to as evidence of what might be done again. So we have considered the taking of Louisburg, in so far as the colonies were concerned, as the event of its epoch. (1)

Nor would these discussions be any the less likely to arise, or to grow any the less threatening to the future of crown and colony, when it became known that to balance her accounts with other powers, England had handed over Cape Breton to France again, thus putting in her hand the very weapon that New England had just wrested from her, as the pledge to her own security. The work was all undone with a stroke of the pen. The colonies were still to be the football of European politics.

Nobody in the colonies supposed this would be the reward of their sacrifices—that they should be deliberately sold by the home government, or that France, after being once disarmed, would be quietly to go on strengthening her American Gibraltar as much as she liked. Yet this was what really happened, notwithstanding the Duke of

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(1) THE SURRENDER caused great rejoicing in the colonies, as was natural it would, with all except those who had always predicted its failure. For some reason the news did not reach Boston until July 2, in the night. At daybreak the inhabitants were aroused from their slumbers by the thunder of cannon. The whole day was given up to rejoicings. A public thanksgiving was observed on the 18th. The news reached London on the 20th. The tower guns were fired, and at night London was illuminated. Similar demonstrations occurred in all the cities and large towns of the kingdom. At Versailles the news caused deep gloom. De Luynes speaks of it thus in his memoirs: "People have been willing to doubt about this affair of Louisburg, but unhappily it is only too certain. These misfortunes have given rise to altercations among ministers. It is urged that M. Maurepas is at fault in having allowed Louisburg to fall for want of munitions. The friends of M. Maurepas contend that he did all that was possible, but could not obtain the necessary funds from the Treasury." The government got ready two fleets to retake Louisburg. One was scattered or sunk by storms in 1740, and one was destroyed by Lord Anson, in 1747, off Cape Finisterre.



Newcastle's bombastic declaration that "if France was master of "Portsmouth, he would hang the man who should give up Cape Breton in exchange for it."

King George, who was in Hanover when he heard of the capture of Louisburg, sent word to Pepperell that he would be made a baronet, thus distinguishing him as the proper chief of the expedition. This distinction, which really made Pepperell the first colonist of his time, was nobly won and worthily worn. After four years of importunity the colonies succeeded in getting their actual expenses reimbursed to them, which was certainly no more than their due, considering that they had been fighting the battles of the mother country. (1)

Warren was made an admiral. The navy came in for a large amount of prize money, obtained from ships that were decoyed into Louisburg after it fell, to the exclusion of the army. (2) This disposition of the spoils was highly resented by the army, who very justly alleged that, while the success of the army without the fleet might be open to debate, there could be no question whatever of the fleet's inability to take Louisburg without the army.

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### AGAINST THE IROQUOIS.

*(First campaign of 1666.)*

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The French attempted in January-February 1666 to subdue the Mohawks, but without any success. A second expedition took place during the fall of same year, which resulted in stopping the raids of the five tribes in Lower Canada for a period of twenty years. The thirty years previous to 1666 had been marked by continual massacres of white settlers and Algonquin families in the territories comprised between Lachine, Laprairie, Chambly, and the north shore of the St Lawrence from Montreal to the Saguenay River, and the date of 1666

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(1) THE AMOUNT was £183,040 to Massachusetts, £10,355 to New Hampshire, £28,803 to Connecticut, and £0,332 to Rhodes Island. Quite a large portion was paid in copper coins.

(2) AMONG OTHERS the navy took a Spanish Indiaman, having \$2,000,000, besides silver and gold ingots to a large value, stowed under her cargo of cocoa. The estimated value of all the prizes was nearly a million sterling, of which enormous sum only one colonial vessel got a share.

is therefore one of the most important of all the seventeenth century in the annals of Canada.

The intention of the French authorities was not to bring under the yoke of the Governor General at Quebec any part of the Iroquois nations, but to teach them to keep quiet upon our frontiers.

My object in the present article is to deal with the first military expedition of 1666, solely. It will be necessary to explain the circumstances connected with the preparation of such a measure.

The *Relation* of the Father Jesuits, dated at Quebec, 3rd November 1665 refers to the newly adopted policy of Louis XIV in regard to Holland and the colonies generally: "The King, designing to restore the glory of the French in the Island of Cayenne, which we had abandoned some years before, and to have all the colonies visited, which we have throughout the Americans, made choice of the Marquis de Tracy, whose ability he had proved in the different employments that he had given him in his armies. He sent him one of the most ample and honorable commissions that had yet been seen; gave him four companies of infantry; and desired that his guards should carry the same colours as those of His Majesty...."

This first step belongs to the year 1663. Louis XIV was commencing to bully Holland, which had struck a medal that was offensive to the future Grand Monarch. Colbert's politics profited by this, and he urged his master to seize upon the colonies.

Godefroy, Comte d'Estrades, Maréchal de France, occupied the situation of the Marquis de Feuquières, as Vice-Roi in America, when he was sent to Holland as ambassador in 1662. On the 19th November 1663, Alexandre de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy received the appointment of "Lieutenant Général de l'Amérique Méridionale et Septentrionale"—but not Vice-Roi, as so often stated.

Tracy had done good duty as privy councillor to the king, again as commissary general of the army in Germany, and as lieutenant-general in France. He was a fit man for the position now entrusted to him. Tall, stout, old looking and of solemn appearance, he must have been a striking picture of "haute noblesse" amongst his brilliant staff and the guards which always accompanied him in the streets.

In May 1664 the Hundred Partners who owned Canada since 1627, resigned their powers and the King issued orders for the changes

contemplated in the administration of the colony. Tracy was "en route" to Cayenne. Let us quote the *Relation* of 1665:

"His Majesty caused to be equipped for him the ships *Brézé* and *Teron*, (1) one of eight hundred tons and the other a little less, with several other vessels loaded with provisions and munitions of war, and carrying people to cultivate the land, and many artisans, and all that was necessary for an expedition of such importance. M. de Tracy set out from Rochelle on the 26th February 1664, being followed, besides the troops, by a number of the nobility and vessels well equipped. He was received by the Portuguese of Madeira and Cape Verd with all the honours due to his rank and worth. M. de la Barre, going on shore, was received magnificently. Afterwards, the vessels sailed before the wind right to Cayenne, and arrived there in a short time, M. de Tracy having summoned the Dutch governor to surrender the island to the French, to whom it properly belonged, they gave it up without difficulty, and M. de la Barre remained there conformably to the orders of the king."

M. Lefebvre de la Barre made a perfect mess of the colony placed under his control. He took all he could out of it for his own benefit, ruined the settlers, and had to return to France for want of subsistence. Strange to say he was chosen in 1682 to replace the Count of Frontenac in Canada and carried on the same kind of operations here where they brought the ill-feeling of most of the Canadians, the war with the Iroquois, and the withdrawal of that selfish governor. He is about the worst man that we ever had at the head of the colony.

After recounting what M. de Tracy did "in the isles" to ensure French preponderance, the *Relation* continues: "He received orders from the king to proceed as soon as possible to Canada. It was the 25th April 1665, when he left Guadeloupe. . . The *Brézé* made her course towards Canada. . . she arrived in a month in the great river St Lawrence."

On May the 15th of that same year had died at Quebec M. Saffray de Mézy, Governor of New France. M. de Tracy was still on the high sea.

Captain Le Gangneur arrived at Quebec, from France, on the 17th and 19th June, bringing in his two vessels, four companies of the

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(1) One of the names of the Colbert family.

Carignan Regiment. The second ship was commanded by Captain Petit ; they had both sailed from Rochelle.

It would seem certain that M. de Tracy had embarked no detachment of the Carignan Regiment with him because that corps was in Hungary when he started for America. The four companies brought by Captains Le Gangneur and Petit arrived even before him in the water of the St Lawrence. This shows that the instructions from Paris were clearly understood, and that Tracy came here to meet the arrangements made beforehand. He dared not adventure the *Brézé* in the river St Lawrence so he chartered two small vessels, and arrived at Quebec on 30th June, sick of a fever. He was accompanied by the Jesuit Fathers Claude Bardy and François Dupéron. Four companies of the Carignan Regiment came the same day.

It is useless to say that the five hundred families residing in Canada were delighted on hearing such news, and that they foresaw the sure development of the country at an early date.

At this very moment there were happening, in the town of Manhattan, some events of main importance also.

King Charles II of England, had allotted to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany, all the region comprised between the rivers Connecticut and Delaware ; Colonel Nicolls, in the name of the latter Prince, took from the Dutch the town of Manhattan, which became New-York, and the post of Orange, which was turned into Albany. Of this nothing had transpired in Canada.

On July 16th, arrived at Quebec from Havre, the ship of Captain Poulet, bringing twelve horses, which were a great wonder to the savages.

The four first companies set out from Quebec on the 23rd July, Father Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot, Jesuit, being their chaplain, to go, and commence the construction of a fort, on or near the spot where Fort Richelieu had stood from the summer of 1642 until the autumn of 1646, and now occupied by the town of Sorel.

Several squads and companies of volunteer militia had existed in the colony during the last seventeen years, on account of the necessity of providing for self defence at the approach of the Iroquois gangs who always infested the vicinity of our settlements. Therefore, a company of Canadian volunteers, under the orders of (Jean-Baptiste ?)

Le Gardeur de Repentigny, started with the soldiers of Carignan on their leaving Quebec. They arrived all together at Three Rivers, just in time to deliver that place from the fears of the Iroquois, who had for some time been recommencing their expeditions, after a short stop in 1664.

While the troops were waiting at Three Rivers for a favorable wind, there arrived, on the 3rd of August, a hundred canoes of the Ottawas, carrying more than four hundred men who came with abundance of peltries to trade with the French. They had come a distance of from four to five hundred leagues, and they returned on the 7th, Father Claude-Jean Allouez going with them as a missionary. Their residence was Green Bay on Lake Michigan.

Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, writing from Quebec on 28th July, says: "This year, there must be two thousand persons coming here, counting those already arrived, and that are still on the way."

The official statistics show that in the spring of 1665 the population was 3,215 souls and that during the next two years it increased by seven hundred, besides the Carignan Regiment not yet disbanded.

Mother Marie continues: "The companies that have arrived have already started with a hundred French (Canadians) of this country and a large number of Indians, to go forward and take possession of the river of the Iroquois (1) to build forts there and to provide them with ammunition. They are meantime making great preparations here in the way of small and large flat-boats to enable them to pass the rough water awaiting them in the rapids. The provisions and munitions of war are all ready, the king having defrayed the whole cost. There is a large number of officers thus engaged."

Captain Fromont, of the Carignan Regiment, deposited in trust with the Jesuit Fathers, before quitting Quebec, the sum of one hundred louis in gold.

On the 6th of August, a soldier named Lafleur, of M. Fromont's Company was buried at Three Rivers having been killed by the accidental discharge of a fire-arm.

On the 10th, Captain Jacques de Chambly, at the head of the troops that were at Three Rivers, set forward to cross Lake St Peter.

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(1) Known also at that time by the name of Richelleu. It is now called Chambly.

On the 18th and 19th, two ships arrived at Quebec, each bringing four companies. With this military force was M. de Salières, Colonel of the regiment, his fifteen year old son, and the Abbé Jean-Baptiste Dubois d'Egriselle, chaplain of the regiment.

M. de Chambly constructed during that month the fort of Richelieu, which took a little later the name of Sorel. It was a square with three bastions, two on the angles and one in the centre of a curtain, the extremities of which carried each a demi-bastion. I am under the impression that M. Pierre de Sorel very soon succeeded M. de Chambly, and that he considerably enlarged these fortifications. We have two plans of the fort, which seem to date from the same time, and one of them is much more extensive than the other.

On the 22nd August, they received news at Quebec that some of the vessels and boats had ascended the river (Chambly) as far as the fall—now Chambly-Basin. Forty boats of twenty men each, were ready for action.

The *Relation* of 1665 states further that "the second fort, named St Louis from its having been commenced during the week in which is celebrated the "fête" of this great saint, (1) the protector of our kings and of France, has been made by M. Sorel." I think the writer should have put "M. Chambly," for this passage relates to the fort of Chambly-Basin at the foot of the rapids.

On September the 12th the *Saint-Sébastien*, arrived at Quebec with Courcelles, the Governor, and Jean Talon, Intendant. Another vessel, *Jardin de Hollande*, was in company. Two days after, a third, called the *Justice* arrived, carrying eight companies.

Daniel Remy de Courcelles was skilled in administration, clever in his way, but rather slow.

Talon, in police, finance and colonisation, made his mark during the four or five years he held the office of Intendant of New-France.

M. de Salières, notwithstanding his great age, went beyond the Chambly fort, and constructed a fort near the rapids that are above that place.

M. de Courcelles had no sooner landed at Quebec than he started on a tour of inspection on the Chambly river.

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(1) Louis IX of France, better known as Saint-Louis. He is honored by the Catholic church on the 25th of August.

On the first day of October, four companies left Quebec to go and wait for M. de Tracy at Three Rivers. On the 3rd Father Chaumonot returned to Quebec, having come from Fort St Louis (Chambly).

The fort erected by M. de Salières was completed on October the 15th, Ste Thérèse's day, and took the name of that patron saint. It was the third fortification of that kind placed on the war path to the Iroquois country. Already friendly natives were camped in its vicinity and sold the produce of their hunting to the soldiers occupying it.

Fort Ste Thérèse formed a square, somewhat oblong, with a stanchion at each angle. It was fifteen feet high, with double palisades, and a bank inside, raised a foot and a half above the level ground.

Fort Chambly was also a square, with three bastions, one in the centre of each of three faces, and a fortified gate in the centre of the fourth side.

Late in the autumn, it would seem, they built a fourth fort, on the spot where now stands the town of St John's. I do not know the shape of it. All these forts were of wood, planted in palisades.

On the 28th October they learnt at Quebec that M. de Salières, having built a boat at Fort Ste Thérèse, had sent eighteen or twenty men to discover the mouth of Lake Champlain, and that these people, having advanced into the lake for four leagues, admired the beauty of the country. "This lake," says the *Relation*, "extending sixty leagues, borders the country of the Agniers (Mohawks). There it is designed to build in the spring still a fourth fort."

The extreme length of Lake Champlain is about one hundred and thirty miles or forty three leagues.

We are led to believe that the project for Fort St John's was not conceived at that moment, because the *Relation* indicates clearly the intention to place the "fourth fort" in Lake Champlain, but we know that Fort St John's dates from the end of the year 1665, and that Fort Ste Anne (the fifth) situated on an island in the north end of Lake Champlain, was built during the spring and summer season of 1666.

On the 31st of October, M. de Courcelles returned to Quebec from his voyage "up above" where he had gone to superintend the work of the forts, and to assign winter quarters to the troops. M. de

Salières arrived at Quebec at the same time, and "some differences occurred between them" says the *Journal* of the Jesuits. M. de Salières embarked again on the 4th of November, to go and winter at Montreal.

The Iroquois, against whom they were taking such precautions, before making an attack upon them, had been spreading terror throughout the shores of the St Lawrence for the past thirty years. Their hatred of all that was Algonquin or Huron, dates back still further; these two latter races having become the friends of the French, there had been neither peace nor truce for us since 1636, when the Dutch of Fort Orange (Albany) began to barter fire-arms for the furs that the Five Nations brought them.

The tribe of Agniers (in English, *Mohawks*) was the one nearest to the Dutch post of Orange; they held the Saratoga district. They comprised two or three villages, containing from three to four hundred men able to bear arms. These Indians were, more than all the others, the enemies of the French.

Further on, where is now the town of Rome, going from Albany towards Oswego, was the tribe of Onneyouts (*Oneidas* in English) numbering a hundred and forty warriors. This nation was less warlike than the Mohawks, but adroitly evaded all peace-proposals.

At some distance west from the Oneidas, that is to say where today we find Syracuse, were the Onnontagués (*Onondagas*), who counted three hundred fighting men. Here the Jesuits of Québec had previously a mission, which existed two years, in 1656 and 1657.

West again, at the present Geneva, near Lake Cayuga, were to be found the Oïoguens or Goyoguins (*Cayugas*), with a strength of three hundred men; they had received a Jesuit mission in 1657.

The most numerous of the Five Iroquois nations, called Sonnon-touans or Tsonnontouans (*Senecas*), was situated between two lakes southeast of the present town of Rochester, on Lake Ontario; it consisted of twelve hundred men, established in two or three villages. These, like the Cayugas, had never made war upon the French.

The five nations could easily bring two thousand three hundred men against their enemies. Their population of nearly twelve thousand souls was at least three times as numerous as that of the French in Canada. From Montreal to the country of the Mohawks, the distance was a hundred leagues.



There is reason to believe that M. de Courcelles, the new Governor, undertook a winter campaign contrary to all the advice of competent men. He understood neither the severity of the climate nor the formidable obstacles that existed, to such a march with troops not only strangers to the country, but even conducted after the European fashion. Without the aid lent by the Canadian militiamen, the disaster would have been complete.

A manuscript in verse, found by Mr. de Léry Macdonald in the papers of the Lotbinière family, and apparently written by young René-Louis Chartier de Lotbinière, who was an officer of the expedition, runs as follows. It is badinage as to its form, but history as to its facts :

“Fame might gracefully have mentioned  
All the struggles, all the hardships,  
Of Courcelles brave undertaking ;  
But that cavalry on snow shoes,  
That red-tape instead of harness,  
Those infernal dry, black biscuits,  
She could never have described them  
But with laughter and derision.”

Their start from Quebec was made on the 6th day of January, 1666. M. de Courcelles was accompanied by M. du Gas, whom he took for his lieutenant ; M. de Salampar, gentleman volunteer ; Father Pierre Raffeix, Jesuit ; by three hundred men of the Carignan regiment, and by one hundred Canadians.

“This march could not but be slow, each one having on his feet snow shoes, to the use of which they were unaccustomed, and all, not excepting the chiefs and even M. de Courcelles, being loaded with twenty-five or thirty pounds of biscuit each, with blankets and other necessary articles.”

On the 10th, the little army quitted Sillery. From the third day of their march, many froze their noses, cheeks, ears, fingers, knees ; and they began to complain of sores in different parts of the body. “Snow shoe pains” made themselves keenly felt. Some of the men, benumbed with cold, would have died upon the snow, if they had not been picked up and carried under shelter. The houses were then few and far between, from Pontneuf to Champlain.

Arriving at Cap de la Madeleine on the 15th, M. de Courcelles

sent forward orders to the troops that were to join his corps as he went along.

On the 16th, a Saturday, he was at Three Rivers, where he found that Mr. Pierre Boucher, Governor of that place, had prepared every thing as directed. The population of the district of Three Rivers, including the town was sixty-nine families, or four hundred and fifty-five souls.

This was a time of repose for the troops. The writer above quoted goes on, saying:

“ At Three Rivers while they tarried,  
They were well content and merry,  
Snapped their fingers at the graveyards,  
Thought no more of by-gone perils ;  
There they took their ease and comfort, &  
Filled their plates and passed the bottle. ”

On the 18th M. de Courcelles resumed his march with only eighty soldiers, four officers, and forty five Canadians. If I am not mistaken, he proceeded to Montreal, where Charles LeMoyne, who had just passed five or six months in captivity with the Iroquois, joined him, together with M. de Hautmesnil, and seventy “blue-coats” or Canadian volunteers of Montreal. De Hautmesnil very nearly perished in this campaign.

On the 24th of January, the Sieurs de la Fouille, Maximin and Loubia, Captains in the Regiment of Carignan arrived at Three Rivers, each one with twenty soldiers and some habitants of the neighboring country, to join the three hundred men already assembled in this place. The next day the whole moved on the march across Lake St Peter, to the Richelieu fort commanded by M. de Sorel. It was at this time, I believe, that that officer “repaired” the fort which bore his name.

This day, the 25th, was excessively cold. They were compelled to carry back to Three Rivers many soldiers, some of whom had their legs cut by the ice, and others had hands, arms, &c, frozen.

The poet whom I have already quoted was of this number ; in his plaint upon the hardships they suffered at the fort of Richelieu, he speaks as if M. de Courcelles was there also. Such is possible. He says also that the “capots bleus” or Militiamen of Montreal joined

them at this fort. M. de Courcelles left, on the 29th, for St Louis or Chambly. The Captains Petit and Rougemont and the Sieur Mignardé, lieutenant of the colonel's company, are also mentioned on this date.

On the 29th, M. de Courcelles set out from Fort Chambly with five or six hundred men. The rendez-vous of the troops was Fort Ste Thérèse. They expected there also some Algonquins, who were to serve as guides, under the orders of Louis Godefroy de Normanville, a native of Canada, the same who was afterwards King's Procurator for the district of Three Rivers.

The Indians in question got drunk and M. de Courcelles committed the imprudence of starting without them.

" 'Tis the trick, they say, of rascals.  
So, not minding the Algonquin,  
Who thus dawdled at his bottle,  
They, without him, would do wonders." (1)

The whole army left Fort Ste Thérèse on the 30th January, and marched amid a thousand sufferings and miseries, through: losing their way, until the 14th February (St Valentine Day!) when they found themselves at twenty leagues east of the villages of the Mohawks, and close to an establishment of the Dutch. On the 15th, at six leagues from Albany, they learned that the entire province had passed into the hands of the English the summer preceding.

On February the 20th — a Saturday — the troops attacked an Iroquois hamlet, where they killed two or three Indians and an old woman! In a skirmish in the open, four more Iroquois fell, but six Frenchmen also bit the *snout*. That night and the day following it rained incessantly. On this Sunday, M. de Courcelles had several interviews with the commandant of the neighboring post, a Dutchman who was serving under England, after the change that had come to pass, as already stated.

In spite of the unsuccess of his arms, the French Governor felt confident that the presence of himself and his force in the territory, in

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(1) My *confrère de bureau*, Colin Campbell, who has helped me so materially in the preparation of this paper, adds a remark: "This is such a long way after Longfellow that he might perhaps not recognize it; but, as to the rendering of the French, it is strictly accurate, and, as to metre, it is strictly *Longfellowian*."

the depth of winter, must greatly impress all beholders. This cannot be denied—until that instant the Iroquois would never have thought of the possibility of one thousand Frenchmen marching from Canada during such a severe season, and reaching the sources of the Hudson.

Some prisoners who had been taken on the way revealed the fact that the Mohawks and the Oneidas were gone on the war-path against some people further south, called "makers of porcelain," probably the Andastes of the river Susquehanna, well known for their traffic in mother of pearl and other brilliant shells which they used to gather near the sea shore. These Andastes had been fighting the Iroquois for seventy five years at least, because Champlain found them in that situation; and Etienne Brulé, who visited their villages in 1615 made an appeal to the old animosity that existed between the Iroquois and themselves, with such success that a large number of these Indians followed him to attack an Iroquois fort situated somewhere about the vicinity of the present town of Syracuse. This is told by Champlain in his narrative of 1615-16.

The absence of the enemy completed the discouragement of the French leaders, and on the evening of the same Sunday, after being well treated by the Dutch, the army precipitately decamped, marching all night and well into the next day. With the evening arrived the thirty Algonquins, who, at the start, had been engaged to act as guides. They brought, nevertheless, some very acceptable provisions sharing with the troops the produce of their hunting.

The Mohawks, who seem to have come back to their own country at this moment, soon made the acquaintance of the French army, and never lost sight of it again. They harassed it skilfully, and thus added to its pitiful condition. In an affair of the rear guard the Sieur d'Aiguemortes and four soldiers fell beneath their blows; there were thirty Iroquois killed; the poet whom I have quoted narrates in detail this adventure, and tells how the young de Lotbinière, who had taken the place of M. d'Aiguemortes, was slightly wounded.

M. de Courcelles found himself in the middle of Lake Champlain, when his provisions gave out. He sent to open a "cache" of provisions which had been prepared for the purpose of supplying the troops on the return journey, but it was empty. The thieves had at the same time carried off effects worth forty-five dollars of our money, belonging to the Jesuit Fathers Raffeix and Boquet.

More than sixty soldiers died of hunger, as a result of this disaster. We must not forget those who had already perished from their sufferings in going and returning, nor those who could not withstand the effects of further march from Lake Champlain to Quebec. The Algonquins and the Canadians were of great help to the unfortunate military men, by keeping them in venison, and by giving useful advice to those poor novices upon the proper course of action under such circumstances. The poet of whom I have spoken fully describes, though in playful style, the sufferings endured during this campaign.

At length, on the 8th day of March, the army arrived at Chambly, in lamentable disarray.

It is evident that Fort Ste Anne was not yet constructed, for it would have been possible to re-victual the army from there, upon finding that the *cache* of provisions had been pillaged. It is probable that the project already mentioned to have a fort built on Lake Champlain became from that hour a matter for serious consideration, and the spot for the erection of the works must have been chosen without delay.

It is well known that Captain de la Motte-Lucière began the fort on an island, in the spring of that year and that he completed it during the summer.

Fort St Jean is hardly noted anywhere ; in 1666 Captain Berthier was in command there, and Sieur de Rougemont commandant at Ste Thérèse.

On his return to the Fort St Louis, M. de Courcelles threw the blame of the failure of his enterprise upon the Jesuits, and he kept on speaking of them with contumely and reproach, till he got to Quebec, by which time he began to understand that his plan of making a winter campaign in Canada with European soldiers had been the cause of his discomfiture.

According to the poem, which I have before me (and which has never been printed) the troops passed from Chambly to Montreal, instead of descending the Richelieu river to Sorel :—

“ Montreal now saw these soldiers  
Telling all their deeds of prowess  
All their hardships and adventures. ”

Descending by the left bank of the St Lawrence, about the 12th

of the month of March, the glare of the sun upon the snow still further incommoded this band of men who had for ten weeks been supporting untold fatigues, as we may imagine from reading the documents of the period.

“ But the blazing sun above them  
 And the snow beneath that glittered  
 Made Dugal, and made Lotbinière  
 Think they'd lost their precious eyesight,  
 Made them grope about like blind men  
 With no dog or stick to guide them,  
 'Till their comrades took and led them,  
 Led them helpless to Three Rivers. ”

It would seem that there was a bit of a “free and easy” time at Three Rivers, in spite of the Lenten season having commenced. And, after such an experience, small blame to them!

M. de Courcelles, having passed through Three Rivers, arrived at Quebec on the 17th of March.

It was necessary to return to the Iroquois country in the following autumn. This second enterprise, conducted by M. de Tracy, was crowned with success, and he gained by it a peace that lasted until 1684.

As I feel it may be apropos to speak of the Carignan Regiment before concluding this sketch of one of the events of the early days of Canada, I will now submit to the reader the few notes, and information I have gathered on that subject.

The origin of the Regiment is rather curious. The principal nucleus was raised in 1636, and served at the siege of Valenza on the Po, Italy, not far from a locality known as Carignano or Carignan, from which the house of Princes Carignan sprung about that time. A German officer by the name of Balthazar had the direction of the battalion. Later on they were induced to go to France, and indeed they had always been considered as French troops, because Antoine Pécaudy de Contrecoeur is said to have been with them from the beginning, and as an officer to have participated in several actions comprising Valenza and St Antoine-de-Paris, (1636-52.) (1)

(1) See my *Pages d'Histoire du Canada*, Granger Frères, Montréal, 1891, p. 352.

It is doubtful whether the name of Carignan was imposed before the year 1648 or thereabout on the corps in question. Daniel, the author of *La Milice Française*, gives us to understand that in the early period it was styled "Regiment de Balthazar" and afterwards "Carignan-Balthazar." At that time, Henri de Chapelas, Sieur de Salières became its second colonel, that is to say, that each of the two battalions had a colonel with a "compagnie colonnelle" for each — and also two different flags, for every colonel had his own colors. The Prince of Carignan was what we call honorary colonel, in other words the recognized protector of the Regiment.

Charles-Emmanuel I, the head of the house of Savoy, was the father of Thomas-François, called the Prince of Carignan, born in 1596, and who caused a great deal of trouble after the death of his father in 1630. From 1633 to 1638 he commanded the Spanish troops. Then he passed to France, and Louis XIII made him a lieutenant general. In 1642, he had the direction of the French Army in Italy. Mazarin appointed him grand master to succeed Condé in 1652. He died at Turin in 1656.

His son Emmanuel-Philibert, Prince of Carignan, was a deaf-mute, which however did not prevent him from taking a prominent part in the politics of his time. He figured with much success in the game between the cabinets of France and Savoy. His clear-sightedness was appreciated by men in power. Louis XIV and Colbert consulted him frequently. This Prince was a direct ancestor of King Humbert of Italy.

Colonel Balthazar having retired from the service, M. de Salières took his place, but no second Colonel was appointed, although the two "companies colonnelles" remained distinct. The Regiment became "Carignan-Salières." The flag and "compagnie colonnelle" of Carignan ranked first. The officer who commanded the second battalion or left wing was a lieutenant Colonel; on the 20th March 1652, at Gergau, under the conduct of Turenne, it is said the lieutenant Colonel of Carignan Regiment was mortally wounded — his name is not given.

On 4th May, at the battle of Etampes, the Carignan Regiment under Turenne made one of the first charges against Condé. This is learned from the correspondence of Turenne himself. On July 5th, in

the same year, at the attack of St Antoine Ward, Paris, the Regiment again fought well with the Royal Troops. M. de Contreccœur was wounded at both of these latter actions.

Prince Thomas-François probably assumed the protectorate of the Regiment, which was afterwards transmitted to his son Emmanuel-Philibert, perhaps in 1656, at his death.

The contingent of 6,000 French troops who did service with the Austrian army against the Turks, in 1664, comprised the Carignan Regiment, and this corps distinguished itself above all others at the celebrated battle of St Gothard on the Raab, Hungary, won by the Austrian General Montecuculli, 1st August 1664. Jean de Coligny, Comte de Saligny, commanded the French on that occasion. A treaty of peace (truce) was signed at Temeswar, Hungary, the 7th September following. It would appear that the men under Coligny were re-called to France soon after, as they arrived in Canada during the summer of 1665.

Two thirds of the men went back to France during the years 1669-72, and the three or four hundred who remained here were discharged and became farmers or artisans in the colony.

When the regiment was disbanded, a certain number of soldiers went into the little garrisons of Quebec, Three Rivers, Sorel, Montreal, Chambly, Ste Anne and Cataragui, together with some Canadian volunteers, and as a result these garrisons were composed partly of soldiers who had served in France, and partly of Canadians.

The Count de Fronténac, about the year 1675, organized the Militia system that existed up to 1760. Every man fit to bear arms belonged to a company, and performed military drills at fixed dates. The Captain of the parish commanded the company or companies of that parish. In case of there being more than one, there was no Major lieutenant commanding the respective companies, and the captain of the parish took command of the whole. This captain was called the "captain of the shore," because, each parish bordering on the river, he must distribute his orders along the shore of the river, instead of having to travel through the country and pass from section to section, or through one concession after another, as when the population is thus grouped, and does not follow an exact line.



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**JOURNAL OF MAJOR ISAAC ROACH.**

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Major Roach served throughout the war of 1812, and until April 1st 1824, when he retired to civil life. His father distinguished himself during the War of the Revolution, in command of the gunboat "Congress," and other vessels. Major Roach was elected Mayor of Philadelphia in 1838, he also filled several other local offices, and was Treasurer of the U. S. Mint at Philadelphia. He died December 30th 1848.

The Journal of the Major was published during the past year in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Having been taken prisoner at Fort Niagara, he was conducted with many others, down the St Lawrence to Montreal and Quebec, and the following extracts, which include his stay in Montreal, will prove interesting.

"We encouraged our men for a charge through the woods, and a retreating fight; and at the moment we expected the order to move on the enemy, Major Taylor whispered to me, that he feared our Colonel was frightened, as a flag was received from the enemy, and in another half-hour Col. Boerstler agreed to surrender his command, reporting to the Government that he held a council of his officers; which was not true, as Major Taylor, McChesney, and myself knew nothing of it.

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"We were surrendered without discretion to a detachment of about 80 British Regulars under Lieutenant Fitzgibbon,--about 200 Embodied Militia under Lieut.-Colonel De Ham, who were equal to Regulars, and a body of North Western Indians, about 550 in number, who had that morning arrived from the upper country under the direction of Ker, the Indian agent, Lieut.-Colonel Bishop with 120 men joined them at the moment of surrender, and took the command. But instead of being received by the British, we were surrounded by the Indians, who commenced their business of plundering the officers. I slipped my sword under my coat, in hopes to save it; but one Indian demanded it, while another very significantly made a flourish of his gun over my head, and took my sword.

" I believe our wise Colonel now saw the snare he was in, when too late, and how little dependence can at any time be placed on the promises of a British army officer. Col. Boerstler surrendered on condition that his wounded should be protected : his officers retain their side arms, and be paroled to return to Fort George immediately. Not one item of these was complied with. Nearly all our wounded were killed by the Indians that night. The officers weremarched seven miles to Col. Bishop's quarters, through various parties of Indians, and protected by 2 officers and 2 men, who were more afraid and less accustomed to Indians than ourselves ; my time was occupied in attending to my friend McChesney whose wound was very painful, as the ball passed through the wrist joint and cut off the blood vessel, when he was shot. I had placed my field tourniquet on his arm but he continued to bleed all that night, and when quartered for the night we were surrounded by savages intoxicated by the liquor found in our waggons. I barricaded the door, and armed with McChesney's sword I watched him all night, at one time I expected the Indians to break into our room, as they were in the house, and not thinking my comrade would live till morning, as his arm continued bleeding, and he did not expect to live, but in the morning the bleeding stopped, and his arm was saved.

Next day (June 25th 1813) we were taken to head-quarters at Burlington Heights, and were again marched through several parties of Indians, and insulted and plundered. The officers having us in charge not daring to oppose them. On our arrival at head-quarters in the evening, all the officers signed a parole, except myself ;—I refused. We were then embarked on board the British fleet, myself and two others went on board the brig *Earl Moira*, Capt. Dobbs, who was a kind, gentlemanly officer. We were told we would not be sent to Fort George as agreed upon, but that Sir James Yeo would run up to Niagara, and obtain our baggage, and as I had intended when I refused to sign the parole, if we run near the shore, to take leave of them if possible ; but about one o'clock next morning, when within 3 miles of the river, the wind headed us off, and we bore away for Kingston, where we arrived June 28th.

On our arrival we were escorted to head-quarters, and paroled by Lieut.-Colonel Drummond, but we were confined to our quarters,

and occasionally visited by the inhabitants, and insulted by the Indians, some of whom threatened to "skin our heads."

Kingston is situated at the head of the St Lawrence river, on the left hand or north side, and opposite to Wolfe Island. It occupies the site of our (!) old Fort Frontenac.

It has a barrack for troops: quarters, hospital, storehouses, an Episcopal church, court-house and gaol. The cove affords a good harbour for shipping. The town is defended by a blockhouse in front, and on Wolfe Island by a blockhouse, and a water battery of 10 guns; and on the right of the town is a strong battery, and in the rear, another blockhouse. The navy yard is on Wolfe Island. Large vessels seldom go below Kingston, though it is navigable 70 miles downward.

July 1st 1813, the American officers, prisoners on parole, departed for Quebec, under escort of Lieut. Col. Boucherville, of the militia, aide to Sir George Prevost, from whom we received many kind attentions,—and whose treatment, like that of nearly all the Canadian officers, was kind, and very different from the abusive and unfeeling conduct of the British officers generally, Colonel Drummond knew we were to have been paroled, and sent back to our army by the terms of the capitulation,—not one article of which was ever complied with: and we were not allowed to remain even for our baggage, to obtain a change of clothing for which we were suffering.

The passage from Kingston to La Chine in boats was very pleasant, and served to amuse us in our trouble, and having been placed under the care of Canadians who were disposed to feel for us, we now began to shake off some of the melancholy and moroseness consequent on our capture, as we most of us felt it a disgraceful surrender on the part of our Bobadil Colonel. We now began to look pleasantly on the scenery around us, and occasionally jested with each other on our appearance, and the smart looks of some one who had obtained the sight of a mirror on shore, and beautified his appearance by turning out the least dirty part of his cravat for the seventh time.

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"The passage down the St Lawrence is very pleasant and in many places very interesting. The current is generally six miles an hour,

and the rapidity with which the traveller passes from one scene to another cannot fail to amuse. On the afternoon of the 1st of July we passed an immense number of islands, called *Mille Isles*, and truly of a thousand different shapes and sizes. It is here one begins to feel and observe the rapidity of the current, when, passing so swiftly from one view of the scenery to another, it appeared as if the scenery was truly being changed, instead of our moving past it: and it was as pleasing as varied. Our boatmen (who knew no will but their master's) rowed all night, singing their Canadian boat songs, and by sunrise next morning (2nd) we were at Prescott, 60 miles from Kingston. Prescott is a place of military importance: well defended and with works to contain a thousand men; and commanding the passage down the river and the Main road. It is opposite Ogdensburg on the American side, where Messrs Parrish and Ogden have extensive iron works, and which was protected by the British during the war, as Mr. Parrish was a British subject, and had made a declaration that he had not loaned money to the U. S. Government, but as an agent for others."

"On the 2nd July we passed "the Cedars" where the passage is very dangerous. The best channel is on the Canadian side, and close to the shore. We passed over a fall about 6 feet high, which, is not perceived in descending, until directly on it, and it requires much skill in steering through it. In the early conquest of Canada, forty bateaux filled with soldiers were lost in passing over the fall. Here is a lock for upward navigation and some remains of field fortification.

In a few minutes after passing "The Cedars" we come to the "Long Sault" or Rapids, the length of which is three miles. The passage, though somewhat dangerous, is indeed beautiful,—the rocks in many places appearing above the surface, against which the rapid current threatens to dash the boat, and must alarm the passenger, until, when within a few feet of them, by the pilot's skilful hand, the boat is turned in another direction, and one could almost step on the rock. At every turn the scene varies, and becomes more beautiful and less dangerous; until having passed the Rapids in safety, the Canadian boatman crosses himself, returning thanks to his Heavenly Preserver, and resumes his song.

This day, July 2nd, we reached Coté du Sac (!) a village situate on a small stream, both sides of which are fortified. The principal works are on the north side, and consist of three blockhouses and a field-work of masonry,—a heptagon with a large ditch. Here is also a lock in the passage.

July 3rd, we arrived at La Chine, about 9 miles above Montreal, and the nearest navigable point, owing to rocks and falls. Opposite to La Chine is a very fine Indian village, probably the best in the country, of about 150 houses and a large church. The tribe is called *Cockinawa* (!) and are Catholics.

It is here that the great Council Fire of all the northern tribes is lighted. There is another tribe, whose village joins the *Cockinawas*, and though they have lived thus as neighbours for many years, not one instance of intermarriage has occurred, nor do they speak the same language.

At 2 p. m. we arrived at Montreal, and were quartered in Dillon's Hotel, Place d'Armes, and ordered not to leave the house. Indeed we were without our baggage and destitute of even a change of linen, until we sent to a store and purchased it on the evening of our arrival.

Montreal is situated on an island of this name, and was formerly enclosed by a wall. But this has been taken down and the city extended. The houses are of stone, well built, and mostly with iron covered shutters. The inhabitants are mostly natives of Scotland and the United States.

July 4th. I have the honor to be born under a free Republican Government, and from my earliest youth I have been taught and accustomed to welcome the anniversary of my country's freedom with thankfulness for this blessing, which was purchased so dearly. This was a sad reverse to all of us, smarting as we were from our recent capture. But the most of us were young, and looking at the fair side of things, we were enabled to spend this day with some satisfaction, remembering that some of our comrades were in arms, and we might ere long be enabled to join them.

July 6th. Left Montreal for Quebec. One observes nothing interesting on the passage. The river is generally about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles wide passing through Lake St Peter. The banks are low and regular

until one arrives near Quebec, when they become very high and rough. About 30 miles above Quebec are considerable falls, which are dangerous to pass in the night. The channel is in the middle of the river,—the current rapid and cannot be ascended but with a fair wind or steam. The River *Chaudine* (*sic*) empties into the St Lawrence about 3 miles above Quebec on the south side.

July 7th. At daybreak arrived at Quebec, when our amiable and attentive escort,—Colonel Boucherville—waited on Major General Glasgow, Commanding, to report our arrival, and about 8 a. m., an officer in naval dress came along side, and ordered us on board the prison ship to be paroled. On our arrival here we were paraded in the presence of about 480 of our men, who had been taken previously to ourselves.

We were now examined as to age, height, etc., etc., by a clerk, and paraded by Captain Kempt of His Majesty's Royal Navy, who was very offensive in his enquiries; but from further acquaintance it was found to proceed from weakness of intellect. Our parole enjoined on us not to do any violence, to conform to the laws, etc., not to leave our quarters after sunset, and to keep within two miles of the church of Beauport, 5 miles north of Quebec, on the left bank of the St Lawrence.

About noon we landed at Beauport, and were turned loose among a people with whose language we were unacquainted (except Col. Boerstler, who spoke French.) The inhabitants received us very kindly. We had no other guide than to keep within 2 miles of the church steeple. Here we found on parole Brigadier Generals—Winchester of Tennessee, Chandler of Massachusetts, and Winder of Maryland; Colonel Lewis and Major Madison of Kentucky; and Major Van De Venter, Directing Quarter Master General, and Lieutenant S. Smith of the U. S. Navy, and about a dozen others, which with our addition of about 20, made a sad collection of long faces.

The village extends along the road about 3 miles, and from its commencement at the southern limit 3 miles from Quebec the ground gradually ascends to the northern boundary at the falls of Montmorency. The inhabitants, or "*habiton*" as it is pronounced in French, are native Canadians, with the exception of a few families, who at

this time, 1813, were Col. Du Bon, Col. Lewis de Sallibury (*sic*) and Col. du Chesney (!) of the militia, Col. Touch, a retired Colonel of the army, and S. Ryland, Secretary of State for the L. Province, who was active in the affair of Henry's conspiracy to gull the U. S. Government in 1810.

From Colonels Touch, de Sallibury, and DuChesney, most of our officers received continued kindness, and to those of us who properly appreciated such attentions, their kindness was unremitting, and continued to the last day of our sojourn among them. But to Colonel de Sallibury and family I cannot do justice, for the delicacy with which the Colonel evinced his sympathy for our misfortune.

Having taken a fancy to then: Van De Venter, Randall of the 14th, and myself, either could speak French or would soon learn to do so, not many days passed without an invitation of some kind being received from the family.

The Colonel was of the *ancien régime*, born in France. His father had been a Colonel in the army of Louis XVI, and our Colonel entered the French army before or about the period of the conquest, and came to Canada. He served many years in the Canadian Militia, and now has two sons, who are very gallant officers in the Embodied Militia.

Some of our officers messed together, others boarded with the "*habitan*," and some who were disposed to be dissipated, went to a tavern. Every one took his own course for amusement.

From the elevated part of the village, one has a beautiful view of the north side of Quebec, abruptly rising from the margin of the point where the River St Charles enters the St Lawrence. The city rises to a great height, the houses at a little distance appearing to stand on each other, and as most of them are covered with tin, they look very gay. I could not learn whether this tin was prepared for roofing, but it does not corrode any. The air is remarkably pure, and nothing seems to rust, for even the old men and women did not seem to fall off their hinges. As a humourous midshipman of our Navy used to say—they had shelves near the stoves where they laid old people during the winter, and in the spring they became animated and sallied forth again. The appearance of these old Canadians at their church on Sunday was very interesting. For here every body who is

able to leave home goes to church in the morning, but as in all Catholic countries, each one seeks his own amusement in the afternoon, and even thinks it no sin to take down his violin; and the family soon begin to foot it away, but with sobriety, and apparently with "pious mirth." And such is the force of example, either good or bad, that I have known some persons from the land of steady habits, after looking at this picture of domestic happiness for a while, at length stand up, and after a few awkward turns, begin to shuffle away as if they were Canadians born."

In subsequent entries in his journal, Major Roach tells of his attempt to escape and his being taken back to Beauport, where he and his companions were held for a year, and then exchanged.

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### AN ACCOUNT OF THE COINS.

#### COINAGES AND CURRENCY OF AUSTRALASIA.

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Through the courtesy of the author, W. Coleman P. Hyman, of Sydney, N. S. W., we have received a copy of the above work, which is a most interesting addition to numismatic study. It is in truth more than a record of the subject covered by the title of the book, for its value is enhanced by its ample extracts from the Records, of the Colony, making it a very reliable guide to its entire history. Its explanatory foot-notes are simply marvels of research. It appears that the earliest media of exchange in Australia were *rum* and *flour*.

The titles of the various chapters of the work, as follow: will serve to show how comprehensive a treatise it is:

1. *Barter, the Rum Currency, and Foreign Coin.*
2. *Early Paper Currency.*
3. *Spanish Dollars, and their Subsequent Displacement by British Silver Coin.*
4. *Silver Tokens: Copper (and Bronze) Tokens and Coins.*
5. *Later Paper Currency, including Bank Notes.*
6. *Gold Tokens and Coins, Agitation for Silver Coinage.*

Our readers will call to mind a controversy which took place with



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reference to the existence of an "AUSTRALIAN DUMP" which we were able to explain. \*

In Mr. Hyman's third chapter he tells of the introduction of Spanish dollars, and makes clear the connection of the "*holey dollar*" and the "*dump*". He says :

"There can be no doubt as to the extent of the Dollar circulation at the earlier times, and even within the last 40 years they have been current in various British Colonies, including Gibraltar, Malta, and Mauritius ; besides Abyssinia, Morocco, and Arabia. It is not long since that a remarkable find on the Australian coast was recorded. The *Cookstown Courier* (Queensland) of 10th March 1891, contained an account of the discovery (on the extreme outer reefs of the Great Barrier chain) of a large number of Spanish dollars. They were considered to be relics of an old Spanish vessel, which had presumably been wrecked in the vicinity, and the report states that "the immersion of many long years in the sea had completely rotted the bags or boxes, and partially changed the form of the coins, while the majority of them had become so incrustated together as to be almost inseparable. The action of decay and the beating waters, have worn the edges of some so as to give them the appearance of having been sharpened on a grindstone." The inscriptions on many were quite legible, and the pieces were of various dates, ranging from 1800 downwards."

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The whole number weighed about 160 lbs. This effect of sea-water on silver coins was also noticed in the case of the specie which to a large amount was lost in H. M. Frigate "*Hussar*" when that vessel was sunk in the River Hudson during the American Revolutionary War at the end of the last century. Though (in that case) most of the coins were gold, a large number were silver, and during the operations of the Frigate "*Hussar*" Company (formed to recover the treasure, if possible,) a few years ago, a mass of silver agglomerated by the action of the water was brought up, having some gold coins set in it.

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(\*) See *Canadian Antiquarian* Vol. X, page 130.

During the confusion as to their just value in these colonies, industrious individuals were, at the risk of self-sacrifice, putting forth their best efforts to privately increase the number in circulation, and though it was well known that dollars "manufactured in the colony" circulated, many were in doubt whether the statute-law of Great Britain rendered it punishable to counterfeit, or to pass counterfeit coin *of a foreign nation*, the fraudulent act of uttering a piece of pewter having been evidently overlooked.

Readily received by the early colonists and made current by the Governor's proclamation, the dollars were not numerous, as, though large numbers continually arrived, they were soon transmitted to various parts of the world. Besides the ordinary arrivals of chance shipments, special efforts were sometimes made by the Governors, to obtain amounts which, while of exceptional utility for the purposes of general currency, would also be a practical aid in ridding the colony of the fractional paper currency.

Strange as it may now seem, that though pounds, shillings and pence were always referred to as the coins of the colony by right, the dollars (when specie was forthcoming,) in reality formed the principal pieces in circulation. To follow their career in Australia from the first settlement until their withdrawal would occupy too much space, but the prominent phases of that career should receive attention. (1)

A special shipment was imported from Bengal in 1810. In reference to this, West says :—"The Crown paid the Dollar as five shillings, and received it as four shillings; thus gaining 20 per cent, in exchange for bills, and in settlement of accounts."

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(1) Under date 1804, the following is found in a "Concise History of Australia," by the Rev. George Grimm, M.A.—"An English whaling-ship, the *Polley*, carrying letters of marque and six twelve-pounders, came up, opposite the Heads, with a Dutch ship, the *Swift*, with six eighteen-pounders, and after two hours fighting compelled her to strike her colours. The prize with 20,000 Spanish dollars on board was taken into Port Jackson, condemned and sold.

The first and only effective method of rendering the re exportation of Dollars unprofitable, was that adopted by Governor Macquarie who, in directing the issue of the "*Holey-dollar*," was at the same time taking the first step towards the introduction of an Australian coinage. In the course of a comprehensive Proclamation dated the 1st of July 1813, we have the regulations for that issue. The following is a summary of the ordinance :

" WHEREAS, it has been deemed expedient to send a quantity of  
" dollars to this colony, for the purpose of assisting and impro-  
" ving the circulating medium thereof, to be issued in such  
" manner, for such value, and under such regulations, as in  
" the discretion of His Excellency the Governor will be best  
" calculated to effect the above-mentioned purpose,

" AND WHEREAS, His Excellency the Governor hath therefore thought  
" proper to direct that a small circular piece of silver shall be  
" struck out of the centre of every such dollar, which together  
" with the remaining part of every such dollar is intended to  
" be issued and circulated, at the value and under the regula-  
" tions hereinafter described,

" AND WHEREAS, such directions are now carrying into effect, and  
" such silver money will shortly be ready for issue :—It is  
" therefore, hereby ordered and directed that each and every  
" such small Circular piece of Silver, on one side of which is  
" impressed, with the figure of a Crown, the words "New  
" South Wales," above such impression, and the figures 1813  
" beneath the same, and on the other, or reverse side thereof  
" are impressed the words "Fifteen Pence," and having the  
" Edges thereof Grained (*i. e. Milled*) shall be current within  
" the territory for the sum of fifteen pence of lawful money of  
" the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, of English  
" value and Currency.

" And it is hereby, and by the authority aforesaid, further Ordered  
" and directed that every such larger Piece of Silver, being the  
" remaining part of every such Dollar, on the upper part of  
" one side, of which are impressed, at its inner rim, the words  
" Five Shillings," and at the lower part of the said Rim, on  
" the same side, is also impressed the figure of a Branch of

“ Laurel, (1) and on the reverse side of which, at the upper  
 “ part of the said inner Rim, are impressed the words “ New  
 “ South Wales,” and at the lower part of the said Rim the  
 “ figures 1813, the Edges of the said inner Rim being grained  
 “ on both sides, shall be current within this territory, and every  
 “ part thereof, for the sum of Five shillings of lawful money of  
 “ the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, of English  
 “ value and currency.

“ And it is hereby, and by the authority aforesaid, further ordered  
 “ and directed, and publicly made known, that from and after  
 “ the 30th day of September next ensuing the date hereof,  
 “ all animal food and Grain of every description, and  
 “ all other articles of Trade or Merchandise whatsoever,  
 “ received into His Majesty's Stores, in any part of  
 “ the territory, or otherwise supplied for the use of His  
 “ Majesty's Government, will be paid for in the above des-  
 “ cribed Silver Money, or such portions or quantities thereof  
 “ as may be tendered at the office of the Principal officer of  
 “ the Commissariat Department, and will be consolidated at the  
 “ value before mentioned, by Bills on the Right Honorable  
 “ the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, once  
 “ in every successive period of two years, and that public and  
 “ timely notice will be duly given in the *Sydney Gazette* and  
 “ *New South Wales Advertiser* of the two periods of such  
 “ intended Consolidation.”

Then follow clauses enacting that such pieces of Silver shall be legally current, and proclaiming penalties for counterfeiting, etc., etc.

As we have said, Mr. Hyman's book is a very valuable, and most interesting, addition to our Numismatic lore.

NOTE.—In the *Canadian Antiquarian*, Vol. 1, Second Series, page 98, will be found a notice of the issue of a *Holey Dollar*, in Prince Edward Island, authorized by the Governor and an Order in Council, but the contributor of that article, Mr. J. Metcalf, of North Wiltshire, P. E. I., speaks of their being current there “about 60 years ago,” which would give a later date than the Sydney issue.

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(1) There are two short branches of Laurel on the “Holey-Dollar.”

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**PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.**

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The monthly meetings have been held regularly, and have been uniformly well attended. Several interesting papers and communications have been read, and exhibits made by members, of coins and other curiosities, and a gratifying increase in the number of members is to be noted.

Amongst the papers and communications, may be recorded one by Mr W. D. Lighthall, from "*Extraits de mon Journal*," (1746) by Marquis de Lothinière, giving a version of the "*Chien d'Or*" story, favorable to Repentigny; one on The Early Settlement of Prince Edward Island, by Judge Alley, and a paper, "Against the Iroquois" by Mr B. Sulte.

Amongst the exhibits we note that of Mr McLachlan of a very complete set of Maundy money, from Charles II (1666) to date.

Mr Henry J. Tiffin exhibited his collection of Medals, comprising a very full set of British War Medals. Amongst them, one (perhaps unique in Canada) given by "Prince Charlie" to the Highland chiefs who espoused his cause, bearing, on the *obverse*, the bust of the Prince, and on the *reverse*, that of Flora Macdonald, there was also one of the Ancient Order of "Fleur de Lys," the Order of the Bath, the Order of the Immaculate Conception, and the Order of St. Louis.

Mr Birch presented to the Society two photographs, taken by himself, of the old "La Friponne" building.

Mr Breton presented a note of "*La Banque de Boucherville*" 1837, and he exhibited the plate from which these notes were printed.

The action of the Society with reference to preserving the Chateau de Ramezay for the purposes of a Public Library and National Museum, has been fully recorded in the present number, by Mr R. W. McLachlan.

At the October meeting Mr de Lery Macdonald called attention to the manner in which some of the Historical Tablets erected by the Society were treated--he thought that the Society should see that the tablets bearing its initials should be placed in proper position, and it was resolved that in future the Society should supervise the erection of the tablets with greater care.

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At a subsequent meeting, Mr Lighthall, chairman of the Tablet Committee, reported "That Messrs Reid & Co undertook to place the tablets—at a very reduced price, conditionally to their being erected during spare time—which accounts in a measure for the number of tablets still to be placed—however at the moment the principal landmarks were indicated by the presence of the tablets, there were still about 46 to be placed. Mr Lighthall further added that there were certain tablets which had been placed by private individuals for which the Society was not responsible.

Mr Beaudry stated that the "*Du Culvet*" tablet was discussed at a meeting, and it was decided to refuse the recognition of the Society to its erection.

It was moved and carried that the verbal report of the Tablet Committee be approved, and that the same committee be continued.

At the annual meeting held in December, reports were presented by the Treasurer and other officers; and officers for the year 1894, were elected, (see 2nd page of cover of this number). Mr Tiffin moved a vote of thanks to the retiring officers, to which Hon. Edward Murphy responded, briefly reviewing the work of the Society during the past year.

An interesting event in the history of the Society occurred in November last, when the first visit to Montreal of our new Governor General, the Earl of Aberdeen, furnished an opportunity to present an address to him, and His Excellency was pleased to accord to the Society, his mark of appreciation by becoming its Patron.

The following copy of the address and His Excellency's reply will serve as a record of the proceedings :--

To the Right Honorable Sir John Campbell Hamilton Gordon,  
Baronet of Nova Scotia, Earl of Aberdeen, Governor General of  
Canada, etc., etc.

May it please Your Excellency :

The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal, an association of those interested in history, desire to unite their voices to the unanimous welcome with which our people are everywhere greeting Your Excellency's arrival, and that of Lady Aberdeen.

The Society addresses you in the quality of a representative of the intellectual interest of Canada.

Its work for thirty years has lain in the collection and study of memorials of the past, the preservation of ancient landmarks, the publication of historical papers, books and a quarterly journal, the organization of exhibitions of historical portraits and relics, the erection of a series of historical tablets, the suggestion and ensurement of a worthy monument to the founder of the city, and the origination and encouragement of other public movements tending to spread a knowledge and respect for the history of our people.

In following these objects we believe we are not alone satisfying a taste for the sentimental, the curious or the artistic; but serving also the great cause of a united national sentiment, and harmonizing the races by developing the credit due to each in the making of the community.

Viewing the record which has come to us of Your Excellency and your late speech at Quebec, we feel encouraged to ask your countenance and assistance, which will be of value to the causes we serve.

Your predecessors have been Patrons of our Society, and we venture to pray you to honour us in like manner.

At the same time we desire to offer to Lady Aberdeen, whose brilliant career, like your own, has preceded her, the homage of a number of the literary men and historical students of Montreal, in the emblematic form of a group of the more recent books and pamphlets relating to the history of Montreal.

We offer them as a token of respect for a character we have already learned to esteem.

(Signed)

GEO. J. BABY, President,  
 ED. MURPHY, 1st Vice-President,  
 J. B. LEARMONT, 2nd Vice-President,  
 ALAIN C. MACDONALD, Secretary,  
 JOHN S. SHEARER, Treasurer,  
 CHAS H. BRANCHAUD,  
 R. W. MCLACHLAN,  
 DE LERY MACDONALD,  
 L. W. SICOTTE,  
 HY. MOTT,  
 M. DE BEAUJEU. } Council.

The following works on the History of Montreal were then presented to Lady Aberdeen, who was much pleased at the tribute thus paid to her literary taste, and she requested the members to inscribe their names in the volumes as a memento.

*Histoire de Longueuil*, Vincent and Godoin,  
*The Canadian Antiquarian* for 1892,  
*North American Indians*, by John Reade,

*Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, par Hon. L. R. Masson.

*The Louisburg Medals*, by R. W. McLachlan,

*Jubilee History of Trinity Church, Montreal*, by Henry Mott,

*Montreal after 250 years*, by W. D. Lighthall,

*Histoire de Montréal*, by LeBlond de Brumath,

*The Fall of New France*, by Gerald E. Hart,

*Lake St. Louis*, by D. Girouard, Q.C.,

*Le Héros de la Monongahéla*, by M. de Beaujeu,

*Colonel de Longueuil*, by ditto,

*Historical Catalogue of Portrait Exhibition, September 1892*, by A. C. de Lery Macdonald,

*Plans of Montreal*, by Honoré Beaugrand and others.

His Excellency's reply to the address was as follows :—

MR JUSTICE BABY and GENTLEMEN,

I can assure you that it is with very sincere pleasure and appreciation that we receive this address, appropriately illuminated, and embellished in a most artistic manner, quite apart from the embellishment of graceful and, I am sure, sincere expressions towards Lady Aberdeen and myself.

I recognize heartily, and with gratification, the loyalty to Our Gracious Sovereign which has prompted the presentation of this address. Such sentiments, I know, characterize not only your Society but all other societies which happily are increasing in numbers and influence in Canada.

It is not surprising as you remark in your address, that my predecessors in the high office which I have the honor to occupy, have testified appreciation of the excellent work of this Society. Need I add that it will be a particular pleasure to me to accept your kind invitation to become one of its patrons.

It appears to me that a special indebtedness towards your Society is, or ought to be, felt, on the part of the community; for this reason, among others, that notwithstanding the great interest of the researches for which this Society is formed, notwithstanding the great benefits to be derived from the study: in the stress of modern life it might, and indeed probably would, happen that these interesting branches of investigation would be passed over and ignored; the study of the relics of antiquity and of the early history of any country is not only one of great interest, is not only one about which educated persons ought to know something, but also conveys a lesson, and further than that, an inspiration, an incentive and a stimulus to patriotism in the best sense, and I suppose that few countries are more fortunate in this respect than Canada, because though she is not yet one of the



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most ancient countries, yet the space of time which has elapsed since Canadian history began, is by no means inconsiderable; and further, the early history of Canada is worthy of study and of perpetuation in the record of such a Society as yours. If I may be permitted to say so, I cannot imagine any one more worthy of occupying the post of President of your Society than Mr Justice Baby, especially in view of the fact that he is the representative of a family conspicuous in Canadian history. I think I am right in saying that one of the ancestors of Mr Justice Baby was indeed a heroine, one, whose name ought to be, and I am sure is, remembered with pride and veneration.

I only allude in an incidental manner, to this source of benefit, and the advantage arising from the operation of this Society. It is sufficient for me to say that both Lady Aberdeen and I heartily recognise the usefulness of your undertaking, and offer most cordial good wishes for its success.

The following members of the Society were present:—Hon. Judge Baby, President; Messrs. Rouer Roy, Q.C.; John S. Shearer, H. J. Tiffin, A. C. de Lery Macdonald, M. de Beaujeu, R. W. McLachlan, W. D. Lighthall, Charles H. Branchaud, H. Garneau, and Alain C. Macdonald.

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### WHAT BECOMES OF THE CENTS?

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The Washington correspondent of a Philadelphia newspaper furnishes the following interesting gossip about the U. S. Coinage:

What becomes of all the cents? It seems to be with them very much as it is with pins—nobody knows when and how they disappear. Yet they vanish in some fashion. Last year the Philadelphia Mint coined 94,000,000 of cents. It would take a good-sized building to hold so many, but they did not begin to supply the never-satisfied demand for more. Just now the establishment is hard at work manufacturing further supplies, and so it will continue.

Bronze cents are subject to more accidents than happen to any other United States coins. It is said that a penny changes hands in trade ten times for once that a dime passes from one pocket to another. Being of small value, these little pieces are not taken care of. There are a thousand ways in which they get out of circulation, and thus the minting of them has to be kept up continually. The metal

blanks from which they are made by the simple process of stamping, are turned out by contract by a factory in Connecticut at the rate of a thousand for \$1. As they come from the machines, fresh and new, they look like glittering gold.

One may get a notion of the number of pennies lost from the history of the old half-cents. Of these 800,000 were issued a few years ago. Where are they now! A few are in the cabinets of coin collectors. None have been returned to the Mint for recoinage, or are held by the Treasury. Nobody sees them in circulation. All of them, except some hundreds saved out by curio-hunters, have absolutely disappeared. Of the old copper pennies 119,000,000 still remain unaccounted for, save that once in a long while one sees a specimen. There are more than three millions bronze two-cent pieces somewhere, out of 4,500,000 of them that the Government issued. Of nickel three-cent pieces nearly two millions are yet outstanding, although it is almost never that one of them is come across.

In the Treasury one day recently the question came up as to the weight of a \$1 bill. Scales of perfect accuracy were brought into requisition and the surprising discovery made that twenty-seven \$1 notes weighed exactly as much as a \$20 gold piece. The latter just balances 540 grains. However, the bills weighed were perfectly crisp and new. Trial made with soiled notes, such as come in every day for redemption, showed that twenty-seven of them weighed considerably more than the \$20 coin. Every paper dollar on its way through the world continually accumulates dirt, perspiration and grease, so that after a year of use it is perceptibly heavier.

The actual weight of paper money which the Treasury sends by express every year to all parts of the country, is in the aggregate enormous. Since July 1st (1893) it has dispatched \$38,000,000, nearly all of it in small notes, to the South and West, for the purpose of moving the crops. The banks lend this cash to the farmers on whatever they grow, and thus the products of the fields are harvested and shipped.

Speaking of the redemption of paper money a very novel and interesting application was made the other day to the division of the Treasury which has this business in hand. The story, as it quickly came out, was as follows:—

An ingenious youth employed to sweep out a New York bank devoted attention, for a considerable period, to gathering up the crumbs from the tills in the shape of corners and other bits of notes such as get torn off, and fall about in any place where dollars are counted. In the course of time he got together a quantity of scraps of the sort, sufficient to fill a pint measure, and he sent them on to the Redemption Bureau at Washington in a box, with the explanation that they had been eaten by mice. He stated the amount at \$200, and asked for new bills in exchange. His little game was betrayed on the face of it, by the fact that the pieces forwarded represented, if anything, not less than \$1,000. The usual affidavit was demanded from him, swearing to his loss; but he had not thought of that requirement and lacked the nerve to give it, luckily for himself.

Undoubtedly the redemption division does sometimes get swindled, though not often. The women experts employed to examine the money sent in are wonderfully skilful. It is marvellous how deftly they will poke over a few charred fragments of notes, and set an accurate valuation upon them. The other day a poor woman in Ohio sent a corner of a \$20 bill, with a pitiful story about her baby's having burnt it. Hardly more was left than a fragment big enough to show the figures of the denomination, but she will get the money back. Mice are great destroyers of paper currency, and some of the most hopeless specimens that come in have been chewed up for beds by those little rodents. Sometimes a pill-box full of indistinguishable ashes will arrive, accompanied by a certificate stating the amount represented. Of course, such a case is hopeless.

Kitchen stoves burn up more every year than is lost in any other way, people will confide their hoards to them for hiding, and when they are lighted, the greenbacks go up in smoke. The greatest sum ever consumed by fire in this country was \$1,000,000. That amount went up in smoke at the Sub-Treasury, but the government was able to replace it at the cost of paper and printing. It has been estimated that one per cent of all the paper money issued is lost or destroyed. Of the old fractional currency it is reckoned that \$8,000,000 worth has been totally lost.

### LE FORT DES MESSIEURS.

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Ce fort a été appelé ainsi pour le distinguer de l'enceinte palissadée qui lui était contiguë et que l'on désignait sous le nom de *Fort des Sauvages*. Comme ils faisaient partie, tous deux, du même ouvrage de défense, on les voit mentionnés sous la dénomination commune de *Fort de la Montagne*.

Le *Fort des Messieurs* fut construit en 1694 par l'abbé François Vaehon de Belmont, prêtre de Saint-Sulpice, et à ses propres frais.

Il se composait : 1<sup>o</sup> de quatre courtines, ou murs en pierre, garnies de meurtrières et flanquées d'une tourelle à chaque angle ; 2<sup>o</sup> du fort proprement dit, ou château, placé au centre et qui servait de résidence aux missionnaires ; 3<sup>o</sup> de la chapelle qui s'élevait en face du château, le chevet adossé au milieu de la courtine, entre les deux tourelles.

La chapelle a été démolie en 1796, et une porte cochère a été percée dans la courtine, comme on voit sur la photographie.

En 1825, le château fut exhausse d'un étage, mais on lui conserva son aspect primitif. En 1854, il a été remplacé par le vaste édifice qui renferme le Collège et le Grand Séminaire. Les deux tourelles situées en arrière, au pied de la montagne, ont été démolies en même temps.

De tout le fort des Messieurs, il ne reste plus que les deux tourelles qu'on aperçoit dans la photographie, et la muraille qui les relie. Elles ont donc deux cents ans d'existence et se trouvent, après le Séminaire de Montréal, les plus anciennes constructions de la ville.

Dans la tour de l'ouest se tenait l'école des petites filles sauvages, et dans celle de l'est résidaient les Sœurs de la Congrégation, chargées de l'enseignement.

En 1824, la dernière fut transformée en chapelle : déjà, en 1796, on y avait transporté les restes, pieusement recueillis, de deux "enfants de la forêt," l'aîné et la petite fille. Le premier avait été chrétien aussi fervent qu'intépide guerrier : la seconde avait eu le bonheur, bien rare pour les filles de sa nation, d'être admise dans l'institut de la Sœur Bourgoys. Les missionnaires, voulant sauver leurs noms



de l'oubli, avaient fait poser des épitaphes sur leurs tombes. J'en donne ici la transcription, telle qu'on la lit sur les murs de la petite chapelle.

A droite :

Ici reposent  
les restes mortels  
de  
FRANÇOIS THORONHONGO  
Huron  
Baptisé par le Révérend  
Père Brébeuf  
Il fut par sa piété et par sa probité l'exemple  
des Chrétiens et l'admiration des Infidèles.  
Il mourut  
Âgé d'environ cent ans,  
le 11 Avril, 1000.

et gauche :

Ici reposent  
les restes mortels  
de  
MARIE THÉRÈSE GANNENBAQUA,  
de la  
Congrégation de Notre-Dame.  
Après avoir exercé pendant treize ans l'office  
de maîtresse d'école à la montagne, elle  
mourut en réputation de grande  
vertu, âgé de 20 ans le  
25 Novembre, 1003.

(Extrait des manuscrits du Commandeur Jacques Viger que M. l'Abbé Verreau a eu la complaisance de mettre à ma disposition.)

P. S. MURPHY,  
M. C. Inc. Pub.

MONTRÉAL, Mai 1894.

## LE FORT DES MESSIEURS.

(Translation.)

This fort was so named to distinguish it from the palisaded enclosure which adjoined it, and which was known under the name of *Fort des Sauvages*. As they each formed a part of the same work of defence, we see them mentioned under the common name of *Fort de la Montagne*.

The *Fort des Messieurs* was built in 1694 by l'Abbé François Vachon of Belmont, a priest of St Sulpice, at his own expense. It was composed: firstly of four curtains or walls of stone, furnished with loop-

holes and flanked by a turret at each angle ; secondly, of the fort properly speaking, or *château*, situated in the centre, which served for a residence for the missionaries ; thirdly, of the chapel which rose in front of the *château*, the *chœur* of which was built back in the middle of the curtains, between the two turrets.

The chapel was demolished in 1796, and a great gate was made in the curtain as can be seen in the photograph.

In 1825, another storey was added to the *château*, but its primitive appearance was preserved. In 1854, it was replaced by the vast building which encloses the College and the Grand Seminary. The two turrets situated in the rear, at the foot of the mountain, were demolished at the same time. Of the whole *Fort des Messieurs* nothing remains but the two turrets, which can be seen in the photograph, and the wall that connects them. They have thus been standing two hundred years and are, after the Seminary of Montréal, the oldest buildings in the city.

In the western turret, the school for little Indian girls was held, and in the eastern one the Sisters of the Congregation resided, who took charge of their instruction.

In 1824, the latter was turned into a chapel ; before, in 1796, they had carried there the remains, piously exhumed, of two of the " children of the forest," an old man and a little girl. The former had been as fervent a Christian as he had been an intrepid warrior ; the latter had had the good fortune, very rare for the girls of her nation, of having been admitted into the Institute of Sister Bourgeoys. The missionaries, wishing to save their names from being forgotten, had had epitaphs put on their tombs. I give here the transcription, as it reads on the walls of the little chapel. (*see ante.*)

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### CANADIAN COINAGE OF 1894.

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The coinage of the present year is now in circulation. There are cent pieces in bronze, and five, ten, and twenty-five cent pieces in silver.

The design is exactly the same as that prevailing since 1870, and that too, although two changes have been made in the coinage of the

mother country. This constant reproduction of the same design for twenty-five years is not conducive to the fostering of numismatic taste.

The old generation who call to remembrance the old copper circulation as a veritable mine in which, now and then, rarities could be discovered, is passing away. The new generation can learn nothing from our coins, either of history or of art. To them a coin is only a piece of money and nothing more.

The proposition to utilize our extensive nickel mines by striking the cents, and possibly the five cent pieces in that metal, seems to have been forgotten like a passing fancy.

R. W. McL.

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#### THE ABERDEEN GOLD MEDAL.

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Through the courtesy of Mr Frank J. Day, I have had the pleasure of inspecting this new addition to our Canadian series of medals. It is an exquisite specimen of medallie art and will sustain the high reputation of Mr Allan Wyon, whose name appears in the exergue. The obverse bears the heads of the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen, (accolated)—they are marvellous likenesses; and on the reverse we have the arms of the Gordon-Aberdeen family, with the motto, "*Fortuna ne nimium sequatur*" and a modest inscription, simply, Earl of Aberdeen, Governor-General of Canada.

Mr. Day won the medal at McGill College, and is not only justly proud of his achievement, but his pleasure is enhanced by the possession of the first Aberdeen medal which has arrived.

This number of the ANTIQUARIAN was so far advanced in the printer's hands, as to preclude the opportunity of presenting a photograph of the medal, an omission we hope to be able to overcome in our next issue.

H. M.





THE  
CANADIAN ANTIQUARIAN  
AND  
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

NEW SERIES.—VOLUME III.

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