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Alphonse R. Pelletier
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THE
CANADIAN ANTIQUARIAN
AND NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

MEDALS AWARDED TO CANADIAN INDIANS

BY R. W. McLACHLAN

WHILE it may be impossible now to give the original motives or circumstances which led to the adoption of medals as a valuable accessory to intercourse with the North American Indians, it may be inferred that they grew out of similar uses among the peoples of older lands. As the gift of medals came to be more and more appreciated by the Indians, their value, as a form of reward or as a means of conciliation, was recognized by governments, and that too for several distinct purposes.

1st. As a badge by which friendly Indians could be recognized. In some instances, no Indians were allowed within the settlements unless they wore their medals.

2nd. To attach the Indians to the interests of the colony, as is shown by the following extract from a *Memoire du Roy aux Sieurs Marquis de Vaudreuil et Raudot :* "Sa Majesté a accordé trente médailles d'argent, et 10 de vermeil, pour faire des présents aux Sauvages. Elle les envoie au dit Sieur de Vaudreuil et Elle désire qu'elles soient distribuées aux chefs des Sauvages qui lui sont les plus affectionnés et dont on peut tirer le plus de secours." (1)

3rd. As a reward for services rendered. This is exemplified in a letter written by Vaudreuil in 1722: "J'ai reçu la lettre que le conseil m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 7 juin dernier et les douze médailles avec le portrait du Roy, sçavoir quatre grandes et huit petites qui y estoient jointes. Je continuerai d'avoir attention de ne point prodiguer cette grâce parmi les sauvages et de ne les donner qu'à ceux qui les auront méritées par leur attachement et leurs services pour la nation." (2)

4th. To secure the services or the neutrality of the Indians in a war about to be declared or actually in progress. This phase will be clearly shown in describing the medals of the war with the United States, 1776-80.

5th. As a reward for valour or services in war. This will be detailed in describing the medals of the war of 1812-14.

6th. As certificates of treaties agreed to, a use exemplified by the North-West Treaty Medals.

(1) Collection des documents relatifs à la Nouvelle-France. Vol. II, page 514.

(2) Archives, Canada, Correspondance Générale, Vol. 44, folio 364.

The date when medals were introduced among the aborigines of this continent is lost in the dim distance of the early settlements, for the first, so employed, bore no date or special design; nor did those who participated in this act consider it an event worthy to be recorded. Medals struck to commemorate some episode in the life of the king or event in the history of the nation were used. The earliest mention of medals in connection with Canadian Indians is found in the *Relation de ce qui s'est passé au Canada du 27 novembre 1670 jusqu'au depart du vaisseau en novembre 1671*, which mentions: "Un sauvage du Sault, (Caughnawaga), nommé Louis Atouata, filleul du Roy, qui conserve chèrement la médaille dont Sa Majesté lui a fait présent."(1) This shews that the practice was well established at the time. The earliest known special medal, issued in America, appears to have been struck about the year 1670. This was authorized by the colony of Virginia to be given to the friendly Indians permitting them to come within the settlements. It bears on the obverse the head of Charles II and on the reverse the Royal Arms with a representation of a tobacco plant. (2)

Canadian medals for the Indians, with a single exception, bore the head of the reigning sovereign on the obverse; and generally the Royal Arms or some other such attribute of royalty on the reverse. Usually neither the devise nor the inscription, had any

(1) Archives, Canada, Correspondance Générale, Vol. IV.

(2) "American Cotemporary Medals," New-York, 1894, page 26.

reference to the object for which the medals were struck.

Size was of great importance to the red man who was no admirer of miniature medals. Some were struck exceeding three inches in diameter. These were for the great chiefs, for there were smaller medals for lesser lights. Often there were three sizes of the same design and issue, measuring seventy-five, sixty and thirty-eight millimetres respectively. In one instance there were five sizes, ranging from seventy-five to thirty-one millimetres. These represented so many different grades of chiefs or so many degrees in value of services.

The metal, in which they were struck, was usually silver; although as is seen by an authority already cited. (1) Vermeil (silver gilt) was occasionally used; and the minister, in a memorandum of necessary expenses (for Canada), states that: "Il faut leur envoyer quelques médailles d'or." (2). George IV gave a medal in gold, although it could not have been a specially struck one. (3)

While we may be inclined to believe that more

(1) See page 2.

(2) Collection des documents relatifs à la Nouvelle-France. Vol. III, page 465.

(3) In the portrait gallery of the Château de Ramezay is an engraving of an Indian's portrait, on which is the following long inscription: "Nicholas Vincent Tsawanhonhi, principal Chief of the Huron Indians established at La Jeune Lorette, near Quebec, habited in the costume of his country as when presented to His Majesty George IV on the 7th of April 1825, with three other chiefs of his nation, by Generals Brock and Carpenter; the chief bears in his hand the wampum collar on which is marked the tomahawk given by His Majesty George III. The gold medal on his neck was the gift of His Majesty on this presentation."

minor than great medals were distributed, as there could not help but be more lesser than "Great Chiefs"; this fact is not borne out by the number of existing medals; the larger medals are by far the more abundant. (1) This may, in a measure, be accounted for by the fact that the minor chiefs more readily parted with their medals; and that, too, at a time when there were few collectors in the country to secure and hand them down to posterity, while the great chiefs' medals passed from father to son as an insignia of office. They have thus been preserved to the present time when the demand has so raised the price of these medals as to tempt even the chiefs to part with their treasured heir-looms. Old silversmiths relate that, as late as sixty years ago, the Indians used to bring in their medals to have them made over into gorgets and armlets; which ornaments were greatly esteemed among the dusky denizens of the forests.

Taking up these medals chronologically, the first in order is

THE MEDALS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

The earliest of this series, which can, with any certainty, be attributed to Canada, is a medal or rather five different sized medals, all bearing the same design, dated 1693. On the obverse is displayed the head of Louis XIV, with flowing hair, and on the reverse those of his son the dauphin and the three

(1) For instance, I have in my own collection six of the largest, three of the medium but only one of the smallest. Other collectors have a like or even less proportion.

sons of the latter. No device, at that time, appeared more appropriate, for the reverence of the Indians, than the portrait of the King and his successors. The medal, in the catalogue of the Musée Monétaire, is claimed as having been issued to commemorate the birth of the Duc de Berri, the Dauphin's youngest son. (1) This is evidently an error for that event occurred seven years earlier than the date given on the medal. There is a similar medal, dated 1686, giving the day and month as well as the year of the infant Duke's birth, which appears to have been struck for that occasion. It was the similarity in the design which led to the error in the catalogue. Compiled, as it was, at a much later date, by men who do not appear to have had access to the proper archives, many of the subjects are wrongly stated. Specimens of the birth medal were no doubt first awarded to some of the Indians, and the design, proving acceptable, was adopted and especially struck in a regular series of sizes, for general distribution. The following extract from a letter, by Madame Duplessis Ste. Hélène, of the Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec, dated the 17th October, 1723, fully bears out this contention.

"Le Roy Louis 14 avoit envoyé des médailles d'argent asséz grandes où son portrait étoit d'un côté et de l'autre étoit celuy du Dauphin, son fils, et des 3 princes, ses enfans, pour donner à ceux qui se distingueroient dans la guerre, on y a ajouté depuis un ruban couleur de feu large de 4 doigts, cela

(1) Catalogue des Poinçons, Coins et Médailles du Musée Monétaire; Paris, 1833; page 193.

est fort estimé chés eux ... Quand il y meurt quelque chef, on le fait enterrer honorablement, une partie des troupes est sous les armes, on fait sur sa fosse plusieurs décharges de mousquets, on met sur sa bière une épée croisée de son foureau et la médaille en question attachée dessus." (1) There are five sizes of this medal which indicates a general distribution to all grades of Indians from the simple warrior to the "Great Chief." As thus appears, a large number of these medals have been issued, it would naturally be inferred that specimens could still be obtained, but so far only one original is known — the largest size — now preserved in the museun of the Université Laval, at Quebec. No originals of the smaller sizes have come down to the present time, and but for the fact that the dies have been preserved at the Musée Monétaire, all knowledge of them would have been lost. Fortunately restrikes can easily be had, from which it is possible to describe them accurately. The disappearance of the French Indian medals can be accounted for by the fact that when an Indian changed his allegiance, he changed his medal also. Thus de Vaudreuil in a report of a conference with delegates from the Iroquois, on the 23rd December 1756, states that: "Koué, chef Ounécote, en remettant au gouverneur deux médailles anglaises, fait la déclaration suivante: Mon père, nous ne pouvons garder ces deux médailles que nous avons eu cy devant la légèreté de recevoir de notre frère l'Anglois pour marque

(1) "Collection de lettres de Madame Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène, religieuse de l'Hotel-Dieu de Québec," in "La Revue Canadienne" 1875, page 109.

de distinction. Nous reconnaissons que ces médailles ont été la véritable source de notre égarement et qu'elles nous ont employés dans des mauvaises affaires. Nous nous en dépouillons, nous les rejetons pour ne plus pençer à l'Anglois. (2) Such were the scenes that took place after the cession when the Indians abjured allegiance to the French King and gave up their medals.

Towards the close of the long reign of Louis XIV the reverse of the medal was changed, and in place of the bust of the Dauphin, (who died in 1712) and his sons, appeared the personification of Honour and Courage. This medal is thus referred to by M. Zay: "Aux yeux des Indiens, le sujet de cette médaille symbolisait l'amitié des Français et des Indiens; ceux-ci représentés par le personnage simplement drapé, ceux-là personnifiés par le guerrier romain." (1) No original of this medal is known but restrikes have been obtained at the Musée Monétaire.

The same device for the reverse was continued by Louis XV. The obverse of course bore the bust of the new king. This medal is described by Père Roubaud, Jesuit missionary among the Abenakis, in a letter written from Saint François, 21st October, 1757; in which, while describing a large assemblage of warriors, he states that: "Les chefs et capitaines ne sont

(1) Archives quoted by E. Zay, in an article on "Médailles d'honneur pour les Indiens" in "l'Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique" 1889, page 301. I may here state that I am indebted to M. Zay's article for a good deal of the references here given.

(2) "Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique." 1899. page 296.

distingués ceux-ci par la hausse-col et ceux-là que par un médaillon qui représente d'un côté le portrait du roi et au revers Mars et Bellone qui se donnent la main avec cette devise: *virtus et honor.* (1) Although in a quotation already cited de Vaudreuil acknowledges the receipt of medals in two sizes, only one is known, and that the medium one. There are two specimens still extant one is in the collection of the Library of Parliament, at Ottawa, and the other in the possession of the Hon. L. E. Baker, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. The reverse of this medal is mentioned in the catalogue of the Musée Monétaire (2) combined with the reverse of another medal and described as "Prix universel des Arts." This is evidently a mistake as no prize medal of the kind would have been issued without the bust of the king for obverse.

1 *Obv.* LUDOVICUS MAGNUS REX CHRISTIANISSIMUS. Undraped bust of Louis XIV to the right, laureated; under the bust H. ROUSSEL. F.

Rev. FELICITAS DOMUS AUGUSTAE. Four busts; above is the bust of the Dauphin to left with SEREN. DELPH. below it; at the left youthful bust to the right, inscription LUD. D. BURG.; at the right youthful bust to the left inscription PHIL. D. AND. below very young bust to the left, inscription CAR. D. BITUR. | M. DC. XCIII. | H. ROVSSEL. F.; size 75 millimetres.

(1) Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères, Toulouse, 1810, tome III, page 192.

(2) Catalogue du Musée Monétaire, Paris, 1833, page 274.

2 *Obv.* LVDOVICVS • MAGNVS • REX • CHRISTIANISS laureated and armoured bust of Louis XIV to the right under the bust M. MOLART. F.

Rev. Similar to last except that the engravers name is wanting; size 60 m.

3 *Obv.* Similar to No. 1, except that the head is not laureated; the name of the engraver is J. MAVGER. F.

Rev. As No. 2; size 41 m.

4 *Obv.* Similar to No. 3 except that the engraver's name is I. DOLLIN. F.

Rev. As No. 2 but the date is 1693; size 36 m.

5 *Obv.* LUDOVICUS. MAGNUS. REX. Undraped bust of Louis XIV to right under the bust T B in monogram.

Rev. Similar to No. 4. Size 31 m.

6 *Obv.* LVDOVICVS. XIIII. D.G. FR. ET. NAV. REX Draped bust of Louis XIV to the right with long hair falling over the shoulders.

Rev. HONOS ET VIRTUS On the left is a laureated and draped figure clasping the hand of a Roman soldier on the right; each holds a spear in his left hand; at their feet is a horn of plenty; on the ground is the letter W; size 57 m.

7 *Obv.* LUDOVICUS XV REX CHRISTIANISSIMUS Laureated and draped bust of Louis XV to the right.

Rev. Similar to last but there is no engraver's initial; size 59 m.

THE CONQUEST MEDAL

Is in many ways the most interesting of the series. In the first place it departs altogether from the conventional designs, that had hitherto prevailed, and that afterwards continued to be employed. It bears a view of Montreal where was enacted the final scene in the struggle which brought Canada under British rule. Sir William Johnson who had won the relentless Iroquois to the British side and kept them there during a "half century of conflict," raised a large band of these Indians for service in the war for the conquest of Canada and joined the army that invested Montreal. Although they did little if any fighting it was decided to give a medal to each of the war chiefs who took part in the expedition. The distribution of these medals is described, in a private diary kept, by Sir William Johnson during a journey to and from Detroit. Under date of 21st July, 1761, he states that: "We got every thing on board the vessel, then met the Onondaga Chiefs, when assembled I bid them welcome, condoled their losses agreeable to custom, acquainted them with the reasons for my not calling them to a general council since my return from Canada... Then delivered the medals sent me by the general for those who went with us to Canada last year, being twenty-three in number." (1) I am able to give an illustration of one of these medals awarded nearly one hundred and forty years ago to the warrior chief of the Onondagas, whose name it bears. The medal was evidently

(1) Life of Sir William Johnson, Abany, 1841, Vol. II, page 435.

made in America, which by the way, accounts for the departure from the prevailing conventional design. Stone (1) states that it was the intention to display the arms of Sir William Johnson on the medal, but somehow what purported to be a view of Montreal but altogether unlike the city at that date, (2) was adopted instead. It was pure imagination such as the New York artist, who designed the medal, from a verbal description, conceived the city to have been. The reverse was left plain so that the name of the chief and that of the nation to which he belonged could be engraved thereon. The size was much smaller than that ordinarily given to the great chiefs.

8 *Obv.* MONTREAL A view of fortified town, showing five church spires, (3) with water in front in which there is an island; to the right on a fort is a flag displaying the cross of St. George; *Ex.* DCF in a small oval. Edge corded.

Rev. Plain (for the inscription); size 45 m.

This medals appears to be cast. The specimen in my collection is inscribed: "TKAHONWAGHSE ONONDAGOS" The "DCF" is no doubt the silversmith's stamp.

(1) Life of Sir William Johnson, in a foot note.

(2) In a book entitled "Old times in the Colonies," New York, 1881, at page 438, a view of Montreal in 1760, "from an old print," unlike that on the medal is given which is as untrue in detail as only two churches are shown the parish and the Jesuits'.

(3) These five spires, starting from the east, represent the Bonsecours, Jesuits', Parish, Recollets', and the Grey Nuns' churches.

A MARRIAGE MEDAL

Was especially struck, in 1761, for distribution among the Canadian Indians on the occasion of the marriage of George III. This event, coming so soon after the conquest, was considered a fitting occasion for binding the hoards of savages, in the newly acquired territories, to the interest of the king by the presentation of a commemorative medal. Its size, the smallest of the three, the one usually presented to ordinary warriors, shows, that it was struck for general distribution and not as a reward or treaty medal. Still it is very scarce, not more than three or four being known.

9 *Obv.* No inscription; busts of George III on the left and Queen Charlotte on the right, facing, a curtain or canopy, tied with cord and tassels over then heads.

Rev. The royal arms crowned, first and fourth Great Britain, second France, third Ireland; size 38 m.

THE CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC MEDALS

Were awarded in connection with a confederacy of the Western Indians against British rule. In 1763, Pontiac, the organizer and chief of the confederacy of western tribes, invested Detroit, and, as one by one of the posts along the lakes fell into his hands, he expected, after the capture of this sole barrier to his progress eastwards, to swoop down upon the scattered colonies and drive the white man from the continent.

In 1764 a large concourse of Indians met at Niagara, and, although no general treaty of peace was entered into, treaties were signed with a number of tribes separately, one or two of which were with Canadian tribes. It was on this occasion that what is known as, the peace medal was struck. A specimen of this medal was ploughed up on a farm near Berlin, Ont., some years ago. The farmer thinking it was an old piece of tin allowed it to lie exposed on the ground a whole year before he took the trouble to pick it up. It is now in the cabinet of his son M. C. Steubing of Berlin. The farm, where it was found, was once an old Indian burying ground. The defection of so many tribes, in 1764, led Pontiac to give up the contest and enter into a treaty of peace in 1765. It was on this occasion that he and his chiefs received what is known as the lion and wolf medal. This represents a lion, in the foreground, lying watching a prowling wolf, which is seeking to destroy civilization represented by a church and school house nestling among trees. This is the most appropriate design on any Indian medal. One of these medals, found in the grave of Otussa (Pontiac's son), is now in the cabinet of the United States mint at Philadelphia (1). A considerable number of these medals must have been struck as two reverse dies were used. The two varieties were found in 1889 buried in one grave, in Michigan near St. Joes River. With them were the chief's bones and some other Indian trinkets.

(1) American Contemporary Medals, New York, 1894, page 238, note.

(To be continued)

GAULTIER DE LA VERENDRYE

PAR G. BABY

EN général, les Canadiens aiment à rendre à leurs hommes distingués les hommages et les honneurs qui paraissent leur appartenir. Nos historiens modernes se sont fait un consciencieux devoir de raconter à qui mieux mieux, les mérites, la bravoure, le patriotisme des Lemoyne, d'Iberville et de Bienville en particulier, des Joliet, Hertel, Godfroy, de Beaujeu, Denys, de Vaudreuil, de Lotbinière, Duchesnay, de St-Ours, de Lanaudière, de Contrecoeur, de Gaspé, de Salaberry, etc., etc., et la postérité leur en saura gré. Il en est un pourtant, faut-il le constater, qu'on semble avoir relégué presque dans l'oubli. Par ci, par là, s'élève bien un éloge passager à son adresse, mais nulle part on ne lit que sa place dans l'histoire du Canada doit être l'une des premières, à raison de la gloire insigne qu'il a fait rejaillir sur son pays par ses indisputables déeouvertes.

Et aujourd'hui, quand le Nord-Ouest prend de si grands développements, que ces immenses et riches contrées se couvrent de population et que la civilisation y exerce ses bienfaisants effets, "le temps est bien arrivé, ainsi que l'observe si judicieusement l'auteur de l'*Ouest Canadien*, de ressusciter la mémoire de l'illustre découvreur canadien, dont le nom doit être connu enfin de ses compatriotes et loué comme une de nos gloires nationales, lui maltraité, calomnié pen-

dant sa vie, par des jaloux et des ambitieux, et méconnu de ses contemporains."

Si de La Vérendrye avait appartenu aux Etats-Unis, qu'il en aurait été autrement ! Son nom eut été depuis longtemps, porté haut et loin. Dans l'impossibilité de se l'approprier, n'avons-nous pas été témoins, à diverses reprises, de la part de leurs écrivains, voyageurs et autres, tout en ignorant systématiquement de La Vérendrye, d'audacieuses tentatives de s'attribuer une partie, au moins, de ses précieuses découvertes ! Cela en dit beaucoup, évidemment. Songeons donc un peu à ce compatriote qui, pour son Roi et la gloire de son pays, a poussé en avant jusqu'aux frontières les plus éloignées dans l'Ouest, là où jamais un membre de la race blanche n'avait encore osé mettre le pied. Jaloux de conserver sa renommée, n'allons pas permettre que d'autres s'en emparent, ou diminuent le moindrement sa gloire.

De La Vérendrye et ses découvertes nous appartiennent ; c'est un héritage qu'il ne nous est pas permis, si nous sommes dignes de nos ancêtres, de laisser entamer, de quelque côté que ce soit. Oui, à nous incombe la belle tâche de *ressussiter* la mémoire de notre héros, et de placer sa statue sur un haut et riche piédestal.

Pierre Gaulthier de La Vérendrye vit le jour aux Trois-Rivières, en Canada, en 1686. Il était fils de Réné Gaulthier de la Vérendrye, seigneur de Varennes, et de Marie Boucher de Boucherville. Tout jeune encore, le 29 octobre 1712, à Québec, à son

retour d'Europe, il épousa Marie-Anne Dandonneau du Sablé, la soeur de Madame Jacques Babie de Ranville. Plein de feu et d'intrépidé, à peine comptait-il dix-huit ans que déjà il avait pris part à deux hardies campagnes : l'une dans la Nouvelle-Angleterre et l'autre dans l'Ile de Terre-Neuve. En 1709, il combattait à Malplaquet où il se battit comme un lion, ne recevant pas moins de neuf blessures. Après quelques années passées dans l'armée française, dans laquelle servait aussi un sien frère, en qualité d'officier, n'ayant en vue aucun avancement, il se rapatria, et, en 1728, il commandait au poste de Nipigon, sur les bords du lac Supérieur. Ce fut là que lui arrivèrent ses premiers renseignements sur les grands pays de l'Ouest.

Depuis longtemps déjà, il avait conçu le projet d'aller porter le drapeau fleurdelisé jusqu'à la mer de l'Ouest, et d'agrandir d'autant les domaines de son souverain ; cette idée le poursuivait incessamment, sans trève ni relâche ; il prit donc la résolution d'exécuter ce qui avait été de tout temps le rêve de sa vie.

Issu d'une race fortement trempée, petit-fils de Pierre Boucher, l'illustre gouverneur des Trois-Rivières, de La Vérendrye était l'homme qu'il fallait pour conduire à bonne fin une telle entreprise.

C'était en 1730, ayant fait part de ses louables desseins au marquis de Beauharnois, alors gouverneur de la Nouvelle-France, esprit élevé et judicieux, ce fonctionnaire se hâta de les approuver, et appuya de La Vérendrye de son influence auprès de la cour de France, faisant remarquer, à celle-ci, en même

temps, l'extrême importance que pouvait avoir une telle mission.

Le commandement de cette entreprise lui fut donné, mais elle devait être à ses frais et dépens : le gouvernement ne faisait que la sanctionner.

Les bruits confirmés de son expédition, ne tardèrent pas à lui créer bon nombre d'ennemis, surtout parmi ceux qui, mesquins et égoïstes, incapables de sentir et de comprendre une idée patriotique comme celle qui animait à un aussi haut degré notre aventureux pionnier, croyaient voir leur échapper une occasion sûre de s'enrichir à laquelle ils n'avaient jamais songé ! Grande fut donc l'excitation dans ce cercle, et les commentaires malveillants commencèrent à avoir leur cours, ils pleuvaient de tous côtés. Les jaloux et les désappointés ne pouvaient croire que M. de La Vérendrye fut mû par d'autres mobiles que le désir de faire fortune ; ils le jugeaient par eux-mêmes, ce qui n'est pas nouveau, comme l'on sait.

Cependant, rien ne put arrêter son ardeur. Après s'être associé, bien malheureusement, quelques marchands de Montréal pour l'aider à supporter les frais de son entreprise, il se hâta sans sourciller, de terminer les préparatifs du départ.

Au printemps de 1731, il s'embarqua, à Lachine, pour son périlleux et lointain voyage. Son parti de découvreurs comprenait à peu près une cinquantaine de hardis Canadiens, endurcis aux privations de toute espèce, ainsi qu'aux rigueurs des hivers sibériens qu'ils auraient à subir. Ses trois fils et M. de la Jammeraie, beau-frère de Madame d'Youville, de

sainte mémoire, son neveu, l'accompagnaient. Il devait avoir la douleur de perdre celui-ci et un de ses enfants, au cours de ses voyages : le premier tué par les sauvages, et l'autre, victime de la noire misère.

Notre intention n'est point de suivre de La Vérendrye dans sa course à la recherche de cette fameuse mer de l'Ouest, de faire connaître ses privations, ses souffrances de toutes sortes, ses troubles, ses ennuis, ses dangers, soit avec les nations sauvages, soit avec les hommes dont se composait son parti, les perfidies, les trames et les complots ourdis pour amener sa chute, le faire rappeler et lui faire manquer ainsi la tâche patriotique qu'il s'était imposée. Non, cela demanderait un cadre plus vaste que celui qui nous est accordé ici. Tout ce que nous désirons dire en quelques mots, c'est la gloire de cet homme éminent, en ajoutant qu'elle rejaillit sur nous d'un vif éclat. Nous dirons aussi, combien il serait désirable que ce noble et valeureux Canadien reçut enfin la récompense que lui et ses courageux fils ont si amplement méritée.

De La Vérendrye avait déjà atteint les magnifiques plaines de l'Ouest, descendu et remonté les larges rivières qui les arrosent, entr'autres la rivière Rouge, traversé les nombreux lacs qu'on y voit, jalonné au nom du Roi, ces contrées jusqu'alors inconnues de forts et de fortins ; ses fils, ses compagnons intimes, avaient été aux sources du Missouri, découvert les Montagnes-Rocheuses ; il ne lui restait plus qu'un pas à faire, ajouterons-nous, pour arriver à mettre la main sur la récompense que méritait les dix-huit années si énergiquement consacrées à la réalisation de son généreux projet.

Rien jusque-là n'avait pu en aucune manière, changer ses résolutions. Usé physiquement, criblé de dettes, abreuvé de mille et une vexations, calomnié et en butte à d'innombrables injustices, il était plus que jamais disposé à faire le dernier pas pour saisir le triomphe.

Durant tout ce temps, ses ennemis n'étaient pas demeurés les bras croisés, bien au contraire, mais ils n'avaient guère trouvé de sympathies chez les gouverneurs de la colonie. Il en fut autrement, à l'arrivée du marquis de la Jonquière qui, pour des raisons personnelles, assure-t-on, de suite prêta l'oreille à leurs fausses accusations. De La Vérendrye fut rappelé à Québec où il s'empressa de revenir. Alors, le commandement de l'expédition lui fut ravi et donné à un autre qui ne tarda guère à s'apercevoir, à sa grande confusion, que ses complots, inspirés et soutenus par de hauts fonctionnaires, ne lui rapportait rien de ce qu'il espérait, quand il fit censurer et démettre de La Vérendrye.

L'expédition en resta là où ce dernier, le coeur brisé, l'avait abandonnée. On n'avait pas su, tel que de La Vérendrye l'avait fait, surmonter les obstacles de toute nature qui surgissaient à chaque pas dans ce pays de forêts, de lacs et de rivières, habité par diverses tribus sauvages non encore christianisées et encore moins civilisées. Il ne fut plus question de ses lenteurs délibérées à pousser de l'avant ses découvertes !

Quoiqu'il eut été, depuis son retour, décoré de la Croix de St-Louis, promu dans le service du roi, entouré du respect et de l'estime de la majeure partie

de ses compatriotes, durant tout ce temps, il n'en resta pas moins avec le désir de terminer, s'il etait possible, l'oeuvre capitale qu'il s'était imposée, et à laquelle il avait consacré les plus belles années de sa vie. Ses ennemis avaient triomphé, il est vrai, mais il ne se comptait point pour battu. Relevant son courage, il s'adressa au ministre avec tant d'insistance que celui-ci, après avoir donné une attention toute particulière à son dossier, reconnut spontanément à La Vérendrye son extrême droiture de caractère, l'honorabilité de sa conduite, son parfait désintéressement, en un mot, ses services signalés envers son roi. Il fut réintégré dans son commandement et carte blanche lui fut donnée pour pousser et terminer aussi promptement que possible son héroïque entreprise.

Mais ici, la Providence le croyant assez et suffisamment récompensé de ce qu'il avait fait pour son pays, sans doute, au moment où ses détracteurs confondus, il se préparait à reprendre tout joyeux, le chemin, dans la direction du Pacifique, la mort vint le frapper inopinément, à Montréal, le 5 décembre 1749. Il n'était âgé que de soixante-trois ans.

Aucun doute que de La Vérendrye est le grand découvreur de l'Ouest canadien, et il reste à ses compatriotes de témoigner à sa mémoire toute l'admiration et la reconnaissance qu'ils lui doivent. Si nous avons pu, par ces quelques lignes, contribuer en quelque chose à ce travail de réhabilitation, nous en serons très heureux, inutile de le dire.

A son départ, en 1731, de La Vérendrye, comme l'on sait, s'était fait accompagner d'un missionnaire : le R. P. Messaigner, jésuite, qui dut reve-

nir à Montréal en 1733. En 1735, le R. P. Auneau le remplaça, mais l'année suivante, il fut massacré par les sauvages, en même temps que l'un des fils de M. de La Vérendrye. Cinq ans plus tard, ce dernier ne voulant point demeurer sans secours spirituels parvint à décider un autre jésuite d'accepter cette rude mission. Ce fut le R. P. Claude Gode. Coquart.

Les lecteurs nous saurons gré, nous en sommes convaincus, de placer devant eux la pièce originale contenant les arrangements à ce propos entre le Rév. Père jésuite de M. de La Vérendrye. Le document est signé par les parties elles-mêmes, et très conservé, quoiqu'âgé de cent cinquante-huit ans.

C'est à raison de la publication de cette pièce que nous avons été poussé à écrire les lignes ci-haut au sujet de La Vérendrye.

La voici :

"Propositions de Monsieur de La Vérendrye, Commandant pour le Roy à l'établissement et découverte du Ouest au Père Missionnaire qui l'accompagne dans ses découvertes pour prévenir toutes difficultés.

Le Père Missre choisira à Lachine son canot et les hommes qui luy conviendront pour se rendre à Michilimakina, de là il prendra un canot assorty pour les terres, dans lesquels canots, Il chargera tout ce qu'il jugera lui être nécessaire.

M. de La Vérandrye s'oblige 1° de luy fournir un domestique à son gré qu'il choisira dans le nombre de ses engagés ; 2° de le rendre dans le poste qui luy conviendra le mieux pour la mission des Français et sauvages ; 3° de soulager le Père en tout ce qui pour-

ra dépendre de luy pour la vie, logement et chauffage. Tout ce qui sera destiné chaque année pour le Missionnaire sera remis entre les mains du Sieur Maugras, à Montréal dans le temps du départ des canots pour luy être envoyé dans les terres conjointement avec tout ce qui appartiendra à M. de La Vérandrye.

Le Père ne s'inquiètera en aucune façon de la manière dont M. de La Vérandrye s'accommode avec Mrs. les Interressés du Ouest.

Il s'oblige par luy ou les Interressés à faire construire chapelle et maison pour le Missionnaire dans les différents Postes.

Si le Père a des effets par présent soit pour luy, soit pour son Eglise, Monsr de La Vérandrye, en procurera le transport à Montréal.

Si le Père est rappelé par ses Supérieurs, ou qu'il juge à propos de venir à Michilimakina, M. de La Vérandrye le fera conduire dans un de ses canots avec ses meubles et effets, etc.

Nous soussignés acceptons les propositions cy-dessus.

A Montréal, le 10e de Juin 1741."

C. Godr Coquart, J. St. Pé, dic. J.
"LaVerandrye."

Ce missionnaire est le premier, dit M. l'abbé G. Dugas, qui ait célébré la messe sur les bords de la Rivière Assiniboine au fort de la Reine, là où est aujourd'hui la ville du Portage de la Prairie. Il revint à Montréal en 1745.

AN EARLY VISIT TO UPPER CANADA

(Continued)

THE noble river St. Lawrence supplies this country for an extent of 2000 miles with commercial advantages inferior to none on this side of the Atlantic. Conceive to yourself vessels of 600 tons burden, unloadin gall kinds of British goods at the port of Montreal 500 miles from the sea, and again receiving in return, furs from the interior parts of the country, as far as the Mississippi is known to the westward, and the waters emptying into the Lake Superior from the northward. This town, when the banks of the different lakes and rivers are settled by husbandmen, which is at no distant period, must have a vast increase of trade, for without doubt all British manufactures, through these vast water communications, will come much cheaper through the whole course of its windings, than can be afforded from any quarter, goods on importation being liable to no duty; which will undoubtedly give this country a vast advantage over the settlements which I described in my former letter, indeed nature points out this place as the emporium of trade for the people inhabiting both sides of these lakes and rivers emptying into them as far as they extend to the West. From Montreal boats, called by the Canadians *batteaux*, containing 25 barrels bulk, are worked by four men to Kingston, a distance of nigh 200 miles up the river in the course of six or eight days, and again return in them, loaded

with furs, potash, and other produce of the country. Vessels, generally schooners, receive the goods at Kingston, and convey in a short time to the landing, or Queenston, below the great falls of Niagara. Here the portage gives employment to a number of teams in transporting them to Chippewa, as before described; they are again received at Fort Erie, in vessels of the same burden as before, which navigate all Lake Erie, Huron and Michigan. The expenses incurred during all this route, are comparatively trifling as you will observe there is but one portage, and that only 10 miles, in the course of this communication. And when one reflects on the temperate climate, rich soil, and other natural advantages of this interior country, you may anticipate a great population in a short time. The straits of Niagara, from its peculiar situation, being the channel through which all the produce of the vast country above must pass, is looked forward to as a place of the first consequence, and where a farmer will at all times find a market for his produce, the transport being easy, from thence to the Atlantic. Here I have seen with amazement that famed cataract, which exceeds every description I have ever heard of it, but it would be idle in me to pretend to give you an idea of it. It strikes the eye with more grandeur and sublimity than the pen can convey. Amongst many other natural curiosities, a spring about two miles above these falls, attract the attention of the curious; emitting a gas, or inflammable air, which, when confined in a pipe, and a flame applied to it, will boil the water of a tea-kettle

in fifteen minutes: whether this may hereafter be applied by machinery, to useful purposes, time will determine.

It was lately discovered in clearing a way and burning the brush under the bank of the river, to erect a mill, and was observed after the brush was consumed, to burn for days together, to the great astonishment of the inhabitants.

About 300 miles west of this is Fort Detroit, situate on the east side of the straits, between Lake Erie and Huron, around which, a French settlement was established, before the reduction of the province, but attending more to the Indian trade, than to agriculture, made but little progress as farmers. The English settlements lately begun on the opposite shore are already in a higher state of cultivation, however the French have fine orchards, from which Niagara is at present supplied with cider and apples. About 100 miles west from Detroit lies a valuable country on the waters emptying into the Mississippi, now unhappily contested by the United States and the natives of the soil.

To the northward of Detroit, about 350 miles, lies Fort Michilimackinac, on an island between Lake Huron and Michigan, it is about 5 miles round, and an entire bed of gravel, incapable of cultivation, but most remarkable for being the general depot and grand rendez-vous of all the Indian traders, who meet in the month of June from every quarter, deliver their furs, and receive their outfits for the ensuing year. Spanish settlements many miles down the

Mississippi are supplied with British goods through this channel, to much greater advantage than from New Orleans, where the rapids of the Mississippi oppose almost insurmountable difficulties in ascending it.

This fort, the forts of Detroit, Niagara and Oswego, fell within the United States, when the lines of separation were drawn, at the Treaty of Peace, in 1783; Fort Miami, which was build by the British lately, is also within those lines. Previous to that treaty, stores of deposit had been occupied at the foot of the Miami Rapids, where the fort now stands, and the annual presents to the Indians, which they have long been in the habit of receiving from the British Government were there issued. This place was prudently chosen for that purpose, in order to prevent the Indians from coming through the settlement, crowding about and mixing with the troops at Detroit, where the too frequent use of spirituous liquors would have occasioned numerous quarrels and accidents, which might have terminated fatal to that friendly intercourse and good understanding which has ever prevailed between the English and the natives of America.

Hitherto, I have said little respecting the aborigines of the country. Various are the opinions entertained by different people, and different historians have risked conjectures how this continent was originally peopled; their ideas of it are not less curious than extraordinary. They do not believe, nor have they the smallest vestige of traditional memorial to induce

them to believe, but that they are a distinct race of men from the whites, some of the most intelligent amongst them will at this day relate in detail the natural and original history of themselves and the continent they live upon. They fully believe in a Good and Evil Spirit, and in a future state of rewards and punishments, and have certain times in the year for their particular modes of worship, when they more generally endeavour to appease and avert the wrath of the bad, than invoke the Good Spirit, to which, however after favorable crops, a good hunt, or success in war, they, in a fervent manner, return thanks. They say that the face of the globe was first covered with one great water, in which the turtle was the principal inhabitant. That the Great Spirit caused this turtle to grow to such a size that the waters could no longer float it, and in consequence, it became stationary, continuing to grow, until the moss and rubbish collecting on its back, became a soil, and shot forth herbs, bushes, and at length trees, and now forms this great island (as they call it) upon which they were created a distinct race of men, and that the Great Spirit made after them, every kind of beasts and birds of the forest, for their food and use, (from the first twelve of which they took the names of their twelve tribes), and that these are as different in their view, from those given by the Great Spirit to the white people, for their use, as they are themselves from us. That they increased in strength and numbers, till the white people came amongst them, and introduced their habits, with the use of strong drink, to which they justly impute their degeneration.

When the feeling mind reflects on the former situation of these credulous people; the various deception practised on them under the mask of friendship, the artless, and faithful attachment they bear to the white people when they are treated with, upon seeming principles of justice and candour, it must truly sympathize with them in their present gloomy prospects.

This people, who, two centuries ago, were possessed of the whole of this vast continent, affording them spontaneously every comfort of life, without rivals in the enjoyment of it, now driven back step by step, to the last spot of their fertile soil, and that contested. Contested by the very people whom they have been led to consider, as their brothers, fathers and protectors. Prejudice from education, habits, and particular situations in life may warp the minds of the best of men, but a virtuous and penetrating mind, will always estimate in a proper degree, the relation and ties they have a claim to on us, if it is only from our superior cultivation of mind and manners. Would it not therefore argue a greater degree of virtue, and redound more to the honour of humanity, for Christians, bordering on the remains of their country, to turn their attention to the civilization of these people, than to endeavour by art and arms, to extirpate them from the face of a country, which they conceive to have been given by the Great Spirit to them alone. It is idle to say that people of their quick ideas and lively imagination, are incapable of civilization, for where education, and a proper attention to their

morals has been bestowed, there are proofs to the contrary. Instance, Joseph Brant, a full-blooded Indian, who, having received an early education, though residing still with the Indians, is much the gentleman, easy in his manners, mild and friendly in his disposition, regular and methodical in his whole deportment, and has by his good example, brought many of his nation into a regular system of husbandry, and a decent way of living in their families.

Thus have I now so generally made you acquainted with this great country, as correctly as my short stay in it would admit of ; but I cannot conclude this without giving you a piece of information equally new to everybody here as to me.

For many years past adventurers have attempted without success to cross to the Pacific Ocean. The honour of this arduous task was left to a Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, a partner in the North-West Fur Company, who lately returned by the way of the lakes, having fully accomplished the object of his undertaking, in the course of two years, by traversing the Continent of America, to the northward of west, over vast mountains covered with ice, which obliged him to make new canoes, wherever he had the waters in his favour. On his arrival on this coast, seven weeks sail from Canton in China, and two degrees to the north of Nootka Sound, he found the Indians without fire-arms, but furnished with some clothing and ornaments, principally of Spanish manufacture. The Indians accompanying him were not understood by those on that coast, and appeared to

be perfect strangers to each other. It was with difficulty he could reconcile them to him as a white man, on account, as he understood, of some injury given to them by people of his colour, a few days before that time. These are supposed to have been Americans from the port of New York who had touched there in their trade with China.

After remaining a few days and making the necessary observations, he returned and brought along with him some valuable skins of the sea otter, and other natural curiosities, peculiar to that coast; but as the gentleman himself has it in idea to go soon to London, no doubt but he will meet with the reward due to his exertions, and give to the world an account of the wild and uninhabited tract he traversed.

THE WAR OF 1812-14 (1)

BY F. W. CAMPBELL, M. D.
Deputy Surgeon General, late R. R. C. I.

SCARCELY a generation had passed away, since the prolonged struggle of the American revolution had ended, when there arose complications, as a result of the struggle which Great Britain had been carrying on for the liberties of Europe. The sources of the war of 1812 are clearly traceable to the events of the preceeding century. Sparks of hostility had remained smouldering between Britain and her revolted Colonies ; and the mother country had possibly not yet entirely forgiven them, or got over the accrimony of the separation. Among a numerous class in the United States there existed a latent and easily excited hatred of everything British. In Canada, the English settlers, consisted chiefly of old British soldiers or United Empire Loyalists, who had left comfortable homesteads in the United States—to make in Canada new homes under the folds of the Union Jack they loved so well. An animosity—the more bitter because the countries were so close—also sprang up between the two countries. This asperity was of course much aggravated by the means which Great Britain took for her protection while fighting Napoleon almost single handed. The paper blocades of

(1) A Lecture delivered before the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.

1806 and 1807 by which she and France respectively placed the whole coast of the other, under a "constructive blocade" bore especially hard on the United States, whose marine at this period had almost monopolised the carrying trade of the world. Britain had not only exercised its right of search, but it asserted the right to seize English seamen found on American vessels, so that American sailors were often impressed into the British fleet. The irritation which this caused was kindled into a flame by the arbitrary action of a British Commander. Acting under orders of Vice Admiral Berkeley, Captain Humphries of H. M. S. *Leopard* overhauled the United States frigate *Chesapeake,* and demanded the surrender of alleged deserters. The demand being refused, a broad side compelled the *Chesapeake* to strike her colors and surrender the deserters. This act was at once disavowed by the British Government, before a word of remonstrance from the United States could reach it. The Captain was recalled, the Admiral superseeded and an official note handed the United States declairing right of search when applied to vessels of war extended only to requisition, and was not to be carried by force. Without waiting to see what action Britain would take, the United States, excluded British ships from all American ports. This had a most injurious effect on American trade, especially in New England. A year later this embargo was exchanged for an act of non-intercourse with France and England only. They had no means of enforcing this, so it was withdrawn but they main-

tained a standing offer that if either power would repeal its edicts, it would suspend commerce with the other. Napoleon seeing his opportunity to checkmate Britain accepted the offer. In February 1811 the United States declared all intercourse with Great Britain and her dependencies at an end. In May 1811 the U.S. frigate *President*, provoked an encounter with the British sloop *Little Belt*, and shot her to pieces. The American Captain was tried by Court Martial and acquitted amid national exultation, Great Britain accepting the official declaration disavowing hostile intention. In November 1811 the President appealed to the nation for the "sinews of war." A large class of the American people, were full of sanguine hope of an easy conquest of Canada. It was presumed that political troubles and grievances, connected with the Imperial executive, had so far undermined Canadian loyalty, that the Colonists would interpose, slight resistance to an American invasion. It was known that Bonaparte was desirous of wresting from Britain the New France of the early French Colonists. It was at this time believed that Napoleon would become sole master of Europe, and that the United States by joining hands with him, would divide with him — the empire of the world. Britain, then almost alone contending against the usurper, it was felt would neither have the leisure or the power to defend Canada. Great Britain felt that a junction between the United States and Napoleon, meant ruin to English industry — so that after some delay caused by a ministerial crisis — the obnoxious orders

were repealed on the 23rd of June. The news did not reach the United States for some weeks, and it came too late, for on the 18th of June 1812, the American Congress declared war with Great Britain. Even if the news had been received in time it is doubted if it would have averted war, so stong was the feeling of the majority of the people for it. The step however was not unopposed. Virginia strongly denounced the invasion of Canada, and the proposal to seduce Canadians from their loyalty, and as a prominent American stateman expressed it "converting them into traitors, as a preperation for making them good American citizens." The New England states also strongly opposed the war, and Boston displayed her flags at half mast, as a token of mourning, while a mass meeting passed resolutions, protesting against the war. Let us for a moment see how the two countries stood as regards population, from which to draw the required men. The population of the United States was 8,000,000, while Canada numbered but 300,000. From the Detroit river to Halifax, there were scattered British regulars, numbering all told 4,500. Upper Canada, now Ontario, where the bulk of the fighting occurred, had only a population of little more than 30,000. In the brief time offered by a lecture it is of course impossible to follow all the events what took place, in a war which covered nearly three years. I am therefore compelled to notice only the principal events. In Canada the inpending storm had long been dreaded. General Brock who besides being commander, was administrator of the Govern-

ment in Upper Canada, had not been slow in reading the signs of the times, and so far as he could, taking measures for defence. Great Britain, harassed as she was with her European war had treated the representations of the exposed condition of Canada with an unfortunate lack of efficient response. Canada with its magnificent distances and scattered population could scarcely have been less prepared for war or worse equipped for defence. It is not strange that at first there was some despondency, when she found herself launched into a war with her powerful neighbor. But the true British spirit still existed in the Canadian people, many of whom had already sacrificed much for their love for the old flag. Troops of volunteers poured into all the garrison towns, many being obliged to retire for lack of arms to equip them. The news of the declaration of war first reached Canada, at Montreal through a private channel, the British Minister at Washington not having taken efficient means to have it reach the authorities in Canada. The moment it was known, General Brock took prompt measures. He established his head quarters at Fort George on the Niagara river, asked for reinforcements from Lower Canada (which could not be granted till reinforcement arrived from Great Britain) appointed a day of prayer and fasting in recognition of the impending crisis, looked to the frontier forts and outposts and paid special attention to securing the co-operation of the Indians, and the equipment and drilling of the militia. As I have already said, there was a great scarcity of arms, also

clothing and shoes which could not be provided for in the country. As to weapons it is said some of the Militia, temporarily supplied themselves from their implements of husbandry. On the 11th of July, General Hull with 1500 men, crossed into Canada from Detroit. At Sandwich he issued a proclamation, offering the Canadian people in exchange for the tyranny under which they were suffering " the invaluable blessings of civil, political and religious liberty. " From Fort George, Brock issued a counter proclamation, reminding them of their prosperity under British rule, and assuring them that the mother country would defend Canada to the utmost. He pointed out the injustice of the threat of the Americans to refuse quarter if the Indians were allowed to fight side by side with their British allies. On the 27th of July he opened an extra session of the Legislature at York (Toronto). In his address he said " by unanimity and despatch, we may teach the enemy that a country defended by freemen can never be conquered." The action of the Legislature somewhat disappointed him — for the invasion naturally produced some dispondency — the Indians in the West were known to be wavering; a portion of the population about Sandwich of French and American extraction, and lying exposed to the first onset of the enemy were disaffected. General Brock's strong and hopeful attitude rallied the waverers. Inspired by his example the country braced itself to a defence against great odds, with a courage which may not only excite our admiration, but gives us an example

which we at any time might be proud to follow. Meanwhile hostilities had actually given the first honors to Canada. General Brock had early strengthened Amherstburg on the Detroit River. He had also seen the importance of taking possession of strategic points of Detroit and Michilimackinac, not only to secure the active co-operatfon of the Indians but also because without them the whole of Western Canada, perhaps even as far as Kingston would have to be evacuated. Immediately on hearing of the declaration of war he assumed the offensive by ordering an attack on Michilimackinac, which was gallantly carried out by Captain Roberts. He advanced to the attack with 45 regulars and 600 Canadians and Indians, when the garrison capitulated. In the Amherstburg District a little later came the success of a small British force at Tarantee.

About the same time the famous Indian Chief Tecumseh, captured a provision convoy of General Hull's, along with important correspondence. Meanwhile Hull became so discouraged that he recrossed the river to Detroit, on the 7th and 8th of August; on the 15th of August General Brock, after a toilsome march from Burlington heights to Long Point on Lake Erie and after four days and nights of hard rowing he reached Amherstburg, with a force of 300 regulars and 400 Militia, "disguised in red coats." Here he met Tecumseh, who offered his "braves" as allies. Brock at once summoned General Hull who was in Fort Detroit to surrender, and followed this summons by the crossing of the British force.

Before the assault could be carried out the garrison startled by the effects of the first fire from the batteries, surrendered to the British. By this capitulation the whole State of Michigan, a ship of war, 33 canon, stores to correspound, 2500 troops, and one stand of colors were surrendered to the British. The surrender of Detroit electrified all Canada. No more was there doubting or wavering, disaffection slunk out of sight, and Brock became the idol of Upper Canada. Leaving Procter in charge of Detroit, with as many men has he could spare, Brock hastened back to York (Toronto) on the schooner "Chippewa" hopeing now to sweep the Niagara frontier clear of every vestage of invasion, and securing Sacketts Harbor remove all danger of an attack from Lake Ontario. But on Lake Erie he was met with the news of the untimely armistice which Sir George Prevost had made with the American Gen. Dearborn. Against this armistice Brock rebelled for his hands were tied. The effect of it was to give the Americans time to repair their reverses. Meanwhile the American President did not approve of the armistice, and operations were resumed. A cordon was formed along the frontier of Lower Canada from Yamaska to St. Regis where the line of separation between the United States and Canada touches the St. Lawrence, consisting of Canadian Voltigeurs and part of the embodied Militia. A light Brigade was formed at Blainfindie, under Lt. Col. Young of the 8th Reg., and consisted of the Canadian Fencibles and the flank companies of the 8th, 100th, 103th and 1st Batt. embodied Militia.

On the Montreal frontier the road to the United States from the Camp at l'Acadie, through Odeltown was rendered impracticable by *abattis*. This work was done in a short time by the Voltigeurs, under Major de Salaberry. On the other hand the Americans under General Dearborn, threatened Montreal *via* Odeltown and St. Johns. Meanwhile the American General Van Rensellaer burning to retrieve the surrender of Detroit had concentrated on the Niagara frontier, a force of over 8,000 men. Early in October, Brock was convinced that an attack was impending, and accordingly had issued particular directions to all the posts, where a landing might be effected. A large force had collected on the American side at Lewiston, about 7 miles below the Falls. At this point the river is very narrow, and on the Canadian side was the beautiful wooded Plateau of Queenstown heights. Early on the morning of October 11, 1812 a crossing was attempted but failed owing to tempestuous weather and lack of boats. But on the 13th before day break a crossing was effected by an advance Guard of General Van Rensellaer army-protected by a Battery at every point at which they could be opposed by musketry. The landing was gallantly resisted by a small out post force of regulars and Militia, backed by an 18 poundes on the Heights, and another gun a mile below. Both assault and resistance was resolute and brave but fresh detachments of troops followed till about 1100 men were in line confronting the British out posts. Both Captains of the two companies of the 49th Reg. had

fallen wounded and the 18 pounder was of no avail over a large part of the field. The engagement was growing hot, with serious loss on both sides ; Van Rensellaer himself being wounded. Meanwhile Brock who was at Fort George heard the connonade, mounted his horse and galloped to the scene of action. Before he had time to reconoiter the field, a fire was opened in the rear from a height above a path which had been left unguarded because reported inaccessable. This path had been gallantly scaled by a detachment of American troops. The volley was promptly followed by a rush. Brock and his aide had no time to remount, and were swept back with the men who manned the Battery. A detachment of the 49th one hundred strong, charged up the hill, and were repulsed, but re-inforced charged again, and in the struggle the whole were driven to the edge of the bank. With a storming foe in front of them, a precipice of 180 feet behind them, and the roaring river beneath, the white flag was raised by the Americans — but quickly torn down. Thus re-inspired by their Commander, they opened a scathing fire. Brock who, in front, roused beyond himself, had forgotten the General, in the soldier, conspicious by his great height, dress, gesture and undaunted bearing, was pointing to the hill and had just shouted " Push on the brave York Volunteers " when he was struck by a ball in the right breast, which passed through his left side. He only lived long enough to ask that his death should be concealed from his men, and to send a message to his sister. Shortly after, McDonell his

aide-de-camp, a Lieut.-Colonel of Militia and Attorney General for Upper Canada, while leading on the York Volunteers and breasting the hill on horseback was struck from the saddle. He was removed from the field and died next day. The great loss on both sides, now caused a lull in the fighting, the American retaining the perilous foothold they had gained at great loss, while the British retired under cover of the village awaiting reinforcements. These were already on their way. General Sheaffe, who had followed Brocks directions to collect all available troops, speedily came up with about 380 regulars, two companies of Militia, and a few Indians, re-inforced at Queenstown by more Militia and Indians, making up his total to 800 men. With this force he outflanked the enemy, and surrounded them in their dangerous position between the heights and the river. A determined onset forced them to a headlong and fearful retreat, many being dashed to pieces in descending the precipitous rocks or drowned in attempting to cross the river. The surviving remnants of the invaders, who had numbered 1,100 mustered on the brink of the river and surrendered unconditionally with their General Wadsworth, as prisoners of war. The loss on the American side was about 400 killed and wounded. The British loss was 80 killed and wounded. Sheaffe having thus bravely won the day was unfortunately led to throw away most of the advantages of his victory by signing an armistice. For this he is blamed by many who think he ought to have crossed the river, and taken possession of Fort Nia-

gara, which was fired at from Fort George and completely dismantled and abandoned. As autumn passed into winter, some ineffectual skirmishes occurred along the St. Lawrence. In the meantime General Dearborn on the New York frontier of Lower Canada had assembled an army of 10,000 men. But the French Canadian Militia sprang to arms, the land bristled with bayonets. Major De Salaberry, in the infancy of his fame, had command of the outposts, and under his inspiration these undisciplined levies speedily showed that they were too much in ernest to be trifled with. On the 20th of November, General Dearborn made a demonstration on a picket at Lacolle, which consisted of Militia and a few Indians. These were under command of Colonel Mackay, father of the late Judge Mackay, who handled his force so well that Dearborns force retreated to Champlain, where it took up winter quarters. The inland American marine made in effectual attempts to capture two British schooners, both of which escaped into Kingston; later a small British bark became their prize. On November 20th, Kingston was bombarded, sustaining little damage and returned the attention with interest. At the same time, General Smyth succeeded Van Rensaeller on the Niagara Frontier, and made an ineffectual attempt at Fort Erie, after which he went into winter quarters. The Legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada met at the close of the year and voted large sums for the equipment of the Militia. Recruiting went on briskly during the winter, and by spring the Canadian forces, amounted to

8,000 men, including regulars. The opposing American army, including regulars and Militia was about 27,000 strong. The campaign of 1813 opened at an early date, while the frozen rivers afforded easy passage for troops. During January, February and March skirmishes took place along the frontier at Amherstburg, Gananoque and Brockville. The most important operation at the opening of the year took place in January. An American force under General Harrison made demonstration on Detroit which was held by a weak garrison, under Colonel Proctor. The season though favorable to an advance from the American side precluded all possibility of the British being re-inforced. On January 11th, Proctor learned that a division under General Winchester, had been send forward by General Harrison, and had reached an advanced position. Proctor saw that the American force had advanced beyond the shelter of support, so he flung his whole strength on Winchester before Harrison could reach him. At break of day on the 22nd Proctor attacked the enemys division, about 1,000 strong, and met with a desparate resistance. The fight continued some time, but eventually fearing destruction of his entire force Winchester surrendered it and himself as prisoners of war, 522 men and officers, with arms, stores and amunition, became the prize of the British — about 400 were killed and wounded. Proctor had 500 regulars and Militia and 600 Indians, and lost 180 men. For a time Detroit was secure. At Prescott, opposite Ogdensburg, a small force of some 400, principally Glengary Militia, under

Colonel McDonell eagerly watching an opportumly to repay the forays which in the late autumn the Americans had made on the neighborhood of Brockville. It had been the practice since the ice had formed to drill daily on the river. Half the river belonged to them, so that they were allowed to drill and manoeuvre unmolested. On the morning of February 22nd McDonell descended on to the ice at the head of 480 men and 2 Field pieces. He played and purred for sometime with valvety touch preparing for a spring. Having divided his force into two portions, assuming himself command of one and Jenkens, a gallant New Brunswick the other, a sudden dash was made. They took the enemy completely by surprise, drove them from every position, stormed and carried the Battery, burned the barracks and 4 armed vessels frozen into the harbor, and captured eleven cannon, and a large amount of Military stores and many prisoners were taken. The American loss is placed at 75 men killed and wounded. The British loss was 8 killed and 52 wounded. For a moment or two allow one to digree from actual warefare, to explain who and what were the Glengarians, who played so important a part in this war. After the American revolution, the Counties of Stormont, Dunday and Glengarry were appropriated by the British Government as a place of settlement for United Empire Loyalists. It so happened that among those early settlers, a majority consisted of Scotch Highlanders, the descendants of men who after Culloden, had been transported to the plantations. To

them was added a gallant band of Scottish soldiers who had fought against France from 1792 to 1803. The brief peace of 1802, led to the unfortunate disbandment of many fine British Regiments, and among them a regiment of Roman Catholic Highlanders, raised only a few years before by Alexander McDonnell of Glen Urquhart, a Catholic clergyman of great energy of character. He had been appointed their chaplain. On their disbandment he obtained from the British Government the means to trensport the men of the Glengarry Regiment to Canada. He led thrm into the wilderness, and engrafted on the waste, their faith to God and fidelity to the throne. The ernest priest, and tried friends through life never deserted them. Partaking of the charactert of the Mediacal churchman, half Bishop, half Baron he fought and prayed, with equal zeal by the side of men whom he had come to regard as his hereditary followers. He rose to the Episcopate and died, universally belowed, Bishop of Kingston. In raising the Glengarry Regiment, he was must active in rousing the enthusiasm of his parishioners. The firy cross had passed through the land, and every clansman obeyed the summons. This is the stock which nearly one hundred years ago, and more, was placed in these counties, and which has all but retained its same exclusive character, as it has its well tried loyalty. In March 1813, the 104th "Regt." left Fredrickton to reinforce the troops in Canada. Coffin in his litlle work on these three years of war, says: "These men actually marched on snow shoes the entire dis-

tance between Fredrickton and the St. Lawrence, confronting hardships, to which the march of the Guards in January, 1862, was but a holiday freak. During the winter months the Americans had been exceedingly active not only in preparing troops but in preparing to obtain the supremacy of Lake Ontario. England had not even yet realised the full gravity of the situation, though the Canadians did. Indications were that Toronto, then know as York, was to be attacked. It contained a little less than 1,000 souls, and a garrison of about 600, 200 or 300 regulars, and the rest Militia. On the 25th of April Commodore Chauney and General Dearborn left Sacketts Harbor with sixteen sail and conveying a land force of 2500 men. Videttes had for some time before been on constant watch, with order to fire alarm guns, and then ride into town, on sight of a hostile fleet. It was late in the evening of April 26, when the first report hushed every voice, and for a moment startled the whole population. But the men of York paused not long, old and young rushed to arms. On the first alarm General Sheaffe got his men in hand, and awaited what the morning would bring forth. But York was incapable of defence, in fact all the troops then in Western Canada would have been insufficient. He therefore made the necessary preparation for meeting the enemy, and if hard pressed, to save his force, destroy all public property, and retire either on Burlington Heights or Kingston, according to the developements of the enemy. At early dawn the American Squadron was seen bearing down on

the western flank of the town. While they engaged a small mutilated 3 gun Battery at what is known as the old fort, a large force landed and cut of all retreat westward. Sheaffe sent the best portion of his force to keep the enemy at bay. For a time the enemy were held in check, but being re-inforced in over whelming numbers, the British were outflanked and compelled to retire with a loss of nearly 100 in killed, wounded and prisoners. An accidental explosion of one of the batteries, silenced the fort guns and as this left no hope of successful resistance Sheaffe destroyed such stores as he could, and took with him such as he was able, and retreated on Kingston. Meantime the American advanced column having taken possession of the fort, were nearly destroyed by the believed accidental explosion of the magazine. Although Sheaffe left an officer to arrange terms of capitulation the Public Buildings were burned, the Church and Library pillaged and acts of vandalism perpetrated contrary to the articles of the capitulation. General Dearborn made no attempt to pursue the retreating British force. Newark now Niagara defended by General Vincent with 1,340 troops, stationed at Fort George, was the next point of attack. Contrary winds, bothered the flotilla greatly, but it reached the American shore about the 8th of May, where it lay for about two weeks, receiving reinforcements from Sacketts Harbor.

(To be continued).