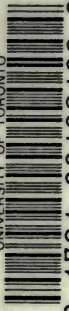


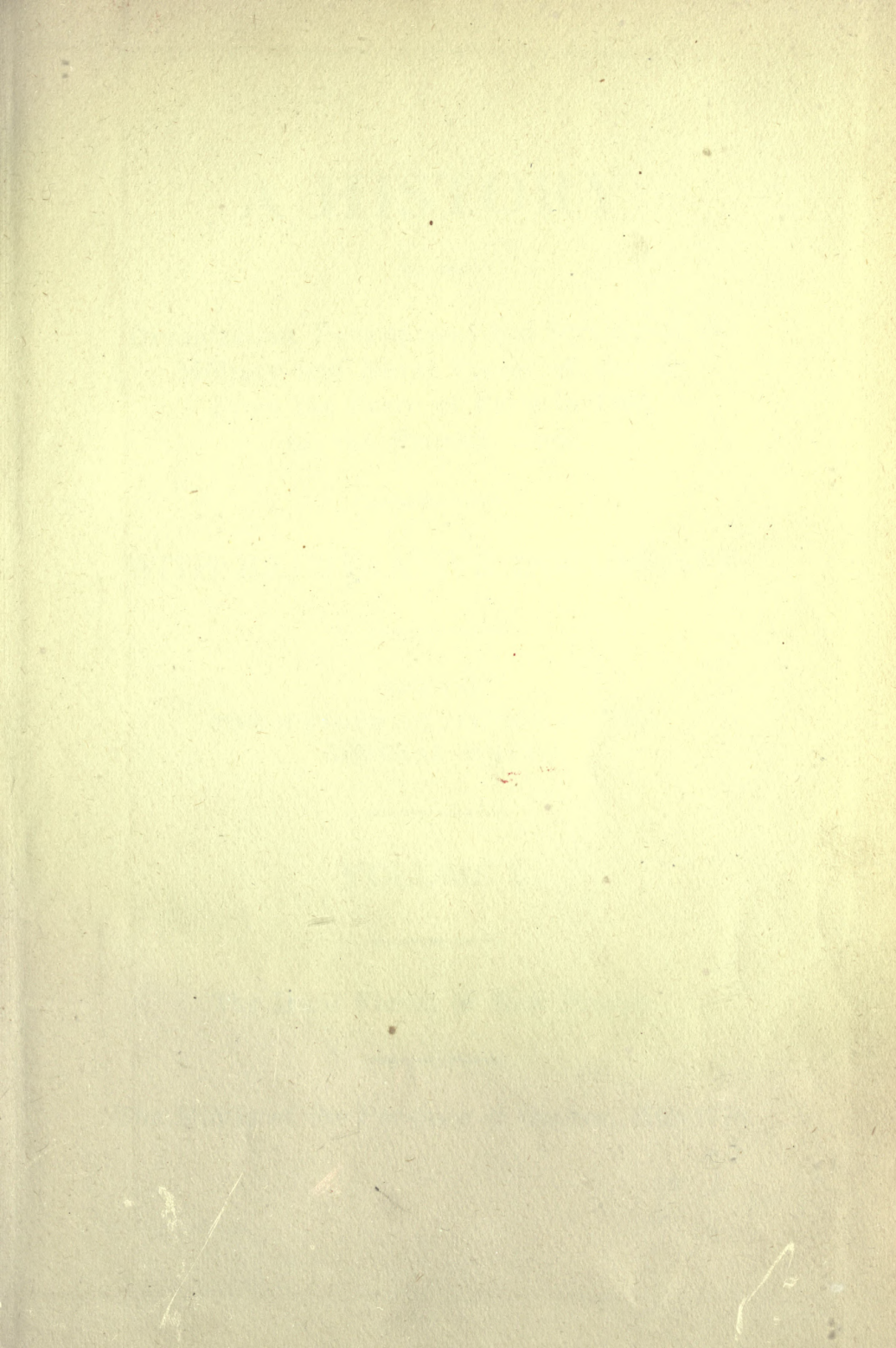
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A HISTORY

OF THE

Organization, Development and Services of the
Military and Naval Forces of Canada
From the Peace of Paris in 1763,
to the Present Time.

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.

EDITED BY

THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE
GENERAL STAFF.

VOLUME I.

The Local Forces of New France.

The Militia of the Province of Quebec, 1763-1775.



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ERRATA.

- Page 28.—Twentieth line for "Moncalm," read "Montcalm."
Page 69.—Thirty-second line for "29e Mars," read "20e Mars."
Page 87.—Twenty-eighth line for "Mr. Isamberg," read "Mr. Mt. Isamberg."
Page 91.—Sixth line for "Rigogvile," read "Rigovile."
Page 97.—Fortieth line for "tnvoyay," read "envoyay."

A HISTORY

OF THE

Organization, Development and Services of the Military and
Naval Forces of Canada from the Peace of Paris
in 1763, to the Present Time.

CHAPTER I.

THE LOCAL FORCES OF NEW FRANCE.

The early colonists of New France arrived as an armed and organized body under a recognized leader who exercised nearly despotic authority. Their first foothold in the country was at once fortified and prepared for defence. For twenty years or more the actual settlement was restricted to the limits of the trading post at Quebec, and the colonists were explorers, soldiers, traders, hunters and fishermen, but not cultivators of the soil. Apart from the provisions which they still largely imported from France, they subsisted mainly on the spoils of forest and stream, rather than the products of farm and garden. As to the condition of the settlement in 1627, the year of the death of Louis Hébert, the first colonist who seriously attempted to live by agriculture, Champlain wrote "We were in all sixty-five souls, including men, women, and children." Of this number only eighteen were adult males, fit to bear arms and to perform hard labour, and not more than two or three families had devoted themselves to tilling the soil. Besides these, however, there were a few adventurous trappers, traders, or outlaws living in the Indian villages and seeking to enrich themselves.

The formation of the Company of one hundred Associates, soon afterwards, resulted in a resolute effort to promote settlement and agriculture. The Seigniorial system of Tenure was introduced. Giffard, the first Seignior of Beauport brought in seven large families to be his tenants. Two years later two other very numerous families arrived who were closely allied by marriage, and consisted in all of not less than fifty-four persons. These families, Le Gardeur de Repentigny et de Tilly and Le Neuf de La Poterie et du Herisson, were destined to play a very important and creditable part in the later history of the Colony. Horned cattle and sheep were also imported and the new Governor, de Montmagny, brought in the first riding horse for his own personal service. In the absence of draft animals the progress of agriculture was necessarily slow.

The rich natural meadows near the margin of the river offered suitable pasturage and several families were immediately established in their vicinity. In 1636, de Montmagny rebuilt the post at Quebec and enrolled all male colonists as a militia who took turns in performing military exercises and furnishing guards. Father Paul le Jeune has written a florid description of their practice with artillery and small arms, waking the echos of the surrounding woods and cliffs, and relates that the fortress of Quebec was as vigilantly guarded in time of peace, as a military post of importance would be in the heat of war.

An advanced trading post was established at Three Rivers which soon attracted a number of settlers to take advantage of the excellent hunting and fishing around Lake Saint Pierre, and share in the profits of the fur trade. Pierre Boucher, afterwards the first Seignior of Boucherville organized, trained, and commanded the militia of this settlement as their Captain for many years and was eventually appointed Governor of the District. Another stockade was soon afterwards built on the island of Montreal and also attracted several families. These frontier stations were naturally the posts of the greatest danger and the colonists were continually kept on the alert by the inroads of hostile Indians. They still mainly lived on flesh, fish and fowl, and were forced to become expert, not only in the use of fire arms, but proficient in repairing their weapons, casting bullets and even making gun-powder. Isolated dwellings

were usually constructed of stout hewn logs after the fashion of a block-house, having thick doors and narrow windows, intended more for use as loopholes than to admit the light, and a projecting upper story provided with apertures for pouring boiling water or melted lead upon assailants who might approach to force an entrance or set the building on fire.

The origin of four hundred and six families who became colonists between the years of 1615 and 1666 has been carefully traced and it is ascertained that all came from northern France, nearly one half from the Provinces of Normandy and Perche. They were hardy, patient and industrious people, and also brave and resolute, determined at all hazards to defend their new possessions against all comers.

The first collision with the Iroquois took place within a year after the founding of Quebec and thence forward, hostilities constantly recurred at uncertain intervals, with little warning. The great river and its tributaries furnished an easy highway for the approach, and the surrounding forest, a secure lurking place for the war-parties of these fierce and merciless enemies. Unwary colonists were surprised and killed or carried into captivity, their cattle were destroyed, their fields laid waste, and out-buildings burnt by the raiders.

While the colonists thus remained at the mercy of the Iroquois, prosperity was impossible. Recognizing this fact in the spring of 1642, after establishing a post on the island of Montreal, de Montmagny decided to build another small fort at the mouth of the river of the Iroquois, so called from being the usual route of their invasions, and gave it the name of the great Cardinal, which has since been transferred to the river itself. For the construction of this fort a hundred men were drafted from the colonists who proved their courage and skill by repelling an attack from a band of Indians while the work was still under construction. The effective strength of the militia at this time must have been small for, as late as 1649, the total number of settlers scarcely exceeded a thousand persons of both sexes.

The new fort, however, failed to accomplish the purpose for which it was designed. Between 1649, and 1663, the inhabitants of all the settlements were frequently obliged to seize their arms for self-defence. A detachment of forty volunteers was organized as a "*camp volant*" under the command of De Mousseau, a nephew of d'Ailleboust who had been appointed governor, to patrol the shore of the river between Three Rivers and Montreal, and was apparently retained in service for three years. A small tax was imposed on all fur traders for the support of this force. In seed time and harvest, the tillers of the soil were obliged to have their weapons constantly within reach, and even a religious brotherhood formed themselves into a military company to the number of sixty-three men under the title of the "*Fraternite de la Tres Sainte-Vierge*." In the summer of 1651, the Island of Montreal was frequently invaded and ravaged. "Scarcely a day passed without an alarm," says the author of a contemporary history of the settlement. "We had them incessantly upon us. There was not a month during this summer in which our book of the dead had not an inscription placed upon it in red letters by the hands of the Iroquois. On their side they did not suffer less; they lost indeed more men than we, but as their numbers were incomparably greater than ours, our losses seemed heavier than theirs, as they always had men to replace those who had fallen."

The attacks of the Indians increased to such a degree that all the inhabitants of the settlements were obliged to abandon their dwellings and seek shelter in the forts. "Every day," says the chronicler, "we see the enemy around us; at night we dare not open our doors and, in the day-time, no one ventures to leave his house for half a dozen paces without taking with him his firelock, sword, and pistol." M. d'Ailleboust, "gentilhomme de Champagne" and a retired military officer, had organized all the men fit to bear arms at Quebec and Three Rivers into small squads of militia.

The garrison of Fort Richelieu had to be withdrawn, and the deserted buildings were burnt by the Indians. The defences of Three Rivers and Montreal were however greatly strengthened; at the latter place by the construction of stone bastions connected by stout palisades, under the supervision of d'Ailleboust, whose military knowledge was of great service to the distressed settlement. The governor of Three Rivers, Duplessis-Bochart, rashly sallied forth at the head of his militia to attack a party of marauding Iroquois who were plundering the neighbouring settlement, but he was defeated and killed with fourteen of his followers. The loss of even such a small party of fighting men was considered a serious blow and a few regular troops which the new governor of the colony, de Lauzon, had brought with him from France were hurried forward from Quebec for the protection of the frontier. The Indians did not

venture to attack the fortifications of either place, but constantly lurked in their vicinity, wasting the deserted farms and attacking any party that ventured out. Chomedey de Maisonneuve, the founder and commandant of Montreal for more than twenty years, issued a proclamation in 1657, declaring the town, (*Ville-Marie*), under the special protection of the Holy Virgin, and calling upon all citizens to enroll themselves for its defence in squads of seven men, each of which was directed to elect from among its number a corporal as its leader. Twenty squads were formed inside of four days and the entire force received the title of "*Soldats de la Sainte Famille de Jesus, Marie et Joseph*." This volunteer force furnished a permanent guard for the fortifications and small parties of men, who went out to work in the adjacent farms. It was maintained for three years, during which it lost only eight men, of whom five were killed and three taken prisoners.

About the same time the militia of each district adopted a distinctive uniform. The militiamen of Montreal wore a long blue coat with a cap and sash of the same color, those of Three Rivers wore white caps and sashes, and those of Quebec, red. This distinctive dress was retained among the *habitants* until recent years.

Whenever the approach of a suspicious party was discovered, the church bells at once rang the tocsin as a warning for the workers in the fields to seek the shelter of the fort, and the volunteers on duty to hurry out to their protection. The priests of the Seminary never failed to hasten forth to the battle-field to confess the dying and administer the sacrament and often exposed their lives in the service of their comrades without taking arms for their defence.

The fort at Three Rivers was closely blockaded for several weeks but eventually relieved by a party of volunteers from Quebec, who made their way into it under cover of darkness. The Iroquois also devastated l'île aux Oyes, only thirty-six miles above Quebec, and killed several of the inhabitants, returning thence to Montreal and again ruining that settlement. Fortunately fish and water fowl were plentiful and easily obtained, but the garrisons were forced to bring wheat and flour from Quebec for their support.

After a brief season of peace arranged through the efforts of Charles LeMoynes, the Indians renewed the war in the autumn of 1657, by another invasion. A still more formidable inroad, planned by them in May 1660, was baffled by the heroism of Daulac or Dollard who assembled a party of sixteen volunteers and took post in a feeble stockade at the foot of the Long Sault on the Ottawa River, overlooked by a neighbouring hill at a little distance. Here he was attacked by eight hundred Iroquois who were several times repulsed with severe losses. The Indians were afterwards reinforced and the assault was renewed, lasting with little intermission for three days, at the end of which Daulac endeavoured to blow up the place by loading a musket with powder to the muzzle and exploding it as a mine. This desperate expedient failed and the assailants stormed the fort, all of the garrison being killed with the exception of one man, who was afterwards tortured to death. "The enemy were dismayed by this resistance and withdrew"; says a contemporary writer, "otherwise all would have been lost."

Year by year, the Indians renewed their raids, devastating the country, killing settlers and carrying off prisoners. The situation of the colony had become so critical that it was evident that it must either be abandoned or a strong reinforcement despatched from France for its protection. In 1663, the Company of the One Hundred Associates virtually collapsed and their privileges reverted to the crown. A new governor was appointed and it was decided to send out a considerable body of regular troops. During the winter of 1663-4, the Iroquois again appeared under the walls of Quebec and menaced the fort with an attack. In the course of this raid the entire population of the settlement of Montreal was kept under arms for many days.

The new governor, de Mesy, received instructions for the appointment of a sovereign council of seven members and the establishment of subordinate governments for the districts of Three Rivers and Montreal. An embassy from the Indians arrived with proposals for peace but he bluntly informed them that, as they had so often deceived his predecessors, he could put no confidence in their professions and unwisely added that it had been decided to carry the war into the heart of their own country. A new trading company was soon organized under the name of the "*Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*" and granted a monopoly of commerce in the French dominions in America from the Amazon River northward, including also the French West Indies, and the Island of Newfoundland. Alexander de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, who had already seen much service in other French colonies was appointed viceroy for America but directed in the first place to visit Cayenne, and the French West Indian Islands on

his way to Canada. He was one of the senior Lieutenant-Generals in the French army, and already well advanced in years. He was granted very full powers, and four companies of the regiment Carignan-Salières, who had the privilege of carrying the same colours as the royal guard, accompanied him as an escort. Twenty other companies of the same corps were ordered to proceed direct to Canada from French ports. As each company nominally consisted of sixty-five of all ranks, this force probably numbered twelve or thirteen hundred men. It had been originally recruited in Savoy by the Prince de Carignan, an ancestor of the present royal house of Italy. Passing afterwards into the French service, it fought gallantly in the wars of the Fronde, participating in the famous battle of the Porte Saint-Antoine. Only a year before its embarkation it had been engaged against the Turks on the frontiers of Hungary, particularly at the bloody battle of Saint Gothard, when to use the striking expression of the French general, de Coligny, "the river became a great floating cemetery." At the close of this campaign it was reorganized and its effective strength considerably increased by the formation of several German companies and the whole corps despatched to Canada under the command of Colonel H. Chapelas, sieur de Salières, from whom it received the second part of its name.

In the fleet of vessels conveying the main body of this regiment came de Courcelles, nominated as governor of the colony to succeed de Mesy, and Talon to act as intendant, or controller of the finances, together with many families of colonists, in all numbering five or six hundred persons. They brought with them also cattle, sheep and twelve stallions and brood-mares presented by the king for breeding purposes. The number of persons who came from France this year was almost equal to the entire French population of Canada.

The new governor was an officer of energy, merit and experience. The Marquis de Tracy, who had arrived some months before, had already planned an offensive movement against the Iroquois but the delay in the arrival of the troops induced him to postpone the expedition until the following year. The four companies which had first arrived were sent forward with instructions to establish a chain of advanced posts on the river Richelieu. They left Quebec on the 23rd July, accompanied by a body of volunteer militia under the command of M. de Repentigny and arrived at Three Rivers just in time to deliver the inhabitants from their fear of the Iroquois who had renewed their customary attacks. These troops were soon afterwards followed by other companies and they began the ascent of the Richelieu in boats already prepared for the expedition. The first fort, built at the mouth of the river near the site of the former Fort Richelieu, was named in honour of Captain de Saurel or Sorel, who supervised its construction; the second named Fort Saint-Louis, was established by Captain de Chambly at the foot of the rapids which afterwards received his name; the third, ten miles farther up, was built under the direction of Colonel de Salières himself, and named Sainte-Thérèse. These works were not completed until late in October, when a party was sent forward to Lake Champlain to choose a site for the fourth fort, for which an island in the lake was selected, afterwards called Isle Lamotte in honour of Captain La Mothe Lussière, who built upon it a stockade which he named Fort Sainte-Anne.

Meanwhile Charles Le Moyne, the most active leader of the colonists on the frontier, had been taken prisoner by the Indians, who, finding their own country seriously menaced with invasion, determined to release him and ask for peace. These negotiations failed and de Courcelles, having little knowledge of the severity of winter weather in Canada, hastily determined to undertake a campaign soon after his arrival. He marched from Sillery with about one hundred volunteers from the local militia on the 10th January, 1666. At Three Rivers he was joined by eighty more from that settlement and at Montreal by another party of seventy under the command of Charles Le Moyne. Nearly all of these were experienced frontiersmen, accustomed to make long journeys on snow-shoes, and well trained in the warfare of the woods by frequent encounters with the Indians. Consequently, de Courcelles gave them the post of honour, placing them in the advanced guard, when advancing, and in the rear guard while retiring, evincing great reliance upon these auxiliaries whom he familiarly called "his blue caps." Detachments from the garrisons of regular soldiers at Three Rivers, Montreal and the forts along the Richelieu, swelled the strength of the column to five or six hundred men, with whom he marched from Fort Sainte-Thérèse on the 30th January. After advancing to the vicinity of Albany, he learned to his great surprise that the province of New Holland had fallen into the hands of the English, and as the snow was deep and the weather unfavourable, he decided to abandon his expedition, and returned to Montreal early in March.

The boldness of the enterprise appears to have struck terror into the Indians and they once more sent an embassy to Quebec to sue for peace. A treaty had actually been concluded and signed when it was learned that a party of young Mohawk warriors had killed two French officers and made prisoners of four others while hunting on the shores of Lake Champlain, near Isle La Motte. De Tracy then became convinced that to secure a lasting peace, he must undertake another punitive expedition against the offenders. In spite of his advanced age, he decided to command it himself. It was composed of six hundred soldiers, selected from all the companies of the regiment de Carignan, six hundred militia and one hundred "domiciled" Indians. All the preparations were made under the superintendence of Talon, the energetic and efficient intendant, and the column was finally assembled at Fort Saint-Anne late in September. Three hundred boats and canoes had been collected to convey this force to the farther end of Lake George where the real difficulties of the expedition began, for it then became necessary for the men to carry on their backs the whole of their provisions and baggage. Two small pieces of cannon were likewise dragged along with much labour. On their approach the Mohawks abandoned their villages which were immediately burned and their fields of corn laid waste. The large detachment of Canadian militia showed such remarkable endurance, hardihood and resourcefulness that the regulars hailed them as worthy comrades. Although the campaign was bloodless, it was thoroughly effective in demonstrating the strength of the colony and its ability to assume the offensive when necessary. Before winter set in, a treaty of peace formally concluded with the Six Nations ensured the security of the colony for nearly twenty years.

When nearly two years had elapsed without any sign of hostility on the part of the Indians, orders were received for the return of the greater part of the regular troops to France. The population and resources of the colony had considerably increased. Agriculture and trade were prospering, encouraged by the fostering aid of the capable intendant. A census taken in 1666 gave the total white population as 3,418 of whom more than two-thirds resided in Quebec and the adjacent parishes. The district of Montreal contained only 584 persons and that of Three Rivers, 461. The little island of Orleans actually contained ten more people than the whole of the latter district. In the following year, Talon reported the population of all New France as amounting to 4,312, of whom 1,566 were men fit for military service. There were 11,174 acres of land under cultivation and the colonists possessed 2,136 horned cattle. Horses of course, were still rare.

It was decided that four companies of the Regiment de Carignan would remain in the colony as a garrison. Two of these were stationed at Montreal and two others at Fort St. Louis on the Richelieu, from which thirty men were detached as a garrison for Fort Ste. Anne, the most advanced post, and twenty to Fort St. John. They were inspected and exercised annually by the Governor-General and one hundred pistoles were distributed in prizes to encourage marksmanship. These little detachments spent much of their time, when not on duty, in hunting, cultivating their gardens, and assisting in farm work. Already six captains and ten subalterns of the regiment had decided, voluntarily, to remain in the country and become colonists. With the approval of de Tracy, Talon submitted an elaborate proposal to induce as many as possible of the officers and men to become settlers. He emphasized the many advantages that would naturally be derived from the settlement of so many trained soldiers, laid much stress upon the encouragement of a proper military spirit among the colonists, and instanced with great force the Roman system of military colonisation as a precedent. When judiciously established on the land, he urged, that these discharged soldiers would be as much at the service of the king and colony as if they were maintained under pay in a garrison, while at the same time, the treasury would be relieved of a considerable burden. They would become attached to the colony as their home and heritage and have a more vital interest in its defence than a garrison of mercenaries. Lands should be granted to them on very favourable terms and liability to serve in time of war become the ground of exemption from customary rates and fees. The title deeds should expressly state the military nature of the tenure and the obligation imposed upon all recipients of these grants of sending their eldest sons to serve the king in garrison for a certain period without pay upon attaining the age of sixteen years.

These proposals were entirely approved by the king and minister and instructions were given as to the manner of carrying them into effect. Seigniories varying in size according to rank and length of service were offered to the officers of the regiment and as the district of Montreal was the most exposed to attacks of the Indians, ex-

tensive tracts of land along the Richelieu and upper St. Lawrence were distributed among these officers who were directed to sublet a portion of their lands to their former non-commissioned officers and soldiers. Between twenty-five and thirty officers, chiefly captains and lieutenants, and more than four hundred of other ranks decided to take advantage of this opportunity to become permanent settlers. Many of them founded families of note and their descendants are numerous in Canada and in the United States. Several of the officers were nobles and nearly all gentlemen by birth. The names of most of these officers such as Berthier, Baby, Chambly, Contrecoeur, la Valterie, St. Ours, Sorel, Soulanges, Varennes and Vercheres, have been perpetuated in various localities. Many of them took wives from among the daughters of the earlier settlers and soon established their supremacy as leaders of the people.

Apparently few of them possessed the necessary capital to develop their grants, and upwards of twenty thousand livres were provided from the royal treasury to be divided among them at the discretion of the Intendant. Each non-commissioned officer received one hundred and fifty livres, or one hundred livres and a year's rations, and each soldier one hundred livres, or fifty livres and a year's rations, at his own option. The oath required from the seigniors was very solemn and binding. They pledged themselves to discharge all duties required by their sovereign and to appear in arms whenever the province was attacked and this obligation of military services was extended through them to their tenants. The efficiency of the militia was naturally much improved by the settlement of these veteran soldiers in its midst. The officers became in a manner feudal chiefs, and the whole settlement, a military colony, admirably suited for defence. The seigniories formed a long narrow fringe of cultivation along the banks of the rivers, and for many years, it has been remarked, that nearly every house in Canada could be seen by a voyager in paddling up the St. Lawrence and Richelieu. Four noble families were already settled in New France and on the recommendation of de Tracy, the king ennobled Messrs. Bourdon, Boucher, d'Auteuil and Juchereau as a reward for notable service, and on a later recommendation from Talon, Messrs Godefroy, Charles le Moyne, Denys, Amiot, and Couillard. These gentlemen received large grants of land and the seigniorial system was thus further strengthened. That portion of the regiment which returned to France, became the nucleus of the Regiment de Lorraine, which continued its existence until the general re-organization of the French army in 1794.

De Tracy returned to France in 1667, having completed his mission to the satisfaction of the government; Talon followed him next year, and remained until 1670, when he came back to Canada bringing with him five hundred settlers. Smaller parties had arrived nearly every year. On the 25th March, 1669, Captains Chambly, la Durantaye, de Grandfontaine and Berthier, of the Regiment de Carignan entered into an engagement with the government to maintain their companies at a strength of fifty men each, between the ages of twenty and thirty, and to furnish them with provisions until their embarkation on receipt of the sum of one thousand écus. In the course of the following year, thirty gentlemen, all former officers, and six companies of this regiment numbering about three hundred and fifty men returned as a garrison, destined eventually to swell the number of colonists. Still the number of troops stationed in Canada was so small that the minister of war declined responsibility for them and they were transferred to the department of marine and colonies and henceforth became known as "Troupes de la Marine" or "Troupes de la Colonie." They supplied garrisons for Quebec and the frontier forts and were commanded by an officer of the rank of captain. They were encouraged to marry in the colony and married men were usually granted their discharge on engaging to settle on the land and other men recruited in France to take their place. As a demonstration to overawe the Iroquois, de Courcelles ascended the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario as far as the Bay of Quinte, piloted by Charles le Moyne, with an escort of fifty-six chosen men and at this time he seems to have contemplated building a fort somewhere on the shore of the lake which project was, however, postponed for some years. Two years later both he and Talon left the colony forever, amid general regret, and De Courcelles was succeeded by the Count de Frontenac as governor, but the post of intendant remained vacant for three years, when M. Duchesneau was appointed. In a letter dated the 2nd November, 1762, very soon after his arrival at Quebec, Frontenac asked for a body of regular troops, but he was told that the war with Holland made it impossible to comply with his request and advised to organize and exercise the inhabitants. He took immediate measures to do this by enrolling them in companies and appointing officers.

The forts on the Richelieu were connected by a military road, and the new governor, shortly after his arrival, built a fort for observing the movements of the Indians on the

shores of Lake Ontario. His expedition for this purpose consisting of four hundred men, partly regulars, but mainly militia, ascended the St. Lawrence in a flotilla of four flat boats and one hundred and twenty canoes. - The fort was built, surrounded with palisades, and armed with six guns inside of a week, and twenty acres of land were cleared for cultivation. A small ship was built there for the navigation of the lake. In the course of the same year, 1673, a royal ordinance was published prohibiting all French subjects from remaining in the woods more than twenty-four hours without the express permission of the governor under the pain of death. This regulation was deemed necessary to prevent young men from deserting their farms for the more attractive and lucrative fur trade. The militia was re-organized and captains were appointed who were also made responsible for the maintenance of roads and bridges, the service of legal writs, and the conveyance of letters and despatches. A census was taken with disappointing results. In 1674, the minister wrote to Frontenac from the camp before Besancon saying that the king was surprised to learn that there were only 6,705 French people in the colony and it would seem that previous returns had been greatly exaggerated.

In 1674, Frontenac reported that he had instructed the seigniors to assemble and drill their tenants in military exercises as often as possible. A second census, taken in 1675, showed some improvement, yet the minister again wrote to the new Intendant that the king could not believe that there was only 7,832 inhabitants in Canada with 1,120 muskets, 5,117 horned cattle and 21,237 acres under cultivation. Another census would be awaited with anxiety. It does not appear that this was taken until 1681, when the population was reported to have increased to 9,710, having 1,810 firelocks, or approximately one for each family, 6,936 horned cattle, seventy-eight horses, and 22,427 acres under cultivation.

Meanwhile, the enterprising explorer, La Salle, had obtained a grant from the crown of the fort and seigniorship at Cataragui, where he undertook to maintain a garrison equal to that of Montreal. Trading posts were established by him at Niagara, and on the River Illinois, to which he gave the significant name of Fort Crèvecoeur, in memory of the many mishaps he had encountered in the course of his undertaking. The governor and intendant had quarrelled fiercely and eventually both were recalled and then de Labarre was appointed governor, with M. des Meules as intendant. The new governor had served with distinction for many years in the French West Indies but was well advanced in age and in poor health. His instructions directed him to proceed as far as Niagara with a body of five or six hundred militia, to convince the Indians that they must remain at peace, and that he was prepared to attack them in the event of hostility but he was advised not to break with them without urgent necessity and being morally certain that he could end the war in a short time with success.

A division of the settlements into parishes was made in 1683. In many cases the limits of the parish and the seigniorship were the same but when the seigniorship was very large and populous it was divided into more than one parish, and sometimes two or more small seigniorships were grouped in the same parish. Eighty-two parishes were thus organized but for many years the church was unable to maintain so many priests and frequently more than one parish was served by the same priest. Captains of the militia were appointed in each parish with subalterns and sergeants. In general the seigniorship became the civil limit of the parish and the seignior and the curé were naturally the most influential residents but next in importance and dignity to them came the captain of the militia, whose house was marked by a tall flag-staff planted in front of it as an alarm post, and for whom a special seat was reserved in church.

A council composed of the chief ecclesiastics, the governor of Three Rivers and several leading men of the Colony was assembled at Quebec to advise the governor and intendant. It reported that for four years the English had endeavoured to induce the Iroquois to declare war against the French and the Indians had declined to do so until they had overcome the other Indian nations in alliance with the French. The preceding year they had attacked and inflicted severe losses upon the Illinois and other western nations and become masters of all the country about Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan. It would be necessary to intervene at once to prevent the entire destruction of these tribes. The colony could provide one thousand men well trained in Indian warfare but in their absence their lands would remain uncultivated. It would accordingly be necessary to replace them in some way and establish depots of provisions along the line of advance for the attack of the Senecas, who were the largest and most warlike nation of the Iroquois. Assistance from France would be necessary and two or three hundred soldiers would be required as garrisons for the forts on the frontier,

and for preventing any invasion of the colony when deprived of its militia. One hundred and fifty men would be needed to assist those remaining on the farms during seed time and harvest to avert danger of famine. Two or three vessels would also be required for the transport of provisions. In any event it would be necessary to organize the militia and, as the harvest had been abundant, every militiaman ought to provide himself with fire-arms at his own expense and keep them in a serviceable condition for use whenever he was called out. A copy of this report was sent to France to support an urgent request for reinforcements to undertake this expedition. A joint ordinance signed by the governor and intendant was published requiring all settlers to supply themselves with fire-arms at their own expense. Aubert de la Chesnaye, a merchant at Quebec, and le Bon, a merchant at Montreal, were instructed to sell these weapons to them and accept payment in farm produce at the rate of fifty sols per bushel for wheat and the current prices for Indian corn, peas and salt pork.

Three companies of the "troupes de la Marine" each consisting of fifty-two men, were despatched from France but did not arrive at Quebec until the 9th November, 1684, when it was too late to undertake a campaign. The Iroquois had grown bolder. They had plundered French traders in the Illinois and attempted to surprise one of the western posts. Instructions were sent at once to the commandant of a trading post at Mackinac to collect as many Canadians and friendly Indians as could be assembled there, and bring them to Niagara to co-operate. Soldiers were sent on early in the spring to fortify Cataragui and a new post at La Galette, near the site of the present city of Ogdensburg. The militia of the colony assembled at Montreal and including the troops that had recently arrived, the governor found himself in command of one thousand two hundred men of whom three hundred and fifty were Indians. On Lake St. Francis, he met a deputation from the Onondagas who announced that they were prepared to make reparation for the wrongs done the French by the Senecas. The expedition advanced until it reached a bay on the south shore of Lake Ontario, which afterwards received the doleful name of "Famine" from the sufferings of the men for want of provisions. Charles le Moynes was sent on to Onondaga to confer with the Indians and bring back their delegates. Here La Barre remained in camp for a month, but sickness increased so rapidly that a treaty of peace was hastily concluded with the Indians which was considered to reflect much discredit on the governor. The troops re-embarked on the 6th September, having suffered so much from disease that there were scarcely a sufficient number of men in health to embark the sick. The ill-success of this campaign eventually caused the recall of the governor who was replaced by the Marquis de Denonville.

By great efforts, de la Durantaye and Dulhut had assembled two hundred Canadians and five hundred western warriors at Mackinac, but when they arrived at Niagara with this force they learned to their disgust that a shameful peace had been concluded and returned to their villages in a state of great discontent.

Three hundred regulars arrived from France in the autumn under the command of de Callières, who was appointed governor at Montreal, too late to take any part in the campaign. In a transport which accompanied Denonville, five hundred recruits had been embarked, but it is stated that one hundred and fifty of these unfortunate men perished during the passage owing to the overcrowding of the ship. The intendant had reported that the sons of many Canadian gentlemen, in spite of their marked aptitude for a military life had neither the opportunity nor the means of entering the regular army and, at his request, the king directed that two of these young men should be appointed annually to commissions in the "Troupes de la Marine."

The instructions of the new governor directed him to establish peace on a proper basis by supporting the Indian tribes in alliance with the French and subduing the Iroquois and convincing them that they must accept such conditions of peace as were imposed by the French. Accordingly he was authorized to act offensively against the Senecas and other Iroquois nations if he considered it necessary for the protection of the western tribes.

A visit to Fort Frontenac satisfied the governor that war with the Indians was inevitable, and on his return to Quebec, his confidence was greatly increased by the arrival of a squadron of ships bringing 800 additional recruits under the command of Chevalier de Vaudreuil, as commandant of all the regular forces in the colony. It was intended that the greater part of these men should remain as garrisons in the colony, to assist in the cultivation of the land, thus enabling the militia to take part in the expedition. The town of Montreal was enclosed with palisades to secure it

against an attack. Two hundred row-boats and as many canoes were prepared for the expedition. On the 11th June, 1687, Denonville left Montreal for Cataraqui, accompanied by eight hundred and thirty regular soldiers, nearly one thousand militia and three hundred Indians residing in the colony. On arriving at Fort Frontenac, he learned with satisfaction that de la Durantaye was on his way down Lake Erie with one hundred and sixty Canadians and four hundred western Indians. The flotilla again got under way and crossed the lake to Irondequoit Bay, near the mouth of the Genesee river, where the troops were landed. An enclosure of palisades was made here to protect the boats and provisions and a garrison of four hundred and forty men left in charge. Three companies of Canadian *coureurs de bois* under the command of de la Durantaye, Dulhut and de Tonti formed the advanced guard and they were supported on the right flank by three hundred Christian Indians commanded by Le Moyne de Sainte Helene, and on the left by an equal number of the western nations. The regular troops and colonial militia followed in succession. An attack by the Senecas while on the march was easily repelled with very little loss. Their principal town was taken and destroyed. Ten days were spent in destroying three other villages and their standing crops. As sickness began to weaken his force, Denonville hastened his return to the landing place. He then ascended the lake to the mouth of the river Niagara, where he built a fort, thus completing the chain of posts connecting Canada with the country of the Illinois. A garrison of one hundred men was left there in command of Captain de Troyes, who had just returned from a successful expedition to Hudson's Bay. Charlevoix remarks that "during this campaign the Canadians fought with their customary bravery, but the soldiers did themselves little credit."

On his return to Montreal, Denonville prepared a report in which he warmly praised the militia for their services and stated that the detachment from Quebec, which had just returned to their homes, had travelled a distance of 1380 miles between the 24th of May and the 18th of August, to take part in the campaign, and that during this time, they had invaded the country of the Senecas and borne their full share in the construction of two forts. Commenting afterwards upon the future organization of the colonial troops, he added: "Messrs de la Durantaye, Granville, Dupuis, Berthier, La Vallière, and Longueuil, who have done good service, will make excellent captains. I cannot tell you how greatly Granville and Longueuil, to each of whom I had given the command of four companies, have distinguished themselves beyond others. You have already given the latter a lieutenant's commission which he has accepted gladly: he is the eldest of seven brothers of the family of Le Moyne, whom the King has ennobled for the services their deceased father rendered in this country. I cannot praise too highly this family and that of Le Ber, a brother-in-law of the said Le Moyne, who deserve the greatest credit for the good conduct and good education of their children who are all fine men. Three of the brothers took part in every thing was so well done in the expedition to the northward under M. de Troyes."

The destruction of their villages and crops was a severe blow to the Senecas. Many of them perished from starvation during the following winter and others dispersed in search of food. In this way, that nation which had consisted of nearly ten thousand persons is believed to have been reduced to less than half that number.

The expedition against the English trading posts on Hudson's Bay already mentioned had been attended with notable success. Seventy Canadian volunteers, accustomed to long marches, skillful in the management of canoes and boats, and seasoned to winter weather and all kinds of hardships, were selected for the enterprise, and three sons of Charles le Moyne, (d'Iberville, de Sainte-Helene, and de Maricourt) were appointed to command them. They were accompanied by thirty soldiers under M. de Troyes and two other French officers. The rivers were frozen and the country deep with snow when this little party started from Montreal to ascend the Ottawa river to the height of land and thence make its perilous way through the wilderness to James Bay. The distance to the nearest English post was more than six hundred miles. The first part of the journey was necessarily made on snowshoes, and the baggage drawn upon toboggans. Lakes Temiscaming and Abbittibi were crossed in canoes built with their own hands and they finally arrived on the shores of James Bay on the 20th day of June. "None but Canadians," proudly remarks the historian, de la Potherie, "could endure the hardships of so long a journey." The first English fort, or trading house, was easily taken by surprise and M. de Troyes proceeded to attack Fort Rupert, one hundred and twenty miles distant and Fort Albany, ninety miles further away, with equal success, as his approach was entirely unexpected.

Retaliation by the Indians was not long delayed. One band captured several persons under the walls of Fort Frontenac and threatened that place with attack. The settlements along the Richelieu were devastated and Fort Chambly blockaded for several days. So distressing were these ravages that about twenty small forts were built in the most exposed settlements in the district of Montreal as places of refuge for the settlers and their cattle. A volunteer corps of one hundred and twenty forest rangers was quartered at the head of the island of Montreal. Denonville considered the situation so serious that he demanded a further reinforcement from France of eight hundred soldiers and one hundred and fifty agricultural labourers. The practice of carrying loaded firearms every where became general and a decree of the superior council passed on 26th February, 1687, imposed certain precautionary regulations in consequence of a fatal accident at a public gathering at Three Rivers.

In July, 1688, the colony was again invaded by a numerous band of Indians who burnt the settlements of Saint-Francois du Lac and Rivière du Loup, then recrossing the Saint Lawrence continued their work of destruction at Sorel, Contrecoeur, Saint Ours, and Boucherville, killing cattle and burning buildings as they passed. Nearly all the militiamen of these settlements, numbering one thousand or eleven hundred, were then absent on service having been called away to escort a large convoy of supplies from Montreal to Cataragui. The greater part of the militia were incessantly kept on duty by these destructive raids. The minister rather curtly replied to Denonville's request that the King's money and soldiers were urgently required elsewhere and that he must make every effort to conclude peace with the Iroquois, and conduct the affairs of the colony peacefully until better times. Only three hundred soldiers could be spared, of whom one hundred and fifty were to be incorporated in the existing companies of colonial troops, and the remainder formed into three new companies under Canadian officers. Among the young Canadians who received commissions were seven sons of Charles le Moyne, and one or more representatives of nearly every noble family in the province. When the last ships sailed for Europe that year the affairs of the colony were in a bad way. An epidemic had first appeared in the garrisons of Niagara and Frontenac, and spread with great rapidity through the remainder of the country. The number of deaths was estimated at fourteen hundred out of a total population of twelve thousand. The cultivation of the land had been much neglected, owing to sickness and the frequent raids of the enemy. In October, Fort Niagara was abandoned and it was feared that the invasion would be renewed during the winter on a greater scale. The governor's account of these calamities struck a note of despair.

He compared the Iroquois to a great band of wolves who could only be tracked to their lairs in the forest with blood hounds or by other Indians who could not be depended upon. If the inhabitants remained shut up in the forts they must perish with starvation, and if they attempted to till their farms they were so surrounded by woods that every field would require a special guard. To carry on the war with success against the Indians, he declared that he would need four thousand troops from France, provided with provisions for two years in advance, together with four or five hundred flat boats and all other necessary supplies for such a campaign. As he suspected that the Iroquois were supplied from New York with the means of carrying on the war he despatched M. de Callières to Paris to advocate an attack upon that province, although there had been as yet no declaration of war against England. On his arrival de Callières offered to lead a force of thirteen hundred soldiers and three hundred Canadians against New York, which he considered would be sufficient to effect its conquest. This plan was apparently approved by the king and minister. Early in May, 1689, war was declared by England. In this declaration the French were accused of having invaded New York and taken possession of the English posts on Hudson Bay and of encroaching upon the fisheries of Newfoundland. It seemed all but certain that a serious invasion of Canada from the English colonies would soon follow.

Early in August, 1690, in the midst of a terrific storm of rain and hail, a large body of Iroquois estimated, probably with some exaggeration, at fourteen hundred warriors crossed Lake Saint-Louis and landed unexpectedly on the upper end of the island of Montreal. The settlements were laid waste and the inhabitants killed or made prisoners, their buildings were burnt and nearly all their cattle killed. A party of forty soldiers and the same number of friendly Indians was attacked on the march and killed or taken to a man. The Iroquois remained in undisputed possession of

the island for many days and the only success over them was gained by twenty-eight Canadian *coureurs de bois* led by Dulhut and le Gardeur de Mantet who defeated a small party of Senecas on the lake of Two Mountains.

While the consternation caused by this invasion was still at its height, the Count de Frontenac arrived at Quebec to take over the government of the colony for a second time and Denonville was recalled to a military command in France. Frontenac was accompanied by several Iroquois chiefs who had been detained as prisoners for several years. They were at once released and sent to their homes in the hope that they would induce their people to ask for peace. Although Frontenac was sixty-eight years of age he was still active and energetic in mind and body. On landing, he learned with dismay, that orders have been given for the withdrawal of the garrison from Fort Frontenac and hastened to Montreal with the intention of countermanding them. On arriving there he found that the post had been already destroyed, together with a considerable supply of provisions and munitions and three small vessels.

A few days later a raiding party of Indians burnt the whole of the settlement of La Chesnaye, opposite the Island of Montreal and killed twenty persons. During the winter, negotiations for peace with the Iroquois were renewed without success, and as their failure was attributed mainly to the influence of the English, the new Governor determined to harass their colonies by a guerilla warfare. Three parties were equipped to make simultaneous raids on their frontier settlements by different routes.

• The first of these, organized at Montreal, consisted of one hundred and twenty Canadians and provincial troops and one hundred friendly Indians, under the command of Sainte-Helene and de Mantet. Marching on snow shoes through the woods early in February, the coldest season of the year, they fell unexpectedly upon the fort and village of Schenectady which were taken by surprise and entirely destroyed with the exception of two houses. Many of the inhabitants were killed and the remainder carried off as prisoners. A second party, organized at Three Rivers, was commanded by Francis Hertel who was accompanied by three of his sons, twenty-four other Canadians and twenty-five Indians. Leaving on the 28th of January, they made their way with much difficulty along the valleys of the St. Francois and Connecticut Rivers, and after a painful march of nearly two months duration, attacked the settlement of Salmon Falls which was protected by two stockades and a large fortified house. These were taken and destroyed with nearly all the other buildings and a great number of cattle. The third party, organized at Quebec, was commanded by de Portneuf, a son of the Baron de Becancour, who had as his Lieutenant, le Gardeur de Courtemanche. It consisted of fifty Canadians and sixty Indians and began its march also on the 28th of January. Its objectives were the new settlements at Casco Bay, on the sea-coast frontier of Massachusetts. De Portneuf's advance was slow, as his men were obliged to support themselves by hunting, and it was the 25th day of May before he arrived in the vicinity of Casco, which was protected by a strong fort, armed with eight guns, and four other smaller forts. An armed party which sallied from the larger fort to reconnoitre, was surprised and defeated with severe loss. The smaller forts were taken with little difficulty and the settlements laid waste. The principal fort was then invested and summoned to surrender. The commandant announced his intention of resisting to the last, but when he saw that preparations were being made to set the fort on fire, he surrendered his garrison of seventy men with a large number of women and children. The forts and neighbouring houses were destroyed and on the first of June, de Portneuf began his return march, and arrived at Quebec on the 23rd of the same month. In all of these parties there were several of the younger members of the Canadian noblesse and gentry who proved themselves to be ideal leaders in this kind of warfare, but most of their operations were attended with lamentable bloodshed and cruelty on the part of the Indians.

The success of these forays revived the drooping spirits of the colonists and their Indian allies, but their joy was of short duration. War parties of the enemy soon made their appearance, both in the district of Montreal and that of Three Rivers. One of these was led into an ambush near La Prairie by a party of twenty militiamen from Pointe-Aux-Trembles, commanded by Lieut. de Colombez, and defeated with considerable loss. The Canadians lost a dozen men, among them being their leader. Another party raided the Seigniorship of Becancour and made many prisoners. To check these incursions, Frontenac organized two small moveable columns, one under de la Motte, to patrol the river from Three Rivers to Saint-Francois du Lac, the

other under de Clermont, to perform the same service on the other bank between Montreal and Sorel. Both of these detachments had sharp encounters with the enemy with varying success. Finally de la Motte fell into an ambush on one of the islands in Lake Saint Peter, and was killed with the greater part of his men. The inhabitants were kept in a constant state of alarm and several parties of harvesters were attacked. At length an Indian scout came in from the vicinity of Albany and announced that he had discovered a large body of the enemy on the shores of Lake George, where they were busily engaged in building many boats and canoes. The whole of the available force was immediately assembled at Montreal, where all the friendly Indians were collected for a council of war. A great feast was made for them on the 25th of August, the name-day of Saint-Louis, which was attended by the Count de Frontenac, dressed as an Indian chief, adorned with feathers and war paint, and carrying a tomahawk in his hand. After addressing the assembled chiefs and warriors, he offered them the axe, sang a war song, and danced the war dance. A few days later, the messenger from Fort Chambly confirmed the former report, and announced that the enemy was advancing down Lake Champlain. The troops still engaged in the harvest in the neighbouring fields were hastily recalled, and some companies sent across the river to La Prairie from which direction it was expected the enemy would approach. On reviewing his force, the governor found that he had twelve hundred men under arms including Indians.

A body of about two thousand men, militia and Indians from the provinces of Connecticut and New York, had in fact been assembled for the invasion of the colony but an epidemic of small pox having broken out among them, the expedition was abandoned and the force dispersed. On learning this, Frontenac once more released the greater part of his troops, both soldiers and militia, to gather in the harvest and had begun preparations for putting them into winter quarters, when a messenger arrived from Quebec with the alarming information that a numerous fleet of the enemy's ships was advancing up the river St. Lawrence, and had already destroyed some fishing settlements on the shore of the gulf.

Embarking on the 10th October, a few hours after receiving this news, Frontenac met next day at Sorel, a second messenger who informed him that an English fleet of thirty-three sail had taken a French vessel, ninety miles below Quebec. As there could no longer be any doubt of the approach of a formidable force of the enemy, an officer was sent back to Montreal with orders for all the troops and a great part of the militia to follow as soon as possible and similar orders were given at Three Rivers when the governor passed that place. His ship having been detained by contrary winds, he entered a canoe and arrived at Quebec at noon on the 14th to the great joy of the inhabitants who relied with the utmost confidence upon his courage, energy and skill.

The English fleet slowly advancing up the river conveyed a considerable body of colonial troops from Massachusetts under the command of Sir William Phipps, who had already taken the forts of Port Royal and Chedabuctou on the coast of Acadia, and compelled the inhabitants to take an oath of allegiance to the king of England. Frontenac had little time to prepare for defence as on the 16th of October, the whole fleet anchored off Quebec and began preparations for landing. Several days elapsed before these were completed and in the interval new batteries were built and armed and the fortifications of the town greatly strengthened. The militia of Three Rivers under the command of Hertel soon arrived and were followed a few days later by eight hundred men from the district of Montreal, commanded by de Callières. The militia from the district of Quebec assembled in full force and had already distinguished themselves by their activity in resisting some attempts to land below the town. In one of these, the militia of the parish of Rivière Ouelle led by their curé, M. de Francheville, wearing the distinctive blue cap and great-coat of the local militia, and armed with a reliable shot-gun, had inflicted some loss on a party that attempted to come on shore at that place.

On the afternoon of the 18th, all the troops were landed from the fleet near the mouth of the River St. Charles, and on advancing inland came under a heavy fire from a body of colonial troops and militia who had taken a favourable position to oppose the passage of a small stream, where they were concealed among bushes and rocks. After an action lasting for an hour, the French were compelled to retire with some loss. Capt. de Clermont was killed and M. Juchereau de Saint-Denis, seignior of Beauport, who commanded the militia from that parish, was severely wounded. The English slowly advanced towards the town and encamped on its outskirts just out of range

of the batteries. Here they remained for two days without making any further offensive movement. On the afternoon of the 20th, they were attacked by a small party commanded by the brothers, de Longueuil and Sainte-Hélène, and in this skirmish the latter officer was mortally wounded. Next day, some small detachments of colonial troops accompanied by the militia of Beauport, Beaupré, and the island of Orleans again advanced from the town and commenced a brisk attack. The following night was very dark and rainy and the English commander took advantage of this to re-embark his troops without molestation, leaving behind him, however, five guns and some munitions. These were seized by a party of volunteers from Beaupré and Beauport who defended them successfully against a detachment sent from the fleet to recover them. This body of militia was commanded by the Sieur Carré who was joined by forty young men from the seminary of Saint-Joachim to whom Frontenac presented one of the captured cannon, and gave another to the militia. In engaging the batteries by the water side, the English ships had received some damage, and as the weather had grown cold and stormy, Phipps reluctantly decided to abandon the siege and return to Boston. Before sailing he proposed a general exchange of prisoners which was carried out. Frontenac warmly praised the courage and devotion of the inhabitants of Quebec as well as the militia of Montreal, Three Rivers, and the surrounding country who had hastened with such alacrity to the defence of the place, and the departure of the fleet was naturally hailed as a great victory.

The great scarcity of food in the colony prevented Frontenac from sending out any raiding parties during the winter. Early in May, a body of several hundred Iroquois established a camp near the mouth of the Ottawa River, which became a base for their inroads upon the district of Montreal. The parish of Pointe-aux-Trembles was entirely devastated by them. Another party surprised some friendly Indians between Chambly and La Prairie while a third surrounded the Indian village on the mountain at Montreal and carried off several inhabitants. Other parties harried the settlements from Repentigny to the islands of Lake St. Peter, and did much damage without being molested, as lack of provisions prevented the troops and militia from entering the field to oppose them. Finally M. de Vaudreuil, having diligently collected supplies from house to house, went in pursuit with one hundred men, mainly volunteers from the militia. On the 7th June, fifteen Iroquois warriors were surrounded in a house at Repentigny, and although they were ultimately all killed, François Le Moyne de Bienville, the fifth son of Charles Le Moyne, was mortally wounded in this fight. In July a squadron of ships arrived from France with provisions and reinforcements which restored confidence.

The governor and intendant were directed by an order from the king to make every exertion to train and equip the militia for active service. Patents of nobility were granted to Hertel as a reward for his services and to Juchereau de St. Denis who had been wounded at the siege of Quebec. Le Moyne de Longueuil was promoted to the command of a company, his brother, de Maricourt, was granted half pay, and commissions as subalterns in the colonial troops were reserved for other Canadian gentlemen.

Supplies were at once shipped to Montreal where all the troops were assembled for the purpose of dislodging the enemy from their position on the Ottawa, but they withdrew before these preparations could be completed. Shortly after, a scouting party commanded by young Hertel brought in a prisoner who stated that a large body of the enemy were advancing by Lake Champlain under the command of a famous partisan officer, Major Peter Schuyler of Albany. A party of chosen troops and militia was at once despatched to reinforce the garrison of Fort Chambly and seven or eight hundred more, partly colonial troops and partly militia, crossed the river to La Prairie, where there was another small fort. Here they were suddenly attacked on the night of the 10th-11th August by Schuyler's force which had stealthily approached under cover of darkness. Before they recovered from their confusion, the French suffered very severe loss. Four captains of the colony troops were killed in rallying their men. After a fierce fight which lasted nearly three hours Schuyler was repelled with severe loss. The leader of the Canadians, Le Ber Duchesne, was mortally wounded. Frontenac declared in an official letter, that no action in Canada, since the establishment of the colony, had reflected more credit on the king's arms, or been of so great advantage, as it gave the inhabitants security while finishing their harvest, without which they would have been reduced to the greatest distress.

In the month of November, the Iroquois renewed their attacks but were driven off without doing much damage. During the following spring they showed so little ac-

tivity that Frontenac went down to Quebec to meet the reinforcements which he expected to receive from France. During his absence the seigniory of La Chesnaye was again laid waste, and a number of the inhabitants carried off while engaged in hay-making. Vaudreuil pursued the invaders with four hundred men and overtaking them at the Long Sault, inflicted severe loss. Still a few days later, a party under Captain de Lusignan returning from Three Rivers, was attacked on Lake St. Peter; de Lusignan was killed and his party dispersed. In August, Frontenac returned to Montreal, bringing with him three hundred militiamen from the district of Quebec, whose assistance he deemed necessary to protect the harvesters in gathering their crops, which was accomplished without much loss. He then made deliberate preparations to attack the Indians once more in their villages. The intendant was instructed to provide supplies, snow shoes, and sleds for six hundred men. In the month of January, 1693, a force consisting of one hundred colonial troops, two hundred Indians and more than four hundred young Canadian volunteers, was assembled at Montreal for this expedition. Many of these men came from a great distance, some even from the new settlements more than one hundred miles below Quebec. At the request of the Indians, Lieuts. Mantet, Courtemanche and Lanoue of the colonial troops, but all natives of the country and accustomed from their infancy to long journeys in winter weather, were placed in command. Twenty-five or thirty other colonial officers offered their services, several of whom were permitted to accompany the force as volunteers.

Travelling on snow shoes and drawing their supplies on sleds this column marched from La Prairie on the 25th of January to attack the Mohawk villages about fifty miles from Albany. On the 16th of February they approached the nearest villages in the dark and captured two of them with little resistance. Two nights afterwards they attacked a third where many warriors were assembled for an expedition. A desperate fight followed in which twenty Mohawks and two Canadians were killed. All the captured villages were destroyed and the expedition began its retreat with three hundred prisoners but was closely pursued by Schuyler with nearly seven hundred men. Several sharp skirmishes took place in which the Canadians lost about fifty men, killed and wounded, among the latter the gallant Lanoue. A rapid thaw set in and impeded their retreat. Their sufferings were great, as the conveyance of so many wounded and the care of so many prisoners made their movements slow and difficult. Their provisions became exhausted and they were obliged to send forward a party to bring supplies from Montreal which barely enabled them to reach that place, completely worn out by fatigue, on the 17th of March. Even then they were obliged to leave most of their wounded behind in a small stockade under the protection of a few brave volunteers commanded by Courtemanche. Although this enterprise had by no means the success expected, still it caused the enemy considerable loss and spread terror on the frontiers of the province of New York.

Receiving information from different sources that a considerable squadron had arrived at Boston, and was preparing to make another attack upon Quebec, while at the same time eight hundred Iroquois and six hundred militia from Connecticut and New York were directed to advance against Montreal, Frontenac made every effort for the defence of the colony. The fortifications of Quebec were again strengthened and a strong place of refuge for the women and children was established on the island of Orleans. Another fort with four stone bastions connected by palisades and surrounded by a ditch was built at Montreal to protect the town. Sorel and Chambly were put in a better state of defence. Towards the middle of July, eight hundred Indians made their appearance near the Cascades at the farther end of Lake Saint Louis. De Callières assembled eight hundred men and was joined by de Vaudreuil with five companies of royal troops and one hundred and fifty recruits who had just arrived from France with whom they marched in search of the enemy. The Indians had decamped on learning their approach and the campaign terminated.

The fleet at Boston proceeded to the West Indies to attack the French colonies there but suffered so much loss from yellow fever that this design was also abandoned.

Negotiations for peace were renewed with the Indians mainly in the hope of securing an exchange of prisoners and gaining time for the cultivation of the land which was so important to the colonists. In these respects they were partially successful.

Ever since his return to the country, Frontenac had kept constantly in mind the re-establishment of a garrison at Catarqui, and in the spring 1694, he gave instructions for the organization of an expedition to occupy that place. When all was ready to move, he received orders from France to supply a force under command of the two

brothers, Le Moynes d'Iberville and de Serigny, for the attack of Port Nelson on Hudson Bay. One hundred and twenty Canadians and some Indians were selected for this expedition and the remainder disbanded.

In fact, the French government gave little breathing space to the Canadian militia as parties of them were constantly employed in conveying stores to Niagara, the Illinois, and Mackinac, or in making raids upon the British settlements on the frontiers of Acadia, in Newfoundland, and Hudson Bay. The force under d'Iberville and his brother consisted of two hundred picked men in two armed vessels which arrived in sight of Port Nelson on the 20th September. They were prevented by ice from approaching the fort for nearly a month, but on the 28th of October, the troops were landed and the siege began. In repelling a sortie, de Chateauguay, a younger brother of the leaders of the expedition was killed, but a few days later the garrison capitulated and the captured post received the name of Fort Bourbon. Winter soon set in and d'Iberville was detained by ice until the beginning of September in the following year, when he sailed for France with a valuable cargo of furs, leaving a garrison of two officers, sixty-four Canadians and six Indians.

The negotiations with the Indians had been protracted without any definite result and in the spring of 1695, Frontenac decided to rebuild and reoccupy the fort at Cataragui as a base for future operations. One hundred and ten men were recruited in the districts of Quebec and Three Rivers, and were joined at Montreal by thirty-six officers, fifty militiamen, two hundred colonial troops and two hundred Indians, under the command of Chevalier de Crisasy, an Italian officer of great merit. A few days after the departure of the troops from Montreal, letters were received from France absolutely disapproving of the project, but it was then too late to recall the troops. The dismantled fort was quickly repaired and placed in a state of defence without the loss of a man. A garrison of forty-eight soldiers were left behind and the remainder returned to Montreal, discovering on their way that the Indians were once more assembling for an invasion of the colony. This information gave the governor of Montreal an opportunity of putting his garrison on the alert and the Ile Perrot was occupied with a force of eight hundred men. These measures, however, did not prevent the Indians from making some desultory incursions which were repelled before much damage was done.

Preparations for the contemplated expedition against the Iroquois were steadily continued. It was intended to direct the first blow against the Onondagas, who were believed to be the nation most firmly attached to the English and opposed to any treaty of peace. By attacking them during the winter it was anticipated that many women and children might be captured and that this would induce the warriors to submit. An unusual fall of snow early in the year compelled a modification of this scheme. It was next proposed to despatch a force consisting of all the militia of the districts of Three Rivers and Montreal, with the friendly Indians and soldiers trained to the use of snow shoes, against the Mohawks, but the escape of a prisoner of that nation from Montreal caused the abandonment of this plan. Three hundred men, of whom some were Indians, were sent to reconnoitre the peninsula between the Saint Lawrence and Ottawa under the command of Louvigny, who was accompanied by three other colonial officers. That part of the country was found entirely clear of the enemy and the small garrison of Fort Frontenac fully on the alert and in good health and spirits. The detachment returned to Montreal about the end of March, having suffered from scarcity of provisions and the difficulty of marching, as the snow in the woods was reported to be seven feet deep on the level. The militia and friendly Indians from all parts of the colony were ordered to assemble at Montreal on the 22nd of June. Frontenac arrived from Quebec on the same day and found that the necessary boats, munitions and provisions had already been collected by the intendant. On the 6th of July, the whole force encamped on Ile Perrot. Five hundred Indians had arrived who were divided into three bands under the orders of de Maricourt, Le Gardeur and the Baron de Becancour. The regular force was organized in four battalions each of two hundred men, under the command of four oldest captains of the colonial troops. The militia numbering nearly a thousand men was also organized in four battalions; that from Quebec being commanded by M. de St. Martin; the battalion from Beaupré by de Granville; the battalion from Three Rivers by de Grandpré, and the Montreal battalion by d'Eschambault, crown attorney for that town. Three days later this small army began its advance, taken with it several small pieces of field artillery. The labour of surmounting the rapids was very great, and only accomplished by the extraordinary efforts of the militia who displayed the greatest skill and activity in this

work. A halt of six days was made at Catarauqui. Lake Ontario was then crossed without accident and on the 28th of July, a landing was made at the mouth of Oswego river. The boats were taken up the river, carried around the falls, and thence ascended the stream to Oneida Lake, and entered the Onondaga river. A fortified camp was established there for the protection of the boats and provisions, and the march was continued on the 4th of August, Frontenac being carried in the litter, escorted by his staff. The Indians had intended to await the attack in their principal village where, with the assistance of some English officers, they had built a strong fort of earth and palisades, but finding that they would not receive reinforcements they expected from the other nations, had abandoned it and destroyed the whole village by fire. Three days were spent in destroying the vast fields of Indian corn which surrounded this village for five miles in all directions. The Onondagas had retreated into the woods a distance of fifty or sixty miles and it seemed useless to pursue them. A deputation arrived from the Oneidas bringing in a French prisoner as a peace-offering, and they announced their willingness to accept such terms as might be imposed upon them, provided their villages were not harmed. This proposal was rejected and the nearest village was occupied and destroyed with the neighbouring fields of grain. Frontenac next proposed to advance against the Cayugas, and announced his intention of building a fort on the site of each of the ruined villages, to prevent the Indians from returning. De Callières offered to remain there during the winter and the governor selected de Maricourt and some other officers, mostly native Canadians, for service under him as being more accustomed to a life in the woods than others. On reflection, however, he suddenly changed his mind and decided to return at once to Montreal. This caused considerable discontent, especially among the Canadians and Indians who were anxious to continue the campaign. Only thirty-five prisoners were taken and Frontenac lost but four men, one of whom was killed during the retreat and the other three were drowned in shooting the rapids. The destruction of their crops caused the Indians great distress as the English colonists were unable to supply them with sufficient provisions.

Frontenac lost no time in returning to Quebec to receive the orders of the court. He was then directed to detach two hundred men composed of regular troops and Canadian volunteers to Placentia in Newfoundland, where they were to await the arrival of d'Iberville. That officer having taken and destroyed the post of Pemquid, built on the frontier of Acadia to overawe the Indians, was unable to reach Placentia before the middle of September. Several English fishing posts had been established on the eastern shore of the island, and it was against these that the expedition was directed. Placentia was the only place of consequence in the hands of the French. The governor of this place claimed the command of the whole force. The Canadians, however, declared that they would only follow d'Iberville and threatened to take to the woods if they were required to serve under another. On All Saints Day, they began their march across the island to attack St. John. The snow had already begun to fall and the weather became stormy. The town was taken with little difficulty and the fort invested. It surrendered on the last day of the year when it was demolished and the settlement destroyed to prevent its re-occupation. D'Iberville with his Canadian followers continued the campaign in spite of the inclemency of the weather. Providing themselves with snow shoes and carrying their provisions on their backs, they easily made themselves masters of the remaining fishing stations with the exception of Bonavista and the island of Carbonnière both which places were pronounced too strongly fortified to be attacked. D'Iberville's force consisted of only one hundred and forty four men and he reported the capture of between five and six hundred prisoners, most of whom, no doubt, were taken in small parties. Charlevoix effusively compared this band of "brave Canadians" to the tenth legion "who would only fight under the leadership of Caesar, and at whose head, Caesar was invincible." Among the young Canadian officers, named as having particularly distinguished themselves by their courage and contempt for hardships were de Martigny, Boucher de La Perriere, d'Amour de Plaine, d'Amour des Chaffours and Dugué de Boisbriand. D'Iberville afterwards returned to Placentia to prepare for a nattack upon the English posts, and awaited the arrival of his brother, de Serigny, from France, by whom he received an imperative order to embark with his Canadian followers and recover Fort Bourbon which had been taken by an English squadron. On arriving in sight of Port Nelson on the 5th of September 1697, with his squadron of five vessels, he encountered three large English ships and a fierce battle followed. The largest English ship was sunk in the course of the action and another taken. The fort was invested and surrendered a few days later.

Frontenac was obliged by the great scarcity of provisions to abandon his plan of harassing the Indians by small parties. The organization of the expedition against the Onondagas had caused neglect in seeding, the harvest had not been large and the price of grain became enormous. It would be a matter of difficulty to maintain his troops even in their quarters without undertaking offensive operations. Fortunately the Iroquois were not aggressive and even sent a deputation to negotiate for an exchange of prisoners and ostensibly to treat for peace. In the spring of 1697, the negotiations were renewed. The governor had then received orders to hold all the colonial troops and militia of the colony in readiness for a secret expedition, the object of which was not disclosed even to him. Like former orders of similar purport received from the ministry, these instructions greatly hampered his operations against the Iroquois. Anticipating a formidable attack upon the colony, La Motte-Cadillac, the commandant of Mackinac, was summoned to the defence of Montreal where he arrived with three hundred western Indians.

On the 17th September, a small squadron arrived at Quebec, bringing confidential despatches from the commander of the combined naval and military force fitted out at La Rochelle for the conquest of New England. The fleet had been late in its departure from France and was further delayed by contrary winds; consequently it failed to arrive at Placentia in Newfoundland until the 24th July. As the troops expected to join it from Canada, could not possibly arrive before the 10th of September, and the fleet was only provisioned for fifty days, a council of war decided to abandon the design. All the supply ships intended for Canada were sent on to Quebec with these despatches. By the same messenger, Frontenac received a royal edict prohibiting all officers and soldiers quartered at the frontier posts from trading with the Indians under heavy penalties. This caused much dissatisfaction and drew a strong remonstrance from the governor. Another royal ordinance was also received authorising the discharge of all soldiers serving in the colonial troops who married in the country. They were to be granted pay for one year, and allowed to retain their clothing, arms and accoutrements.

Early in May, 1698, Schuyler arrived from Albany with nineteen French prisoners and announced that a treaty of peace had been concluded at Ryswick, between the contending European powers, by which the frontier of Acadia was to be delimited, the trading posts on Hudson Bay were ceded to France and those in Newfoundland, with the exception of Placentia restored to the English. The Iroquois again showed a disposition to treat for peace, the conclusion of which Frontenac was not destined to see, as he died suddenly in November, 1698, after a few days illness, leaving behind him the reputation of having been the greatest governor of New France, which has been confirmed by the verdict of posterity.

De Callières was eventually appointed governor general and de Vaudreuil succeeded him as governor of Montreal. The Iroquois released their prisoners and after a long negotiation, a treaty of peace was ultimately signed at Montreal, on the 8th September, 1700. During this war which lasted for more than ten years, the colony had suffered severely, not only from invasion, but from the almost continuous absence of the militia on active service, who consequently had little time to attend to their ordinary occupations. The noblesse and gentry had as a rule proved themselves efficient leaders and displayed great courage, endurance, resourcefulness and skill in the conduct of minor military operations at the head of their tenants and the local militia. The colonial troops were also mainly officered from among them. The militia had become a tolerably well trained and efficient irregular force, and the clergy generally had shown their zeal and resolution in animating their parishioners in the performance of their military duties, some-times actually leading them to the field, and often marching with them in their campaigns.

More than two thousand recruits had arrived in detachments from France to strengthen the colonial forces, very few of whom ever returned to their native land. Many of them married and received their discharges in the colony. The discipline and efficiency of the militia were naturally improved by the inclusion of so many trained soldiers in its ranks.

The interval of peace was of short duration, as France and England were soon involved as enemies in a fresh conflict which became known in history as the War of the Spanish Succession. As long as the Iroquois remained friendly the colony had little to fear from any invasion by land. Consequently, the governor-general made every effort to keep on good terms with these Indians.

During this past decade of incessant warfare the population of the colony had increased slowly, if at all. Farming had been neglected as most of the able-bodied men were constantly kept under arms. Seeding was done hastily and carelessly, and often none but the women, children and old men remained upon the farms to sow the grain and reap the harvest. In the autumn of 1700, the crop was very scanty. In the following winter the inhabitants in the country were obliged to dig up roots in the woods to save themselves from starvation. In the towns, their sufferings were still greater, and the entire population was deprived of most of the necessaries of life. The renewal of hostilities filled them with dismay. An expedition against Placentia was fitted out in New England but failed, after taking a few fishing vessels. The governor of Acadia warned de Callières that a formidable naval and military force, including some militia from New York, was being collected at Boston. The fortifications at Quebec were repaired and reinforcements again demanded from France. While engaged in these preparations for defence, de Callières was suddenly overtaken by death and the administration of the affairs in the colony devolved upon de Vaudreuil as the officer next in rank. In his anxiety to maintain peace with the Iroquois, the new governor promised that he would abstain from any attack upon the province of New York, but declared that he would not spare the people of New England, as they had already attacked his Indian allies in Acadia. He sent a large party under Lieut. de Beaubassin against the frontier of Massachusetts, which ravaged many miles of country and killed or took prisoners three hundred persons. This incursion was, however, strongly condemned by the French minister, Pontchartrain, who wrote "I know that the English desired peace because war is fatal to the interests of all their colonies; the French have always begun hostilities in Canada."

The English settlers promptly retaliated by attacking the Abenakis and the chiefs of that tribe urgently called for assistance. During the winter of 1703-4, de Vaudreuil despatched a force of two hundred and fifty men under Hertel de Rouville, a retired officer of the colonial troops, who was accompanied by four of his brothers. This party ascended Lake Champlain and thence crossing to the Connecticut River marched upon the ice against Deerfield, the nearest settlement. This village was protected by a small fort and some fortified houses, occupied by a garrison of twenty soldiers. It was surprised in the night and taken with very little resistance. Forty-seven persons were killed, one hundred and twenty taken prisoners, and the village reduced to ashes. Rouville was wounded himself but lost only three men besides a few Indians. Many of the younger prisoners were adopted into Canadian families and never returned to their former homes.

The Iroquois still remained neutral but the governor of New York invited them to meet him in council at Albany, a measure which was regarded by de Vaudreuil with strong suspicion. The Senecas had even hinted their willingness to act as mediators between the French and English. When informed of this the French minister directed the governor to agree to a state of neutrality in America, but remarked that it was not politic to obtain this by the intervention of the Indians. De Vaudreuil's efforts in this direction were unsuccessful, but they served to convince the Indians that the French did not want war.

A seaman named La Grange who had taken part in the last campaign at Hudson Bay under d'Iberville, planned an expedition against the English settlements in Newfoundland. He fitted out two small vessels, enlisted one hundred young Canadians, obtained a letter of marque from the Governor and attempted to surprise Bonavista. In this he failed, but took several valuable prizes with which he returned to Quebec. This encouraged the governor of Acadia to propose another expedition in greater strength. The French government approved this plan, and he was authorized to enlist men at Quebec and transport them to Placentia. A force of four hundred and fifty men was assembled under the command of de Beaucourt and de Montigny, two noted partisan leaders, both of whom had already served in Newfoundland under d'Iberville. They were repulsed in an attack on the fort of St. John, but destroyed several fishing settlements on the coast and made many prisoners.

The year 1705 was regarded as one of the great calamity for Canada as a large ship of war on its way to Quebec, loaded with supplies valued at a million livres, was taken by the English. Among the passengers who became prisoners were the bishop of Quebec and several priests. De Vaudreuil was at length formally installed as governor, his commission having been several times delayed through accidents. For the next two years the continuation of hostilities affected Canada very slightly, but on

the 15th June, 1707, an English fleet appeared before Port Royal in Acadia, and landed a considerable body of troops. An attempt at assault was easily repelled and the whole force re-embarked two days later. This successful defence was largely attributed to the opportune arrival of sixty Canadian volunteers shortly before the appearance of the enemy, as the inhabitants of the place, having received no support from France for three years, were much inclined to surrender.

A second attempt a few months later, led by Colonel March, met with no better success. His squadron appeared before Port Royal on the 20th August, and landed troops next day. All the colonists within thirty miles had been assembled for the defence of the place and the garrison was reinforced by the crew of the royal frigate, *Bisone*, which had been recently completed by the enlistment of sixty Canadians at Quebec. The advanced guard of the invaders fell into an ambush and was roughly handled. The whole force shortly afterwards re-embarked and on the first of September, set sail for Boston.

Early in the following spring an expedition was organized at Montreal, composed of about four hundred chosen men, of whom one half were militia and volunteers, among the latter being several officers of the colonial troops, and the remainder Abenakis and Huron Indians. The militia and volunteers were commanded by Hertel de Rouville and Saint Ours des Chaillons; Boucher de la Perrière was in charge of the Indians. Marching in two parties from Montreal, one following the river St. Francis and the other going by way of Lake Champlain, they had agreed to meet at Lake Nikisipique, where they were to be joined by the Indians from Acadia. A further advance was delayed for various reasons and many of the Indians returned to their villages because one of them had been killed by an accident which they considered a bad omen. The party was then reduced to two hundred men but having received orders to proceed, they attacked the village of Haverhill on the river Merrimac, guarded by a small fort, having a garrison of thirty soldiers. The place was taken with little resistance, and set on fire. The alarm spread rapidly and they soon heard drums beating and the trumpets sounding in the neighbouring villages. During its retreat, Hertel's force was briskly attacked by a party lying in ambush in the woods but succeeded in repelling it with heavy loss. A large number of prisoners were brought off, many of them being women and children. The French lost three Indians and five Canadians killed, among the latter two young officers of great promise, Hertel de Chambly, a brother of de Rouville, and Jared de Verchères.

Another expedition fitted out at Placentia succeeded in taking St. John in Newfoundland, on the 1st January, 1709. The fortifications were dismantled and the place abandoned as troops could not be spared for its occupation.

These events caused so much annoyance to the English government that they decided to make another vigorous effort to expel the French from Acadia and Newfoundland, and then attempt the conquest of Canada. Five regiments of regular troops were placed under orders to embark from England and bodies of volunteers were recruited in New York and New England. A sudden turn in the war in the Spanish Peninsula altered these plans and the departure of troops from England was countermanded. The military preparations in New York and the conclusion of a treaty of alliance with the Iroquois became known to Vaudreuil by a letter from a Canadian missionary residing among the Onondagas. The greater part of the colonial troops were assembled at Montreal early in January and the militia ordered to be in readiness to move on short notice. De Rouville was sent with 250 men to reconnoitre the shores of Lake Champlain but he returned without discovering any trace of the enemy. Two months later the appearance near Lake Champlain of a large force of English and Indians was reported and de Ramezay, governor of Montreal, was ordered to march against it with a body of fifteen hundred men among them being six hundred militia, organized in six companies, commanded by de Rouville, Saint-Martin, des Jordis, de Sabrevois, de Ligneris and des Chaillons. A small detachment of the enemy was routed near the lake and a number of prisoners taken. It was then learned that the English had strongly fortified their camp and were building boats for a further advance. The Indians declared that it would be rash to attack them in this position and a council of war decided to retire to Montreal. The fortifications of Chambly and Montreal were repaired, and de Vaudreuil returned to Quebec, where new works were under construction. A report that an English squadron was advancing up the river caused a general alarm and the militia were assembled in large numbers for the defence of the town. This news proved to be false and it was also soon learned that the army assembled for the invasion of the province had retired from Lake Champlain without attempting any further movement.

The joy of the colonists on hearing this was soon changed into sorrow by the ill-success of an expedition, headed by de Mantet against Fort Sainte-Anne on Hudson Bay. His party had succeeded in reaching the palisades surrounding this place without being discovered when their leader was killed by the first fire of the garrison. His followers became utterly discouraged at this loss and returned to Canada.

Port Royal was closely blockaded for several months in the summer of 1710, and in the following October, a large fleet anchored before that place and landed several thousand men under the command of General Nicholson. As a successful defence against such a force seemed out of the question, the garrison yielded at once. By the terms of capitulation, the whole province of Acadia was surrendered. Port Royal then received the name of Annapolis Royal in honour of the reigning queen of England and a strong garrison was left in possession.

On learning this loss Vaudreuil felt certain that an attack on Quebec would not be long delayed. De Longueuil was sent to treat for peace with the Five Nations, and work on the fortifications of Quebec was resumed. Le Gardeur de Saint Pierre and Tonti, who had gone to the west to collect the Indians, opportunely arrived at Montreal with nearly five hundred warriors. The colonial troops and militia were held in readiness to march at a moment's warning. When de Vaudreuil returned to Quebec, he found it in a position to stand a siege with confidence. The appearance of an English fleet in the Bay of Gaspé was soon reported and at the same time a large force, including several hundred Indians began its march from Albany toward Lake Champlain. A strong detachment was organized at Montreal, under command of the Baron de Longueuil to observe the movements of the enemy in that quarter. Before leaving Montreal he was presented by the Grand Vicar with a banner on which a well known nun, Mademoiselle le Ber, had embroidered a prayer to the Holy Virgin.

On his arrival at Chambly, Longueuil learned that the English army had suddenly retreated, after destroying its magazines and stockades. The cause of this movement was unknown but it raised the hopes of the colonists to the highest point. The colonial troops and militia from Montreal at once hastened to the relief at Quebec where they arrived in the greatest spirits, declaring their impatience for a sight of the English fleet. They were immediately set to work on the fortifications which they shown the greatest zeal. They were so noisy at night that a local annalist naively relates that they greatly disturbed the sleep of the inhabitants.

The regular troops from England had arrived at Boston early in July and great efforts were made throughout the English Colonies to co-operate in the contemplated expedition. On the 18th August, a numerous fleet under the command of Admiral Hovenden Walker, bearing these troops cast anchor in the Bay of Gaspé. The wind suddenly shifted to the east and a dense fog covered the river which prevented its further approach and in attempting to put out to sea, eight of the transports were driven on the rocks where they went to pieces and many men perished. This disaster caused the abandonment of the expedition and the fleet returned to England without even attempting an ascent of the river. By many Canadians the failure of these plans was devoutly attributed to divine intervention.

The French ministry strongly desired to follow up this advantage by an effort to regain Port Royal and the province of Acadia. This was considered equally necessary for the preservation of their other settlements in North America and the protection of their fisheries. De Vaudreuil was desired to undertake this task with the Canadian militia. He asked for the assistance of two ships of war but was unable to obtain them. As an evidence of good faith, he had already ordered a detachment from Quebec to assist the Indians and Acadian colonists in blockading Port Royal, but the news of the approach of the English fleet had forced him to recall this small party.

The Iroquois renewed their professions of friendship, which were not believed to be entirely sincere, but at all events, they made no serious effort to invade or harass Canada. In the west, a bitter warfare had begun between the Renards or Foxes, then a numerous and warlike tribe, and the Indians in alliance with the French. Du Buisson, the commandant of Detroit, was compelled to take the field in support of the allied nations, and with the assistance of his artillery, the Renards were eventually dislodged from their stronghold and slaughtered without mercy in the pursuit.

Canada was not again threatened with invasion during this war, and in 1713, a treaty of peace was signed at Utrecht by which the French posts on Hudson Bay and Newfoundland together with the entire province of Acadia were ceded to Great Britain.

The Indian nations who had taken arms on either side were also guaranteed from future molestation by subjects of France and Great Britain respectively.

In spite of an epidemic of small pox which had caused many deaths, particularly in the year 1703, the population of the province had considerably increased. In 1713, the white inhabitants were reported to number 13,440 of whom 4,444 were males fit for military service between the ages of fourteen and sixty. The colony troops consisted of twenty-eight companies having a total strength of 628 of all ranks. The treaty of Utrecht was followed by more than thirty years of peace, broken only by a few punitive expeditions against the Indians in the west. Forts Frontenac and Niagara secured the safe navigation of Lake Ontario for French shipping. Great trading posts were established at Detroit and Mackinac, which were frequented by most of the Indians in those regions. Many Canadians followed d'Iberville to Louisiana when he founded that colony and took an active part in establishing settlements at Mobile, Natchez, Cahokia and other points on the Mississippi. Intercourse between the two colonies was frequent and intimate. Traffic with the Indians became very profitable and in 1727, a company was organized for trade beyond the Mississippi under the name of "Compagnie des Sioux." Its agents explored the vast region beyond that river as far as the foot of the Rocky Mountains and built several small trading posts on the Upper Mississippi and its tributaries, as well as upon the Saskatchewan and other rivers of the north. Gradually the number of persons employed in the fur trade increased to about 4,000, many of whom were young Canadians who naturally preferred a life of adventure to less exciting occupations in the colony.

In the summer of 1730, the war with the Renards recommenced and they were defeated and dispersed with great slaughter. An expedition against them two years later under the command of de Villiers and de Repentigny was on the contrary repelled after a desperate fight in which both the French commanders were killed. In 1734, another force consisting of eighty colonial troops and 130 friendly Indians was despatched from Montreal to punish this tribe. After a journey which occupied no less than seven months, this party discovered an Indian fort on a branch of the Mississippi, which was found to be much stronger than had been anticipated. Finding themselves too weak to attack, a treaty of peace was hastily concluded which was afterwards condemned as humiliating. Le Moyne de Bienville, after much distinguished service at sea, had become governor of Louisiana. He was soon involved in hostilities with the Natchez and in 1723, marched against them with a considerable force among whom were a number of Canadian volunteers. This war continued intermittently with little success for some years. In a subsequent expedition against the Chickasaws, de Bienville met with a serious check and urgently requested the ministry in France to instruct the Governor of Canada to assist him with a reinforcement. M. de Beauharnois who had succeeded de Vaudreuil selected the Baron de Longueuil for the command of this force. As this campaign was likely to be protracted and attended with many hardships there was a marked unwillingness to volunteer for the service. The governor accordingly was obliged to issue orders for the draft of a militia force. It consisted of 440 men including some Indians, but most of the latter deserted on the march. A junction with the troops from Louisiana was effected at Fort Saint-Francois on the Mississippi, not far from the site of the present city of Memphis. De Bienville's force then consisted of 1,200 white troops and more than 2,000 Indians and negroes. Disease, however, soon broke out among them and he decided to leave the campaign entirely in the hands of the Canadians and their allied Indians, who, being accustomed to the hardships of winter in their own country, he strangely argued, would be able to resist the southern climate quite as well. Accordingly de Celoron marched against the enemy with his little force and succeeded in compelling them to sue for peace. Among other Canadian officers who distinguished themselves in this campaign, de Saint-Laurent, de Gannes, de la Chauvignerie, de Ligneris and le Gardeur de Saint-Pierre were specially named.

The organization of the militia was maintained apparently without much alteration. The division of the colony into parishes was revised in 1721, by a jurist from France whose scheme did not give satisfaction owing to his lack of local knowledge. His successor, M. Le Voories, was appointed as *Procureur-General* and special commissioner. Before altering the boundaries of any parish, he assembled the *habitans* and heard their suggestions and objections. The number of parishes was increased to 110, and his decisions appear to have given general satisfaction.

A royal memorandum of 15th May, 1725, addressed to the governor and intendant directed that all farmers, domestic servants and workmen should be enrolled in the

militia. Bailiffs were also required to perform service therein excepting those who were court-criers. If the gentry declined to act as officers they must be compelled to serve as privates. In a later letter, a list of officers was required, and astonishment was expressed that councillors who formerly felt it an honour to act as captains of militia had ceased to seek commissions. An order from the intendant, addressed to Sieur Trudelle, Captain of the militia of the Côte de Beaupré, dated the 2nd January, 1727, instructed him to inform the inhabitants of that parish that they must cut the timber necessary for bridges, and work at repairing the roads. On the 14th May, 1728, the president of the Navy Board wrote to the governor that it was observed that the general militia roll contained the names of 6,977 persons of whom 322 were without arms. They were to be induced to supply themselves at their own expense. An ordinance published by the intendant, Hocquart, on the 5th June, 1730, required all captains and other officers of the militia to supervise the necessary labor of the inhabitants upon the roads and public bridges, and in case of refusal, the work was to be carried out at the expense of the delinquents. Permission from the minister of marine was received the same year for the distribution of arms to discharged soldiers. Another ordinance published by the same official, dated the 17th February, 1738, authorised the officers of justice and captains and officers of the militia to take possession in any place whatsoever of as much wheat as was required for the troops, the hospitals, and the poor, paying for it at a rate of four livres per bushel.

An official memoir attributed to the intendant, Hocquart, apparently written in 1736, states the entire population of the colony at about 40,000 persons of whom 10,000 were fit for military service.

The writer describes the Canadians as generally tall, well made and of an active temperament. There were few mechanics or tradesmen among them but necessity had made them industrious. The rural inhabitants of the country were generally expert in the use of the axe. They manufactured most of their tools and agricultural implements and built their own houses and barns. Some of them had learned to weave a coarse kind of cloth called "drugget" of which much of their clothing was made. They were fond of distinctions and compliments and were proud of their courage, keenly sensitive to ridicule and any kind of reproof. They drank much brandy and frequently became intoxicated. Although strongly attached to their religion they were not considered particularly truthful. They were fond of hunting, boating and travelling and had not the heavy and rustic appearance of the French peasants. Naturally impatient of discipline, the chief method recommended to enforce it, was the selection of officers of the militia from the best educated and most influential inhabitants, giving them all possible support from the government to maintain their authority. The following families of noblesse were enumerated: le Gardeur, of which there were four branches; Denys, of which there were three branches; Daillebout, having four branches; Boucher, Contrecoeur, La Valterie, St. Ours, Meloises, Tarrieu de la Perade, Le Moyne, Aubert, Hertel, Godefroy, Damours. The head of the family of Boucher was then nearly ninety years of age, and had more than 190 children, grand children, brothers, nephews and other relatives. The two families of Hertel and Godefroy were also very numerous. Besides these, there were several other gentlemen serving in the colonial troops whose families had not been so long established in the colony. Many nobles and sons of officers desired to enter the military service, but as most of them were quite poor, they sought commissions as a mean of obtaining a livelihood rather than from other motives. The governor-general annually selected some of the most promising young men and sent them to France for service in the navy, in order to confirm the noblesse in their affection for the country. The colonial troops consisted of twenty-eight companies, each having a captain, a lieutenant, and two ensigns. Besides these, there were twenty-eight cadets, and 784 soldiers. This number was considered much too small to furnish sufficient garrisons for the frontier posts and the towns. The garrisons of the posts numbered 214 of all ranks, leaving a little more than 500 for the protection of the three towns.

A few of the seigniors, among them notably the Baron de Longueuil, had built large castellated mansions of solid masonry, well suited for defence and as places of refuge for their tenants.

Within the limits of the settled colony there were five Indian villages; the Hurons of Lorette, three leagues from Quebec, consisting of thirty warriors; two villages of Abenakis at Three Rivers and Saint-Francois de Becancour, numbering 300 warriors; two villages at the Lake of Two Mountains, one of Iroquois, the other of Algonquins and Nipissings containing between them 300 warriors. All of these Indians were nom-

inally Christians and allies of the French for many years. They had taken part in most of the offensive operations in former wars and were expected to afford considerable assistance in future.

The Five Nations were reported to have a fighting strength of 500 or 600 men, but although they professed friendship for the French, it was anticipated that their interests would incline them towards neutrality. There were three large Indian villages in the vicinity of Detroit; one of Hurons, with 250 warriors; one of Pottawatimies, with 150 warriors and the third of Ottawas, numbering 140 men. On Lake St. Clair there was a village of Sauteurs having 150 men. A village of Ottawas at Mackinac could furnish 200 men. Twelve leagues distant there was a village of Sauteurs consisting of 100 warriors. The Sacs still had a strength of 150 men. Many of them had removed to the river Saint-Joseph and separated from the Renards with whom they had formerly been closely allied. They were suing for peace with the French. The Folles Avoines numbered 150 warriors, and between sixty and eighty Renards had survived the prolonged campaign of extermination waged upon them. All of these Indians had a high reputation as fighting men, and with the exception of the Sacs and Renards, they seemed firmly attached to the French. In the whole of the French sphere of influence in North America, about thirty different nations or tribes had been distinguished, having a total strength, it was estimated, of between twenty and thirty thousand warriors.

In time of peace, the principal duty of the officers of militia was to furnish men for the maintenance of the roads, bridges, fortifications and other public works. Ordinances were issued from time to time, commanding the inhabitants to perform these services. Practically all the public roads were opened and maintained and the bridges built by the *corvée* labour of the *habitans*, under the orders of the seignior, or captain of militia, and the general supervision of a royal official called the *grand voyer*. His duties were defined in an ordinance passed in 1706, which directed him "to visit all the seigniories in which main roads had not been built, and to build such in concert with the proprietors of seigniories or in their absence, with the captains of the militia, unless there be a royal justice present; and to decide in accordance with the opinion of six of the oldest and most prominent *habitans* of the place where the roads ought henceforth to run, provided always that such roads should be at least twenty-four feet wide." The *habitans* of each parish were commanded to aid in the construction of such roads and work their days of *corvée* for this purpose whenever required. This statutory labour was commonly known as "*the King's corvée*" to distinguish it from the service due from the tenants to their seigniors upon their own domains. The amount of labour so required naturally varied from year to year, according to the extent and character of public works undertaken in any locality but the entire amount thus exacted does not appear to have ever been so great as to occasion any general complaint in ordinary times.

With the permission of the Five Nations, the governor of New York had established a trading post at Oswego, and began to collect materials for the construction of a fort. De Vaudreuil protested strongly against this aggressive act which threatened his line of communication with the western Indians and the colony of Louisiana. He responded by the construction of a strong stone fort at Niagara to replace the former stockade which had fallen into decay, and built two good sized ships for the navigation on Lake Ontario. The Baron de Longueuil was likewise directed to ask permission from the Five Nations for the establishment of a trading post among the Senecas.

De Vaudreuil died at Quebec on the 10th October, 1725, having administered the government for twenty-one years. He had spent the greater part of his life in Canada, and was well known to nearly all the inhabitants by whom his death was generally lamented. The government of the colony then devolved upon the Baron de Longueuil, governor of Montreal, who only administered it for a few months until the arrival of a new governor. This was the Marquis de Beauharnois, a naval officer of considerable distinction. The dread of a future war with the English was ever in his mind, and he made vigorous efforts to strengthen the defences of the colony. In 1731, an officer was sent with a detachment of soldiers and workmen, to build a strong stockade on the strait between the head of Lake Champlain and the "*grand marais*" near the place where an English force had encamped in 1709, and commenced to build boats for the invasion of Canada. The intendant reported that this post would effectually bar that route of approach in the future and enable a force from Canada to undertake offensive operations at will. The governor also urged the *habitans* to live in compact vil-

lages around which they were directed to construct stout palisades to protect them against any sudden attack. As his apprehensions of war continued to increase, agents were sent to sound the intentions of the Five Nations and western Indians, and steps were taken to increase French influence among them everywhere. A considerable garrison was stationed in the new post on Lake Champlain which received the name of Fort Saint-Frederic. At the same time it was well provided with artillery and munitions. Similar precautions were taken at Chambly and an engineer officer was despatched to Cataragui and Niagara to strengthen the fortifications at those points, and their garrisons were likewise reinforced. The entrenchments surrounding Quebec were completed and new batteries constructed. A census taken in 1744, showed a total of 11,285 men fit for military service of whom 4,647 resided in the district of Montreal, 1,059 in that of Three Rivers and 5,579 in the district of Quebec. Besides these, there were nearly a thousand men employed in the fur trade, and the transportation of merchandize and stores to the west. To repel an invasion of the province, the governor thought he could muster a total force of 600 colonial troops, about 12,000 militia, 400 Iroquois Indians from the villages of Sault Saint-Louis and the Lake of Two Mountains, 200 Algonquins and Nipissings and more than 700 Abenakis. The Five Nations were expected to remain neutral.

Information of an actual declaration of war did not reach Canada until the spring of 1744. The governor at once took further precautions for defence and warned the friendly Indians to be in readiness to join him in the field whenever ordered. His first plan was to attack Oswego, but he feared the hostility of the Five Nations and despatched a confidential officer, M. de la Chauvignerie, with a few Indians from Canada to ascertain their views on this point.

Early in the month of January, 1745, 120 Canadians and 400 Indians from the colony under Lieutenant Marin were despatched to Acadia to assist a small body of troops under M. de la Gannes, who was blockading Annapolis. The spring of that year was one of the earliest and finest ever known in the history of the colony. During the winter very little snow fell in the district of Quebec; seeding was finished before the end of April and the militia were accordingly set at liberty to undertake offensive operations. Before they could take the field, however, a large fleet with a numerous land force of militia from New England appeared before Louisbourg, and succeeded in taking that important fortress after a siege of forty-nine days. A powerful French fleet which had sailed for the purpose of recovering Acadia was so badly damaged by a great storm that it was obliged to take refuge in the harbour of Chibouctou (Halifax) to refit, and while there, nearly half of the troops on board perished from disease. The new governor of Canada, de la Jonquière, who was on board, took over the command after the death of two senior officers, and felt himself obliged to return to France.

At the beginning of June, a body of 680 militia had sailed from Quebec in seven small ships under the orders of M. de Ramezay, destined for Minas Basin where he was directed to await the arrival of the French fleet and assemble the neighbouring Indians. Learning of the disaster to the fleet, de Ramezay retreated to Beaubassin with a number of prisoners whom he had taken, leaving Coulon de Villiers with three hundred Canadians at Minas to protect the Acadian population. The garrison of Port Royal was in consequence strongly reinforced by militia from Massachusetts, and a detachment of 380 men was sent forward to occupy the settlement of Grand Pré. Here they were attacked by de Villiers who took advantage of a heavy snow storm to approach the place undiscovered after a forced march of seventeen days in intensely cold weather. The assault was made at 3 o'clock on the morning of 11th February, 1747. The garrison was scattered in ten fortified houses and de Villiers consequently divided his force into ten small parties to attack them simultaneously. Nine of these houses had been captured when de Villiers had his arm broken by a shot. The Chevalier de la Corne took the command and attacked the remaining house which was armed with several small pieces of cannon. After a stubborn defence the garrison of this house surrendered on favourable terms.

The governor gave the warmest praise to this small body of militia for the rapidity of its march in the coldest season of the year, the vigour of its attack, its excellent discipline and cheerful endurance of hardships. He desired it to remain in Acadia for the protection of the inhabitants but famine compelled de Ramezay to return to Canada where he arrived in the following June, bringing with him a large number of prisoners. The gallant de Villiers died from the effects of his wound shortly after his arrival at Quebec.

The Iroquois declared their strong wish to remain neutral and as early as July, 1745, their chiefs requested the governor of Canada to make no attack upon Oswego and refrain from carrying the war into their country.

Several other western nations, however took up arms for the French and ravaged the frontiers of the English colonies. Many small war-parties consisting of Canadians and Indians, were constantly on service from the autumn of 1745, until the month of August, 1746. They struck terror into the frontier settlements of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York, to such an extent that many of the inhabitants deserted their farms and sought safety in the interior.

On returning from Acadia in the beginning of November 1745, Marin set out with 300 militia and 300 Indians from Fort Saint-Frederic, and on the night of the 28th-29th he surprised Saratoga, burnt the entire settlement and carried off one hundred prisoners.

At the request of some of the principal sufferers from this foray, Shirley, the energetic governor of Massachusetts, advocated a league of the northern English colonies for the organization of a force to destroy this fort and invade Canada from that quarter. Having received information of this, de Beauharnois despatched two detachments to the assistance of the commandant; one under command of M. de Muy, the other under M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, town major of Three Rivers. Their instructions were, in the first instance to maintain possession of the fort, but if not attacked by the enemy, they were at liberty to invade their territory. On his arrival at the fort, Rigaud learned that the English had made no movement and he decided to enter New England with 600 Canadians and 300 Indians. After a march of ten days he reached Fort Massachusetts on the Hoosic river in Berkshire county. The garrison surrendered after a day's siege and the country was laid waste for a distance of thirty-six miles on both banks of the river below. Rigaud was slightly wounded in the arm himself, but did not lose a single man in the expedition.

In describing to the minister the military operations of this year, the governor and intendant rendered entire justice to the good will and courage of the Canadian militia. "We have reason to hope," they wrote, "that as long as the English have no regular troops to put into the field, the Canadians will never think of yielding. In their manner of making war they seem to have lost none of their ancient courage."

Shortly afterwards the Mohawks took up arms and committed depredations at Soulanges and Isle Lamotte. On the 8th of March, the governor-general formally declared war against them at a council held at Montreal, attended by the Iroquois residing in the province. Indians were despatched in small parties of eight and ten to harass the settlements on the Connecticut and Hudson rivers. A small party of French was surprised near Fort Saint-Frederic by a party of Indians and several of them killed. Hostile Indians raided the settlements at Chateauguay, and Isle Perrot, and even pillaged some houses on the island of Montreal. The Hurons of Sandusky also became hostile and killed several traders. Every effort was necessary to preserve French ascendancy in the west. The expenses of the colony were greatly increased and provoked severe adverse criticism on the part of the minister. In justification the intendant reported that "His orders were not to remain merely on the defensive but to act offensively; they have been executed; our success proves it. The incursions of our Canadians and Indians on the enemy's territory have been carried on incessantly Our frontiers have been well guarded and our settlements protected, while the enemy's frontiers are deserted and their inhabitants overcome with terror. The royal arms have met with no defeat Prudence required that the public magazines should be well filled with provisions, stores, and munitions to ensure the success of any operations which might become necessary in the event of an invasion."

Hostilities were finally terminated by an inconclusive treaty of peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, by which all conquests made during the war were restored.

The trade of the colony had not suffered materially during this period and the demands upon the militia had not been excessively severe. Three years after the conclusion of peace, a body of troops and a supply of munitions was sent out from France to place the country in a better state of defence. Two small forts had been built during the war, on Lake Ontario, one at la Presentation, now known as Ogdensburg, and the other at Toronto, which confirmed the French supremacy on that lake.

The memorable expedition which left Lachine on the 15th of June, 1749, under the command of Celoron de Blainville to take possession of the Ohio Valley was mainly

composed of volunteers from the Canadian militia. It consisted of twenty colonial soldiers, 180 Canadians, 30 Iroquois and 25 Abenakis. Crossing the portage from Lake Erie to Lake Chataqua, thence following Conewango Creek and the Allegany river, he reached the Ohio. A leaden plate was buried there and the royal arms attached to a tree and as he descended the river, similar plates were buried at the mouth of each of its principal tributaries until he arrived at the Great Miami, on the 19th September. Making his way overland to Detroit, he returned before winter set in to Montreal, having travelled nearly 3,600 miles in the course of his journey.

On the death of de la Jonquière in 1752, the Marquis Duquesne, another naval officer, was appointed governor. His first measure was to hold a general review of the troops and militia and issue orders for the improvement of their discipline.

The colonial troops were almost wholly officered by native Canadians. These were mostly sons of the noblesse or of former officers, a good many of whom entered the service as cadets. Large families were common among this class. M. de Repentigny who died in 1737, was the eldest of the family of twenty-two sons. It is also probable that a considerable number of Canadians actually served in the ranks, although the companies were nominally recruited in France.

The number of inhabitants liable for military duty was estimated at 13,000. Experience had proved, however, that not more than one-third of these could be withdrawn from their farms during seed time and harvest, without exposing the colony to great danger of famine. The new governor next determined to expel all English traders from the Ohio valley and planned to send early next year an expedition composed of 2,000 troops and militia, and the same number of Indians to occupy the country. One hundred large boats and 128 canoes were built at Quebec to carry the necessary provisions and stores, and sent on to Fort Frontenac. The advanced guard consisting of 300 Canadians went forward in the autumn of 1752 under the command of Marin, who had acquired great influence among the western Indians. Two magazines for provisions were built by him on the portage of Chataqua leading from Lake Erie to a tributary of the Ohio. Next spring a fort was built at Presqu' Ile, now Erie, another on the river au Bœuf, and a third near the mouth of the Wabash. By the construction of these forts he hoped to secure the communication between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. A party of English settlers, who were building a fort near the mouth of the Monongahela, was driven off and the captured post was immediately completed and enlarged. It was given the name of Fort Duquesne, in honour of the governor. A considerable garrison under the command of de Contrecoeur, an officer of the colonial troops and a member of a well known Canadian family, occupied this post during the winter 1753-4. Learning that a body of Virginians was building a fort on the Monongahela, some thirty miles distant, de Contrecoeur sent thirty men, all Canadians, under the command of de Jumonville, to warn them off French territory. A collision unfortunately took place in which de Jumonville and ten other Canadians were killed, another man was wounded and the remainder taken prisoners. A force of 600 troops and militia and 100 Indians commanded by de Villiers was promptly despatched against the English fort which surrendered after a short siege in which twelve of the garrison were killed and forty others wounded. Thus commenced the protracted struggle, afterwards known as the Seven Years' War.

Believing that war was then inevitable, both the English and the French governments decided to send out regular troops for the protection of their colonies. Two British regiments consisting of rather more than 1,000 men sailed from Cork in January 1755, and arrived safely in Virginia about the end of February. At the same time the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania, the two English colonies chiefly interested, were instructed to organize an equal force of militia to be employed in expelling the French from the valley of the Ohio.

Duquesne was notified by a despatch which he received in May that 4,000 regulars would be sent to his assistance and at the same time he learned that the Marquis de Vaudreuil, son of the former governor of that name and a native Canadian, had been appointed to succeed him. He published this information at once for the encouragement of the colonists and reported to the minister that he was satisfied that the Canadians "would do wonders" when employed on operations in conjunction with regular troops. During the winter he had maintained garrisons in the forts on the Ohio consisting in all of nine officers, nineteen cadets, 437 militia and soldiers and 200 Canadian Indians, of whom more than half were stationed at Fort Duquesne. Early in March, he despatched a detachment of soldiers and artillery with six guns to Fort Frontenac with instructions to proceed to Niagara as soon as navigation was open and

thence to Fort Duquesne. In April and May, three brigades of boats followed, loaded with provisions and supplies for nearly a year, besides several small parties of militia and Indians. On receiving information shortly afterwards that troops were being assembled and ships being built at Oswego, de Villiers was sent to Niagara with a body of 200 militia and seventy Canadian Indians to remain there in observation and repel any sudden attack on that post. The total strength of the reinforcements thus sent to the west up to the 25th of June, 1755, was officially reported to amount to 817 militia and soldiers, and 170 Indians. At the same time, small pensions were granted to the widows of the militia who had been killed or had died of disease in service and to eighteen *habitans* who had been maimed in the siege of the English fort on the Monongahela. Duquesne assured the minister that such pensions properly distributed would greatly encourage the militia in the performance of their duty. The list enclosed indicates that pensions were granted to fifty-six persons, mostly women, in sums varying from seventy-two to 600 livres, amounting in all to 9,982 livres.

The French fleet bearing troops and supplies consisted of fourteen sail. In its passage two frigates separated from the remainder and fell in with an English squadron off the coast of Newfoundland. Although war had not been declared, an action followed, in which both the French vessels were taken. M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, a brother of the new governor and a number of officers with eight companies of troops were made prisoners on these ships, thus considerably reducing the force intended for the defence of Canada. The remainder arrived safely at Quebec towards the end of June, 1755. Writing from Montreal on the 24th of July, de Vaudreuil announced his intention of attacking the English post at Oswego. He had already assembled for that purpose a force of 4,300 men, composed of 2,000 regulars, 1,800 militia and 500 Canadian Indians, all of whom seemed to be in the highest spirits. The movement to Fort Frontenac began in small brigades, and two battalions of the regulars with three or four hundred militia had already reached that place, when the Baron de Dieskau, a Saxon officer who was in chief command, learned that an English force had made its appearance near Lake Saint-Sacrement, now Lake George, with an evident intention of attacking Fort Saint-Frederic, and perhaps invading the district of Montreal while the French were besieging Oswego. A council of war decided to abandon the proposed expedition, recall the troops from Fort Frontenac, and go to the relief of the menaced post. On his arrival at Fort Saint-Frederic, Dieskau learned that the enemy had entrenched themselves at some distance and was apparently waiting reinforcements. He had then at his disposal, eighteen companies of regular troops, 1,600 militia and 600 Indians under the orders of Le Gardeur de Saint-Pierre who possessed extraordinary influence over them. While advancing towards the English camp, which had received the name of Fort Lydius, with a select body of men consisting of 200 soldiers and 600 militia and as many Indians, he encountered a column of 800 New England militia and 200 Indians, who were marching to its relief. This force was at once attacked and dispersed with heavy loss but Saint-Pierre was killed in the action with several other Canadians and Indians. His success encouraged Dieskau to make an ill-considered attack upon the English camp which was easily repelled. Dieskau and his aide-de-camp and two militia officers, La Coste and Gaucher-Gamelin, were severely wounded and taken prisoners; Captain de Longueuil was reported missing. In addition to the officers already named, the loss of the French in both actions amounted to one officer and twenty-six regular soldiers, ensign Du Sable and seven soldiers of the colonial troops, twenty-five militia and thirty-three Indians killed, besides one officer and fifty regular soldiers, Captain Le Gardeur de Repentigny, Lieut. Le Gardeur de Montesson of the colonial troops, thirty-six militia and forty Indians wounded. Both de Vaudreuil and the intendant attributed this disaster mainly to the unfortunate haste displayed by Dieskau in rushing to the attack of a strongly fortified camp with one third of his force without sufficient reconnaissance. He had led the colonial troops in person to the assault and fell mortally wounded close to the foot of the abattis. Two Canadians who bravely attempted to remove him were both killed in the effort. The militia seemed seriously discouraged by their heavy losses on this occasion and complained that they had been hurried to the attack before they had time to regain their breath. In the month of June a force from Massachusetts succeeded in taking Forts Beausejour and Gaspereau, and overran the whole of the peninsula in the present province of New Brunswick, where the remnant of the Acadians had taken refuge. About 1,500 of them were disarmed.

On the other hand the expedition from Virginia directed against Fort Duquesne met with a crushing defeat after advancing within ten miles of that place. On learning that his post was threatened, de Contrecoeur, who was still in command, sent several

small parties of Indians with a few militiamen attached to each under a Canadian officer, to gain information and harass the enemy, giving the leaders strict orders to restrain the Indians from committing any acts of cruelty. This had considerably diminished the force at his command. On the 8th of July, two of these parties returned in haste with information that the English were steadily advancing in three columns, not more than eighteen miles away when last seen. Captain de Beaujeu of the colonial troops was ordered to march with every effective man in the garrison to waylay them. He went out at eight o'clock the following morning with seventy-two of the colonial troops, 146 militia and 637 Indians, among whom was the famous Pontiac. An ambush was prepared in a suitable position about nine miles from the fort at a place where the enemy would be obliged to approach by a very narrow path while climbing a steep hill from the valley of the river. De Beaujeu was killed at the third fire but ably replaced by Dumas, the second in command. The advancing column sustained great loss, and was soon thrown into irretrievable confusion. A great number of the fugitives were mercilessly slaughtered in the pursuit and others drowned in attempting to cross the river. Altogether, the loss of the English force was nearly 1,500 men among whom was Major-General Braddock, the commanding officer, who died of his wounds a few days afterwards. All of their artillery and about 500 horses fell into the hands of the victors who lost, besides their leader, only two officers, Lieut. Drouet de Carqueville, and Ensign Lanaudière de la Perade, three militiamen, two French soldiers and fifteen Indians killed. The wounded were Lieut. Leborgne, Ensign de Bailleul, Cadets Hertel de Sainte-Thérèse and de Montmedy and twelve Indians. In his report de Contrecoeur warmly praised the services of Dumas, and de Ligneris, and added "all the officers have distinguished themselves; the cadets have done marvels, likewise our soldiers."

In soliciting pensions of 150 livres each for the widows of de Saint-Pierre and de Beaujeu, the governor remarked that the death of the former was an irreparable loss. On the same day he reported the death of four colonial officers, the Baron de Longueuil, de Fonville, Marin and de Saint-Pierre, all of whom had received the cross of Saint-Louis in recognition of their services.

The colony, he remarked, was capable of great development but to accomplish this, peace must be restored. If all the farms were properly cultivated they could support as many people as the king could send out from France, but the inhabitants were tired out; those who had taken up lands in recent years had scarcely begun to till them when they had been commanded on military service in preference to many of their well-to-do able-bodied neighbours. The occupation of the Ohio country, he declared, was the direct cause of the ruin of these *habitans*. More of them had already died in that enterprise than would probably be lost in several years of active war. Many men had been drafted for this purpose without the least consideration for their circumstances and obliged to carry boxes and other heavy articles over portages in a manner very prejudicial to the good of the service.

About the same time the officer in charge of ordnance stores reported that he found great difficulty in providing the militia with proper arms as when they reported for service they usually came with their firearms in such a bad state of repair that he was obliged to issue others. The chief inconvenience which he noticed was the differences in the calibre of their weapons, and stated that when they received an issue of ammunition, three fourths of them were obliged to pare down the bullets with their knives to make them fit the barrels which could scarcely be done in the face of the enemy. He further reported that the militia preferred "*les fusils Tulle de chasse*," on account of their handiness. He therefore recommended that this type of weapon should be provided with a bayonet which he considered indispensable, both for offensive and defensive warfare, still he would not deprive them of the tomahawk or hatchet which was most useful when encamping in the woods. Powder horns were also required which should be made to contain a pound of powder each. Those received that year were found to be totally useless.

The governor also recommended the formation of ten additional companies of "troupes de la marine" for the service of the colony, and applied for the transfer of twelve Canadian officers from the force raised for the defence of Louisbourg, seven of whom were then actually employed in Canada, as they knew the country well and were experienced in irregular warfare. He had then been informed that two other regular battalions were under orders to proceed to Canada, and that the Marquis de Montcalm had been appointed to the command of all "troupes de terre" serving in the province. He protested very strongly against this appointment. It was not neces-

sary, he remarked to have a general officer in command of these battalions as they could be properly exercised and disciplined without him. No matter how brave he might be, he could not possibly know the country and perhaps would not be willing to follow the advice of his subordinates or might accept the views of ill-informed persons. War in Canada must be conducted in a very different manner from the way it was carried on in Europe. Much prudence was necessary and little trusted to luck as their force was small and losses could not be easily replaced. He based these remarks, he said, on the disastrous result of the campaign under Dieskau. The Canadians and Indians, he declared, would not act with the same confidence under the orders of a commander of the regular forces as under those of colonial officers.

As Vaudreuil was not only born in Canada, but had passed his youth in the colony, his sympathy with the inhabitants was very strong and apparent. Like many of his predecessors, he had served for years and attained high rank in the French navy. The colony was still under the control of the minister of marine, and it seemed only proper that the post of governor should generally be reserved for an officer of the navy.

His attention was soon directed to the better organization of the militia. Some years before, M. d'Eschambault the general agent of the *Compagnie des Indes* in Canada, had presented a plan for preparing proper rolls of the inhabitants of each parish, showing the number who were absent and those who could be called upon for service in case of emergency at any time. This plan had been successively endorsed by the two previous governors and forwarded to the minister of marine, but had not been acted upon. Vaudreuil now strongly recommended its adoption and the appointment of its author as colonel-general of all the militia, for which he considered him well qualified by his thorough knowledge of the inhabitants and great influence among them.

The minister replied in a letter dated the 15th March, 1756, informing him that Montcalm had been appointed commander in chief of the regular troops but under all circumstances, he would be subject to the governor's orders, and that Vaudreuil would be at liberty to bestow the command of the militia on him, or confer it upon some other officer. A copy of the instructions to the new commander were enclosed in this letter. Vaudreuil soon responded by remarking that the militia was the most numerous force at his disposal, and had been so harassed of late, that if they were not treated with tact they would become discontented. If the command of the militia was placed in the hands of Montcalm, he must also have its entire administration, and, as in regard to police service, the captains of militia were already under the control of the intendant, he considered it would be unwise to subject them to the authority of a third officer. Secondly, he feared that the influence of a few intriguing persons in the colony might induce Montcalm to exercise despotic power but he assured the minister that whenever he found it necessary to undertake any military operations which would require the co-operation of the colonial forces, he would give the command of the militia to Montcalm; otherwise he considered that he should only have control of the regular troops.

In pursuance of the policy already adopted by Duquesne, Vaudreuil attempted to protect the colony by a succession of small offensive operations. Learning from the Indians that a chain of forts had been established connecting Albany with Oswego, he ordered Lieut. de Lery, with a party of ninety-three colonial troops, 166 militia and eighty-two Indians to strike a blow at this line of communication. De Lery marched from Montreal on the 17th March on the ice and after reaching Fort de la Presentation, advanced by Indian paths through the woods against Fort Bull, near Lake Oneida the most advanced depot for stores on their way to Oswego. This place was defended by only ninety men and was taken inside of an hour. It was destroyed at once and a large quantity of provisions carried away to Montreal, where there was great want of them at that time. The inhabitants of Quebec had been compelled to have recourse to horse flesh, and the allowance of bread had been reduced to one-half pound per day. The lack of provisions alone prevented Vaudreuil from attempting to put into execution his favourite plan of an attack upon Oswego where it was reported ships were being built to contest his naval supremacy on Lake Ontario. Early in April, de Villiers was ordered to observe that fort with a force of 800 men. He selected a suitable position on the shore of Lake Ontario, near the mouth of Sandy Creek, where he formed an entrenched camp and sent out parties to interrupt the communication between Oswego and the Mohawk Valley. Similar small parties had been sent out from Montreal at intervals during the whole winter, but as scarcely any snow had fallen, it was impossible to make use of snow shoes, and their movements

were much impeded in consequence. In the Ohio Valley, on the contrary, the winter was more severe than ordinary, and Dumas who had succeeded to the command of Fort Duquesne, kept the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania in a perpetual state of alarm with small-war parties of Indians and Canadians, who received strict instructions to avoid the commission of any act of cruelty, which however they did not always obey. He was reinforced with three hundred militiamen, who with the garrison and the militia from the settlement at Detroit, would form in case of emergency, a force numbering between twelve and fifteen hundred men.

For the better protection of Fort Saint-Frederic, Vaudreuil had formed an entrenched camp at Carillon or Ticonderoga shortly after Dieskau's defeat. At the end of May, this was occupied by two regular battalions with colonial troops, Canadians and Indians, amounting to about 2000 men. One regular battalion was sent to Niagara, and two others to Fort Frontenac. Such was the military situation when Montcalm arrived at Quebec, accompanied by several staff officers and bringing with him two other battalions of regular troops. His first impressions of the Canadian militia were not favourable, and he took small pains to conceal them. "The Canadian militia" he wrote, "have no idea of discipline or subordination; I will make grenadiers of them in six months and take good care not to make the same mistake as the unfortunate Mr. Dieskau by listening too much to the boastful talk of the Canadians who think themselves in every respect the first nation in the world." Another officer of high rank Major-General de Montreuil, in a private letter bitterly remarked the "the Canadian is insubordinate, bad, deceitful, boastful, unsuited for regular warfare, very brave behind a tree and very timid when in the open." The mutual jealousy and suspicion which existed between the regular troops and the militia was very marked and continued to increase from this time on. It was destined to have injurious consequences before the end of the war.

On the other hand, the Canadians conceived a certain contempt for the French regular troops as they observed that they had not been trained for war in the woods, and could not endure the hardships to which they were necessarily subjected. The newly arrived French officers could not accustom themselves to live like soldiers among soldiers.

Preparations for the siege of Oswego were well under way before Montcalm arrived at Montreal. Artillery, munitions, and supplies were collected at that place and boats prepared for their transport. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, the brother of the governor, had been exchanged and arrived in the same squadron with the new commander in chief. He was appointed governor of Three Rivers and sent forward to command the advanced post, established by de Villiers at Sandy Creek taking with him another strong detachment of colonial troops and Indians. The commandant at Fort Frontenac received orders to make further preparations and an engineer officer with a party of Canadians and Indians was sent to reconnoitre the English fort. Two armed vessels fitted out at Fort Frontenac were manned by colonial troops and militia under the command of Lieuts. Laforce and de la Broquerie. They succeeded in destroying some small English vessels and boats and blockaded the remainder at Oswego in such a way as to protect the French force in their movements by water. A series of parties of Canadian and Indian scouts were sent into the Mohawk valley to intercept despatches and cut off all small convoys. Early in the year it was ascertained that a large force was being collected in the vicinity of Albany, presumably for the attack of the French posts on Lakes George and Champlain, and the invasion of the district of Montreal. At the end of June, Montcalm visited Ticonderoga and made further arrangements for its defence. Leaving a garrison of 3,000 men, a large part of whom were militia, for the defence of that frontier, he returned to Montreal and went on with little delay to Fort Frontenac, where the greater portion of the force designed to attack Oswego had already assembled. It was composed of three battalions of regular troops, numbering about 1,300 men, and 1,200 militia besides some colonial troops, and Indians, who were transported across the lake in small boats and concentrated on the shores of the bay now known as Sackett's Harbour. The advanced corps under Rigaud was at once sent forward to invest the English fort and interrupt its line of communication. The siege lasted only four days when, the commandant having been killed, the garrison capitulated.

This was a victory of the highest importance. Besides a garrison of more than 1,600 men, including two regular battalions which became prisoners of war, all the English shipping on Lake Ontario and a great quantity of stores, provisions and munitions of war were taken. The loss of the French in the siege had been very small not exceeding thirty killed or wounded. The navigation of Lake Ontario by the French was thus secured from attack. All the plans for the invasion of Canada, as

well as that for the attack of Fort Duquesne, were abandoned. Rigaud was commended highly for leading his troops across a ford in the river under fire, where the water was up to their waists, and thus completing the investment of the fort. In his official report the governor complained of Montcalm's partiality for the regular troops and asserted that the engineers and other officers of the French regiments considered it inadvisable to imperil the artillery by placing it in the siege batteries, while Rigaud and the Canadian officers generally, strongly upheld a contrary view and urged that it was necessary to reduce the fort as quickly as possible. Their success on this occasion, he said, was due to this fact and the determined spirit of the Canadians. On the other hand Montcalm wrote that he had employed the militia usefully, but not on such service as would expose them to the fire of the enemy. A regular officer whom he had detailed to organize them for service after their arrival at Fort Frontenac, relates that this was a most difficult task as they had arrived there without officers, arms, or nominal rolls, and almost naked. He was obliged to form them into squads, select leaders for these, inspect their arms, prepare nominal rolls by parishes and companies, and arrange for their embarkation. The French engineer officer noted in his journal that all the Canadian officers, without exception, considered that the capture of the place would be the easiest thing in the world, and could not see the difficulties which were so apparent to him and others. The intendant asserted that if the governor had not been so firm in his commands for besieging Oswego, it would still be in the hands of the English, and that the regular officers did not realize what the presence of the Indians and the bravery of the Canadians could accomplish. The breach between the colonial and regular troops had evidently grown wider.

However, the victory was naturally the subject of great and general rejoicing in Canada. Exuberant ballads were written on the subject and the chief credit of the event was given to Vaudreuil by these writers, while Montcalm was relegated to the second place.

The fort was at once destroyed, the captured stores and provisions removed, and before the end of August, the militia was busy with the harvest. Those retained on duty at the posts near Lake Champlain, were incorporated with the colonial troops in six large companies. Scouting parties were sent out from time to time to reconnoitre the English posts and obtain information.

The harvest in the district of Quebec was almost a total failure, and the crop of wheat was scanty everywhere. The sufferings of the poorer people were consequently very severe.

Early in the preceding summer a strong detachment of colonial troops and militia had been ordered to enter the valley of the river St. John, harass the English garrisons in Acadia, and assist the inhabitants who had abandoned their settlements. This force had met with small success, and was compelled to return to Canada for want of supplies. Several hundred starving fugitives followed it and added to the general distress. The governor complained with considerable acrimony of ill-treatment of certain men of the militia by the regular officers under whom they had served. He stated that the Canadians were sometime obliged to carry these gentlemen on their shoulders through the icy water and that they were badly treated if they had the misfortune to make a misstep. Montcalm himself, he said, was of such a hasty temper that he had struck men in his anger. The Canadians, he added, had on every occasion given surprising proofs of their courage. They had done all the scouting and carried out the most fatiguing expeditions. They were obliged to take the worst of the provisions, while those of better quality were reserved for the regular troops. They had abandoned their farms and their families for the defence of the colony. They had exhausted their strength in rowing the boats for the transportation of troops and provisions for the armies and the garrisons. All this they had done without showing the least discontent. They were always ready for service and displayed wonderful good-will, but they had expressed their dissatisfaction to him, and nothing but their blind obedience to his commands had induced them to obey some orders which they had lately received. He added that while he was determined to act in perfect harmony with Montcalm, he would be obliged in the coming campaign to make the necessary arrangements to insure that the Canadians and Indians were treated with the consideration which their zeal and service merited. Montcalm also issued orders to prevent quarrels between the soldiers and the Canadians. When a dispute occurred it must be reported to the commander of the boat and, if necessary, to the commandant of the division. Soldiers must be required to wade in the water, row, haul, and carry stores indiscriminately with the Canadians leaving, however, to the latter the management of the boats, but rendering such assistance as was required of them.

As supplies were being collected and boats prepared at the entrenched camp on the shore of Lake George, the governor after conferring with Montcalm determined to send a strong detachment to attack it by surprise before the English forces could be concentrated there. His brother was selected for the command, having under him the Chevalier de Longueuil and Dumas, who had returned recently from Fort Duquesne. His force consisted of detachments of fifty chosen men from each of five regular battalions, 300 provincial troops, 650 militia and 400 Indians. These men were unusually well equipped for this expedition. Each soldier was supplied with a great-coat, a blanket, a coverlet, a woollen cap, two cotton shirts, a pair of breeches and drawers, a waistcoat, two pairs of buck skin moccasins, a dressed buck skin, two pairs of mittens, two skeins of thread, six needles, an awl, a tinder-box, six flints, a hunting knife, a comb, a worm for drawing charges, a hatchet, two hauling collars, a splint-sole and a pair of snowshoes, and each officer had in addition a bear-skin rug. The weather was unusually severe; much snow had fallen. The River St. Lawrence at Montreal was frozen over early in December, and continued passable for sledges until the 8th of April. The thermometer sometimes dropped as low as twenty-seven degrees below zero, and seldom rose above twelve or fifteen below. After a march of nearly 200 miles in this weather, during which they were constantly compelled to encamp in the woods, Rigaud's force arrived in the vicinity of Fort George, or Fort William Henry, as it was then called, on the 17th of March. A brief reconnaissance satisfied him and the regular officers by whom he was accompanied, that a successful attack upon the fort was scarcely practicable. It was invested on the following night but the garrison was on the alert. All the buildings outside of the works were destroyed with three hundred boats, three small vessels, and a great quantity of provisions and firewood. Although disposed to criticize the organization of the expedition and resent the significant slight shown to him and the regular troops, Montcalm warmly praised the conduct of this detachment which he said had been obliged for six weeks to march and sleep on the snow and ice, living entirely upon bread and bacon, and frequently hauling or carrying on their backs provisions for fifteen days. The officers and soldiers of the regular troops had shown themselves not inferior in hardihood and endurance to the Canadians, with whom they were associated. Their success, he declared, was the more important to the colony as the enemy had been in a position to take the field before him. He confidently expected that their operations would now be much delayed and that the militia, who were farmers, as well as soldiers, would have ample time to complete their seeding without interruption.

During the spring every effort was made to collect a sufficient force with the necessary artillery and supplies for a regular siege of Fort William Henry. The western Indians were summoned for his assistance and arrived in June, numbering almost 1,000 warriors, some of whom had come a distance of from twelve to fifteen hundred miles. On the 10th of May, the advanced guard consisting of two regular battalions and about 1,000 militia went on to Lake Champlain and encamped at Ticonderoga. The fleet expected from France did not arrive until the 3rd of July, but then brought with it another battalion of regulars and a large quantity of much needed supplies. Orders were at once issued for the concentration of the whole available force at St. Jean, where supplies for the expedition had been already collected. On the 9th of July, Vaudreuil issued formal orders for the conduct of the campaign, in which he remarked that it would be necessary to permit the western Indians to return home and release the greater part of the militia to reap the harvest, about the end of August. A plan for the organization of the colonial troops into battalions and the militia into brigades was adopted. On the 29th of July, the most numerous army yet organized in Canada was assembled in three camps near Ticonderoga. It consisted of a detachment of artillery, numbering 188 of all ranks, with thirty-two guns and five mortars; six battalions of regular troops, in all 2,570; a battalion of colonial troops, 524; six brigades of militia and a battalion of volunteers, 3,470; Canadian Indians, 820; western Indians, 979. A few colonial soldiers were distributed in each of the brigades of militia, which were commanded by Captains de la Corne, de Vassan, de Saint Ours, de Repentigny, de Courtemanche, and de Gaspé, all of them being officers of the colonial forces. The volunteers were commanded by de Villiers. Sixty-six colonial officers and all the cadets were detailed for duty with the militia. The fort was invested and the artillery opened fire with considerable effect. A sortie from the garrison was repelled with considerable loss by de Villiers, and several messengers on their way from Fort Edward were intercepted with despatches, informing the commandant of the fort that he must not expect assistance from that place but was advised to make the best terms possible. These letters were sent into the garrison and on the seventh day of the siege, a white flag was hoisted and a treaty of capitulation arranged.

Like that at Oswego, this success was mainly due to the efficiency of the French artillery. The militia had worked hard and rendered efficient assistance in the transportation of the artillery and stores of all kinds and afterwards in the construction of the siege batteries. Otherwise, they had scarcely been engaged and their loss was small.

Some days before the actual surrender of the place, Vaudreuil had written a very urgent letter to Montcalm in which he expressed his hope that his messenger would find him already in front of Fort Lydius, or Fort Edward, the secondary base of the English force, assembling on that frontier, and representing how very important the capture of that post would be for the safety of the colony. "Nothing ought to hinder you in this operation" he wrote, "even should the Canadians not return in time for harvest, we shall not lack provisions." The reasons which caused Montcalm to decide against this proposal were briefly stated by him in a letter written on the 18th of August. The maintenance of so large a force had strained his supply service to the uttermost. The labor of hauling or carrying everything he needed over a portage of thirty miles was very great and would be much increased by a further advance. He had scarcely any draft animals for this work. His men were already almost exhausted by fatigue and poor food. Scarcity of provisions and munitions was severely felt. The greater part of the militia were pardonably anxious to return for the harvest which was already ripening. All the Indians from the "upper country" had abandoned him as well as most of those from Canada. His engineer noted in his journal the utmost importance of releasing all the Canadian militia to gather their crops.

Writing to Montcalm two days later, the intendant approved his decision saying that even had he undertaken the siege of Fort Edward and made the garrison prisoners, he would have had great difficulty in feeding them. He feared that the harvest in the district of Montreal would have been lost had he retained the *habitans* longer. Sufficient provisions for the enterprise had not been forwarded to Ticonderoga and he could have supplied the army on Lake George beyond the end of the month of August. The task of subsisting so large a force for forty days was extremely difficult at a time when the colony was practically without bread. Yet ten days later he calmly informed the minister of marine that it was the general opinion that M. de Montcalm should have undertaken the siege of Fort Lydius immediately after the capture of Fort George. The governor also criticized his decision very strongly in a letter to the same minister, asserting that there was no lack of provisions and that he had to advance but six leagues over very good roads and it seemed certain that the surrender of the first fort would have brought about that of the second. At any rate he had every reason to hope for success and his retreat was secure.

The greater part of the militia were accordingly dismissed to their homes for harvesting. Unfortunately for them the weather suddenly changed and became unusually unfavourable. The country was deluged with rain for many days in succession. On the 27th of August, the intendant wrote that while all their military operations had been successful, the harvest would be a dead failure. It had promised well until the last two or three weeks, during which there had been constant rain and frost and the wheat had turned rusty. The price of provisions rose in consequence to a frightful degree and the sufferings of the people were greater than ever through scarcity.

The allowance of bread in Quebec was first reduced to four, and finally to two ounces per person. Meat was scarcely procurable at any price. On the 18th September, 1757, Montcalm wrote that through absolute want the inhabitants had been placed upon a quarter ration of bread. He had little powder and no shoes. The supplies expected from France had all been intercepted; more must be shipped by the beginning of March.

Although the greater part of the militia on service with his army had been discharged, the number retained in garrison at the western posts and elsewhere, and otherwise employed in transporting supplies was very large but cannot be precisely stated. The demands made upon them for the maintenance of roads and bridges and fortifications were likewise very harassing.

Prompted by repeated complaints from the governor, the ministers warned Montcalm that the greatest pains should be taken to treat the militia tactfully and make the best use of their zeal, courage, and good will. Firmness, no doubt was necessary in dealing with them, but it should be tempered with kindness. Montcalm replied rather tartly that no one could be disposed to give the Canadians more credit for their courage than he and his soldiers, but a people evidently so prone to brag were inclined to magnify their own exploits. He would never have the mistaken confidence

in them shown by the unfortunate Dieskau, but would employ them in their own way and endeavour to utilize their valour by taking advantage of the woods and the backing of the regular troops by which title he was careful to say he meant not only the *troupes de Terre*, but also *troupes de la Marine*, for whom he had equal respect.

In England, Pitt had become the head of a new administration. During the winter he made most energetic and careful preparations for the coming campaign. Twelve thousand regular troops were embarked for America and three provinces of New England alone agreed to raise 15,000 men. Louisbourg was besieged and taken in June. An army of 12,000 men was soon assembled at Albany to invade Canada. To meet this formidable force, seven battalions of regular troops were posted at Ticonderoga and orders issued for the assembly at short notice of the militia of the districts of Montreal and Three Rivers. The advance of the English army was made with more speed than had been expected. Montcalm seems to have been taken by surprise, before his disposable force was wholly collected. His advanced posts were withdrawn into his entrenched camp which was strongly protected by an abattis of heavy timber and rampart of logs, so well constructed as to be practically impenetrable. Here he awaited the attack. His total force was less than 5,000 of all ranks; of whom 3,500 were *troupes de Terre*, 326 soldiers of the *marine*, 844 militia and forty Indians. Shortly after the beginning of the action, a timely reinforcement arrived of eighty colonial troops and 273 militia. Repeated assaults were made during three hours. All were repelled with heavy loss. Montcalm warmly praised the conduct of all his force. "The colonial troops and Canadians" he wrote, "made us regret that he had not more of them." He particularly mentioned three Canadian officers, de Saint Ours, Lanaudière and Gaspé, who had conducted a successful sortie from their entrenchments. The total loss of the assailants was almost 2,000, while that of the French was less than 400, among them a very small number of the militia to whom, however, the local balladists again ascribed the principal credit of the victory.

There was no pursuit, as Montcalm was again obliged to release his militia on harvest leave and even permit some of his regular troops to assist them. In a letter to his mother, he complained bitterly that he could only carry on a campaign with inferior forces for six weeks at a stretch, and was then obliged to dismiss half of his troops for the harvest "Will I never be put at the head of an army in Europe," he exclaimed, "where such obstacles are not encountered."

Whilst still rejoicing over this amazing success and the subsequent retreat of the English army to its base on Lake George, a disconcerting blow fell in an unguarded quarter. A strong brigade of troops under Colonel John Bradstreet, advancing rapidly from Albany, re-occupied Oswego, and then crossing the lake, captured Fort Frontenac with scarcely any resistance as the garrison did not exceed one hundred men. Seventy-six guns and the whole of the French armed vessels on the lake were taken besides a large quantity of provisions and stores deposited there for the supply of the upper posts. The enemy thus became masters of Lake Ontario, and were in a position to interrupt all communication by that route with the western country.

Another strong force advancing from Philadelphia, approached Fort Duquesne. Militia, not only from Canada, but also from Detroit and the Illinois and even the district colony of Louisiana, had been assembled for its defence. Its advanced guard was attacked and beaten back with heavy loss by a small body of colonial troops, militia, and Indians, commanded by de Bellestre and de Saint Ours. Undismayed by this check, the English force still steadily advanced, and on the 28th of November, Fort Duquesne was finally evacuated and dismantled. These reverses caused great dismay. Montcalm dismally informed the minister of war that the situation of the colony was most critical, and that it would be necessary to treat for peace. The English had, he believed, 30,000 troops at their disposal for the invasion of Canada. To oppose them he had only eight battalions and 1,200 colonial troops, exclusive of those on the Ohio. Three thousand militia might be embodied for the whole campaign but not more than 1,200 had been in service that year. Although suitable for expeditions, they could not be retained under arms for five months together. "I write the truth as a citizen," he added, "determined to bury myself under the ruins of the colony." He made an urgent demand for two thousand trained soldiers and six battalions of recruits before the campaign opened.

The harvest again had been scanty. The *habitans* had been allowed little time to attend to it as in many cases only the women and old men remained on the farms while all males, except the boys and men above sixty years of age were inexorably called to the frontier or employed on the public works and in the transportation of stores. A contemporary memoir prepared by a well informed official, relates

that the youth of the country were fairly exhausted by the toil of military expeditions and water transport. Their patriotism and zeal had indeed long sustained them, but they were becoming worn out by their efforts. The most essential matter in future was economy in the employment of men. Demands upon the militia should be made with impartiality, good sense, and justice. All unnecessary services must be dispensed with, and boys should not be called into service as had occasionally occurred in the past. Although he estimated the number of men fit for military service at 15,000, he stated that the garrisons at the upper posts, the transportation of stores for them and for trade with the Indians employed at least 4,000 men every year. The towns-people were suffering from actual want. Many of them had to stand for hours at the baker's door to obtain their daily bread. Seed grain was lacking and all supplies from Europe were cut off by the enemy's fleet. The inhabitants were also disgusted by the monopoly of trade and speculation by officials, which had become well-known and was possibly exaggerated. The maintenance of thousands of Indians had caused great waste. The colony was no longer able to feed its inhabitants and the price of many necessary articles was so high that they were beyond the reach of the majority.

The dissensions between the colonists and the regular troops had become acute. The antipathy formerly existing was rapidly developing into positive hostility. The officers of the colonial troops scarcely concealed their jealousy and suspicion of the French. They had been accustomed to make war in the Indian fashion and could not believe that it could be conducted in any other way. Bougainville, an impartial critic, sadly noted in his journal that although the Canadians and French were of the same race and had the same interests and political and religious principles, they were yet unable to agree in the face of the gravest peril. They seemed to be two antagonistic bodies which could never coalesce. He was inclined to believe that some of the Canadians even wished for their defeat, hoping that the whole blame would fall upon the French. As a remedy, Montcalm proposed a measure to the governor which he believed would greatly strengthen his force. It was an accurate census of all men fit for service in the militia. They were to be divided into three classes, good, indifferent, and poor. This he believed would insure the exemption of the number of men actually required for seeding and harvest, presuming that in an emergency, the women in the country and the idle men in the town would be employed in the same work. All those who were not actually needed on the farms would then be required to serve during the whole campaign which would amount to about 4,000 selected from the best marksmen. These would be incorporated among the regulars and the colonial troops in the following manner: with the regulars, fifteen per company; with the colonial troops a number equal to the soldiers already in each company. The great advantage of this step, he said, would be that each company of regulars and fencible would have with it and within it, a number of good shots, good boatsmen, and good artificers and the emulation between the soldiers and the Canadians would act as a spur to cause them to behave well and instruct others; it would remedy the evident deficiency of suitable officers for the command of the militia. He assured the governor that the militia need not fear any improper treatment as they were on friendly terms with the soldiers. If there was the least complaint he would undertake to remedy it and prevent its recurrence. This proposal would provide for about 3,000 select militia. The remainder would serve under the command of selected militia officers who would be stimulated by the hope of distinction. They should be provided with the same clothing and equipment, and receive the same pay and medical treatment as the regular troops. The number drafted for this service must be rigidly inspected to prevent the best men in the colony being employed in the transport service and to prevent too great a number of the militia being detached to the upper posts. The census would also show what additional number of the militia would be available for service in case of emergency. The character of the war, he said, had entirely changed. Formerly the Canadians had conducted their operations like hunting expeditions; now a campaign continued for several months.

Bougainville was sent to France to advocate this proposal and as a last desperate resort to suggest a retreat to Louisiana by way of the lakes, the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The minister should be requested to instruct the governor to prepare beforehand the necessary canoes for the transportation of 1,600 chosen troops and 800 Canadian militia, with the necessary arms, provisions and stores. If the Ohio route was blocked by the English, he would go by the way of Illinois. Even if the enemy were in possession of Quebec and St. Jean, four days start and orders on the treasury payable in Louisiana were all that he required.

Vaudreuil readily approved of the census which was quickly taken and showed a total of 7,511 militiamen in the district of Quebec, 1,313 in that of Three Rivers and 6,406 in that of Montreal, in the whole a nominal force of 15,299 men. A proclamation was addressed by the governor to the captains of militia requiring them to hold in readiness to march all fit men of their companies with their arms and cooking utensils, and twelve days provisions for which they would be paid after the campaign. Only one officer per company was to remain with the old; the weak and sick. This campaign, he added, will give the Canadians a great opportunity of distinction; the confidence I have in them is not unknown to His Majesty, whom I have constantly kept informed of their services; thus he expects that they will make every effort which he can hope for from his most faithful subjects, particularly, as they are fighting for their religion, the protection of their women, their children and their property; to preserve themselves from the cruel treatment planned for them by the English; adding that the king had ordered his troops to fight to the last, he concluded, "for my part I am determined never to consent to any surrender, convinced of the dangerous consequences it would have for all Canadians; it is certain that it will be far better for them to be buried under the ruins of the colony with their wives and children."

At the same time the governor was actually requesting the removal of Montcalm from the command. "M. de Montcalm," he wrote, "may serve very usefully in Europe; no one does more justice than I do to his excellent qualities, but they are not adapted for a war in this country. It is necessary to have much gentleness and patience to command Canadians and Indians. The King, having entrusted the colony to me, I cannot refrain from pointing out the serious consequences which may be produced by the longer stay here of the Marquis de Montcalm." He opposed the proposal to incorporate the militia with the regular troops.

Montcalm had been informed that he should permit any soldiers, who were willing to take up land, to remain in Canada. With this view he encouraged them to marry in the colony. His efforts were so successful, that in April, 1759, he reported that, while in the winter of 1755-6, there had been only seven marriages of soldiers, in the winter just passed there were not less than eighty. He had promised these men their discharge when their battalions were ordered to return to France with the understanding that they were to settle upon and clear the land granted to them. He recommended that they should receive a small gratuity when the others were withdrawn "We will leave the greater part of our troops behind us. They will be excellent colonists and gallant defenders of New France." Doubtless he was well aware that he was carrying on the intelligent and patriotic policy inaugurated by the great intendant, Talon.

It had then become apparent that the town of Quebec would soon be the object of an attack. Measures were taken to protect it by the construction of new batteries and outworks. The first vessel that arrived from France brought a cyphered report from Bougainville, stating that the incorporation of the militia with the troops had been approved, but the plan of retreat to Louisiana "was admired but not accepted." The reorganization of the militia was consequently undertaken. One hundred and eight selected men, all good marksmen were added to each regular battalion. The colonial troops consisting of forty companies were increased in the same proportion. A cavalry force of 200 men was also recruited from militia men specially adapted for service in that arm. They were promised a gratuity, at the end of the campaign and permission to return to their homes before any others. This corps was completed by the middle of June and put under the command of one of Montcalm's aides-de-camp, who was a regular cavalry officer. The men were provided with a blue uniform with scarlet facings, while the officers wore a white uniform. Two thousand five hundred regulars and 200 Indians were sent to Ticonderoga for the defence of that frontier as soon as the spring opened. Another force of 1,500 colonial troops, militia and Indians was detailed for operations on the Ohio, and the defence of Niagara. Captain de la Corne, with an equal number of colonial troops and militia was directed to take a position near the head of the rapids on the St. Lawrence and keep Oswego under observation. The remaining troops were retained in quarters in the districts of Montreal and Three Rivers, and the militia held in readiness to march wherever they were most needed. As there was a great scarcity of provisions, it was considered impossible to keep them together under arms. A general order, dated the 10th June, appointed de Ramezay commander of the garrison of Quebec which consisted of 600 local militia. The appearance of an English fleet in the river St. Lawrence brought both Montcalm and Vaudreuil to the defence of that place with five battalions of regular troops and the militia of other districts. A company of volunteer infantry

numbering 200 men was organized from the militia to act as sharpshooters. The force of militia then assembled for the defence of Quebec was by far the most numerous yet brought into the field. The Quebec brigade, consisting of 3,500 men under M. de Saint Ours, occupied the right of the camp; that of Three Rivers consisting of 880 under M. de Bonne same next; a brigade of 2,000 regulars occupied the centre and the militia from the district of Montreal numbering 2,300 under M. Herbin held the left of the line, according to an order of battle drawn up by M. de Levis. The reserve was composed of the cavalry, light troops and Indians. In addition, a strong detachment had been sent for observation to Saint Joachim, under M. de Repentigny, and another to the island of Orleans under M. de Courtemanche. When the whole of the militia was assembled, it is conjectured that the available force for the defence of the city was not less than 16,000 men of whom, however, only about 2,900 were regular troops. But this number was considerably diminished by desertions during the course of the siege. In a memorandum to Levis, and intended for his information only, Montcalm stated his force as consisting of five battalions of regulars, 2,900; the Three Rivers Militia, 1,100; the Montreal militia, 3,800; the Quebec militia, at most 3,000, making a total of 10,800. To this should be added the garrison of Quebec, the colonial troops and Indians. Of the militia, Montcalm reported, that perhaps four or five thousand were capable of good service, but that nearly half of them were old men and boys who had never before been on service but he began to think that they would do better than he had expected. It is related that boys of fourteen and old men of eighty were under arms at this time.

The inhabitants of the parishes on both banks of the river below, Kamouraska, Riviere-Ouelle, St. Anne, Malbaie, St. Roch, and Baie St. Paul, watched with dismay the slow movement of the immense English fleet as it ascended the river. The old men, women and children who remained at their homes almost alone, fled to the woods, driving before them their flocks and herds, and carrying off their most valuable household goods. Such were the orders of the governor.

On the 23rd of June a party of English officers who had landed for hunting were surprised by some militia and Indians under M. des Rivieres and three of them cut off. The mounted volunteers and other detachments of lightly equipped militia were kept constantly on the move to maintain communication with Montreal and protect boats on the river bringing supplies from above. On the 12th of July, several siege batteries opened fire from the opposite side of the river and did much damage. A column was organized to attack them which was composed of 1,200 men, of whom only 100 were volunteers from the regular battalions, the remainder being mainly local militia including many pupils of the seminary. The river was scarcely crossed before signs of great nervousness was noticeable among these troops, although still at a distance of nearly three miles from the point of attack. During the march the young men from the seminary, in their excitement, opened fire upon their comrades. This mistake was twice repeated before they arrived in front of the enemy's works. The sight of a hostile force completed their demoralization and they were seized with uncontrollable panic. Dumas, who was in command, vainly endeavoured to stop their flight. Tumbling over each other in their haste, they regained their boats and returned in the morning to Quebec "overwhelmed with shame and despair." Their conduct on this occasion was held to justify the common saying "that one Canadian was worth three French soldiers in bush fighting; but in line of battle, one French soldier was equal to three Canadians fresh from their farms."

However, another small party commanded by Etienne Charest, captain of the militia and seignior of Lauzon, bravely resisted the landing of troops at that place and from the shelter of the church and the neighbouring rocks defended its position to the last. Several hundred commanded by de Repentigny and Duprat were subsequently engaged in the action at Beauport and successfully held their entrenchments on that occasion.

Their activity and inveterate hostility was soon summarily punished by the despatch of detachments of the invaders which mercilessly destroyed most of the villages below the town as far as Malbaie and Baie Saint Paul. In several of these, the church was the only building left standing. This cruel expedient had the effect of largely diminishing the force under Montcalm. Many of the militia received permission to go to the assistance of their homeless families and others deserted.

In the memorable action on the Plains of Abraham on the 13th of September, a considerable number of militia were mingled with the regular troops and distinguished themselves by their accurate marksmanship. Their decisive defeat on that occasion,

and the surrender of the town completed their discouragement. Hundreds returned to their homes. Some fifteen hundred who formed the main part of the garrison were included in the terms of capitulation, and on laying down their arms, were guaranteed protection for their families and property.

The militia from the districts of Montreal and Three Rivers retreated with the remnant of regular troops without having experienced much loss. The mounted volunteers who had been despatched after the battle, each man carrying a bag of biscuit across his saddle for the supply of the garrison of Quebec, arrived too late and were obliged to retire without having effected their object.

Depressing news had also come from the west. Fort Niagara had been invested by a superior force. All the colony troops, militia and Indians who could be gathered for that purpose at the western posts, numbering 1,300, of whom only 200 were Indians, had come to its relief and been decisively defeated with heavy loss. De Ligneris, Montigny, Villiers, the younger Marin, and a dozen other officers with several cadets were taken prisoners. Those who escaped, retreated hastily, destroyed the small posts at Presquile, Le Boeuf and Venango, and retired to Detroit. The garrison of Niagara at once surrendered. All the posts on Lake Ontario and the last foothold in the Ohio Valley had been lost.

Saint-Luc de la Corne had marched against Oswego with nearly 1,000 militia strengthened by the infusion of a few colonial officers and soldiers, and a small body of Canadian Indians. That fort was not strongly garrisoned and might have been taken by assault. Once more the militia were seized by a panic and ran to their boats, overturning in their flight Abbé Picquart, their militant chaplain, who had endeavoured to restrain them. They were rallied and again advanced and a brisk skirmish followed in which the assailants lost about thirty killed and wounded, among the latter, la Corne and two other officers. On the following day he retired to an islet in the St. Lawrence at the head of the rapids where fortifications were constructed, afterwards known as Fort Levis.

Ticonderoga and Fort Saint-Frederic had been abandoned and destroyed and their garrisons withdrawn to Isle-aux-Noix, which became the advanced post on that frontier. Winter came and brought military operations to a close. The prospect for the future seemed all but hopeless. The outposts and forts at Montreal were garrisoned by regular troops and the remainder quartered as usual on the inhabitants, much to their discomfort. The militia were permitted to return to their homes subject to a call to arms at any time. The want of provisions soon became most alarming and as a last resort, d'Eschambault was required by the government to exert his influence in persuading the inhabitants to surrender some part of their hidden stores. He fervently appealed to them in the name of their parents, their brethren and their children, who were sacrificing themselves to preserve their liberty and rescue them from the fury of an implacable enemy. His efforts were fairly successful, and as public funds were not to be had, he paid for a large part of these supplies with his own money and whatever he could borrow from his intimate friends. This patriotic service caused his financial ruin. Although he advanced the large sum of 238,662 livres for the purchase of supplies, he was only repaid the trifling amount of 11,453 livres and was consequently forced to sell his property at a low price to repay his friends.

As reliable information had been received that the English garrison of Quebec was greatly weakened by disease and want of proper supplies, the governor and Levis who had succeeded Montcalm in command of the regular troops determined to make an attack upon it with all the force they could muster before relief could arrive. A circular letter from Vaudreuil addressed to the captains of militia on the 16th of April, 1760, ordered every man fit to bear arms to join the army at once under pain of death in case of disobedience. With the exception of the mounted volunteers and two battalions of town militia in Montreal, it was decided to embody the remainder entirely among the colonial troops and the regular battalions of the line. The proportion of militia thus incorporated among the regulars was much larger than ever before. The distribution under the new arrangement is shown in the following tabular statement:

Brigade.	Regiment or Corps.	COMBATANTS.				NON-COMBATANTS.				Grand total
		Officers	Soldiers	Militia	Total	Train	Servants	Surgeons	Total	
La Reine	(La Reine	27	370	223	620	10	27	1	38	658
	(Languedoc	14	280	285	579	..	14	1	15	594
La Sarre	(La Sarre	24	339	230	593	..	21	1	22	615
	(Bearn	24	371	221	616	5	27	1	33	649
Royal Roussillon	(Royal Roussillon	24	305	279	608	4	8	1	13	621
	(Guyenne	22	320	261	603	5	23	1	29	632
Berry Marine	2 Battalions	51	727	519	1297	9	50	2	61	1358
	2 Battalions	80	898	246	1224	..	75	4	79	1303
	Cavalry	5	..	200	205	..	2	1	3	208
	Indians	8	..	270	278	..	..	..	..	278
Out of the line (sic)	Militia Battalions of Montreal.	..	..	278	287	..	56	3	59	346

In one battalion it will be observed that the militia slightly outnumbered the regulars.

A well contested battle of Sainte-Foy, under the walls of Quebec, resulted in the defeat of the garrison with heavy loss. Captains St. Martin, and Denis de la Ronde, Lieuts. Corbière and de Varennes, Ensign de Boucherville, senior, of the colonial troops, and Commandant Rheame and Capt. Lefebvre of the militia were killed in this battle, and Lts. Gamelin, Delisle and Provost were wounded. Lieut. de Meloises of the colony troops and Capt. A. De Bonne of the militia were killed in the subsequent operations. The siege lasted until the 9th of May, when the place was relieved by the arrival of an English squadron. Levis then retreated with the intentions of resisting the advance of the invaders up the river and also opposing the forces closing in upon the doomed colony from other directions. Detachments of militia under capable Colonial officers were stationed at several favourable points on the St. Lawrence below Three Rivers with orders to follow the movements of the English fleet as it advanced.

A proclamation by General Murray, promising protection to all the militia who remained peacefully at their homes and threatening to burn every house from which the men of the family were absent, had great effect. This was practically exemplified by the entire destruction of a small village near Sorel, and the kindness shown to all those who returned to their families. Vaudreuil was soon forced to publish a counter proclamation threatening all militiamen who deserted or laid down their arms with pain of death and ordering the destruction of the houses of all those who neglected to join his army. As he no longer had the power of enforcing his threats they were generally disregarded. The colony troops, and even the regulars, also began to desert. His Indian allies too, went over to the enemy in a body. On the 8th of September a treaty of capitulation was signed by which Canada and all its dependencies were surrendered. All French officers, officials, regular troops and sailors were offered a passage to France in British ships and all other persons who wished to remove to that country were granted the same privilege. Those who remained were guaranteed their property, rights, and privileges. The married soldiers were discharged with the option of remaining in Canada or returning to France and all colonial soldiers were apparently allowed the same choice. In a return of those who were discharged in France, only thirty-four companies were mentioned. Nearly all were commanded by officers bearing the names of old colonial families. It seems fair to infer that all the surviving men of the other six had elected to remain in Canada. Two companies were each represented by a single man, another by two men, still another by three, one by five, and three by eight each. Six companies only, returned more than twenty

men each to France. Probably one half of the colonial troops remained and settled in Canada. Of the officers, sixteen captains, fourteen lieutenants and twenty-seven ensigns remained in Canada. The officers who returned to France were granted halfpay for a limited period to enable them to live comfortably, as few had any relatives or acquaintances in their mother country. Many had received wounds in the service, and most of these were recommended for the cross of Saint-Louis. A number subsequently returned to Canada while on the other hand, some of those who remained behind removed to France.

During all the vicissitudes and trials of this long struggle, the mass of the Canadian people had continued inalterably loyal to their government and by their fidelity, had contributed greatly to the prolonged defence of the country. Their devotion to their flag, and patient endurance of hardships and privations evoked a well deserved tribute of admiration from their adversaries.

CHAPTER II.

THE MILITIA OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC, 1763-1775.

By the terms of the treaty of capitulation for the surrender of Montreal, the whole of the Canadian militia was included among the prisoners of war. It was officially reported to consist of eighty-seven companies in the government of Montreal, numbering 7,331 men; nineteen companies in the government of Three Rivers having a strength of 1,150 men and sixty-four companies in the government of Quebec, containing 7,976 men. On the 19th of September, 1760, General Amherst directed Col. Haldimand to assemble the militia of the town of Montreal and require them to surrender their arms. When this was done, they were informed that if they took the oath of allegiance their arms would either be restored to them or deposited for safety in an armoury. Measures were subsequently taken to disarm the militia in the other districts, but in many cases in the rural settlements where the commissioners certified the pacific behaviour of the inhabitants, every resident who agreed to certain conditions, was permitted to retain one fowling piece for hunting purposes. The resignation of the officers was also required but the majority were at once reappointed, receiving a commission or letter of service from the new authorities. A military government was established with its headquarters at Quebec.

The former division of the colony into three districts or governments was continued. Major-General James Murray was appointed governor of Quebec, and commander of the forces of Canada. Major-General Thomas Gage became governor of the district of Montreal and Colonel Ralph Burton, governor of Three Rivers. The inhabitants generally seemed disposed to accept the change of government with equanimity, comforting themselves with the reflection that it was the fortune of war. The captains of militia in the several parishes continued to exercise the judicial functions of justice of the peace. In the district of Quebec, General Murray formed a court of regular officers to conduct the trial of more important criminal and civil cases. This court sat every two weeks. From its decisions the defendant had the right of appeal to the governor himself. Two distinguished Canadians were associated with it; Jacques Belcourt de Lafontaine, formerly a member of the supreme council of the province, was appointed public procurator and commissioner to act with this tribunal in the trial of all suits brought from the country on the right bank of the St. Lawrence and Joseph-Etienne Cugnet, Sieur de Saint-Etienne, to act in the trial of suits brought from the country on the left bank of the river. A similar arrangement was made in the district of Three Rivers.

In the autumn of 1761, General Gage published an ordinance dividing the district of Montreal into five areas for the purpose of rendering the administration of justice more prompt and less expensive. Courts were to be held at Montreal, Pointe-aux-Trembles, Longueuil, Point-Claire, and Lavalterrie. The militia officers in each division were instructed to meet on the 24th of October to make arrangements for the sittings of these courts and prepare rosters of officers for duty thereon. Each court was to be composed of not more than seven and not less than five officers of the militia, of whom one at least must have the rank of captain. Sessions were to be held on the first and fifteenth day of each month to decide civil suits according to the laws and customs of the country in so far as these laws and customs were known to the members. Appeals from their decisions were to be carried to a board of officers of the regular troops, of which three were appointed to sit on the 20th of each month, one at Montreal, another at Varennes, and the third at St. Sulpice. A further appeal to the governor in person was provided for. Authority to hear and decide civil suits for the recovery of debts not exceeding twenty livres was granted to all officers of the militia with an appeal only to the court of the division. The militia officers were instructed to arrest all persons charged with serious crimes and conduct them under escort to Montreal, forwarding a charge sheet and list of witnesses with each prisoner. They were particularly required to maintain peace and order within their respective parishes. The captains of militia for the town of Montreal soon after presented a memorial to the governor in which they declared their readiness to administer justice without pay as they had done in the past but applied for exemption from the ordinance for billeting troops in their dwellings. They further requested that fuel be supplied for heating their court-room and that their clerk Mr. P. Panet, afterwards appointed

judge for that district, should receive fees at the rate of thirty sols for each suit. They had appointed two sergeants to act as bailiffs and court-criers and a tariff of fees was recommended for their payment. The bailiffs were required not only to attend court but to oversee the performance of the statutory labour of King's *corvée*. When the death of King George the second became known in Montreal, the militia officers and merchants presented an address of condolence to the governor in which they requested him to continue his protection declaring that they would endeavour to deserve it by their zeal and ardent prayers, which they constantly offered to the Almighty for his health and safety.

By the thirteenth article of the final treaty of peace signed at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763, the whole of the French possessions in Canada and its dependencies were definitely ceded to Great Britain. The French inhabitants or any others who had been subjects of the King of France in Canada were granted the right of selling their property to subjects of his Britannic Majesty and removing from the country, providing this was done within eighteen months from the date of the ratification of the treaty. Some of the noblesse, principal merchants, and military officers availed themselves of this privilege and took their departure for France in that and the following year. In 1762, Colonel Burton had embarked with the troops destined for the siege of Havanna and he was succeeded in command of the district of Three Rivers by Colonel Frederick Haldimand, a Swiss officer, whose native language was French. Lieutenant Gagy was soon after appointed secretary for that district and other French-Swiss officers were appointed in other districts to facilitate communication with the inhabitants. General Gage became commander of the forces at New York and vacated his appointment at Montreal where he was succeeded by Colonel Burton on his return. The captains of militia presented an address of regret to Gage on his retirement to which he replied warmly testifying to the excellent services they had rendered, and concluded with the advice to "continue to do your duty in advancing the public welfare, and not only increasing the good reputation you have already acquired among your fellow countrymen but earn what will certainly not fail to receive, the gratitude and protection of the king."

Gage took care to report to General Amherst that the Canadians had been treated with consideration. "I feel the highest satisfaction" he wrote, "that I am able to inform you that during my command in this government I have made it my constant care and attention that the Canadians should be treated agreeable to His Majesty's kind and humane intentions. No invasion on the properties or insult on their persons has gone unpunished. All reproaches on their subjection by the fate of arms, revilings on their customs or country, and all reflections on their religion have been discountenanced and forbid. No distinction has been made between the Briton and Canadian, but equally regarded subjects of the same Prince. The soldiers live peaceably with the inhabitants and they reciprocally acquire an affection for each other. I have, withstanding, made known His Majesty's pleasure on these particulars to the several commanders of corps, that every individual may be acquainted therewith, which will, no doubt, add the greatest weight to the orders and directions which have been already given. And you may be assured that troops who have ever shown the most ardent desire to advance the interest of their Sovereign, and paid the most exact obedience to his commands will vie with each other in brotherly love and affection to the Canadians over whom His Majesty has extended his royal favour and protection."

In his proclamation, published on taking over the government of the district, Burton announced that the ordinances passed during the administration of his predecessor would be continued in force and "that civil justice would be administered by militia and military courts, with the right of appeal to the governor."

On the 9th May, 1764, he considered it necessary to publish a proclamation instructing captains and officers of militia to take steps at once for the repair of the roads and bridges and the clearing out of the ditches within a month's time, when an inspection would be made. They were also authorized to issue arms on loan during good behaviour to enable the inhabitants to shoot game.

There seemed to be good reason to believe that the new administration had gained the respect and confidence of the great majority of the people. The revelations of the villainy practiced upon them by the last intendant and his associates, and the neglect of the French government to redeem the paper money circulated for the purchase of supplies had not strengthened the affection of the Canadians for their mother country.

The Indian nations of the west formerly allied with the French had continued the war with startling success. They had taken Mackinac by surprise and closely besieged the garrison of Detroit which was reduced to the last extremity. A portion of the Senecas had unexpectedly taken up arms and cut off a wagon train loaded with supplies on the portage of Niagara, killing nearly the whole of the escort. Almost two thousand settlers from the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia had been carried into captivity. This grave situation demanded resolute action. It was then decided to march two forces from different directions into the heart of the Indian territory. One of these based upon Fort Pitt, under Bouquet, was directed to march against the hostile Indians in the Ohio Valley. The other, under Colonel John Bradstreet, was to assemble at Oswego, ascend the lakes, compel the Senecas to make peace, relieve Detroit, and punish the hostile tribes in its vicinity and farther west.

Bradstreet's reputation stood high. His successful expedition against Fort Frontenac had perhaps gained him undue credit. He had earned further distinction by his personal courage in an action near Oswego. He was a man of great energy, exceedingly ambitious, vain and self-willed, but deficient in judgment and self-control.

The organization of these two columns was energetically undertaken by General Gage in the winter of 1763-4. As the number of regular troops which could be employed was rather limited, the provinces of Virginia and Pennsylvania were directed to furnish contingents of volunteers for the column to be assembled at Fort Pitt while Connecticut, New Jersey and New York were required to furnish similar contingents for the expedition to move from Oswego. Sir William Johnson was at the same time instructed to exert his powerful influence with the Six Nations to secure their co-operation, or at all events their neutrality. On the 9th of January the governor of Montreal was required to engage four hundred skilled boatmen in his district to be employed early in the spring in the transportation of one hundred bateaux, loaded with provisions, from Montreal to Oswego. The Quarter Master General of the district was at once directed to build the necessary boats and convey the provisions in sleighs to Lachine to enable this convoy to proceed as soon as the disappearance of the ice would permit. About a month later, apparently with some misgivings, Gage decided to require the services of a Canadian contingent to form part of this expedition. His letter on this subject to Governor Murray is dated at New York on the 12th February. In it he asserted that "nothing can so effectually serve to convince the savages how vain and erroneous their expectations have been of French supplies, and that the Arms of Great Britain, have received Additional strength by the Conquest of Canada, than their seeing a Body of Canadians in Arms, and ready to act Hostily against them, in conjunction with British Troops." The contingent required from the province of Quebec was to consist of one battalion of 300 men divided into five companies, each composed of one captain, two subalterns and sixty men exclusive of non-commissioned officers, the whole to be commanded by a major and to be on the same footing as other provincial troops. They were to be supplied with arms, ammunition and a certain amount of clothing from the stores at Quebec or Montreal, and also with provisions sufficient for their voyage to Oswego, where they would receive tents and other camp equipage. Two companies were required from each of the governments of Montreal and Quebec, and one company from Three Rivers. As it was of the utmost importance that the movement from Oswego should take place as early in the spring as the weather would permit, the companies from Quebec and Three Rivers were required to report at Montreal by the end of March. Similar letters were addressed on the same day to the governors of Montreal and Three Rivers. Murray replied hopefully, on the 5th of March, that he had little doubt that a sufficient number of volunteers could be obtained for this service but that compulsion would be clearly out of the question, as the time fixed by the treaty of Paris for the emigration of any of the Canadians who desired to remove, had not nearly elapsed and any attempt to order them to proceed on military service might be construed as an infraction of the treaty. Consequently he interpreted Gage's instructions to mean that the corps in question should be composed of volunteers under the command of officers of their own race. He added: "I wish you had settled the Encouragement which is to be given these people; you say they are to be upon the footing with the other provincial Troops; But I am told every Province differs, with regard to pay, clothing, &c., &c., I am of Opinion the Canadians who are to serve on this Occasion should have as much encouragement as any of His Majesties subjects: These poor people have hardly yet had time to breathe; after a long uninterrupted Series of Misfortunes, they have flattered themselves, that under our Government, they would be exempted, at least, from the intolerable weight of Military Service under which they formerly groaned, hence an additional Necessity of making the service you require of them at present a Volun-

tary one, when put upon that footing, it will not be in the power of French Emissaries, Priests, or other disaffected persons, to turn the Measure to their purposes, and thereby to persuade many to leave the province who otherwise would not have thought of it; for these Considerations, and a thousand other just, equitable, and political ones, I shall allow the two Companies to be raised in the district of Quebec, the very same Encouragement which is given to their provincials by the Government of New York."

General Burton had already written to Murray from Montreal, stating that had General Gage wanted 300 more boatmen to proceed further up the country than Oswego, they might have been easily engaged, but adding "in my Opinion, it is yet too Early in the day, for raising Canadians to act Hostily against the Savages; especially as we have still amongst us so many Priests and French Officers, whom I cannot help suspecting would be apt to poison the minds of Canadians going to War." Colonel Haldimand contented himself with reporting the receipt of Gage's requisition and stating that he would go to work at once to carry it into effect.

Murray lost no time in offering the command of the battalion to the Chevalier de Repentigny, who had recently returned from France, accompanied by a considerable number of other officers, formerly belonging to the French colonial troops. His family was one of the oldest and best known of the noblesse. He had served with credit on several expeditions in the Indian country, had been severely wounded at the battle of Lake George and further distinguished himself at Montmorency, and at Sainte-Foy, in the latter battle having held an important command. He had been recommended for the cross of Saint-Louis. Murray had much respect for him. In a letter of introduction to General Burton, he described him as the best informed and most polite of all these officers.

In his proclamation calling for volunteers, Murray offered a bounty of twelve piastres in money and a capote, two pairs of Indian shoes and a pair of gloves to each man and a daily wage of six pence English money, taking care to announce that the services of such volunteers would terminate with the campaign. They were required to take a special oath of allegiance. At that time he had not yet been appointed governor-general of the province, although it was intimated that such appointment was to be made. Consequently he could not assume any authority over the other governors. He wrote to them at once stating the steps that he had taken, and enclosing copies of his letters to General Gage and M. de Repentigny, and of his proclamation and the proposed oath of allegiance, to promote uniformity in their action.

In his letter to Burton, referring to his intention of appointing Canadian officers for the two companies to be raised at Quebec, Murray remarked "nothing will more effectually convince the Savages, that they are to expect no more assistance from France, and that this Country is now entirely under His Majesties Dominion than the appearance of their old French Leaders in arms against them."

Haldimand had already assembled the captains of militia and after explaining the requisition and the object of the campaign, he ordered them to call together their companies and ask for a sufficient number of volunteers. If volunteers were not obtained, he intended to command the necessary number of men from each parish.

His verbal instructions were supplemented by a circular letter requiring prompt and vigorous efforts to secure the proper number of volunteers.

Burton decided to do nothing until he received instructions from Murray.

A few days later, Murray informed the other governors that he had fixed the rates of pay as follows:

- A major, \$3.00 a day.
- Each captain, \$2.00 a day.
- Each lieutenant, \$1.00 a day.
- Each serjeant, one shilling, Halifax, currency, or one-fifth of a dollar.
- Each corporal, eight pence, Halifax currency.
- Each private, six pence or one-tenth of a dollar.

They were to receive pay and rations from the day of their enlistment. He had appointed two lieutenants to each company and no ensign. He sent them a specimen capote, a pair of leggings and a pair of shoes to show exactly what he intended to furnish to the men. A letter from Haldimand, having indicated that he anticipated some difficulty in obtaining the required number of volunteers, Murray remarked rather precipitately as it proved, "it shews a bad will, I do not like; it cannot however

affect the king's service for 1,000 more than I want may be had here & to make up your Company you may have recourse to this part of the Province."

De Repentigny however declined the command of the battalion, and J. B. M. des Berges de Rigauville was appointed to command with the rank of major. *This gentleman belonged to a family which had been in the country for eighty years; he was then thirty-seven years of age, and after some service in the militia had received a commission in the colony troops. He had commanded at Fort St. Frederic fought gallantly at Ste. Foy and had already declared his intention of remaining in the province. Antoine Juchereau Duchesnay and M. de Catalogne, both former officers in the colony troops, were appointed captains of the two companies recruited in the government of Quebec. There had been, however, a marked revulsion in popular feeling respecting voluntary enlistment. "At first our recruiting went on briskly." Murray wrote to Burton on the 22nd March, "but latterly the people have got it into their heads, that by taking money, and Voluntary inlisting, they were liable to remain Soldiers while they lived, from this Reasoning I shall with difficulty, be able to Com-pleat our two Companys, but if I am put to it, I shall make no Scruple to draw the few I want from the Jeune Gens, and to that end I have made the inclosed preparations, which I take the Liberty to Inclose to you, that if you find it necessary, and think the Expedient proper, you may do the Same."

Haldimand also reported his surprise that the bounty of twelve piastres was likely to become an obstacle rather than an encouragement but he said that his recruiting officers had gone into the rural parishes and he learned that the young men were talking it over by their own fire-sides and had estimated that the pay and bounty together would amount to 180 francs which then seemed a large sum to them.

He was obliged to draw upon the treasury of Quebec for all necessary expenses as he declared that his district was not able to bear the cost of enrolment of even twenty men as the poverty of the people was beyond conception and daily increasing. For the command of the company from Three Rivers, he selected M. de Montzambert, lately a lieutenant in the colony troops, who had lived for twenty years in the Ohio country, where he had married a German woman. As lieutenants, he appointed M. de Richerville, also formerly in the colony troops, and M. Schmidt who had served for a long time in the militia.

When the time appointed for the departure of the Quebec companies arrived they were still incomplete and Murray found himself obliged to accept eight Indians from Lorette and to send a circular letter to the captains of militia in the parishes above Quebec, calling their attention to his proclamation and informing them that in the event a due proportion of volunteers from their companies did not present themselves, he would be obliged to resort to a draft to obtain men. He would deprive all the inhabitants of those parishes of their arms beginning with the militia officers as he did not consider that men who declined to use them for the public good, deserved to be trusted with them for their private benefit. He would also deprive the drafted men of the bounty. An order was prepared directing a draft of fifty men from the companies of militia in the parishes extending from Beaumont to Cap de St. Ignace if they did not furnish twenty volunteers for service during the campaign on the conditions stated in his proclamation. Eventually, he found it necessary only to accept ten drafted men as supernumeraries in the event that the companies from the other districts were not up to strength. Noyelle de Fleurimont, a distinguished colonial officer, was appointed paymaster with the rank of captain.

Haldimand had better success. His company was completed entirely with volunteers and he had accepted ten supernumeraries whom he proposed should be taken in the place of the men drafted at Quebec, or to fill up the Montreal companies. However, he had deemed it necessary to recall the arms issued to the inhabitants of the two parishes of Batiscan, who had informed his recruiting agents that as they had been disarmed at the conquest of the country, they would never take up arms again. Eventually all the companies were completed with volunteers and all drafted men discharged. The battalion left Montreal for Oswego on the 6th of April, and Murray reported that he was confident that "they will do their Duty with as much Zeal and alacrity as any Provincial Corps whatever. They were raised and equipped in fourteen days." In the list of subaltern officers were men bearing the names of such old colonial families as Hertel, La Madeleine, Montesson, Dupré, St. André and Clignancour.

* De Repentigny returned to France soon after. He was created a Marquis, promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General and appointed governor of Senegal from which he was transferred to Mahé, in the French East Indies, where he died in 1771, having successfully defended that province against the attacks of a native ruler.

Writing from New York on the 2nd of May, Gage said "The news of the March of the Canadians has already astonished the Savages; and Sir Wm. Johnson says, it will have a better effect to convince them of their folly than anything he can say or do to persuade them that there is no assistance to be expected for them from that Quarter. *Mais ne dites rien de tout cecy en Canada.*"

The composition of the force ordered to assemble at Oswego was as follows:—

The 17th Foot, completed with men from the 55th.

Four companies of eighty men each, from other regular regiments.

500 Militia from New Jersey.

500 Militia from New York, and Connecticut.

300 Militia from Canada.

50 men of the Royal Artillery.

10 Light Field Pieces.

making a total strength of more than 2,000 rank and file. The provincial troops from New Jersey, however, did not arrive in New York until the first week in May, consequently they were late in reaching Oswego. A council with the Canadian Indians was successfully held at Caughnawaga on the 5th of May, at which the different tribes accepted a war belt and 300 of them marched on the 15th by way of Crown Point to report to Sir Wm. Johnson at his residence in the Mohawk Valley.

On their arrival, that officer assembled the whole of the local militia numbering about 1,500 men, whom he reviewed in the presence of the Indians. Some of the Senecas were present and it was presumed that on their return home they would tell their people that the English were moving in large bodies towards the frontiers. About the middle of June, Johnson took his departure for Niagara, accompanied by the principal chiefs of the Mohawks. The Canadian contingent had gone on in advance to Niagara where they arrived on the 18th of May, and two days later were sent forward to the upper landing above the falls where they built a stockade for the protection of stores which afterwards received the name of Fort Schlosser in honour of the officer in charge of the work. They were subsequently employed for many days in the transportation of stores on the portage. This was hard and monotonous toil and evoked some complaint on their part, which, twenty years after was recorded and probably exaggerated by the venomous pen of Pierre du Calvet. It would appear that their private letters to their families did not support these complaints.

The remainder of the troops gradually arrived at Niagara in detachments during the month of June, but the contingents from the other provinces are said to have fallen considerably short of the numbers demanded. About 2,000 Indians were assembled at a council, being the largest number ever brought together for that purpose. The Senecas from the Genesee Valley had not arrived as soon as the others, but they appeared at length, delivered up their prisoners and agreed to cede to the crown a strip of land extending on both sides of the river from lake to lake, four miles in width on each bank with the privilege of establishing a military post on the north side of Lake Erie, afterwards known as Fort Erie. The land granted by this treaty amounted to about 300,000 acres. Two hostages were also given by the Senecas as a pledge for the appearance of the chiefs of the Shawanese and Delawares, with the prisoners detained by those nations. Twenty-two nations were present at this council, eleven of whom were western Indians. The warriors from Canada agreed at the same time to accompany the expedition to Detroit.

General Bradstreet had fallen sick at Albany and this fact had contributed to delay the movement of troops from Niagara. The expedition actually took its departure from Fort Schlosser, on the 8th of August and four days later arrived at Presque Isle on Lake Erie where a delegation from the Delawares and Shawanese was waiting. A treaty of peace was hastily concluded with these nations by which they agreed to deliver up all prisoners in their hands. The garrison of Detroit was relieved on the 26th of August and a council with the Indians of the vicinity was held on the 7th September which terminated in a treaty of peace with the remainder of the hostile nations. Bradstreet had thus succeeded in accomplishing his mission without further bloodshed but he was subsequently rather harshly censured for having granted the Indians such favourable terms.

General Gage thanked Haldimand warmly for his company which had been reported to him as the best by far in the battalion and Captain Montizambert also reported that it was in good state of discipline and excellent spirits.

On the 10th of August, General Murray was formally proclaimed governor of the province of Quebec. Copies of his commission were sent to the governors of the other districts who considered it their duty to notify captains of militia by circular letters.

During the last week in November, the battalion of volunteers returned to Montreal where those from Montreal and Three Rivers were paid off and discharged, the men from the latter district receiving four days additional pay to enable them to reach their homes. The pay-roll for this company has been preserved among the Haldimand papers and contains the names of three officers, two sergeants, two corporals, one drummer, and sixty privates. Pte. Noel Fortier died on service on the 24th of August. As all ranks had received an advance of pay up to and including the 24th of May, before leaving Three Rivers, pay was then claimed for 196 days, extending from the 25th of May to the 6th December, inclusive. Haldimand reported that "these good fellows" who had never received such considerate treatment before, had returned to their homes well satisfied, and hoping that their services would be required again the following year. "It is certain," he remarked "that their presence has produced a good effect on the minds of the Indians."

Ten years later on the passage of the Quebec bill, the surviving officers were placed upon a half pay list. Their commander, de Rigauville, was at the same time appointed a member of the legislative council. He subsequently distinguished himself by his loyalty and activity during the invasion of the province in 1775, and was wounded during the siege and taken prisoner at the surrender of St. John. He died in captivity at Bristol in Pennsylvania, a few months later.

Occasional demands were made upon the militia for assistance in transporting stores for the military posts in Canada and the "Upper Country." Thus in the autumn of 1765, five parishes of the island of Montreal were required to furnish sixty-four men with oars and paddles for the service. Shortly afterwards the loss of a sloop on Lake Ontario made it necessary to employ one hundred additional boats which appear to have been manned in the same way. In the following spring Murray issued instructions to the justices of the peace to issue impress warrants for horses, sleighs, and other carriages for the transport of provisions to Lachine and the upper posts, the persons thus employed to be paid current wages. These warrants were subsequently withdrawn owing to doubt as to their legality.

Much to General Murray's annoyance the lieutenant-governors of Montreal and Three Rivers declined to acknowledge him as commander of the troops in their districts and their attitude in this respect was approved by the commander-in-chief. Murray protested very strongly, declaring that the province could not be governed without a military force as "the Canadians are to a man soldiers and naturally conceive that he who commands the troops should govern." He soon became involved in a bitter quarrel with some of the English speaking merchants and traders, the greater part of whom, he described as being either persons of inferior education, who had come in the wake of the army, or discharged soldiers. They were all seeking to get rich quickly and had few scruples as to the means they employed providing they were successful in gaining their object. Nothing he said would satisfy some of these "licentious fanatics" but the expulsion of the Canadians who "were the bravest race on the globe and if indulged with a few privileges would become the most faithful subjects in this American Empire." In a later despatch he stated that a few British traders, vexed with him because he would not appoint them magistrates or allow them to oppress the "new subjects," continued to display the utmost malice towards him. These dissensions increased until finally a number of merchants united in a petition asking for his recall, charging him with passing vexatious, oppressive and unconstitutional ordinances, refusing to listen to their protests, and treating them with rudeness and anger, concluding by a singular complaint of "his further adding to this by the most flagrant partiality, by fomenting parties, and taking measures to keep Your Majesties old and new subjects divided from one another by encouraging the latter to apply for judges of their own national language." This petition was strongly supported by another from their business connections in London, and under date of April 1st, 1766, Murray was directed to return to England to give an account of his administration. When this became known, a majority of the seigniors signed a strong memorial to the king, praising the governor highly for his affability and impartiality, by which they asserted he had attached the people to him and praying that he should be reinstated.

Sir, Guy Carleton, who had served under Wolfe during the siege of Quebec, was selected as his successor but did not arrive at Quebec until the autumn of that year. The dilapidated state of the fortifications soon came to his attention and he strongly recommended the repair of the walls of Quebec as he reported that as the damage by bombardment during the siege had never been mended, the masonry must soon tumble down unless this was done. A complaint from Sir. Wm. Johnson respecting the suspicious conduct of some Canadian traders among the Indians in the West caused

him to make enquiries which seemed to have convinced him of their general good will and loyalty. "Ever since my arrival," he remarked, "I have observed the Canadians with an attention bordering upon suspicion but hitherto have not discovered in them either actions or Sentiments, - which do not belong to good subjects."

Soon afterwards he recommended that a pension should be granted to M. Chaussegros de Lery, who had been one of the first of the French officers remaining in the country to take the oath of allegiance for which he had since been punished by summary expulsion from France in a state of poverty. He reviewed the military situation of the province and again directed the attention of the Ministry to the ruinous state of the fortifications, and the small number of regular troops under his command. The British militia would number about 500 men while the French militia was about 18,000 strong of whom he remarked "above one-half have already served with as much valour, with more zeal and more military knowledge for America than the Regular Troops of France, that were joined with them." The common people, he said, were still much under the influence of the seigniors and he forwarded a list of the noblesse by which it appeared that about one hundred Canadian officers were then residents in France or employed in the French service, "all ready to be sent back, in case of a war, to a Country they are intimately acquainted with, and with the assistance of some Troops to stir up a People accustomed to pay them implicit obedience." About seventy Canadian officers had remained in the province, for whom no local employment could be provided. The construction of a citadel at Quebec was again strongly recommended as in the event of a war with France, the province would undoubtedly be in a very precarious situation.

Writing on the 20th January, 1768, after referring once more to the necessity of strengthening the fortifications of Quebec, he declared, "still I think the Interests of Great Britain but half advanced unless the Canadians are inspired with a cordial attachment, and zeal for the King's Government." He then proceeded to recommend that they should be maintained in the quiet possession of their property according to their own customs and that recourse to Courts of law should be made prompt and easy. The establishment of a provincial corps for the defence of the country was also advocated. "But, Besides these points of Justice," he wrote, "as long as the Canadians are deprived of all Places of Trust and Profit, they never can forget they no longer are under the Dominion of their natural Sovereign: tho' this immediately concerns but few, yet it affects the Minds of all, from a national Spirit, whichever interests itself at the general Exclusion of their Countrymen: three or four of their principal Gentlemen, with the Rank of Counsellors, was it little more than Honorary, tho' on many Occasions they might prove useful; a few Companies of Canadian Foot judiciously officered, with three or four trifling Employments, in the Civil Department, would make very considerable Alterations on the Minds of the People; it would divide the Canadians at least, and secure a part in Case of a French war that would emulate the zeal of the King's National Troops; It would hold up Hopes to the Gentlemen, that their children, without being bred up in France, or the French Service, might support their Families in the Service of the King their Master, and by the Employments preserve them from sinking into the lower class of People, by the division and subdivision of Lands every Generation."

His proposal for the construction of a citadel was referred to other departments interested. Steps were then taken to draft a new bill for the government of the province which was placed in charge of the Earl of Shelburne. The governor was instructed to make every effort to conciliate the new subjects and convince them of the interest of the ministry in their welfare and safety. Secret intelligence had been received indicating that the French government still entertained designs for the recovery of Canada. This information was duly transmitted to Carleton who was directed to make enquiries. He reported his absolute disbelief that there was any plot in existence in Canada, but stated that he had not the least doubt of the secret attachment of the Canadians to France and that this would continue as long as they were excluded from all employment under the British Government and until they were assured of being reinstated in their former commissions and employments by which they had chiefly supported themselves and their families. He asserted that the new government had done nothing to gain over a single man in the province by making it his private interest to remain a subject of the king, and that on the contrary the interests of many would be promoted by a revolution. He surmised that the proposal to raise a Canadian regiment had become known in France, and that the intelligence transmitted had been purposely circulated to create distrust of them.

He was informed in reply that his remarks would have great weight in the consideration of the measures proposed as they demonstrated "both the propriety and

necessity of extending to that brave and faithful people a reasonable participation in those establishments, which are to form the Basis of the future Government of the Colony of Quebec." The Minister frankly stated that although he fully agreed with Carleton that great advantages might be derived from granting commissions in the military forces to Canadians, he considered it scarcely practicable then owing to the strong prejudice existing against that proposal among all political parties.

His recommendation for the citadel was renewed in the following year with estimates for its construction and proposals for a new road connecting the province with New York to be built by means of a lottery. The plans for the citadel were once more referred, this time to a committee of the Privy Council with the Marquis of Granby as chairman.

A strong memorial from the Canadians for the restoration of their laws and customs and pledging their fidelity, seems to have revived interest in the proposed bill for the government of the province which had been so long deferred and a report from the committee was eventually forwarded to Carleton for his consideration. At the same time he was instructed to enquire into further reports of discontent and take every necessary measure for the defence of the country. Leave of absence was subsequently granted him to return to England for the purpose of giving evidence before the committee, of which he availed himself late in the summer of 1770. In his absence the administration of the government devolved upon Lieutenant Governor Cramahé who reported in January, 1771, that the people were perfectly disposed to remain quiet, nor was there any reason to apprehend any seditious movement among them, even if war should begin with Spain, as they still hoped to be "shortly relieved from several inconveniencies under which they consider themselves at present to labour." On the 25th of July, 1772, he wrote again "altho" I can scarcely credit that any of His Majesty's new Subjects have entered into, or formed any plan destructive to the King's interests, and am pretty certain, if any such Thing is in Agitation, that it must come from the other side of the water, and few here intrusted with the Secret, His Majesty may be assured. I shall keep an exact watch upon their Words and Actions, endeavour to find out their Correspondence and if I discover anything to be plotting or acting against His Royal Interests, that I shall consult and Concert, with the Commanders of His Forces upon the Spot, and His other Servants, the best and most effectual measures for the preservation and Security of this important Province."

A few months later he thought proper to report that M. Dufy (or Dufils) of Montreal, formerly a captain of militia, had stated that he had been notified of his nomination to the order of St. Louis, with which he would be invested whenever he went to France for that purpose, but that he had no intention of undertaking the journey. This information excited his suspicions as he conjectured that the appointment had probably been made with a view of maintaining French influence among that class of people who had profited most by the change of dominion but he affirmed that it would have little effect, "if the Government of the province was established upon a firm and solid basis, and some means could be devised of employing the Noblesse, who at present are at a loss how to dispose of, or provide for, their children."

During the governor's prolonged absence Cramahé continued to urge the adoption of a new constitution for the province in almost every despatch and insisted that the only sure way to gain the affection of the new subjects was to grant them all possible freedom in the exercise of their religion. He received and forwarded a petition from a number of the British inhabitants for the establishment of an elective House of assembly but took the precaution of remarking that not more than five of the persons who had signed it were freeholders and that four of these owned very little property, while the actual number of tenants did not exceed thirty. They had endeavoured to induce the Canadians to join them in this petition but had signally failed. The government bill was accordingly introduced into parliament at the session of 1774, and passed into law becoming known as the Quebec Act. Carleton did not return to Canada until 18th of September, 1774, and immediately reported that the French Canadians were highly pleased with the provisions of the new act, and that all ranks of people among the them vied with each other in testifying their gratitude and respect. Within a very few hours after his arrival he received a letter by express from General Gage informing him that in consequence of the alarming condition of affairs in the province of Massachusetts he felt obliged to collect all the military force in his power at Boston, and he had consequently sent transports to bring two regiments from Quebec to that place, thus reducing the regular force in the province to two weak battalions, one at Quebec and the other at Montreal with detachments at Three Rivers and Chambly. He also enquired whether, as a last resort, a body of Canadians and

Indians might be assembled for service in Massachusetts to act in conjunction with his troops. Carleton replied at once that the two regiments should be embarked as soon as the ships arrived and that the Canadians had strongly expressed their satisfaction at the recent legislation for their benefit. The formation of a Canadian regiment would complete their happiness and in case of necessity it could be increased to three or more battalions. He was satisfied that their fidelity and zeal could be relied on, but, if this proposal, which he had long before recommended, should be adopted, it was necessary that the officers should be placed on the same footing as in the rest of the infantry of the line with half-pay on disbandment. He was informed that the Indians were in very good humour and believed that the organization of a Canadian battalion would have great influence upon them.

The British Cabinet, however, seem to have entertained considerable doubt as to the manner in which the act would be received by the British inhabitants, many of whom had strongly opposed its passage and Carleton was urged "to endeavour by every Argument which your own good sense will suggest to you, to persuade the natural born subjects of the justice and propriety of the present form of Government and of the attention that has been shown to their Interests not only in adoption of the English Laws, as far as it was consistent with what was due to the just claims and moderate wishes of the Canadians, but in the opening to the British Merchant, by an Extension of the Province, so many new channels of important commerce."

This was no easy task. A letter addressed to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec from the Congress at Philadelphia, printed in French and English, was soon widely circulated and many agents were active in spreading discontent, not only among the English speaking population, but among the *habitans*. Meetings were held at Montreal under the leadership of Thomas Walker, a veteran agitator, to condemn the Quebec Act and petition for its repeal. A committee to act in conjunction with that formed in Montreal had been appointed at Quebec. All attempts to obtain support from the French Canadians had failed but they were uneasy and timorous.

Gage again appealed for assistance but Carleton deferred a reply until he could send it by a confidential officer as he feared that his letter might be intercepted. He reported that although the gentry were well disposed and desirous of serving in a regular force, they did not care to command the militia as they had never done so under French rule. The hasty disbandment of the Canadian battalion raised in 1764, without any provisions for its officers by a gratuity or half-pay was still fresh in their minds. The ancient habits of obedience of discipline among the inhabitants had become greatly relaxed. They had imbibed new ideas and it was not likely that they could be easily induced to take up arms and march into another province, particularly as the discontented faction was trying to persuade them that the Quebec Act had been passed merely to serve the purpose of the moment and with the intention of restoring the despotism of their old masters, the French. He thought however, it would be an opportune time for raising a battalion or more of regular troops among them.

"Since it could not be done before," he wrote, "this would prove a fair opportunity for raising a battalion or two of Canadians; such a measure might be of singular use, in finding Employment for, and consequently firmly attaching the Gentry, to our Interests, in restoring them to a significance, they have nearly lost, and through their means obtaining a further influence upon the Lower class of People, a material service to the State, besides that of effectually securing many nations of Savages."

Several other agents from New England arrived during the winter, armed with letters to their friends both in Quebec and Montreal, and addressed a meeting of the English speaking merchants of Montreal held secretly at Lachine at which it was alleged that they had made the threat that if the Canadians would not join them the province would be invaded by 50,000 men, and laid waste with fire and sword. They made further attempts to gain the support of the French population and even that of the Indians in the village near Montreal, but Carleton was assured that their mission had failed and that they had returned home without any apparent success. At all events they had not succeeded in their proposals for the appointment of a committee to correspond with the committee at Cambridge in Massachusetts, and for the election of delegates to attend the Continental Congress to meet at Philadelphia in May. Carleton's official letters at this time do not indicate that the threats of invasion from other provinces caused him any serious alarm.

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.

(1)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA, HALDIMAND PAPERS.
(B. 7. P. 15.)

General Murray's Report of the State of the Government of Quebec in Canada,
June 5th, 1762.
My Lord.

Militia. The Canadians are formed into a militia for the better regulation of which each parish in proportion to its extent and number of inhabitants is divided into one, two or more Companies who have their proper officers, Captains, Lieutenants, Ensigns, Majors, Aide-Majors, Sergeants, &c., and all orders or public regulations are addressed to the Captains or Commanding Officers, who are to see the same put in execution. From these Companies detachments are formed, and sent to any distance and in 1759 and 1760, the whole were in arms for the defence of their Country.

(2)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. GENERAL MURRAY'S LETTER BOOK.
Vol. II., p. 32.

Quebec 17th November 1763.

Dear Burton

Monsr Repentigny who will have the honor to put this into your hands desires to be introduced to you: His Behaviour will certainly procure your regard, of all the Officers of the Troupes de Colonies, which I have conversed with he appears to be the best informed & the most polite. The great number of these Gentlemen lately arrived here by the last Ships, will make it prudent I imagine to attend to their Conduct; It certainly is very natural for these Gentlemen to come here to settle their affairs, but as most of those I mentioned have no affairs to settle, nor a single farthing in the Colony, and have at this moment their pockets full of money tho' it is well known they had not a shilling when they left Canada, It will be prudent to watch their Motions, most of them talk of staying and becoming English Subjects, but they have a formal leave of absence, for 15 Months only signed by Luis; Those who have the Croix St. Luis cannot take the Oaths to our Governmt, without a formal permission from the King of France; &c., &c. In short a thousand questions relative to these Gentlemen must be solved at Home, for which purpose I have wrote very fully concerning them to the Secretary of State, and I have sent a list of their names; Untill we get His answer, I apprehend Civility, and a proper Attention to their Conduct is all which is necessary on our Parts, In which I flatter myself you will join with me in opinion. I beg my Compliments may be made acceptable to Mrs. Burton, embrace little Dick for me, and be assured that I am with great truth and Regard

Dear Burton!
Yours &c., &c.
J. M.

To Brigadr Burton.

(3)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.
Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 61.

New York 12th February 1764.

(Copy)
Sir:

As it may conduce greatly to the benefit of His Majesty's service to employ a body of Canadians in the Spring, who in conjunction with as many of His Majesty's Regular forces as Can be collected, and such other Troops as shall be raised in the

neighbouring provinces, may enable me to assemble a respectable Corps in the spring, which shall serve either to act offensively against the savages, or bring them to terms, on which we may conclude a safe and lasting Peace with the several Indian Nations. I think proper to make the same application to you as has been already made to several of His Majesty's other Governors, and to require an Aid from the Province of Quebec, of One Battalion of Three Hundred Men, divided into five Companies, of One Captain, Two subns. and Sixty men, exclusive of non commissioned Officers, in each Company; The whole to be Commanded by a Field Officer if you think proper, of the Rank of Major, to be upon the same footing with the other provincial troops.

As nothing can so effectually serve, to convince the savages, how vain and erroneous their expectations have been of French Supplies, and that the Arms of Great Britain, have received Additional strength by the Conquest of Canada, than their seeing a Body of Canadians in Arms, and ready to act Hostilye against them, in Conjunction with British Troops; I hope the requisition I have made will meet with your approbation.

The Companies will of course be supplied with Arms, Ammunition &c. from your Stores at Quebec or Montreal, and also provision to last them to Oswego, to which place you will please send them, where they shall be supplied with Tents, and Camp Equipage, and will receive further Orders: And as it will be necessary that the Troops should take the field, as early as possible, the Companies from Quebec and trois Rivieres, should be at Montreal by the latter end of March, in order that the whole Battalion, may be ready to proceed in the provision Boats, which I required in my Letter of the 9th January to Governor Burton to be forwarded to Oswego the moment the Navigation of the River is free. A copy of which I herewith inclose you for Your further information; Those Boats may all be taken back to Montreal, by the spare hands, as I shall have sufficient craft without them.

You'll perceive by this letter, that I apprehend, the large Packet directed to you and forwarded from hence, under the charge of Lieut. McLean, the 15th January, contained Your commission under the Great Seal from His Majesty, as Governor of the Province of Quebec, should I be mistaken in this Conjecture, I have then only to demand from your Government an Aid of one hundred and twenty men, to be divided into Two Companies, of One Captain, two Subns, and Sixty men, exclusive of Non Commissioned officer in each Company; and you will be pleased likewise to appoint a field Officer, to command the whole Corps of Canadians as before mentioned. I have taken the precaution to write to Governors Burton and Haldimand to demand their respective proportions, to make up the three Hundred Canadians intended, tho' I am pretty well convinced, from the reason above mentioned it will be Unnecessary.

I am with great Regard

Sir!

Your most Obedient, and most humable Servant
(Signed) Thos. Gage

Honble Govr Murray

Endorsed: Copy of Major General Gage's Letter to Governor Murray of 12th February 1764—making a Requisition of a Corps of Canadians for his Majesty's Service.
In Govr Murray's of the 5th March 1764.
Inclosure 3 in No. 6.

(4)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2. p. 101.

(Copy)

New York February 12th 1764.

Sir
As it may conduce greatly to the benefit of His Majesty's Service to employ a Body of Canadians in the spring, who in conjunction with as many of His Majesty's Regular Troops, as can be collected, and such other Troops as shall be raised in the neighbouring provinces, may enable Me, to assemble a respectable Corps in the Spring. Which shall serve either to act offensively against the Savages, or bring them to terms on which we may conclude a safe and lasting Peace with the several Indian Nations, I think proper to make the same Application to you, as has been Already made to several of His Majesty's other Governors, and to require an aid from the Government of Trois Rivieres, of Sixty Men, to be formed into one Company,

with one Captain & Two Subalterns, exclusive of Non-Commissioned Officers, being Your proportion of a Battalion of Three Hundred Canadians, intended. The whole to be commanded by a Field Officer, appointed by Governor Murray, of the rank of Major, in order, to be on the same footing with the other Provincial Troops.

As nothing can so effectually serve, to convince the Savages, how vain and erroneous, their expectations have been of French Supplies, and that the Arms of Great Britain, Have receiv'd additional Strength, by the Conquest of Canada, than their seeing a Body of Canadians in Arms, and ready to act hostilely against them, in conjunction with British Troops. I hope the Requisition, I have made, will meet with your Approbation.

The Companies will of course be supplied with Arms, Ammunition, &c. from your Stores at Trois Rivieres or at Montreal, and as also provision to last to Oswego, to which place they are to be sent, Where they shall be supplied with Tents & Camp Equipage, and will receive further orders. And as it will be necessary that the Troops should take the Field as early as possible, the Company from Trois Rivieres must be at Montreal, by the latter End of March, in order that the whole Battalion may be ready to proceed in the Provision Boats, Which I required in a former letter to Colo. Burton, to be forwarded to Oswego, the moment the Navigation of the River is free. Those Boats may all be taken back to Montreal, by spare hands, as I shall have sufficient Craft without them.

The Aid, I have required from the Government of Trois Rivieres, may very likely not depend upon You, as I have sometime since forwarded, what I apprehended to be Governor Murrays Commission under the great Seal; If I should be right in this Conjecture, of which you will certainly be advis'd, this Requisition to you falls of Course, and you'll hear from Governor Murray on this subject

I am with great regard, Sir
Your most Obedient and most humble servant
(Signed) Thos. Gage

His Excellency Governor Haldimand
a true Copy

C: Gagy Secy

Endorsed: Copy of a Letter from the Commander in Chief to Governor Haldimand, dated New York Febry 12th 1764. Making a Requisition of a Corps of Canadians to be raised for his Majesty's Service, in Col: Haldimand's of 18th April 1764.

Inclosure in No. 9.

(5)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 69.

(Copy)

Montreal 2nd March 1764.

Dear Sir,

Late last night, arrived from Crown point, Lieut. Farquar of the 44th, with Major General Gages Dispatches, which, I now forward to you by Ensign Hughes. Inclosed you have a Copy of a Letter from General Gage, to me, regarding the raising a Battn. of 300 Canadians in the Province of Quebec, whereof the District of Montreal, is to furnish two Companys, of one Captain, two Subns. and Sixty men Exclusive of Non Commissioned Officers, in each Company; of which I suppose he has Spoke to you, more fully.

I shall of Course take no Steps in this affair, or mention it to any one, but Colonel Christie, until I have received your Sentiments, and advice upon it.

I must own General Gages Letter appears to me, rather vague, as he does not mention whether they are to be raised as Volunteers, or Draughted out of the Militia; in what manner Money is to be procured, for Bounty, or Pay; The mode of what Province to follow, in Regard to Cloathing, and Pay; how to be Officered, Whither whole British, or part British and part Canadians.

Four hundred Canadians of this District, are to be employed early in the Spring, in the Batteau Service, to Carry up to Oswego, One hundred Batteaus, Loaded with provisions, as Ordered by Genl Gage in his Letter of the 9th January last.

Colonel Christie is now Building Batteaus, and Transporting provisions in Sleighs to La Chine, in order to push up this Convoy, as early as the breaking up of the River will permit, had General Gage wanted three hundred more, to Act as Batteau men, farther up the Country than Oswego, they might be easily had; but in my Opinion, it is yet too Early in the day, for raising Canadians, to act Hostily against the Savages; especially as we have still amongst us, so many Priests, and French Officers, whom we Cannot help suspecting, would be apt to poison the minds of Canadians going to War. These have always been my Sentiments, of which I some time ago, acquainted General Gage.

I shall retain Lieut. Farquar here, untill I Receive Your Answer, who will Carry any Letters you may have to Crown point, through the Woods, as the Lake is not yet taken, and from thence they will be forwarded to New York, by Colonel Beckwith.

I am, Dear Sir, with great Esteeme
Your most Obedient humble servant
(Signed) R. Burton

His Excellency

Brigadier Genl. Murray &c., &c.

Endorsed: Copy of Colonel Burtons Letter to Govr. Murray concerning the Corps of
Canadians to be raised, 2d. March 1764.
Inclosure 5, in No. 6.

(6)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 75.

(Copy)

Trois Rivières 3 Mars 1764.

Monsieur

Je recois dans ce moment une Lettre de Monsr. Le Genl. Gage qui demande Une Compagnie de 60 Hommes de ce Gouvernement étant la proportion d'un Battn de 300 Canadiens, qui doit être Commandé par un Major a votre Nomination; Je vais travailler immediattemt a remplir cet Ordre & ne voulant point retarder L'expres, J'ay L'honneur de me dire avec un parfait devouement.

Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres Obeissant Servt
(Signed) Fredk. Haldimand.

His Ex. Genl. Murray

Endorsed: Copy of Colonel Haldimand's Letter to Governor Murray 3d March 1764,
forwarding Gen. Gage's dispatches.
In Govr. Murray's of the 5th of March 1764.
Inclosure 7, in No. 6.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 3rd March, 1764.

I have just received a letter from General Gage who demands a company of 60 men from this Government being its proportion of a Battn. of 300 Canadians to be commanded by a Major nominated by you. I shall proceed immediately to comply with this Order, and not wishing to detain the Express, I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient Servt.
Fred'k. Haldimand.

His Ex. Genl. Murray.

(7)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 65.

(Copy)

Quebec 5th March 1764

Sir:

Your Letter of the 12th Ultimo was received Yesterday: The two Companies of Canadians you require, from The Quebec district of This province, shall be raised without Delay; The Governors of Trois Riveres, and Montreal will no doubt do the same

with regard to the men demanded from their Respective Districts; as my Commission of Govr to the province is not yet arrived, I have only to consult with them, that we may all do alike.

I flatter myself we shall have no difficulty to procure Volunteers for this Service; to Oblige a Body of Canadians in their present Circumstances to march against the Savages, out of the Province, is not to be attempted: The time fixed by the treaty of Peace for the Emigration of those, who prefer an arbitrary, to a free Government is not near elapsed, to order any of the Canadians out of the way, before that time is expired, might be Construed an attempt to invalidate the article relative to the Emigration of the Canadians, consequently you must mean, that the Corps of Canadians in question, shall be volunteers commanded by their Own Countrymen.

I wish you had settled the Encouragement which is to be given these people; you say *they are to be up on the footing with the other provincial Troops*; but I am told every Province differs, with regard to pay, Cloathing &c., &c. I am of Opinion the Canadians who are to serve on this Occasion should have as much encouragement as any of His Majesties subjects; These poor people have hardly yet had time to breath; after a long uninterrupted Series of Misfortunes, they have flattered themselves, that under our Government, they would be exempted, at Least, from the *intolerable* weight of Military Service under which they formerly groaned, hence an additional Necessity of making the service you require of them at present Voluntary one, when put upon that footing, it will not be in the power of French Emissaries, Priests, or other disaffected persons, to turn the Measure to their purposes, and thereby to persuade many to leave the province who otherwise would not have thought of it; for these Considerations, and a thousand other just, equitable, and political ones, I shall allow the two Companys to be raised in the district of Quebec, the very same Encouragement, which is given to their provincials by the Government of New York. You no doubt Sir, will let me know how you expect the money is to be paid, in the mean time, it must be charged to the Contingent charges of the Army. I send this Letter with a flying Seal to the Governors of trois Rivieres, and Montreal, I hope we shall agree to do alike, I am sorry however the time you have fixed for the Rendezvous will Not admit of waiting your further directions, which may be necessary to make every thing Concur.

I have the Honor to be with great Regard, Sir,
Your most Obedient, and Most humble servant
(Signed) Ja: Murray

Major General. Gage

Endorsed: Copy of Governor Murray's Letter to Major Genl Gage of 5th March 1764
In answer to his Requisition of a Corps of Canadians. Reasons why they should be Volunteers.

Inclosure 4 in No. 6.

(8)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 55.

Quebec 5th March 1764.

My Lord:

.....
As the Commander in chief has made a Requisition of three hundred Canadians to serve next Campaign I think it necessary to lay before Your Lordship all the letters which have passed, and all which has been done, in that Affair; I hope I shall prevent my Neighbours from thinking of a draught from the militia, and I flatter myself in so doing I shall meet with his majesty's Approbation; and that orders will be sent to the Commander in chief to dismiss the Canadian Corps, early enough in the Autumn, that every man may have time to come home agreeable to the Terms in my proclamation.

I have the honor to be, with the utmost Truth and Regard—
My Lord.

Your Lordships most obedient, most obliged, and most faithful humble Servant—
Ja: Murray

The Right Honble The Earl of Halifax one of his Majesty's Principal Secretarys of State.

Endorsed, Quebec 5th March 1764.
Honble Governor Murray
R May 16th

Informing of some Proceedings with Regard to Canada Paper, and of a Requisition made by the Commander in chief for a Corps of Canadians to act against the Indians. It is his opinion that they should be Volunteers and dismissed at the end of the Campaign.

with 8 Inclosures
D.
No. 6

(9)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.
Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 72.

(Copy)

Quebec 6th March 1764.

Dear Burton:

I am to thank you for your kind Letters of the 2d Inst. I could not expect Less from your good sense and Politeness, than a Delay in ye business of raising the Canadians untill we had Consulted together. By my Letter to General Gage, which is left open for your, and Colonel Haldimand's perusal, you will clearly see my sentiments regarding the Quota of Provincial Troops His Excellency has demanded from us.

Upon all occasions it must certainly be Our Duty to contribute every assistance consistent with the Faith of Treatys, and the liberty of the Subject, which the Kings General employed against the Common Enemy may require of us; on this occasion an extraordinary Exertion may be necessary, as General Gage seems to lay no inconsiderable Stress upon the Canadian Corps: To make it answer his expectations in every particular, I have offered the Command of it, to Monsieur Repenteny, and I shall procure Canadian officers for the Two Companys to be raised here; Nothing will more effectually convince the Savages, that they are to expect no more Assistance from France, and this Country is now entirely under His Majesties Dominion, than the appearance of their Old French Leaders in Arms against them. My Letter to Repenteny is left open for your perusal, I hope he will accept, if he does not, I can find another. I enclose the proclamation I have published, with a Copy of the Oath to be taken by every Officer and Soldier.

I wish we may all Concur in opinion. It will look strange if we do not, for my part I assume no Authority, Altho' it certainly doth appear, that the King looks upon me, as His Acting Governor in this New province. The Secretary of States Letters shew it, and it was declared so in the London Gazette the Eight of October Last, since which time my Commission has actually past the Great Seal of Great Britain, and will no doubt be sent As soon as the Multiplicity of instructions can be made. In consequence of a Letter from Lord Halifax, Copy of which is inclosed. I have published the Annexed proclamation in this District, I must beg the favour of you to do the Same in Your Government, and to appoint a Register Office, I shall pay the Clerks for their trouble, as I think it Unreasonable the poor People should be put to any Expense.

I am with great Truth and Esteem, Dear Burton,
Your most faithful and most Obedt humble servant,
(Signed) Ja: Murray

Colonel Burton.

Endorsed: Copy of Governor Murray's Letter to Colonel Burton of the 6th March 1764
Concerning the Corps of Canadians to be raised.
In Govr. Murray's of the 5th March 1764.
Inclosure 6, in No. 6.
D.

(10)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. GENERAL MURRAY'S LETTER BOOK.

Vol. II., p. 97.

A Quebec 6th Mars 1764

Monsieur!

La Connoissance que j'ai de vos Talents pour le Militaire, et le cas que je fais de votre personne, m'engagent par toutes sorte de Raisons a Chercher de vous Attacher a ce pais, Votre Patrie Naturelle; quoiqu'elle soit passée sous une autre Domination, Elle doit vous etre toujours chere; vous y tenés par trop de Liens pour pouvoir facilement Vous en detacher.

Je me flatte toujours que vous serés un des notres, dans cette esperance j'ai un parti a vous proposer, Je serai Charmé que vous Vouliés L'embrasser.

On va Lever un-Battalion de trois Cent Volontaires Canadiens pour faire Cette Compagnè, Je vous en offre Le Commandement avec le Rang de Major. Monsr. Burton aura le Bonté de vous expliquer plus clairement que je ne puis par Lettre, ce qui vaut ce Titre parmi Nous.

Comme je puis conter sur vous, en cas que vous vouliés L'entreprendre, vos Emolumens seront plus forts qu'ils ne seroient pour tout autre. Si vous prenés le parti de rester, vous ne pouvés mieux faire, ce sera le vrai moyen de vous procurer les bonnes Graces de La Cour, et vous pouré conter que je ferai valoir vos services auprès des Puissances.

Au reste je ne puis vous donner de plus fortes Preuves de mon Estime que par L'offre que je vous fais a present; si vous Jugés a propos de L'accepter, il seroit bon que je pusse conferer avec vous, au Sujet des Arrangements necessaires a prendre pour rendre ce Corps Utile; Vous Aurés aussi la bonté de me faire Sçavoir si vous Croyés ne devoir point embrasser le Parti que je vous propose.

De quelque Maniere que ce soit, Je serai toujours avec La plus parfaite Estime
Monsieur

La votre &c.

J. M.

A Monsr. Repentiney.

(Translation)

Quebec, 6th March, 1764.

Sir:—

The Knowledge I have of your talents and the good will have for you induce me for all Kinds of reasons to endeavour to attach you to this country, your native land, which although it has passed under another government ought to be always dear to you and hold you by too many ties to be easily parted from it.

I always trust that you will become one of us and in this hope I have a proposal to make and will be delighted if you will accept it.

A Battalion of three Hundred Canadian Volunteers is to be raised for this Campaign. I offer you the Command with the Rank of Major, Mr. Burton will have the goodness to explain to you more clearly than I can in a letter what this Title is worth among us.

As I can depend upon you in the event that you wish to undertake it, your emoluments would be greater than for any other. If you determine to remain you cannot do better, this would be a sure means of gaining the favor of the Court, and you may rely that I would properly represent your services to the Authorities.

In conclusion I cannot give you stronger proofs of my esteem than by the offer I now make to you; if you deem proper to accept it, I would like to confer with you respecting the necessary steps to be taken to make this corps useful. You will also have the goodness to let me Know if you believe that you ought not to embrace the opportunity which I propose.

However you decide I shall ever be with the greatest respect,

Sir, Your &c.,

To Monsr. Repentiney.

(11)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 7.

(Copy)

Quebec 6th March 1764

Dear Sir:

By the inclosed Letter for Colonel Burton (which when you have read you will be pleased to seal, and forward) you will see what Steps I have taken to fulfill Genl. Gages Views in raising the Canadian Corps he has demanded from this Province; I wish most heartily, that my notions of that Business may coincide with yours.

Annexed are Copys of the Proclamation I have thought proper to publish here, and of the Oath I shall require from the Canadian Officers and Soldiers; and I have only to beg that by the return of Captain Brown, you will be pleased to let me know how you mean to proceed in this Business that I may do what in me lye to prevent Confusion, in case we should Unluckily differ in Opinion; for it must appear very ridiculous, and even prejudicial to the Service, if all the Companys are not upon the same footing.

I inclose a Copy of Lord Halifax's Letter to me of the 9th December, and I must intreat you to publish the annexed proclamation, and to appoint a Register Office for the Trois Rivières District, the Clerks or any Other body you may employ in this Business shall be paid by me.

I have the Honor to be Dear Sir
Your most Obedient and most humble Servant
(Signed Ja: Murray

Colonel Haldimand

Endorsed: Copy of Govr. Murrays Letter to Colonel Haldimand of the 6th March 1764 respecting the Corps of Canadians.
In Govr. Murrays of the 5th of March 1764.

Wishing the Govrs. of the several Districts may all concur in the same Opinion & measures, that all the Companies may be on the same footing.

Inclosure 8. in No. 6.

D.

(12)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 57.

Par L'honorable Jacques Murray Gouverneur de Quebec

Sa majesté attentive an Bonheur et a La Tranquillité de ses sujets a Resolu de faire revenir a La raison quelques Nations sauvages dont La mauvaise Volonté S est manifestée par La Violence et La Traison a cet Effet Le Gouvernement S est déterminé d'associer aux Troupes qui doivent Marcher a ces fins Cinq Compagnies de Volontaires canadiens Chacune de soixante hommes commandées par des officiers de La meme Nation deux de ces Compagnies doivent etre Levées dans Le departement de Quebec deux dans celuy de Montreal et L'autre Enfin dans celuy des Trois Rivieres on Nangagera dans ce Corps de Troupes que ceux qui de Leur plein Gré seront déterminés a rester sous L'empire de sa Majesté Britannique.

Pour reconnoitre et pour recompenser La bonne volonté de ceux qui S enrrolleront on donnera pour Gratification douze piastres en argent a Chaque Volontaire on Leur delivrera un Capot deux paires de souliers Sauvages une paire de Mitaines; ont les pourvoira d armes de Munition et de vivres durant Tout Le Temps de La Campagne; La Solde affectée a Chaque homme Sera de Six Sols anglois par Jour, on aura Soin de Les faire accompagner par un prestre Catholique pour y exercer Les fonctions de son ministaire.

Le service de ces Volontaires finira avec La Campagne, après Laquelle chacun sera Libre de ses Volonté et sen retourner chez soy on ne peut faire Trop de diligence pour former ces enrrollements qui par Le district de Quebec Le feront au Gouvernement parceque Le rendu Vous General de ces différentes compagnies est fixé a Montreal pour La fin de ce Mois.

Une pareille demarche Suppose dans Le Gouvernement bien de La Confiance envers Les Nouveaux Sujets de Sa Majesté ont est en droit d attendre quil y repondront Non seulement par un Grand empressement a S enroller mais encor par une Grande fidelité a soutenir Leurs engagement dans Toutes Les circonstances ou le bien du service Les placera; du moin ils doivent Le faire autant par honneur et par devoir que par Reconnaissance et par zele pour Leur propres Interests.

Donné a Quebec Sous Le Sceau de Nos armes Le 6e de Mars 1764 et dans La 4me Année du Regne de sa Majesté George 3me Par La Grace de Dieu Roy de La Grande Bretagne

Contresigné
Vive Le Roy

Endorsed: Copy of Govr Murray's

Proclamation for raising Canadian Volunteers to serve agst the Indians
Quebec 6th March 1764

In Govr Murray's of the 5th March 1764.

Inclosure 1, in No. 6

D

(Translation)

By the honorable James Murray Governor of Quebec.

His Majesty solicitous for the happiness and tranquillity of his subjects has determined to bring back to reason several Indian Nations whose ill-will has been shown by acts of violence and treachery. The Government has decided to attach to the troops under orders for this purpose, five companies of Canadian Volunteers, each consisting of sixty men commanded by officers of the same nationality; two of these companies are to be raised in the department of Quebec, two in that of Montreal, and the other in that of Three Rivers, only such persons as have decided of their own free will to remain under the rule of his Britannic Majesty will be enlisted in this body of troops.

As a recognition and reward for their good will every volunteer accepted will be paid a bounty of twelve piastres in money, and will receive a capote, two pairs of Indian shoes and a pair of gloves, they will be provided with arms, ammunition and rations & during the entire campaign the pay of each man will be six pence per day English money. They will be accompanied by a Catholic priest to perform the duties of his ministry.

The service of the Volunteers will terminate with the campaign after which each of them will be at liberty to return to his home. Too much diligence cannot be displayed in proceeding with the enrollment in the district of Quebec as Montreal is designated as the point of general assembly for all these companies at the end of the present month.

Such a measure on the part of the Government demonstrates its perfect confidence in His Majesty's new Subjects, and it is anticipated that they will respond not only by much alacrity in Enrolling themselves but also by great fidelity in fulfilling their obligations under all circumstances demanded by the good of the service and that they will be impelled to do this as much by a sense of honor and duty as by gratitude and zeal for their own interests.

Given under our Seal at arms the 6th of March, 1764, and in the 4th year of the Reign of His Majesty George 3rd., By the Grace of God, King of Great Britain.

Countersigned.

God save the King.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 60.

Je Soussigné

Determiné par Mon propre choix a vivre sous L'Empire Britannique, jure d'etre a jamais fidele et de me Comporter dans Toutes les occasions en Sujès Zelé Envers sa sacré majesté George Troisième, par la grace de Dieu, Roy de la Grande Bretagne de france et D'Irlande, deffenseur de la foy, et que je soutiendray par Tous luy et las siens, autant qu'il sera dans Mon pouvoir, contre tous Leurs Ennemis je jure en outre que je decouvriray a Sa Majesté ou a son Général, ou a tous ceux qui agiront

sous ses ordre, autant que je le pourray, Tous traître, et Toute Conspirations qui pourrois être formée contre Sa Majesté contre ses Royaumes, ou contre le Gouvernement

(Ja: Murray)

A Quebec le

Endorsed: Copy of the Oath taken by the Canadian Volunteers in Govr. Murray's of the 5th March 1764.

Inclosure 2 in No. 6

D

(Translation)

I the undersigned having decided of my own choice to live under British rule, swear to be forever faithful and to conduct myself on all occasions as a zealous subject of his Sacred Majesty George Third by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, and that I will sustain him and his as far as may be in my power against all their enemies. I further swear that I will discover to His Majesty or to his General or to all who serve under his orders as far as I can, all traitors and all conspiracies that may be formed against his Majesty, against his Kingdoms, or against the Government.

Jas. Murray.

At Quebec, the _____

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS, SERIES B., Vol. 6, p. 129.

Trois Rivieres le 6e Mars 1764.

Monsieur

J'ay eu Aujourd'huy tous les Capitaines de Milice Ches Moy, & après leurs Avoir expliqué la requisition, que j'ay reçue, et le but de la levée de Ce bataillon; je leurs ay donné Ordre de rassembler leurs Compagnies de Milice, & de demander Chacun Un Certain nombre de Vollontaires, qui jespere se presenteront pour former Cette Compagnie, Sinom je me verray obligé de demandér Un Certain Nombre d'hommes de Chaque Paroisse, afin que la Compagnie puisse se trouver à Mt. Real pr la fin de Mars,—Ou elle sera Armée; Mais j'espere que Vous recevrez enfin Vos Commissions avant que le Batt. puisse entrer en Campagne; On M'assure que le General Amherst n'étoit point encore arrivé à Londres au depart des dernieres Lettres

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un parfait devouement

Monsieur

Votre très humble et tres obeissant Serviteur
Fred. Haldimand.

(Endorsed)

Au Govr. Murray./ du 6 Mars 64.

Three Rivers, 6th March, 1764.

(Translation)

Sir

To-day I have had all the Captains of Militia assembled at my quarters, and after having explained to them the requisition I have received and the object for raising this battalion, I have given them Orders to call together their Companies of Militia and to require from each a Certain number of Volunteers, who I hope will present themselves to form This Company, If not I shall be obliged to demand a Certain number of men from Each Parish so that the Company may proceed to Montreal before the end of March. Where will they be armed: But I hope that you will receive your Instructions before the Battn can begin the Campaign. I am informed that General Amherst had not arrived in London when the last letters were despatched.

I have the honor to be with entire devotion

Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,
Fred. Haldimand.

(Endorsed)

To Govr. Murray 6th March /64.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS, Series B., Vol. 9, p. 47.

Montreal March ye 7th 1764.

Sr.

I was this day favored with your letter. By the last Express, I received a letter from Major General Gage, of the 13th of Feb: (which I imagine to be the same date, as his to you), regarding the Raising a Battn. of Canadians. I have by Ensign Baynes wrote to Governor Murray upon the subject, as I do not, nor is Genl Gage quite clear, whether his Commission as Governor of the Province of Quebec, is come or not, or what powers Governor Murray may have sent him, from home. As such, I have not, nor shall not, take any steps in regard to the Raising, or Equiping the two Companys, which is proposed to be the Quater for this part of the Government until I hear from Governor Murray.

I am Sr.

your most obedient humble Servant

R. Burton.

Col. Haldimand.

Endorsed Col. Burton

7e Mars 64

9 do.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS, SERIES B., VOL. 6, p. 130

Aux differents Capes de Milice du Govt. des 3 R.
le 7 Mars 64.

Monsieur,

Sa Majesté n'ayant rien Autant à Coeur que le bonheur de Ces Peuples; & Afin de le leurs Assurer plus efficacement, Ayant resollu d'assembler un Corps des Troupes Considerable de troupes, pour détromper les Indiens sur les Esperances ridicules que des Gens ignorants & mal Intentionnés ou sémé parmi eux, leur faisant Croire le retour des Français dans ce Pays possible, et enfin s'il est trouvé nécessaire de les forcé à une paix stable qui assurant la tranquillité de Ces Sujets leur fournisse les Moyens de Cultiver paisiblement leurs terres, & de profiter de tous les Avantages d'un Commerce libre.

En Consequence de Cette Resollution je Viens de recevoir des Lettres Requisitoires de la part de S:Ex:Mons. le Gl. Gage Commandant en Chef des Troupes de S:M:en Amerique du Nord, me demandant une Compagnie formée des Sujets du Roy dans le Gouvernement des 3 Rivières pour etre employée Conjointement Avec les troupes Regullieres; & Celles des autres Provinces, à remplir les Ordres de S: Majesté des que la Saison le permettra.

Ayant donc Concidéré murement sur le Moyen le plus efficace pr le Service du Roy la reputation de ce Gouvernement & le soulagement des peuples, j'ay jugé à propos de ne demander que des Jeunes Gens dispots et Vollontaires, c'est pourquoy je vous ordonne par la presente, que vous ayes à ressembler immediatement Votre Compagnie de Milice, afin de leur lire le present Ordre, & de formér Une Liste de Ceux qui se presenteront Vollontairement, que Vous aures à M'envoyer sur le champ par Un de Vos Officiers, afin que vous puissiez recevoir mes Ordres Ulterieurs.

Ne doutant point que le zele des habitants pour le Service d'un Maitre, dont ils ont déjà éprouvé autant de bienfaits; n'en engage beaucoup plus à se presenter qu'il ne sera besoin, je me propose de ne choisir parmi eux, que Ceux qui peuvent s'absenter avec le moins d'Inconvenient pour leur famille, & Ces Gens étant mis sur le même pied que les autres Provintieaux, seront armés et payée de même, et recevront la même ration, du jour de leur depart des Trois Rivières jusques à leur Retour.

Esperant que vous mettres tous vos Soins pour ne me présenter que de bons Sujets, qui me fassent honneur et au Gouvernement des 3 Rs. Vous pouvez les assurer que je mettray tous mes Soins, pour qu'ils recoivent un traitement dont je suis persuadé qu'ils auront lieu d'etre tous Satisfaits.

Je demeure avec cette Assurance

Monsr-

Votre tres obeissant &c.

(Translation)

To the Captns. of Militia in the Govt. of 3 R.

Sir:—

His Majesty having nothing more at heart than the welfare of this people, and in order to secure it more effectively having determined to assemble a considerable body of troops to dispel the ridiculous Hopes which ignorant and ill-disposed Persons have spread among the Indians, making them Believe that the return of the French into this Country was possible, and eventually if it be found necessary to compel them to conclude a permanent peace which will ensure the tranquillity of These subjects, furnish them the means of peaceably cultivating their lands and of benefitting by all the advantages of a free Trade.

In Consequence of This Decision I have received a Requisition from His. Excy. G. Gage, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Troops in North America demanding from me a Company composed of Subjects of the King in the Government of 3 Rivers to be employed in Conjunction with Regular Troops, and Those of other Provinces to put in execution the orders of His Majesty while the Season permits.

Having then carefully Considered the most effective Method for the service of the King, the reputation of the Government and the welfare of the people I have deemed proper to call for young men only who are disposed to become Volunteers, this is why I order you for the present to assemble immediately Your Company of Militia in order to read them the present Order and prepare A List of those who offer themselves Voluntarily which you will send to me instantly by One of Your Officers so that you may receive my Final Orders,

Doubting not that the zeal of the Inhabitants for the Service of a Master, from whom they have already received so many favors will induce many more to offer themselves than are needed, I propose only to select from among them Those whose absence will cause the least Inconvenience to their families & These Persons being placed on the same footing as the other Provincials will be armed and paid the same way and will receive the same ration from the day of their departure from Three Rivers until their Return.

Hoping that you will take the utmost Care to send me only good Subjects who will do honor to the Government of 3 Rs., You may assure them that I will take every Care that they shall receive such treatment as I am persuaded they will have reason to be satisfied with.

I remain with this Assurance,

Sir,

Your very obedient &c.,

(Translation)

Circular to Captains of Militia (District of Montreal)

Sir:—Although I have already informed you by word of mouth of the care His Majesty takes to ensure the welfare of his subjects and the firm resolution he has formed to bring back to reason some Indian Nations, whose ill will has become manifest by treason and violence and to oblige them to conclude a stable peace which ensures the resumption of an advantageous trade and tranquillity so necessary to his people, I have believed it my duty to inform you with this purpose the Government has decided to attach five companies of Canadians to the troops who are to be employed to secure this object. These companies will be composed of sixty men each. Two will be raised in the Government of Quebec, two in that of Montreal and one in that of Three Rivers and will be commanded by Canadian officers, only those men will be enlisted in these Companies who will have decided of their own free will to remain under the dominion of His Britannic Majesty.

To recognise and reward the good will of those who enroll themselves, twelve piastres in money will be given to each Volunteer; they will be given a capote, two pairs of Indian Shoes and a pair of mittens. They will be provided with arms, ammunition and provisions during the whole of the campaign. They pay assigned to each man will be six pence English money per day, and care will be taken to have a priest accompany them to perform the functions of his ministry.

The service of these Volunteers will end with the Campaign, after which every one will be free to return to his home.

Such a measure on the part of the Government shows much confidence in His Majesty's Subjects. It has a right to expect that they will respond to it not only by great willingness to enlist but great fidelity in maintaining their engagements in

all circumstances in which the good of the service will place them. At least they ought to do this as much through honor and duty as through gratitude and zeal for their own interest.

While waiting until you can publish this ordinance nexxt Sunday at the church door you will take care as far as in your power to make it public, but above all among your young men so that they may become acquainted with all the conditions offered them.

(Sulte. Histoire de La Milice
Canadienne-Francaise
1760-1897 pp. 100-11.)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS, SERIES B. VOL. 6—p. 134.

Quebec 9th March 1764.

Dear Sir,

I was honored with your favor by Mr. Maturell, I am very glad, indeed, that you have not draughted the Militia, because I am certain that Cannot be done consistent with the Treaty of Peace, Genl. Gage should know the Law of his Country, and he should know, that even allowing the 18 months for the Emigration of the Canadians had expired, without an Order from His Majesty, the Militia of this Province, cannot be march out of it; he in the present case (as it was necessary all the Companys should be upon a footing) Should have given positive directions for forming Cloathing, Officering and Subsisting the Corps or he should have left the business, to one or other of us, for it is clare that three men agree, however, to be plain with you Sir! I have reported this whole affair to His Majesty, that the like Confusion may never again happen in any part of his Dominions. I dare say the Minister will think it strange that any difficulties, should at present occur about Command, Govr. Burton is acquainted by the Secretary of State, that he was by Commission, in August last appointed Lt. Govr. of Trois Rivieres; he knows, & so do you, that his Majesty by his Royal Proclamation, of the 7th Octr. united to my Government the inhabited parts of that Trois Rivieres, and Montreal, & stiled the whole, the Province of Quebec; You and Mr. Burton have Certainly seen, my Old Commission of Govr. of Quebec, and its dependencies; Quere, Should not my authority by Virtue of that Commission, extend, over what has been lately added to the Dependencies' of Quebec? I am not so fond of power, as to dispute Points of this sort, unless I find it absolutely necessary for my Masters Service. —

I hope when you hear from General Amherst, you will find he has not forgot you; and that he had much to say in settling the arrangements for North America. Whatever money may be necessary for the Executing of my Plan, relative to your Company of Canadians, shall be issued to you here.—

I am with great Truth and Regard
Dear Sir!

Your most Obedt. and most humble servant.
Ja: Murray.

P.S. I am so ill, I'm obliged to make use of Capts' Shirreffs' Pen which I hope you will excuse.

(Endorsed)

Colonel Haldimand—

Gl. Murray 9th March 64. 10th d to

(18)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS, SERIES B., VOL. 6—p. 132.

Gel. Murray

Le 9e Mars 1764.

Memo.

Le Capt. Brown qui arriva hier au soir ma remis les Lettres que Vous me faites l'honneur de m'adresser, j'ay, Cachetté, et expédié par exprés Celles pour le Col. Burton, il les recevra Certainement aujourd'huy de bon heure.

— Je suis charmé Mons. de Connaitre Vos idées, sur la levée que nous devons faire, dans Votre Province, je les Suivray exactment, dans ce Gouvernement, tant sur la façon de les lever que de la payer &c. Mais comme je Crois que nous pouvons encorre regarder Ce Gouvernement Comme Militaire; au Cas qu'il ne se presentat pas assés de Volontaires, malgré l'engagement qu'on leur offre, je Crois dis-je que Nous Sommes en droit de les Commandér, avec cette difference que Ceux qui se declaroient Sujet du Roy de France, ne pouroient point etre forcé à Servir dans Ce Corps; je Serois Charmé de Savoir Votre Sentiment la dessus. Comme le temps est fort Court peut etre seroit on forcé d'avoir recours à cette methode.

J'usques icy je n'ay rien fait, que de Charger (comme j'ay eu l'honneur de Vous Marquer dans ma dernière) les Cape. de Milisse, de rassembler leurs jeunes Gens de leurs Paroisses et d'y demander des Volontaires dont ils doivent menvoyér les noms, dimanche et Lundy, Contant dans l'intervalle de recevoir de Vos Lettres; J'avais une Publication prette qui est presque comme Celle que Vous m'avés envoyée, excepté que je n'y offrais point d'engagement J'y ajouterai Cet Article, qui fera j'espere un bon effet. Je Vous avoue Monsr. que je suis surpris que Monsr. le Gl. Gage, qui Connoit si bien Notre Situation ny se soit pas entré par quelque détails; ou des Ordres qui auroient facilité l'Ouvrage; J'ay lu avec plaisir La lettre que Vous lui adressés sur Ce Sujet. Je ne puis rien lui écrire de mieux, et comme il est naturel que nous agissions tous de Même & que d'un jour à l'autre vous devez vous attendre à être chargé de tout le travail, et que le Corps Soit sur le même pied; je me refereray à Vos idées dans la Lettre; que je vais lui écrire aujourd'huy;

Je Vais nommer un office pour Inscrire les Papiers du Canada suivant vos directions. Et j'espere que tout sera finy pour le temps marqué.

Je charge le Col: Brown de m'envoyer un habilmt. Complet tel que Vous Vous proposés de le donner,

du 9e Mars 64 par le Capt. Brown.

Au Genl. Murray.

(Translation)

9th March, 1764.

Genl. Murray.

Memo.

Capt. Brown who arrived yesterday evening has given me the Letters you have done me the honour to address to me, I have read, Sealed, and despatched by an express Those for Col. Burton, he will certainly receive them early to-day.

I am delighted, Sir, to Know your views on the levy you are about to make in your Province. I will follow them strictly in this Government, as well in the method of recruiting as in paying, &c., But as I believe we may still regard This Government as Military, in the event that a sufficient number of Volunteers do not offer themselves I Believe, I say, that we Have the right to Command them, with this provision that Those who declare themselves Subjects of the King of France cannot be compelled to Serve in This Corps: I will be delighted to Know your opinion. As the time is very Short, resort to this method may be forced upon us.

So far I have done nothing except to Instruct (as I have had the honour to Inform you in my last) the Capts of Militia to assemble the young men in their Parishes and to call for Volunteers, whose names they are to send to me on Sunday and Monday, Expecting in the mean time to receive your Letters: I had a Publication ready which is almost the same as That which you have sent to me, except that I offered no Bounty. I will add That Paragraph which I hope will have a good effect. I confess Sir, that I am surprised that Gl. Gage who Knows so well our Situation, should not have entered into some details, or given Orders which would have facilitated the Work. I have read with pleasure the letter which you addressed to him on This Subject I can write nothing better to him, and as it is natural that we should act in the Same way, and that from day to day you should expect to be charged with the entire labor, and that the Corps may be upon the same footing, I will refer to your ideas in the Letter I am about to write to him to-day.

I shall Establish an office to make a Register of the Deeds in Canada according to your directions, And I hope all will be completed by the time fixed.

I am directing Col. Brown to send me a Complete outfit such as you propose to give him.

To Genl. Murray.

9th March 64, by Capt. Brown.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES, B. 2 pt. II. p. 2 & 3.

21662—F 121

Trois Rivieres le 9me Mars 1764.

Monsieur:

Je reçus le 3me de ce mois la Lettre Requisitoire de Votre Excellence du 12 fevrier par Ou Elle demande Une Compagnie de Provintieaux de ce Gouvernement, pour en Conjonction avec les Troupes Regullieres Et les autres Provintieaux etre employee à mettre les Sauvages à la raison.

Considerant encore ce Gouvernement come Militaire je me proposois Monsr. pour remplir vos Intentions; de demander des Vollontaires dans Chaque Paroisse; Et s'il ne S'en etoit pas presenté Un nombre suffisant pour former Cette Compagnie, de Commander Un certain nombre dhomes dans Chaque Compagnie de Milisse; J'avois meme déjà donné des Ordres Verbalement à Ce Sujet, Mais je reçus Une Lettre de Mr. Le Gouver. Murray qui me fait envisager la Chose differement; Ce Raisons me paroissant plausibles et plus Conformes du Sistème du Gouvernement, je me rend a Son Advis; Et Come il Convient pour le bien du Service que le Battn. soit sur le meme pied; je publieray Une Ordonnance en offrant les memes avantages que Monsr. Murray fait à Quebec; Et mettray tous mes Soins pour que la Compagnie soit rendue à Mt Real Avant la fonte des glaces Je tireray sur le Trésorier à Quebec pour les despenses nécessaires; dont votre Excellence aura la bonté d'Ordonner; puisqu'elles deviennent inevitables pour le Service du Roy; tout ce Gouvernement ensemble ne fourniroit pas aux fraix de l'enrollement de 20 homes, la pauvreté n'en est pas concevable & Augmente tous les jours.

Monsr. Murray m'envoye la Copie d'une Lettre que My Lord Hallifax lui Addressée du 10 Xbre par ou S.M. ordonne qu'on fasse Un nouveau Bordereau des Papiers de ce Pays, Ou Chaque proprietaire doit Specifier la façon dont il a acquis Ce Papier, Celui qui s'est vendu depuis la Signature de la paix, à qui et à quel déconte; Je feray toutes les Recherches possibles Sur ce Sujet

J'ay l'honneur d'etre Avec un parfait dévouement

Monsieur

de Votre Excellence

Le tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

Fred: Haldimand

(Addressed)

A.S. Ex: Monsr. Le Gl. Gage

(Endorsed)

Au Genl. Gage du 9 Mars 64.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 9th March, 1764.

Sir:—

On the third of this month I received Your Excellency's Requisition of the 12th February by which you demand a Company of Provincials from this Government to be employed in Conjunction with Regular Troops and other Provincials to bring the Indians to reason.

Still considering this as a military Government I intend, Sir, to comply with your wishes, to call for Volunteers in Every Parish, and if a sufficient number do not offer to form This Company, to Command a certain number of men from each Company of Militia: I had even already given orders Verbally on This Subject, But I received yesterday A Letter from Govn'r Murray which made me look at the matter differently. These Reasons appeared plausible and more in Conformity with the System of Government, I accept his Advice, and as it seems for the good of the Service that the Battn should be on the same footing: I will publish an ordinance offering the same advantages as Mr. Murray has done at Quebec; and shall take every Care that the Company may proceed to Mt. Real Before the ice breaks up I will draw on the Treasurer at Quebec for the necessary expenses, which your Excellency will have the goodness to sanction; since they become indispensable for the King's Service; the whole of this Government together could not meet the cost of the enrollment of 20 men; its poverty is inconceivable & increases daily.

Mr. Murray has sent me a Copy of a Letter addressed to him by My Lord Hallifax of 10 October by which H.M. orders the preparation of A new Schedule of the Papers (Title deeds?) of this County, in which Every Proprietor must specify the manner in

which he has obtained such Deed, what he has sold since the Signature of the peace, to whom, and at what price: I will make all Inquiries possible on this Subject.

I have the honour to be with a perfect devotion

Sir,

Your Excellency's
very humble and very obedient Servant,
Fred Haldimand.

(Addressed)

To. H. Ex. Gt. Gage

(Endorsed)

To Genl. Gage, 9th March, 64.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES, B. VOL. 6, p. 136

Quebec 11th March 1764.

Dear Sir,

The Bearer will deliver to you a Capot a pair of Leggings and a pair of Shoes such as we give here to the Canadian Volunteers, I have settled the pay as follows. The Major three dollars pr. day, a Captain two ditto a Lieut. one ditto, a Serjeant one shilling; Hallifax Currency or the fifth of a dollar—a Corporal eight pence said currency, and to a soldier sixpence or the tenth of a dollar, they enter upon pay and provisions the day they enlist—I have appointed two Lieuts. to each company & no Ensign—I beg my Compts to Mrs. Gage and Metrail and am with the utmost regard

Dr. Sir,

Your most obedient &
most humble Servant
Ja: Murray,

Coll. Haldimand

(Endorsed)

Genl. Murray

11 Mars 64.

19do. par Express.

(21)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS SERIES, B. VOL. 6, p. 137.

Quebec 11th March 1764.

Dr. Sir,

I have the honour of your Letter by Capt. Brown; the Post will bring to you a pattern of the Capote, Mittoose, & Shoes I give the Volunteers raised here; I am sorry you apprehended any difficulty in procuring Volunteers for one Company in your District, it shews a bad will, I do not like; it cannot however affect the king's Service for one thousand more than I want may be had here & to make up your Company you may have recourse to this part of the Province, I inclose a Copy of the Commissions I give it will probably be right they should all be in the same Stile. A Monsr. de Chassy formerly an Officer in the Troupes de Colonie will be glad to be employed by you as Capt. if you have nobody in your Govt. who will accept. Brown tells me you have scruples whether or not these Gentlemen having only leave of absence from the Court of France can serve on this Occasion with propriety, If they take the Oath I had the honor to enclose to you in a former letter, these scruples must be removed; as they then become British Subjects; and with regard to the Court of France, on that head, the Treaty of Peace must silence any objection made from that quarter, for it is by that treaty stipulated that every Canadian without exception may choose whether or not he is to become a Subject of Britain, consequently if to be a British Subject, is his choice, he is *ipso facto*, dismissed or if you will, liberated from his engagements to the Crown of France.

I have the honor to be Dr. Sir,

Your most obedient &
most humble Servt.

Ja: Murray.

Coll. Haldimand.

(Endorsed)

Genl. Murray du 11 Mars 4.

12me par Hogan.

(22)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. GENERAL MURRAY'S LETTER BOOK.

Volume II., p. 103.

Quebec 17me Mars 1764.

Monsieur,

Le refus que vous faites de Commander le Corps de Volontaires Canadiens, m'est infiniment sensible pour deux raisons, La Première est que ce Corps ne pouvoit qui faire des merveilles sous vos ordres, La Seconde est que ce refus ne pourra manquer de procurer votre Avancement a la Cour de France, est qu'en Bon Sujet de sa Majestie Britannique, Je ne doit pas souhaiter que des Officiers de votre merite soient avancé dans de Service d'un Prince qui dans la Suite des années peut encore devenir notre ennemi: Vous voyés, Monsieur! que je parle ici en Patriote, car si je ne Consul-tois que les Inclinations de mon Cœur Je ne pourrois qu'être extrêmement flatte de voir le merite recompencé et d'y avoir Contribue.

J'ai L'honneur d'être avec Estime

Monsieur

Votre Ec.

J. M.

Monsr. Repentigny.

(Translation)

Quebec, 17th March, 1764.

Sir:—

Your refusal to Command the Corps of Canadian Volunteers, has greatly grieved me for two reasons, The First, is that this Corps must have done wonders under your orders. The Second is that this refusal cannot fail to procure your Advancement at the Court of France, As a Good Subject of his Britannic Majesty I cannot wish to see Officers of your merit promoted in the Service of a Prince who in the Course of time may become our enemy. You see Sir, that I speak now as a Patriot, for if I Consulted only the Feelings of my Heart, I could only be greatly pleased to see merit rewarded and to have Contributed thereto.

I have the Honor to be,
with Esteem your &c.,
J. M.

Monsr. Repentigny.

(23)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 9, p. 52.

Trois Rivières le 29e Mars 64.

Monsieur

J'avois offert une Lieutenance a un jeune Monsr. Linckto, qui demeure a Mont Real; je ne Sais par quel accident Sa reponce ne M'est pas encorre parvenue peut hêtre Monsr étoit déjà employé dans Vos. Compagnies dans ce Cas je me feray un plaisir d'appointer Monsr. Houtlass dans celle cy, je le lui ay fait écrire; J'espère que Vous Aures reçu le Modelle de l'habillemt Canadien par Monsr. Nordberg. Il ne s'est présenté jusques aprésent qu'une 20me de Volontaires, Mais les officiers sont allé dans les Parioisses, ou j'espère qu'ils auront quelques Succes; il est surprenant que les 12 piastres d'engagemt qu'on leurs offre, paroît devenir un opstacle plustot qu'un encouragement ils se figurent qu'ils seront engagés pour le Vie, & il est bien difficile de leur persuadér le Contraire; & C'est sans doute cette raison qui leur fait Souhaitter d'être Comandé plustôt que de s'offrir volontairement; Je prevois Monsr. que si les Gens sont obligés de restér quelques temps aux environs de Mt Real avant que de pouvoir partir, ils vous donnerons plus d'ambaras que des Troupes réglées. Si vous Souhaittés Monsr je les garderay icy, jusques a ce que Vous me marquez le temps ou vous pouvés les employer.

J'ai l' honneur d'être

(Translation)

Original Draft
Three Rivers, 20th March, 1764.

Sir:—

I had offered a Lieutenancy to a young Mr. Linckto who resides at Mont. Real. I do not know by what accident his reply has not yet reached me, perhaps this Gentleman was already employed in your Companies, in which case it will give me pleasure to appoint Mr. Hontlass in this one. I have written this to him; I hope you have Received the sample of the Canadian outfit by Mr. Nordberg. So far only 20 Volunteers have come forward. But the officers have gone into the Parishes, where I hope they will have some success; it is surprising that the bounty of 12 piastres offered to them seems to become an obstacle rather than an encouragement they suspect that they will be enlisted for Life, & it is very difficult to persuade them to the Contrary; & It is undoubtedly this reason which has made them Desire to be Commanded rather than to offer themselves voluntarily: I foresee, Sir, that if the men are obliged to remain any time in the vicinity of Mt. Real before leaving they will give you more trouble than regular Troops. If you wish, Sir, I will keep them here until you name the time when you can employ them.

(24)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS, SERIES B. VOL. 6. p. 153.

Je ne Saurais laisser partir le jeune Montesson Sans Vous faire Connaitre Monr. le Zele avec lequel Son Pere a themoigné Sa Satisfaction, du partis qu'il a pris; Lui Même prendroit Avec plaisir le Commandement de Cette Compagnie S'il étoit necessaire; Mais Comme il Se presente d'autres jeunes Gens, plus propres pour les fatigues attachées a Ce Grade; je lui tiens grand Conte de Sa bonne Vollonté, et je donneray la Compagnie à Mr. de Mt. Isamberg ?

J'ay Cru M'appercevoir que le reussirois Mieux dans la levée, en ne pas themoignant trop d'empressement, j'ay fait Connoître dans les Paroisses l'encouragement que les Vollontaires peuvent espérer, et j'apprens qu'ils Calculent au Coin de leur feu, à Combien se montera, leur pays pour Six Mois Avec le 12 Piastres d'engagement, et ils trouvent que f180 argent de france, fait une grosse Somme Aujourd'huy, demain je feray public la proclamation afin qu'ils en Soyent assureé et quelques jours Après, lorsqu'ils auront éu le temps de faire des projets dans leurs Imaginations avec Ces 180. J'envoyeray des Enrolleurs parmis eux, et je ne doute point que je ne forme la Compagnie pr. le temps prescript.

Metral qui arrive me remet la Lettre que Vous me faites l'hon: de Mécire du 10. J'espère que Vous aurés Celle dont Brown étoit Chargé, et que Vous Serés bien persuadé que je Me feray un devoir de Concourir avec Vous en tout ce qui Sera pour le bien du Service.

Je Viens d'écrire Au Genl. Gage que je me Conformeróis entieremt. à Votre plan pour la levée de Cette Compagne.

Au Genl. Murray.

(Translation)

I cannot allow young Montesson to leave without letting you Know, Sir, the Zeal with which His Father has testified His Satisfaction at the decision he has made; He would take the Command of This Company with pleasure Himself; If it became necessary; But as he nominates other young men better fitted for the exertions required from an officer of that Rank; I shall Thank him warmly for His good Will, and give the Company to Mr. de Mt. Isamberg.

I have come to the conclusion that I shall succeed Better with the levy by not showing to much anxiety, I have made Known in the Parishes the Bounty that the Volunteers may expect, and I learn that they are Counting up by their Firesides How Much their pay for Six Months with the bounty of 12 Piastres, will amount to and they find that f180 in French money is a large sum now-a-days; to-morrow I will publish a proclamation so that they may feel Sure and some days Afterwards when they have had time to make plans in their minds for spending These 180 I shall send Recruiters among them and I doubt not that I shall be able to form the Company within the prescribed time.

Metral has arrived and given me the Letter you did me the honor to write me on the 10. I hope that you will have received That with which Brown was charged and

that you will be fully convinced that I will make it a duty to concur with you in everything that will Be for the good of the Service.

I am writing to Genl. Gage that I shall conform entirely to your plan in raising this Company.

To Genl. Murray.

(25)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 9, p. 53.

Montreal Mar: 22. 1764.

Sr I was yesterday favored with your letter, of the 20th where Monsr Linckto is, I know not: I know this, that he is starveing, and has not ofered his Service here. I kept a vacancy for Monsr Richerville; hearing that he was employed by you, I have given that Lieutce to Monsr Houtlass.

The Recruits here do not come in so fast as I could wish, however I hope to have them Compleat by the time the River is navigable, which I believe will not be, before the latter end of April the moveing up of your Company will I supose depend upon those of Quebec. I shall write to Governor Murray and acquaint him when we think the River will be navigable. I received by Lieu: Nordberg the Capot &c. I look dayly for the Jany. Packet, which it is to be hoped will clear up, many matters.

I am &c
Your most obedt. humble Servant
R. Burton.

Col. Haldimand
Endorsed Col. Burton
22 Mars 64.

(26)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS, SERIES B. 2. pt. II. p. 5.

21662.F.122.

New York March 22d. 1764.

Sir,
.....
.....

I now must acknowledge Your Favor of the 9th inst. which I have just received by the Hands of Lieut. Hazen in answer to my Letter of Requisition of the 12th of February. The method you designed to take was certainly the surest, conformable to the Custom of the Country; nor does it deviate from our Constitution to take men from the Militia. The Province of New-York has draughted the Militia the greatest part of the War, to compose their Provincial Troops; you undoubtedly do right to follow the Example of the other Governments; in which I wish you may Succeed & raise Your Company.
.....
.....

I am with great Regard
Sir,
Your most obedient
humble Servant,
Thos. Gage.

(Endorsed)
Gen. Gage du 22e.
Mars 64
10 Avril.

(27)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. VOL. 6.—p. 141.

Quebec, 22d March 1764.

Dear Sir!

As Governor Burton writes to me that he finds great difficulty in raising Volunteers in his Government; and I see little prospect of being able to give any assistance from this, I have freely communicated to him my Opinion of what should be done; Was I to conceal my Notions of this affair from you, you might with great Justice blame me, and therefore I take the Liberty to leave my Letter to Mr. Burton open for your perusal, when you have read it, you will be pleased to seal it, and forward it by the Bearer Mr. Vealars.—

I am most sincerely

Your most faithful humble Servant

Ja: Murray.

Col: Haldimand

(Endorsed)

Genl. Murray du 22e Mars 64.

24. dto.

(28)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B., Vol. 27, pp. 77-8.

A Quebec ce 22e Mars, 1764.

Aux Capitaines des Milices des Paroisses au dessus de Quebec.

Monsieur,

J'avais fait publier une proclamation par laquelle j'invitais les Canadiens a former une Corps de Volontaires, destinees a aller conclure la Paix avec les Sauvages; j'etais en droit d'attendre que cette Invitation suffirait pour determiner leur bonne volonte, le succes n'a point repondre a mon attente. Les Paroisses situees au dessus de Quebec ont montre un eloignement qui me surprend. Je vous done avis: Monsieur, si elles persistent dans ces sentiment et que si chacune d'entre elles ne fournit pas de plein gre a proportion de la multitude de ses habitants le nombre d'hommes suffisant pour completer deux Compagnies, je serai oblige de donner des ordres pour faire ces enrrollements, et pour lever autant de Miliciens que les Besoins du Service le demanderont; Je ne m'entendrai point a ce coup d'authorite. Je depouillerai de leurs armes tous les habitants de la Paroisses a comencer par les officiers de Milice, les gens qui refusent de s'en servir pour le Bien public ne meritent d'en avoir l'usage pour leur Interet personnel; Je priverai de plus ces engages par contraint de toute gratification. Il est triste pour moi d'en venir a ces extremistes, mais il est plus triste encore que vous miliciens le meritent. C'est a vous, Monsieur, a les redresser & a leur inspirer des sentiments que l'honneur, la reconnaissance et leur propre interet demandent d'eux.

Je suis, Monsier,

Votre tres humble serviteur,

Jas. Murray.

Come il est necessaire d'avoir recours a la milice pour la quote part des Troupes que la Province doit fournir pour le Service du Roy, il vous est ordone par ces presentes de tirer cinquante homes des compagnies de milice des Paroisses a comencer a Beaumont jusqu'a Cap de St. Ignace; en cas que dans les dites Paroisses, il ne se trouve vingt volontaires, qui veuillent servir pendant la campagne aux Conditions marquees dans ma Proclamation du six du courant.

Done a Quebeck ce 22e Mars 1764.

Jas. Murray.

(Translation)

Quebec, 22nd March, 1764.

To the Captains of Militia
in the Parishes above Quebec.

Sir,

I have published a proclamation by which I invited the Canadians to raise a Corps of Volunteers destined to make peace with the Indians; I had the right to expect that this Invitation would be enough to induce their good will; Its success has not answered my expectations. The Parishes above Quebec have shown a disinclination

which surprises me. I must warn you, Sir, that if they persist in these views, and that if each of them does not furnish in proportion to its inhabitants the number of men needed to complete two companies, I shall be obliged to give orders for the enrollment and drafting as many Militia men as the Service requires. I shall not stop at this exercise of authority. I shall deprive all the inhabitants of the Parish of their Arms, beginning with the militia Officers, people who refuse to employ them for the public good do not deserve to have the use of them for their personal benefit; Moreover, I will deprive drafted men of all bounty. It grieves to take such extreme measures, but it grieves me still more that you Militia men deserve them. It is your duty, Sir, to remedy this and inspire them with such sentiments as are demanded by honour, gratitude, and their own interest.

I am,
Sir,
Your very humble Servant.
(Sgd) Jas. Murray.

As it is necessary to have recourse to the Militia for the quota of troops which the Province is to furnish for the King's Service, you are ordered by these presents to draft fifty men from the Militia Companies of the Parishes beginning at Beaumont as far as Cap. de. St. Ignace; in the event that the said Parishes fail to furnish 20 Volunteers who agree to serve during the Campaign on the conditions stated in my Proclamation of the 6th instant.

Given at Quebec this 22nd March, 1764.

(Sgd) Jas. Murray.

(29)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. GENERAL MURRAY TO BURTON.
Vol. II, p. 104.

Quebec 22d March 1764.

Dear Burton!

Your favors of the 18th and 16th Instant I had the pleasure to receive this Day.

If Mr. Hughes is Determined to Sacrifice himself for one months enjoyment, his friends can only regret his misfortune. I believe no body has it in his power to prevent it. I am sure he will hereafter wish he had profitted of the Humain Delay you Occasioned, and will think himself for ever obliged to you. Thank God the matrimonial Distemper has not yet reached us at Quebec, if ever it shall, I know of no Remedy; for I cannot suppose the Laws of Ireland can be of any force, out of that Kingdom, where you know an Officer who marries a Roman Catholick is ipso-facto dismissed from the Service.

At first our Recruiting went on briskly, but latterly the people have got it into their heads, that by taking money, and Voluntary inlisting, they were lyable to remain Soldiers while they lived, from this Reasoning I shall with difficulty, be able to Compleat our two Companys, but if I am put to it, I shall make no Scruple to draw the few I want from the Jeune Gens, and to that end I have made the inclosed preparations, which I take the Liberty to Inclose to you, that if you find it necessary, and think the Expedient proper, you may do the Same!

I am Dear Burton
Your's &c.
J. M.

Govr. Burton.

(30)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES. B. VOL. 6—p. 142.

Trois Rivières le 23e Mars 176.

Monsieur,

Les Recrues ne se presentent pas icy avec tout l'empressement que je Souhaiterais, Cette Ville (qui est moindre qu'un Village) ne me fournit aucune ressource de ce Cotté la; et il s'est rependu des bruits dans les Paroisses qui empechent la jeunesse de s'offrir; ils se figurent qu'ils vont etre engagés pour la Vie, et se font

Mille autres Chimères, qu'aucun raisonnement ne peut détruire, et jusqu'à present je n'ay pas encore la Moitié de la Compagnie. Cependant je me flatte toujours qu'Elle sera Complete pour le temps ou la Rivière deviendra Navigable; J'ay suivi Votre Exemple au Sujet des Curés, et il me parait qu'ils sont bien disposés à encouragér Cette levée/

(Endorsed) Au Genl. Murray
du 23e Mars 1764.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 23rd March, 1764.

Sir:—

Recruits do not present themselves here with all the readiness that I Hoped, This Town (which is smaller than a Village) furnished me no resources in that respect, and reports have been spread in the Parishes which prevent the young men from volunteering; they imagine they will be enlisted for Life: and a thousand other absurd Stories are invented which no reasoning can destroy, and at present I have not yet one Half the company: However I flatter myself that It will be Complete by the Time the River becomes Navigable. I have followed your Example in Respect to Curés and it seems to me that they are well disposed to encourage This levy.

(Endorsed) To Genl. Murray.
23rd March, 1764.

(31)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.
Series B. Vol. 9, p. 54.

Col. Burton du 24 Mars 64.

Mr.

Je reçois dans Ce Moment une Lettre de Mr. le Gouverneur Murray avec le remède aux difficultés qui se rencontrent pour trouver des Volontaires. Je suivray exactement Son Exemple la dedans Sil en est de besoin.

Jay lh:

Original Draft

Endorsed Au Col. Burton
du 24 Mars 64.

(Translation)

Col. Burton, 24th March, 64.

Sir:—

I receive this Instant a Letter from Govr. Murray with the remedy for the difficulties met with in obtaining Volunteers. I shall strictly follow His Example therein If necessary.

I have, &c.,

(Endorsed)
To Col. Burton.
24th March. — 64.

(32)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. 2. pt. II. p. 6 & 7.

21662-F. 124.

Trois Rivières, le 25e Mars 1764.

Monsieur,

L'Ordonnance que nous avons fait publier dans cette Province, Au sujet de la levée des Canadiens que Votre Excellence demande pour le Service de la Campagne, n'a pas eû tout le Succès qu'on en attendoit; Ces peuples accoutumés à Servir par Obligation, & à être Comandés; Surpris de voir qu'on leur offroit de l'argent; Se Sont forgés Mille Chimères, ils se figurent qu'ils vont être soldat pour la vie; qu'ils vont être menés dans nos Collonies dont ils ne reviendront jamais &c &c &c;—Et ce qui Surprendroit le plus des gens qui ne Connoissent pas ce Pays, C'est que les idées fait impression sur les Canadiens de

tout Ordre, quoique plusieurs faisant leur possible pour le dissimuler; Monsr. Murray ne se figuroit point ces difficultés quoiqu'il marquoit dans Une de ces Lettres, que Si le Roy avoit besoin de Milles Volontaires outre Son Contingent il les trouveroit facilement dans Son District, sans doute il se le figuroit alors par la facilité avec le quelle on avoit d'abord enrôlé Un certain nombre de gens désœuvrés dans la ville; Mais les Gens de la Campagne les plus propres pour Une expedition, ne se sont pas présentés avec la même facilité Et je reçus hier Une Lettre de Monsr. Murray, ou il me marque que s'il ne trouve pas assés de Volontaires; il ne se fera aucun Scrupule de tirer des hommes hors de la Milisse pour Complétée les deux Compagnies; Et je Crois qu'il doit avoir publié une Ordonnance à cet Effet, Je Suivray son Exemple Monsieur, si j'y suis forcé mais ayant déjà 45, bons homes, j'espère de pouvoir prévenir Cette extremitté; Et etre en état d'envoyer la Compagnie à Mt. Real pour le temps ou la Rivière sera navigable, J'ay donné le Commandemt. de cette Compagnie à Monsr. de Montisamberg L. des Troupes de la Colonie, qui à été passé 20 année dans la belle Rivière, ou il à Epousé une allemande que vous avés eü occasion de voir à Mt. Real il a pr. Lt. Un Mr. de Richerville, Aussi de la Colonie & un Mr. Smitt qui a toujours été employé avec les Milisses;

21662-F. 125.

Je m'impatiente tous les jours plus de voir arriver les Reglements pour Ce Pays; Je joins icy le Retour du Mois, ou je n'ay pas Compris les Canadiens parceque n'étant pas tous rassemblés icy Je ne saurois en Assurer positivement le nombre

J'ay l'honneur d'être avec un parfait
devoement

Monsieur
De Votre Excellence le tres humble Et
tres obeissant serviteur
Fred Haldimand.

(Addressed)

H. Ex: Gl. Gage.

(Endorsed)

Au Gl. Gage. 25 Mars 64.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 25th March, 1764.

Sir:—

The Ordinance we have published in this Province on the Subject of the levy of Canadians which Your Excellency requires for Service in the Field has not had all the Success which was expected. These people, accustomed to Serve from Obligation and to be Commanded; Surprised to see that they are offered money; invent a Thousand and absurd stories; they imagine that they will be made soldiers for life, that they will be taken away to our Colonies and will never return, &c., &c., &c. And what will Surprise most people who do not Know this Country, is that these ideas have made an impression upon Canadians of all Ranks, although some of them do their best to conceal it; Mr. Murray did not anticipate these difficulties when he stated to me in One of his Letters that If the King needed a Thousand Volunteers besides his Contingent he could easily find them in his District, undoubtedly he was misled by the facility with which they had at first enrolled A certain number of people in the town who were out of work; But the people from the Country, best fitted for an expedition have not come forward, with the same readiness. And I received yesterday A Letter from Mr. Murray in which he observes that if he does not obtain enough Volunteers, he will have no Scruples in drafting men from the Militia to complete the two Companies and I Believe that he will have published an Ordinance to that Effect; I will follow his Example if I am forced to it but having already 45 good men I hope to be able to avoid This extremity, and to be in a position to send this Company to Mt. Real by the time the River will be navigable. I have given the Command of this Company to Mr. de Montisamberg Lt. of the Colony Troops, who has lived for 20 years on the Ohio River where he married a German, whom you had an opportunity of seeing in Mt. Real he has for Lt. a Mr. de Richerville also of the Colony & a Mr. Smitt, who has always been employed with the Militia.

I become every day more anxious to receive the Regulations for This Country; I attach herewith the Monthly Return in which I have not Included the Canadians because not being all assembled here I could not be positively sure of the number.

I have the honor to be with perfect devotion,

Sir,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

Fred Haldimand.

(Addressed)

H. Ex. Gl. Gage.

(Endorsed)

To Gl. Gage, 25th March, 64.

(33)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES. B. VOL. 6.—p. 143.

Quebec 26th March 1764.

Dear Sir!

I had the honor of your letter by which I find you have got thirty Volunteers; by this time you probably have compleated your Company, if not I send by the second company of the Quebec district which hath marched this day four or five supernumerary men which if you chuse are at your Service, if you do not want them you may send them to Mr. Burton, who complains of bad Success in recruiting. The Advance Money pay and Cloathing of these men you will be pleased to pay into the hands of Capt. Flurimon the Paymaster of the Regiment, and if you think you shall have any difficulty in raising your Quota I shall continue to inlist all that may offer here as soon as I hear from you.—

.....
 Pray remember me to Gagy and Maturel and be assured that
 I am with great Truth and Regard

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient & most
 humble Servant

Ja: Murray

Govr. Haldimand—

(Endorsed)

Genl. Murray du 26e Mars 64.

27e dto.

(34)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. GENERAL MURRAY'S LETTER BOOK.

Volume II, p. 106.

Quebec 26th March 1764.

Dear Burton;

Saturday last, our first Company of Volunteers marched for Montreal, and this day the second will set off for the same place; they have for or five Supernumerary men, which I have desired Capt. Flurimont to deliver to Colonel Haldimand, if he wants them, if not, to you, and either you or Haldimand will pay him the advance money, pay, and Clothing of these men; he undertakes to raise in your Governmt 60 men, if you should want as many when he arrives, I have made him paymaster, to which I flatter myself, you will have no objection.

Major Regoville will be with you, in a few days, he will deliver into your hands Rolls of the two Companys from this place, the few old men in these Companys are of the Officers Chusing from a knowledge of their Vigour and fidelity, upon the whole I think the Recruit an unexceptionable one, considering the little time, we had given us; The Eight Lorette Indians, are to all intents and purposes Soldiers, and may prove in case of Business usefull men.

I beg to know if you chuse that I should give a Warrent for the Subsce of the 27th Regt. That Warrent would certainly come more naturally from you or Haldimand

for I have no returns of that Regt. made to me. however it shall be just as you please. I am now to make Compts to Mrs Burton and Capt. Richd and am with great truth and Regard

Dear Burton Yours &c., &c.,
J. M.

Govr. Burton.

(35)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 9, p. 55.

3 Rivierres le 27e Bars 1764.

Col. Burton.

Monsieur

Je reçois une Lettre de Mr Murray qui me marque que la Seconde Compagnie de Quebec, s'est mise en marche le 26e & qu'il y a ajouté 4 ou 5 Surnumeraires que je devois vous envoyer du Cas que je n'en eusse pas de besoin, Come j'espère Complet dans peu de jours Ces Surnumeraires Continueront jusques à Mt Real afin que vous puissiez en disposer.

Je vous prie Monsr de Vouloir bien donner Cours à l'Incluse pour nôtre General Je donneray par la Suitte les Warrant pour la paye du 27e Regiment, si les Choses subsistent encorre dans la Situation desagreable, ou Elles sont Aujourhuy. La difficulté de rassembler icy un grand Conseil de Guerre, moblige à envoyer deux deserteurs du 27e a Mont Real, je vous prie Monsr de vouloir déssider de leurs Sort;

Jay l'honneur.

Original Draft

Endorsed Au Col Burton
du 27 Mars 64.

(Translation)

3 Rivers, 27th March, 1764.

Col. Burton.

Sir:—

I have received a Letter from Mr. Murray who informs me that the Second Company from Quebec began its march on the 26th & that he has added 4 or 5 Supernumeraries who I am to send to you in case I do not need them. As I hope to be complete in a few days. These Supernumeraries will proceed to Montreal for you to dispose of.

I beg you Sir to Forward the Enclosure for our General. I will give in Consequence the warrants for the pay of the 27th Regiment, if Things remain in the disagreeable situation They are To-day. The difficulty of assembling here a General Court Martial obliges me to send two deserters from the 27th to Mont Real, I beg you Sir, to decide their Fate.

I have the honor,

(Endorsed)

To Col. Burton,
27th March, 64.

(36)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES. B. VOL. 6.—p. 144.

Trois Rivières le 31e Mrs 64.

Monsieur

J'ay été surpris d'apprendre qu'il S'est rencontre autant de difficultés à Québec et Mont Real, au Sujet de la levée des Canadiens que j'en ay trouvé icy; il est facheux qu'on ne puisse pas remonter a la Source des Mauvais bruits qui Se Sont repandus a Ce Sujet; Un Exemple de cette nature peut avoir des Suittes desagreables dans des Circonstances plus essentielles que Celle Cy. Vous avés trouvé le Meilleur Moyen Monsieur de ressentir Une Mauvaise Vollonté aussi Marquée, des Gens qui refusent de se servir de leurs Armes pour procurer la tranquillite et le bien de leur Patrie, ne Meritent Certainement pas d'en avoir l'usage pour leur avantage personnel

En privant les Canadiens des Armes qu'on leur avait Confié C'est les punir par Un endroit bien Sensible, et C'est en même temps procurer le bien de l'Etat, parcequ'ils en Seront plus assidus à la culture de leurs Terres; j'ay Suivy Un aussi bon Exemple, et j'ay fait rendre les Armes qu'on avait confiée aux deux Paroisses de Batiscan; qui avaient eu l'insolence de repondre aux personnes que j'y avais envoyée pour demander des Vollandaires que puisqu'on les avait desarmé à la Conquette du Pays, ils ne reprendroient jamais plus les Armes.

Je Suivray donc exactement Votre Exemple pour Completer la Compagnie, Si Elle ne se trouvait pas prette pour temps necessaire; J'ay déjà une 50e de bons hommes, et en ay refusé plusieurs persuadé que le bien du Service exigeait que le Corps fut en etat d'agir offensivement Contre les Sauvages si les Circonstances l'exigent.

Je vous suis fort obligé des 4 ou 5 hommes que vous m'offrés; J'apprends que Monsr. Burton en a plus besoin que Moy, je lui marque qu'il pourra en disposer.

Puisque vous avés jugé a propos de nommer Monsr. Fleurimont PayMaster du Batt: je lui feray remettre les Contes de Subsistance de Cete Compagnie.

Je m'étais toujours persuadé Mons. que Vous Souhaittiéz de Continuer à Signer les Warrants pour la paye du 27e Regiment, puisque Vous l'aviez Commencé, Mais je les signeray par la Suite en ayant les pouvoirs de Genl. Amherst, et ce n'est que la raison Cy-dessus qui m'a empeché de le faire plustost.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 31st March 64.

Sir:—

I have been surprised to learn that so many more difficulties have been encountered at Quebec and Mont Real, on the subject of the levy of Canadians than I have found here; it is annoying that we cannot ascertain the source of the wicked rumours which are spread on This Subject; An Instance of this kind may have disagreeable Consequences in more important Circumstances than these. You have found the best means of resenting such marked Ill Will: *People who refuse to employ their Arms to secure the tranquillity and welfare of their Country Certainly do not Deserve to have the use of them for their personal advantage.* In depriving the Canadians of the Arms which have been entrusted to them is to punish them in a very Tender Spot, and It will at the same time contribute to the good of the State because they will become more attentive to the cultivation of their Lands. I have followed so good an Example, and I have recalled the Arms which had been entrusted to the two Parishes of Batiscan, who had the insolence to reply to the persons I had sent there to ask for Volunteers, that as they had been disarmed at the Conquest of the Country they would never take up arms again.

I will strictly follow Your Example for the Completion of the Company; If it is not ready by the appointed time; I have already 50 good men, and have refused several, believing that the good of the Service required that the Corps should be in a state to act offensively against the Indians if Circumstances required it.

I am much obliged, Sir, for the 4 or 5 men whom you offer me; I learn that Mr. Burton needs them more than Me. I am informing him that he may dispose of them.

Since you have thought proper to appoint Mr. Fleurimont Pay Master of the Battn., I will have the Accounts for the Subsistence of this Company sent to him.

I always thought, Sir, that you wished to Continue to Sign the Warrants for the pay of the 27th Regiment, as you had Commenced it, But I will sign them Hereafter having the authority of Genl. Amherst, and it is only the Above reason that has prevented me from doing so sooner.

(37)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES. B. VOL. 6. p. 146.

Quebec, 2nd April 1764.

Dear Sir,

I had the honor of your letter by Post yesterday. It makes me happy that what I have done here regarding the pressing the Militia coincides with your opinion; Burton does not like the Expedient but still for many reasons, I believe, circumstanced as we are, it was a very necessary one. At the same time I rejoice we have succeeded so well without having recourse to it in any great degree.

The Bearer John Anadin is a Volunteer I have given an order, to be forwarded by the Capt. of Militia untill he joins his Corps I hope you will confirm this Order in your Government, as it is for the good of the Service, and these same Milice seem unwilling to do anything for it unless forced thereto,

I have the honor to be with great Truth and Esteem

Dear Sir!

Your most obedient & most
humble Servant
Ja: Murray.

(Endorsed) Gl. Murray du
2 Mars 64 recu
5me dto

(Addressed) To His Excellency
Governor Haldimand
at Trois Rivieres
Ja Murray

(38)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. GENERAL MURRAY'S LETTER BOOK.

Vol. II, p. 109.

Quebec 2d April 1764.

Dear Burton

I had the honor of your Letter of the 28th March yesterday of the two Companys from this place, few of the men were pressed into the service I think not above ten men, I could have replaced these ten by volunteers, but as this whole transaction, has been new and without any authority from home, I judged it right to keep up the prorogative of ordering the Militia on service untill the Kings pleasure shall be known, had we given up this prerogative entirely we might have been found fault with, tho' I am entirely of your Opinion, that had we been obliged at this juncture to have exerted it to any Degree the Expedient must have been hurtfull what has been done is just sufficient to Shew how hurtfull it would have proved, how just our reasonings have been, and how necessary, it was to put the Government to the expence of Bounty money and pay for this Canadian Corps, since the Commander in Chief Could not dispense with it, The whole Transaction shall be laid before the King, and I hope for the future we shall never be put to such a Dilemma. It has been a strange Business, I fear but ill Considered by Mr. Gage, but so presipitate, and so peremptory we had no time to wait for an answer, to our remonstrances, And from the situation of the Governments no right to Hesitate, for untill my Commission arrives, the Commander in Chief may exact an implicit obedience in this province. If I mistake not his powers, when we meet we shall have much to Say upon this Subject, I am persuaded we are of one opinion, and you will be Convinced that the few men I have pressed, Can have no bad Effect but *in se defendendo* was necessary.

Haldimand writes to me he had got fifty, and was sure of Compleating without ordering a man, I dare say when they see the Other three Companys at Montreal, you will have as many men as you please in that Case notwithstanding what I have said, I shall have no Objection that the pressed men, from these parts are replaced by Volunteers, and they sent back, what money you advance for this purpose shall immediately be paid. The pressed men had no bounty Money, they will be glad to give their Cloaths to the Volunteers who may replace them, I leave this matter intirely to you, the pressed men are all idle fellows, who have no families.

I am with great truth, and Esteem, Dear Burton,
Yours' &c., &c., &c.
J:M.

Govr. Burton.

(39)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9, p. 57.

Montreal, April 5th 64.

Sr.

From the badness of the Roads, and the difiiculty of crossing the Rivers, the Post did not arrive here, till this morning, at ten o'Clock. Captn Du Chenays Company,

arrived here on Saturday last, the other is at Repentigny; we expect that River, will be passable tomorrow or the day after. Major Rigoville is not yet arrived.

I am extremely glad you have got your Company Compleated with Volunteers Arms Powder horns and that bags are here ready for them.

The two Companys here are not yet Compleat, but we hope they will be before their departure, As I hear Lake Champlain is open, I look dayly for the arrival of the January Packet.

Mrs. Burton begs her Comp:to you,
and I am Sr. your most obedient humble Servant
R. Burton.

Col. Haldimand.
Endorsed. Col. Burton du
7 avril 64

(40)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES. B. VOL. 6. p. 147.

3. Rivieres le 6e Avril 1764.

Monsieur

Je reçus hier au soir la Lettre du 2me qus Vous me faittes l'honneur de M'écrire par le Vollandaire *Jean Anadin*, que je ferais passer sans retard à Mt. Real.

La Compagnie de Ce Gouvernement est Complete depuis quelques jours par des Vollandaires, Et elle partira des que les chemins Seront plus praticables. Je suis fache d'apprendre Monsr. que Vous avés été obligé de presser des hommes pour former Celles de Quebec, et quoyque je Vous Croye fort autorisé (par Nôtre Situation) à une telle demarche, et que j'eusse pris sans Scrupulle le même Methode Si je my étais Vu forcé; peut etre Souhaitteriez Vous de rappeler Ces Gens la Si On peut les remplasser par des Vollandaires et dans cette idée, je Vais travailler sur le Champ à en engager, et Si Vous le Souhaittez je les enverray à Mont Real; Si Cet expedient Vous est Agréable je Vous prie Monsr. de me le faire Savoir par le retour du Courrier, en Me Marquant à qui ils doivent etre adressés, pour le remboursement de leur engagements;

Le Gouvernement de Mt. Real etant remplis de Voyageurs, je Crois que Mr. Burton trouvera plus de facilité que Nous, Outre que par Sa Situation il gagne près d'un mois sur Nous, et peut attendre tranquillement quels seront nos Succés.

Je ne sais Monsr. si j'ay Compris Votre idée Au Sujet de la Liste que Vous avés demandée dans les Paroisses de Quebec; pour Savoir les noms des Personnes qui Veulent passer en France; il Serait peuthêre necessaire qu'une telle Liste accompagna le Bordereau des Papiers, qu'on fait Aujourd'huy; afin que le Ministre pût Connoitre Ceux qui sont Véritablement Sujets du Roy et renvoyer les pretentions des Autres à la Cour de france; Je sens fort bien qu'on ne peut pas exigér que Ces Peuples Se déterminent avant les 18e Mois accomplis; Mais afin de fournir au Ministre, toutes les Lumieres qu'il peut Souhaitter, je Crois qu'on est en droit de Savoir le Sentiment de Chaque personne que ont fait enregistrér leurs Papiers; C'est a dire qu'ils devraient declarer, *S'ils veulent passer en france; ou S'ils Veulent rester dans le Pays*, ou enfin, S'ils ne sont encore pas déterminé. Je vous prie Monsr. de me dire Votre Sentiment la dessus, l'Enregistrement des Papiers avance et s'execute fort bien.

j'ai l'honneur d'être avec beaucoup de dévouement Monsieur
Votre tres humble et
tres obeissant Serviteur

Fred: Haldimand.
S:Exce. Gl. Murray.
(Endorsed)
au Gl. Murray 6e Avril 64.

(Translation)

3 Rivers, 6th April, 1764.

Sir:—

I received yesterday the Letter of the 2nd which you have done me the honor to write to me by the Volunteer *Jean Anadin* whom I am sending on without delay to Mt. Real.

The Company from This Government was completed several days since with Volunteers, and It will leave when the roads Become more practicable. I am sorry to learn, Sir, that you have been obliged to press men to form Those at Quebec, and although I Believe you fully warranted in such a measure (by our Situation) and I would have taken the same Means without any Scruple If I had been forced to it; perhaps you may Desire to recall These People If They can be replaced by Volunteers; and with this view I will endeavour immediately to engage them, and If you wish it I will send them to Mont Real: If This Expedient is Agreeable to you, I beg you Sir, to let me Know by the return of the Courier, Informing me to whom they should be despatched, for the reimbursement of their Bounties.

The Government of Mt. Real being full of Voyageurs, I Believe that Mr. Burton will find his task easier than We, Besides by His Situation he will gain nearly a month over Us, and may quietly wait to see what Success we have.

I do not know, Sir, whether I have understood your views on the Subject of the List you have required from the Parishes of Quebec; it will perhaps be necessary that such a List should accompany the Register of Documents, which is made To-Day; so that the Minister may Know Those who are actually Subjects of the King and forward the claims of the others to the Court of France; I feel very strongly that we cannot compel These Persons to decide before the 18th of the Month; But in order to give the Minister all the Information that he can Wish, I Believe that it is right for us to Ascertain the Intentions of Every person who registers their Documents, that is to say that they ought to declare, *If they wish to go to france; or if they wish to remain in the Country*, or finally. If they have not made up their minds. I beg, Sir, that you will give me your opinion thereon. The Registration of Documents is progressing and being very well done.

I have the honor to be, with great devotion, Sir,
Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

Fred Haldimand.
His. Excy. Gl. Murray.
(Endorsed)

To Gl. Murray, 6th April, 64.

(41)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. GENERAL MURRAY'S LETTER BOOK,
Vol. II, p. 111.

Quebec 8th April, 1764.

Dear Burton!

I this day reed your Letter of the 5th Inst. you wish much I had rather sent the Two Companys from hence incompleat than have pressed ten Men: I Very freely and Openly gave you my Reasons for pressing the Ten men in my Letter to you the 2d Inst. I imagine you see more bad Consequences from pressing these men than I do, and I should have taken it very kind, had you mentioned them, I am positive no body has been hurt by what was done here in that Respect, and I am likewise Confident, that if we have a power to Levy new troops, wch indeed I think is at least doubtfull, we have the power to impress Idle fellows, who have declared themselves the Kings Subjects, for I pretended to order none, who did not make that their Choice. Enough has been done to Convince the Canadians, that they never under our Government can be oppressed with Military Services they see they are to be paid & Subsisted when such service is required of them, & I am sure the King will take Care, that they shall return agreeable to the terms of my proclamation; you no doubt know that in our provinces it often happens that the Militia are ordered to furnish a Certain numr of men, to take the field, and to march wherever the Service may require, it is true the province enacts a Law for that purpose, but in our situation here, the orders of the Governors, are Laws, & I imagine our orders, will not be found fault with provided they are Consistent with the Libertys of the subject, & Consistant with ye Laws of England, & the Dictates of Prudence & good Policy; This my Dear Burton is being open and plain, I expect the Same from you, and that you will tell me, the reasons you so strongly and Ardently wish I had not pressed a man, for the General Terms, by which you Express yourself on this Subject, I can guess at none.

As to the interruption of interior Trade of Corn I never thought it Could be attempted in Canada, with Justice or propriety, when it was done, I did my Duty by remonstrating against, I shall Certainly under Certain Restrictions, allow the Ex-

portation of Corn, to any part of the world, where British Ships can Lawfully Navigate, and by this post a Copy of the proclamation I have published here on that Head, is sent to your Secretary to be laid before you.

You certainly judge well in not granting pasports to any body to Trade in the Upper Country out of this province, His Majestys proclamation of the 7th October, absolutely prohibits such Trade, untill security is given by the Traders, that they will Comply with the Rules and Directions given by him for their Conduct in their Trafick with the Indians, These Rules are not Yet arrived, I hope they will Soon, as Mr. Gage tells me they are Expected by the January mail, and Then if the Indian War will admit, Pasports must be given to every one without exception, who can give the requisite Security, and in Case they do not Comply with the Rules, they should be punished without favor or affection.

I begin now to wish, myself, for the arrival of the Commission and Instructions; for I find your people at Montreal are Remonstrating to the Lords of Trade, against inconveniences which may happen, but which never Can happen to them while I Govern the Province; such Remonstrances shew want of Sense, want of Principal, and a Disposition which should not be encouraged: had I any Evil intentions these poor Deluded people have taken the most Effectual method to facilitate the Execution of them, for surely such Groundless base, and unjust remonstrances, must Totally discredit their future just Complaints, but they never shall have any of that nature to make against me, when I can act they must be Convinced of it, and therefore I wish for the Arrival of my Commission. I enclose a Copy of this pretty performance, which you Certainly have not seen, otherwise, I think you would have mentioned to me. I beg you will shew it to Christie, I imagine the monopoly of Lands is a drive at him and those who have applied for Lands at Gaspee, and upon the River S.t Lawrence above Montreal.

Pray excuse this Long Letter, I am, Dear Burton!

Your's &c., &c., &c.

J:M.

Govr. Burton.

(42)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES. B. VOL. 6, p. 149

Quebec 9th April 1764.

Dear Sir!

I had the honour of your letter last Post, I think myself much obliged to you for it, and I congratulate you on having raised the Company of Volunteers. If you can get ten Men to replace the ten press'd men in the two Companies from this place you will much oblige me, and I shall pay the expence to your order.—

What you say about making the People declare whether or not they are to remain Subjects of His Majesty is certainly right, but before these Returns can arrive in England the time limited for the Emigration will be expired, and as the navigation will then be open a list of all who think proper to Emigrate may be sent and be in England by the middle of Sept. I find it will be necessary to give another month to register their Paper, & that in consideration of the seed time this will put off sending the Reports till the middle of June, so I think it will be as well to let them alone as to the declaration for many cannot decide till they Hear from France and those who declare themselves undetermined will be ill looked upon by us, indeed it is a question whether such an answer can be given for the words of the Treaty may be construed otherwise they have eighteen months to emigrate, and dispose of their effects, but perhaps the question—*Subject of England or France* might have been put to them the week after the ratification of the treaty. I only mean, that there are doubts which in our present Situation are not necessary to be determined by us and therefore may as well be let alone.

We are now thinking of dressing and Exercising the Battn. I hope to shew you a very good one in all respects if you will favor me with a Visit in June. Pray make my Compliments to Gagy & Mr. Maturel & be assured that I am with great Truth and Regard.—

Dear Sir,

Your most Obedient &
most humble Servant
Ja: Murray.

(Endorsed) Gen. Murray du 9 Avril 4.

14e dto. ayant été envoyé à Mt. Real.

(43)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B? Vol. 9, p. 58.

Montreal April 9th 1764

Sr

Lieut. Hazzell arrived here yesterday Evening, from New York, he has made great dispatch, this, with the Inclosures, you will receive from Lt. Frizebourg, your letters from General Gage, came under my Cover, in the hurry of opening the Packet, I cut one of your letters open as you will see, by the Seal, which I hope you will excuse. I hope the Trois Rivieres Compy. of Volunteers, are upon their march, as I am in great hopes of getting the Regimt of from hence, the 16th inst., to La Chine; and Embark them for Oswego, the 17th Do. I had by this Packet, a letter from Lord Halifax, ordering me to send an account of the Paper money in the Governmt of Trois Rivieres, which I neglected sending, last summer, when it was Registered. I have ordered Lieut. Bruyon to write to the Register for it. His Lordships letter is still directed to me as Lt. Govern of Trois Rivieres; I hope his next will be to you, as such, if agreeable to you. Genl. Gage will I suppose give you all the publick news, I do not find he is yet appointed from home our Commander in Chief, but I think the odds greatly in his favor. I do not know, that Governor Murrays Pattennt is come out, by this Packet. I have a letter from Genl. Amherst, and from the Cole: they got into Falmouth after a dreadfull Passage lost their Masts etc. but are both well, the ferment at home still continues, as you will see by the Papers.—as usual, the next Packet to settle everything, God grant it.

Mrs. Burton and the little Captn beg their Compts and I am
Sr. your most obedient humble Servant,
R. Burton.

To Cole. Haldimand.
Endorsed. Col. Burton du
9 Avril 64
10 do.

(44)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9, p. 60.

3 Rivierres le 11e Avril 64.

Monsieur

Le Lt. Wriesberg qui passa hier Au Soir icy pour Quebec, ma remis le Paquet dont vous aviéz eû la bonté de la Chargér pour Moy; La Méprise qui vous à fait Ouvrir Une de mes Lettres du G1 Gage est bien excusable dans l'impatience ou Nous Somes, & ne doit point vous faire de peine Je suis Charmé de Savoir le G. Amherst arrivé heureusement a Londres il faut esperér que Sa Présence Contribuera à nous procurér les Arrangements definitifs. Malgré la fermentation qui y reigne. Le project de Changer les Troupes dans ce Pays, est tout ce qu'on pouvoit faire de plus Avantageux, pour la Nation & pour Conservér une armée de Soldat. On me Marque que Vous avés Acceptés le Gouv't de Mt Real, je Vous en felicitte Monsr & vous y Souhайте beaucoup dagrement; pour moy je n'espère rien, & je Souhайте peu de Chose ainsi jattens tranquillement Ce que le sort me reserve, le Genl. Gage me marque que les Gouverneurs du Canada devoient recevoir 20 Sh: par jour, pour le temps passé & qu'ils Seroient payés sur le même pied à l'avenir, si on n'augmente pas Ces appointemts il faudra avoir une Aussi bonne fortune que la Vôtre pour Vivre à Mt Real. Supposant que vous aviéz envoyé l'année dernière les Bordereaux des Papiers de ce Gouvernement Au Ministre, je ne l'ay point fait Celle Cy, mais j'auray soin d'envoyer à My Lord Hallifax Celui qu'on forme Aujourd'huy, par Ces derniers Ordres, Amoins que dans l'intervalle Mr. le Gouv'r Murray ne reçoive Ces Instructions je verray en attendant que Pillard vous fasse parvenir Celui que vous lui faites demandér. Les Mauvaix Chemins qui ont retardé la poste jusques à Aujourd'huy, Sont Cause que je n'ay point encorre fait marchér la Compagnie, qui est rassemblée icy depuis quelques jours, dailleurs, je me figurois que vous ne pouriez guerre faire partir le Batt: avant la fin d'Avril. Mais la Compagnie Se mettra en Marche avant la fin de cette Semaine, & j'y joindray dix Vollontaires que j'ay de Surplus, dont je vous prieray de disposer pour Complèttér vos Compagnies, Mr. Wriesberg me disant que vous aviez encorre besoin de Monde, J'avois engagé Ces Gens la pour rendre Service à Monsr. Murray; Voyant qu'il avoit été obligé de faire Commandér du Monde, & qu'il renvoyoit d'autres Comandés pour relèvér Ces Gens la, & qu'ensuite il envoyoit jusque à un volontaire Seul de Quebec, je Crus lui rendre Service, en lui marquant, qu'Etant

Complet icy je Continuerois à engager du Monde, a Sa disposition, & que je le priois de me repondre par le Courrier, Mais Come je n'ay point de Ces Lettres, je dois Supposer qu'il n'en à pas besoin & vous prie Monsr de disposer de Ces Gens la; ils partiront Avec la Compagnie, & au Cas que vous fussiez Complet, je vous prie de leur donner leur Congé pour ne pas Augmenter les fraix qui retomberont sur moy pr avoir voulu rendre service. Sans doute Mr. Murray Croyoit que mes offres avoient les mêmes fondements que Ceux qu'il m'avoit fait & reitéré il me marquoit dans les Comencemts de la levée, que sil avoit besoin de Mille Volontaires dans son Gouvernement il ne seroit point embarassé de les trouver & que si je trouvois des difficultés je pourrois Conter sur son Gouvernement.

Jay l'honneur d'etre Monsieur,
 Votre tres humble & tres obeisst Serviteur
 Fred. Haldimand.

Original Draft, signed

Col. Burton.
 Endorsed. Au Col. Burton
 du 11 Avril 64.

(Translation)

3 Rivers, 11th April, 64.

Sir:—

Lt. Wriesberg who passed here yesterday Evening on his way to Quebec, has given me the Packet you were so good as to Charge him with for me; The Discourtesy which has induced you to open one of my Letters from Gl. Gage is quite excusable owing to the anxiety we are in, and ought not to worry you. I am delighted to Know that Genl. Amherst has arrived safely in London, it is to be hoped that His presence will Contribute to obtain Definite arrangements for us, notwithstanding the agitation that prevails. The plan of changing the Stations of Troops in this Country, would be most advantageous for the Nation and for maintaining an army of Soldiers. I am informed that you have accepted the Government of Mt. Real, I congratulate you, Sir, and wish you much pleasure; as for myself I hope for nothing, & desire so little that I await quietly for what fate reserves for me. Genl. Gage informs me that Governors in Canada were entitled in the past to receive 20 sh. per day & that they Will be paid on the same scale in future, if they do not increase These allowances, one must needs have as large a fortune as Yours to Live in Mt. Real. Presuming that you sent last year the Register of the Documents of this Government to the Minister, I have not done This but I will take care to send to my Lord Hallifax That which is made To-Day by These last Orders, Lest in the meantime Govr. Murray should not receive These Instructions I will see that Pillard shall send you what you have asked for.

The Bad Roads which have delayed the mail until To Day are the Cause that I have not sent on the Company which has been assembled here for several days, besides I have concluded that you will not be able to despatch the Battn. before the end of April But the Company will begin its march before the end of the week & I will add ten Volunteers which I have as surplus whom I beg of you to dispose of to Complete your Companies, Mr. Wriesberg having told me that you still need men, I had engaged These men to assist Mr. Murray, Learning that he had been obliged to Press men, & that he might return other Pressed men to relieve These people and to enable him to send all as Volunteers from Quebec. I believed I would do him Service by informing him that Being complete here I would Continue to enroll men, at his Disposal and asked him to reply by the Courier, but as I have not received These Letters I must Presume that he has no need of them & beg you, Sir, to dispose of These People; they will leave with the Company, & in case you are Complete, I beg you will give them their Discharge so as not to Increase the Expenses that will fall upon me for having wished to be of Service. No doubt Mr. Murray thought that my offers were based on the same foundation as those he had made and repeated to me, he informed me at the commencement of the levy that if a Thousand Volunteers were needed from his Government he would have no difficulty in finding them & that if I found any difficulties, I might Rely on his Government.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
 Your very humble & very obedt. Servant,
 Fred. Haldimand.

Col. Burton.

To. Col. Burton,
 11th April, 64.

(45)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9, p. 63.

Montreal April ye 12th 1764

Sr

I was this day at noon, favored with your letter of yesterday. I am very certain, no one knows of my haveing, or not haveing, accepted of the Lt. Governorship of this Place; as you observe, 20 sh: a day would not go far at Montreal.

I am much obliged to you for haveing spoke to Pillard, for what I wanted. I hope your Company are upon their march for this Place; as the Batteaus will move from hence to La Chine the 16th inst; and the Canadian Volunteers were to Embark the 17th Do as such, must beg of you, to send, and order, your Company to be as expeditious as possible in their marching to this Place, and that they may all go of together, the Companys here shall not embark, until the 18th instant, before which time, I hope yours will be here.

the River is become Navigable, ten days sooner this year, then usual and what makes me so pressing to get the Batteaus sent of, are Genl. Gages Orders to me for so doing, the instant it was navigable.

I am much obliged to you for sending me the ten Supernumary Volunteers, they will be very acceptable to us here, as we are not yet Compleat not that that would retard me a moment, Embarking them after the arrival of the Trois Riviere Company I hope they will get safe to Oswego and answer the warmest wishes of the General, and who ever they are to serve under. Mr. Murray was a little out in his Politicks, in conceiving the Quebec Government, would furnish so large a number of Volunteers.

I shall tomorrow Publish a Placart Prohibiting, for the present, the Indian Trade, with the upper Countrys, of which I will send you a Copy, by the first opportunity.

Mrs. Burton and the little Captain beg their respects to you, and I am Sr.

your most obedient humble Servant

R. Burton.

Cole: Haldimand &c., &c.

Endorsed. Col. Burton du

12. Avril 64

14. do.

(46)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. GENERAL MURRAY'S LETTER BOOK

Vol. II. p. 120.

Quebec 14th April, 1764.

Dear Sir:

I had the honor of Your Letter by Hazzen, with the different inclosures. The Exchange of Capt. Fuser, with Capt. Tesch, is in the first Battn of the 60th Regt.

We all here think very differently with you as regard to the method of raising the Canadian Corps, but, as you Observe, there is no necessity to enter into any arguments about it, we all Certainly mean for the best, and it is happy you Can have no disappointment, for the Corps is Compleat, I believe to a man, at least the Company from this District & that of Trois Rivieres, were sent over & above twenty men, but as ten of my men were Drafted from the Militia The bad Effects of which were Evident, I prayed Colonel Haldimand to enlist ten to Supply their places, which he has done, & the draughted men are to Return, By Last Acct., from Govr, Burton He wanted thirty men, I make no doubt of his getting Volunteers to compleat his Companies, if he Cannot, he tells me he Objects Absolutely to pressing a man, & rather Chuses they should march incompleat; perhaps on receiving Your Letter he may Alter his Opinion: He was for sending to you, before anything was done in this Business, but I was of a Different Opinion, and am well pleased you have what your asked from this Province, & that, in time, to go up with the Batteaus; had we waited till Hazzen Came Back you must at least have been disappointed as to the time: I hope all your Schemes will Succeed, & that our Quebec Provincials will do honor to their Country.

I am now to Offer my most respectfull Complints to Mrs Gage, & if you will present the same from me to Mrs Morris, you will much Oblige Me.

I have the Honor to be &c., &c., &c.

J.M.

P:S: We have promised that the Canadians shall return to their homes, before the Winter sets in.

To General Gage.

(47)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES HALDIMAND PAPERS SERIES, B. 2, pt. II. p. 9.

Trois Rivieres, le 15 Avril, 64

21662, F. 128.

Monsieur,

Je reçus le 30me passé les Lettres que Votre Excellence me fait l'honneur de m'écrire du 2me 4me & 26me fevr & celles du 22e & 30me Mars me sont parvenues le 10 du Courant. Je suis bien Charmé Monsr. que vous approuviez la Conduite que J'ay tenue au Sujet de la levée des Canadiens; J'ay eu icy le Succes que J'esperois; la Compagnie a été entièrement Complétée par des Volontaires J'en ay eu meme plusieurs au dela; Et elle est actuellement a Mont Real bien pourvue de tout ce qui lui est nécessaire. Ils ont tous Reçu leur engagement icy & j'ay remis entre les mains du Capitaine leur paye jusqu'au 24 de May prochain inclusif, Cet argent leur Suffira de leur propre avec pour les petits besoins de la Campagne, & la some qu'ils trouveront à leur Retour pourra procurer à Ceux qui seront sage les moyens de S'éta blir Voilla encore les Paquets de Janvier et fevrier arrives, sans arrangements deffinitifs, il faut esperer qu la presence du Genl. Amherst Contribuera à nous les procurer; On est dans le dernierre impatience à Quebec; j'en ay beaucoup aussi; Mais elle procede d'un motif bien different. Je concerveray exactement l'indépendance de ce Govt. jusques à l'Arrivée de M. Murray Sous le Grand Sceau & je vous suis tres obligé Monsr. d'avoir bien voulu meclaircir sur tous les Points; je suis obligé detre Constent sur mes Gardes.

.....
 J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un parfait devouement

Monsieur

De Votre Excellance Le tres humble & tres

obeissant serviteur

Fred: Haldimand

Endorsed
 au Genl. Gage
 15 Avril 64.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 15th April 64.

Sir:—

I received on the 30th of last month the Letters which Your Excellency did me the honor to write to me on the 2nd, 4th and 26 Febr'y, & those of the 22nd & 30th March reached me on the 10th Instant. I am delighted, Sir, that you approve my Conduct on the Subject of the levy of Canadians. I have had the success here which I hoped for; the Company has been entirely Completed with Volunteers. I have even had some to spare; and it is actually at Mont Real well provided with every thing necessary. They have all Received their bounty here & I have placed their pay up to the 24th of next month inclusive in the hands of the Captain. This money they admit ought to be sufficient to supply their little necessaries during the Campaign & the amount which they will receive on their Return will be enough to furnish Those who are prudent with the means of establishing themselves. The Packets for January and February have arrived without definite arrangements we must hope that the presence of General Amherst may Contribute to procure them for us; There is the greatest impatience at Quebec; I feel much also. But it proceeds from a very different motive. I will strictly preserve the independence of the Govt. until the Arrival of Mr Murray under the Great Seal & I am greatly obliged to you, Sir, for having enlightened me on all Points I am obliged to be constantly on my Guard.....

I have the honor to be with perfect devotion, Sir,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient Servant,

Fred Haldimand.

(Endorsed)

To Genl. Gage.
 15th April, 64.

(48)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9, p. 66.

le 17 Av. 64.

Mr. B.

J'espère que la Compagnie de Vol: Canadien se trouve actuellement à rendues Mt Real, & que Mr. Mt Isamberg vous présenté les 9 ou 10 Surnuméraires j'avois même Chargé Ces Messrs de Vous Conduire tous ceux qu'ils pouroient engagé en Chemin La Lettre que Mr. Murray Mecrivoit à ce Sujet par le dernier Courrier ayant été envoyée à Mt Real par la negligence du Maitre des Postes, je ne l'ay reçue qua son retour & par Consequent trop tard & quoyqu'il accepta ces Surnuméraires cela ne Change rien Monrs à l'offre que je vous en Ay fait & je vous prie d'en disposer pour vos Compagnies.

Je recois dans Ce moment une de Ces lettres avec la Copie de Celles de My lord Halifax du 14e Janvr Je Crois Monsr que le meilleur Moyen de remplir les intentions du S. M. Seroit de publier Une Proclamation, par ou Chaque Canadien ou francois eut a declarer Sil vœut passer en france, Sils veulent rester dans le Pays; Ou bien, s'ils ne sont pas encorre determinné ils ne peuvent refusér de sexpliquer sur ces trois points Je vous prie Mr de me dire vos Sentiments la dessus, il me paroît qu'il nest pas possible de faire une reponce positive Sans Cette precaution la & le temps pressé & je ne feray Aucunne demarche avant Votre reponce.

Je ne vois pas Coment Mr Murr. pouroit se dispensér de prendre le même partis Amoins quil neut deja une pareille liste dans Secretariat.

Mes respects é Mad: Si Elle avait quelques graines de Jardins de reste, Elle me rendroit un grand Service de men faire part quoy quil aye bien de lapparence que je Cultive ce jardin pr d'autres &c.

du 17 Avr. Col. Burt.

Endorsed Col. Burton

du 17 Avril 64.

(Translation)

I hope that the Company of Canadian Vols. has actually arrived at Mont Real & that Mr. Isamberg has presented to you the 9 or 10 Supernumeraries. I had even instructed these Gentlemen to Conduct to you all whom they could enlist on the Road. The Letter which Mr. Murray wrote me on this Subject by the last Courier, having been sent to Mt. Real through the carelessness of the Post Master did not reach me until his return & Consequently too late & although he accepts these Supernumeraries this is in no way Sir, Alters the offer I made of them to you & I beg you to dispose of them for your Companies.

I receive at this moment one of These letters with the Copy of Those of my Lord Halifax of the 14th Jany. I believe, Sir, that the best means of carrying into effect the Intentions of H. M. will be to publish a Proclamation by which Every Canadian or frenchman must declare If he wishes to remove to France. If they wish to remain in the Country, or even if they are not yet decided, they cannot decline to make an explanation of these three points. I beg you, Sir, to give me your Opinion in respect thereto, it appears to me that it is not possible to give a positive reply Without This precaution & time presses & I will take no step before your Answer.

I do not see How Mr. Murr. can avoid taking the same course unless he has already such a list in his Office.

My respects to Mad. If She has some Garden seeds left, She will render me a great Service by sending some of them to me although it now looks as if I Cultivate this Garden for others, &c.

17 Apr. Col. Burt.

(Endorsed)

Col. Burton.

17th April 64.

(49)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. 2, pt. II. p. 12.

21662—F. 130.

3 Rivières le 18 Avril, 64.

My Lord,

I have the Honor to Inclose Your Lordship a Letter which I received from His Excellency the General in Chief of the 3d of March last. In consequence of which I thought it my duty to raise without delay the 60 Canadiens required by His Excellency for the service of this Campaign After previously Consulting with both Governors Murray and Burton, I conformed myself to the Same plan and have likewise allowed to Every Volunteer besides his cloathing and six pence, this Currency pr. day Twelve Dollars Bounty; to supply which Expences I have drawn on the Contingency for this Government, till His Majesty's pleasure be further known. The Company has accordingly been Completed before the End of March and already joined the rest of the Battalion at Montreal.

This Levy met First with some difficulty; Canadians always accustomed to serve for nothing under the French Government and to be draughted out of the Militia; reluctant at the Bounty; and for fear of being listed for Life; would have preferred to be ordered as formerly; than to receive money or willingly offer their Services; whoever after a greadile Trouble they were dissuaded, and none listed in this Government but Volunteers.

.....
.....
It will always be a Duty most agreeable to me, that will procure me any opportunity of Convincing Your Lordship of my zeal, and Exactitude for the Service as well as of the profound Respect I have the Honour to remain in.

(Unaddressed)

(Endorsed)
A My Lord Halifax
18 Avril 1764.

(50)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9, p. 68.

Montreal, April, 19th, 64.

Sr.

I was yesterday favored with yours of the 17th by the Post; your Comy of Volunteers arrived here the 17th and a very fine Company they are.

Yesterday Evening I received your letter of the 12th by Captn. Mont Isambar the Company marched to La Chine this morning, the others Embarked yesterday they had Powder Horns delivered to them, with their Arms, the money that you had advanced the nine Supernumeraries, is stoped in Cole: Christies hands for your use.

In regard to Ld Halifax's letter I know no other method to be taken but Publishing a Proclamation that all those who propose going to France may give in their Names (in a limited time, that is in a fortnight or three weeks) at the Secretarys Office, but shall say nothing in regard to whether they are determined or not as we certainly can not prevent their changings their minds as often as they please between and Sept. next and French Men you know are fickle.

Inclosed I send you a Copy of my Proclamation in regard to the Trade with the upper Countrys. I hope it will have the desired efect.

Mrs. Burton begs her Compts to you, and has sent you by the Post, all the Garden Seed she had left.

I am Sr. your most obedient humble Servant
R. Burton.

To Cole: Haldimand.

Endorsed. Col. Burton.
19 Avl 64
20 do.

(51)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 105.

Quebec 24th April 1764.

My Lord

.....
 The Canadian Corps of Volunteers which General Gage demanded from this Province, set off from Montreal to join the army, (which is to assemble at Oswego) the Sixth instant, and I am confident they will do their Duty, with as much Zeal and alacrity as any Provincial Corps whatever, They were raised, and equipped in fourteen days.

I have the honor to be with great Truth and Regard

My Lord!

Your Lordships Most obliged, most obedient & most faithful
 humble Servant

Ja: Murray

Endorsed: Letter from Governor Murray 24th April 1764

R July 2d

Lord Halifax.

Right Honble The Earl of Halifax One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries
 of State.

(52)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. 2, pt. II. p. 16.

21662—F. 133.

New York April 24th 1764.

Sir,

My last letter about the Levying of the Company of Three Rivers will shew you my Opinion of the new method of raising Volunteers, and that I foresaw the Difficultys you set forth in Your Letter of the 24th March, which has lately fallen into my Hands. Mr. Murray's attention to the Welfare of the Canadians, that they should be put exactly on the same Footing with His Majestys British Subjects I suppose led them into this new method, which otherwise He would certainly never have tried, when the old one was so plain & easy.

I am with great Regard

Sir,

Your most obedient,
 humble Servant,
 Thos. Gage

(Endorsed)

Genl. Gage

du 24em Avril 64

17 May.

(53)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. Vol. 9, p. 69

Montreal, April 25th 1764.

Sr.

I was this day favored with your letter of the 24th instant the last Brigade of Batteaus left La Chine, with the Trois Rivieres Company on board of them, the 20th instant. Major Rigovile left the two inclosed letters for you.

You have also inclosed a letter from Genl. Gage which Lt. Monisays brought here the 21st inst., I suposie it contains the same Orders as what I have received from the General and which gives me great hopes that he will be our Commander in Chief, which I most sincerely wish. The March Packet will I hope, bring him his Commission.

Your letters to N. York, went along with mine this morning by Lt. McKay. Mrs. Burton and Richard beg their respects to you, hopes the Seeds will flourish, and that you may reap the benefit of them if agreeable to you.

I am Sr.
Your most obedient humble Servant
R. Burton.

To Colonel Haldimand.
Endorsed. Col. Burton du 25 Avl 64.

(54)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. 2, pt. II. p. 19.

21662—F—136.

New York May 2d 1764.

Sir,

.....
.....
The news of the March of the Canadians has already astonished the Savages; and Sr. Wm. Johnson says, it will have a better effect to convince them of their folly than anything he can say or do to persuade them that there is no assistance to be excepted for them from that Quarter, *Mais ne dites rien de tout cecy en Canada.* Mr. Gage & all my Family present their best Respects, and I am with great Regard,

Dear Sir
Your most obedient
humble servant,
Thos: Gage.

(Unaddressed)
(Endorsed)

Genl. Gage du
2 May 64.
23dm.

(55)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. Vol. 9, p. 70

Montreal, May ye 3d 1764.

Sr

I was yesterday favored with your letter of the 1st instant your inclosed letter for Genl. Gage I sent by the Post, which set of this day for New York. We may in a few days have the March Packet, which I most sincerely hope will bring General Gage his Commission, and some further arrangements for this Country.

No news from Major Rigovile of his Corps, since they left the Cedars. Mrs. Burton and the little Captn beg their Compliments to you and joyn with me, in wishing you may enjoy the fruits of the Garden if agreeable to you.

I am Sr. your most obedient humble Servant
R. Burton.

To Cole. Haldimand.

P:S: Captn Claus is arrived, by what he says I think there is great appearance that the Indians will sue for Peace, he holds a Congress tomorrow at Cagnawaga, where he will deliver to the Chiefs, Sr Wm. Johnsons Message, which to Joyn the Six Nations, and go to War.

Endorsed. Col. Burton du 3 May 4 do.
Repondue le 8 do

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, June 21, 1764.

New York, May 7.—On Monday last the whole body of New-Jersey provincials, raised for the present Expedient against the Indians, arrived here on board several vessels, and the same day sailed for Albany.

(56)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. Vol. 9, p. 72.

Montreal, May ye 9th 1764.

Sr.

I was this day favored with your letter of the 8th inst. I do not imagine Goveer Murray has yet sent the account of those who intend to return to France, to my Lord Halifax, I shall send him my List, as soon as the time limited by me is expired, which will be the 18th instant. Major Rigogvile and his Corps were to leave Oswegatagi, the 6th inst. The Congress we had at Cacknawaga the 5th turn'd out as well as we expected, the different Tribes accepted of the War Belt, and Captn Claus tells me were very hearty, I hope they will continue so, if they do it will have a good effect a large Body of them are to set of for Sr. Wm. Johnsons by the way of Crown Point, the 15th inst: Captn. Claus tells me that Sr. Wm. Johnsons Message is notified to the Abenauis, thorough two Chiefs that were at Cacknawaga. Captn. Ryard and Lt. Cathcart leave this tomorrow at day break. I look dayly for the March Packet. Mrs. Burton and the little Captn. beg their Compliments to you,

and I am Sr. your most obedient humble Servant,
R. Burton.

To Cole: Haldimand &c., &c., &c.

Endorsed. Col. Burton du 9e May 64 10me dto
repondue le 15 do

(57)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. 2. pt. II, p. 20.

21662—F. 138.

New York May 13th 1764.

Sir,

.....

I am to return you thanks for your Company, which by the Accts. received is the best by far, of the Battalion. They are set off from Montreal, and I expect by the next advices from Oswego to hear that they are arrived there. You will by this time know, that the March Packet is arrived, but no commission with it, and as far as I can find, nothing will be finally settled, till the Sitting of the Parliament is over.

.....

I am with great regard
Sir,
Your most obedient
humble servant
Thos Gage.

(Addressed)
Govr. Haldimand
(Endorsed)
General Gage,
du 13 May 64
5me dto.

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, June 28, 1764.

By a private Letter from Niagara, of the 26th of May, we learn that the Troops raised here, arrived there the 18th, and on the 20th were ordered about 9 Miles above that Place, in Order to erect a small Fort, to protect the Landing the Provisions and other Stores; and that last Week they were joined by a Party of General Johnson's Indians, and were in daily Expectation of his arrival with the Remainder, also with the Troops raised in New-York, and the other Colonies on the Contingent, and that all the Indian Nations were summoned to meet that General at Niagara, to hold a Treaty and conclude a Peace; that last Week a Party of Senacas came down for that Purpose, and prevented the other Nations from molesting their Landing, or cominiting any Hostilities on their Ground until the Treaty was held. All things were in great Readiness for the Expedition; they have got 50 of the Royal Artillery, with 10 Field Pieces, and other Ordinance.

(58)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. Vol. 9, p. 75.

Trois Rivieres le 29e May 1764.

Monsieur,

Je prens la liberté de vous adresser une Lettre pour Nôtre General que je vous prie de vouloir mettre dans Vôtre Paquet; Je reçus par le dernier Courrier des Lettres du Capt. Mont Isambert, qui me marque du 11e Courant, que sa Compagnie étoit en bon Etat, & quil Supposoit que la Campagne seroit fort Courte; Mr. Gage me marquoit dans sa dernière que le payemt des 20 Sh: par jour qu'on nous destinoit pour le temps passé avoit été areté, tout à Coup lorsque Mr. Calcraft devoit le recevoir, peuthetre aton trouve la some trop modique je le souhaite

je suis.

Original Draft

Endorsed. Au Col. Burton
du 29. May 64.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 29 May, 1764.

Sir,
I take the liberty of addressing to you a letter for our General, which I beg you will place in Your Packet. I received by the last Courier letters from Capt. Mont. Isambert, who informs me that on the 11th instant his Company was in a good State & that he surmised the Campaign would be very short; Mr. Gage informed me in his last that the Paymt. of 20 Sh. per day which was intended for us for the time elapsed, had suddenly been stopped when Mr. Calcraft ought to have received it. Perhaps they consider it too little which I hope is the case.

I am,

Endorsed, to Col. Burton.
29 May .64.

(59)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. 2. pt. II. p. 24.

21662—F. 142.

Gl. Gage — le 29 May 64

Monsr.

.....
Je suis charmés que le detachmt. des Cannadiens produise Un si bon effet. et je Crois qu'il étoit aussi nécessaire de les Convaincre, qu'ils étoient Sujets du Roy, & obligé de le Servir que de faire par ce moyen Connoître aux Sauvages, qu'ils n'avoient plus de ressources à esperée de Ces Cottés cy; Ce sont deux avantages tres Certains que vous retirerez de Cette levée.
.....

(Endorsed)

Au Gl. Gage du 29 May 64.

(Translation)

Gl. Gage. 29th May 64.

Sir:—

.....
I am pleased that the detachment of Canadians produces such a good effect, and I believe that it was also necessary to Convince them that they were Subjects of the King & obliged to Serve him, and to make Known to the Indians by this means that they had no further support to hope for from this Quarter; These are two very Certain advantages which you will derive from This levy.

(60)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9fi p. 80.

Montreal June ye 18th 64.

Sr.

Nothing has ocured worth writing for these two last Posts I was favored with your letter of the 8th inst.

No news from New York. All well and quiet at D'Etroit the 14th of May. The Canadian Volunteers hard at work on the Carrying Places of Niagara. Sr. William Johnson to hold his Congress at Niagara the first week in July. Bradstreet sick at Albany.

Seven Canoes from Michilimackinac, stoped at Carillion, by the Party I have there, the same Fellows that were here last summer. I don't like having those Chaps come to Montreal, nor can they have any business here, all Trade with the upper Nations is stoped, and as to Indian affairs, I refer them to the Congress at Niagara, for that purpose have sent Captain Claus up to Carrillion, Mrs. Burton and Richard beg their Compliments and I am Sr.,

your most obedient Servant
R. Burton.

turn over.

Monday 10 o'Clock

The Packet just arrived herewith you have what came for you.
R. B.

Endorsed. Col. Burton du 18 juin 64.
reçue de 20e. dito

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, August 2, 1764.

A letter from the Little Falls, dated June 18th.

On Saturday last 18 companies of the Militia, amounting to about 1500 men ,were reviewed at Mr. Brant's about a mile above Fort Hendrick, by Sir William Johnson; who after the Review. entertained them with a large Ox, and a Number of Sheep roasted whole, and gave them a Barrel of Rum to drink his Majesty's health; there was a number of Indians present, amongst whom were some of the Senecas, who, on their return Home, will tell their People that the English are moving up in vast Bodies towards the Frontiers; This will undoubtedly have a good Effect, in engaging them to keep firm and steady to their late Convention with Sir William, fearing that these People should march against them in Case of a. Revolt. Yesterday Evening Sir William set out for Niagara, accompanied by his Son-in-Law, Mr. Guy Johnson, and John Duncan, Esq. of Schenectady, with 30 of the Chiefs and most noted Warriors, of the lower Castles of the Mohawks, who insisted on accompanying Sir William's Person in particular, in his Voyage; they sung the War Songs and danced, taking Sir William by the Hand, with the most convincing Proofs of their Attachment.

(61)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES HALDIMAND PAPERS Series B. 2, pt. II. p. 32

21662 F. 151.

Trois Rivières le 27 Juin 1764.

Monsieur,

Les Lettres que Votre Excellence me fait l'honneur de m'écrire du 19 & 27 May, avec Celle du 6me Juin me sont parvenues; Je suis Charmé de voir que la Compagnie des Volontaires reponde à vos vues, On continue à m'en faire un rapport favorable, et je me flatte Mons. qu'elle merittera votre approbation pendant le Cours de la Campagne.

.....

Je presente mès Respects à Madame et j'ay l'honneur d'être avec un parfait devouement.

Monsieur de Votre Excellence
Le tres humble & tres obeissant Serviteur
Fredk. Haldimand.

(Addressed)

A.S Ex: Monsr. le Gl. Gage

(Endorsed)

Au Genl. Gage du 27 Juin 64.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 27th June, 1764.

Sir:—

The Letters your Excellency has done me the honor to write me on the 13th & 27th May, with that of the 6th June, have come to hand I am Delighted to learn that the Company of Volunteers answers your expectations. They continue to make me a good report of it, and I flatter myself, Sir, that it will deserve your approbation during the Course of the Campaign.

I present my Respects to Madam Gage and have the honor to be with perfect devotion.

Your Excellency's very humble and very
obedient Servant.
Fred. Haldimand.

(Addressed)

To H. Ex. Gl. Gage,

(Endorsed)

To Genl. Gage, 27th June, 64.

(62)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9, p. 81.

Trois Rivierres le 3e Juillet 64.

Monsieur:

Je prens la liberté de vous adresser une Lettre pour Nôtre General à laquelle je vous prie de donner Cours dans vôtre Paquet; Il n'y à rien de nouveau icy; je Suis Charmé d'apprendre que tout est tranquille du Cotté du Détroit, il paroît que nos Vollontaires Canadiens n'auront pas une Camgagne fort perilleuse; des Lettres que quelques Uns ont écrits icy à famille, ont dissipé des Mauvais bruits qui setoient répandus Sur leur Situation.

Vous êtes hureux Monsr d'avoir pû vous débarassér des Sauvages de Michillimakinack ce sont des hautes fort incomodes; & qui vray semblablement ne sont attire de Ces Cottés que par le ressouvenir du Rhum qu'on leur present l'année dernière. Mes respects à Madame mes Amitiés au petit Capitaine.

J'ay l'honneur detre Monsieur
Votre tres humble & tres obeissant Servr.
Frd: Haldimand.

Col Burton.

Endorsed

Au Col. Burton,
du 3 Juillet 64.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 3rd July, 64

Sir:—

I take the liberty of addressing to you a Letter for our General which I beg you will give Room in your Packet. There is nothing new here; I am Delighted to know that our Canadian Volunteers will not have a very perilous Campaign; Letters which some of them have written their family here have dissipated the Evil reports as to their Situation, which had been spread.

You were fortunate, Sir, in getting rid of the Indians from Michilimackinac; they are very troublesome and are only attracted to These Parts by the recollection of the Rum given them last year. My Respects to Madam and my love to the Little Captain.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your very humble & very obedient Servt.
Fred Haldimand.

Col. Burton,
(Endorsed)

To Col Burton,
3 July 64.

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, August 23, 1764.

Extract of a letter to Colonel Burton, at Montreal, from Oswego, August 7.

"Matters are entirely settled with all the Nations who attended the meeting at Niagara; the greatest ever known, being about 2000 indians. Some Reports spread prevented the Chenussios coming for a long Time; at length they came and delivered up the Prisoners, &c., &c. and gave to His Majesty, and His Successors, for ever, the Lands on both Sides the Streights to Lake Erie (or Carrying Place) 4 Miles on each Side, and Liberty of a Post on the North Side of Lake Erie, &c., &c. so that His Majesty will be possessed of all from Lake to Lake, a Cession of near 300,000 acres. They have also given two Seneca Hostages for the Shawneese, and Delaware King, whom the Chenussios engaged to deliver up at this Post, with all the Prisoners amongst them. There were 22 different Nations at the Congress, 11 of which were Western Indians, All behaved well, and were discharged in the best Humour. The Michillemakinac indians have engaged to protect the Garrison which may be sent there The Cognawagoe (or Canada Indians) Warriors are gone with the army, and behave very well.

The Peace is settled by a Solemn Treaty in Writing with the Hurons of Detroit. The Treaty of Peace and Alliance with the Chenussios is also ratified and confirmed in Writing, so that every Thing is done that could be wished for, or expected, &c. &c. &c."

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, August 9th, 1764.

To-morrow being Friday the Tenth Instant, at the Hour of Eleven in the Morning, the King's Letters Patent, Constituting and Appointing the Honourable James Murray Esq; Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador Coast by the River St. John, and from thence by a Line drawn from the Head of that River, through the Lake St. John, to the South End of the Lake Nipissing, from whence the said Line, crossing the River St. Lawrence and the Lake Champlain in Forty-five Degrees of North Latitude, passes along the High Lands, which divide the Rivers that empty themselves into the said River St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Sea, and also along the North Coast of the Bay des Chaleurs, and the Coast of the Gulph of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosiers, and from thence crossing the Mouth of the River St. Lawrence, by the West End of the Island of Anticosti, Terminates at the aforesaid River of St. John's together with all the Rights, Members, and Appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging. As also a Commission for the said Honourable James Murray, to be Vice Admiral of the Same, will be published in His Majesty's Castle of St. Lewis, at Quebec, of which all Persons are to take Notice, in Order to pay due Obedience thereto.

By His Excellency's Command.

H. T. CRAMAHE.

(63)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. VOL. 6, p. 158.

Monsieur

Trois Rivières le 13e Aoust 1764.

Je reçus dimanche la Lettre que Vous M'avez fais l'honneur de M'écrire en datte du 7e en M'envoyant la Copie de la Commission qu'il a plut a Sa Majesté de Vous Accorder en Vous nommant Son Gouverneur en Chef de Cette Province, je ne puis Monsieur que de reitérer dans Cette Occasion les Compliments Sinséres que je Vous ay déjà offert.

Je me suis fait un devoir de publier Votre Avennement hier, Avec toute la Solennité qui j'ay pû y Ajouter; Votre Commission a été lue Publiquement, et les Troupes qui étoient sous les Armes ont fait une triple décharge aussi bien que l'Artillerie, et j'ai reçu pour Vous Monsr. les Compliments que les habitants Vous preparent, lors que Vous arriverés icy.

J'ai Crû aussi devoir écrire une Lettre Circulaire aux Capes de Milisse de ce District, dont je joins icy la Copie, esperant qu'elle Aura Votre approbation;

Je me proposois de Vous rendre Mes devoirs avant Cette date, mais on M'asseuré Si positivement que Vous devés passer incessamment icy, que j'y attendray Vos ordres, ayant l'honneur d'être

Votre tres humble et
tres Obeissant Serviteur
Fred: Haldimand.

A S: Ex. le Genl. Murray.
(Endorsed) Au Genl. Murray
du 15 Aoust 64.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 13th August, 1764.

Sir:—

On Sunday I received the Letter you did me the honor to write to me under date of the 7th, sending me a Copy of the Commission which it has pleased His Majesty to Grant you appointing you His Governor in Chief of This Province, I can only reiterate, Sir, on This occasion, the Sincere Congratulations, which I have already offered you.

I have made it a duty to proclaim your Accession yesterday with all the Solemnity that I could add thereto; Your Commission has been Publicly read, and the Troops who were under Arms fired three volleys, as well as the Artillery, and I have received for you, Sir, the Congratulations the inhabitants prepare for you when you will arrive here.

I have also Thought it my duty to write a Circular Letter to the Capts of Militia of this District of which I attach here a Copy, hoping that it will have your approbation.

I had proposed to pay You my respects before This date, but I was informed so positively that you would soon arrive here that I will await your orders, having the honor to be.

Your very humble and very obedient Servant,
Fred. Haldimand.

To His. Ex. Genl. Murray.
(Endorsed)
To Genl. Murray,
15th August, 64.

(64)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. VOL. 6, p. 162.

G. Murray du 8e 7bre 64.

Monsr.

Je reçois dans Ce moment le rapport de la Compagnie des Vollandaires Canadiens de Ce District, et Comme Elle est Sous Vos Ordres j'ay cru Mr. devoir Vous le faire parvenir, Je suis Charmé de pouvoir Vous la remettre Complete et Suivant le rapport qu'on m'en fait en bon Ordre.

Tout est tranquille icy les habitants occupés de leur reColte, n'ont pas le temps de penser à faire des Proces,

J'ai l'hon: d'être

(Endorsed)
Au Gour. Murray
du 8me 7bre 1764.

(Translation)

G. Murray, 8th Sept. 64.

Sir:—

I receive This instant the report of the Company of Volunteers from This District, and as It is under your Orders, I have, Sir, believed it my duty to forward it to you. I am Delighted to be able to hand it over to you Complete, and, According to the report made to me, in good Order.

All is quiet here, the inhabitants, being busy with their harvest, have not the time to think of carrying on Law suits.

I have the honor to be,

(Endorsed)

To Govr. Murray.
8th Sept. 1764.

(65)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. VOL. 6, p. 169.

Trois Rivières le 23e 9bre 1764.

Monsieur,

Depuis la dernière fois Monsieur que j'eus l'honneur de Vous voir à Québec J'ay Cru l'affaire des Cannadiens Vollandaires arrangée, et Monsr. le Col. Irving Chargé (de votre part) de pourvoir à leur Subsistance; Mais Comme il paroît par Votre Lettre du 18e que Vous Croyés qu'il Conviendroit Mieus que les Compagnies de Mt. Real et des trois Rivières fussent payées par des Warrants tirées par Monsr. Burton et Moy; J'en donneray Un Si Vous le Souhaittés Monsieur jusques au 24 d'Octobre pour la Compagnie de Ce District, Monsr. le General Gage m'ayant oté tout pouvoir de tirer par la Suitte Sur le pay Master General; Mais Comme j'ai Avancé fort peu à Cette Compagnie; Je Suppose Monsieur que Vous voudrés donner les Warrants depuis le 24e de May; je ferais la dedans Ce que Vous jugerez à propos, Vous priant Seulement de me faire Savoir Vos Intentions; et Si la Compagnie doit être Conjediée à Son Arrivée à MontReal, j'envoyeray le Conte des Avances que j'ay faittes à la personne que Vous jugerés à propos de nommer pour le Congediér.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 23rd Nov. 1764.

Sir:—

Since the last time I had the honor of seeing you in Quebec, I Believed the Business of the Canadian Volunteers arranged, and Col. Irving Instructed (by you) to furnish their Subsistence: But as it appears by your Letter of the 18th that you Believed it more Convenient that the Companies of Mt. Real and three Rivers should be paid by Warrants drawn by Mr. Burton and myself; I will give one If you Wish it, Sir, for the Company from This District, General Gage having deprived me of all authority to draw in Future on the pay master, I Presume, Sir, that you will grant the Warrants since the 24th May; I will do as to that whatever you deem proper begging you only to let me Know your Intentions; and If the Company ought to be Discharged on Its Arrival at Montreal, I will send the account of advances that I have made to the persons whom you deem proper to nominate to Discharge it.

(66)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS: Series B. Vol. 9, p. 112.

A Mr. Burton le 27e 9bre 1764.

Je reçus par le dernier Courrier votre Lettre du 22 avec celle pr Mr Murray, que je lui tnvoyay par la même poste, en lui ecrivant dans le même jour que vous le fesiez, au sujet de la paye des Vollandaires Canadiens—je Contais d'en recevoir une reponce Aujourdhuy.

Votre letter du 22 me parvint par le dernier, Courrier & j'achemain imediatem celle à Mr. Murr: en lui ecrivant au Sujet des Vollandaires C: Sur le même pied que vous & je le priois de me faire savoir; qu'elle personne il nomeroit a Mt Real pour les Conjedier, mais n'ayant point de réponce, je dois Supposér Monsieur quil vous ecrit sur ce Sujet; & quil aura donné les Ordres necessaires; à Mr. Frazier, ou autre pr que les Gens Soyent satisfaits.

Le Capt. Payne qui passa hier au Soir icy me dit de votre part que les Voll: étoient attendu le même jour à Mt Real & Come la plus part sont de Moska, St. francois, &c. & que la rivierre Comence déjà a être difficile; il Seroit facheux pour ces Gens la

de devoir venir icy pour y recevoir leur paye, & y restér peuthrete degradé pr une 15 de jours. Ainsi Monsr au Cas que Monsr le Gouverneur Murray n'aye pas donné les Ordres necessaires pour Conjedier ces Gens la, je vous prie de les retenir a Mont Real, & de vouloir bien m'en informer par un exprès afin que je puisse y envoyer une personne pour les faire payer aussi longtemps que mes pouvoirs peuvent le permettre La Poste qui arrive toujours tard donne à peine le temps decrire. Je vous prie Mr. de vouloir bien faire parvenir l'incluse à notre General.

La Compagnie des 3 R. est payée jusques au 24 May, & je pouray Conter avec le Capt. MonIsambar pour les avances que jay faites, Je joins icy son reçu au Cas quil soit necessaire je vous prie de vouloir le Conservér.

Original Draft.

(Translation)

To Mr. Burton, 27th Nov. 1764.

I have received by the last Courier your letter of the 22nd, with that for Mr. Murray which I sent him by the same post, writing to him at the same time What you are doing on the matter of the pay of the Canadian Volunteers—I expect to receive a reply To-Day.

Your letter of the 22nd reached me by the last Courier, and I immediately forwarded that to Mr. Murray writing him on the Subject of the C. Volunteers, on the same line as yourself & I begged him to let me Know what person he would name at Mt. Real to discharge them, but having no reply, I must Presume that he has written you on this Subject, & that he will have given the necessary Orders; to Mr. Fraser or other person so that the men may Be satisfied.

Capt. Payne who passed here yesterday evening told me from you that the Vols were expected at Mt. Real the same day & As the greater part are from Moska, St. Francis, &c., & the river already Begins to be difficult, it will be annoying for these People to be obliged to come here to receive their pay & remain perhaps unemployed for a fortnight. Therefore, Sir, in Case Governor Murray has not given the necessary Orders to Discharge the men there, I beg you to retain them at Mont Real and to inform me of it by an Express so that I can send a person to pay them as long as my authority will permit. The post which always arrives late hardly gives time to write. I beg you will forward the enclosure to our General.

The Company of 3 R. is paid to the 24th May, & I can account with Capt. Mon. Isambar for the advances which I have made. I attach here his receipt in Case it may be necessary, I beg you to preserve it.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. VOL. 6, p. 171.

Monsr.,

J'eus l'honneur de Vous écrire par le dernier Courrier Au Sujet des Vollontaires Cannadiens, et j'apprens dans Ce Moment qu'ils sont arrivés à Mt. Real; je Vous prie Monsr. de Vouloir bien me faire savoir la Resolutions que Vous Aurés prise a leur Sujet, et la personne que Vous aurés jugé à propos de nommer pour les Congédier. La plupart des hommes de la Compagnie de ce District, étant des habitants de l'autre Cotté de la rivierre, il Conviendroit Mieux qu'ils puissent prendre le Chemin de Sorrel ou Longueuil pr. se rendre chez eux, la rivierre Commence à être dangereuse icy et Une Seule Nuit peut la rendre impracticable pr beaucoup de temps;

Rien de Nouveau dans Ces Quartiers ou tout est fort tranquille.

j:lh;

Gnl. Murray du 30 9e 64.
(Endorsed)
Au Gl. Murray
du 30e 9bre 64.

(Translation)

Sir:—

I had the honor to write you by the last Courier on the Subject of the Canadian Volunteers and I learn This moment that they have arrived at Mt. Real; I beg you, Sir, to let me Know what Decision you may have come to on that Subject and the person you have judged proper to nominate to Discharge them.

The greater part of the men of the Company from this District being inhabitants of the other Shore of the river, it would be more convenient for them to return to their homes by way of Sorrel or Longueuil, the river Begins to be dangerous here and a Single night may make it impracticable for a long time.

Nothing New in These Parts where all is very quiet

I have

Genl. Murray of the 30-9e-64.
(Endorsed)
To Gl. Murray,
30 Nov. 64.

(68)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9, p. 115.

A Mr. le C: Burton du le Xb 1764.

Mr.

La Capt. Brown se rendant à Mt Real par ordre de Mr le Gouv. Murray, pr Conjedier les Vollontaires, je vous prie Mr vouloir lui remettre le reçu de Mr Mont Isamber que je vous envoyay dernièrement, afin quil puisse Contér Avec lui; je ne donneray point de Nouveau puisque Mr lG: Murray ne lexige pas, & je suis Charmé de affaire finie.

Je suis—

à Mr Mt Isambert du le Xb 64.

Mr.

Le Capt. Brown: &c. pour Conjedier & payér Vôte Compagnie a la quelle Mr. le G: accordé quatre jours de paye pr se rendre Ches eux, Vous aurés donc la bonté Mr de donnér à Mr Brown une Liste exacte de Vôte Compagnie, ou vous Marquerés les Varriations qui peuvent y etre arrivées de puis Sa Levée, afin quil puisse faire les deductions necessaires, je vous prie Mr. de Menvoyér une Copie de cette Liste ou vous Certifierés, que toute la Compagnie été sattisfaitte de toutes leurs pretentions jusques au jour quelle a été Conjediée: Il ne reste Mr qu'a vous remercier de même que Messrs vos officiers, de la bonne Conduitte que vous avés tenue, & je me feray un devoir d'en rendre Conte à Mr le Gouv &c.

Endorsed Au Col. Burton
& le Capt. Montizambert
du 1, Xbre 1764.

(Translation)

To C. Burton, 1st Dec. 1764.

Sir:—

Capt. Brown proceeding to Mt Real by order of Govr. Murray to Discharge the volunteers, I beg you will hand him the receipt from M. Mt. Isamber which I sent you lately, so that he may account with him: I will not give a new Warrant since Genl. Murray does not require it, & I am Delighted to see this business finished.

I am.

To Mr. Mt Isambert 1st Dec., 64.

Sir:—

Capt. Brown &c. to discharge & pay Your Company to which the Gen. has granted four days pay to proceed Home, you will have the goodness to give Mr. Brown an exact List of your Company. in which you will note the Alterations which may have occurred since Its organization so that he can make the necessary deductions. I beg you Sir to send me a Copy of this List, on which you will certify that all the Company has been satisfied as to all their claims up to the day they were Discharged; It only remains Sir, for me to thank your officers for the good Conduct you have maintained, and it will be my duty to make a Report of it to the Govr.

(Endorsed)
To Col. Burton
& Capt. Montizambert.
1, Dec. 1764.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. 2, pt. 11, p.

21662, F. 180.

Trois Rivières 25e Xbre 1764.

Monsieur,

Depuis la Lettre que j'eus l'honneur d'écrire à votre Excellence le 25 passé, Monsieur le Gouverneur Murray a jugé a propos de donner les Warrants nécessaires pour payer les Canadiens & les a fait conjédier à Mont Real en leurs accordant quelques jours de paye se rendre chez eux; Ces bonnes gens, qui n'avoient jamais reçu Un traitement pareil Sont tres content et souhaitent qu'on aye bésoin de leurs services l'année prochaine; il est Certain que leur présence a produit Un bon effet sur l'Esprit des Sauvages.

(Endorsed)

Au Genl. Gage, 25 Xbre 1764.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 25th Decber. 1764

Sir:—

Since the Letter I had the honor to write to your Exceddence the 25th ulto; Governor Murray has deemed it proper to grant the necessary Warrants to pay the Canadians and have them discharged at Mont Real allowing them some days pay to return to their homes; These good fellows who have never received Such treatment are very well satisfied and hope their services will be required next year; it is certain that their presence has produced A good effect on the minds of the Indians

Endorsed

To Genl. Gage, 25th Dec. 1764.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

List of the Officers appointed to the Volunteer Corps of Canadians raised in 1764, specifying the Casualties since that period.

Names	Rank	Remarks
De Rigouville	Major	Dead
De Fleurimont	Captain	Dead
Duschesnay	Captain	
Montisambert	Captain	
Catalogne	Captain	Dead
Lamondiere	Captain	Dead
Richerville	Lieutenant	
Hartel	Lieutenant	Dead
Lamadelaide	Lieutenant	Dead
Montesson, fils	Lieutenant	Dead
Depré	Lieutenant	Dead
St André	Lieutenant	
Clignancour	Lieutenant	Dead
LaForce L'ainé	Lieutenant	Dead
La Chevrotiere	Lieutenant	
Schmidt	Lieutenant	

Dorchester

Endorsed—No 12. S.A.

In Lord Dorchester No. 12 of 5th February 1787.

“Vers la fin de 1762, les sauvages de Missillimackinac, lasses de deux années de voisinage avec les Anglois, affranchirent à la sauvage de l'incommodité, c'est-à-dire qu'ils couperent, sans façon, la gorge à toute la garnison, dont le Commandant ne sauva la chevelure & sa vie, que par l'humaine interposition d'un Gentilhomme Canadien qui lui avoit fait plus d'une fois pressentir l'exécution; car c'est-la le sort que la judicature Indienne adjugé, de voler dans ses Tribunaux, aux usures, aux fraudes, aux depredations, aux brigandages. Une politique instruite & juste dictoit, de commencer par extirper les causes par la suppression d'un tyrannique monopole, avant de courir à la vengeance des effets, par le châtiment: mais en appellant sur le champ à son épée le General Gage crut devoir au sang versé de ses compatriotes, de faire marcher un gros corps de troupes, à travers trois cens lieux semées de rochers, de forêts, de marres, de rapids, de cataractes, de precipices, du coupe-gorges, en un mot, où une poignée de sauvages, en embuscade pouvoit égorgier à plaisir une armée toute entière.

“Chaque colonie fut taxée à sa mise proportionnelle de soldats. Les Canadiens avoient été, pour le grand nombre, élevés parmi ces peuples, compagnons de leur jeunesse, leurs amis de tous les tems, & même leurs parens, par le mélange de sang; il étoit de la dernière atrocité, de les mettre aux prises avec de si chers ennemis; pour s'inscrire avec légitimité contre leur enrollement ils pouvoient tous d'ailleurs se réclamer des dix huit mois, qui à l'époque de cette expedition, venoient de leur être assignés à Fontainebleau, pour décider & arranger leur transmigrion en France. Mais le General en Chef prononca differement. Montreal & les Trois-Bivières (encore alors sous des gouvernements particuliers) rejétterent hautement de souscrire a cette décision. A Quebec, le General Murray, l'ami, le protecteur & le péré du peuple, n'eut que la peine de lui notifier ses inclinations; les Canadiens, de leur propre mouvement volèrent par bandes sous les drapeaux de Sa Majesté, & formeront une brigade de 600 hommes, la plus leste, la plus brave, en mot la fleur & l'élite de toute l'armée provinciale.

“Les Genereaux commencèrent par dégrader ce genereux volontaires en serviteurs & en laquais, de tout le corps militaire, dont, en bêtes de somme, ils étoient chargés de voiturer sur les epaules les bagages dans les portages, de préparer les diverses cuisines, & d'effectuer à force de bras le transport en canots sur la route. Un deluge de pluies, dégorgeant des nuages qui régnerent dans ces climats assez frequemment nécessita l'armée à camper dans une isle, sous des tentes. L'inondation présageroit une submersion generale: l'épée sur la gorge, on forçoit ces malheureux Canadiens d'ériger des digues & creuser des tranchées, au péril imminent de leur destruction; tandis les soldats Anglois, assis tranquillement sous leurs asyles militaires, en specateurs oisifs & insensibles, contemploient avec un souris insultant le spectacle de ces pauvres nouveaux sujets, dont on sacrifioit la sûreté à celle de l'armée Angloise, dont la conservation étoit sans doute d'une nature bien éminemment supérieure. Enfin le contre-ordre de l'expedition, de la part du General en Chef (qui heureusement se ravisoit) atteignit l'armée à-peu-près à la mi-chemin: les Canadiens furent congédiés; mais avec des vêtemens tout déchirés par le mauvais tems, sans poudre sans munitions de bouche, sans canots même, pour regagner leur patrie éloignée, que la plupart ne revirent qu'après avoir longtems erré dans le labyrinthe des forets, & encore par les bienfaisans de ces memes barbares (c'est le nom dont l'Europe qualifié les sauvages, nom qu'elle meritoit peut-être à plus juste titre qu'eux) que ces malheureux Canadiens étoient allés combattre: par l'ordre inhumain de leurs nouveaux maitres. Justice, humanité, reconnaissance de conquerans! voies de nouvelle invention pour se concilier les coeurs des nouveaux sujets! Le journal du Capitaine Robert, qui étoit de cette expedition, & reside actuellement à Londres, fourmille de traits encore bien plus noirs, mais je jette un voile sur toutes ces horreurs que l'Angleterre, au-moins pour sa gloire, auroit bien du venger, independamment des egards que meritoient les representations du General Murray; mais la protection décidée dont ce digne Militaire honoroit ouvertement les Canadiens, lui valut perté de son gouverement. Silaire sur toute reste.

(Appel à la Justice de l'Etat, par Pierre Du Calvet, London, 1784, pp. 136-9.)

*M. de Langlade.

(Translation)

Towards the end of 1762 the Indians of Michilimackinac, tired of having the English as neighbors for two years, delivered themselves from this inconvenience in the Indian way, that is to say they summarily cut the throats of the whole garrison, the Commandant of which only saved his scalp and his life by the humane intervention of a Canadian Gentleman who had warned him more than once of the coming

attack; for such is the punishment awarded by Indian Justice in their Tribunals for usury, fraud, theft and robbery. A wise and just policy would have begun by removing its causes through the suppression of a tyrannical monopoly before rushing to avenge its results by reprisals; but General Gage considered that the blood of his Countrymen required an appeal to the sword and that he must march a large body of troops more than 300 leagues through a country full of rocks, forests, marshes, rapids, cataracts, precipices and cut-throat places, where a handful of Indians in ambush might massacre at will an entire army.

Every Province was required to furnish its proportion of soldiers. The Canadians had for the most part been bred among these nations as companions of their youth, their friends at all times, and even their blood relations, it was an atrocious thing to require them to make war upon such dear enemies. As an objection to enlistment they could besides have justly at the date of this expedition taken advantage of the period of 18 months granted them at Fontainebleau to make up their minds and prepare for their removal to France, but the Commander in Chief determined otherwise. Montreal and Three Rivers (then still under separate governments), resolutely refused to accept this decision. At Quebec, General Murray, the friend, protector and father of the people, had only to take the trouble of announcing his wish; the Canadians of their own free will rushed in crowds under His Majesty's Banner, & formed a Brigade of 600 men, the nimblest and bravest of any, in a word, the flower and choice of the whole Provincial Army.

The Generals began by degrading these noble volunteers into servants and lackeys for the entire military force, for whom like beasts of burden they were forced to carry their baggage across the portages on their backs, to do their cooking, and to convey them on their way in canoes.

A deluge of rain pouring down from the clouds, which is a frequent event in these regents compelled the army to camp under tents on a island. The inundation threatened a general submersion. With the sword at their throats, these wretched Canadians were forced to build dikes and dig ditches in imminent danger of their lives, while the English soldiers looked on from their military shelters as idle and indifferent spectators, watching with insolent smiles the toil of the these poor new subjects, whose safety was sacrificed to that of the Army as its preservation was undoubtedly a matter of supreme importance. Eventually counter-orders for the expedition from the Commander in Chief, (who had fortunately re-considered it), reached the army when about half way; the Canadians were discharged with their clothing torn in rags without powder or provisions, even without canoes to return to their far distant homes, which they only reached after having long wandered about the labyrinth of the forests, mainly through the kindness of these very barbarians, (such is the name bestowed by Europe, which perhaps deserves it better, upon these Indians, whom these unhappy Canadians were sent out to fight, by the inhuman orders of their new masters. Justice, humanity, gratitude of Conquerors! Newly invented methods for conciliating the hearts of new subjects! The journal of Capt. Robert who took part in this expedition & actually lives in London, abounds in still darker incidents, but I cast a veil over all these horrors for which England, at least for the sake of her good name, should make ample reparation to say nothing of the consideration which the representations of General Murray deserved; but the marked protection with which that worthy soldier openly honored the Canadians, brought upon him the loss of his position as Governor. Enough said!

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 3, p. 87.

(Copy)

By His Excellency the Honble James Murray Esqr. Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec and the Territories thereon depending in America, Vice Admiral of the same, Major General of His Majesty's Forces, and Colonel Commandant of the 2d Battalion of the Royal American Regiment of Foot &c., &c.

Whereas there is at present wanting a Number of Men to be employed in His Majesty's Service in transporting Provisions from Montreal to the Upper Posts; these are therefore to desire you immediately on receipt hereof to furnish thirteen men with the articles usually found in the like occasion for the Purpose before mentioned, for which service they will be paid a reasonable Hire by the Deputy Quarter

Master General, and that when you have engaged the said thirteen men with Paddles, Oars &c you will direct them to apply to the said Deputy Quarter Master General and acquaint him therewith.

Given under my hand and Seal at arms at the Castle of St. Lewis in the City of Quebec this 5th day of October 1765.

;Signed) Ja: Murray

By His Excellency's Command
(countsd) J. Goldfrap D. Secy

N.B. Copy of the above was at the same time sent to the Bailiffs of four other Parishes, towit, La Longe Pointe, Sault aux Récollets, Pointe aux Trembles and LaChine, desiring them to provide fifty-one Men proportionately.

To the Bailiff of Montreal.

Endorsed: Govenor Murray's Injunctions to the Bailffs to provide Men with Oars &c. to transport Provisions to the Upper Posts.

Quebec 5th October 1765.

In the Board of Trade's of 16th May 1766.

(72)

LES SEIGNEURS DE QUEBEC AU ROI.

(Archives, Serie Q, Vol. 4, p. 23.)

AU ROY.

Les Seigneurs dans le District de Quebec tant en leurs noms que pour tous les habitants leurs Tenanciers, penetré de douleurs du depart de son Excellence l'honorable Jacques Murray qu'ils ont depuis la Conquête de cette Province cheri et respecté plus encore à cause de ses qualites personnelles que comme leur Gouverneur, se croiroient indigne de vivre, s'ils ne s'efforcoient de faire connaitre à votre Majesté, leur Souverain Seigneur, et à toute l'Angleterre, les Obligations, qu'ils lui ont, qu'ils n'oublieront jamais, et les regrets sinceres, qu'ils ont de son départ.

Ses ennemies ne peuvent aujourd'hui nous taxer de flatteurs, il est parti, le digne Gouverneur, et tout nous assure, qu'il est parti sans que nous puissions nous flatter de le Revoir, la Cabale forme par un certain nombre des anciens sujets a triomphe; du moins elle s'en flatte et s'en rejouit; ses plaintes supposé ont été écouté; refusera-t-on de nous ecouter aussi? Un tres petit nombre l'emportera-t-il sur le plus grand?

L'Honorable Jacques Murray en 1759 entourré des Canadiens qu'il devoit regarder comme ses ennemis, n'a eu pour eux que l'Indulgence; de ce Tens il s'aquit nos coeurs; sa generosité, et celle des ses Officiers animés par son exemple, qui par les aumones qu'ils ont repandu, ont tiré les Peuples de la misère dans laquelle les Malheurs de la Guerre les avoient plongé, nous ont forcé de l'admirer et de le respecter.

Après l'entière Conquête de cette Province il nous a par son affabilité contraint de l'aimer; il établit dans son Gouvernement un Conseil Militaire, composé des Officiers Equitables qui sans prevention et sans Emolument ont jugé ou plutot ont accomodé les parties processives; point d'Exemple d'aucun appel de leur jugemens. Combien de famille n'a-t-il pas aidé et soutenu? Nous avons joui jusqu'a l'Epoque du Gouvernement Civil, d'une Tranquillité, qui nous faisoit presque oublier notre ancienne Patrie; Soumis à ses sages jugemens et Ordonnances, nous étions heureux, les anciens sujets ne pensoient point alors à se plaindre; nous regretterons longtems la douceur de ce Gouvernement. Nos Esperances ont été detruites par l'Establisement du Gouvernement Civil, que l'on nous avoit si fort exalté; nous vimes naitre avec lui la Cabale, le Trouble et la confusion, et nous fûmes étonné de voir paroître dans des libels infames, dont les auteurs ont été impunis, la plus basse et la plus insigne Calomnie. Nous, accoutumé à respecter nos superieurs, et à obeir aux ordres émané de notre Souverain, à quoi nous sommes Portés par notre Education autant que par notre Religion, nous avons révééré les Nouveaux Officiers Civil, nous nous sommes tenus à leur jugemens, nous avons executé leurs ordres; le haut prix des Sallaires des ces Officiers nous a étonné a la vérite, mais sans nous revolter; frappé de l'irregularité dans Plusieurs circonstances, nous avons gemis sans nous plaindre, nous garderions encore le silence si nous n'y étions forcé par un coup le plus sensible, qui vient de nous être porté; Notre Père, Notre Protecteur, nous est enlevé, comme Père il écoutoit nos Plaintes, comme Protecteur, il y remédioit, ou de moins les diminoit, avec promptitude,

et il nous consolait avec Bonté, et sans lui que serions nous devenu Les anciens sujets, du moins la plus grande nombre depuis l'Epoque du Gouvernement Civil, n'ont cherché qu'à nous opprimer, à nous rendre leurs Esclaves et peut être à s'emparer des nos Biens. L'Emigration d'un nombre des nos Meilleurs Concitoyens que nous regrettons, a été les funestes suites de leur mauvais procédés, et de Bruits alarmantes, qu'ils n'ont cesse de repandre, il nous en reste des monumens authentiques.

La Protection dont Mons. Murray nous a honore, a retenu plusieurs de nous déjà déterminé à laisser cette Province; Les Politesses, et les defences de ce Gouverneur pour les personnes bien nés le secours qu'il n'a cessé de leur procurer, lui ont attiré la Haine de la plus grande partie des anciens sujets.

Une Cabale de gens venu tant à la suite de l'armée, que comme commis et charge d'affaires des negocians de Londres ne meritent aucune preference, tant par leur conduite que par leur défaut d'Education et meprisable par eux-memes, piqué de la justice que leur a à cet égard été rendue ont entraîné avec eux quelques uns de nos compatriots, dont plusieurs avoient avec eux la plus parfaite ressemblance, d'autres sans y faire reflexion, ont donné leur suffrages et signés les calomnies le plus noires dans une langue qu'ils n'entendoient pas, il en fut même entre les derniers qui ont avoué, qu'ils avoient été surpris, et les Gens d'honneur n'ont cessé desavouer de tels procédés détestables, mais qui sont pour la plupart ceux d'entre les nouveaux sujets, qui ont augmenté la Cabale, et dont on fait valoir les signatures—des Gens sans Naisance, sans Education, incapables des sentimens delicats, des soldats Congédiés de la Troupe Francoise, des Barbiers, des domestiques, des Enfans même, dont plusieurs pour être devenue Marchands, se soit rendu les Esclaves de leur créanciers, des juifs même qui accoutumés à respecter les citoyens dans les parties du monde, ou ils sont supporté, n'ont hésité dans cette Province à s'élever au dessus des nouveau sujets du Roy, auxquels cette Espece des Hommes étoit jusqu'alors inconnue, et qui, ainsi que les adherens, ont ruiné et réduit à la dernière misère ceux qui se sont attaché à eux, Digne recompense de leur Orgueil et de leur faiblesse.

Nous ne connoissons pas les Sujets de Plaintes, dont la Cabale fait usage contre M. Murray, ceux des nouveaux sujets, qui ont eu la folie de souscrire n'ont pu nous en instruire et comment le pourroient—ils faire? ils ont signé sans savoir ce qu'ils faisoient, ils n'avoient point les motifs, ils étoient Esclaves de leur créanciers; il nous seroit aisé de debattre les articles de ces plaintes, et d'en faire connoitre le faux; il nous a vexe, disent les Imposteurs, quels vexations a-t-il commis? Nous les ignorons; s'il plaît à votre Majeste d'ordonner de nous communiquer les Chefs d'accusations, nous y repondrons en qualité de Fidels sujets, n'avons nous pas même le droit de l'exiger pour éviter dans la suite un pareil scandal; il est de notre honneur de soutenir la vérité et de demasquer l'Imposture qui gagneroit l'Etat à ne pas satisfaire les nouveaux sujets dans une cause si juste? Nous n'aimons pas le changement—nous étions fait au Gouvernement de Mons. Murray, nous connoissons son caractère, nous étions pleinement satisfaites de sa probite et ses sentimens d'humanité il étoit propre à faire goûter à vos sujets le joug de votre gracieuse Domination par son attention à le rendre leger; peu d'hommes reunissent autant de Talens; Personne n'est doué d'un meilleur cœur; nous n'avons jamais pensé parlé ni écrit differemment; pourquoi contraindre vingt cinq ou trente mille familles, qui composent cette Province à faire une nouvelle étude?

Nous voulons bien être persuadé des bonnes intentions de l'Etat à notre égard, et que Mons. Carleton, qui est choisi pour remplacer Mons. Murray, est doué d'Excellentes qualites, qu'il suivra l'Exemple de son Predecesseur, et aura pour nous les mêmes égards, mais nous le Connoissons pas, nous connoissons au contraire parfaitement que nous perdons. Nous respectons Mons. Carleton sans le connoitre et nous lui obeirons, puisqu'il est choisi par votre Majesté, mais s'il nous protege, s'il nous rende justice et s'il nous conserve dans nos droits, bientôt nos Envieux cabaleront contre lui, et se plaindront encore, et pour satisfaire la caprice d'une poignée des gens qui trouvent à Londres des Personnes, qui les appuyent sans connoitre le sujet de leur mécontentement, ce que par ce qu'ils leurs en disent, il faudra toutes les années un nouveau Gouverneur, et nous pauvres Canadiens serons sacrifié sans pouvoir représenter. Quel le Idée pouvions nous avoir des Loix de votre Royaume? Nous les croyons sages, nous les recevons, mais que seroit ce si la liberté Britannique n'étoit accordé qu'aux anciens sujets? Ils plaindroient sans Raison pour contenter leur Inconstance et leur caprice, ils imploireroient les calomnies que l'Enfer seul peut inventer, et ils seroient favorablement écouté; ne sera-t-il per mis à votre nouveaux sujets de parler, et condamnera-t-il sans entendre un Gouverneur qui faisoit leur Bonheur à leur satisfaction. Notre Langage n'est pas celui d'un peuple que gemit sous l'oppression; nous

osons dire à votre Majesté qu'un homme qui seroit par vos ordres chargé de s'instruire ici de la vérité trouveroit dans toutes les villes et les Paroisses de cette Province tout le contraire de ce que la malice de nos Ennemies, et de ceux de Mons. Murray a inventé pour le noircir et nous contrister.

Nous nous adressons à votre Majesté comme Père d'un nouveau peuple, et comme Protecteur des Droits quelle a bien voulu nous accorder, nous lui faisons part de nos peines et des Regrets que nous ne pouvons refuser à Mons. Murray.

Nous ne supplions si elle veut bien jeter les yeux sur nous, de le conserver Gouverneur en chef de cette Province, que sa Valeur lui a conserve, et dont sa générosité et sa Douceur lui ont attaché les peuples et de nous le renvoyer.

Nous osons esperer cette grace de votre Majeste qu'elle voudra bien faire attention à nos representations, les proteger et nous en faire parvenir une reponse favorable en faisant triompher la vérité; nous le cesserons d'offrir des vœux au ciel pour la santé de votre Majesté et de la famille Royale.

LaNaudiere

J. Duchesnay

F. J. Cugnet

Rigouville

De Vincelotte

Ja. Couillard

Louis Dupuis

Luc la Couat (?)

Michel Blois

Couillard

Couillard

J. Roy

L. Decharnay

Gaspe

Lachevrotiere

J. Couillard

Aubert

Augustin Chavigni

A. Hamelin

Gastineau

D. M. Deplaing.

(Translation)

THE SEIGNIORS OF QUEBEC TO THE KING.

(Archives, Series Q. Vol. 4, P. 23)

TO THE KING.

The Seigniors in the District of Quebec, as well in their own names as in those of all the inhabitants, their tenants, penetrated with grief at the departure of His Excellency, the Hon. James Murray, whom they have since the conquest of this Province loved and respected even more on account of his personal qualities, than as their Governor, believe they would be unworthy to live, if they did not strive to make known to Your Majesty, their Sovereign and to the whole of England, the obligations they owe him, which they will never forget, and the sincere regret they feel at his departure.

His enemies cannot now charge us with being flatterers; he has gone, the upright Governor, and everthing assures us that he has gone without leaving us any hope that we shall see him again. The Cabal formed by a certain number of the old subjects has triumphed, at least it flatters itself it has and is rejoicing at it; its false complaints have been listened to; shall ours be refused a hearing? Shall a very small number outweigh the greater?

The Honourable James Murray in 1759, surrounded by Canadians, whom he must have regarded as his enemies, has had only indulgence for them; from that time he gained our hearts; his generosity and that of his officers, animated by his example, who by the charity they distributed, drew the population from the misery into which the misfortunes of war had plunged it. forced us to admire and respect him.

After the complete conquest of this Province, he, by his affability, compelled us to love him; he established in his Government a Military Council, composed of upright officers, who without prejudice and without emolument have decided, or rather have reconciled litigants; there has been no instance of an appeal from their decisions! How many families has he not helped and supported? We enjoyed till the date of Civil Government a tranquillity which almost made us forget our mother country. Subject to his wise decisions and ordinances we were happy; the old subjects did not think of

complaining; we shall long regret the mildness of that Government. Our hopes have been destroyed by the establishment of the Civil Government that had been so highly extolled; we saw rise with it Cabal, trouble and confusion, and we were astonished to see in infamous libels, whose authors went unpunished, the basest and most flagrant calumny. We, accustomed to respect our superiors and to obey the orders issued by our Sovereign, to which we were led by our education as much as our religion, respected the new civil officers, we were bound by their decisions, we executed their orders. The high salaries of these officers indeed astonished but without shocking us; struck with the irregularity on several occasions we lamented without complaining, we would still keep silence, had we not been struck by the most grievous stroke we have just felt. Our protector, our father is taken from us, like a father he listened to our complaints; like a protector he remedied or at least alleviated them promptly, and he comforted us by his kindness; without him what will become of us? The old subjects, at least the greater number of them since the date of civil government have only sought to oppress us, to render us their slaves and perhaps to seize our property. The emigration of a number of our best fellow citizens, which we regret, has been the fatal consequence of their evil proceedings, and the alarming rumours they continue to spread remain to us as authentic monuments of them.

The protection with which Mr. Murray has honoured us has retained several of us who had determined to leave the Province. The politeness and deference of this Governor for persons of good birth, the assistance he has not ceased to obtain for them, have drawn on him the hatred of the greatest part of the old subjects.

A Cabal of people who have come in the train of the army, as well as clerks and agents for the London merchants deserve no preference, not only from their conduct but from their want of education, and, contemptible in themselves, piqued by the justice rendered to them in this respect, they have gained over a few of our fellow countrymen, several of whom had the most perfect similarity to them, others acting without reflection have supported them and signed the blackest calumnies in the language which they did not understand; there were even some among the latter who acknowledged that they had been taken unawares, and men of honour have not ceased to disclaim such detestable proceedings. But who are mostly those among the new subjects who have augmented the cabal which takes advantages of their signatures. People without birth, without education, without scruple, disbanded soldiers from the French Army, barbers, servants, even children; several of them to become shopkeepers have made themselves the slaves of their creditors, even Jews, who, accustomed to respect the citizens in those parts of the world where they are tolerated, have not hesitated in this Province to exalt themselves above the King's new subjects, to whom this kind of men was previously unknown and who, as well as their adherents, have ruined and reduced to the last state of wretchedness those who made common cause with them; a fit reward for their arrogance and weakness.

We did not know the subject of the complaints the Cabal made use of against Mr. Murray. Those of the new subjects who had the folly to subscribe them could not inform us, and how could they do so? They signed without knowing what they were doing; they had no motive for doing so; they were slaves to their creditors. It would be easy for us to discuss the items of these complaints, and to show their falsehood. He has annoyed us, say these deceivers! What vexations has he committed? We are ignorant of them. If it please Your Majesty to give orders to have the heads of the accusations communicated to us, we will answer them as faithful subjects. Have we not even the right to demand them in order to avoid such a scandal? It belongs to our honour to maintain truth and to unmask imposture. What would the State gain by not satisfying the new subjects in so just a cause? We do not like change; we were suited in the government of Mr. Murray; we knew his character, we were fully satisfied with his probity and his feelings of humanity; he was fitted to bring your new subjects to a regard for the yoke of your kindly domination by his care to make it light. Few men have united so many talents; no one is endowed with a better heart; we have never thought, spoken, or written differently. Why compel twenty-five or thirty thousand families, who compose this Province, to enter on a new study?

We wish to be fully persuaded of the good intentions to the State respecting us, and that Mr. Carleton, who is selected to take the place of Mr. Murray, is endowed with excellent qualities, that he will follow the example of his predecessor and will have the same regard for us; but we do not know him, whilst on the contrary we are perfectly acquainted with him whom we are losing. We respect Mr. Carleton without knowing him, and we will obey him since he is chosen by Your Majesty; but if he protects us, if he renders us justice and maintains us in our rights, soon those who are jealous of us will cabal against him and complain again, and to satisfy the caprice

of a handful of people who find persons in London to support them, knowing nothing respecting the subject of their discontent, except what they are told, it will be necessary to appoint a new Governor every year, and we poor Canadians will be sacrificed without being able to represent our case, what idea could we have of the laws of our government? We believe them to be wise; we receive them, but what would this serve; if British liberty were granted only to the old subjects? They would complain without reason to satisfy their fickleness and caprice, and would employ calumnies which Hell alone can invent, and they would be favourably listened to. Would it not be allowed to your new subjects to speak and would a Governor be condemned without a hearing, who was making them happy to their satisfaction? Our language is not that of a people groaning under oppression, we dare to tell Your Majesty that a man entrusted by your orders to ascertain here the truth, will find in all the towns and parishes the reverse of what the malice of our enemies and of those of Mr. Murray has invented to blacken him and to grieve us.

We address ourselves to Your Majesty as the father of a new people, and as the protector of the rights you have desired to grant us; we make you a sharer of the pains and regrets we cannot refuse to feel for Mr. Murray.

We supplicate you, if you will cast your looks on us, to accede to our wishes, to retain Mr. Murray as head of this Province, which his valour preserved, and who by his generosity and mildness has attached the people to him, and to send him back to us.

We venture to hope for this favour from Your Majesty that you would pay regard to our representations, that you would protect them and us, by sending a favourable reply, rendering truth triumphant. We shall not cease to offer prayers to Heaven for the health of Your Majesty and of the Royal Family.

La Naudiere
J. Duchesnay
F. L. Cugnet
Rigauville
D. Vincelotte
Ja. Couillard
Louis Dupuis
Luc St. Couat
Michel Blois
Couillard
Couillard
J. Roy
Decharnay
Gaspé
Lachevrotiere
J. Couillard

Aubert
Augustin Chavigni
A. Hamelin
Gastinéau
D. M. Deplaing.

(73)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, p. 295.

Copy of a Letter from Major General Carleton to His Excellency General Gage at Quebec 15th Feby 1767.

Sir

The Forts of Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and Fort George are in a very declining condition of which, I believe, Your Excellency is well informed, should you approve of keeping up these Posts, it will be best to repair them as soon as possible. As you have been pleased to desire my opinion of this measure, I must freely say, that the more I consider the state of affairs on this Continent, more and stronger Reasons present themselves, and I am the more convinced, it is not only expedient, but indispensably necessary for the Interest of Great Britain, and His Majesty's Service, not only to keep these in good Repair, but to erect a proper Place of arms near the Town of New York, and a Citadel in or near the Town of Quebec. These with temporary works thrown up occasionally at the other Places of Landing and Embarking, will secure the Communication with the Mother Country, and will link these two Provinces so strongly together, as will add great security to both, they will facilitate the Transport of ten or fifteen thousand men in the Beginning of a war, from the one to the other, as the circumstances require.

The natural and political Situation of the Provinces of Quebec and New York is such, as must for ever give them great Influence and weight in the American System, therefore no Pains, Address, nor Expence too great to root out Faction or Party, to establish Tranquility, and a firm attachment to His Majesty's Government, at the same time it is equally essential to establish that security and strength as can properly curb and overawe, should such ever arise, who by the Ties of loyal Subjects and honest Men, are not thoroughly bound to their Duty.

This communication so established, will give security to the King's Magazines, till then precarious, and doubtful who may avail themselves of them; will separate the Northern from the Southern Colonies, will afford an easy and advantagious opportunity of transporting His Forces into any part of this continent, and may prevent the greatest of all Inconveniencies, Delay and Loss of Time in the Beginning of a War.

The Walls of this Place have not been repaired since the Siege, which left many Holes in the Masonry, that will precipitate their Ruin if not soon repaired; I have not one Engineer in the Province to form an Estimate of the Repairs, or make any Alteration that may be immediately necessary.

(A true copy)

H. T. Cramahé.

Endorsed: Copy of a Letter from General Carleton to His Excellency General Gage dated at Quebec 25th Feby 1767. In Lieut. Governor Cramahé's Letter of the 9th Novr.

(74)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 4, p. 122.

Quebec, 27th March, 1767.

Sir,—

.....
Your complaints of the Canadians, by which name I distinguish the Subjects of the King our Master, acquired by the Conquest of this Province, are so general that I can only make my Enquiries and speak to them in as general a manner; When I talk here of that Perfidy, false Stories, or views of exciting an Indian War, you complain of, they appeal to Colonel Gladwin, and all the rest of our officers, who were Spectators of the last, and are confident these will give Testimony of very different Dispositions in them at that Time, when such views might have been more excusable than at present, and that even then some of them were utterly ruined by the Indians for their attachment to us; they very plainly shew me, that such a War must be very destructive to them, and in case of such a Misfortune, that they did then, and would again cheerfully take up arms, to reduce them to Peace by Force. Ever since my arrival, I have observed the Canadians with an attention bordering upon suspicion, but hitherto have not discovered in them either actions or Sentiments, which do not belong to good subjects.....

General Gage acquaints me you complain to him of seven Persons who are among the Indians without Passports, namely: Capucin, Lorain, La Motte, Pot De Vin, Bartholomé, Bergeron, and Richarville; the last six are Canadians, and have been settled among the Miamis and Ouias from fifteen to twenty years, except Pot de Vin, who has been settled as long at Detroit, but I can give you no certain account of Capucin, who is also among the Miamis, it is supposed that is not his real name, but a fictitious one, to conceal that of his Family.

.....
Endorsed:—; Copy of Lieut. Govr. Carleton's answer to Sir Willm Johnson Bt. Super'int. &c 27th March, 1767. In Lieut. Govr. Carleton's (No. 4) of the 28th March, 1767."

(75)

THE FRENCH NOBLESSE IN CANADA AFTER 1760.

Sir Guy Carleton to Lord Shelburne.

(Archives, Series Q. Vol. 4, p. 273.)

Quebec, 24th Sept. 1767.

My Lord—The annexed Memorial of Monsieur De Lery is too long, and too much detailed to require any explanation from me; as it exhibits a sketch of the French Ministers sentiments concerning the Canadians, I send it to your Lordship unaltered. Mr. Neville and the Duke of Bedford can best inform you what these Services were, on which he grounds his Petition, and claims their promise of two hundred pounds a year Pension; but whether they were of more or less advantage to His Majesty's Service, it appears very clearly they have occasioned his being strongly marked by the French Ministers, and that the first Canadian Gentleman, who attached himself to the King's Interests, as soon as he became his Subject, should be obliged to quit his native country, together with his Distress, must afford them matter of Triumph.

I must in justice to this Gentleman say, that I have great Reason to be satisfied with his conduct since my arrival in the Province, that I think him qualified to be useful in Different Capacities, and am convinced, whatever Prince he engages to serve, He will go through his Duty with that zeal and Fidelity, which always distinguishes a Man of Honour. Besides should His Excellency be graciously pleased to grant his Petition it will serve as a Proof to the Gentlemen of Canada, that they are not forever to be excluded from the Service of their present Sovereign; this opinion I have endeavoured to remove, as I am thoroughly convinced it is for the British Interests upon this Continent, they should be employed; From a Despair of this Sort, I imagine it must have proceeded, that several young Gentlemen, whose Parents remain in this Country, and whose Fortunes they must inherit, have entered into the French Service, as your Lordship may see, by the inclosed Return, the three first are Heirs of three of the best and richest Families in the Province.

Should His Majesty think proper to raise a Canadian Regiment, no doubt but these Gentlemen would prepare to serve, where Both Duty and Interest require them; 'till that scheme shall be adopted, the placing a few of the young Gentlemen in the American Battalions would make them turn their eyes from France, which undoubtedly will endeavour to preserve an Interest here for future events.

I am with much Respect, and Esteem,
Your Lordship's Most Obedient
Humble Servant,
Guy Carleton.

The Earl of Shelburne, one of
His Majesty's Principal Secretaries
of State.

(76)

SIR GUY CARLETON TO LORD SHELBURNE.

(Archives, Series Q. Vol. 5-1, p. 260)

Quebec, 25th Nov. 1767.

My Lord:—

As your Lordship informs me, that the Improvement of the Civil Constitution of Quebec is under the most serious and deliberate consideration of His Majesty's servants, and that any Light, which can be procured on that subject, will be material, I shall endeavour to represent the true situation of the Province, and add such observations, as have occurred to me, with that candor, which, I think, the King's service may require, in compliance with what your Lordship seems to desire, and least His Majesty's servants, employed in a work of so great Importance, tho' of profound knowledge and Judgment for want of having truly represented, to them, objects at so great a Distance, and in themselves so different from what is to be found in any other of His Dominions, I say, least without a true Representation of Things The King's service should not profit, as much as possible, of the great abilities of His Servants.

I take for granted, that the natural Rights of men, the British interests on this continent, and the securing the King's Dominion over this Province must ever be the principal points in view, in forming its Civil Constitution, and Body of Laws, and that the last, is the foundation of all without which, other schemes can be little better than meer castles in the Air; it will naturally follow, I should first shew, How far this foundation is, or is not firmly laid.

The Town of Quebec is the only Post, in this Province, that has the least claim to be called a fortified place, for the flimsy wall about Montreal, was it not falling to ruins, could only turn Musketry, it will be sufficiently accurate for the present Purpose, if this Town be considered as a good camp for ten or twelve Battalions whose Front is fortified by a Bastioned Rampart, faced with Masonry, built for the most part upon a Rock; without Ditch or outwork; its Profile slight for a Fortress, is substantial for an Encampment, its Parapet in very bad Order. The Flanks and Rear of this Encampment, in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, were closed partly by a thin wall, the rest by great stakes now carried away, or rotten, these ran along the Heights and Precipices at a little Distance from the River St. Lawrence, the Bason, and River St. Charles, so as to leave a Passage between this Line and these waters. With a number of Troops sufficient for this Post those Flanks and rear might in a little time be secured and guarded so, as to reduce an enemy to form his attack in Front, but in proportion as the Numbers fall short, the Danger increases of being surrounded and stormed with little ceremony, especially when this Line is open in many places, as at present.

The King's Forces in this Province, supposing them compleat to the allowance and all in perfect health, rank and file, would amount to sixteen hundred and twenty-seven men, the King's old subjects in this Province, supposing them all willing, might furnish about five hundred men, able to carry arms exclusive of his Troops, that is supposing all the Kings's Troops and old Subjects collected in Quebec; with two months hard labour, they might put the works in a tolerable State of Repair, and would amount to about one-third of the forces necessary for its defence.

The new Subjects could send into the Field about eighteen thousand men, well able to carry arms; of which number, above one-half have already served with as much valor, with more zeal, and more military knowledge for America than the Regular Troops of France, that were joined with them.

As the Common People are greatly to be influenced by their Seigniors, I annex a Return of the Noblesse of Canada, showing with tolerable exactness, their age, Rank, and present Place of abode, together with such Natives of France, as served in the Colony Troops so early in Life, as to give them a knowledge of the Country, an Acquaintance and Influence over the People, equal to Natives of the same Rank; from whence it appears that there are in France, and in the French Service, about one hundred officers, all ready to be sent back, in case of a war, to a Country they are intimately acquainted with and with the assistance of some Troops, to stir up a People accustomed to pay them implicit obedience. It further shows, there remain in Canada, not many more than seventy of those, who ever had been in the French Service, not one of them in the King's Service nor one who, from any motive whatever, is induced to support His Government and Dominion, Gentlemen, who have lost their employments, at least by becoming His Subjects, and as they are not Bound by any Offices of trust or Profit, we should only deceive ourselves by supposing, they would be active in the Defence of a People, that has deprived them of their Honors, Privileges, Profits and Laws, and in their stead, have introduced much Expense, Chicanery and confusion with a Deluge of new Laws unknown and unpublished. Therefore all circumstances considered, while Matters continue in their present State, the most we may hope for from the Gentlemen who remain in the Province, is a Deference for the King's Commission in whatever Hand it may be lodged; this they almost to a Man have persevered in, since my arrival, notwithstanding much pains have been taken to engage them in Parties, by a few, whose Duty, and whose office should have taught them better. This Disposition the French Minister seems to have forseen as appears by orders calculated to draw them from Canada into France, well knowing that such as remained, were bound by Duty and Honour to do nothing against their Allegiance to the King, under whose Government they live, whereas those, who go to France are to all Intent and Purposes officers in the French Service and liable to be sent on any Service.

For these reasons, I imagine an Edict was published in 1762, Declaring, that notwithstanding the low state of the King's Finances, the Salary of the Captains

of the Colony Troops of Canada should be raised from four Hundred and fifty Livres, the Establishment at which their pay was fixed at first, to six hundred Livres a year, to be paid quarterly, upon the Footing of Officers in Full Pay, by the treasurer of the Colonies, at the Quarters assigned them by His Majesty in Touraine, and that such of them, as did not repair thither, should be struck off, the King's intentions being, that the said officers should remain in that Province until further Orders and not depart from thence without a written Leave from the Secretary of State for the Marine Department.

A few of these Officers have been sent to the other Colonies, but the greater part still remain in Touraine, and the arrears due to those, who have remained any Time in this Country, are punctually discharged, upon their Emigration from hence, and Obedience to the above mentioned Injunction.

By the Secretary of State's Letter, a certain Quantity of wine, Duty free, is admitted to enter the Towns, where these Canadian Officers Quarter, for their use, according to their several Ranks.

Having arranged the strength of His Majesty's old and new subjects, and shewn the great superiority of the Latter, it may not be amiss to observe, that there is not the least probability, this present superiority should ever diminish, on the contrary 'tis more than probable it will increase and strengthen daily; The Europeans who migrate never will prefer the long inhospitable winters of Canada, to the more cheerful climates, and more fruitful soil of His Majesty's Southern Provinces: The few old subjects, at present in this Province, have been mostly left here by Accident, and are either disbanded officers, soldiers, or followers of the army, who, not knowing how to dispose of themselves elsewhere, settled where they were left at the Reduction; or else they are Adventurers in Trade, or such as could not remain at Home, who set out to mend their Fortune, at the opening of this new Channel for commerce, but experience has taught almost all of them that this Trade requires a strict Frugality they are all strangers to, or to which they will not submit, so that some, from more advantageous Views elsewhere, others from necessity, have already left this Province, and I greatly fear many more, for the same Reasons, will follow their Example, in a few years, But while this severe climate, and the Poverty of the Country discourages all but the natives, its Healthfulness is such, that these multiply daily, so that, barring a catastrophe shocking to think of, this Country must to the end of Time, be peopled by the Canadian Race, who already have taken such firm Root, and got to so great a Height, that any new Stock transplanted will be totally hid, and imperceptible amongst them, except in the Towns of Quebec and Montreal.

'Twas partly from these Considerations, as well as those mentioned in my Letter of the 15th February last to the Commander in Chief, a copy of which I inclosed to your Lordship, that I recommended the building of a citadel within the Town of Quebec, that the Troops might have a Post capable of being defended by their numbers, till succour could be sent them from Home, or from the neighbouring Colonies, for should a French war surprise the Province in its present condition, the Canadian officers sent from France with Troops, might assemble such a Body of People, as would render the King's Dominion over the Province very precarious, while it depends on a few Troops, in an extensive Post, open in many places. A proper citadel once erected, the situation of things will be greatly changed, the King's Enemies who would attempt to disturb this Province must hazard a large stake, and the chances against them will be very considerably augmented; Greater Preparations must be made, which must give an alarm at Home, a greater number of troops must be sent, with a train of Artillery for a Siege, and a large Quantity of Ammunition, and Provisions, with a Fleet of Transports and Ships of War to protect and assist in the different Operations, whose success may be uncertain, but which at all events, must give Time for a Superior Squadron to follow, and catch them in the river, as well as to the Troops and Militia from the neighbouring Provinces to pour into this; a work of this nature is not only necessary, as Matters now stand, but supposing the Canadians could be interested to take a Part in the Defence of the King's Government, a change not impossible to bring about, yet Time must bring forth events that will render it essentially necessary for the British Interests on this Continent, to secure this Port of communication with the Mother Country; as might easily be proved, were they not too remote, for the present Purpose.

Inclosed is the Plan for such a Citadel as I think would answer all the present and future Purposes of Great Britain, tho' if I am not mistaken, Captain Gordon the Engineer has already transmitted Home one more detailed, with a calculation of the expence necessary for its construction.

I am with much respect and esteem,
Your Lordship's
Most obedient
Humble Servant,
Guy Carleton.

The Earl of Shelburne one of His
Majesty's principal Secretaries.

(77)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 5, pt 1, page 370.

(No. 26)

Quebec 20th Janry 1768.

My Lord:

In my Letter (No. 20) I have given the Military state of this Province, with a scheme for strengthening it by a Citadel; I shall now add, that, was this already constructed, and I could suppose it impossible for any foreign Enemy to shake the King's Dominion over the Province, still I shall think the Interests of Great Britain but half advanced, unless the Canadians are inspired with a cordial Attachment, and zeal for the King's Government; How far they are removed from that desirable Disposition, may easily be discovered, if brought to the Test, and examined by the general Cause of the Attachments of Men Self-Interest; if it shall not be found more their Interest to remain as at present, than to return under the Dominion of their former Sovereign, they certainly have not all those Motives, which induce Men to Honor to disregard the general Rule; there remain, 'tis true, an Oath of Allegiance, which may keep some Quiet in Case of a French Expedition, and the Punishments due to Traitors, which will be regarded, as long as Government has Force sufficient to inflict them; it therefore seems to me highly expedient, that, at least, those Causes of Complaint, which affect the Bulk of the People, and come home almost to every Man, should be removed; That they should be maintained in the quiet Possession of their Property, according to their own customs, which Time immemorial, has been regarded by them and their Ancestors, as Law and Equity; and that the Approach to Justice and Government, for the Redress of Wrongs, be practicable and convenient, in Place of being ruinous by Delay, and an Expence disproportioned to their Poverty; but this is neither in the Power of Justice or Government here to grant him, while the Supreme Court is obliged to Judge according to the Laws of England, and the different Offices can claim, as their Right, Fees calculated for much wealthier Provinces.

But, Beside these Points of Justice, as long as the Canadians are deprived of all Places of Trust and Profit, they never can forget, they no longer are under the Dominion of their natural Sovereign; tho' this immediately concerns but few, yet it affects the Minds of all, from a national spirit, whichever interests itself at the general Exclusion of their Countrymen; three or four of their principal Gentlemen, with the Rank of Counsellors, was it little more than Honorary, tho' on many Occasions they might prove useful; a few Companies of Canadian Foot judiciously officered, with three or four trifling Employments, in the Civil Department, would make very considerable Alterations on the Minds of the People; It would divide the Canadians at least, and secure a Part, in Case of a French war, that would emulate the zeal of the King's National Troops; It would hold up Hopes to the Gentlemen, that their Children, without being bred up in France, or the French Service, might support their Families in the Service of the King their Master, and by their Employments preserve them from sinking into the lower class of People, by the division and subdivision of Lands every Generation.

I have found in Canada, what I believe may be found everywhere, the People fond of the Laws and Form of Government they have been educated under, tho' scarcely a Man that Knows one sound Principle of Government, or Law; Three or four of the old Subjects, about a year ago, brought me the rough Draft of a Petition for a general Assembly, and hoped, I had no Objection to their having it signed by all the British, who wished to have one called; I told them, I had many Objections to great numbers signing a Request of any Kind, that it seldom conveyed the sincere Desire of the

Subscribers, that it had an appearance of an Intention to take away the Freedom of granting or refusing the Request; I had no Objection to Assemblies in General, yet such was the peculiar Situation of Canada, tho' I had turned that Matter often in my Thoughts, I could hit off no Plan that was not liable to many Inconveniencies, and some danger; That perhaps they might be more fortunate, and I should think myself obliged to them, if they should shew me one, that could be of advantage to the Province, and the King's Service, assuring them, such a Plan wanted no Petitions to recommend it to me; about a Month after, they asked me, if I had considered of their Request, and I repeated my former answer; since which I have often urged them, of my own accord, to let me have their scheme for an Assembly, and to inform me, who they thought should be the Electors, and who the Representatives, but to no Purpose; so that I imagined, they had laid aside all Thoughts of the Kind, till lately one John McCord, who wants neither sense nor Honesty, and formerly kept a small Ale House in the poor Suburbs of a little Country Town in the North of Ireland, appearing zealous for the Presbiterian Faith, and having made a little Money, had gained some Credit among People of his sort; this Person purchased some spots of Ground, and procured Grants of more, close to the Barracks, where he run up sheds, and placed poor People to sell his spirits to the Soldiers, finding that this lucrative Trade has lately been checked, by inclosing the Barracks to prevent the Soldiers getting drunk all Hours of the Day and Night, He has commenced Patriot, and with the assistance of the late Attorney General, and three or four more, egged on by Letters from Home, are at work again for an Assembly, and purpose having it signed by all they can influence: On the other Hand the better sort of Canadians fear nothing more than popular Assemblies, which, they conceive, tend only to render the People refractory and insolent; Enquiring what they thought of them, they said, they understood some of our Colonies had fallen under the King's Displeasure, owing to the Misconduct of their Assemblies, and that they should think themselves unhappy, if a like Misfortune befell them. It may not be improper here to observe, that the British Form of Government, transplanted into this Continent, never will produce the same Fruits as at Home, chiefly, because it is impossible for the Dignity of the Throne, or Peerage to be represented in the American Forests; Besides, the Governor having little or nothing to give away, can have but little Influence; in Place of that, as it is his Duty to retain all in proper Subordination, and to restrain those Officers, who live by Fees, from running them up to Extortion; these Gentlemen, put into Offices, that require Integrity, Knowledge and Abilities, because they bid the highest Rent to the Patentee, finding themselves checked in their Views of Profit, are disposed to look on the Person, who disappoints them, as their Enemy, and without going so far as to forfeit their Employments, they in general will be shy of granting that assistance, the King's Service may require, unless they are all equally disinterested or equally corrupt. It therefore follows, where the executive Power is lodged with a Person of no Influence, but coldly assisted by the rest in Office, and where the two first Branches of the Legislature have neither influence, nor Dignity, except it be from the extraordinary characters of the Men, That a popular Assembly, which preserves it's full Vigor, and in a Country where all Men appear nearly upon a Level, must give a strong Bias to Republican Principles; Whether the independent spirit of a Democracy is well adapted to a subordinate Government of the British Monarchy, or their uncontrollable notions ought to be encouraged in a Province, so lately Conquered, and Circumstanced as this is, I with great Humility submit to the Superior Wisdom of His Majesty's Councils: for my own part, I shall think myself Fortunate, if I have succeeded in rendering clear Objects, not always distinctly discernable at so great a Distance.

I am with much Respect and Esteem
Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant
Guy Carleton.

The Earl of Shelburne
One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec 20th Jaary 1768.

Govr. Carleton.

(No. 26)

R 15th April

A 14.

A general state of the Canadian Noblesse, actually resident in the Province of Quebec, or in the French Service, and where resident in November 1767.

(Archives, Series Q. Vol. 5. 1, P. 269.)

Canadian Noblesse resident in the Dist. of Montreal.	Rank.	Age.	Residence.	No. of Children
*Pecaudy de Contrecoeur	Capt.	61	Montreal	2
*De St. Ours	Capt.	57	"	3
*De Belestre	Capt.	50	"	5
*De Montesson	Capt.	52	Trois Rivieres	M
*Rouville the Elder	Capt.	58	Chambly	
De Lotbiniere	Capt.	44	Vaudreuil	2
*De Lorimier	Capt.	61	La Chine	4
*St. Luc	Capt.	53	Montreal	3
Douville	Capt. Rd.	65	"	1
Des Musseau	Capt. Rd.	60	Sault St. Louis	
Niverville	Lieut.	47	Trois Rivieres	3
D'Argenteuil	Lieut. Rd.	58	Montreal	
Celoron	Lieut.	36	"	
Joncaire Chabert	Lieut.	48	Detroit	4
Beaubassin	Lieut.	50	Montreal	M
St. Blain	Lieut.	47	"	
Richarville	Lieut.	47	Sorell	2
Normanville	Lieut.	40	Trois Rivieres	1
Montisambert	Lieut.	40	Chambli	2
Bleury	Lieut.	40	"	2
La Valterie	Lieut.	25	Terrebonne	1
La Plante	Lieut. Rd.	55	La Prairie	1
Du May	Lieut.	35	Boucherville	1
Lotbiniere Son	Ens.	19	Vaudreuil	
Catalogne	Ens.	33	Montreal	1
La Veranderie	Ens.	40	"	
Clignancourt	Ens.	30	"	1
La Bruere	Ens.	28	Boucherville	M
La Ronde	Ens.	46	Montreal	3
Lorimier Son	Ens.	34	"	1
Cuissy	Ens.	35	"	1
Raimbault Cuistre	Ens.	50	"	1
Hertel	Ens.	34	"	M
Verneuill	Ens.	30	La Chine	
Linctot the elder	Ens.	35	Vercheres	M
Linctot the Younger	Ens.	30	"	
La Morandiere		30	Varennes	1
La Periere	Ens.	30	Boucherville	
(Normanville)	Ens.	30	"	
Wutelas	Ens.	30	"	M
Le Langlaiserie		65	Isd. St. Therese	
Grosbois Son	Cadet	28	Boucherville	
Cournoyer	Cadet	45	Trois Rivieres	
Dumont	Cadet	45	"	1
Bailly	Cadet	50	Varennes	9
Louviere	Cadet	50		
Des Musseau	Cadet	25	Montreal	
La Magdeleine	Cadet	25	Longue Pointe	
Perigny	Cadet	20	Montreal	
Benoit	Cadet	25	"	
Dejordy de Villebon	Cadet	40	Isd. St. Therese	M
Derigée	Cadet	35	La Prairie	M
Filis	Cadet	30	Trois Rivieres	M
Niverville the Elder	Cadet	48	Chambli	9
La Corne	Cadet	18	Terrebonne	
Du Sable	Cadet	30	La Naurai	M
De Richarville	N	65	Sorel	
De Richarville de la Colonne	N	60	Isle aux Castors	

Canadian Noblesse resident in the Dist. of Montreal.	Rank.	Age.	Residence.	No. of Children.
De Tonnancourt was a Judge (--nerie) (name illegible)	N	55	Trois Rivieres	10
Comd a Mercht. Vess.)	N	36	Montreal	1
De Cuissy	N	71	Montreal	2
Bleury	N	60	"	3
Deschambault was Agt. of the Ind. Coy.	N	57	"	6
La Bruere	N	53	Boucherville	7
Boucher	N	55	"	
Monbrun	N	50	"	
Grosbois	N	60	"	
Woutelasse	N	60	"	
Rouville was a judge	N	48	Boucherville	3
Cresse Father	N	60	Trois Rivieres	
Cresse Son	N	35	"	1
Gatinaux	N	48	St. Anne	M
Varenes three Brothers and one Sister, the eldest not above 12.			Varenes Machiche	
Licards 5 or 6			Rivr. de Loup	
Lamirande 5 or 6			St. Francois	1
St. Francois	N	40	St. Francois	
Martelle		7	La Chenaye	
De Falaise		7	Maskinonge	
De La Mothe	N	60	Detroit	
De Langlade	N	35	Michillimackinac	
De Perigny	N	50	"	
De Quandres three of them the eldest 18 the youngest 10 years of age.			Detroit	

* Have the Royal and Mily. Order of St. Louis.

Canadian Noblesse resident in the Dist. of Quebec.	Rank.	Age.	Residence.	No. of Children.
*De La Naudiere	Capt.	58	Quebec	3
*De Lery	Capt.	45	"	4
De Gaspey named in 1760 for the order not invd.	Capt.	50	St. Jean de	5
	Capt. Rd.	65	L'Islette	
De Chenay Father	Lieut.	27	Beauport	2
De Chenay Son	Lieut.	49	"	M
De Rigauville	Lieut.	40	"	1
De Fleurimond	Ens.	35	La Chevrottiere	
La Chevrottiere	Lieut.	50	Champlain	
Langis	Ens.	45	"	
Langis	Cadet	38	"	
De Champlain	Cadet	27		
La Durantais	Cadet	25	Quebec	
Tachereau the Elder	Cadet	24	"	
Tachereau the Younger	Cadet	15	"	
Sallabery	Cadet	36	Kamouraska	M
La Cardaniere	Cadet	55	Quebec	
Gouillon Father native of France	Cadet of Arty.	24	"	
Gouillon Son	Capt. of Resve.	65	"	
De Plaine	Lieut. of Resve.	64	"	
Boucherville	N	61	Deschambault	2
La Gorgendiere	N	36	Beaumont	6
De Beaumont	N	36	Beaumont	
Couillard	N	40	Point a La Caille	2
Vincelot	N	55	Cape. St. Ignace	

Canadian Noblesse resident in the Dist. of Quebec.	Rank.	Age.	Residence.	No. of Children.
Damour 2 or 3				
La Durantais 2 or 3				
Couillard Duprey	N	25		M
Guillemin was Judge of the Admy	N	51	Quebec	2
Cugnet was clerk in the Domaine office	N	48	"	4

* Have the Royal and Mily. Order of St. Louis.

Canadian Officers in France.	Rank.	Age.	Residence.	No. of Children.
*The Marquess de Vaudreuil	Gov. Genl.		Paris	
*Rigaud de Vaudreuil	Gov. Montl.		"	M
Chevr. de Longueuil	Gov. T. Rvs.		"	
*De Ramsay	Lieut. de Roy		"	
*Le Verrier	Major		"	
*De Sabrevois	Major		"	
*De Sennonville	Aide Major		Tours	
*Pean	Aide Major		Paris	
*De Gannes	Aide Major		Loches	
*Charly	Aide Major		Goree	
*Des Meloises	Aide Major		Paris	
Longueil (Name lost from original M.S.)	Aide Major			
*Repentigny	Captain	47	Paris	
*Courtemanche went over to France this year	Captain	55		
*La Colombiere	Captain	39	Loches	
*Boishebert	Captain	47	Rouen	2
*Montigny	Captain	50	Blois	2
Falaises	Captain	45	Tours	2
*Chevr. Repentigny	Captain	46	Paris	1
*Marin	Captain	55	"	2
*La Chauvignerie	Captain	45	Loches	1
*Celoron	Captain	37	Tours	
*Chaussegros de Lery	Captain	45	Cayenne	
*Berranger	Captain	42	Guadeloupe	
Marquis d'Albergatti	Captain	50	Isle Bourbon	M
*Beaujeau	Captain	45	Mississippi	1
Couterot	Captain		Versailles	1
*Lusignan	Capt. Arty	40	Brest	1
Jacaux Fredmont	Capt. Arty	46	Cayenne	
Duplessis Fabert	Capt. Rd.	50	Tours	
Du Muy	Capt. Rd.	55	"	
Herbin	Lieut.	26	Provl. Regt.	
Des Noyelles	Lieut.	48	Cayenne	2
D'Espervanche	Lieut.	30		M
Bayeulle	Lieut.	47	Paris	
Canut	Lieut.	46	"	M
Cournoyer	Lieut.	40	Tours	
Lanouille	Lieut.	46	Tours	
Lanoué	Lieut.	50	Loches	
St. Vincent	Lieut.	30	Rochelle	
Sabrevois	Lieut.	30	Loches	
Rousseaux	Lieut.	31	"	1
Sac Epeé	Lieut.	46	Tours	
De Cabanac	Ens.	25	"	
Du Coudrey	Ens.	26	in Touraine	
St. Simon	Ens.	36	Isles Malouines	
Chambly	Ens.	30	in Touraine	

Canadian Officers in France.	Rank.	Age.	Residence.	No. of Children.
Boucherville	Ens.	25	in Touraine	
Cery	Ens.	25	"	
Cery	Ens.	23	"	
Villeray D'Artigny	Ens.	25	"	
La Frambois	Ens.	30	Gadeloupe	
Mantete	Ens.	25	in Touraine	
Villeray	Ens.	22	"	
D'Artigny	Ens.	22	"	
Dusable	Ens.	21	"	
Du Buisson	Ens.	20	"	
Du Buisson	Ens.	19	"	
Celoron	Ens.	20	"	
Grosbois	Ens.	25	"	
Lignery	Ens.	20	"	
Lignery	Ens.	19	"	
Chevr. De Repentigny	Lt. de Vaisseau	39	"	
De St. Ours	Lieut.	21	Regt. of Guienne	
Bellestre	Lieut.	28	Missisipi	
De Lanaudiere	Lieut.	21	Regt. of La Sarre	
La' Corne	Lieut.	15		
Du Cheney	Lieut.	21	Royal Arty	
Rouville	Lieut.	20	Royal Roussillon	
Aubert	Lieut.	25	Pondicherry	
Deschambault	Lieut.	20		
Tachereau	Lieut.	24	St. Domingo	
Douville	Lieut.	25	Martinico	
Bleury	Lieut.			
Blainville	Lieut.			
De Quindre	Lieut.	21	Regt. Dauphin	
Dechambault	Ens.			
Guellemine			At Rochefort	

* Have the Royal and Mily. Order of St. Louis.

Officers natives of France who came over Cadets into the Colony Troops wherein they were preferred and went to France with them, where they are treated as Canadian Officers.

*De Raymond	Captain	55	Angouleme
*De Vassan	Captain	47	Blois
*Le Mercier	Capt. Arty.	45	in Normandy
‡Maisiere	Capt.	47	Goree
De Benoit	Capt.		
Le Borgne	Capt.	46	Loches
*St. Laurent	Capt.	50	Paris
‡ Monin at present Lt. Col.		45	"
Resd. of a regt. of Foot.	Capt.	44	
Rocheblaves	Lieut.	40	Tours
Barollon	Lieut.	48	Paris
De Clapier	Lieut.	40	Goree
De La Vallette	Lieut.	30	Tours
Chevr. Drouilli	Lieut.	40	"
Drouillon	Lieut.	36	Loches
*Villemont		45	Orleans.

‡ Native of France, Captain of the Troupes de Colonie at Missisipi, came to Canada in 1760, has got Rank of Col. and a Regt. at Missisipi in the Spanish Service.

Civil Officers and Offrs. of the Port.	Employed heretofore.	Residence	No. of Children.
Joseph Perthius	Of the Conseil Supr.	Paris	3
Thomas Cugnet	" "	"	1
Ignace Perthius	Procureur de Roi	"	3
Landrieve de Bordes	Commissaire	"	3
P. Du Linot	Grand Voyer		4
P. De Cery	Capt. of the Port.		4
P. Pellegrin	Lieut. of the Port.		6

‡ Thus marked have the Grand Croix of St. Louis.

* Have the Royal and Mily. Order of St. Louis.

M. are married and have no family that we know of.

N. have never been in service.

P. are good Pilots of the River St. Lawrence.

Noblesse in the Province of Quebec:—

Captains having the Order of St. Louis	9
Captains named in the order but not invested	1
Captains who have not the Order	4
Lieuts. having the Order	1
Lieuts.	16
Ens.	20
Officers de Reserve	2
Cadets	23
Have never been in the service	44
In the Upper Country who have never been in the Service.	6
Total	126

Noblesse in France:—

Grand Croix	1
Governors, Lt. Govrs, Majors, Aide Majors, Captains and Lts. of Ships of War having the Order of St. Louis	26
Aide Major and Cpts. not having the Order	6
Lieuts.	12
Ensigns	19
Canadian Officers in actual Service whose Parents have re- mained in Canada	15
Total	79

Natives of France, who came over to Canada as Cadets, served and were preferred in the Colony Troops, and are treated in France as Canadian Officers:—

Captains not having the Croix of St. Louis	7
Had the Rank of Capt. in 1760, raised to that of Lieut. Col. in France K. of St. Louis	1
Lieuts.	7
Was Capt. in the Colonie Troops at Missisipi came to Canada in 1760, and is raised to the Rank of Col. in the Spanish Service at Mississipi Kt. of St. Louis	1
Having had Civil Employments	5
Officers of the Port	2
Total	23

Sir Guy Carleton to Lord Hillsborough.

Archives, Series Q. Vol. 5, 2 p. 890.

Secret Correspondence.

Quebec, Nov. 20th, 1768.

My Lord—

Since my arrival in this province, I have not been able to make any discovery that induces me to give credit to the paper of intelligence inclosed in your Lordship's letter of the 14th of May last; nor do I think it probable the chiefs of their own free notion in time of peace, dare assemble in numbers, consult, and resolve on a revolt; or that an assembly of military men should be so ignorant, as to fancy they could defend themselves by a few fireships only, against any future attack from Great Britain after their experience in fifty nine.

Notwithstanding this, and their decent and respectful obedience to the King's Government hitherto, I have not the least doubt of their secret attachment to France and think this will continue as long as they are excluded from all employment under the British Government, and are certain of being reinstated, at least in their former Commissions under that of France, by which chiefly they supported themselves and families.

When I reflect that France naturally, has the affections of all the people; that to make no mention of fees of office & the vexations of the Law, we have done nothing to gain one man in the province, by making it his private interest to remain the King's Subject; and that the interests of many would be greatly promoted by a revolution; I own my not having discovered a treasonable correspondence, never was proof sufficient to convince me it did not exist in some degree, but I am inclined to think, if such a message has been sent, very few were entrusted with the secret, perhaps the Court of France, informed a year past by Mons. de Chatelet that the King proposed raising a Regiment of his new subjects caused this piece of intelligence to be communicated, to create a jealousy of the Canadians, and prevent a measure that might fix their attachments to the British Government, and probably of those Savages who have always acted with them; however that be, on receiving this news from France last spring, most of the Gentlemen in the province applied to me, and begged to be admitted into the King's Service, assuring me they would take every opportunity to testify their zeal, and gratitude for so great a mark of favour & tenderness, extended not only to them, but to their posterity.

When I consider further, that the King's dominion here is maintained but by a few troops, necessarily dispersed, without a place of security for their magazines, for their arms, or for themselves; amidst a numerous military people, the Gentlemen all officers of experience, poor, without hopes, that they or their descendants will be admitted into the service of their present Sovereign, I can have no doubt that France, as soon as determined to begin a war will attempt to regain Canada, should it be intended only to make a diversion, while it may reasonably be undertaken with little hazard, should it fail, and where so much may be gained, should it succeed. But should France begin a war in hopes the British Colonies will push matters to extremities, and she adopts the project of supporting them in their independent notions, Canada, probably, will then become the principal scene, where the fate of America may be determined. Affairs in this situation, Canada in the hands of France would no longer present itself as an enemy to the British colonies, but as an ally, a friend and a protector of their Independency.

Your Lordship must immediately perceive the many disadvantages Great Britain would labour under in a war of this nature; and on the other hand, how greatly Canada might forever support the British interests on this continent, for it is not united in any common principle, interest or wish with the other Provinces, in opposition to the Supreme seat of Government, was the King's dominion over it only strengthened by a citadel, which a few national troops might secure, and the natives attached, by making it their interest, to remain His Subjects.

My Letters to the Earl of Shelburne, Nos. 20, 23, 24, 25 and 26 contain more fully my humble opinion of the measures necessary to obtain this desirable end, convinced that the affections of the Canadians, or a great force, is necessary to secure this province in time of war, or, at least till the marine of France is thoroughly subdued: to those letters I refer your Lordship for further particulars, and am with great regard, and esteem.

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,

Guy Carleton.

To the Earl of Hillsborough.

Lord Hillsborough to Sir Guy Carleton.
(Archives, Series Q. Vol. 6. p. 3.)

(Secret.)

Govr. Carleton.

Whitehall, Jan. 4, 1769.

Sir:—

I have received and laid before the King your Secret Dispatch of the 21st of Novr.

The Remarks you make upon the state and temper of His Majesty's new subjects will be of great utility in the consideration of the Measures now under deliberation, and do evince both the propriety and necessity of extending to that brave and faithful people a reasonable participation in those establishments, which are to form the Basis of the future Government of the Colony of Quebec; but I fear that from the spirit of the Laws of this Kingdom as well as from the general Prejudice of Mankind, and the dispositions that appear in all Parties and Factions to make every measure, however well considered & intended, the foundation of clamour and opposition it will hardly be practicable to extend such participation to the military Line, although, for my own part, I clearly see and agree in opinion that great advantages might be deduced both to the Colony and to the Mother-Country, for an establishment of that sort, under proper regulations.

The King very much approves of the method, you have pursued in the present instance, of separating opinions upon and relations of delicate facts and circumstances from your general numerical correspondence.

I am, &c.

Hillsborough.

(78)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

(No. 5)

Quebec 31st Jan'y 1771.

(Secret.)

My Lord!

I am Honored with Your Lordship's two Letters No. 34 and 35; The Intelligence conveyed in the former is so very interesting, that I shall not fail to give the most serious attention to all that passes in the Province, and to take into consideration, as well as concert, with the Officers of His Majesty's Forces; all such Measures, as may tend to secure and defend it.

I have the Satisfaction to inform Your Lordship, that the Canadians are at present, and seem perfectly disposed to continue to be quiet, nor is there, I believe, the least Reason to apprehend any Stir among them, while Spain only is concerned; they entertain the greatest Hopes, of being through His Majesty's well known Paternal Regard for all His Subjects, shortly relieved from several Inconveniencies under which they consider themselves at present to labour; upon which there is no necessity for me to enlarge, as they already have, and will no Doubt be more fully explained to Your Lordship by Governor Carleton.

In the mean Time, Your Lordship may depend, that I shall, to the utmost of my Power, exert my best Endeavours to promote their Welfare and Happiness as the surest and most effectual Means of advancing my Royal Master's Service in this important Colony.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect

My Lord

Your Lordship's Most Obedient And Most Humble Servant

H. T. Cramahé.

The Earl of Hillsborough
one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries
of State &c., &c., &c.

Endorsed—Quebec 31st Jan'y 1771.

Mr. Presidt Cramahé

(No. 5)

Secret

R. 22d April

D. 3.

Entd.

(79)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS

Separate and Secret.

Lieut. Govr. Cramahé

Whitehall April 9th 1772.

Sir,

The inclosed Paper, which is stated to be the Copy of a letter from Monsr Rouville and others of His Majesty's new Subjects in Canada to the Marquis D'Ossum the French Ambassador at Madrid, has been communicated to me by a foreign Officer who is lately arrived here from Spain, and who says that he obtained it from Monsr D'Ossum's Secretary, and tho' the veracity of this Gentleman is much to be doubted & the thing itself, abstracted from other ground of Suspicion, would have been too slight to have demanded much attention, yet as I find from Governor Carleton that M. Rouville's general Conduct has been such as to render him suspected of having dangerous views; and as Intelligence thro' different channels seems to indicate a particular attention at present in the Court of France to what passes in Canada, it certainly becomes necessary that We should be very much upon our guard, and attend with great caution and circumspection to the conduct of the new Subjects in general, and to the discovering the nature & Extent of any correspondence they may have with old France, & the Channels thro' which it is carried.

Such an Attention is more particularly necessary with regard to the Rouville Family, as Monsr Rouville's Son, who is an Officer in the french Service is now here and takes his Passage to Canada in the Quebec Captain Brash, to whose care this letter is entrusted with directions to deliver it to you immediately upon his arrival, and tho' I am not able to collect, from my conversation with Monsr Rouville, any thing that confirms the suspicion that my other Intelligence and the character of his Father have induced, yet it certainly is necessary that both his conduct and that of his Father should be watched with the greatest vigilance, and every precaution used that may tend to a discovery of any Measure they may have in view that may endanger the Security of the Colony.

Monsr. Rouville's Son is not the only suspected person that now takes passage for Quebec; another Canadian, tho' of inferior rank, and whose name is Deprocas, has applied to me, thro' Mr. Pownall, for a Pass-port, and the account he gives of himself is so contradictory, and forced from him under so great reserve, as to leave room for Suspicion which is not a little increased by my finding that he was an established Pilot for the River St. Lawrence before the conquest of Canada.

You will therefore, Sir have a particular attention also to the conduct of this person, & indeed to every other Canadian (for I believe there are many more) who may at this time return to Quebec from Europe, and in case the precaution you see, & the steps you take shall lead to the discovery of any Plans or correspondence that shall appear to you to be dangerous to the public Safety, you shall not fail to take such steps as shall appear to you to be proper according to the nature of the case, & to transmit to me, for His Majesty's Information, a very full & particular account of every circumstance relative thereto.

I am &c.
Hillsborough

Endorsed—Drat. to Lieut. Govr. Cramahé

Whitehall April 9th 1772.

Separate and Secret

Entd.

Dup.

(80)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 8, p. 114.

Monseigneur

Morréal, le de May 1771.

Notre Esclavage dure trop longtems pour etre delivré de cette tyrannie, nous, nous, portons toujours dans nôtre coeur les trois fleurs de lis a Notre Roy de france, malgré que nous ayons été vendus pour de l'argent aux Barbares qui nous traitent cruellement tous les jours de plus en plus, nous souhaiterions de pouvoir parvenir a un jour plus heureux et d'être entre les mains de Notre Roy tres Chretien et Souverain;

Monseigneur, Nous conferons tous les jours entre nous, et même nous nous Sommes Engagés de tous cotés avec les Sauvages qui nous assisterons dans le Besoin avec armes, ainsi Monseigneur comme vous nous avés promis de nous delivrer un jour ainsi nous vous prions de presenter cette lettre au Nouveau Ministre que est a la place de Monsieur de Choizeuil nous rendre meilleure justice que n'a pas fait ledt Sieur de Choizeuil et qui nous procurera une occasion favorable pour nous delivrer de cette tyrannie comme nous Soussignons de notre propre main.

(81)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 8, pp. 160-164.

(Secret.)

Quebec 25th July 1772.

My Lord!

I am Honoured with Your Lordship's separate and secret Dispatch of 9th April by Captain Brash of the Quebec, as well as your private one of the same date by Mr. Rouville, upon whose conduct, ever since his Arrival here, as well as his Father's, I have, as far as was in my power, kept the most strict attention.

From any Thing that has yet come to my knowledge, I do not see any Reason for attributing the young man's voyage to any thing else than a Desire of seeing his Family after a twelve years absence, the Hopes he might entertain of procuring from his Father some pecuniary Assistance, and that liking for his native Country, for which the Canadians are peculiarly remarkable.

The Father does not want Sense, is better informed than most of his Countrymen, and has an exceeding good opinion of his own Abilities; Whatever his Inclinations may be, He is too cautious and prudent, I think, to sign his name to the Paper of which Your Lordship was pleased to inclose me a Copy, and which both in Matter and Stile seems to me an extraordinary Performance.

Far from complaining of Slavery, the Canadian Noblesse often alledge, that from the Freedom enjoyed under their present Government, the middling and lower sort of People daily lose of that Deference and Respect they used formerly, upon all occasions to shew their Superiors; The Circumstances of addressing this Paper to the French Embassador at Madrid is with me a strong Reason for doubting of it's Authenticity; since the Peace there has been no Possibility of preventing the Canadians having a constant Intercourse with France, every year some of them have gone over for the Settlement of their private Affairs, which from their long Connection together, could not be suddenly wound up, and while their Countryman, the Abbé La Corne, resides at Paris, they would not want a faithful and diligent Agent in any Business, they might have to transact with the Court of France.

The Confusion and Perplexity of the Laws, the dilatory Proceedings of our Courts of Justice, the Expence attending them, and the disagreeable necessity, they lye under, of the matters most interesting to them being there discussed in a Language they do not understand, are the chief Subjects upon which they have hitherto complained; they readily and indeed gratefully acknowledge the Indulgence shewn to them in Regard to Religion, and hope the same will be continued, altho' they have at Times been likewise alarmed upon this Head, by the indisceet Talk of some Individuals amongst us.

It is not indeed improbable, that the French Clergy, jealous of their Canadian Brethren, for whom they have always had a thorough Contempt, and whom they now see likely to become in Time possessed of every Benefice in their Church, and the Noblesse, while they have no Prospect of employing their children in His Majesty's Service, and of procuring them Bread in that way, would be desirous, and, if a proper support was at Hand, give all possible assistance to bring about a change; And there is too much Reason to apprend, that the Habitans, notwithstanding the Superior Advantages they enjoy under the present Government, of which they are not insensible, and often mention, would from their Ignorance, through the Influence of the other two orders of men, be prevailed upon to throw their weight into that Scale; it was remarked by some of the old Subjects, that while the French Schooner lay here, they began to converse among themselves of old Times, but as they are an inquisitive gossiping People, it was not very wonderfull this, to them at present, new and extraordinary appearance, should produce that Effect.

The Canadian Clergy are strongly interested to prevent any change, they begin to see it, and it appears more than ever necessary, as much as possible, to encourage

this Disposition; it was in this view, that the Bishop having lately obtained the requisite Powers for consecrating the Coadjutor, whom Governor Carleton had pitched upon, I agreed to his performing that Ceremony, but in a private way, because it was not the Act of Government, and to avoid giving a Handle to busy and troublesome People; It is to be hoped that this Event, as well as young Mr. Lanaudiere's Preferment, will be attended with very salutary Effects for the King's Interests in this Province.

Besides the Canadian Passengers who went over last Fall, and returned this Spring; there are arrived from France this year a Surgeon, who formerly served in the French Army and married a Canadian, come over, I believe, in Hopes of getting Practice in his Profession, two Acadians who studied for the Priesthood in the College of St. Malo's, and afterwards at Paris, having the Earl of Hartcourt's Pass, and a Canadian Recollet, with Colonel Blaquiére's; the three first came by the way of Great Britain, the other by Miquelon, and immediately upon their arrival, the Oath of Fidelity was administered to them; The man Your Lordship mentions under the name of Deprocas, has not yet made his appearance.

Altho' I can scarcely credit that any of His Majesty's new Subjects have entered into, or formed any Plan destructive to the King's Interests, and am pretty certain, if any such Thing is in Agitation, that it must come from the other side of the water, and few here intrusted with the Secret, His Majesty may be assured, I shall keep an exact watch upon their Words and Actions, endeavour to find out their Correspondence and if I discover any thing to be plotting or acting against His Royal Interests, that I shall consult and Concert, with the Commanders of His Forces upon the Spot, and His other Servants, the best and most effectual measures for the preservation and Security of this important Province.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect, My Lord

Your Lordships Most obedient and Most Humble Servant

H. T. Cramahé.

Earl of Hillsborough
One of His Majesty's
Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec 25th July 1772.

Lieut., Govr. Cramahé
(Secret)

R. 27th August
E. 15

Entd.

(82)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

(Secret.)

Quebec 10th October 1772.

My Lord!

As the following Occurrence carries with it an Appearance of what Your Lordship mentioned in your secret and separate Dispatch of 9th April last, relative to the attention of the Court of France to the Affairs of this Country, I think it my Duty to inform Your Lordship, that a Mr. Dufy of Montreal (before the conquest, a Captain of the Militia of that Place, in which he served with credit and Reputation) lately received, from Monsieur Mehegan, a Brigadier in the French Service, a Letter, acquainting him, that in consequence of the Duke de Choiseuil's Promise to him, of some Years standing, Monsieur De Boines, the Minister of the Marine, had obtained of the King his Nomination to the Order of St. Louis, that as he resided in a foreign Dominion, the Croix could not be sent out to him, but he should be invested with it, whenever he repaired to France, the Minister's Official Letter upon the occasion having been carefully registered for that Purpose in the Bureau des Colonies.

Monsieur Dufy made no scruple to shew me the Letter, which he tells me he has answered in general Terms of Thanks, without signifying his Acceptance or Refusal of the Order; He very freely acknowledged, it flattered his Vanity, but that at his Time of Life, being upwards of sixty, he had no thoughts of going to France for the Pleasure of wearing the Order.

Altho' in strictness, as a British Subject, He is rather liable to censure, for answering in the Manner he alledges, yet as he is an honest Man, that he is rather too old to change his Ideas of Things, or to shake off the Prejudices of his Youth, I

judged it most advisable to treat the Matter with Indifference, the taking Notice of it in any other Manner might have created Disgust, and added Consequence to the Measure, if the Court of France has really acted therein from political considerations only; for it is here by many suspected M. Dufy's Relations in France, Knowing him to be in affluent Circumstances, have pushed it, to entice him over, in the Hopes of inheriting more largely, in case of his Death.

It was once an Idea of the French Government, a very few years before the conquest, to distribute Croix to the Captains of Militia, and it is to be observed, that those of the Country Parishes, tho' meer Habitans or Peasants, rolled in Duty with those of the Towns, chosen out of the Bourgeoisie, according to Seniority of Commission; this Measure at the Time was strongly opposed by the Noblesse, and Officers of the Regular Troops, it is not impossible but it may have been again resumed, in the view of alluring this order of People, who certainly have profited most by the change of Dominion; all these little Arts would not avail them much, if the Confusion at present subsisting in Regard to the Laws was thoroughly cleared up, a Point the Canadians earnestly wish for, if the Government of the Province was established upon a firm and solib basis and some means could be devised of employing the Noblesse, who at present are at a Loss how to dispose of, or provide for, their Children.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect, My Lord!
Your Lordship's Most obedient and Most Humble Servant
H. T. Cramahé

Earl of Hillsborough
One of His Majesty's Principal
Secretaries of State.

Endorsed—Quebec 10th October 1772.
Lieut. Governor Cramahé
(Secret)
R. 24 November.
E. 22

Entd.

(83)

**LETTRE ADRESSEE AUX HABITANS DE LA PROVINCE DE QUEBEC,
Ci-Devant LE CANADA, De la part du CONGRES GENERAL de
l'Amerique Septentrionale, tenu a Philadelphia.**

Imprimé & publié par Ordre du Congrès.
A PHILADELPHIE,
De l'imprimerie de FLEURY MESPLET.
M. DCC. LXXIV.

**AUX HABITANS
DE LA PROVINCE
DE
QUEBEC.**

Nos Amis & Concitoyens,

Nous, les Délégués des Colonies du nouveau Hampshire, de Massachusetts-Bay, de Rhode-Island & des Plantations de Providence, de Connecticut, de la Nouvelle-York, du Nouveau-Jersey, de la Pennsylvanie, des Comtés de New-Castle, Kent, & Sussex sur le fleuve de la Ware, du Maryland, de la Virginie & des Carolines septentrionale & meridionale, ayant été députés par les Habitans desdites Colonies pour les représenter dans un Congrès général à Philadelphie, dans la province de Pennsylvanie, & pour consulter ensemble sur les meilleurs moyens de nous procurer la délivrance de nos oppressions accablantes; nous étant en consequence assemblés & ayant considéré très-sérieusement l'état des affaires publiques de ce continent, nous avons jugé à propos de nous adresser à votre Province comme à une de ses parties qui y est des plus intéressée.

LORSQU' après une résistance courageuse & glorieuse le sort des armes vous eut incorporé au nombre des sujets Anglais, nous nous rejouimes autant pour vous que pour nous d'un accroissement si véritablement précieux; & comme la bravoure & la

grandeur d'ame sont joint naturellement, nous nous attendions que nos courageux ennemis deviendraient nos amis sinceres, & que l'Être supreme répandrait sur vous les dons de sa providence divine en assurant pour vous & pour votre postérité la plus reculée les avantages sans prix de la libre institution du Gouvernement Anglois, qui est le privilege dont tous les sujets Anglois doivent jouir.

CES espérances furent confirmées par la declaration du Roi donnée en 1763, engageant la foi publique pour votre jouissance complete de ces avantages.

A peine aurions-nous pu alors nous imaginer que quelques Ministres futurs abuseraient avec tant d'audace & de méchanceté de l'autorité royale, que de vous priver de la jouissance de ces droits irrévocables auxquels vous aviez un si juste titre.

MAIS puisque nous avons vécu pour voir le tems imprévu, quand ces Ministres d'une disposition corrompue ont osé violer les pactes & les engagements les plus sacrés, & comme vous aviez été élevés sous une autre forme de gouvernement, on a soigneusement évité que vous fissiez la découverte de sa valeur inexprimable de cette forme à laquelle vous avez à present un droit si légitime; nous croyons qu'il est de notre devoir de vous expliquer quelques unes de ses parties le plus intéressantes, pour les raisons pressantes mentionnés ci-après.

"DANS toute société humaine," dit le celebre Marquis de Beccaria, "Il y a une force qui tend continuellement à conférer à une partie du pouvoir & du bonheur, & à réduire l'autre au dernier degré de foiblesse & de misere. L'intention des bonnes loix est de s'opposer à cette force, & de repandre leur influence également & universellement."

DES Chefs incités par cette force pernicieuse, & des sujets animés par le juste desir de lui opposer de bonnes loix, ont occasionné cette immense diversité d'événemens dont les histoires de tant de nations sont remplies. Toutes ces histoires démontrent la vérité de cette simple position, que d'exister au gré d'un seul homme, ou de quelques uns, est une source de misere pour tous.

Ce fut sur ce principe comme sur un fondement solide que les Anglois élevèrent si fermement l'édifice de leur Gouvernement qu'il a resisté au tems, à la tyrannie, à la trahison, & aux guerres intestines & étrangères, pendant plusieurs siècles. Et comme un Auteur illustre & une de vos compatriotes † cite ci-après, observe. "Ils donnerent au peuple de leurs Colonies la forme de leur Gouvernement propre: & ce Gouvernement portant avec lui la prospérité, on a vu se former de grands peuples dans les forêts même qu'ils furent envoyés habiter."

DANS cette forme le premier & le principal droit, est le peuple a part dans son gouvernement par ses representans choisis par lui-même, & est par consequent gouverné par des loix de son approbation, & non par les Edits de ceux sur lesquels il n'a aucun pouvoir. Ceci est un rempart qui entoure & défend sa propriété qu'il s'est acquise par son travail & une honnête industrie; ensorte qu'il ne peut être privé de la moindre partie que de son libre & plein consentement, lorsque suivant son jugement il croit qu'il est juste & nécessaire de la donner pour des usages publics, & alors il indique precisement le moyen le plus facile, le plus economé & le plus égal de percevoir cette partie de sa propriété.

L'INFLUENCE de cet droit s' étend encore plus loin, Si des Chefs qui ont opprimé le peuple ont besoin de subsides, le peuple, peut les refuser jusqu'à ce que leurs griefs soient réparés, & procurer paisiblement, de cette manière, du soulagement sans avoir recours à présenter des requêtes souvent méprisées, & sans troubler la tranquillité publique.

LE second droit essentiel consiste, à être jugé par une Jurée. On pourvoit par là qu'un Citoyen ne peut perdre la vie, la liberté ou les biens, qu'au préalable Sentence n'ait été rendue contre lui par douze de ses égaux & compatriotes de moeurs irréprochables, sous serment, pris dans son voisinage, qui par cela même on doit raisonnablement, supposer devoir être informe de son caractère & de celui des témoins, & cela après des enquêtes suffisantes face à face, à huis ouverts, dans la Cour de justice, devant tous ceux qui voudront se trouver présent, & après un jugement équitable. De plus cette Sentence ne peut lui être préjudiciable, sans injurier en même tems la réputation & même les intérêts des Jurés qui l'ont prononcée.

CAR le cas en question peut être sur de certain points qui ont rapport au bien public; mais s'il en était autrement, leur Sentence devient un exemple qui peut servir contre eux-meme s'ils venait à avoir un semblable procès.

UN autre droit se rapporte simplement à la liberté personnelle. Si un Citoyen est saisi & mis en prison, quoique par ordre du Gouvernement, il peut néanmoins en

vertu de ce droit, obtenir immédiatement d'un Juge un ordre que l'on nomme Habeas-Corpus, qu'il est obligé sous serment d'accorder, & se procurer promptement, par ce moyen, une enquête & réparation d'une détention illegitime.

‡ Le Baron de Montesquieu, dans l'Esprit des Loix, Liv. 19, Chap. 27.

UN quatrieme droit consiste dans la possession des terres en vertu de legeres rentes foncieres, & non par des corvées rigoureuses & opprimantes qui forcent souvent le possesseur à quitter sa famille & ses occupations pour faire ce qui dans tout état bien réglé devoit être l'ouvrage de gens loués exprès pour cet effet.

LE dernier droit, dont nous serons mention, regarde la liberté de la presse. Son importance outre les progrès de la vérité, de la morale & des arts en général, consiste encore à repandre des sentimens généreux sur l'administration du Gouvernement à servir aux Citoyens à se communiquer promptement & Reciproquement leurs idées, & consequemment contribue à l'avancement d'une union entre' eux, par laquelle des supérieurs tyranniques sont induit, par des motifs de honte ou de crainte, à se comporter plus honorablement & par des voies plus équitables dans l'administration des affaires.

CE sont là ces droits inestimables que forment une partie considérable du système moderé de notre Gouvernement, laquelle en repandant sa force équitable sur tous les différens rangs & classes de Citoyens, défend le pauvre du riche, le foible du puissant, l'industrioux de l'avide, le paisible du violent, les vassaux des Seigneurs, & tous de leurs supérieurs.

Ce sont la ces droits sans lesquels une nation ne peut pas être libre & heureuse, & c'est sous la protection & l'encouragement que procure leur influence que ces Colonies ont jusqu'à present flori & augmenté si étonnement. Ce sont ces mêmes droits qu'un ministre abandonné tâche actuellement de nous ravir à main armée, & que nous sommes tous d'un commun accord resolu de ne perdre qu' avec la vie. Tels sont enfin ces droits qui vous appartiennent, & que vous devriez dans ce moment exercer dans toute leur étendue.

MAIS que vous offre-t-on à leur place par le dernier Acte du Parlement? La liberté de conscience pour votre religion: non, Dieu vous l'avoir donnée, & les Puissances temporelles avec lesquelles vous étiez & êtes à présent en liaison, ont fortement stipulé que vous en eussiez la pleine jouissance: si les loix divines & humaines pouvaient garantir cette liberté des caprices despotiques des méchans, elle l'était déjà auparavant. A-t-on retabli les loix Francaises dans les affaires civiles? Cela parait ainsi, mais faites attention à la faveur circonspecte des Ministres qui prétendent devenir vos bienfaiteurs; les paroles du Statut sont: "que l'on se réglera sur ces loix jusqu'à ce qu'elles aient été modifiées ou changées par quelques ordonnances du Gouverneur & du Conseil."

Est-ce que l'on vous assure pour vous & votre postérité, la certitude & la douceur de la loi criminelle d'Angleterre avec toutes ses utilités & avantages, laquelle on loue dans ledit Statut, & que l'on reconnaît que vous avez éprouvé très-sensiblement? Non, ces loix sont aussi sujettes aux "*changemens*" arbitraires du Gouverneur & Conseil, & on se reserve en outre tres-expressément le pouvoir d'ériger "telles Cours de judicature *criminelle, civile & ecclesiastique* que l'on jugera necessaires."

C'EST de CES conditions si précaires que votre vie & votre religion dépendent seulement de la volonté d'un seul. La Couronne & les Ministres ont le pouvoir autant qu'il a été possible au Parlement de le concéder, d'introduire le tribunal de l'Inquisition même au milieu de vous.

AVEZ-VOUS une assemblée composée d'honnêtes gens de votre propre choix sur lesquels vous puissiez vous reposer pour former vos loix, veiller à votre bien-être, & ordonner de quelle manière & en quelle proportion vous devez contribuer de vos biens pour les usages publics? non, c'est du Gouverneur & du Conseil que doivent émaner vos loix, & ils ne font eux-mêmes que les créatures du Ministre, qu'il peut déplacer selon son bon plaisir. En outre, un autre nouveau Statut formé sans votre participation vous a assujettis à toute la rigueur d'un impôt sur les denrées que l'on nomme *Excise*, impot detesté dans tous les états libres. En vous arrachant ainsi vos biens par la plus odieuse de toutes les taxes, vous êtes encore exposés à voir votre repos & celui de vos familles troublé par des collecteurs insolens, penetrans à chaque instant jusque dans l'intérieur de vos maisons, qui sont nommées les Forteresses des Citoyens Anglais dans les livres qui traitent de leurs loix.

DANS ce meme statut qui changé votre Gouvernement, & qui parait calculé pour vous flatter, vous n'êtes point autorisés "à vous cotiser pour lever & disposer

d'aucun impôt ou taxe, à moins que ce ne soit dans des cas de peu de conséquence, tels que de faire *des grands chemins*, de bâtir ou de réparer des *Edifices publics* ou pour quelqu' autres convenances *locales* dans l'enceinte de vos villes & districts." Pourquoi cette distinction humiliante? Est-ce que les biens que les Canadiens se sont acquis par une honnête industrie ne doivent pas être aussi sacrés que ceux des Anglais? L'entendement des Canadiens seroit il si borné qu'ils fussent hors d'état de participer à d'autres affaires publiques qu'à celle de rassembler des pierres dans un endroit pour les entasser dans un autre? Peuple infortuné qui est non-seulement lezé, mais encore outragé. Ce qu'il y a de plus fort, c'est que suivant les avis que nous avons recus, un ministre arrogant a concu une idée si méprisante de votre jugement & de vos sentimens, qu'il a osé penser, & s'est même persuadé que par un retour de gratitude pour les injures & outrages qu'il vous a récemment offert, il vous engagerait, vous nos dignes Concitoyens, à prendre les armes pour devenir des instrumens en ses mains, pour l'aider a nous ravir cette liberté dont sa perfidie vous a privée, ce qui vous rendrait ridicules & détestables à tout l'Univers.

LE résultat inévitable d'une telle entreprise, suppose que qu'elle réussit, seroit l'anéantissement total des espérances que vous pourriez avoir, que vous ou votre postérité fussent jamais rétablis dans votre liberté: car à moins que d'être entièrement privé du sens commun, il n'est pas possible de s'imaginer qu'après que vous auriez été employés dans un service si honteux ils vous traitassent avec moins de rigueur que nous qui tenons à eux par les liens du sang.

QU'AURAIT du votre compatriote l'immortel *Montesquieu*, au sujet du plan de Gouvernement que l'on vient de former pour vous? Ecoutez ses paroles avec cette attention recueillie que requiert l'importance du sujet. "Dans un état libre, † tout homme qui est sensé avoir une ame libre, doit être gouverné par lui-même, il faudroit que le peuple en corps eut la puissance législative; mais comme cela est impossible dans les grands états, & est sujet a beaucoup d'inconveniens dans les petits, il faut que le peuple fasse, par ses représentans, tout ce qu'il ne peut faire par lui-même."—"La liberté politique dans un Citoyen est cette tranquillité d'esprit qui provient de l'opinion que chacun a de sa sureté; & pour qu'on ait cette liberté, il faut que le Gouvernement soit tel qu'un Citoyen ne puisse pas craindre un autre Citoyen. Lorsque dans la même personne ou dans le même corps de Magistrature, la puissance législative est réunie à la puissance executrice, il n'y a point de liberté; parce qu'on peut craindre que le même Monarque ou le même Senat ne fassent des loix tyranniques pour les executer tyranniquement."

LA puissance de juger ne doit pas être donner à un Senat permanent, mais exercées par des personnes tirées du corps du peuple dans certain tems de l'année, de la manière preferite par la loi, pour former un tribunal qui ne dure qu'autant que la nécessité le requiert.

LES Militaires sont d'une profession qui peut-être utile, mais devient souvent dangereuse. "La jouissance de la liberté consiste en ce qu'il soit permis à chacun de déclarer sa pensée & de decouvrir ses sentimens."

APPLIQUEZ à votre situation présente ces maximes décisives qui ont la fonction de l'autorité d'un nom que toute l'Europe révere. On pourrait avancer que vous avez un Gouverneur revêtu de la puissance *executrice* ou des pouvoirs de l'*administration*; c'est en lui & en son Conseil qu'est placé la puissance *legislative*: vous avez des *Juges* qui doivent décider dans tous les cas ou votre vie, votre liberté ou vos biens sont en danger, & effectivement, il semble qu'il se trouve ici une *distribution & repartition* de diverses puissances en des mains *differentes* qui se reprimant l'une l'autre, ce qui est l'unique methode que l'esprit humain ait jamais imaginée pour contribuer à l'accroissement de la liberté & de la prospérité des hommes.

MAIS vous servant de cette sagacité si naturelle aux Français, dédaignant d'être deses par le faux brillnat de cet extérieur, examinez la plausibilité de ce plan, & Vous trouverez (pour me servir des paroles de la Sainte Ecriture) que ce n'est qu'un "*sepulchre blanchi*," pour ensevelir votre liberté & vos biens avec votre vie.

VOS Juges & votre (soit-disant) *Conseil Legislatif* dependent de votre Gouverneur, & lui-même depend des serviteurs de la Couronne, en Angleterre. Le moindre signe du Ministre fait agir ces puissances *legislative, executrice* & celle de *juger*. Vos privileges & vos immunités n'existent qu'autant que dure sa faveur, & son courroux fait évanouir leur forme chancellante.

† De l'Esprit des Loix Liv. XI., Ch. VI.

LA perfidie a été employée avec tant d'artifice dans le Code de loix que l'on vous a récemment offert, que quoique le commencement de chaque paragraphe paraisse être plein de bienveillance, il se termine cependant d'une manière destructive; & lorsque le tout est dépouillé des expressions flatteuses qui le décorent, il ne contient autre chose, sinon, que la Couronne & les Ministres seront aussi absolus dans toute l'étendue de votre vaste Province, que le font actuellement les despotes de l'Asie & de l'Afrique. Qui protégera vos biens contre des Edits d'impôts & contre les rapines de supérieurs durs & nécessairement? Qui défendra vos personnes de Lettres de Cachets, de Prisons, de Cachots & de Corvées fatigantes, votre liberté & votre vie contre des Chefs arbitraires & insensibles? Vous ne pouvez, en jetant vos yeux de tous côtés, apercevoir une seule circonstance qui puisse vous promettre d'aucune façon, le moindre espoir de liberté pour vous & votre postérité, si vous n'adoptez entièrement le projet d'entrer en union avec nos colonies.

QUEL ferait le conseil que vous donnerait cet homme si véritablement grand, cet Avocat pour la liberté & l'humanité: que nous venons de citer fut-il encore vivant & sût que nous vos voisins puissans & nombreux, inspirés d'un juste amour pour nos droits envahis & unis par les liens indissolubles de l'affection de l'intérêt, vous aurai-ent invités au nom de tout ce que vous devez à vous-même & à vos enfans (comme nous le faisons à présent) de vous unir à nous dans une cause si juste, pour n'en faire qu'une entre nous, & courir la même fortune pour nous délivrer d'une subjection humiliante sous des Gouverneurs, Intendants & tyrans Militaires, & rentrer fermement dans le rang & la condition de libre Citoyens Anglais, qui ont appris de leurs ancêtres à faire trembler ceux qui oisent seulement penser à les rendre malheureux.

NE serait-ce pas par un discours semblable qu'il s'adresserait à vous? Et dirait, "saisissez l'occasion que la Providence elle-même vous offre, votre conquête vous a acquis la liberté si vous vous comportez comme vous devez, cet événement est son ouvrage: vous n'êtes qu'un très-petit nombre en comparaison de ceux qui vous invitent à bras ouverts de vous joindre à eux; un instant de réflexion doit vous convaincre qu'il convient mieux à vos intérêts & à votre bonheur, de vous procurer l'amitié constante des peuples de l'Amérique septentrionale, que de les rendre vos implacables ennemis. Les outrages que souffre la Ville de Boston, ont alarmés & unis ensemble toutes les Colonies depuis la nouvelle Ecosse jusqu'à la Georgie, votre Province est le seul anneau qui manque pour compléter la chaîne forte & éclatante de leur union. Votre pays est naturellement joint au leur, joignez-vous aussi dans vos intérêts politiques; leur propre bien-être permettra jamais qu'ils vous abandonnent ou qu'ils vous trahissent: soyez persuadés que le bonheur d'un peuple dépend absolument de sa liberté & de son courage pour la maintenir. La valeur & l'étendue des avantages que l'on vous offre est immense; daigne le Ciel ne pas permettre que vous ne reconnaissiez ces avantages pour le plus grand des biens que vous pourriez posséder, qu'après qu'ils vous auront abandonnés à jamais.

NOUS connaissons trop bien la noblesse de sentiment qui distingue votre nation, pour supposer que vous fussiez retenus de former des liaisons d'amitié avec nous par les préjugés que la diversité de religion pourrait faire naître. Vous sçavez que la liberté est d'une nature si excellente qu'elle rend, ceux qui s'attachent à elle, supérieurs à toutes ces petites foiblesses. Vous avez une preuve bien convaincante de cette vérité dans l'exemple des Cantons Suisses, lesquels quoique composés d'états Catholiques & Protestans, ne laissent pas cependant de vivre en semble en paix & en bonne intelligence, ce qui les a mis en état depuis qu'ils se sont vaillamment acquis leur liberté, de braver & de repousser tous les tyrans qui ont osé les envahir.

S'IL se trouvait quelques uns parmi vous (comme cela est assez fréquent dans tous les états) qui préféreraient la faveur du Ministre & leur intérêts particuliers au bien-être de leur patrie, leurs inclinations intéressées les porteront à s'opposer fortement à toutes les mesures tendantes au bien public, dans l'esperance que leurs supérieurs les recompenseront amplement pour leurs services honteux & indignes: mais nous ne doutons pas que vous ne ferez en garde contre de telles gens, & nous espérons que vous ne ferez point un sacrifice de la liberté & du bonheur de tous les Canadiens, pour gratifier l'avarice & l'ambition de quelques particuliers.

Nous ne requérons pas de vous dans cette adresse d'en venir à des voies de fait contre le Gouvernement de notre Souverain, nous vous engageons seulement à consulter votre gloire & votre bien-être, & à ne pas souffrir que des Ministres infames vous persuadent & vous intimident jusqu'au point de devenir les instrumens de leur cruauté & de leur despotisme. Nous vous engageons aussi à vous unir à

nous par un pacte social, fonde sur le principe liberal d'une liberté égale, & entretenu par une suite de bons offices réciproques, qui puissent le rendre perpetuel. A dessein d'effectuer une union si desirable, nous vous prions de considérer s'il ne ferait convenable que vous vous assembliez chacun dans vos villes & districts respectifs, pour élire des députés de chaque endroit qui formeraient un Congrès Provincial, duquel vous pourriez choisir des Délégués pour être envoyés, comme les représentans de votre Province, au Congrès général de ce continent qui doit ouvrir ses séances à Philadelphie, le 10 de Mai, 1775.

Dans le present Congrès qui a commence le 5 du mois passé, & a continué jusqu'à ce jour, il a été resolu unanimement & avec une satisfaction universelle, que nous regarderions la violation de vos droits, opérée par l'acte pour changer le Gouvernement de votre Province, comme une violation de nôtres propres, & que nous vous inviterions à entrer dans notre confédération, laquelle n'a d'autres objets en vue que la parfaite assurance des droits civils & naturels de tous les membres qui la composent, & la preservation d'une liaison heureuse & permanente avec la Grande Bretagne, fondée sur les principes fondamentaux & salutaires que nous avons expliqués ci-devant. C'est pour parvenir à ces fins que nous avons fait présenter au Roi, une Requête humble & loyale, le suppliant de vouloir bien nous délivrer de nos oppressions. Nous avons aussi formé un accord, par lequel nous suspendons l'importation de toutes sortes de marchandises de la Grande Bretagne & de l'Irlande, après le premier de Decembre prochain. Comme aussi nous nous engageons à ne rien transporter de chez nous dans ces Royaumes ou aux Isles de l'Amerique, apres le dixieme de Septembre prochain, si nous n'avons pas encore obtenu, dans ce tems là, la réparation de nos griefs.

QUE de Tout-Puissant daigne vous porter d'inclination à approuver nos démarches justes & nécessaires, & à vous joindre à nous, & que lorsque l'on vous offrira quelques injurés que vous serez résolu de ne point souffrir, à ne pas faire dépendre votre sort du peu d'influence que pourrait avoir votre seule Province, mais des puissances reunies de l'Amerique septentrionale; & qu'il veuille accorder à nos travaux unis, un succes aussi heureux que notre cause est juste, est la fervente priere de nous, vos sincerés & affectionnés Amis & Concitoyens.

PAR ORDRE DU CONGRES,

26 Octobre, 1774.

HENRY MIDDLETON, President.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 10, p. 120.

(No.1.)

Quebec 23d Sepr. 1774.

Duplicate

My Lord!

I take the first opportunity that offers of acquainting your Lordship with my arrival here the 18th instant, where I have had the satisfaction of finding His Majesty's Canadian Subjects impressed with the strongest sense of The King's great goodness towards them in the late Act of Regulation for the Government of this Province; All Ranks of People amongst them vied with each other in testifying their Gratitude and Respect, and the Desire they have by every Mark of Duty and Submission to prove themselves not undeserving of the Treatment they have met with.

In less than four and twenty Hours after my arrival, I received a Letter from General Gage by Express, signifying the necessity He was under, from the apparent Disposition of the People in the Province under his immediate Government, to collect all the Force he could bring together, and desiring the 10th and 52d Regiments might be sent from hence, if they could be spared, without endangering the Peace

and good order of this Province; Copies of the Essential Parts of the General's Letter, and of my answer, are herewith inclosed, which will more fully explain the matter to your Lordship.

I am with much Esteem and Respect,
Your Lordship's Most Obedient and Most Humble Servant
Guy Carleton.

Earl of Dartmouth
One of His Majesty's Principal
Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec 23d Sepr 1774
Governor Carleton
(No. 1)
(Dup —Origl. not recd.)
R, 11 Novemr.
Two Inclosures

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 10, p. 122.

Extract of a Letter from General Gage to General Carleton dated Boston
Sepr. 4th 1774.

"The present Situation of affairs in this Province obliges me to collect all the Force in my Power; I have therefore sent Transports for the 10th and 52d Regiments to bring them to this Place, at the same Time I submit to you, whether you think any Thing is to be dreaded from the absence of these Corps internally in the Province of Quebec during the Winter; for as these Regiments will come down the River so late in the year, and may be replaced early in the Spring. I imagine no Danger can be apprehended from without. If therefore you think the Fusileers at Quebec, and the Part of the 26th at Montreal, with small Detachments from them at Trois Rivieres and Chamblis, can preserve Peace and good order in the Province, I am to beg you will order the 10th and 52d Regiments to embark without Delay on board the Transports for you will think with me they will have not Time to spare in coming down the River St. Lawrence.

"As I must look forward to the worst, from the apparent Disposition of the People here, I am to ask your Opinion, whether a Body of Canadians and Indians might be collected, and confided in, for the Service in this Country, should matters come to Extremities; and on what Plan, and what Measures would be most efficacious to raise them, and for them to form a Junction with the King's Forces in this Province."

G. C.

Endorsed:—Extract of a Letter from General Gage to General Carleton dated Boston
Sepr. 4th 1774.

In Governor Carleton's of the 23d Sepr. No. 1.

Extract of General Carleton's answer to Genl. Gage dated Quebec 20th Sepr. 1774.

"Your Express reached this Place yesterday Evening, about twenty Hours after my arrival; Pilots are sent down the River, the 10th and 52nd shall be ready to embark at a moment's Notice, and you directed."

"The Canadians have testified to me the strongest marks of joy, and Gratitude, and Fidelity to the King, and to His Government, for the late arrangements made at Home in their Favor; a Canadian Regiment would compleat their Happiness which in Time of Need might be augmented to two, three, or more Battalions, tho' for the Satisfaction of the Province, and till the Kings Service might require more, one would be sufficient, and I am convinced their Fidelity and zeal might be depended on; should this measure be at length adopted (which I have long since Recommended) 'tis essentially necessary their appointments should be the same as the rest of the Infantry, with half pay, in case they should be reduced; the Savages of this Province, I hear, are in very good Humor, a Canadian Battalion would be a great motive, and go far to influence them but you know what sort of People they are,"

G. C.

Endorsed:—Extract of General Carleton's answer to General Gage dated Quebec
20th Sepr. 1774.

In Governor Carleton's of the 23d Sepr. No. 1.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 10, p. 125.

(No. 14)

Whitehall 10th Decr. 1774.

Governor Carleton

Sir

I have received your Dispatch of the 23d of Sepr acquainting me with your arrival at Quebec and that you found His Majesty's Canadian Subjects impressed with a just sense of His Majesty's Goodness to them, and highly satisfied and pleased with the Regulations adopted for the future Government of the Colony.

As you are silent as to the sentiments of His Majesty's natural born Subjects in Canada respecting the late Act, I am not at liberty to conclude that they entertain the same opinion of it, but the King trusts that when the Provisions of it have taken place and His Majesty's gracious Intentions with respect to the Plan of Judicature that is to be established are well known, prejudice which popular clamour has excited, will cease, and that His Majesty's Subjects of every description will see and be convinced of the Equity and good Policy of the Bill.

It will be your care, Sir, at the same time you express to the King's new adopted subjects His Majesty's gracious approbation of the affection and Respect they have shewn for His Government, to endeavour by every Argument which your own good sense will suggest to you, to persuade the natural born subjects of the justice & propriety of the present form of Government and of the attention that has been shewn to their Interests not only in the adoption of the English Laws, as far as it was consistent with what was due to the just claims and moderate wishes of the Canadians but in the opening to the British Merchant, by an Extension of the Province, so many new channels of important commerce.

You will have seen, by the public prints, that Mr. Hey has been elected for Sandwich in the new Parliament and will naturally conclude that he has no Intention of returning to Quebec; but I have the Satisfaction to acquaint you, that is not the case, and that he is resolved to return to Quebec in the Character of Chief Justice although he should be under the necessity of relinquishing his Seat in Parliament which however we hope and think may be avoided, and I mention this with the greater Pleasure, knowing how great a satisfaction it must be to you to have his advice and opinion upon the many important Objects that remain to be provided for.

It is very much to be wished that the season of the year would admit of his being the Bearer of your Commission and Instructions, and of the notifications of His Majesty's pleasure with regard to the Variety of Arrangements which are to be made; but as that cannot be, I propose to send them to you by the next New York Packet under cover to Lieut. Govr. Colden, with Directions to him to see them conveyed to you from New York by a proper Messenger and with all possible Dispatch.

I am &c.

Dartmouth.

Endorsed:—Drat. to Govr. Carleton
10th December 1774
(No. 14)

Entd.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, p. 290.

(Secret) (Copy)

Quebec 4th Feby 1775.

Sir

As this goes by Lt. Cleveland of the 7th, I will venture to be more explicit about what you mention of the Canadians and Indians in your Letter of 25th Decr last, than I thought it prudent to do by Post, as one may naturally suppose, those, who seem resolved to force their Country into Rebellion, Jealous of the correspondence

may intercept our Letters, to make themselves masters of the correspondence, and should those Disorders continue, as there is too much Reason to apprehend, I submit it to your consideration, whether it may not be proper to send me a Cypher, for the greater Security of our Correspondence on matters of a secret nature.

The Canadians in general have been made very happy by the Act passed in their Favor, all that have spoke, or wrote to me upon the subject, express the most grateful sense of what has been done for them; I must not however conceal from your Excellency, that the Gentry, well disposed, and heartily desirous as they are, to serve the Crown, and to serve it with zeal, when formed into regular corps, do not relish commanding a bare Militia, they never were used to that Service under the French Government, (and perhaps for good Reasons) besides the sudden Dismission of the Canadian Regiment raised in 1764, without gratuity or Recompence to Officers, who engaged in our Service almost immediately after the cession of the Country, or taking any notice of them since, tho' they all expected half pay, is still uppermost in their Thoughts, and not likely to encourage their engaging a second Time in the same way; As to the Habitans or Peasantry, ever since the Civil Authority has been introduced into the Province, the Government of it has hung so loose, and retained so little Power, they have in a manner emancipated themselves, and it will require Time, and discreet management likewise, to recall them to their ancient Habits of obedience and Discipline; considering all the new Ideas they have been acquiring for these ten years past, can it be thought they will be pleased at being suddenly, and without Preparation embodied into a Militia, and marched from their Families, Lands, and Habitations to remote Provinces, and all the Horrors of war, which they have already experienced. It would give an appearance of Truth to the Language of our Sons of Sedition, at this very moment busily employed instilling into their minds, that the Act was passed merely to serve the present Purposes of Government, and in the full Intention of ruling over them with all the Despotism of their ancient Masters —

It may be further observed, that the Act is more than the foundation of future Establishments; that the new Commissions and Instructions, expected out, are not yet arrived, and that the Dissolution of the present Constitution, if it deserves the name, and Establishment of the new one, are still at some Distance; at that Period, upon the first of May every civil Regulation, at present existing, is annihilated, and the whole to be cast into a new Form, a work that must necessarily be attended with some Difficulty, and will require Time, consideration, and great Prudence, for which it is not in our Power to prepare, untill the final Determination of the Ministry upon all these matters is known; had the present Settlement taken Place, when first recommended, it would not have roused the Jealousy of the other Colonies, and had the appearance of more disinterested Favor to the Canadians; many advantages might have resulted therefrom at this Juncture, which must now be deferred to a more distant occasion.

“Since it could not be done before, this would prove a fair opportunity for raising a Battalion or two of Canadians; such a measure might be of singular use, in finding Employment for, and consequently firmly attaching, the Gentry, to our Interests in restoring them to a significance, they have nearly lost, and through their means obtaining a further Influence upon the Lower class of People, a material service to the State, besides that of effectually securing many nations of Savages.”

As to the Indians, Government having thought it expedient to let matters go in that channel, I have ever considered the late Sir Wm. Johnson, to whom, I suppose, Colonel Guy Johnson succeeds, as having their Political concerns under his immediate Direction, with which I never interfered further, than their commercial Interests, or the private Property, they possess in the Country, required, and upon this Principle Major Campbell's Commission was granted; however, if I am not greatly deceived in my Intelligence, not only the Domiciliés of the Province, but all the neighbouring Indians are very much at your Disposal, whenever you are pleased to call upon them, and what you recommend shall be complied with—

Left to my own speculations in this retired corner, without Intelligence of what passes in Europe till very long after the Event, and from a knowledge of the present Continental Transactions only, I entertain no Doubt, our Army is by this Time augmenting, and that as soon as the navigation opens, some Troops from Britain will be sent up this River, and in my opinion, it should not be an inconsiderable force; if we are to have a French war, this corps will become indispensably necessary here, if not,

half-pay, which was given in the beginning of last May, (when the Quebec-act was to have taken place,) to several Canadian, or French, officers; who had gone in the year 1763, or 1764, (at the request of general Murray, who was at that time governour of the province), upon a military expedition into the upper, or Indian, country, to oblige the Indians, (who had either continued the war against the English colonies, or begun a new one, after his Majesty had made peace with the French king,) to lay down their arms and make peace with all his Majesty's subjects. I have been told, that several of the Canadian, or French, inhabitants of the province, engaged in that service with alacrity, and went into the Indian country, to make war upon the Indians, and reduce them to terms of peace by force of arms, if they had stood out any longer, and that the presence of these Canadians amongst the Indians on that occasion, (to many of whom they were known,) contributed very much to strike terror into the latter, and persuade them to make peace with the English: since which time there have been no Indian disturbances. This was certainly a very considerable service to his Majesty, and to the province, for which the persons, who so cheerfully undertook it, deserved both thanks and a reward. I was not at that time in the province; and therefore do not know the exact particulars of this affair. But I have been told that, at the time, little notice was taken of them on account of this expedition, and that they met with no reward. But now of late, those of them who had served as officers on that occasion, have had good amends made them for this long delay of publick gratitude, during eleven or twelve years, by receiving each of them a pension which is to be continued for their lives, equal to the half-pay of the commission, in which he served on that expedition. Perhaps, this may seem going into a contrary extreme to that of the negligent treatment they are said to have met with immediately after their return from that expedition, when the gratitude of government for the service they had just rendered, ought naturally to have been warmest: and some people will be apt to doubt, whether this liberality has been exhibited towards them from the single motive of pure gratitude for their past service, or whether it was partly intended as an encouragement to them and their friends to engage again in the military life, and make war upon their neighbours of New-England; especially if they reflect on the hint given in the letter signed *Le Canadien Patriote*, about raising a Canadian regiment. But if this was the motive to this measure, the disinclination of the lower class of Canadians to engage in so odious a service, has completely spoiled the project. Though I don't know the amount of this half-pay, I presume it cannot be less than £1350 sterling a year, which with the former sums already mentioned, will make the increase of the publick expence of the old province, (as bounded by the King's proclamation in 1763, since the passing of the Quebec-act, amount to £7000 a year. Surely, when the publick money is thus freely dealt about in the province, the expence of £6300 ought not to be thought an obstacle to the establishment of the foregoing plan for the administration of justice in the province, if it be judged to be a very convenient plan for the purpose, and likely to give great satisfaction to the Canadians.

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 (Additional papers concerning the Province of Quebec, by Francis Maseres, London, 1776, Pp. 372-5.)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.
 Series Q. Vol. 11, p. 161.

(No. 11)

Quebec 15th May 1775.

My Lord!

Inclosed Your Lordship will receive a Copy of the Intelligence transmitted to me since my last, of the further Proceedings of some of the turbulent spirits at Montreal, and the attempt of the Massachusets, to avail themselves of their Disposition, in order to gain or intimidate the Canadians, and even to tamper with the Indians, settled in Villages towards the Upper Part of the St. Lawrence; this Embassy however, I believe, has failed of their aim, and returned with little else than Promises of a few Individuals to render them all services in their Power.

The first of May was marked by a pretty extraordinary Transaction, as your Lordship will be able to judge by a copy of the account transmitted to me, herewith inclosed, which has been attended with some consequences; Rewards having

been offered by Government, the Civil, and Military, at Montreal, for discovering the Perpetrators of the Insult upon the Bust. while these were proclaiming, and a crowd assembled thereupon, some ill Language and Blows passed between a Canadian Gentleman of some note, Monsieur Bellestre, and a young man born and bred in Philadelphia, not long settled at Montreal; the Judges, through Excess of zeal, laid hold of the words that had given offence to the Canadian Gentleman, as you will see by the inclosed copy of the account sent me of the affair, to commit the young man to Gaol, and refused at first to admit him to Bail.

But the Attorney General's opinion having been sent to them by Express, they agreeable thereto set him free; indeed they had, the Day after his Commitment, offered to accept his Bail, which he then refused—

Since the young Man's Release, some of the old subjects at Quebec have presented me a Petition, and those at Montreal a Remonstrance, complaining very grievously of the affair, from all which, I suppose, they intend making as great a Bustle about it, as they can; they have however failed in their attempts with the Canadians, who, tho' much importuned, refused to sign either.

A copy of the Minutes of the old Council from the first of the present year to, the 23rd April, which closed it, is likewise herewith transmitted.

I am with much Respect and Esteem
Your Lordship's Most obedient and Most Humble Servant
Guy Carleton.

Earl of Dartmouth
One of His Majesty's Principal
Secretaries of State.

P.S.—I have received by the March Packet your Lordship's Circular Dispatches of 25th February and 3rd March with the Papers therein inclosed. G.C.

Endorsed:—Quebec 15th May 1775.

Governor Carleton

(No. 11)

R. 12th July.

Nine Inclosures.

Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 3d Apl. 1775.

Les sujets entetés de la pretendue Liberté ne cessent de repandre des Libelles de toute Espece et cherchent a intimider les pauvres Canadiens en leur faisant entendre que si ils ne se joignent a eux qu'il viendra cinquante mille Hommes pour detruire les Villes et rendre les Habitans Malheureus. Il est arrivé plusieurs Anglois sous pretexte d'acheter des cheveaux qui font courir le Bruit que Monsieur Gage ne peut plus soutenir et sera bientôt contraint de se retirer et bien d'autres Discours semblables, on assure qu'il s'est tenu deux Assemblées l'un a la Ville et l'autre a la Chine dans lesquels etoient quelques uns de ses nouveaux arrivans mais tout est secret pour nous.

G. C.

Endorsed:—Extract of a Letter from Montreal 3rd April 1775.

^{a.}
In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May No. 11.
(2)

(Translation)

Extract of a Letter from Montreal, dated 3d April, 1775.

The people obsessed with sham Liberty do not cease to spread Slanders of every Description and try to intimidate the poor Canadians by making them believe that if they do not join them, fifty thousand men will come to destroy their Towns and make the Habitans miserable. Several English have come here under pretext of buying horses who spread the Report that Mr. Gage cannot hold out and will soon be obliged to withdraw and other similar Tales, they assure me that two meetings have been held one in the Town and the other at La Chine at which some of these new comers were present but all is a secret to us.

Endorsed:—

Extract of a Letter from Montreal.
3rd April, 1775.

^{a.}
In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May No. 11.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, pp. 164-6.

Paper of Intelligence from Montreal 3rd Apl. 1775.

There are some People lately come into this Province from New England who I suspect are no better than they should be. One is gone to Quebec, and as I am informed a second is at three Rivers and a third remains here the last gives out that he is come to buy a Pair of Horses, but I am very apprehensive has other schemes in view, as he is very often with the Merchants of this Town, and I am told there are two or three more at La Prairie, and that last Saturday, some of the Merchants and they had a meeting at La Chine, but cannot find out their Business, but am apprehensive their meeting was for no good purpose.

G. C.

Endorsed:—Paper of Intelligence from Montreal 3rd Apl. 1775.

a.
In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May No. 11.
(1)

(91)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, p. 149.

Copy of Intelligence from Montreal received the 5th of April 1775.

Le 22me Fevrier 1775 lors que J'entrai ches Monsieur La taille Curé a St. Charles sur la Riviere de Chamblis, Je trouvai ce Monsieur lisant une Traduction imprimée de l'Adresse du Congrès aux Canadiens qu'un Anglois que je ne connoissois pas, ni Mr. La Taille, venoit de lui presenter a lire. Ce Curé après l'avoir parcouru très succintement, le lui rendit en lui disant que cela lui paroissoit mauvais, et qu'il n'en avoit nullement Besoin.

Cet Anglois que J'ai sçu depuis peu de jours se nommer Woolsey, nous dit que le But de cet Ecrit etoit de detourner les Habitans de prendre les Armes contre eux, craignant que ce ne soit le Dessein du Gouvernement; et qu'il etoit bien a propos que ces Messieurs eussent une Repense.

Je lui demandai d'ou il avoit eu cette Brochure, et il me dit que Mr. Burk Greffier, qui en avoit 4 a 5 sur sa table lui avoit donné celle la. Je crois mais sans certitude, que le meme Woolsey, en a distribué de semblables du coté de la Chenaye, il me dit qu'il avoit Desir d'en procurer une au Curé de Terrebonne.

Le Jeudi 9me Mars, Je vis descendre chés Ferries Cantinier sur le Marché de cette Ville un Homme a cheval que je jugeai venir des Colonies, il en etoit en Effet; Il repartit le lendemain a la même Heure, (a 3 heures après midi) emmenant avec lui deux autres chevaux qu'il avoit eu du Sieur Perineau pour un Negre. Ferries m'a dit que cet Homme etoit envoyé par un nommé Thomas qui vient ordinairement acheter des chevaux.

Le même jour 9me Mars Mr. Measam Marchand Anglois, me dit sur le marché que L'Homme dont Je viens de parler, rapportoit que les Bastonnois avoient des Troupes sur Pied, et 30 Pieces de canon; et que d'autres Colonies avoient jusqu'a dix mille Hommes a leur Solde le tout pour s'opposer aux Troupes du Roi et se preserver du Despotisme que le Ministere vouloit etablir dans ce Continent. Comme je badinois sur ce Despotisme, Mr. Walker qui n'étoit pas éloigné, le joignit, et dit a Mr. Measam que J'avois Raison qu'il n'y avoit pas de Despotisme en France: (que ce Dernier avoit cité pour Exemple.) mais que les Peuples des Colonies etoient de braves Gens, qui ne vouloient pas etre Esclaves et qui Defendoient leur Liberté et leurs Droits tant qu'ils auroient du Sang; Disant cela, il s'étoit tourné du coté d'un asses grand nombre d'Habitans qui nous ecoutoient et comme Je lui dis que tout cela s'accommoderoit; qu'au surplus nous n'etions point Juges entre L'Angleterre et ses colonies, avec du Sang me dit il, on lavera les Taches que le Ministere a faites a la constitution; il faut du Sang et quelques années, et tout sera arrangé, il ne tient qu'a vous autres d'etre libres, Vous touchés au moment si vous voulés en profite.

Je repondis a Mr. Walker, ces gens qui vous ecoutent ainsi que moi n'ont jamais été Esclaves, pas plus que vous; et notre soumission au Roi et a son Gouvernement, nous assure que nous serons toujours libres.

Comment appellés vous Le Roi me dit il, Mon Souverain lui repondis Je, Mon Seigneur et mon Maitre, Il est mon Souverain repondit il mais il n'est pas mon Maitre.

Je le laissai en lui disant Il sera votre Maitre comme le Mien de quelque nom que vous L'Apelliés, mais Je vous prie ne parlons plus sur cette matiere; Mrs. St. George Dupré et Le Pallieur etoient presens et plusieurs autres que Je n'ai pas remarqué.

Il m'a été dit hier que quelques Deputés de Boston etoient venu depuis quelques Jours par la Riviere Kinibeki et avoient apporté des Lettres a Monsieur Macaulay de Quebec et a Mr. Walker de cette Ville; on m'a aussi assuré que Hier Samedi plusieurs Marchands de cette Ville s'etoient assemblés a La Chine avec ces pretendus Deputés.

Montreal le 2. Avril 1775.

G. C.

Endorsed:—Copy of Intelligence received from Montreal 5th April 1775.

In Govr. Carleton's (No. 10) of 6th April 1775.

(Translation)

Copy of Intelligence received the 5th April, 1775.

On the 22nd February last, when I entered the house of Mons. La Taille, Curé of St. Charles on the River Chambly, I found this Gentleman reading a printed Translation of the address from Congress to the Canadians which an Englishman whom I did not know nor did Mr. La Taille, had given him to read. This Curé after having looked through it very briefly gave it back to him saying that it seemed bad to him and that he had no need of it.

The Englishman whom I had known for a few days by the name of Woolsey told us that the purpose of this Paper was to deter the Inhabitants from taking up Arms against them fearing that this was the Design of the Government and that it was advisable that these Gentlemen should have a Reply.

I asked him from whom he had received this Pamphlet and he said that Mr. Burk, Recorder, who had 4 or 5 on his table had given him this one. I believe, without being sure, that the said Woolsey had distributed others similar in the region of la Chenaye, he told me that he desired to obtain one for the Curé of Terrebonne.

On Thursday, 9th March I saw a horseman alight at the house of Ferries, Sutler at the market in this Town whom I guessed had come from the Colonies, he had in Fact: He went away the next day at the same Hour (3 o'clock in the afternoon) taking with him two other horses which he had obtained from Mr. Perineau for a Negro. Ferries told me that this man was sent by a person named Thomas who usually came to buy horses.

The same day 9th March, Mr. Measam an English merchant told me on the market that the man of whom I speak reported that the People of Boston had raised Troops with 30 Pieces of cannon; and that other Colonies had as many as ten thousand men in their pay, all to oppose the Troops of the King and preserve them from the Despotism which the Ministry wished to establish in this Continent. As I made a jest on this Despotism, Mr. Walker, who was not far away, joined him and said to Mr. Measam that I was right, there was no Despotism in France (which the Latter had quoted as an Exemple) but that the People of the Colonies were brave Fellows, who did not wish to be Slaves, and would Defend their Liberty and their Rights while they had Blood. Saying this he turned towards a large number of Habitans who were listening to us and as I said to him that all this would be settled; that moreover we were not Judges between England and her colonies; with Blood, he said to me, they would wash out the Stains the ministry had made upon the constitution; there must be Blood and some years, and all would be settled, he held that you others should be free, you could be so at once if you wished to profit by it.

I replied to Mr. Walker, these people who listen to you as well as myself have never been slaves any more than you; and our submission to the King and his Government assures us that we will always be free.

How do you call The King he said to me. He is my Sovereign I replied, "My Lord and my Master." He is my Sovereign he answered but he is not my Master.

I left him saying He will be your Master as well as Mine by whatever name you call Him but I beg you not to say any more on this matter. Messrs St. George Dupré and Le Pailleur were present and several more whom I did not notice.

I was told yesterday that some Delegates from Boston had come up several Days before by the Kinibeki River and brought Letters to Mr. Macaulay of Quebec and Mr. Walker of this Town; they also assured me yesterday that on Saturday several merchants from this Town had a meeting with these so-called Delegates at Lachine.

Montreal 2 April 1775.

G. C.

Endorsed: Copy of Intelligence received from Montreal 5th April, 1775.

In Govr. Carleton's (No. 10) of 6th April 1775.

Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 6th April 1775.

I had the Honor of informing your Excellency last Post of the arrival of several People from New England and of one in particular that remained here, the Day before yesterday most of the Merchants as well as most of the English Scotch and Irish of this Town assembled at the Coffee House here, and were harangued by the New Englander; I am told their assembling was to chuse two Deputies to send to the Congress to be held at Philadelphia on the 10th of next May—

Endorsed:—Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 6th April 1775.

In Governor Carleton's^{a.} Letter of the 15th May No. 11.
(3)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, p. 167.

Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 7th April 1775.

I take the opportunity of informing your Excellency more particularly in Regard to the New Englander. His name is Brown, is an Attorney by Profession and a member of the Provincial Committee at Cambridge. At the Assembly of the Merchants &c. at the coffee House on Tuesday last, a Letter was produced brought by said Brown and read; it was addressed to Thomas Walker Esqr. Messieurs Todd, Blake Price, Heywood and to all the Friends of Liberty, the purport of the Letter is to represent the Cause of the Americans in the best Light it will bear holding up the late Acts of the British Legislature as oppressive and unconstitutional, the enforcing of them in the mode at present adopted, as tyrannical setting forth to the Committee of Montreal, and the Canadians in general, how essential it will be to the Americans, if this Colony joins in the common cause.

Signed Adams Mackay-Warren.

After the Letter was read and said Brown and Mr. Walker who is a great Republican had harangued a considerable time in support of the Letter; a Motion was made by them for establishing a committee of observation in Montreal for corresponding with the Committee at Cambridge, and to elect two Delegates to attend the general Continental Congress to be held at Philadelphia on the 10th of next May, but it did not answer their Purpose, as none present came into their way of thinking and the Assembly broke up without anything being done that was proposed by those opposers of Government, but since that, I have been informed, that Messieurs Walker Blake, Price, Heywood and Measam intend answering the Letter wrote by Adams Mackay and Warren, Mr. Todd having refused having any thing to do with the Letter or it's Contents said Brown is endeavouring to intimidate the Canadians by assuring them, that if a man of them should dare to take up arms and act against the Bostonians, thirty thousand of them will immediately march into Canada and lay waste the whole Country.

G. C.

Endorsed:—Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 7th Apl. 1775.

—a—
In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May No. 11.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, pp. 169-173.

Paper of Intelligence from Montreal 10th April 1775.

Mardi 4 Avril Mr. De.....dit en ma presence a Mr. De.....qu'il sortoit a l'instant de chés le Sieur..... on etoient Mr Brassier Prêtre et Procureur du Seminaire, et le Sieur Thomas Walker, que ce dernier avoit dit a cet Ecclesiastique Je ne scai a quel propos que peu à peu Lui et les autres s'apercevoient des Desseins du Ministere, dont le But etoit de les depuiller de leurs Droits et de leurs Biens, que le saul moyen de s'assurer l'un et l'autre, seroit d'envoyer deux Deputés au prochain Congrès, qui les maintiendrait, M. De.....sortit sur ce Propos.

G. C.

Endorsed:—Paper of Intelligence from Montreal 10th Apl. 1775.

—a—
(5)*(Translation)*

Paper of Intelligence from Montreal 10th April, 1775.

Tuesday 4th April Mr De.....said in my presence to Mr. De.....that he came at that moment from the house of M.....where were Mr. Brassier, Priest and Proctor of the Seminary, and Mr. Thomas Walker, that the latter had said to this Ecclesiastic I do not Know in what connection, that bit by bit He and others would see through the Designs of the Ministry, whose object was to deprive them of their Rights and Property, that the only means of protecting both would be to send two Delegates to the next Congress who would maintain them. Mr. De..... came away on this Remark.

Endorsed:—Paper of Intelligence from Montreal 10th April. 1775.

a

In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May No. 11.

Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 1st May 1775.

I am extremely sorry to have to inform your Excellency that a most daring Insult was done last night to the King's Bust on the *Place D'Armes*. The Face was disfigured, circle or chapelet of Potatoes round the neck and a wooden cross with a Label in these words *Voilà le Pape de Canada ou le Sot Anglois*.

G. C.

Endorsed:—Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 1st May 1775.

b

In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May No. 11.

(6)

Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 4th May 1775.

I am sorry I am obliged to trouble your Excellency with the Recital of an affair that happened the Day before yesterday. At the Publication of a Reward of fifty Guineas offered by the Officers of the 26th Regiment for apprehending the Person or Persons guilty of the late Insult on His Majesty's Bust, Mr. Bellestre who was then present called out aloud He should be very glad the detestable wretches who could be guilty of so infamous an action were discovered, and that he would with pleasure see them whipt by the Hands of the Hangman and then turned out of the Province that the Punishment would be too lenient, for they deserved to be hanged upon which a young Man by the name of Franks (son of Mr. Franks of Quebec) stept forth, and in a sneering way answered, hanged! what for such a Trifle. Mr. Bellestre replied what do you look upon the Transaction as a Trifle; You are a giddy headed insolent Spark, Franks returned him several very injurious Replies which so exasperated Mr. Bellestre that he took him by the nose, Franks returned the compliment by a Blow with his fist over the right Eye which deprived the old gentleman of his senses for some time and was the occasion of the Loss of some Blood. An Information was taken at Mr. Bellestre's House yesterday and said Franks committed to Gaol, the same afternoon and much about the same time Solomon a Jew Merchant being about the Parade near the King's Bust called out he believed some Canadian Scoundrel was the Author of the Insult on the Bust, Mr. Le Pailleur being present answered he made

no Doubt but it might have been performed by a Jew. Solomon replied what do you say Sir, Mr. Le Pailleur repeated as before; upon which Solomon knocked him down, the consequence was he was apprehended and obliged to give Bail, it gives me great concern things are carried these Lengths as they may be the cause of much mischief, at least of ill Blood if not timely prevented. My Opinion is a few of my Countrymen are the Cause of the whole, as I take the Canadians to be very good subjects and very inoffensive.

G.C.

Endorsed:—Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 4 the May 1775.

c.

In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May, No. 11.

Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated the 4th May 1775.

At these Publications some People from words went to Blows—Mr. Bellestre having heard one of these Publications, called out he would be very happy that the Author was found out, and concluded by saying that he even deserved to be hanged, to which a young man of the name of Franks (they say a son of Mr. John Franks of Quebec) replied in the following words, which are the words of Mr. Bellestre on Oath: *a Quoi un Jeune Homme, qu'il a su depuis se nommer Franks, auroit repondu avec aigreur qu'on ne pendoit point pour si peu de chose, et que cela ne valoit point la Peine, ce qu'il auroit publiquement et plusieurs fois reiterer*, upon these and some other words M. Bellestre took the young man by the nose, on which the young man beat him pretty roundly so as not to be fit to come out.

G. C.

Endorsed:—Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 4th May 1775.

In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May 1775. No. 11.

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A

A HISTORY

OF THE

Organization, Development and Services of the
Military and Naval Forces of Canada
From the Peace of Paris in 1763,
to the Present Time.

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.

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J.W.*

The War of the American Revolution.

The Province of Quebec under the Administration
of Governor Sir Guy Carleton, 1775-1778.

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CHAPTER V.

Commissioners from Congress arrive at Montreal.—A military post is established at the Cedars.—This garrison is obliged to surrender.—The privations of the invaders.—The action at Three Rivers.—Carleton advances up the river.—St. Jean and Isle aux Noix are re-occupied.—The retreat of the invading army to Crown Point.—Naval activity on the lakes.—The death of General Gordon.—Violation of the terms of capitulation at the Cedars.—Naval preparations.—Action at Valcour Island.—Destruction of the American flotilla.—Conclusion of the campaign.—The dissatisfaction of Lord George Germain.—Plans for the next campaign.—Enactment of a militia ordinance.—Reconnaissance of Ticonderoga.—Exportation of cattle and grain is prohibited.—Organization of expeditions to invade New York.—Failure of these expeditions.—Carleton's correspondence with Lord George Germain.—Plans for the improvement of the militia.—Returns of its strength.—A second invasion of the province is projected.—La Fayette's plan of campaign.—The attempt is abandoned.—Carleton's arrangements for defence.—He is relieved by General Haldimand as governor.

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A HISTORY

OF THE

Organization, Development and Services of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada from the Peace of Paris in 1763, to the Present Time.

CHAPTER III.

THE WAR OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The American Invasion. The Surrender of Chambly, St. Jean, and Montreal.

The first day of May, 1775, was the date set for the formal introduction of the Quebec Act. As Carleton himself admitted, this meant that "every civil Regulation, at present existing, is annihilated, and the whole to be cast into a new Form, a work that must necessarily be attended with some difficulty, and will require Time, consideration, and great Prudence." He had become reluctantly convinced that the greater part of the English speaking population was more or less hostile to the new constitution, and that persistent and malicious efforts would be made to prejudice the *habitans* against it and promote agrarian discontent. It seemed certain that the night of the 30th April had been purposely chosen for the commission of a vile insult to the King's bust on the Place d'Armes, at Montreal, to add significance to the incident. In consequence, party feeling ran high and angry words and blows were exchanged. These events caused considerable uneasiness and were skilfully turned to their advantage by the numerous malcontents in that town.

On the evening of the 19th of May, Carleton received an urgent despatch at Quebec from General Gage, requesting him to send the 7th Regiment, accompanied by some companies of Canadians and Indians to Crown Point to make a diversion in his favor. The next morning, Captain Moses Hazen, who had commanded a company of rangers under Wolfe, but was then on half pay, and had been long employed as a confidential messenger in the conveyance of dispatches from the commander in chief at New York, arrived from Montreal with the startling intelligence that a considerable body of insurgents from Massachusetts and New Hampshire had surprised and taken possession of the forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, after midnight and without firing a shot, with all the artillery and valuable stores deposited there. An officer's guard of thirty men had been stationed at Ticonderoga, and a non-commissioned officer's party of a dozen men at Crown Point; both of these detachments being from the 26th Regiment. Resistance was, of course, out of the question, even had they been prepared for such an attack. Benedict Arnold, with the advanced guard of the insurgents, who was scornfully described by Carleton as a "horse jockey from Connecticut," had then pushed on as far as St. Jean, within thirty miles of Montreal, where on the morning of the 18th he surprised, with equal ease, another party of ten men of the 26th, doing guard duty there, took possession of a government sloop and some boats which he loaded with stores from the fort and immediately retired. He had informed Hazen that his force consisted of five hundred men, but that he would be immediately followed by 1,500 volunteers. That evening a second messenger arrived with the information that another party commanded by Ethan Allen, an outlaw from New Hampshire, had advanced to St. Jean during the night while a larger force was reported to be encamped on Isle Aux Noix. Allen had despatched a letter addressed to the British merchants of Montreal, requesting supplies, which had been intercepted and measures taken to prevent them from complying, as some of them at first had seemed inclined to do. A soldier from the garrison had escaped and given the alarm at Montreal. This party which was apparently intent on the capture of military stores, only remained there a few hours and was attacked when entering their boats to rejoin their main body by Major Preston, who had rapidly advanced from Montreal with part of the 26th Regiment. One of them was taken prisoner and a few others wounded who made their escape.

Carleton at once set out for Montreal, then a journey of not less than three days, after giving orders for the greater part of the regular troops at Quebec to follow him as quickly as possible. On his arrival there, he directed the seigniors of the neighbourhood to assemble their tenants for the defence of the province, but although they seemed very willing to assist him, they were unable to induce many of the inhabitants to follow their example. A number of the young men, principally belonging to the upper class, formed themselves into a company of volunteers, and joined the garrison of St. Jean. The Indians, who were also called to arms, were slow in responding. The alarm throughout the country was very great, and the people seemed apathetic or paralysed with fear. On the arrival of the troops from Quebec, Carleton sent most of them to St. Jean, making small detachments only for the occupation of the dismantled posts at Oswegatchie and the Cedars, which he regarded as commanding the two principal avenues by which an invasion of the province might be attempted. The fortifications at these places were repaired as rapidly as his scanty means would permit, and in the course of a few days, the inhabitants of Montreal seemed to regain some measure of confidence. Most of the gentry and the clergy became very active in their efforts to aid him in organising the militia, which existed only in name. A proclamation was issued declaring martial law and directing all persons who had received commissions as militia officers from former governors to perform all military duties required of them until further appointments were made. Brevet commissions were issued to leading French-Canadian gentlemen in the towns of Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec, giving them the rank of field officers in the urban militia which was formed into battalions. Most of these officers showed great zeal and activity in this service but had to contend with the evident apathy and mistrust of many of the inhabitants.

Two small sailing vessels hired for that purpose at Quebec soon arrived with a small detachment of Royal Artillery, provided with some field guns and ammunition. These vessels with the troops on board, were instantly despatched to St. Jean and orders were given for the establishment of a dock yard there for their conversion into ships of war, and the construction of others, as it was considered of supreme importance to recover the command of the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain, which was the only route by which invading forces could approach that place as the roads from Sorel and La Prairie terminated there.

The Indians of Caughnawaga after much deliberation delivered up a letter brought to them by a well known Stockbridge Indian, written by Ethan Allen, promising them arms and presents and urging them to attack and kill the king's troops. They stoutly affirmed their loyalty and asked permission to invade New England. Sufficient written evidence had then been procured to implicate Walker, Price and other Montreal merchants in a charge of seditious conspiracy with the invaders, but for some unknown reason, the governor abstained from making arrests. He frankly admitted however that he had found good reason to repent having ever recommended the introduction of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the English criminal laws, as they were now being turned to account against the government.

All direct communication with other provinces having been entirely broken off, he was in much want of ready money to meet the ordinary expenses of the government as the bankers and merchants had been accustomed to receive all supplies of cash from New York and Philadelphia.

Carleton did not attempt to conceal his opinion that the situation of the provinces was critical, and his letters at this time indicate that he was greatly dispirited.

An address from the Provincial Congress at New York, to the inhabitants of the Province of Quebec, calling upon them to unite with the people of that Province, in their opposition to the measures of the British ministry, had been printed, translated into French and widely circulated in the parishes near the frontier and in the town of Montreal. It declared that the attack upon St. Jean had been made without their knowledge or consent, and that the military preparations in New York were being solely made with the intention of preventing hostile incursions by the troops in Canada.

On the 7th of June, however, an armed force again entered the Richelieu River, having embarked in the government sloop and a merchant schooner which they had captured and armed, accompanied by several large row boats filled with men. They approached the fort near enough to exchange a few cannon shot with the batteries and then retired, apparently convinced that the place was too strong for them to attack. They announced however, that they would soon return with five thousand men, and it was reported that they were building many boats near Crown Point and had been joined by reinforcements from New York, and other provinces. They had also threatened to invade the province by paths through the woods, and small armed parties apparently acting as scouts appeared at different points south of the St. Lawrence, even

in the parishes near Pointe Levi. One of these, consisting of four men, had actually been arrested on the Chaudière River but allowed to get away. They were supposed to have come from New England or Nova Scotia by Indian trails through the woods. A small guard of regular troops was in consequence posted at Sartigan, the frontier settlement on that river, and another on the river St. Francis, by which route the province had been invaded in a former war.

For the efficient defence of the country, Carleton reported that a force of ten or twelve thousand men would be necessary, with a proper proportion of artillery and engineers. The operations of such a force, he said, might have a great influence over the whole continent and effectually support General Gage; ten thousand stand of arms were also needed for the militia.

The regular troops actually, at his disposal, consisted of the 7th and 26th Regiments, both very weak, numbering altogether only 790 of all ranks, and a detachment of eighty-five of all ranks of the Royal Artillery. Of the infantry, 380 were stationed at St. Jean, 114 at Chambly, 111 at Montreal, sixty-one at Quebec, and the remainder were scattered in outposts at St. Francois, the River Chaudière, La Chine and Oswegatchie. Of the artillery, half were stationed at St. Jean, the remainder distributed among seven other garrisons from Quebec to Mackinac.

On the 18th of June, a strong party of Indians was induced to encamp in the woods between St. Jean and Isle Aux Noix, where they remained for several weeks and were employed in scouting, but strictly prohibited by the governor from undertaking any offensive operations or crossing the boundary of the province.

By that time, General Gage had authorized Carleton to draw upon him for the money he required, and issued an order placing all the upper posts under his immediate command, as well as the vessels upon the lakes. These ships, however, were very weakly manned, and not in any way prepared for war, and the insurgents had already openly declared their intentions of attacking the posts with the object of gaining control of the Indian country.

Colonel Guy Johnson, who had succeeded his uncle, Sir William, as superintendent of the Six Nations, had called a council at Oswego and applied for supplies and a small body of regular troops whose presence he considered absolutely necessary to induce the Indians to remain faithful. Carleton undertook to furnish him with the supplies he demanded but declined to send any troops, owing to the imminent danger of invasion. This council was attended by about 1400 Indians who declared their loyalty and were advised by Johnson to remain peacefully at their villages until they received further instructions. He then went down the river to Montreal where he arrived about the middle of July, accompanied by many chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations. His movements were watched with much anxiety by the revolutionary party in the province of New York, and it is evident, delayed their operations against Canada. At Colonel Johnson's invitation, nearly the whole of the Indians living in the villages on the St. Lawrence assembled with their wives and children at La Chine, where they encamped for the next two weeks. About the end of July, a council was held in Montreal with the principal chiefs and warriors at which the governor was present, and they unanimously declared their intention of assisting in the defence of the province. They were once more strictly forbidden to invade the other provinces.

As the menace of invasion still continued the brigantine Gaspé, which had accidentally come to Montreal to obtain provisions, was ordered to proceed up the river Richelieu and oppose the advance of an enemy by that route. The assistance expected from this vessel, however, was necessarily small, owing to the weakness of its crew and armament, but it was presumed that her appearance might delay their movements until the vessels at St. Jean could be equipped and manned.

Brigadier-General Prescott had arrived from Boston, having been detailed for duty on the governor's staff, but he brought with him a letter from General Gage, stating that neither troops nor seamen could be spared from that quarter, and that on the contrary, he hoped for a strong diversion in his own favor from Canada. Many copies of the printed addresses to the Canadians from the continental congress and the provincial congress of New York, and other papers of a similar character, had been circulated in the parishes near Montreal, chiefly through the agency of John Brown, an attorney originally from Massachusetts, but lately a resident at Sorel, who had been one of the persons employed during the winter to convene seditious meetings at Montreal. A letter from him, addressed to Walker and Price had been intercepted but Brown himself eluded all efforts to arrest him. Some progress was made in the enrollment and organization of the militia in the districts of Montreal and Three Rivers, but their reluctance to serve and general ill-will was so apparent that the governor considered it inadvisable to embody any large number of them until they were actually

required for the defence of the country. They had enjoyed nearly fifteen years of profound peace and freedom from all military duties, and they now greatly feared that they would be drafted into the regular army and sent into New England to suppress the rebellion in those provinces.

On the departure of the regular troops from Quebec, a considerable number of the British born subjects residing in, and near that city, sent an address to the governor, requesting that the local militia should be embodied for the protection of the government magazines as well as their own property. Carleton replied that he would immediately take the necessary measures, and about the end of July the militia of Quebec was organized into two battalions, one consisting of English, and the other of the French speaking inhabitants. M. de Longueuil was made inspector of the Canadian militia and Charles de Lanaudière, seigneur of St. Anne, appointed an aide-de-camp to the governor. About the same time, Colonel Allan Maclean, who had been authorized by General Gage to raise a regiment of two battalions, each to be composed of ten companies of sixty-one of all ranks, from the Scottish emigrants in the various provinces of North America, arrived in Canada from the Mohawk valley where he reported that he had engaged about 400 men, who were unable to accompany him into the province because the insurgents had command of Lake Champlain. He established recruiting stations at Montreal and Quebec, where he soon enlisted a hundred men. He was fortunate in securing the services of a number of experienced officers who were on half pay, and had settled in the province, among them, Captains John Nairn, Malcolm Fraser and Alexander Fraser, formerly of the 78th Regiment, and Francis Dambourges, a French gentleman established in trade at Tadousac. Malcolm Fraser was at once sent to the island of St. John, and another officer to Newfoundland, to seek recruits among the Scottish settlements in those colonies. General Prescott was appointed to the command of the Montreal district, and Carleton returned to Quebec to hasten the organization of the militia.

Although its execution had been so long deferred, the project of invasion had not been abandoned. As a means of securing the hearty support of the provincial congress of New York, Philip Schuyler was selected by the continental congress to command their northern army, with the rank of major-general, and Richard Montgomery, a retired officer of the 17th regiment, who had resided for many years in that province, and married a daughter of Judge Livingston, was appointed a brigadier-general under him. The Livingston family was the wealthiest and most influential of any that had embraced the revolutionary cause, in the province of New York, and one of its members had resided for several years near Sorel, doing business as a wheat merchant. Schuyler arrived at Ticonderoga about the middle of July, and took over the command of 2,000 soldiers, stationed at that place and Crown Point. Many of these men came from the borders of New Hampshire and were commonly known as the "Green Mountain Boys," whom he described as a set of rioters and lawless fellows, who had long defied the authorities of his own province and he was not at all pleased at having them under his orders. Their two principal leaders, Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, had quarrelled fiercely, and Allen had in consequence not been selected as an officer of the new regiment. He then tendered his services as a volunteer scout or spy to act in conjunction with John Brown, who like himself was well acquainted with the country near Montreal. Schuyler prepared a circular letter or hand bill for distribution among the inhabitants in which he stated that an army of 23,000 men was blockading the British troops in Boston, and constantly increasing in numbers. His own force would soon consist of 8,000 men, at the head of whom he intended to enter Canada. The Indians from Caughnawaga were invited to a council and he promised to give them presents. He was soon informed that the Canadians were generally disposed to be neutral, and that in some places the militia had refused to obey orders and disarmed the officers sent to organize them. Brown and his companions seem to have remained in Canada for nearly a month, and reported on their return that there were only 700 regular troops in the whole province, half of whom were at St. Jean, the remainder being scattered at five different stations between Quebec and Oswegatchie. The Canadians, they said, greatly feared that the old despotic laws were to be re-established and heavy taxes imposed upon them. A letter from Washington received by Schuyler a week or two later, stated that some of the St. Francis Indians had visited his camp at Cambridge and confirmed former reports of the "good disposition of the Indians and Canadians, to the interests of America."

On the last day of August, Montgomery embarked at Crown Point with 1200 men in a flotilla of small sailing vessels and batteaux. Next day Schuyler followed him with 800 more, overtaking him at Isle la Motte, where the whole force remained for several days. Scouts were sent out in various directions to obtain further information.

A few days before this, an officer of the 26th regiment had left St. Jean on a scouting expedition accompanied by eight Indians in two canoes. After entering Lake Champlain, they discovered a boat hidden under green boughs on the shore which was brought away. On their return when about nine miles within the boundary of the province they were fired upon and two Indians were wounded; the others returned the fire at random, and as it was nearly dark, paddled back to the fort. Next day, a strong detachment of soldiers, volunteers and Indians was sent to the place of the attack, and on landing found a man lying dead who was identified as Captain Remember Baker of the Green Mountain Boys, one of Schuyler's confidential agents. Important papers were found on his body and the Indians cut off his head and carried it back with them to St. Jean. As there could be no doubt that this unprovoked attack took place within the province, it was expected that the Canadians would resent it and come forward for the defence of their country and that the hostility of the Indians towards the Americans would be increased by the attack upon their comrades.

Schuyler was seriously alarmed by this affair and requested that some of the Six Nations, who were then attending a council at Albany should be invited to join his force with a peaceful message to their brethren in Canada, and he was informed that the Indians had consented to send such a deputation. On the 4th of September, he took possession of Isle aux Noix, where he formed a camp and next day sent out Ethan Allen and Brown to confer with James Livingston, who was still residing near Chambly, and on whom he had conferred the title of colonel. On the 6th of September, he advanced with a thousand men, who landed within a mile of the fort at St. Jean. The fortifications at this place had been repaired and strengthened, and the number of Indians attached to the garrison, increased. A portion of Schuyler's force was promptly attacked by them while crossing a stream. Six men were killed, the commanding officer and ten others wounded, and the whole party retired in much disorder. They were rallied and again advanced but were once more driven back with considerable loss. Captain Gilbert Tice, an Indian officer, who had come with Johnson from the Mohawk Valley, was wounded in this skirmish in which four Indians were killed and the same number wounded. The two brothers, de Lorimier, formerly officers in the French Indian department who were now serving as volunteers in the garrison, distinguished themselves by their activity on this occasion. Schuyler hastily entrenched his camp, but information received during the night induced him to call a council of war which promptly decided that it was expedient to retire at once to Isle au Noix, and obstruct the channel of the river to prevent the British sloop of war from entering Lake Champlain and interrupting their communication with Ticonderoga. Here he received a considerable reinforcement, but inside of a week, 600 men were ill with malaria. His movements caused much alarm at Montreal. Prescott ordered the walls to be repaired and assembled the militia. Some of the principal merchants removed their valuables or left the town themselves. The Indians were directed to protect the magazines at La Chine, and nearly one hundred came in from Caughnawaga to offer their services.

As soon as this invasion became known in Quebec, the governor set out for Montreal accompanied by several members of the Legislative Council. Colonel Maclean was ordered to follow with the recruits of his regiment and even the small detachment of regulars, stationed as a look-out party at Sartigan on the Chaudière, was withdrawn and sent to Montreal. The British and Canadian militia of the city of Quebec were mustered, commissions were delivered to the officers and they took over the guards of the fortifications. Lieutenant-Governor Cramahé published a proclamation ordering all persons who were not settled residents of the city of Quebec to report their arrival and business to the conservators of the peace under pain of being treated as spies in case of neglect to obey this order within two hours.

On the 10th September, Schuyler once more received such encouraging information from his spies that he ordered Montgomery to advance with 800 men to invest the fort of St. Jean. After landing near that place, this force was seized with a sudden panic and dispersed. Out of 500 men composing the advanced guard, only fifty could be rallied with great difficulty. A council of war was called next day, and on being informed that the British armed vessel was only half a mile away, it decided to retreat once more to Isle aux Noix. Shortly after their return Schuyler fell sick with the fever, and announcing his intention of returning to Albany, handed over the command to Montgomery. Troops from New York and New Hampshire arrived daily. On the 16th September, Montgomery advanced for the third time and sent Brown with a strong detachment of his own troops and some Canadians who had joined him, to reconnoitre Chambly. Livingston was directed to go further down the river and collect as many of the inhabitants as were willing to join the invading force. Ethan Allen had made his appearance in the parishes near Laprairie where he was "preaching politics and beating up for recruits." With the assistance of Jeremiah Duggan, at one

time a barber in Quebec, but lately a dealer in grain at Sorel, Livingston succeeded in persuading the inhabitants of six parishes in that neighbourhood to declare their intention of remaining neutral and renouncing their allegiance, but the principal farmers and officers of militia generally, although few in number, strongly protested and finally succeeded in persuading a majority of the inhabitants of St. Denis to seek the governor's forgiveness but their message, carried by a Montreal merchant, was intercepted by Allen and the messenger sent a prisoner to Albany. This gentleman affirmed that the Canadians in general and particularly those on the north side of the St. Lawrence were truly loyal and would readily assist in repelling the invaders if they were supported by a sufficient number of regular troops, as they were greatly displeased at the attack upon the province. The occupation of La Prairie by the enemy on the 20th so much alarmed the inhabitants of Montreal that some of them began to talk of a capitulation to save their property but were finally "laughed out" of this idea.

"The great importance of this province has induced me to be obstinate in its defence in hopes that we should not be abandoned by all the Earth, and that assistance might come to us from some quarter," Carleton wrote in evident despair, next day; "it is now about four months, since the operations against us first began, yet we cou'd not fit out our vessels, nor mann them in our weak situation, I shall spin out matters as long as I can in hopes that a good wind may bring us relief."

On the day after his arrival, Montgomery endeavoured to complete the investment of the fort, but found that Brown's force had been driven off by a sortie from the garrison, and had retreated in considerable disorder. He then formed an entrenched camp for 300 men at the junction of the roads leading to Chambly and Longueuil, to cut off supplies and troops coming to reinforce the garrison. He began the construction of a battery on a point of land from which a fire could be directed on the fort and the shipping in the river, and another on the east side of the place, but found that his guns were too light to do much damage. Heavy artillery was then ordered up. On the 22nd September, Ethan Allen wrote to him from the village of St. Ours, twelve miles from Sorel, that he had 250 Canadians under arms and believed he could raise between one and two thousand in a week. Two days later, when on his way to join Montgomery, Allen met Brown on the road between Longueuil and La Prairie. Brown had with him a body of 200 men, some of whom were Canadians. Allen had nearly as many, mostly Canadians. Brown had learned that the regular troops in Montreal did not exceed thirty men, and proposed a joint attack upon that place. He advised Allen to march to Longueuil and cross the river below the town, while he himself would attempt its passage at La Prairie. Allen marched back and taking under his command another party of thirty men, crossed the river the same night.

Soon after landing, Allen despatched an officer, accompanied by an Acadian to act as an interpreter, to visit Thomas Walker, who had removed from Montreal to L'Assomption, and reported that between three and four hundred of the inhabitants were willing to obey his orders. Walker was invited to assist in the capture of Montreal, and succeeded in assembling a party of about one hundred unarmed *habitans* at Repentigny, on the following morning mainly attracted by curiosity and perhaps with some expectation of plunder. The regular troops in Montreal had been reduced to about sixty of all ranks, the remainder having been sent to reinforce the garrison of St. Jean. An attack on the town was not unexpected, and on the 24th of September, all the inhabitants of the suburbs, who had ladders in their possession, were required to send them inside the walls, but many of them refused to obey with insolent and sometimes threatening language. The Indians of Caughnawaga became much alarmed by a report spread among the Canadians, that the invaders intended to destroy their town and a conference had been held with them at which Carleton himself was present, when it was learned that agents had been employed to induce them to remain neutral. They had in fact agreed to withdraw their warriors and had accepted a bribe. Major John Campbell, a half pay officer who had married a daughter of La Corne de Saint Luc, whose influence with them was still powerful, had lately been appointed agent of Indian affairs for the province of Quebec, and took charge of them to the evident displeasure of Johnson, who soon after announced his intention of going to England.

On the morning of the 25th, many canoes were seen crossing the river, landing men and returning to Longueuil. The alarm was given and the militia assembled on the parade under arms and were ordered to join the troops at the barracks. After considerable delay, a force of thirty-four soldiers of the 26th regt., eighty English and 120 French militia, besides twenty officers of the Indian department and six or eight Indians assembled, and marched in the direction of Long Point, in search of the invaders. After an hour's march it was learned that they were posted in a strong position on the rocky bank of the little river Truteau, where they had occupied the buildings on Christie's farm or were posted behind trees or rocks. Here they were attacked

in front by the little band of regulars while the volunteers attempted to turn the flanks of their position. They soon gave way and dispersed. Allen himself, was overtaken and captured by Peter Johnson, a son of Sir William, and Walter Butler, both officers of the Indian department, accompanied by six or seven volunteers and a single Indian, by whom sixteen prisoners were taken in a body.

That uncouth illiterate backwoodsman, their leader, presented a strange appearance wearing as he did, a deerskin fur cap adorned with an eagle's feather, coarse homespun clothing and heavy cowhide, hobnailed boots of the rudest make. Altogether, thirty-six prisoners were captured, of whom sixteen were Canadians, who stated that they had been induced to join Allen by a promise of thirty pence a day as pay, and the unlimited plunder of the town of Montreal if they succeeded in taking it. They declared that they expected all the inhabitants of the suburbs, some from the town and many from the neighbouring parishes would join them when they would be able to march in with little opposition. Allen's party was supposed to consist of about 150 men, of whom five were killed and ten others wounded in the skirmish. In attacking them, Major John Carden, a member of the legislative council and a half pay officer, who had directed the attack, was mortally wounded. One soldier was killed and another wounded, and the only other casualties were Alexander Paterson, a leading merchant of Montreal, and Mr. Beaubassin a French volunteer. The remainder of Allen's followers succeeded in making their escape, having scattered in every direction. This victory had a marked effect on the spirits of the Canadian militia, on the island of Montreal, and in the parishes on the north side of the St. Lawrence. They assembled in Montreal within a few days to the number of about nine hundred and declared their intention of defending the town to the last. Nearly all the English speaking merchants of Montreal signed an agreement by which they bound themselves to defend their lives and property "against all such Invaders, their Adherents, Associates, Abettors and that we will make the cause of each of us the General Cause of the whole."

The blockade of St. Jean continued, although for some days its investment was not so complete as to prevent single messengers or small parties from passing in and out, without much difficulty. Livingston and Duggan assembled three or four hundred men at Pointe Olivier on the Richelieu, and advanced to the mouth of that river. They sent out circular letters to the officers of militia in the parishes below asking for supplies, soliciting their co-operation as a militia force, and requesting that their letters should be forwarded from captain to captain as far as Quebec. These letters were eventually handed over to the lieutenant-governor. About the same time they threatened some of the parishes with severe punishment if they did not send fifty men to join them from each, completely armed and supplied with four days provisions. In some cases, at least, they received an indignant refusal and the *habitans* made preparations for taking up arms and joining the royal forces. Small parties of the invaders accompanied by a few Canadian adherents to serve as interpreters and guides were posted on all the main roads to intercept letters and prevent the garrisons of St. Jean and Chambly from obtaining supplies. The houses of several of the seigneurs and loyal inhabitants in that part of the country, occupied by them were ruthlessly pillaged and wrecked.

The defensive works at St. Jean consisted of two quadrangular redoubts of about one hundred yards in length on each face, 300 yards apart, situated close to the left bank of the Richelieu river near the site of the old French fort which had fallen into ruin. They were intended to command the navigation of that stream, and connected by a palisaded line of communication and also by a communication trench. At the time of Schuyler's last advance, although the redoubts were not entirely finished, they were in a fairly defensible state. The ditches and parapets were nearly completed, and about forty guns mounted altogether, on ill constructed platforms. Three hundred men had been constantly employed on this work since it was begun. The garrison consisted of thirty-eight of all ranks of the Royal Artillery, and 474 of all ranks of the 7th and 26th regiments, one officer and nineteen other ranks of the Highland Emigrants and more than ninety French Canadian officers, volunteers and militiamen of whom nearly one-half had formerly held commissions in the colony troops or in the militia. Almost every noble family was represented among them. Captain de Belletre, formerly an officer of distinction in the French colonial force was their recognised leader. Besides these a few Indians had remained as scouts when the others went home. About eighty women and children who had occupied huts outside, were admitted into the forts, crowding the quarters and increasing the consumption of food. A much needed supply of provisions, clothing and blankets on its way from Montreal had been intercepted, and this loss was of great importance as a very few of the men were provided with bedding, or proper clothing for cold weather. The ground was low and marshy, and it

was described as the most unhealthy station in Canada. During the summer the air swarmed with mosquitoes and malarial fever was common. The garrison was commanded by Major Charles Preston of the 26th regiment, a very resolute and courageous officer of considerable military experience. A new schooner intended to mount twelve guns had just been finished at the dockyard but no seamen had arrived to man her. A small row galley was also nearly completed.

The approach of the enemy's flotilla was discovered by a guard boat early in the afternoon of the 17th September, and a few shots exchanged. On the following day, it was discovered that some of the invaders had passed around the fort and taken a position on the road to Chambly about two miles down the river where they had broken up a bridge over a small stream and formed a breastwork of logs on the further bank. Captain Strong, of the 26th regiment, went out to attack them with one hundred men of his own corps, a small detachment of artillery with a field gun and the whole of the Canadian volunteers. After a short skirmish this party of the enemy dispersed in every direction, apparently in a great panic. Two wounded prisoners were taken and Captain Moses Hazen and another resident of the vicinity, who were suspected of giving information to the invaders were placed under arrest. While the bridge was being repaired the working party was fired upon from the woods, but these assailants were quickly driven off, and an Indian was taken prisoner. One soldier of the 26th Regiment and Mr. Beaubien, a volunteer, were killed and two or three other men wounded. It was remarked that "in this affair, as there have since been throughout the campaign in Canada, there were Englishmen fighting against Englishmen, French against French, and Indians of the same tribe against each other."

Hazen had been authorized by the governor just a week before to raise a company of volunteers and join the garrison, but he was much distrusted and in consequence of his suspicious conduct at this time, was sent, under guard, to Montreal.

The besiegers anchored and moored their vessels and boats in such a way as to form a continuous line across the river above, to repel any attack by water. They obstructed the roads with felled trees and began the construction of batteries on the edge of the woods. Several deserters came into the fort while this work was being carried on, and acting on their information the garrison attempted to annoy the working parties by firing at random in their direction. Messengers were sent out nearly every night with information for the governor at Montreal. Although most of these seemed to have reached their destination, no reply of any kind was received.

On the 25th of September, the siege battery began firing with little effect, owing to the distance and the short range of their guns. A few days later, a 13 inch mortar was brought up from Ticonderoga and mounted on the right bank of the river, but on opening fire, the range was found to be so great as to make it ineffective, and the officer in charge decided to move it nearer. His men refused to obey his orders and threatened to leave him, and it was not until the 7th of October that he succeeded in persuading them to remove this gun to higher ground to the north-west of the fort where a battery was thrown up and the investment of the works completed. Meanwhile an intermittent bombardment was carried on from day to day which did little damage in the redoubts but kept the garrison constantly on the alert. Riflemen stealthily approached at night and kept up a harassing fire. The weather had grown very cold and the garrison suffered from lack of clothing and bedding. One half of the regular troops were kept on duty daily, and a combined attack upon the siege batteries and shipping in the river was projected but opposed by the naval officer, and consequently abandoned. Several of the Canadian volunteers obtained permission to leave the garrison and attempt to pass through the enemy's lines, in which they succeeded. They were followed by a few others whose application for leave had been refused. Only one man deserted to the enemy during the siege. Shortly after the batteries opened fire, work was begun on traverses in the most exposed portions of the works to protect the buildings and parade grounds, but to obtain earth for their construction it was found necessary to lower the surface of the parades below the water line, and owing to frequent heavy rains, the inside of both redoubts soon became ankle deep with mud. The fire of the enemy's guns gradually grew more effective while the garrison was compelled to economise its ammunition. The new schooner was seriously damaged by hot shot from the siege battery and sank at her moorings. The movement of some heavy guns across the river was observed and it was surmised that a force was being sent to attack the post at Chambly, twelve miles distant on the road to Montreal, which proved to be the case. This small fort was an old square stone tower loop-holed for musketry and originally intended merely to resist an attack of Indians. Its garrison consisted of seven officers and seventy men of the 7th regiment, and one officer and three men of the royal artillery. Two small guns were mounted. Defence against any force provided with heavy cannon was out of the question. On the 16th of

October it was surrounded by a considerable body of the invaders who were immediately joined by Livingston's Canadians. Guns were brought up and opened fire next day. A breach was soon made in the walls. Considering further resistance useless, Major Stopford, the commanding officer, agreed to surrender on being offered honorable terms. A considerable supply of artillery, ammunition and provisions fell into the hands of the enemy whose supply of both had fallen very low. This event was made known to the garrison of St. Jean two days later by a flag of truce bringing a message asking permission for boats conveying the baggage and non-combatants of the garrison to pass down the river to General Montgomery's camp as they were to be sent as prisoners of war to New England. The records relating to the capture of Chambly that have been preserved are meagre, and contain little information. Its surrender, however, greatly diminished any hopes that may have still been entertained for the relief of St. Jean.

At the same time, Major Preston was informed that a body of militia assembled by Major Rigauville had been dispersed and that he had been made a prisoner. The prospect of relief seemed almost hopeless, and the garrison began to show signs of discouragement. Sickness had increased to such an extent that it became necessary to reduce the guards. This duty had been excessively severe as both men and officers were sometimes kept on guard for two days and nights in succession.

An engineer officer accompanied by two volunteers who attempted to pass through the enemy's lines with an urgent message to Carleton for assistance, was captured. A prisoner taken by a small party that had gone out for that purpose stated that a new battery was under construction, and pointed out its approximate position. This was shelled at intervals during the night, to delay its completion. On the 27th, and again on the 31st of October, the sound of artillery was distinctly heard in the direction of Montreal, arousing hopes that efforts were being made for their relief. On the first day of November, the new battery opened fire with four guns, in co-operation with that on the opposite side of the river, and six mortars established in various positions. This bombardment continued until sunset, and nearly a thousand round shot and between fifty and one hundred shells were thrown against the redoubts. Large portions of the walls were beaten down. The few places in the buildings which still afforded a little shelter from the weather were made untenable. The parapets were penetrated by many round shot. Three men were killed and several others wounded. The greater part of the remaining provisions was destroyed. At night-fall, a flag of truce came in with a letter from Montgomery, accompanied by a prisoner who had been taken in an effort to cross the river at Longueuil, the day before, to announce the defeat of that attempt and demand the surrender of the place,

Next morning an officer was sent out who was assured by another prisoner, a French Canadian gentleman also taken at Longueuil, that the information given the night before was indeed correct. On his return a meeting of the officers was held to consider the situation. The garrison had lived mainly on salt pork for more than a month. Their ration had been reduced first to two-thirds and then to one-half the usual allowance. Only three days' provisions remained and the limited quantity of ammunition required by the regulations to be retained for each gun, to resist an assault. Terms of capitulation were prepared and sent out for Montgomery's consideration. In the main they were agreed to by him and in acceding to the proposal that the garrison should march out with the honors of war, he generously remarked that "this was due to their fortitude and perseverance." adding, however, "I wish they had been exerted in a better cause." Preston hotly remonstrated against the inclusion of this observation in the terms, declaring that the garrison was prepared to die with their arms in their hands rather than "submit to the indignity of such a reflection." His protest was successful, and the words he objected to were erased from the articles of capitulation. Preston's request that the Canadian officers and militiamen should be allowed to return to their homes was rejected, and they became prisoners of war on the same terms as the rest of the garrison. On the 3rd of November, his troops marched out, having lost during the siege of fifty-three days, sixty of all ranks in killed and wounded. Three young Canadian officers, La Corne, Perthuis and Beaubien had been killed and two others, de Lotbinière and de Salaberry, severely wounded. The loss of the besiegers was undoubtedly larger but probably did not exceed a hundred in all. Their sufferings from disease had been very great. On the 12th of October, not less than 937 men had been discharged as unfit for further service, mainly from fever and ague. Montgomery himself became despondent and wrote on the 20th of October, "I am heartily sick of this business and I do not think that any consideration can ever induce me to step out of the path of private life." On the last day of that month he again stated that he wished to retire, as he was "under the disagreeable necessity of acting constantly out of character, to wheedle, flatter, etc. The Canadians distress

me by their clashing interests and private piques." He described his troops from New England as "the worst stuff imaginable for soldiers. They are homesick, their regiments have melted away, and yet not a man dead of any distemper. There is such an equality among them the officers have no authority. The privates are all generals but not soldiers." The regiments from New York, he sarcastically termed "sweepings of the streets." The strength of force under his command during the siege can scarcely be stated with accuracy as it varied greatly from day to day. At first it probably did not exceed two thousand of all ranks, but was gradually increased to about double that number. The artillery and munitions captured at Ticonderoga and Chambly eventually enabled him to overwhelm the garrison with a storm of shot and shell, although, in fact, it ultimately yielded to the menace of immediate famine. Its resistance had been most creditable and reflected the highest honor on all ranks. By the surrender of this post eighty per cent of the regular troops in the province including nearly all the trained artillery men became prisoners of war and the conquest of the country then seemed certain.

Shortly after the defeat of Allen's force, on the island of Montreal, information was received that Walker still continued to "preach rebellion," and a small party of the Royal Highland Emigrants accompanied by some Canadians was sent to L'Assomption to arrest him, under the command of Ensign John Macdonell, afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the second battalion of the Royal Canadian Volunteers and speaker of the first Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada. Having received warning of their approach, Walker had prepared for defence and armed his servants. His house was surrounded in the night. Several shots were fired from the windows by which Macdonell and a soldier were badly wounded in forcing the door. The building was finally set on fire and the inmates surrendered. This resolute measure had immediate favourable results. The number of the militia in arms at once considerably increased. A circular letter was addressed by the governor to the captains of militia calling upon them to make arrangements for harvesting the crops of all men absent on military service and repairing their farm buildings. Several officers were then sent out to embody the militia in the rural parishes with indifferent success. The agents of Congress had used every conceivable argument to prevent them from supporting the government, at times appealing to their prejudices and private interest, and at others threatening them with the severest penalties. In their present state of mind it was apparent that little dependence could be placed on their support. "They are terrified or corrupted to a degree that your Lordship can have no idea of, & are impressed with the strangest ideas that ever entered into the minds of men. Sometimes they believe that they are to be sent to Boston and nothing can persuade them that a few transports which are waiting for Provisions, are not lying in wait to receive them, at other times they are told that the People of Boston are fighting merely to prevent the return of the stamps which they seem to think a matter of great politeness & do not wish to see them disturbed in so good a work. Some amongst them believe they are sold to the Spaniards (whom they abominate) & that Gen. Carleton has got the money in his pocket, in short such a mixture of ignorance, fear, credulity, perverseness & Prejudice never yet I believe took possession of the human mind or made it more difficult to know what to do with them." Most of the officers employed to organize them were seigneurs or their relatives, who were harsh and indiscreet in many cases, in commanding their military services. "They on their parts have been and are too much Elated with the advantages they supposed they should derive from the restoration of their old Privileges & customs, & indulged themselves in a way of thinking & talking that gave every just offence, as well to their own people as to the English merchants," Chief Justice Hey remarked in the course of the same letter. Mr. La Corne, the nephew of La Corne de Saint Luc, a very young man, went to Terrebonne where he had lately inherited a seigniorly and endeavoured to embody his tenants as militiamen. They strongly objected, saying that they become subjects of England and did not consider themselves as Frenchmen any longer. In the course of this controversy, La Corne came to blows with some of the noisiest among them, and was roughly handled and obliged to return to Montreal without success. He came back afterwards accompanied by Captain Henry Hamilton, and as his tenants had assembled, carrying firearms or clubs, they were asked by the latter what they meant by such disobedient behaviour. They replied that if the governor would appoint English officers or even private soldiers as their leaders they were quite willing to serve under them, but declined to obey their seigneur. Mr D'Eschambault, an officer still in the French service but on leave, had even a more disagreeable experience when he attempted to embody the tenants of his father's seigniorly of the Richelieu. He became so exasperated by their insolent gestures and words that he drew his sword, on which he was disarmed and badly beaten. It was even reported that several hundreds of them had collected

with such weapons as they could provide themselves with, intending to resist any force sent against them, but dispersed on receiving a conciliatory message from the governor.

James Cuthbert, a British officer on half pay, who had purchased the seigniorship of Berthier, summoned his tenants to meet him at his residence. They refused to do this and assembled instead at a crossroads beneath a large wooden crucifix and when he commanded their military service according to the French law they stubbornly refused to obey him, and after his departure, it is stated, took a solemn oath that they would not bear arms and if any of their number should agree to support the government they would immediately burn his buildings and kill his cattle.

Charles de Lanaudière went to his own seigniorship at St. Anne, where he succeeded in enlisting about seventy men, few of whom had arms. On marching with them to Berthier, he was surrounded by the people of that parish who made him a prisoner, and his followers immediately dispersed. His captors had at first declared their intention of handing him over to the invaders, but changed their minds and liberated him. He then crossed the river to Sorel, and joined Colonel Maclean who had arrived there from Quebec with some recruits of his own corps and 300 militia whom he had embodied in the parishes below. It had been the governor's intention to form an entrenched camp near Chambly with Maclean's force, but he was compelled to abandon this design owing to the pronounced hostility of the people of the neighbouring parishes. Major de Rigauville, who had been despatched to Verchères was still more unfortunate. He had succeeded in assembling one hundred and forty militiamen, all of whom were armed but was attacked during the night by a detachment of Montgomery's force, aided by some disaffected inhabitants, and was taken prisoner. Only one of his men was killed but the rest instantly dispersed and went home. When this event occurred late in the month of October, Carleton had actually assembled about nine hundred militia men at Montreal but they deserted in large parties at night.

The Caughnawaga Indians had accepted a present of a thousand dollars in money from Montgomery on the understanding that they would remain neutral and not more than sixty or eighty other Indians obeyed Carleton's summons after the departure of Colonel Johnson. Many others were expected but they were easily discouraged and evidently intended to be on the side of the strongest party. They also professed discontent because they had been forbidden to cross the frontier lest they might commit depredations on the peaceful inhabitants in which the innocent would suffer with the guilty.

By calling in small detachments from other stations the number of regular troops had been increased to eighty of all ranks. On the 16th September, Carleton addressed a very urgent demand for assistance to General Gage, at Boston, which was despatched by a small swift sailing schooner from Quebec. He seems to have delayed his operations for the relief of St. Jean, in the hope of receiving reinforcements. Finally as no reply was received and having collected a force consisting of nearly one thousand men of all descriptions including 800 militia and eighty Indians, he determined to cross the river to Longueuil and co-operate with Colonel Maclean who was directed to move up the Richelieu at the same time, and actually advanced as far as St. Denis. The passage of the river was opposed by Colonel Warner with not more than three hundred men from New Hampshire. The boats turned back and the troops were landed on the island of St. Helen where they remained for three days, during which cannon were mounted on several boats. A second attempt on the 31st of October was repelled by a sharp fire of musketry and in the course of the day, the Americans brought up a gun from Chambly which began firing upon the troops on that island who were then withdrawn to Montreal. In this skirmish, a few men were killed and wounded on both sides, and some Canadians who had landed near Longueuil were taken prisoners, two of whom were at once sent to Montgomery's camp before St. Jean, to persuade the garrison to surrender by giving an account of their defeat. The loss of that place was made known to Carleton by the receipt of a copy of the terms granted the garrison on the 4th November, and he prepared at once to evacuate Montreal. The population of that island had increased since the conquest of the province to about ten thousand, of whom more than half resided in the town and suburbs. It had become the headquarters of the fur trade with the western Indians, and a large stock of goods for that purpose was in the hands of the principal merchants who were naturally desirous of preserving their property and making the best terms possible with the invaders. The defence of the town against the attack of so large a force as that commanded by Montgomery was clearly hopeless under existing circumstances. The merchants were greatly alarmed and the other inhabitants discontented or dispirited. Maclean had been abandoned by most of his militia, and obliged to re-embark his troops on the

vessels lying at Sorel, which had been armed at Quebec for the protection of trade and the communication with Montreal by water. Carleton had also received information by this time that a strong invading force was advancing by the way of the Chaudière against the city of Quebec, where there was not a single regular soldier, and a majority of the people were believed to be scarcely more loyal or resolute than those at Montreal.

The field artillery and military stores were soon embarked but contrary winds, blowing steadily for several days, prevented the departure of any ships from Montreal until the 11th of November, when a fair breeze springing up, the entire garrison with the governor's staff went on board in the evening and the three armed vessels set sail, taking under their protection eight other small craft loaded with stores and provisions. While Carleton was thus detained, Montgomery had taken possession of St. Helen's island, and landed troops on the island of Montreal, a few miles above the town. On the 9th, he summoned the inhabitants to surrender by a letter in French, addressed to the noted Pierre Du Calvet, in which he threatened the town with a destructive bombardment and urged them to surrender before his guns opened fire, at the same time taking care to contradict the reports set in circulation that the place would be pillaged. This letter was either intercepted or handed over to Carleton. The principal merchants sent out a deputation to propose terms of capitulation in which they stipulated for the protection of their property and liberty to continue their trade with the Indians in the upper country. After some debate, terms were agreed upon and Montgomery took possession of the town soon after Carleton's departure. On the day following one of Carleton's armed vessels ran aground, which caused several hours' delay. In the evening the wind failed altogether before they reached Sorel and then continued persistently adverse for several days. A strong hostile force had occupied Sorel and even sent a detachment across the river to occupy Berthier. Artillery was placed on commanding positions on both shores to prevent the passage of the ships through the channel among the islands near the mouth of the Richelieu, and a floating battery on a raft was moored three miles above to assist in this. On the 15th, the fire of these guns forced the ships to shift their anchorage to get out of range and on the night of the 16th-17th, as the wind still blew from a contrary direction Carleton persuaded Captain Bouchette, the master of one of the vessels, to take him past the batteries in a whale boat accompanied only by his aide-de-camp, Charles de Lanaudière, and a Canadian orderly sergeant. At Three Rivers, he overtook the ships conveying Maclean's force and eventually arrived at Quebec on the 20th.

CHAPTER IV.

The Siege and Blockade of Quebec.

On the Sunday (17th Sept.) following Carleton's departure from Quebec, the British and Canadian militia were reviewed by the Lieutenant-Governor and arms were distributed. Six companies of British and eleven companies of the Canadian militia were present on parade. Besides these, an artillery company had been formed from each body and placed on duty at the fortifications. The Canadian population expressed their firm determination to support the government and defend their property. They had already mounted guard and performed patrol duty for some time. The total strength of the Canadian militia, according to the rolls then prepared was 994 of all ranks. Two companies of the British militia mounted guard that night. Many breaches in the walls of the town still needed repair, and only a few cannon were mounted for service. No letters from England had been received of a later date than the 15th of April or from General Gage later than the 3rd of July, and little hope was entertained of receiving reinforcements from either quarter. Although the gentry, clergy and most influential merchants had actively exerted themselves to persuade the country people to take up arms in defence of the province, they had met with little success. It was still believed that the arrival of troops and a few ships of war would change their attitude. Within a few days the road to Montreal was so menaced by the enemy that it was deemed no longer safe to send important letters by post or by the couriers usually employed by the government. Despatches were at last received from the Secretary of State for the Colonies dated in June and the beginning of July, by one of which the governor was directed to enlist 3,000 Canadians to act as light infantry, and be placed on the same footing as provincial troops enlisted in the last war, except that Canadian officers were to have no claim to half pay or rank in the army except while serving with other troops, when each officer would be junior to the youngest officer of the same commissioned rank in the regular army. No reference was

made to the despatch of any reinforcement. As there were no ships of the navy then at Quebec for the protection of the navigation of the river, Cramahé hired and armed four small vessels for that purpose. To man them, he was obliged to lay an embargo until the 20th of October, upon five transports which had arrived from Boston to obtain hay and other supplies for the garrison of that place, as well as on all other ships in the harbor. Besides the number required, this would supply a body of eighty able seamen for the defence of the town. Before the end of the month, the fortifications were placed in a much better state. Thirty-two guns were mounted and tested by the companies of militia artillery. Addresses to the Canadians appealing to them in the strongest terms to come to the assistance of the government for the protection of their religion, their churches, and homes were published in the only newspaper printed in the city, and also circulated in the form of hand bills. The departure of Colonel Maclean with the recruits of his own regiment and a small detachment of the Royal Fusiliers, left the defence of Quebec entirely in the hands of the militia, at a time when it was menaced by an attack from an unexpected quarter.

Shortly after his return to Ticonderoga, from his raid upon St. Jean, such serious complaints were laid against Arnold that the Congress appointed a committee to investigate them. On learning this, Arnold at once resigned his command and joined the army besieging Boston. The defenceless state of Quebec had become known to him probably through letters received from discontented citizens. In his trading voyages he had on several occasions visited that port for the purpose of buying horses and shipping them to the West Indies. He had also made the acquaintance of merchants who were disaffected and still corresponded with some of them. Early in September, he proposed to lead a sufficient force by the overland route from the head waters of the Kennebec River to the Chaudière, in the hope of taking the city by surprise as in the absence of the regular troops it was not expected that the militia would offer any resolute resistance.

Washington approved of this plan expecting either to create a diversion in favour of Schuyler by drawing Carleton from Montreal or taking Quebec in his absence. The distance from the mouth of the Kennebec to Quebec as the crow flies was estimated at 210 miles but was more than double that distance by the route proposed. Arnold was instructed to ascertain the real sentiments of the Canadians and if they would not co-operate with him or at least acquiesce in his attempt, he was to desist. He was to distribute the printed addresses from Congress to them, with copies of which he was abundantly supplied, as soon as he entered the province. Strict discipline must be maintained and any attempt at plunder or ill treatment of the people was to be severely punished. Reliable information must be obtained at any risk, and he was advised to communicate with Schuyler by means of the Indians of St. Francis who had promised their assistance. If he was able to join Schuyler he was to place himself under his command. He was provided with money and ordered to pay full value for provisions and avoid taking cattle or other supplies by force. His soldiers were to be restrained from ridiculing the ceremonies of the Catholic religion or insulting its priests or adherents as it was feared they might be inclined to do.

Arnold left Cambridge on the 15th September, with a force estimated at 1,200 of all ranks, embarking at Newburyport in a flotilla of sloops and schooners in which he ascended the Kennebec as far as the head of navigation for such vessels, then transferring his men into batteaux to perform the rest of the journey. This movement became known to General Gage a few days later but he was uncertain whether an attack was contemplated upon Halifax or Quebec. Reinforcements were sent to the former place and on receiving Carleton's application some weeks later, orders were given for the embarkation of a battalion of marines for the latter. The transports to receive them were ready on the 13th of October, when a letter was received from the admiral condemning any attempt to enter the St. Lawrence so late in the season as extremely dangerous and the proposal was abandoned. On that very day Arnold had arrived at Dead River, on the height of land about 160 miles from Quebec, and wrote a letter addressed to John Dyer Mercier, a well known merchant of that city, informing him of his advance with two thousand men, and asking him for information as to the feelings of the Canadians, the number of troops in the garrison, and whether any news had been received of his march. It is probable that his force was purposely overstated. A letter to General Schuyler was enclosed and despatched by an Indian. By great good fortune these letters were intercepted on the 28th of October before delivery. Mercier was at once arrested and sent on board a sloop of war in the river. A deputation of the citizens called upon the Lieutenant-Governor to enquire the reason of this rather startling measure which he declined to make known to them. Next morning, however, he assembled the captains of the British militia to whom the intercepted letters were

read, which satisfied them that the arrest was necessary for the safety of the place. As several days must necessarily elapse before Arnold could possibly arrive, the time was diligently employed in strengthening the fortifications and making other arrangements for defence. The frigate "Lizard" opportunely arrived from England bringing despatches with arms, accoutrements and clothing for 6,000 men and £20,000 in money. About the same time, Malcolm Fraser returned from Newfoundland and the island of St. John, with more than a hundred recruits for the Royal Highland Emigrants and a number of artificers and carpenters. These men, with thirty-five marines from the "Lizard" were immediately landed and added much strength to the garrison although many of Maclean's recruits were described as "Irish fishermen totally unacquainted with the use of arms." The prisoners sent down from Montreal or taken elsewhere were sent to England to avoid detailing guards for their safe keeping. On his arrival at Ste. Marie, eight miles from Point Levi on the 8th November, Arnold received a letter from Montgomery dated the 29th of October, informing him of the capture of Chambly and the prospective surrender of St. Jean. To this he immediately wrote a reply giving him information of his arrival and stating his intention of crossing the river and attacking Quebec. So certain was the Congress of success that handbills had been printed and circulated in the southern provinces announcing the capture of Quebec and describing circumstantially the quantity of military stores taken. Arnold had learned the extent of the reinforcements received by the garrison and that his messenger with previous letters, had been captured or betrayed him, as the garrison had been warned of his approach and had destroyed or taken away all boats on that side of the St. Lawrence, but as he had been joined by forty Indians with a number of birch canoes he expected to be able to cross without any difficulty when he would endeavour to blockade the town and perhaps compel the garrison to surrender. A similar letter was written to General Washington and both were given to an Indian from Lorette, who undertook to carry them to Montgomery. On his way this messenger met a party of Colonel Maclean's corps marching towards Quebec to whom he delivered the letter, mistaking them for Americans, and was consequently arrested. On arriving at Point Levi the same afternoon a boat from the Hunter sloop of war was fired on and narrowly escaped capture and a midshipman who attempted to reach his ship by swimming was taken by his Indians. Caldwell's mills were occupied but his men were soon driven out by the guns of the Hunter.

In his adventurous march along an ill defined Indian trail through the wilderness, following a route, now marked by a mountain, stream and small lake, bearing his name, Arnold had encountered unforeseen obstacles and hardships which caused delay and consequent exhaustion of supplies. He had provided himself with rough maps prepared by a former explorer, Captain John Montresor. On reaching the height of land he decided to send back all weak and sickly men to economize provisions, but was unexpectedly deserted by the division in rear, consisting of nearly one-third of his whole force. On approaching the Canadian settlements so little food was left that he was obliged to go forward himself with a small party in the hope of securing provisions, as his men were weak with hunger and fatigue. The inhabitants were friendly and he succeeded in obtaining a supply which they assisted him in conveying to his main body. The merest chance had prevented him from reaching Quebec without being discovered, and possibly taking the town by surprise. His own letters had not only supplied the garrison with the first intimation of his approach, but now after his arrival in sight of the town gave them timely notice of his intentions and the diminished number and feeble state of his force as well as the knowledge possessed by him of the strength of the garrison and the assistance that he expected to receive from some of the inhabitants.

On the 2nd of November, Cramahé had received letters from Boston definitely informing him that no reinforcements could be expected from that place. All communication by land had been cut off by the enemy who by besetting the roads on both sides of the river, had stopped the couriers and detained some travellers whom they had since released and permitted to proceed to Quebec. Easterly winds had prevented any vessels from coming down the river. The surrender of St. Jean and the contemplated evacuation of Montreal were unknown when Arnold appeared at Point Levi on the 9th. A council of war was held on the 11th, composed of the lieutenant-governor, the conservators of the peace, the commanding officers of the ships of war and the troops and British militia, at which it was decided to lay an embargo on all shipping, sailors and British inhabitants, prohibiting them from leaving the province at such a critical time and to offer a bounty of £3 to all seamen who would volunteer for military service. It was also resolved to put the city in the best possible state of defence and ascertain the exact strength of the militia, the num-

ber of the inhabitants, and the quantity of provisions and fire-wood in the city. It was not until the night of the 13th-14th, that Arnold succeeded in crossing the St. Lawrence without opposition when he took up quarters near the town, occupying all the roads by small parties who prevented supplies of any kind from being brought in. It was then known in the garrison that the governor had embarked at Montreal several days before, but that batteries had been constructed to prevent his passage through the islands at the mouth of the Richelieu, and no letters had been received from him since the 5th. During the day a body of some hundreds of Arnold's men paraded in sight of the town, sending forward a flag of truce which was fired upon and driven off without being able to deliver a letter to the governor, demanding the surrender of the place, and promising protection for private property in that event, but threatening "every severity practiced on such occasions" in case he was obliged to carry the town assault when he intimated that the merchants who might then save their property would "probably be involved in the general ruin." Next morning the flag of truce again approached the gate and succeeded in delivering this letter and another complaining that his flag had been fired upon the day before and that he was informed that a prisoner taken from his party had been placed in irons.

The council of war re-assembled on the 16th and agreed in an opinion that "it is for the Benefit and Honor of His Majesty's Service, at all Events to defend the Town to the last Extremity." They recommended that the suburb of St. Jean and all the houses adjoining the fortifications and defences of the town which could afford shelter to the enemy should be destroyed; that as many pilots as could be procured should be sent to Europe in the "Packet" which was about to sail with despatches; that signals should be arranged for communication between the garrison and the fleet expected to arrive for its relief in the following spring; and that the masters of the vessels detained by the embargo should be granted compensation for their losses. The state of the garrison laid before them, including troops, marines, seamen of the navy and merchant shipping, artificers and British and Canadian militia, actually on duty, showed a total of 1178 of all ranks, to which must be added a detachment of troops with the seamen on board the two armed vessels on their way down from Three Rivers. The whole number of persons within the town was estimated at five thousand, and with the greatest economy the provisions in store might be made to last until the middle of May. The council of war faced the prospect of a siege probably lasting six months with notable courage and composure. Several of its members had undergone a similar experience in the town fifteen years before. Captain John Hamilton of the Lizard, the senior officer of the navy, was formally requested in writing by the civil and military members to lay up his ships and order the seamen on shore for the defence of the city which he promptly agreed to do on receiving their written assurance that they were determined to resist to the last, and orders were at once given for that purpose. A deserter who came in, brought the information that Arnold's force was short of ammunition and clothing, and on being informed that a sortie was intended, had retreated into the woods in hopes of being reinforced by a body of 2,000 men reported to be on its march from Montreal.

His retreat up the river was eventually continued as far as Pointe aux Trembles, a distance of more than twenty miles, where the approach of Montgomery's troops was awaited. The arrival of Carleton three days later accompanied by a small detachment of troops in the two armed vessels raised the spirits of the garrison and the preparations for defence were vigorously continued. Learning that several persons liable to military service had stubbornly refused to enroll themselves in the militia and that others, already enrolled, had declined to serve any longer, he published a proclamation commanding all such ill disposed persons with their wives and children to quit the town inside of four days and leave the limits of the district before the first of December, under penalty of being treated as rebels or spies. They were ordered to furnish the commissary with a true statement of all provisions and stores in their possession for valuation and purchase at a fair price before their departure. By this decisive measure he expected "to rid the town of all useless, disloyal, and treacherous persons." Letters were forwarded by special vessels sent off for that purpose to England, and also to General Howe at Boston, describing the perilous situation of the garrison and urging that troops should be despatched for its relief as soon as the navigation of the river became practicable in the spring.

In his official letter to Lord Dartmouth, written the day following his return to Quebec, Carleton frankly confessed that the project of raising a Canadian force seemed clearly impracticable but that he considered that everything had been done during his absence for the defence of the town that circumstances would permit and if the inhabitants and seamen could be depended upon, he believed that he might be able

to defend it until troops arrived next spring, but, he added, sadly, "we have so many enemies within, and foolish People, Dupes, to those Traitors, with the natural Fear of Men unused to war, I think our fate extremely doubtful, to say nothing worse."

The ships becalmed among the islands at the mouth of the Richelieu were unable to pass the batteries and compelled to surrender. General Prescott and more than one hundred soldiers and seaman became prisoners of war. Montgomery, in consequence, obtained possession of a considerable quantity of ordnance and munitions with a useful flotilla of vessels, thus enabling him to continue his movements down the river with much ease.

The two light armed vessels under the command of Captain Napier at Quebec, were accordingly ordered to ascend the river to watch his movements, and did not return until the first day of December. Their appearance probably delayed Montgomery's advance for several days.

Carleton's misgivings were well concealed from his subordinates. His bearing when in their company was always serene and confident and he naturally became the soul of the defence. He was loyally supported by Maclean and Caldwell although both were inclined at times to grumble at their chief's reticence. Hamilton's battalion of sturdy seaman supplied a number of experienced officers and skilled gunners. A habitant of Lorette was sternly drummed out of town for spreading discouraging reports. Arnold's men wore linen jackets and the first story spread through the country described them as "vetu en toile," clad in linen. This was afterwards transformed, either through malice or mistake into "vetu en tôle," and the simple inhabitants marvelled at the tale of an invasion by men clothed in armour of sheet iron. They prevented supplies of reaching town, and even unloaded some boats intended for Quebec. Montgomery's advance was by no means rapid. He was probably delayed by the necessity of collecting supplies. On his way down the river he landed at Three Rivers, assembled the officers of the local militia and informed them that they would be allowed to retain their commissions. On the 3rd of December he landed his heavy guns at Cap Rouge where they were apparently tested as the sound of firing was distinctly heard at Quebec. Country people who came in vaguely estimated the strength of his force at 4,500, provided with many cannon. Next day Montgomery took possession of several houses in the suburbs near the gates and cut off all communication with the country. His main body bringing with it some field guns, occupied Ste. Foye and Montgomery established his headquarters at Holland House, within easy view of the walls. The number of French Canadians in the city liable for military service had been reduced during the autumn by the departure of young men for the fisheries in the gulf, and other employment to 710 of all ranks. This was further diminished by an inroad by Duggan with a force of Canadians into the suburb of Saint Roch by night. All militiamen found there were disarmed and paroled, it was strongly suspected with their own connivance in many instances. An address to the principal merchants was prepared by Montgomery in French and English urging them to surrender to avoid the "confusion, carnage and plunder" which must result from an attack. With this he enclosed a letter addressed to Carleton in which he said that "a great extent of works in their nature incapable of defence, manned with a motly Crew of Sailors the greatest part our friends, of Citizens who wish to see us within their walls, and a few of the worst Troops who ever stiled themselves Soldiers;—the impossibility of relief, and a certain prospect of wanting every necessary of life, should your opponents confine their operations to a Blockade, point out the absurdity of resistance—such is your Situation," and warned him to refrain from the destruction of stores or no mercy would be shown. This letter was given to an old woman to deliver. She managed to enter the town but was subsequently arrested, sent to jail for a few days and then drummed out. Copies of these letters were afterwards attached to arrows and shot over the walls.

Montgomery's correspondence at this time indicates that he had recovered his spirits and was now sanguine of success. In a letter to Schuyler, dated on the 5th of December, he stated that "Arnold's corps is very fine, superior in discipline, and accustomed to cannon shot at Cambridge." He had with him two hundred Canadians under arms, commanded by James Livingston. A number of persons expelled from the city by the governor joined him, one of whom, Edward Antill, a lawyer formerly a resident of Montreal who had signed the articles of the loyal association in that city, he had appointed his chief engineer. Another, Udney Hay, became his Deputy Quarter Master General. John Bondfield was made commissary officer and John Welles acted as his secretary. Some of these refugees had given him valuable information. "The works of Quebec," he reported, "are extremely extensive and very incapable of being defended. His garrison consists of McLean's banditti, the sailors

from the frigates and other vessels laid up, together with the citizens obliged to take up arms, most of whom are impatient of the fatigues of a siege and wish to see matters accommodated peaceably." Favorable results were expected from the letters he had addressed to Carleton and the inhabitants. If the garrison did not surrender, he proposed to occupy its attention by formal siege operations with the intention of taking the lower town by assault. A battery, to mount five twelve pounders and a howitzer, was constructed on the heights within about 700 yards of the walls, and five mortars were placed in position in the suburb of Saint Roch. His riflemen occupied many of the houses near the walls and kept up a lively fire while daylight lasted. Several deserters came in, one of whom had served in a British regiment. On December 8th, while Montgomery was visiting his advanced post at Menut's Tavern a well aimed round shot killed the horse drawing his cariole. Next day, other deserters came in, who estimated the effective force of the enemy at not more than 1,500 men, and stated that some cases of small pox had been discovered amongst them. The weather then turned very cold. The bombardment from Saint Roch began shortly after midnight on the morning of December 10th. Twenty-eight small shells were thrown into the town from mortars with little effect. When day broke a battery protected by gabions packed with snow, was discovered 800 yards from St John's gate. It was vigorously assailed by the guns within range, and as some of the houses in that suburb obstructed the view of the garrison, they were burned. The bombardment was continued on the three following nights and a brisk rifle fire maintained during the day from the highest buildings outside. Sharpshooters were discovered in the cupola of the intendant's palace within easy range of the walls. A gun was turned on that building and it was observed that many injured men were removed. On December 15th a flag of truce accompanied by Arnold himself, approached with letters but he was not admitted nor were the letters received. He went away angrily exclaiming, "then let the governor be answerable for all the consequences that may arise in future." Their batteries again opened fire soon after but a vigorous reply from the citadel shattered their flimsy works and it was surmised, disabled some of the guns.

At a meeting of Arnold's officers held on the evening of the 16th, a majority favored an assault as soon as the men could be provided with bayonets, spears, hatchets, and hand grenades. Vigorous preparations were made for that purpose. Many scaling ladders were constructed. The intermittent bombardment of the citadel and Lower Town was continued and several men in the garrison were wounded by rifle fire from Saint Roch. Reports received from without stated that Montgomery had told his men that he would dine in Quebec on Christmas Day or die in the attempt, and a letter received from a prisoner in their hands stated that "the Canadian rebels leave him very fast and his own people are quite tired of the expedition." On the contrary, an officer of the garrison noted that "there is a very conspicuous martial spirit among us". The weather continued to be intensely cold. On the 22nd December, Colonel Caldwell's confidential clerk escaped from the besiegers and brought in a deserter with him. He stated that five hundred scaling ladders had been made, and that Montgomery had promised his men eight hundred dollars each, as prize money if they were successful. He thought that an attack would be made on the night of December 23-24. One thousand men were consequently kept under arms. During the night a solitary man, who proved to be a deserter, formerly of the 28th regiment, approached the gate of St. John, fired his musket in the air and asked to be let in. Ropes were thrown down and he was hauled over the wall. He then stated that the attack had been put off owing to the escape of the clerk.

In fact Montgomery had resolved to risk all on a single desperate effort to take the town by assault. "Strain every nerve to send a large corps of troops down the instant the lake is passable," he wrote to Schuyler on the 26th, "it is of the utmost importance we should be possessed of Quebec before succors can arrive; and I must here give it to you as my opinion, and that of several sensible men acquainted with this province that we are not to expect a union with Canada till we have a force in the country sufficient to insure it against any attempt that may be made for its recovery."

On the following night two-thirds of the garrison lay on their arms. Carleton and other officers, not on actual duty slept at the Convent of the Recollet Order in their clothing. Many light signals were observed in various directions, but no attempt at an assault was made. The bombardment was not renewed. In the afternoon Montgomery had addressed his troops on the subject of the contemplated assault in a very determined way. Why it was again postponed is not known. The following day was so intensely cold that the soldiers could scarcely handle their arms. On the evening of the 27th his troops had actually assembled for the assault when an order was issued

for them to return to their quarters as it was not considered advisable to make the attempt then. The garrison had been thoroughly on the alert for many days and every man fit for duty had been mustered. The most recent state showed a total strength of 1,800 of whom 328 were regular troops; 450 seaman including masters and mates of merchant ships; 330 British militia; 543 Canadian militia; 35 marines and 120 artificers. The Canadian militia, under Colonel Noel Voyer had been re-organized into one company of artillery and seven companies of infantry, one of the latter being solely composed of volunteers and students, and another of old and unfit men as guards for the prisoners. The seamen had been formed into a navy battalion of eight companies under the command of Captain Hamilton of the *Lizard*. Most of the masters and mates of the merchantmen were given manuscript commissions as officers and one at least of these has been preserved. On December 30th, another deserter came in who stated that the attack would be made the first dark or stormy night as Montgomery in his speech had informed his troops that he would soon ask them to follow him to an easy conquest. A fresh supply of shells had just been received from Montreal. This part of his information was confirmed by a renewal of the bombardment. One-third of the shells thrown into the town that night, however failed to burst. The last night but one of the year was very dark with a stiff wind from the north-east. Snow was steadily falling and drifting. At four o'clock in the morning, Captain Malcolm Fraser, who commanded the main guard, while going his rounds, observed signals in the suburbs near St. John's gate which led him to believe that an attack would soon be made. He reported this to the governor who ordered an alarm to be given. Running along St. Louis Street, Fraser shouted "turn out" so loudly that he was heard by the pickets at their various stations. The drums beat and the church bells rang. In a few minutes every man was at his alarm post. Carleton instantly ordered the main guard to march to the post near St. John's gate. The sentries all along the castle wall, between Cape Diamond and the palace gate saw many swiftly recurring flashes like distant lightning all around; and on the heights of Abraham, a long row of lights resembling lanterns hoisted on tall poles at intervals. The weather was so stormy and the falling snow so thick that at some of the distant posts on the ramparts, neither the bells nor drums were heard but they were already sufficiently alarmed by the flashes they had seen. Presently two rockets were thrown up from the foot of Cape Diamond and a hot rifle fire burst forth. All the siege batteries began throwing shells into the town.

The troops for the assault had actually assembled two hours earlier. Those who were to make the attack near Cape Diamond mustered at the general headquarters at Holland House on the heights and were headed by Montgomery in person. Another column led by Arnold and composed entirely of his own troops advanced through the suburb of St. Roch against the Saut au Matelot. Livingston with his body of Canadians, and Brown, with a detachment of troops from Boston, were directed to make demonstrations against the walls south of St. John's gate and attempt to set that gate on fire with inflammable material prepared for the purpose. It was suspected by some of his men that Montgomery's plan was simply to burn the lower town and the ships lying there and that he had no intention of assaulting the citadel.

All these parties were ordered to begin the attack exactly at five o'clock. The great depth of snow combined with other causes to retard Livingston's movement. Montgomery's column was accompanied by several carpenters provided with axes and saws to cut down the palisades near Cape Diamond. This attack commenced precisely at the hour fixed. A guard of seaman posted at *Près de Ville*, consisting of about thirty men, occupied a large house belonging to Simon Fraser, called the "Pot Ash," which had been carefully prepared for defence and several small field guns mounted. It was commanded by Captain Barnsford of the navy battalion, master of a merchant ship. His men were fully on the alert. The guns were loaded with grape shot and bags of bullets, and the gunners stood ready with lighted matches when a body of men was seen advancing swiftly along the narrow street in front. They halted within fifty yards as if consulting or receiving instructions and then rushed rapidly forward. All the guns were fired; loud cries and groans were heard; the surviving assailants disappeared around the cliff. A steady fire of artillery and musketry continued to sweep the street for some minutes. The assault was not renewed. Not until the morning was it discovered that Montgomery, both his aides-de-camp and ten others had been slain by the first deadly volley. The remainder had instantly dispersed although for some time they kept up a rambling fire of musketry against the ramparts.

At first Arnold's column met with a degree of success. Its advanced guard laboriously dragged with it a field piece mounted on a sledge to make a breach in a battery built upon Lymburner's wharf, which they then expected to carry by scaling while

another party tried to get around it on the ice. The depth of snow delayed the movement of this gun and they were finally forced to leave it behind. The main body lost its way among the storehouses and wharves. It was also considerably harassed by a brisk fire of musketry from the ramparts overlooking the suburb and from the Hotel Dieu. A company of riflemen under Captain Daniel Morgan drove out the defenders of the battery, or forced them to abandon their guns and seek cover, by firing into the loop-holes or embrasures, and it was taken after only a single round had been fired. Some prisoners were captured, the others made their escape to the next barrier about three hundred yards further on. Arnold himself was badly wounded in the leg and carried off to the hospital with some others who had fallen, resolutely encouraging his men to continue the attack as he passed them. The arrival of the main body was awaited before beginning a further advance. Nearly half an hour elapsed. From the houses on both sides of the narrow street a hot rifle fire was kept up against the second barrier or barricade, which finally drove the defenders from a blockhouse or elevated battery within. The storming party advanced and raised scaling ladders against the barrier which they began to ascend. Charles Charland, a strong and bold French-Canadian private, belonging to Captain Fremont's company wrenched the ladders from the hands of those who held them and dragged them over the barrier. For this gallant conduct he was specially mentioned and rewarded. The attack was soon repulsed with considerable loss. The assailants took shelter in the adjacent buildings and endeavoured to pass around the barricade by making their way from house to house, and firing from the windows. As the other attacks had been discontinued, Carleton saw that the opportune moment for overpowering this body had arrived and promptly seized it. Captain Lawe, with a strong party was ordered to sally out by the palace gate and attack it in rear. Maclean ordered Capt. McDougall with a detachment of Emigrants to support Lawe, while Major Nairn, with another party of the same regiment was sent to the support of the defenders of the second barrier who were chiefly French-Canadian militia. Their septuagenarian commanding Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Noel Voyer, was conspicuously active in his efforts to animate them. He was afterwards joined and aided by Lieut.-Colonel Henry Caldwell of the British Militia accompanied by some of his officers and men. Nairn followed by Ensign Dambourges and a few men ascended a ladder and, entering at a window, drove out a party of men who had taken possession of a house, through which they had attempted to turn this barricade. By this means they secured possession of a commanding post which overlooked the battery on the wharf and the street as well. The remnant of the assailants was absolutely hemmed in and entrapped in a situation where they could scarcely make any resistance. After enduring a well directed fire for a few minutes they called loudly for mercy. Thirty-two officers and 350 unwounded men surrendered here besides which forty-four wounded were also taken. The prisoners were described by their captors as fine looking fellows, most of whom had pinned strips of paper on the front of their caps on which they had written the words "Liberty or Death. A few had made off and escaped across the river St. Charles on the ice.

The loss of Arnold's division in killed and in wounded men who had got away was roughly estimated at one hundred. Two thirds of his column composed of the best disciplined troops in the besieging force had thus been put out of action. The storm continued with unabated fury, and many bodies were soon buried by drifting snow where some of them remained concealed until it disappeared several months later.

The loss of the garrison was small. Captain Anderson of the navy battalion and five privates were killed and double that number wounded. Of the British militia two men, George Kerr and John Fraser, were killed, the latter being a well known master shipbuilder. Of the French-Canadian militia, Pte. Louis Valerant was killed, Claude Cognac died of wounds, and privates J. Bte. Guste, Charlery the elder, Antoine Bistodau, Joseph Crete and Joseph Rainville were wounded.

After the prisoners had been marched in and placed in confinement a strong body was sent to burn some houses in Saint Roch. It took possession of seven small guns and a quantity of shells, all of which were brought into the citadel without molestation. The bodies of Montgomery and others who had fallen in the attack at Près de Ville were also brought in and the officers recognised. At that time the whole force of the besiegers was apparently collected at their advanced post, near Menut's Tavern, probably with the intention of opposing a sortie against their battery on the plains. They had been joined by a considerable number of the lower class of Canadians probably attracted by the hope of plunder. During the following night, an incessant fire was maintained from the citadel upon the houses still occupied by the enemy in the suburb of St. Roch. The investing force was, however, so much weakened by its losses, including their principal leaders, that it was quite unable to renew the attack and scarcely any reply was made to this fire.

Among the prisoners taken, were several Canadians and two Indians, all of whom Carleton set at liberty at once from motives of policy. The bodies of Montgomery and his two officers were decently buried by the order and at the expense of the lieutenant-governor. One of the senior officers among the prisoners was permitted to leave the town for the purpose of bringing in their baggage and making them as comfortable as possible. A slight thaw began on the 4th of January which continued for three days and enabled the garrison to repair and strengthen the barriers and outworks at the Saut au Matelot. The siege batteries sullenly fired a few shots at great intervals. Cold weather followed during which, for several days, little activity was shown on either side. Another great snow storm then began which blocked many of the streets and made them almost impassable until the snow could be cleared away. On the night of January 10th-11th, many flashes of light were again seen and rockets were thrown up in several directions which caused an alarm and some small parties of riflemen commenced firing from the suburb of St. Roch. They were driven off by artillery.

Nearly one hundred of the prisoners, all born in the British Isles or elsewhere in Europe, made an application for enlistment in the Royal Emigrants, declaring that their engagement with the enemy had terminated on the last day of December. With some misgivings, their request was granted and they were duly enrolled to serve in that corps until the first of June.

Firewood had become very scarce and fatigue parties under proper protection were sent out into the suburbs to bring in a supply which was mainly obtained from the ruins of houses. Reports were received that many of the enemy had deserted but also that they still spoke of renewing the assault with four thousand men. Many loaded sleighs were seen crossing on the ice from the island of Orleans and it was supposed that they were forming magazines of provisions for the reinforcements that they expected to receive. Night after night houses in the suburbs of Saint Roch and Saint John were seen to burst into flames and it soon became evident that this was the work of the enemy probably for the purpose of depriving the garrison of fuel. The ration of food was considerably reduced. A few desertions mainly from the Emigrants followed. Snow continued to fall until the ditches were filled and the embrasures could be reached by short scaling ladders. As the fires in the suburbs recurred nightly, efforts were made to drive away the incendiaries by artillery fire with small success. On February 11th, an officer again approached the gate with a flag of truce saying he had letters from British officers who were prisoners, but the governor resolutely refused to receive them. A short interval of fine weather then enabled the working parties to clear the ramparts where the guns were entirely buried in the snow, and dig out the ditches into which, in some places, they were able to walk from the embrasures. All men not on duty were steadily employed at this labor.

On the 14th of February, great activity was noticed among the besiegers. Many loaded sleighs were seen to arrive and loud cheering was heard near the hospital at night. It was supposed that they had received a large reinforcement or news of its approach. During the night three men deserted. The burning of houses in the suburbs continued and an attempt was made to set on fire some of the vessels lying at the wharves in the suburbs of Saint Roch. Other batteries began to show increased activity. All the guns in the citadel were tested by discharge and it was found that 112, including those of every calibre, were in a serviceable state. Six of the prisoners who had enlisted in Maclean's corps deserted on the 16th after overpowering a Canadian sentry and disarming him. The remainder of these men were at once confined. The destruction of the suburb of St. John had been nearly completed but a large guard was then posted at night outside the walls for the purpose of protecting the remaining houses and large quantities of wood were brought in during the day. On the night of the 24th-25th, a deserter approached the walls and was drawn up by ropes. He stated that the besiegers had lately been reinforced by four hundred men from Montreal.

Bodies of men were seen marching in various directions and the garrison again lay on its arms as a general barking of dogs seemed to indicate some unusual movement. Light signals were observed in the neighbouring parishes, drums were heard and the sounds of platoon firing in the direction of St. Foye.

On the 6th of January, the Congress sitting at Philadelphia had received a letter from Schuyler urging it to send large reinforcements at once to Canada. The failure of the assault was not known to Schuyler when he wrote. Two days later, Congress ordered two regiments to march at once to Montreal. On January 17th, Congress was informed of Montgomery's death and the repulse of his force. Washington, who had been asked for troops, replied that he had not a man to spare but referred the request to a board of officers attended by several members of the General Court

of Massachusetts who determined to call for a regiment from each of the provinces of Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire to be enlisted for one year for special service in Canada. This proposal was approved by the provinces concerned and measures taken for the immediate organization of these corps. A letter written by General Wooster, commanding at Montreal, to Colonel Warner who had returned to New Hampshire, had been intercepted and sent to Carleton who authorized its publication in the Quebec Gazette. It showed extreme anxiety and called for reinforcements by small parties as fast as they could be collected. "It must have a good effect upon the minds of the Canadians to see Succours coming in", Wooster remarked. He sent on some small detachments from Montreal and St. Jean, and forwarded parties of recruits as soon as they arrived from Lake Champlain. Moses Hazen was given the rank of Colonel, and authorized to raise a regiment of four battalions in Canada. A bounty of forty livres was offered to each recruit but he was required to furnish his own clothing and accoutrements. During the siege of St. Jean, the invaders had spent money lavishly among the inhabitants, paying them in cash for everything they supplied, to gain their good-will. Their money was soon exhausted and Schuyler was forced to borrow £5,000 from James Price, a merchant in Montreal, whom he appointed his commissary. This sum had long since been expended and they were forced to pay for what they obtained in paper money and notes of hand. The country people became suspicious and unwilling to sell. Great efforts were made to gain the favor of the clergy but the great majority of them continued to be actively hostile and finally took the extreme step of refusing absolution to those of their parishioners who joined the invaders.

In spite of all these discouraging circumstances, Arnold, who had succeeded Montgomery in the command of the force besieging Quebec, stubbornly maintained a close blockade in the hope of compelling the garrison to surrender from starvation and want of fuel. A Canadian from Chambly who came into the town on the last day of February reported that the enemy were afraid to abandon the siege as the Canadians had threatened to murder them if they failed to make another assault, and that French speaking patrols were kept on all the roads to prevent communication. Desertion from the Emigrants still continued and increased the apprehensions of a renewed attempt to storm the town. Fire balls were frequently thrown from a mortar at night and burning fire pots and lanterns hung outside the walls to light up the approaches. A sentry box was elevated upon a mast thirty feet in height on the highest point of the ramparts on Cape Diamond. From this the road leading to Sainte Foye, could be closely watched. The besiegers responded by hoisting a red flag with a black border supposed, by some, to be in commemoration of the "Boston Massacre" and by others as a notice that they intended to give no quarter. In spite of the vigilance of their sentries, two French-Canadians succeeded in entering the place on the 8th of March, one of whom had come overland from New York by way of Montreal in thirty days. He brought information of a riot among the invaders at the latter place, in which several men had been killed and wounded.

The approach of a large body of men near Cape Diamond caused a general alarm on the night of the 10th, by which the entire garrison was summoned to their posts. Four days later an officer with a flag of truce made his appearance stating that he had letters for the general who once more refused to receive them saying that he would not accept any message but one imploring the king's mercy. Canoes and boats were sent up the river for time to time to reconnoitre and messengers frequently went out and returned. From information brought in by them it was believed that an assault would be made within ten days and rockets were sent up and signal lights frequently shown during the night to confuse their parties. On the 19th of March, it was discovered that a new battery was under construction at Point Levi, very near the position of those established by General Wolfe. Many shot and shell were fired at this work and considerably delayed its completion. A deserter who came in reported the arrival of the first Pennsylvanian regiment and the near approach of another adding that General Wooster had arrived from Montreal to take over the command. On the last day of March a plot to escape was discovered among the prisoners, and many of them were consequently put in irons. Orders were given for the whole garrison to be under arms at two o'clock next morning. The new battery was unmasked on the 3rd of April, and commenced firing with five guns, one of them being a twenty-four pounder, three twelve pounders and the fifth, a nine pounder. Their fire was directed partly at the shipping and partly at the upper town. Little damage was done but the Lizard was struck by one shot. When flanking batteries from the city began to reply, the enemy's guns ceased firing and on the following days only discharged a few shots at considerable intervals, after which the gunners were seen to run from their battery and

seek cover. The fire from the citadel was effective and observed to damage the epaulements covering the guns. On one occasion a group of three persons was observed on the commanding ground, apparently closely examining the fortifications, one of whom from the information of the last deserter was identified as Wooster by his enormous wig, the second wearing a scarlet coat was thought to be Arnold and the third, was certainly Edward Antill, their engineer.

Arnold was injured the same day by a fall from his horse, and as he was evidently in ill humor at being superseded, he was permitted at his own request to retire to Montreal. A marked and significant change was apparent in popular feeling. The inhabitants refused to accept colonial paper money and insisted on being paid in hard cash. Supplies and labour could only be obtained by compulsion. Some persons in the neighbouring villages were maltreated and at least one killed in the defence of his property. The wanton destruction of buildings in the suburbs caused great indignation. The hostility of the clergy and the gentry had never been concealed and increased in bitterness. Writing on the first of April from Montreal, to Schuyler, Hazen remarked with great frankness, "I beg leave to observe that I think the clergy or guardians of the souls and conductors of the bodies of these enthusiasts have been neglected, in some cases, ill-used. Be that as it will, they are unanimous, though privately, against our cause and I have too much reason to fear many of them with other people of some consequence have carried on a correspondence the whole winter with General Carleton at Quebec, and are now plotting our destruction. The peasantry in general have been ill-used. They have in some instances been dragooned at the point of bayonet to supply wood for the garrison at a lower rate than the current price. For carriages and many other articles furnished, certificates have been given, not legible, (or) without signature, and one half in consequence rejected by the quarter master general. It is true, payment has been promised from time to time, yet they look on such promises as vague. Their labor and property lost, and the congress or united colonies bankrupt, and in a more material point they have not sufficient force in the country to protect them. These matters furnish very strong arguments to be made use of by our enemies. With respect to the latter sort of people, both French and English, seven-eighths are Tories, who would wish to see our throats cut and perhaps would readily assist in doing it."

He strongly urged the formation of a respectable army under able generals and the despatch of a committee of Congress to Canada amply provided with hard cash and a printing press. He had not succeeded in recruiting many men, and desertions were numerous.

Vigorous efforts were taken to send strong reinforcements to the army in Canada. Washington despatched two companies of artillery provided with several heavy mortars, two companies of engineers, a company of artificers, a company of riflemen, four regiments of infantry and a considerable supply of provisions by water from his camp at Cambridge. These troops were embarked in a fleet of small sailing craft on which they were transported as far as Albany under the command of Brig.-Gen. Thompson. An officer was provided with a considerable sum of money to open a new road from Newbury to Canada which would shorten the march of troops from any part of New England east of the Connecticut river by five or six days. In announcing the departure of the first division of these troops, he remarked in a letter to Schuyler, "the commotions among the Canadians are really alarming, I am afraid proper measures have not been taken to conciliate their affections or rather that they have been insulted and injured than which nothing could have a greater tendency to ruin our cause in that country."

The two Canadians who had entered Quebec on the 15th of March, on being brought before Carleton informed him that many of the inhabitants on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence wished to take up arms in defence of the government and he gave them a letter to M. de Beaujeu, formerly an officer in the colony troops, living in retirement on the Isle aux Grues below Quebec, in whose loyalty he had full confidence. De Beaujeu was instructed to assemble as many of these men as could be provided with arms and attempt to surprise the force stationed at Pointe Levi. Assisted by William Ross, late of Fraser's Highlanders and M. de Gaspé, he succeeded in assembling a body of Canadians variously estimated to number from 150 to 500. About the end of March, his advanced guard consisting of fifty men, under the command of M. Couillard, also formerly a colonial officer, advanced as far as Rivière du Sud in the parish of St. Pierre. Information of this movement was carried to Arnold by a disaffected *habitan*, and he immediately sent a strong detachment of a Pennsylvania regiment, accompanied by some Canadians to attack this party. The

house where it had taken post was surrounded and after an obstinate resistance in which three of the loyalists were killed and a priest, M. Bailly, with ten others were wounded, the remainder numbering thirty-four were taken prisoners. It was remarked that in this engagement "fathers were seen fighting against their sons and sons against their fathers." Six of their assailants were killed and a considerable number wounded. De Beaujeu was in consequence obliged to disband the remainder of his force and conceal himself to escape arrest. Eighteen of the principal prisoners were sent to Montreal, and the remainder allowed to return to their homes after pledging themselves not to take up arms again.

During the second week in April, the siege batteries continued to fire at intervals until a rapid thaw flooded them, directing their fire sometimes at the lower town or citadel and sometimes at the shipping on which it inflicted some damage. A second plot among the prisoners to escape was discovered and it was found that some of them had succeeded in filing the rivets in their handcuffs. The arrival of reinforcements for the besiegers had been observed and the whole garrison was kept under arms all night, in expectation of an attack. Fire balls suspended from projecting angles of the walls were lighted and kept burning during the darkest hours. A blockhouse about 100 yards in advance of the gate of St. Louis had been built and garrisoned with a small party. Deserters continued to come in and reported increasing discontent, particularly among the men from New York whose time had expired and who refused to re-enlist. Many were sick mainly from inoculation for the small pox. On April 20th, two men, one of whom had formerly served in Fraser's Highlanders, arrived from Cap Rouge in a canoe and informed the garrison that the enemy had converted the brig Gaspé into a fireship which they intended to send down the river in the hope of destroying the vessels at their anchorage, and had offered a large reward to any person who would undertake to pilot her into the Cul de Sac. Two days later a new siege battery was opened near the ferry house and men were observed working at another battery on the heights. Hot shot was fired by them upon the town without much effect as the batteries from the citadel returned at least five shots for one, and greatly damaged their works. On April 23rd, a canoe arrived from Montreal bringing the information that a reinforcement of 1200 men had been passed on the way down, under the command of General Thomas, escorting a number of heavy guns. It was also reported that a body of troops and Indians from Niagara were in their way to attack Montreal. The arrival of a squadron from England for their relief was then daily expected but the vigilance of the garrison was not relaxed. In the course of a sortie for fire wood made from the gate of St. Louis, many scaling ladders were discovered hidden near the walls which were left undisturbed in the hope that another assault would be attempted. On May 3rd, the arrival of a large body was observed which was supposed to be the advanced guard of General Thomas's force. As it grew dark that evening a small vessel was seen rounding Point Levi, which was at first welcomed with great delight as she was presumed to be a schooner bearing despatches from the squadron coming to their relief and consequently allowed to approach without apprehension. Then being hailed several times and making no answer, several guns were fired at her on which a boat was seen to leave hastily with several men. An instant afterwards this vessel burst into flames, and had she been able to approach a little nearer, would have drifted into the Cul de Sac, when the ships lying there and a large part of the lower town would have been in great danger. As she continued to burn fiercely, many grenades and shells exploded on board, but at too great distance to do much damage. The tide soon ebbed and carried this fire-ship away without having accomplished her object. It was afterwards learned that she was the property of Simon Fraser, an active loyalist, and had been taken by the enemy at the Isle of Orleans. The garrison was again retained under arms all night as an attack had undoubtedly been intended if the fire-ship had been successful.

The two following days were uneventful, although an assault was still believed to be imminent. At dawn, on the 6th, unusual activity was observed near the siege batteries and at 6 o'clock the British frigate "Surprise" was seen rounding Pointe Levi. The signals agreed upon were exchanged and a boat sent on board to direct her course. Her arrival was naturally followed by an outburst of frantic joy on the part of the garrison and the inhabitants. "News soon reached every pillow in town," an officer wrote, "people half dressed ran down to the grand battery to feast their eyes with the sight of a ship of war displaying the union flag."

The troops ordered by Washington to proceed to Canada had been retarded after their arrival at Albany by a great thaw which eventually broke up the ice on the lakes above and rendered them impassable for the movement of troops for several weeks. Two regiments advancing from New Hampshire cut a road through the Green

Mountains to Otter Creek, a distance of about forty miles, and descended that stream on rafts hastily built for the purpose. Washington himself went to New York to accelerate the movement of reinforcements. Schuyler had written from Fort George on April 12th, urging haste as the news he had received from Canada was most alarming. He had sent back the messenger at once with an assurance that all the troops at his disposal would be sent and soon followed by three or four thousand more. "This intelligence," he remarked "will keep up their spirits and intimidate our enemies." The letters and papers received from him were forwarded at once by Washington to Congress and that body ordered six more regiments of infantry to be sent to Canada from the army stationed at New York. In announcing this to Washington, the president of Congress remarked;—"the important intelligence these papers contain makes it necessary that the most vigorous measures should be adopted, as well to defend our troops against the Canadians themselves as to insure success to the expedition. The Congress being determined on the reduction of Quebec and the security of that country for reasons too obvious to be mentioned, have left nothing undone which can anyways contribute to that end." The troops mentioned, amounting in all to 2,500 men, embarked at New York for Albany on the 26th April, but were delayed there for several days until boats could be provided to convey them further. Washington had agreed to the departure of these troops with some reluctance and questioned the policy of sending any more as after the evacuation of Boston, Sir William Howe had sailed to Halifax where he still remained with his whole force and it seemed uncertain whether he intended to go to the relief of Quebec or make an attack upon the city of New York. Large supplies of provisions and stores, together with three hundred thousand dollars in coin and a heavy chain to be used as a boom for the obstruction of the river Richelieu were sent on at the same time.

General Thomas, who had been ordered to take over the chief command in Canada, arrived before Quebec on the 1st of May, bringing with him about a thousand men. The force then besieging the town numbered 1,900, of whom rather more than half were effective but it was so much scattered that a body sufficient to resist a resolute sortie, could scarcely be assembled anywhere. The supply of provisions and ammunition was scanty with little prospect of immediate replenishment. The failure of the attempt upon the shipping in the harbour with the fire-ship put the climax to the discouragement of his troops. Despairing of success, Thomas convened a council of war, consisting of all the field officers of his command on May 5th, and it was unanimously resolved to raise the siege and retire to Deschambault and Jacques Cartier where positions could be fortified to command the navigation of the river. The Saint Lawrence was then filled with floating ice and the arrival of a relieving squadron seemed improbable for several days. The appearance of a British frigate shortly after daylight the next morning came upon the besiegers as an absolute surprise. Scarcely any preparations had been made for the retreat. Two other vessels, the frigate "Isis" and sloop "Martin" came in sight soon after. These three ships had on board two companies of the 29th regiment besides one hundred marines who were landed at once and joined the garrison already assembled for the purpose of making a sortie against the siege batteries on that side of the river. The whole force numbering about 800 men, with four field guns marched out of the gates of St. John and St. Louis at noon and formed in line of battle on the heights. Only a few shots were exchanged as the besiegers had already begun their retreat leaving behind them all their artillery, several hundred muskets, quantities of military stores and scaling ladders, besides important papers and orderly books, which furnished convincing evidence of their demoralization. This movement was so rapid that very few prisoners were taken, except a number of sick. Further pursuit by land seemed useless. The "Surprise" and "Martin" however sailed up the river and captured a large schooner, abandoned by its crew on their approach, and recaptured the Gaspé, which had been scuttled by the enemy but was not greatly damaged. Some boats on their way down loaded with artillery and ammunition were also taken. The detachments at Pointe Levi and Charlesbourg, after throwing some of their heavy guns into the river, were forced to make a long and toilsome march through the woods by the advance of these ships and prevented from rejoining the main body for some days. Many of the fugitives threw away their arms and even their clothing and by midnight most of them had reached Pointe aux Trembles, thirty miles above Quebec, where they halted for a few hours but resumed their retreat before daylight on the 7th. They halted again at Deschambault, forty-five miles above Quebec where they were met by a small reinforcement. "After having been such Bobadils all Winter," a besieged resident of Quebec wrote, "they have been suddenly planetstruck, and must be in a most terrible situation and in the greatest confusion."

A council of war was again called and resolved by twelve votes to three, that it was inexpedient to make a stand below Sorel as the troops had little ammunition and only provisions enough to last for a few days. General Thomas seems to have dissented from this decision as he despatched a messenger to Montreal, asking for provisions, entrenching tools, reinforcements, and boats to remove the sick. The Commissioners of Congress, who were then at Montreal, at first pronounced against any attempt to hold that position. They even directed that the advance of Sullivan's brigade should be countermanded as no further supplies could be obtained in Canada, and reinforcements would only increase their distress for provisions. Arnold differed from this opinion and the commissioners yielded to his insistence. Reinforcements were accordingly ordered to Deschambault from Sorel, but before they could join Thomas he had withdrawn his outpost from Jacques Cartier, abandoned his position and continued his retreat to Three Rivers. Three British ships, one of them being the captured schooner, had ascended the river to the vicinity of Deschambault on May 9th, and landed some troops, who, after a short skirmish were re-embarked. On his arrival at Three Rivers, on May 15th, Thomas was joined by two companies of artillery on their march to Quebec. His sick were left there under the protection of a single regiment of his force and joined Arnold at Sorel, where Thompson's brigade had arrived from Lake Champlain the night before. On May 20th, he ordered the troops left behind at Three Rivers to rejoin him there. Next day he was seized with the small pox and relinquished the command to Brigadier-General Thompson. He was then removed to a hospital at Chambly where he died ten days later.

Lieutenant Thomas Pringle, R.N., who carried Carleton's despatch of the 20th November, 1775, and other official letters reporting the critical situation of Quebec and his decision to stand a siege, delivered these in London on Christmas day. Orders were given in consequence for the equipment of a small squadron for the relief of the garrison under the command of Captain Charles Douglas. It consisted of the fifty gun ship "Isis," the frigates "Surprise" and "Triton," the sloop "Martin," and five store ships and transports loaded with provisions for three months for three thousand men. The 29th regiment was also embarked in this squadron. Orders had been given the preceding summer for six regiments of infantry stationed in Ireland, to embark at Cork in time to reach Canada before the close of navigation in the St. Lawrence. Ships could not be procured until too late. Orders were now given for the increase of this force sufficiently to insure the reconquest of the province in the event that Quebec had been taken which seemed more than probable. Two regular regiments from England with four companies of artillery and a large battering train of guns were added to the troops already under orders in Ireland, to sail by the 20th of March. This force was placed under command of Major-General John Burgoyne, a member of Parliament and an officer who had gained considerable distinction in the last European war and stood high in the favor of the government. He was to serve under Carleton, and Lord Cornwallis, another general officer, was directed to join him later. A contingent of five thousand foreign troops furnished by the Duke of Brunswick and the Prince of Waldeck were to follow, more than half of whom, it was expected would be ready to embark on the Elbe early in March. The fall of Quebec and the entire loss of the province were freely predicted in London but General Conway, a leading member of the parliamentary opposition still expressed his firm confidence in the courage and capacity of Carleton, whom he had described as a very able officer.

The "Isis", commanded by Captain Douglas, sailed alone from Portland on the 11th March, and sighted the Island of St. Pierre in the Gulf of St. Lawrence a month later. This ship then made her way with great difficulty under sail for more than 150 miles through large fields of thick ice, reaching the Island of Anticosti on the 21st of April. On the 30th, she anchored in a heavy snowstorm near Pilgrim Island and when the weather cleared, columns of smoke which seemed to be signals, were observed rising from cape to cape in the direction of Quebec. Delayed from day to day by fog, calm weather, or contrary winds, Douglas arrived at the Isle aux Coudres on the 3rd of May, where he was joined by the "Surprise" and "Martin" which had sailed from Plymouth on the 20th March. All the pilots who could be found were taken on board and the "Surprise" was directed to ascend the river as swiftly as possible to Quebec, and inform the garrison of the approach of the remainder of the squadron. On May 8th, H.M.S. "Niger" also arrived with three transports under her convoy, having on board the 47th regiment sent from Halifax by Sir William Howe, in consequence of the application for assistance made to him by Carleton the preceding autumn. Two days later the "Triton" with the store ships and transports from England under her convoy arrived. The interval since the retreat of the enemy had been employed in collecting the artillery and stores abandoned by them, and in making arrangements for an

immediate pursuit by water. Forty-three guns and eleven mortars had been found in the batteries or taken in the boats on which they were embarked, with a considerable quantity of ammunition and other ordnance stores. Seventeen of these guns, however, were of very small calibre, throwing shot weighing only half a pound.

Pilots were sent down the river to assist the fleet which expected to arrive with the troops under General Burgoyne, and armed vessels stationed suitably for their assistance and escort. Provision boats were sent down to the villages below Quebec for the use of the troops in the event of their transports being delayed by contrary winds to enable them to disembark and march by land. The other ships and transports provided with pilots for the upper river and having troops on board, slowly ascended the St. Lawrence as far as Three Rivers, which was selected as a suitable place for their concentration.

CHAPTER V.

THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR SIR GUY CARLETON, 1775-1778.

During the winter, the Montreal merchants engaged in the western fur trade had become seriously alarmed for the safety of their agents and servants at distant trading posts as they had been unable to send up the usual supplies of provisions and merchandize in the autumn. As has been already mentioned, they had attempted to secure this privilege by the terms of capitulation. Finding that they must obtain the approval of the Congress they had despatched a deputation to Philadelphia, headed by Benjamin Frobisher, with this object. Permission to forward a limited supply of goods was granted on the express condition that they should have no communication with the British posts, which it was clearly impossible to fulfil. Commissioners from Congress were subsequently instructed to proceed to Canada, negotiate with the inhabitants, and if possible, regain their confidence and secure their assistance. Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Charles Carroll and Samuel Chase, were appointed and accompanied to Canada by the Revd. John Carroll, a priest of the Society of Jesus, whose influence with the clergy was expected to be particularly potent. A report that a considerable force of regular troops, Canadians and Indians was preparing to descend the lake and attack Montreal, was then in circulation. Information of its arrival at Oswegatchie had reached Montreal. James Stanley Goddard, Richard Walker and Lorimier, three well known loyalists, deeply interested in the furtrade, had stealthily left the town for the upper country. The latter had subsequently conducted a party of soldiers and Indians from Oswegatchie to the Cedars, where they collected and removed all the provisions they could find, spreading a report that a large force would soon descend the river to recover Montreal. The permission given Frobisher to send up supplies was instantly cancelled. Toward the end of April, Colonel Timothy Bedel, with detachments from New Hampshire and Connecticut regiments, which had just arrived, was ordered to occupy a position at the Cedars, forty-three miles above Montreal "to prevent any goods being sent to the upper country, and to guard against a surprise from the enemy or other Indians." He took with him two field guns and commenced the construction of a stockade at the narrows of the river to command its navigation. Scarcely had this work been completed when he was informed by his Indian scouts that a force consisting of a small party of regulars and several hundred Canadians and Indians had landed about ten miles above. Bedel turned over the command of his troops to the next senior officer, Major Isaac Butterfield, and returned to Montreal to ask for reinforcements. At his request a detachment of one hundred and fifty men from a Connecticut regiment under command of Major Henry Sherburne, was ordered to march to La Chine the next day and ascend the river in boats to join the garrison at the Cedars. On the 17th, Captain George Forster of the 8th regiment, who had organized a force at Oswegatchie, consisting of forty men of his own regiment, drawn from the garrison at Niagara, nearly one hundred Canadians, mainly employees of the fur merchants and between four and five hundred Indians of the Six Nations and Missassaugas, invested the redoubt at the Cedars and cut off all communication. A harassing fire of musketry was kept up on the garrison which was unable to make any effective reply owing to scarcity of ammunition, and the fact that their assailants were seldom visible. For two days and nights the garrison was kept constantly on the alert by this method of attack although only one man was wounded. On the 19th, a flag of truce was sent in to demand a surrender to which Butterfield eventually agreed on the condition that his troops should be treated as prisoners of war and their private baggage protected. Scarcely had possession been taken of the post when Forster received information of the approach of the relieving force which had landed the night before at the head of Lake St. Louis. The movements of Sherburne's party had been delayed from inability to obtain boats until the 18th, when he ascended the lake and landed. An officer sent forward to communicate with Butterfield was captured but subsequently released. Sherburne then re-embarked and returned to Ste. Anne on the island of Montreal. Being informed next morning that the garrison at the Cedars was still holding out, he again crossed the lake, landed at Quinze Chênes and began his march through the woods towards that post. He had advanced within four miles of the Cedars when he was attacked from ambush by a body of Indians commanded by Lorimier and Montigny. After an obstinate resistance his force was surrounded and

compelled to surrender. While this fight was going on, the prisoners taken at the Cedars were left in charge of a guard, mainly composed of Indians, who seem to have roughly handled and plundered some of them.

The Indians engaged in the action became terribly enraged as their principal chief and several warriors had been killed and wounded. They killed two or three of their prisoners and stripped others of most of their clothing. Their lives were saved with great difficulty through the entreaties of their officers. Even then, a number were carried off to their villages by the Missassaugas, of whom twelve were redeemed several weeks afterwards.

Arnold had returned to Montreal from Sorel, and marched at once to the relief of his advanced parties, taking with him the greater part of his garrison. On arriving at La Chine, he received information of the defeat of Sherburne and the surrender of the garrison at the Cedars. There he halted and entrenched himself in some large stone buildings where he was soon reinforced. After securing his prisoners from further ill-treatment, Forster landed in the parish of Ste. Anne, on the island of Montreal. A blockhouse occupied by an advance party of Americans was abandoned on his approach with some stores by its garrison who retired to La Chine. A message had been sent to the Commissioners of Congress, then at Sorel, who at once ordered a regiment of infantry to proceed to Montreal which joined Arnold on the 25th of May. By that time, Forster's force had been considerably diminished by the desertion of Indians, and, hearing nothing of the approach of any co-operating force from Quebec, he retired early the following morning to Quinze Chênes in the seigniory of Vaudreuil where he prepared a position for defence. Arnold advanced to Ste. Anne and attempted to cross the river but was easily repelled by artillery and rifle fire. He then sent over a party of Caughnawaga Indians to demand the surrender of the prisoners, threatening in case of refusal to destroy the Indian villages below, and kill every Indian who fell into his hands. This demand was refused and the Indians then angrily replied that if any further attack was made they would immediately murder the whole of the prisoners. Major Sherburne was taken by Forster into their council to hear the speeches of their chiefs who declared that the fact that they had put to death so few of their prisoners was an example of mercy never shown before in any of their wars, and that General Arnold must be told that in future, they would kill every one of his soldiers who fell into their hands. Arnold then assembled a council of war which sat for several hours without coming to any decision until an officer arrived with a proposal from Forster for an exchange of prisoners. After some deliberation, this was agreed to as well as a cessation of hostilities for six days, to carry it into effect. In accordance with the terms of this agreement, thirty-one officers and 443 other ranks were liberated and landed at Caughnawaga whence they were pledged to proceed to St. Jean and return at once to their homes. An equal number of British troops of the same rank were to be released within two months. Twelve Canadians were excluded from this agreement but afterwards set at liberty. Four officers of the rank of captain were retained as hostages for the due performance of these terms. Complaints having been made by the inhabitants of the Cedars and the neighbourhood of damage to their property, Arnold undertook to compensate them. Having received no information on the termination of the armistice of Carleton's advance, Forster retired to the Cedars and was eventually obliged from want of provisions to retreat to Oswegatchie when the Indians dispersed to their villages.

The invaders were suffering severely from the same cause and the lack of other necessary supplies. The Commissioners of Congress in their official correspondence described the state of their army in Canada in the gloomiest terms. On May 17th, they wrote, "We want words to describe the confusion that prevails through every department relating to the army. Your troops live from hand to mouth." Writing from Montreal on May 26th, to General Thomas, they said "our soldiers will be soon reduced to the dreadful alternative of starving or of plundering the inhabitants. The latter will surely happen, if our troops should not be supplied with bread in a regular way." Next day they informed the president of Congress, "you will have a faint idea of our situation if you figure to yourself an army, broken, disheartened, half of it under inoculation and other diseases, soldiers without pay, without discipline, and altogether reduced to live from hand to mouth, depending on the scanty and precarious supplies of a few half starved cattle and trifling quantities of corn, which have hitherto been picked up in different parts of the country..... The army is in a distressed condition, and is in want of the most necessary articles, meat, bread, shoes and stockings.....

"General Wooster is, in our opinion totally unfit to command your army and conduct the war. We have hitherto prevailed on him to remain in Montreal. His stay in this colony is unnecessary and even prejudicial to our affairs. We would therefore advise his recall."

On learning that the siege of Quebec had been abandoned, General Schuyler ordered Sullivan to stop the further advance of his brigade, believing that an increase of the force in Canada would only contribute to its distress, owing to the scarcity of provisions. This delay did not continue long as Sullivan with his advanced guard arrived at St. Jean on the first day of June, and the remaining regiments came on a few days later. Next day he went on to Chambly, where he learned that General Thomas had just died and he at once assumed command of the whole force in Canada. General Thompson commanding at Sorel was strongly reinforced while Arnold remained in command at Montreal, scarcely concealing his displeasure at his subordinate position. Wooster was already on his way to his home in Connecticut.

On being informed shortly after the siege was raised that many sick and wounded men left behind on the retreat, were concealed in the woods and neighbouring parishes where they were suffering and in danger of perishing for want of proper assistance, Carleton published a proclamation commanding the officers of militia to make a search for these persons, give them relief and bring them to the general hospital for treatment, informing all such fugitives at the same time that as soon as they recovered their health, they would be set at liberty and allowed to return to their homes. Learning, a day or two later, that the terms of this proclamation were likely to be misconstrued to the advantage of those persons who had been expelled from the city before the siege began, he published a second proclamation prohibiting all such people from entering the city again without permission. A considerable number of sick and wounded men were discovered and brought in. When they became convalescent they were provided with clothing and provisions, liberated, and sent to their homes.

Messages were received from several French-Canadian residents in Montreal and neighbouring parishes, giving careful, and, as it proved, very accurate information respecting the distribution of the enemy's troops, their artillery, and the preparations being made for defence and the collection of supplies. In these letters, the movement of troops from Albany, day by day, and their arrival at St. Jean or Sorel was recorded with an estimate of the numbers of each regiment.

On May 22nd, Carleton embarked, taking with him the 29th and 47th regiments. His movement up the river was greatly retarded by calms and adverse winds, but he was ultimately able to reach Three Rivers, which he had already occupied with a detachment of Canadian militia to act as an advanced guard and gain information of the enemy's movements. The regular troops were landed a short distance below that town and billeted upon the inhabitants. On his way, he received on May 25th, a report from Captain Forster, describing his success at the Cedars but on arriving near Three Rivers, he learned that Forster had retired from the island of Montreal and released his prisoners. As the wind continued to blow steadily down the river and prevent any further progress under sail, Carleton returned to Quebec to accelerate the construction and equipment of row boats to assist in the transport of troops. On his arrival there, he found that the greater part of the troops under the command of General Burgoyne were coming up the river and the transports had been instructed to proceed on to Three Rivers singly, without stopping at Quebec.

Forster's success at the Cedars, followed by his landing on the island of Montreal had created a veritable panic among the garrison and the disaffected residents retired at one to Ticonderoga. They were soon followed by the Commissioners of Congress. All supplies of flour and other provisions in the hands of the merchants were forcibly taken from them and sent to Sorel. The sick and the heavy baggage of the troops at that place were removed to Chambly and St. Jean to facilitate a further retreat. The construction of fortifications there with batteries on both sides of the river was vigorously carried on under the direction of Hazen. The delay in Carleton's advance up the river, and the retreat of Forster's party to Oswegatchie, combined with the arrival of Sullivan's brigade from Lake Champlain temporarily restored confidence. Berthier was re-occupied by a strong outpost and two regiments were sent down the river as far as Nicolet. Brigadier-General Thompson followed a few days later with the remainder of his brigade, having received instructions for Sullivan to cross the river at once and expel the British garrison from Three Rivers. A letter from the president of Congress, enclosing a series of resolutions declaring that the retention of Canada was of the highest importance was read to this force for the purpose of strengthening its morale. "Should our troops retire before the enemy," this letter declared, "and

entirely evacuate the province, it is not in human wisdom to foretell the consequences. In this case the loss of Canada will not be all—the whole frontiers of the New England and New York governments will be exposed, not only to the ravages of Indians, but also to the British forces. Congress are determined not to relinquish the expedition or to give up.” Sullivan apparently felt confident of success, and even projected an advance against Quebec. “I venture to assure you and the Congress,” he informed Washington after arriving at Sorel, “that I can, in a few days, reduce the army to order, and with the assistance of a kind Providence, put a new face to our affairs here, which a few days since seemed almost impossible. The enemy’s ships are now above Deschambault, and if General Thompson succeeds at Three Rivers, I will soon remove the ships below Richelieu Falls, and after that, approach Quebec as fast as possible.”

Brigadier-General Fraser, with four battalions had arrived and landed at Three Rivers, about the end of May and before Thompson could make his attack, a second brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General Nesbitt ascended the river under the protection of the sloop Martin with some other small armed vessels which anchored about three miles above the town where the troops were retained on board the transports. The appearance of these ships caused Thompson to postpone his passage of the river until night, when the boats conveying his troops succeeded in crossing without being seen, out of reach of their guns. This very bold, and as it proved, very rash enterprise was probably based on insufficient information of the strength of the force then at Three Rivers. Landing at Pointe du Lac, nine miles above that town, before daylight on the morning of the 8th of June, with more than 2,000 men, organized into five distinct corps, he commenced his march against Fraser’s position along the road near the river. His advance was discovered by the ships which opened fire and compelled the column to abandon the road and continue its march through the fields. The advanced guard approached the town early in the morning and commenced a feeble attack upon the British outposts, which they found already on the alert, having been alarmed by the sound of the guns. It was soon joined by the remainder of the column, but the attack was not seriously pressed, probably because the opposing force was stronger and better posted than had been expected. Then observing that troops were being landed from the transports in his rear with the evident intention of cutting off his retreat, Thompson ordered his whole force to retire to the woods and regain its boats, keeping under cover as much as possible. Fraser pursued by the high-road, while at the same time, the Martin and other armed vessels ascended the river in the hope of capturing the boats. The fugitives soon broke up into small parties whose flight was much impeded by pools of water and swampy ground. Many of them surrendered without resistance. The remainder generally threw away their arms, and dispersed in the woods where they concealed themselves in the hope of finding means to recross the river, as the officer left in command of the boats on seeing that he was menaced with an attack, crossed the river and retired to Sorel. More than 200 of all ranks were taken prisoners, among them being Brigadier-General Thompson and Colonel Irvine, his second in command, with sixteen other officers. On the night of the 10th a remnant of the beaten force assembled at Berthier, and succeeded in crossing the St. Lawrence. They had lost between twenty-five and fifty of all ranks in killed, and possibly double that number wounded, many of whom were included among the prisoners. The “Martin” ascended the St. Lawrence as high as Rivière du Loup, and captured two boats which had fallen behind the others. The British loss consisted only of one sergeant and seven privates killed and nine privates wounded, belonging to three different battalions of Fraser’s brigade.

Sir Guy Carleton arrived from Quebec late in the afternoon of the same day and took command of the whole force. Nesbitt’s brigade re-embarked on the transports and Fraser was ordered to advance along the north shore with the remainder of the troops. A fair wind sprang up which enabled the entire fleet of transports to sail slowly up the river and it arrived off Sorel on the evening of the 14th. That place had been evacuated a few hours before. Nesbitt’s brigade was landed and soon supported by other troops. General Burgoyne was given command of this division with instructions to follow the enemy up the Richelieu River as far St. Jean, but without risking an engagement until he was certain of support by the column on his right. The remainder of the transports ascended the river to Longueuil, where it was learned that Montreal had been evacuated and that Arnold, with the garrison, had crossed at that place a few hours before. This force was landed next morning under command of Major-General Phillips and advanced by way of La Prairie, towards St. Jean. On approaching that post early in the morning of the 19th he learned that Burgoyne had taken possession of the redoubts without opposition the night before. All the buildings, and all the boats

which the invaders had been unable to remove above the rapids were left in flames. The heaviest of their guns had been concealed in the woods and every evidence of haste and panic marked their retreat. Both columns had been joined in the advance by many militiamen, and that under General Phillips by the greater part of the Indians living at Caughnawaga.

After the defeat at Three Rivers, Sullivan's force was much diminished by desertion; 3,000 men were sick in hospital. The effective strength of his army consequently did not exceed 5,000 and these were discouraged by successive disasters and privations. Sullivan had lost confidence in his troops and they had none in him. A council of war, assembled after the British fleet had entered Lake Saint Pierre decided without a dissenting voice upon an immediate retreat. The artillery, baggage, and other stores were embarked in small vessels which attempted to ascend the Richelieu under sail. After passing Chambly they were becalmed and the guns and stores were transferred into boats. The ships were then set on fire and abandoned. The ascent of the rapids was accomplished with great difficulty. The outpost at Berthier had been cut off, obliged to abandon its boats, and escape by way of Montreal where it joined Arnold and crossed to Longueuil. Arnold himself had written to Sullivan a few days before saying "the junction of the Canadas with the colonies is now at an end. Let us quit them, and secure our own country before it is too late." After joining him at St. John, another council of war was held and decided to retreat to Isle aux Noix and eventually to Crown Point. The movement up the river to the former place was accomplished without great difficulty, and about 8,000 men were huddled together upon a low flat island, about a mile long by a quarter of a mile in width, on swampy malarious ground. Sickness naturally increased and many died. "I am almost distracted," Sullivan wrote a few days later "with the thoughts of losing so many men as daily go up by sickness. To give you a particular account of the miserable state of our troops here, and the numbers which daily keep dropping into their beds and graves, would rather seem like the effect of imagination than the history of facts One fortnight longer in this place will not leave us well men enough to carry off the sick."

On the 24th of June, a party who had crossed to the mainland on a fishing excursion was surprised by Indians sent out from St. Jean. Two officers and two men were killed, and four officers and two privates taken prisoners. This incident increased the feeling of insecurity. The movement of the sick to Crown Point had already begun and was continued from day to day until completed. "I send on the sick," Sullivan wrote to General Schuyler, "the looks and numbers of which will present you the most dismal spectacle from our army in this quarter of the globe." On the 26th of June, he began his retreat to Crown Point, selecting Isle la Motte as an intermediate station.

Further pursuit after the recovery of St. Jean was clearly inexpedient until a squadron of armed vessels could be built and equipped, to pass up the river Richelieu and regain command of Lake Champlain, followed by a sufficient flotilla of boats to convey the troops and supplies destined for further operations. One battalion of regular troops was detached to occupy the island of Montreal and re-establish intermediate posts of communication with Oswegatchie. The militiamen who had joined the army on its advance were thanked and permitted to return home with orders to hold themselves in readiness to march when the pursuit was resumed. Magazines of provisions were established at Chambly and St. Jean, for the supply of the large body of troops quartered in the neighbourhood. Every effort was made to assemble workmen for building vessels and boats and moving them up the rapids at Chambly or over the portages. On the departure of Lieutenant Pringle, the autumn before, he had received explicit verbal instructions from Carleton to state the necessity of sending out a sufficient number of small vessels and flat-bottomed boats to regain the command of Lake Champlain and pursue the enemy in that direction. Only ten of such boats and materials for the construction of fourteen more, each intended to carry a single gun in its bow, had arrived. Carleton was consequently compelled to collect materials for building the remainder of the necessary fleet. The officers of the navy undertook this service with much energy, but many weeks' delay was unavoidable before any further movement could be undertaken. The vessels placed under construction at St. Jean were a ship, two schooners, and a ketch or bomb-ship, besides twelve gun-boats. Instructions were given at the same time for building 500 flat-bottomed boats at that place, and 120 in other parts of the province. With these means, it was considered practicable to transport the necessary force across Lake Champlain, and attempt the recovery of the posts still occupied by the enemy on the route to

Albany. Carleton established his headquarters at Montreal, where he was joined the day after his arrival by Sir John Johnson, accompanied by two hundred volunteers from the Mohawk country in the province of New York, most of whom were his own tenants, many being Scotch Highlanders, whom his father had assisted to emigrate and settled upon his large estate there. He reported that many other loyalists in that province were ready to join him and he was given authority to recruit a battalion of these men of the same strength as the other regiments, serving in America, which was named the King's Royal Regiment of New York. Having made all the arrangements in his power to prepare a naval force for service on the lakes, and provide boats for the transportation of the troops with necessary artillery, provisions and stores, the governor returned to Quebec for the purpose of establishing courts of justice and forwarding the naval supplies which were expected from England. Isle aux Noix was recovered by a small body of troops before it had been entirely evacuated by the enemy. A few prisoners were taken on this occasion. On the 2nd of July, a party of light infantry accompanied by some Canadians and Indians under the command of Captain James H. Craig, of the 47th regiment, who afterwards became Governor-General of Canada, advanced up Lake Champlain as far as Isle la Motte. Here Craig encountered a reconnoitering party from Crown Point, of nearly the same strength which after a brief resistance was compelled to surrender. Two of the enemy were killed and thirty made prisoners including two officers of a Pennsylvania Regiment. Sullivan had halted at Crown Point where he began the difficult task of re-organization. In consequence of the defeat at Three Rivers, Congress had appointed Major-General Horatio Gates to the command of its northern army. "We have ordered you to the post of honor, and made you dictator in Canada for six months," John Adams informed him. A reinforcement of 4,000 men was placed under his command. His appointment was warmly resented by Schuyler, who declined to serve under him, and also by Sullivan, who promptly tendered his resignation and actually left the army a few days after he assumed the command. Schuyler and Gates then agreed to act together until the question of command could be settled by a reference to Congress. Both these generals, accompanied by Arnold who met them at Albany, arrived at Crown Point on the 5th of July. Schuyler then reported that "sickness, disorder and discord reigned triumphant, the latter occasioned by an illiberal and destructive jealousy which subsists between the troops raised in different colonies." Gates stated that since the beginning of May, more than 5,000 men had been lost in battle or by death and desertion, while 3,000 were unfit for service through disease. Washington warned the president of Congress with respect to the controversy existing between these officers that "the evils which must inevitably follow a disputed command are too alarming to admit of a moment's delay in your decision thereupon." The Congress, however, upheld Schuyler's claim to seniority and advised the two generals "to carry on the military operations with harmony and in such a manner as shall best promote the public service."

An engineer officer who accompanied Gates had recommended the fortification of a naturally strong position near Crown Point but a council of war, composed of five generals, decided that it would not be tenable and recommended that the whole force should be withdrawn at once to Ticonderoga. This decision excited grave dissatisfaction among other officers who signed a written protest. Washington also strongly dissented. "When intelligence was first received here, that Crown Point was abandoned," he wrote to Schuyler from the city of New York, "it was the cause of general alarm, and filled the minds of those who heard it with no small degree of anxiety and chagrin." Nearly at the same time he informed Gates that: "Nothing but a belief that you had actually removed the army to Ticonderoga and demolished the works of the former, and the fear of creating dissensions and encouraging a spirit of remonstrating against the conduct of superior officers by inferiors have prevented me by the advice of the general officers here from directing the post at Crown Point to be held till Congress should decide upon the propriety of its evacuation. I must, however, express my sorrow at the resolution of your council and wish that it had never happened, as everybody who speaks of it also does, and that the measure could be changed with propriety."

The evacuation of Crown Point was accomplished by the middle of July. Three hundred men had been buried there before this was done.

Vigorous efforts were being made to strengthen their naval force on Lake George and Champlain. A well equipped saw mill had been built at Skenesborough some years before, which was taken over for this purpose. A company of carpenters arrived from Philadelphia and another from the province of Connecticut. The construction of a number of gun-boats and other small vessels called gondolas was commenced at once. Gates, however, strongly advised that his army should not be reinforced immediately for

fear of spreading disease among the new troops. Acting on Washington's advice, he had instantly re-occupied Crown Point as an advanced post. Writing to him on the 29th of July, from Ticonderoga, Gates said:

"It would be in the last degree improper to order reinforcements to Crown Point, or even hither, until obliged by the most pressing emergency, as that would be only heaping one hospital upon another. Those troops, when they arrive, are all ordered to halt at Skenesborough. Everything about this army is infected with the pestilence, the clothes, the blankets, the air and the ground they walk upon. To put this evil from us, a general hospital is established at Fort George where there are now between two and three thousand sick, and where every infected person is immediately sent, but this care and caution have not effectually destroyed the disease here. It is, notwithstanding, constantly breaking out."

"Our little fleet already built is equipping under the direction of General Arnold with all the industry which his activity and good example can inspire. As fast as they are fitted, they are sent to Crown Point, where the 6th battalion of the Pennsylvanians, commanded by Colonel Hartley is posted. Three hundred men and officers have been drafted from the corps here to man the vessels, one half as seamen, the other to act as marines. As soon as all the vessels and gondolas are equipped, General Arnold has offered to go to Crown Point to take command of them. This has exceedingly pleased me as he has a perfect knowledge of maritime affairs, and is besides, a most gallant and deserving officer. The command of the water is of the last importance, for should the enemy ever get a superior force to ours upon the Lake, the command thereof is theirs, let who will possess Crown Point. As to their penetrating the eastern governments they may attempt that by Onion river which empties itself into the Mississipi Bay, sixty miles below Crown Point."

On the 24th of July, Brigadier-General Gordon, commanding the troops quartered at La Prairie, while riding along the road leading from that place to St. Jean, was deliberately shot and mortally wounded by an American officer lurking in a thicket near by. The perpetrator of this act, who had entered the province with a small scouting party, succeeded in making his escape. Gordon's death caused great indignation among the troops and was denounced by Carleton, as a cold blooded murder.

A few days later, another American officer bearing a flag of truce arrived at Isle aux Noix with letters addressed to General Burgoyne. He was detained while they were forwarded to Burgoyne's headquarters at Chambly. Among them was a letter from Washington, enclosing a series of resolutions passed by Congress, ratifying the exchange of the prisoners taken at Cedars but nullifying it by the absurd condition that before the prisoners in their hands were returned, the British commander in Canada, should be required to deliver up "the Authors, Abettors and Perpetrators of the horrid Murders committed on the Prisoners, to suffer such Punishment as their Crime deserves; and also to make Indemnification for the Plunder at the Cedars, taken contrary to the Faith of Capitulation." This was practically a demand for the surrender of Captain Forster as a criminal. Compliance with such a request was of course impossible, and it was obviously made to justify their repudiation of the terms of the agreement. It was forwarded to Quebec for Carleton's decision and interpreted by him as unquestionable evidence of an intention on the part of Congress to destroy all hopes of reconciliation. In reply, he published a general order prohibiting all communication with the insurgents and directing that all persons approaching the outposts, whether carrying a flag of truce or otherwise, should be placed in arrest and the papers borne by them, delivered to the Provost Marshall, and burned "by the hands of the common Hangman," unopened and unread. "It belongs to Britons," he declared, "to distinguish themselves not less by their humanity than their valor. It belongs to the King's troops to save the blood of his infatuated subjects, whose greatest Fault, perhaps, is having been deceived by such Men to their own Ruin.—It belongs to the Crown—'tis the duty of all faithful Servants of the Crown to rescue from Oppression and restore to Liberty, the once happy, free and loyal People of this Continent."

In conclusion this order announced that all prisoners from the rebellious provinces who chose to return to their homes were to prepare for their departure at an early date. The commissary was directed to inspect the transports prepared for their conveyance and see that they were provided with proper provisions and necessary clothing. They were directed to consider their respective provinces as their prison and remain there until further enlarged or summoned to appear before the commander in chief. This politic and generous treatment greatly surprised them, and Carleton shrewdly remarked that if they fulfilled their engagements they should become good subjects, and if not, their number would not be sufficient to turn the scale. One of their officers

and sixty-four men had died in the hospital. Fifty-nine officers and 685 other ranks still remained for disposal. A copy of this order was forwarded to Washington as the only reply he thought proper to make to the resolutions of the Congress. The disaffected inhabitants had likewise been gently dealt with and there were practically no reprisals upon them.

Carleton's stay at Quebec was short as he set out his return to the army on the 17th of August. One of his first acts after his arrival at Chambly was to exempt the inhabitants on the Richelieu from all military service, *corvées*, or fatigues of any kind and direct that boats with provisions and other supplies for the army were to be manned by soldiers in relays. At a session of the court of quarter sessions held at Montreal early in September, all persons entering the province were ordered to appear before two justices of the peace to render an account of themselves, for the purpose of preventing correspondence with the insurgents. As the second division of German troops had arrived, the captains of militia in the several districts were ordered to supply the necessary boats, carriages, and other aid and assistance in their march to Montreal. The vessels under construction were then approaching completion, and militia officers were required to assemble their companies at an early date and take the names of all officers and men who would volunteer to join the army and forward lists of such persons. This was apparently done for the purpose of testing their disposition rather than with the intention of utilizing their services as the force of regulars was deemed amply sufficient for the operations contemplated.

Meanwhile, great efforts had been made to increase the force under Gates. Bounties were offered for recruits throughout New England and the regiments ordered to join the Northern army were offered a penny a mile and one day's additional pay for every twenty miles travelled by them, to expedite their march. During the month of August, Gates was joined by eight regiments of militia from those states and by four regiments of continental troops stationed in Massachusetts besides several companies of artillery and at least one company of Stockbridge Indians. These reinforcements seem to have increased his force to fully 10,000 men. A flotilla of ten small armed vessels had been equipped and manned by Arnold. With these he entered Lake Champlain early in September and took post at Windmill Point, within sight of a British outpost on a small island some distance in advance of Isle aux Noix, and endeavoured to blockade the entrance into the Richelieu river by anchoring his vessels in a line across the lake. Before the end of the month, he was joined by six other vessels, increasing his squadron to sixteen sail, mounting ninety-four guns and manned by 800 of all ranks. General Fraser had advanced to Isle aux Noix on the 10th of August and commenced the construction of magazines and quarters for troops. Having collected a sufficient number of boats to transport his whole force, Carleton commenced his movement up the Richelieu river a month later, when his first brigade actually advanced as far as Isle aux Noix. Arnold's appearance at the lower end of the lake, however, caused further delay as it became evident that the small vessels already launched would not be sufficient to contend with his force. Three days after his arrival in the vicinity of Isle aux Noix, the keel of a small ship named "The Inflexible" was laid at St. Jean under the direction of Lieut. John Schank, afterwards an admiral and a commissioner of the admiralty, who drove forward its construction with remarkable energy. This vessel was completed and equipped in twenty-eight days but it was found necessary to take her into deeper water near Isle aux Noix, before she could receive her armament of eighteen twelve pounders. Writing to Schank a quarter of a century later, on the occasion of his retirement, that accomplished seaman, Sir Edward Pellew, remarked, "I believe a more arduous situation or a service so replete with difficulty and so complicated in its nature, never before or since fell to the lot of a Sea Officer; that it was conducted throughout with Honor to the Country and to the satisfaction of both departments, can be testified by the whole Army and Navy."

In fact, Arnold had already stated his opinion in an official letter, a copy of which was afterwards captured, that it would be absolutely impossible for a British squadron to appear on Lake Champlain that season in sufficient force to encounter his. Captain Douglas had drafted and forwarded a body of 600 seamen from the ships of war and transports under his command, to assist in building and equipping these vessels and in the course of six weeks a fleet of thirty ships and gunboats had been built or put together, which, with a captured gondola and upwards of six hundred large boats, were hauled up the rapids of the river or transported over the portages. This fleet was placed under the command of Captain Thomas Pringle, who hoisted his flag on the schooner Maria. Besides the Inflexible, it consisted of the schooners Carleton and Maria, and the ketch, or radeau, Thunderer, having a particularly heavy

armament consisting of six long twenty-four pounders, six twelve pounders and two howitzers, the gondola, Loyal Convert, and twenty gun boats, several of them also being armed with long twenty-four pounders and howitzers; four long boats from the ships, armed with carriage guns, and twenty-four other boats loaded with provisions. The gun boats were partially manned by officers and men of the Royal Artillery, to work their guns. The other vessels were manned by 679 seamen from the ships and transports in the river, of whom 223 had volunteered for this particular service. They were well armed and equipped in every respect, and amply supplied with ammunition. Each of the larger vessels took on board a company of the 29th regiment to act as marines, and half a company was placed on the gondola. Sailing from Isle aux Noix on the 4th of October, Pringle ascended the lake as far as Isle la Motte, accompanied by the governor. Here the fleet anchored and scouting vessels were sent out to gain information. Discovering no sign of the hostile squadron which had disappeared up the lake some days before, the fleet again set sail on the 9th and next day a report was received that some of the enemy's vessels had been seen near Grand Island. That evening it again anchored among the islands, still out of sight of the enemy. Passing Cumberland Head next morning with a fair wind, a single schooner was discovered and chased inshore by the Carleton. Then Arnold's whole fleet of fourteen sail, one schooner having been sent away for supplies, was seen lying at anchor between Valcour Island and the mainland, so well concealed that it could scarcely be seen from the lake. The Carleton, commanded by Lieut. Dacres was the first of Pringle's squadron to come within range of Arnold's flag ship and three of his gunboats, whose combined force was much superior. In endeavouring to beat against the wind in this narrow channel, the enemy's ship, the Royal Savage, ran aground near the island and was boarded and taken. Many of Arnold's papers were found in the cabin, but as it was not considered possible to get her afloat, she was burned that night. By noon, most of the gun boats came to the support of the Carleton, and a body of Indians who had followed the British fleet in their canoes landed on the island and harassed the American ships with musketry. The heavy long guns of the British gunboats inflicted considerable damage on the larger American vessels, carefully avoiding coming nearer than seven hundred yards, at which distance the enemy's shot had little effect. One of these, the Philadelphia, was reduced to a sinking condition and actually went down before dark. Two others, the Congress, to which Arnold had transferred his flag, and the Washington, were much damaged and lost several officers and many men. Having exhausted their ammunition in a contest of five hours, the British gunboats were withdrawn and came to anchor, waiting for a favourable wind to enable the other ships to engage. Arnold's loss in killed and wounded had been serious. Most of his ships were considerably injured both in hull and rigging. He called a council of war which advised a retreat. The night was dark and foggy, and he succeeded in accomplishing this movement without being discovered, passing close to the British fleet under shortened sail and with muffled oars, as it had anchored in a position designed to intercept any movement in the direction of Crown Point. Two of his gunboats were abandoned, and scuttled next morning; the remainder continued to make way against a contrary wind by tacking and using their sweeps. On the morning of the 13th, the fog was so dense that it was scarcely possible to see fifty yards, but when it cleared off, the British squadron came in sight at a distance of about five miles, being favoured by a fresh breeze. The Maria, having outsailed the other vessels came within range after a chase of seven hours and commenced firing with great spirit. She was soon joined by the Carleton, and later by the Inflexible. After an action of two hours, the Congress with Arnold on board, ran ashore followed by five gondolas which were all set on fire and blew up before possession could be taken of them. The Washington, row galley, with Brigadier-General Waterbury, second in command, on board, was taken as well as the Lee, a cutter, and Jersey, a gondola. A schooner, a sloop and a single gondola were consequently the only vessels that escaped to Crown Point and eventually sought shelter at Ticonderoga. Arnold with the greater part of the crews of the vessels which he had been forced to destroy, made his way by land to Crown Point. He stated his loss at eighty killed and wounded. That of the British was not more than forty, of whom nearly one half were killed or wounded on the Carleton. He attributed his defeat mainly to a deficiency in experienced seamen and gunners, stating that he had been obliged to aim many of the guns on the Congress himself. The garrison of Crown Point set fire to all the buildings at that place, including a saw mill and retreated to Ticonderoga. The deserted works were occupied next morning by a detachment of troops from the victorious squadron and a message was sent to General Burgoyne, who embarked at once with two brigades.

Carleton treated his prisoners with characteristic kindness and tact. The wounded men received careful attention. Waterbury, who had served in six campaigns in

the last war with France, was received by him with the greatest courtesy as a guest in his own cabin. The remainder of the crews of the captured vessels were assembled and addressed by Carleton, who praised their bravery, regretting that it had not been exerted in the service of their lawful King and declared his intention of permitting them to return to their homes on signing an agreement not to bear arms again until regularly exchanged. On the 14th of October, Captain Craig was sent forward with General Waterbury and 110 officers and men who were released at Ticonderoga. These men were so cordial in their praise of the kindness and generosity with which they had been treated that it was considered impolitic by Gates to allow them to mingle with the garrison and they were sent hastily away. Doubtless Craig made the best use of his opportunities for gaining information as he was an extremely capable officer. Finding that every building in the vicinity of Crown Point had been destroyed, and that the collection of materials for the construction of quarters would be almost impracticable, Carleton came to the conclusion that the army must find winter quarters in Canada as the season seemed now too far advanced to permit of further operations, with a fair prospect of success. Several parties of loyalists from the province of New York joined him while at Crown Point and were attached to the corps commanded by Sir John Johnson.

The arrival of so many troops at that place caused great apprehensions of an attack upon Ticonderoga. The works there were strengthened by every means in their power and a boom of heavy logs chained together was thrown across the narrows to prevent the passage of vessels. The force under Gates was estimated at 9,000 effective men. Washington informed Schuyler that he ought to keep his assailants at bay until cold weather compelled them to retire but prudently advised him at the same time to remove all carriages and draft-cattle from the neighbouring country in case they should endeavour to turn his position, and march directly upon Albany. Gates and his colleagues had made an urgent call for ten or fifteen thousand militia and the provincial committees of safety for New York and New Hampshire responded by ordering a levy en masse. Besides these troops eight regiments of militia from New England were ordered to march to Ticonderoga. The militia from New York obeyed slowly and with evident reluctance. Many of them soon deserted.

On the 27th of October, General Fraser with a small force advanced up the lake about nine miles and established an advanced post. The position at Ticonderoga was afterwards closely examined by scouting parties who took a few prisoners. After being questioned these men were also released on parole. On the 2nd of November, Carleton began his retreat and by the afternoon of the 4th, the evacuation of Crown Point was completed and the whole of his force on its way to winter quarters. The headquarters of the army was established at Montreal, which was garrisoned by the 29th regiment and the Royal Artillery. The King's Royal Regiment of New York was billeted in the parishes of Lachine, Pointe Claire and Ste. Anne, and the Royal Highland Emigrants at La Chenaye, Terrebonne and the Rivière du Chêne, with the remainder of General Fraser's corps on the south side of the St. Lawrence from La Prairie to Varennes. General Powell's brigade was quartered on the Richelieu river between Chambly and Sorel, and in several parishes on the north side of the St. Lawrence. Isle aux Noix and St. John were garrisoned each by a battalion. Two battalions were stationed in the district of Quebec and the whole of the German troops quartered in the district of Three Rivers. Colonel Tonnancour who commanded the Militia of that district was significantly directed to warn the inhabitants that they could not expect as generous treatment under these circumstances as they would have received if they had displayed due zeal and loyalty in the past.

Carleton returned well satisfied with the success of his recent operations which had evidently far exceeded his expectations. Burgoyne wished to return to England before the close of navigation, to attend the session of Parliament. He took with him a memorandum from the governor, asking for a reinforcement of 4,000 men, in which he proposed that a strong corps should be sent by way of Oswego to operate on the Mohawk river where there were many Loyalists ready to join it. He suggested that another force might be usefully employed in an expedition to the Connecticut river. Six months provisions for 20,000 men would be required. He considered the organization of a corps of boatmen indispensable for the successful conduct of all operations in a country so much intersected by streams and lakes.

His efforts for the re-organization of the militia had been attended with a fair measure of success and he directed that a considerable sum of money should be distributed as a bounty to all men who had served during the campaign. Committees of officers in each district were appointed for its future regulation. Three companies had

already been recruited on a permanent footing and officered with a captain, two lieutenants, and two ensigns for each company. All of these officers were selected without exception from well known influential families.

As a reward for his services in the defence and relief of Quebec, Carleton had been made a Knight of the Bath; Baronetcies were conferred on Captains John Hamilton and Charles Douglas of the royal navy; and Lieutenant Pringle was promoted to be a Post Captain. The crews of the Isis and other ships of the squadron who had exerted themselves so successfully in forcing their way through the fields of floating ice in the gulf were granted double pay from the time of their departure from England until their arrival at Quebec.

The natural feeling of exultation on the part of the Ministry upon receiving the first intelligence of the relief of the city followed by successive reports of the rapid advance of the troops and easy recovery of the remainder of the province raised extravagant hopes of an immediate invasion of New York and the occupation of Albany.

Writing to Sir H. Mann (11th August, 1776), that implacable critic of the Ministry and all its acts, Horace Walpole, after stating that General Carleton had driven the provincials out of all Canada, sourly added: "It is well he fights better than he writes. General Conway has constantly said that he would do great service."

Accordingly, when it became known that Carleton had retired from Lake Champlain and taken up winter quarters in Canada, a sentiment of bitter disappointment succeeded and Lord George Germain was particularly severe in the expression of his displeasure. This was emphasised by a curt refusal to receive Burgoyne or admit him to an audience of the king. That officer was, however, a skilful courtier and finally succeeded in overcoming the minister's resentment regarding himself. Germain's anger with Carleton, to whom the responsibility for the failure to recover Ticonderoga or advance beyond that point was attributed, was embittered by the intelligence of Washington's successful attacks upon the outlying winter quarters of Howe's army in New Jersey. It was presumed, probably, with some truth that these operations were made practicable by reinforcements drawn from the troops under the command of Gates, which Carleton's retirement had enabled him to detach. There is also reason to believe Germain nursed a personal grudge against Carleton which his appointment as a Secretary of State now enabled him to gratify. Such, at all events, it appears from the correspondence, was Carleton's own opinion. Germain's official letters in the year, 1776, contain however no indication of it. Late in August, he had written Carleton to return to Quebec and carry on the duties of the civil government, detaching Burgoyne or some other officer to conduct the operations against the province of New York, with orders to place himself under the command of General Howe, as soon as direct communication could be opened with him. This letter did not reach Carleton until the following May, as the ship conveying it after entering the Gulf of St. Lawrence three times and being blown off the coast by adverse gales, was ultimately compelled to return to England. Upon conferring with Burgoyne and receiving lengthy observations from him on the future operations from Canada as a base, Germain decided to place that officer in command of the troops employed, thus ignoring or overruling the commission formerly given to Carleton, as commander in chief. The proposal to detach a force to Oswego to advance by the route of the Mohawk river proposed by Carleton with the intention of placing Burgoyne in command was approved, but its strength greatly diminished, and the command given to Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, a junior officer. In his letter announcing this decision, Germain took occasion to comment upon his "mortification" at the successful attack upon Howe's winter quarters and directly attribute it to Carleton's retirement from Lake Champlain. The reinforcement ordered from England consisted of only 600 recruits formed into eleven provisional companies under conducting officers, to be absorbed by the regiments already in Canada. Less than 4,000 men were to be left behind for the defence of the province and nearly 8,000 employed in these two expeditions for the invasion of New York, which, in the event of success were to unite at Albany and come under the command of Sir William Howe.

Burgoyne had reported that a chain of patrols and posts of Canadian troops established in the woods in the rear of the regular troops would be necessary to intercept communication between the enemy and disaffected persons in Canada, prevent desertion, obtain intelligence, and perform of other necessary services. The number of men required for this purpose, he estimated, would be 500. Another great demand upon the inhabitants would be for the supply of labour on the fortifications projected at Sorel, Chambly, St. Jean and Isle aux Noix. He recommended that all disobedient and refractory men should be sent to the latter post, from which it would be difficult for them to desert. Two thousand men would probably be required for the completion

of these works during the coming summer. Quite as large a draft from the militia must be made for the transport of the artillery, provisions, and stores from the depots and magazines to the boats and afterwards over the various carrying places. Not less than 2,000 men would be required for this task with many horses and carts. It would be attended with serious inconvenience to the farmers as it must take place at seeding time. In addition, he proposed that 1,500 or 2,000 militia should be attached to his army for actual military duty. He admitted, however, that "when these numbers are cast up, Canada will be found to contribute what the Country *can* afford. I will venture to assert much more than they *will* afford, if any Diminution is made in the number of Regulars proposed to be left among them." Already there was some evidence of secret hostility on the part of the French Government, and although the influence of the insurgents in Canada seemed to have been effectually destroyed, it was not improbable that French emissaries might revive disaffection. It can scarcely be doubted that Burgoyne's demands were greatly in excess of the resources of the province. The Minister contented himself with general instructions to Carleton to furnish both expeditions with sufficient bodies of Canadians and Indians, adding with apparent malice that he knew that his influence among them was so great that there could be no doubt that he would be able to fulfil his expectations.

On the 29th of March, 1777, the first ordinance for the regulation of a militia of the province enacted since the conquest was passed by the legislative council. By its provisions, all males, with certain exceptions, in town and country between the ages of sixteen and sixty were declared liable for service in the militia of the parish, in which they resided. Any one refusing or neglecting to enrol himself was made liable to a fine of five pounds for each offence and deprived of the privilege of keeping or carrying any fire arm, and further made liable to furnish sleighs or other carriages for the public service in double proportion to his neighbours in the same parish doing duty as militiamen, and at half the wages paid them. At the expiration of one year, any person convicted of such offences, upon making public submission to the captain of militia at the church door on a Sunday, duly approved by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Commander in Chief, might be reinstated in his corps and again become entitled to the privileges of which he had been deprived. Captains of militia were required to transmit lists of their officers and men to the Colonels of militia or inspectors of their districts annually. Militiamen changing their places of residence were required to give notice of this and of the parish where they intended to settle to their commanding officers in the parish they left, and in that to which they removed, under a penalty of forty shillings for the first offence and a similar penalty for a second offence, combined with imprisonment for one month. The captains of militia were ordered to assemble their companies on the last two Sundays in June and the two first in July, for inspection of their arms, target practice, and further instruction in their duties, and every militiaman who failed to appear on such training days was made liable to a penalty of ten shillings for each offence. In case of war, rebellion, or other public emergency, the governor was authorized to draft such proportion of officers and militiamen as he deemed necessary. All persons who refused or neglected to obey were made liable to a penalty double that imposed for failure, to enrol, and in addition, to be expelled from the militia and prohibited from ever re-enrolling. Persons who purchased arms, ammunition or equipments issued to the militia were made liable to a penalty of five pounds for each offence. All persons above the age of sixty, and keeping one servant, as well as all others holding lands *en roture* were required, when ordered by the government and called upon by the captains of militia, to furnish carts, sleighs, or other carriages for the public service at such a rate of pay per day as might be fixed by the Commander in Chief, and all persons neglecting or refusing to furnish such carriages or deserting or leaving the service without being duly discharged, were made liable to the same penalties as for neglect to enrol themselves. Captains and other officers of militia guilty of disobedience, or convicted of acting with partiality in exempting some militiamen without being properly authorized or ordering others out of their turn, were to be deprived of their commissions and obliged to serve as privates. They were required to arrest deserters, stragglers, and persons suspected of acting as emissaries or spies on behalf of the rebels or of spreading false reports, or leaving the province without a pass, and any person convicted of concealing such deserter or suspected person was liable to a fine of ten pounds and a month's imprisonment, if residing in the towns; or if residing in the country, a penalty of five pounds with imprisonment for the same period, and a double fine and double period of imprisonment for the second and any subsequent offences. Members of the executive council, judges and other officers of the Civil Government, the seigneurs, the noblesse so privileged under the

former government of the country, half-pay or retired officers, the clergy, the students of the seminaries of Quebec and Montreal and persons employed in offices of public utility were exempted from serving in the militia or furnishing carriages, but the ordinance was not to be construed to exempt seigneurs or members of the noblesse from rendering such personal services as were agreeable to ancient usage and to which they were bound by the tenure of their lands when called upon by the governor or other proper authority. In transmitting this ordinance, Carleton explained that it had been "framed upon the principle of securing the Dependence of this Province upon Great Britain, Suppressing the Spirit of Licentiousness and Independence that has invaded all the British Colonies upon this Continent and so making, through the Endeavours of a turbulent faction here, a most amazing progress in this Country; and in the Hopes of rendering Canada of use to Great Britain, by its Military Strength as well as by its Commerce." It was to continue in force for two years "by way of Trial and as an Essay towards training the Canadians to Obedience by Degrees, until we have time to perfect a more solid and permanent system."

Fully anticipating that he would receive instructions to resume offensive operations in the spring, Carleton made extensive preparations for the coming campaign. The construction of a ship to carry twenty guns was commenced at St. Jean. Several new gunboats were also built at that place during the winter. Before his victory on Lake Champlain, he had despatched orders to the commandants of Niagara and Mackinac to make arrangements for sending to Canada as large a number of Indians as could be assembled at their respective posts.

Toward the end of February, Captain Samuel MacKay, late of the Royal American Regiment, who commanded the Canadian company raised at Montreal, was instructed to reconnoitre the enemy's posts on Lake George. He left St. Regis in company with three French officers, one English officer of the Indian department and fourteen Indians. On approaching Ticonderoga, they surprised a small company of recruits on its way to join the garrison of whom an officer and four men were killed and the captain and eighteen men taken prisoners. Only one man, who was supposed to be badly wounded, escaped. From these prisoners and a loyalist, living in the neighbourhood of Crown Point, MacKay succeeded in securing fairly accurate and circumstantial information respecting these forts. One of them was also closely examined by a detached party under the command of an officer. Although the wilfulness of the Indians prevented him from executing his mission as thoroughly as he had intended by a personal reconnaissance of the enemy's positions, he returned without loss, bringing in twenty-two prisoners.

Further important intelligence was obtained from parties of refugee loyalists who arrived from time to time. One of these, led by Ebenezer Jessup, from the neighbourhood of Albany, consisted of nearly one hundred men, and another of about the same number, under Captain Macdonell of Maclean's regiment, came in from the Mohawk Valley, where they had long been waiting for a favorable opportunity to make their escape. Some of the latter party were recruits for that corps but the majority were enlisted in the Royal Regiment of New York, which was increased to a strength of more than three hundred of all ranks. The Canadian companies had been recruited up to their establishment of one hundred each.

A proclamation was issued prohibiting the exportation of cattle and live stock, grain and flour, to continue in force until the storeships from England arrived and information was received whether General Howe's army was in need of such supplies.

Burgoyne arrived at Quebec on the 9th day of May. The ship in which he came also brought despatches from Germain, informing Carleton of the proposed plan of campaign. The censure implied by the change in the military command was hotly resented by him and he effectively defended his past conduct in a lengthy despatch by a comparison with former campaigns.

"In spite of every obstruction a greater marine was built and equipped," he wrote, "a greater marine force was defeated than had ever appeared on that lake before; two Brigades were taken across, and remained at Crown Point till the 2nd November and for the sole purpose of drawing off the attention of the rebels from Mr. Howe, and to facilitate his victories the remainder of the campaign. Nature had then put an end to ours. His winter quarters, I confess I had never thought of covering." He declared that Burgoyne should receive every assistance in his power and that 300 Canadian militia would be added to his force. That officer, in fact, reported officially that he always had the most cordial support from the governor, and years afterwards repeated this statement in the House of Commons.

The two Canadian companies recruited in the districts of Quebec and Three Rivers, were ordered to Montreal and placed under the command of MacKay. The Commissaries of transport and Captains of the militia were instructed to make every possible effort to assist in forwarding the troops and supplies for the intended operations. A ship from New York brought the Canadian officers and gentlemen taken prisoners at St. John with the exception of two who had died in prison. They were again placed on duty and rendered efficient service.

The concentration of the troops intended for operations on Lake George at Chambly and St. Jean, commenced at once. St. Leger's expedition was equipped at Montreal. The force retained in Canada consisted of three battalions of the regular army, without their grenadier and light infantry companies, Maclean's corps and detachments of invalids and unfit men left behind by other regiments. Carleton accordingly requested that the state of the province should be brought to General Howe's particular attention in case it was again threatened by invasion. Reports had reached him that his removal was probable, which he asserted greatly lessened his influence with the inhabitants, and to which he very frankly referred in the course of later correspondence in such a manner as to increase Germain's evident displeasure. In his first letter to this minister, after his return to Quebec, Burgoyne reported that he could expect very little assistance from the Canadians. The men composing the three independent companies had chiefly been drafted from the militia under the recent ordinance. He described those whom he had seen as "awkward, ignorant, disinclined to the service & spiritless". This change in the disposition of the people he attributed largely to the unpopularity of the seigneurs combined with the influence of emissaries from the insurgents. Soon after his arrival in Montreal, he reported many desertions from these companies and proposed a corvée of a thousand men to accompany the expedition for transport with seven or eight hundred horses hired from the inhabitants. This arrangement, he believed would not be unpopular. Carleton assented and ordered the corvée required, but remarked that the militia ordinance was a temporary measure and that its satisfactory operation would require much patience and tact. "In the present situation of the Province," he wrote, "having a vast Number of Men employed in the Fur Trade and Fisheries, and by Way of a Beginning only, which, I think, never can be too gentle, while I expected to conduct the expedition in person, a Draft of three hundred militia was ordered, not so much from an Expectation of their performing great Services, well knowing how unwilling they were to engage in the Affair, as from a Desire to break them in by Degrees; and this is as much, considering the Numbers destined to watch the several Inlets into the Province, for the transporting Provisions, Stores, &c., as we can Hope to effect. Ordering more would only tend to increase their Disobedience and our Difficulties." As a remedy for desertions, he issued stringent orders for each parish to supply two able bodied married men to take the place of each deserter from its quota, and hoped that this would prove effectual.

The district of Quebec was required to furnish five hundred men for this corvée and the Lieutenant-Governor was authorized to employ troops to enforce compliance if necessary. Detachments were sent for that purpose to Nouvelle Beauce and Kamouraska. On the 29th of May, Carleton left Quebec for St. Jean to expedite the departure of the troops from that place. Burgoyne was requested to permit all the militia men placed upon service with his force to return to their homes by the first of November as this promise had been already made to them. One of the independent companies under the command of Captain de Rouville was directed to accompany St. Leger while the two others were placed under Burgoyne's command. As complaints of desertion were still frequent, Maclean's corps was marched into the parishes on the south side of the St. Lawrence, and along the Richelieu river to enforce the corvée which was regarded as an intolerable burden by the inhabitants in that part of the country whose reluctance to obey was scarcely concealed. German troops were sent to L'Assomption for the same purpose. By these severe measures, the movement of the last of the troops from St. Jean was accomplished by the 20th of June. Nearly all the warriors from the Indian villages in the province had already joined Burgoyne and the number of those arriving from the west was so great as to cause embarrassment in supplying them with provisions. This, in fact, seems to have been one of the chief causes which ultimately contributed to the disastrous failure of this expedition. St. Leger began his movement from Montreal about the same time. Carleton was able to report that the corvée from the district of Quebec had been furnished more willingly than he expected. A bounty was offered by him for volunteers and Messrs St. Luc La Corne, Lanaudière, and other gentlemen succeeded in assembling one hundred and seventy men with whom they joined Burgoyne. Carle-

ton thought proper to remark, however, in reporting these matters, "these services are a considerable burthen upon the People, and after the Disuse of them for many years, it is not surprising, they should forget the Duty, to which they were bound by the Tenure of their Lands, and their original Government. Nor is it a Matter of Wonder, that after so many concurring circumstances to destroy that Obedience, for which they formerly were remarkable, and to encourage all kind of Disrespect to the King's Authority in this Province, that I should meet with difficulties in restoring those ancient Usages, without either Laws, Strength in Government, or even Your Lordship's Countenance; as Minister to assist me". He had requested the opinion of the Attorney General whether deserters from the Canadian companies were liable to punishment under "the rules and articles of war", and was informed that as these companies were placed on service as part of the militia they would only be subject to the penalties prescribed by the ordinance for its regulation.

Both expeditions were impeded by frequent heavy rains and the resultant difficulties of transport. After taking Ticonderoga, Burgoyne made an application to have that place garrisoned by troops from Canada which Carleton felt bound by his instructions to refuse. He decided, however, to send on the recruits who had arrived from England for the seven regular battalions under Burgoyne's command. A considerable number of the men furnished upon *corvée* were also employed in the construction of fortifications at Crown Point and Ticonderoga until the beginning of October when more than a hundred of them, with a part of the garrison, stationed as an outpost at the landing place, were surprised and taken prisoners by a raiding force commanded by Colonel John Brown, already mentioned as having been active on former occasions. A subsequent attack upon an outpost on Diamond Island was sharply repelled. Brown was closely pursued by the gunboats. One of his armed boats was taken and he was compelled to destroy the remainder and take to the woods.

All communication with Burgoyne's army was then cut off. Captain Monin commanding one of the Canadian Companies had been killed in the course of the expedition. Captain MacKay, with more than one hundred of the militia men and volunteers, succeeded in escaping before the capitulation and joined the garrison at Ticonderoga. Other small parties subsequently came into that place. The remainder were permitted under a special article of the terms of capitulation to retire to Canada on parole. Carleton had long since returned to Quebec where he received information of the attack upon Ticonderoga, and the critical situation of Burgoyne's division. He immediately recalled Captain Lutwidge of the Triton frigate, who had just sailed, and sent him to St. Jean, with eighty seamen to strengthen the naval force on Lake Champlain. By his assistance the evacuation of Ticonderoga and Crown Point was effected and all artillery and stores removed. This was completed early in November and the whole of the vessels and boats employed on that lake were safely laid up for the winter at St. Jean.

Believing that his recall would not long be delayed, Carleton continued to force it upon the attention of the Minister, and the tone of his letters to Germain constantly grew more petulant and bitter. One of them, dated on the 16th of October, has a distinct flavor of the style of Junius and the Minister was soundly scolded for not having removed him before.

"Your intimate knowledge of the Practice of Men in sacrificing the Interest and Safety of the State to Private Interest, Ambition, and to every private Passion, together with your being an intire stranger to my particular Character afforded you no Reason to hope I should not follow this ruinous Practice and on this side sacrifice the public Service to private Discontent, you therefore should not have left it in my Power".

It concluded by advising him "to suffer Gentlemen intrusted with Commands to follow the Dictates of their own Sense and Judgment; if they have Abilities, they must upon the spot see what is most expedient to be done, if not your Lordship cannot mend matters by positive Orders but by sending Persons better qualified to supersede them, while they are recalled." His expectation that he would be recalled that autumn was not fulfilled but he must have felt that by writing such a letter he had made it inevitable. When General Powell and the officers commanding at the western posts requested instructions, they were informed with perhaps unnecessary emphasis that as the conduct of the war had been taken out of his hands, he could give them none.

He did not, however, relax his vigilance and exertions for the defence of the province. After raising the siege of Fort Stanwix, St. Leger had been compelled to return to Montreal with the intention of joining Burgoyne. This he was unable

to do, although the governor had hastened to St. Jean to facilitate his movement. The entire force in the Montreal district was then placed under the command of Maclean with the temporary rank of Brigadier-General. He was directed to advance with two battalions, one of them being his own corps, to Chimney Point on Lake Champlain near Crown Point, to maintain communication with the garrison of Ticonderoga, taking with him some artillery, entrenching tools, and provisions for two weeks. He was instructed to retire before severe cold weather set in, and accompanied the troops under Powell in their retreat. The withdrawal of this force from the line of communications added upwards of a thousand rank and file to that formerly available for the defence of the Montreal district.

John Butler, the deputy superintendent of the Six Nations, who had been compelled to abandon his station on the Mohawk river and seek refuge at Niagara had arrived at Montreal with several leading chiefs who declared their fidelity, but asked that a military post should be established at Oswego for their protection, or that a body of soldiers should be stationed in their villages. Butler held the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the New York militia and had also served as a judge for Tryon County in that province. He was a man of wealth and had long experience in the Indian department and great influence among the Indians and the loyalists of the frontier. He had already recruited a small company of rangers with the approval of the commandant of Fort Niagara, at the head of whom and a large body of Indians of the Six Nations he had joined St. Leger. He now strongly recommended that a corps of rangers should be organized to serve with the Indians and assist them in the defence of their country. Carleton gave him beating orders to recruit a battalion of eight companies of fifty rank and file each, with instructions to join General Burgoyne at an early date.

A memorandum signed by Captain Foy, the governor's military secretary, recommended that a Canadian regiment should be raised by a royal order supported by an ordinance subjecting it to proper military discipline as it was remarked that "The Canadians tho' not rich, yet being generally in a state of easy Circumstances, have a strong repugnance to the life of a common soldier, and a very few, if any, will embrace it from choice," he proposed that such a corps should be formed by drafts from the companies of militia. To humor their prejudice against being considered as professional soldiers it was considered advisable to apply the name of militia to this corps. They were to be informed that this new regulation was merely intended as an improvement on the former militia law and designed for the better defence of the province, without exempting them from the obligation for service elsewhere if required by emergency. They were to serve for three years, one-third being discharged annually and replaced by fresh drafts and be officered by the gentry of the province. The success of this plan would in a great degree depend upon a strict enforcement of the militia act. Lieutenant-Colonel Deschambault was accordingly required to prepare a further memorandum for the improvement of that act. He proposed that the militia should be organized by districts, and that a distinction should be drawn between the residents of the cities and those residing in the country, the town militia being organized into battalions under the superintendence of inspectors of militia. He recommended that the town militia should be exercised at target practice four times a year and prizes offered for their encouragement. The rural inhabitants of the province were to be divided into two classes, the first composed of such a number as was considered necessary for the public defence, the second of those liable for employment upon corvées by land and water and other unforeseen services. The militia of the first class were also to be organized by districts and parishes into companies consisting of three officers, two sergeants and sixty privates. He proposed that they should be provided with a musket, bayonet, belt and hatchet. Each militiaman was to be liable for the proper care of his arms, presenting them for inspection at each review, and turning them over in a good condition to the man who replaced him. The name of the parish was to be stamped on each musket. Their training would be limited to target practice at such times as prescribed by the ordinance and they would be furnished for the purpose with ammunition. When on service they would receive the same pay and allowances as other troops and would be supplied with tents and one camp kettle for every seven men. Chaplains, surgeons, drummers and fifers would be supplied by the government. One officer would always remain in each parish to superintend the services required from the remaining inhabitants. The officers were to receive commissions and when they retired, be exempt from any obligation for billeting troops and service on corvées, as well as the exemption of one domestic servant. When in the field the militiamen were to be made subject to military law and regulations. When not on service they would be required to furnish

guards for prisoners arrested by the order of the government or the civil authorities. The second class of militia would be liable for service on *corvées* only. Both of these documents were forwarded to England for consideration. The governor also evinced his interest in the militia of the City of Quebec by attending the assembly held by them to commemorate the first anniversary of Montgomery's assault, dressed in full militia uniform and wearing his ribbon and star.

A resolute effort was made to enforce respect for the militia act by the prosecution of refractory men. Fines varying from five to ten pounds were imposed in a considerable number of cases.

A careful return of the effective strength of the militia had been compiled. The British militia of the city of Quebec consisted of eight companies, having a total strength of twenty-nine officers and 819 other ranks. The French militia of the city consisted of eight companies having a total strength of forty-one officers and 819 other ranks. In the district of Quebec, the rural militia was organized into fifty-four companies composed of 113 officers and 6,945 other ranks. The militia of the city of Montreal was composed of nine companies having a strength of 31 officers and 523 other ranks. The rural militia of the district of Montreal was organized in eighty-seven companies with a total strength of 253 officers and 6,483 other ranks. The rural militia of the district of Three Rivers consisted of twenty-three companies having a strength of sixty-one officers and 1,924 other ranks. The militia of Detroit and adjacent settlements had been formed into six companies, having a strength of twenty-eight officers, and 484 other ranks, besides which a company of volunteers had been formed consisting of one officer and 45 other ranks.

In midwinter vague but alarming rumors of preparations for a second invasion of the province on a large scale, conducted by French officers, reached the governor. For fully a year, war against England had been freely debated in Paris, but while secretly favored by the French Government, all hostile intentions were stoutly denied until the time seemed ripe for an open declaration. "France to us sends most fair words," Horace Walpole wrote, (18th June, 1777), "to America, stores and officers."

In the summer of 1777, the Marquis de La Fayette and the Baron de Kalb, with fourteen other French officers, who had engaged under an agreement with Silas Deane the envoy of Congress in Paris, for service in the Continental Army, arrived in South Carolina and subsequently reported at Philadelphia. La Fayette and De Kalb had been promised the rank of Major-General; two others, that of Colonel; two, the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; three, the rank of Major, and the remainder, the rank of Captain or Lieutenant. Many other officers, chiefly adventurers or soldiers of fortune had previously arrived from France or from French West Indies to offer their services. Their applications were generally attended with such exorbitant claims for rank, pay and privileges that made their employment practically impossible. Deane's agreement with La Fayette and and his companions increased the embarrassment and ill humor of the Congress. As La Fayette himself desired to serve without pay, he was granted the honorary rank of Major-General, but a resolution was passed thanking Baron de Kalb and the other officers, who had accompanied him, for their zeal and authorizing the payment of their expenses on returning to France. They had already taken their departure when they were recalled and commissions granted to them with the rank promised. La Fayette was attached to Washington's staff and was wounded in the battle of Brandywine. He was afterwards employed in some small detached operations and ingratiated himself generally with the officers with whom he acted, by his unvarying politeness and tact. The decisive victory gained by Gates at Saratoga had increased that officer's reputation to a greater height than his military talents justified, while on the other hand, misfortune had constantly attended the operations directed by Washington. A movement to supplant the latter in chief command by the victor of Saratoga secured much support even in Congress. A new committee was appointed for the management of military affairs of which Gates was made president. His friend, Conway, was promoted to be a Major-General over the heads of several officers who were senior to him. Without consulting Washington on the subject, La Fayette was nominated for the command of an independent expedition for the invasion of Canada. The first intimation Washington received of this, was contained in a copy of the order making the appointment. On the 22nd of January, 1778, Congress adopted a resolution authorising the war department to undertake an expedition against Canada under the orders of general officers to be selected later by that body and to make the necessary financial arrangements. On the following day, Major-General, the Marquis de La Fayette, Major-General Conway and Brigadier-General Stark, who had gained great popularity by his victory at Bennington, were nominated for its command. La Fayette accepted this appointment with much

eagerness as the hope of the reconquest of Canada excited his imagination. He was then barely twenty years of age and was quite carried away by dreams of military distinction. Still in accepting the command of this expedition he stipulated that he should act under the orders of Washington and be treated simply as one of his officers detached for special service, to report directly to him. When these conditions were accepted, he began his preparations for a winter campaign which must necessarily be attended with much hardship. His instructions gave him the command of a brigade composed of five regiments among them being those of Livingston and Hazen, nominally recruited in Canada, and a company of rangers, having a total strength, it was estimated, of 2,500 rank and file. The greater part of these troops had already served in Canada. The whole brigade, with the exception of Bedel's regiment was assembled at Bennington. That corps had been directed to march from Co-os, where it had been recruited, to the mouth of the Onion River, which was selected at the point of final concentration. General Stark, Colonels Warner, Bedel, and Hazen, the latter being appointed Quartermaster-General, were believed to be familiar with every road, pass and military post in the country. Orders had been issued to provide this force with the necessary artillery ammunition, provisions, and carriages required for the service. As success would depend mainly on the vigour and rapidity of his movements, the committee advised him to lose no time. The winter being very severe, although healthy, the officer in charge of clothing at Albany was directed to provide the warmest woollen uniforms in his possession, as the expedition must encamp during the night in the woods. As the troops were experienced in providing shelter for themselves, tents were considered an unnecessary encumbrance.

After taking possession of St. Jean, or Montreal, he was directed to address a proclamation to the Canadians explaining his intentions and urging them to join the invading force. Hazen's regiment consisting of four battalions was to be first completed to full strength with Canadian recruits, who were to receive the liberal bounty offered by a former resolution. If it was found that the Canadians were not disposed to join his force, he was directed to issue a manifesto requiring their strict neutrality. In that event he was ordered to destroy all fortifications and vessels at St. Jean, Chambly and Isle aux Noix, and retire by the best route to Saratoga and the American advanced posts. If the Canadians were willing to join the United States they must agree to obey the orders of Congress, and accept the paper money issued under its authority on the same terms as in the other states. They would be permitted to send delegates to represent them in Congress on condition of accepting the constitution already adopted. After taking possession of Montreal, which was designated as the principal object of the expedition, he was instructed to seize all arms, munitions and military stores, including cotton and woollen clothing, in that town or in its vicinity, for which compensation was to be paid to the inhabitants, and he was given authority to requisition for supplies to such an extent as he considered necessary. Plunder or misconduct which might disturb the minds of the Canadians and consequently be prejudicial to the interests of the United States, was strictly forbidden. He was advised, when on his way to Albany, to consult the governor, senate and assembly of the state of New York, then in session at Poughkeepsie, on all matters which might contribute to the success of the expedition. These orders were qualified considerably by a supplementary memorandum over the signature of General Gates which clearly stated the scope of the expedition as a raid with the object of the destruction of ships and provisions and removal of all merchandise which might be useful to the enemy or the army of the United States, after which he was to return.

It was then near the end of January, and if Lake Champlain was to be crossed on the ice, it was necessary to lose no time. On arriving at Albany, on the 17th February, he learned to his great disappointment that he had been misinformed and that General Stark knew little or nothing respecting the proposed expedition. Generals Schuyler, Lincoln and Arnold had agreed in the opinion that such an enterprise was inexpedient. The troops were decidedly reluctant to leave their winter quarters in such cold weather and instead of 2,500 or 3,000 men, he found that the number fit for service did not exceed 1,200, and that they could not be provided with winter clothing. They were greatly discontented from not having received their pay for many months. Information received by a deserter led him to believe that the enemy's force was much stronger than he expected. "J'ai consulte tout le monde," he wrote, "et tout le monde m'a repondu qu'il serait fou de la tenter".

He remained at Albany for some weeks and in company with Schuyler attended a council of the Indians in the Mohawk valley and detailed a French engineer officer to superintend the construction of a fort in the Oneida village.

Meanwhile Carleton had been engaged in active preparations to repel an invasion. The effective troops in the province considerably exceeded 5,000 rank and file. Many refugee loyalists from New York and New England had arrived and joined Maclean's corps, the Royal Regiment of New York, and a corps of rangers organized under the command of Jessup. After inspecting the British and Canadian militia of the city of Quebec, assembled under arms for that purpose, the governor proceeded to St. Jean, Isle aux Noix, and Montreal in the middle of March, to review the troops stationed there, and stated his warm approval of the good discipline and activity he noticed everywhere. One third of the militia of the district of Three Rivers under Lieutenant Colonel Tonnancour and a third of the rural militia of the district of Montreal commanded by de Longueuil and Lanaudière were already under marching orders when reliable information was received that the design of an invasion had been abandoned. Carleton reported that the disposition of most of the disaffected parishes seemed greatly changed for the better, with the exception of one in Terrebonne, the inhabitants of which afterwards declared their penitence, as well as a few individuals in other parishes who had disobeyed orders.

An official return dated 1st June, 1778, shows that the Royal Highland Emigrants had a strength of 413 of all ranks; the King's Royal Regiment of New York numbered 353, and Butler's Rangers, 106. Besides these, 562 Loyalists, who had effected their escape to Canada when Burgoyne capitulated, were receiving pay and rations; one hundred of them, described as "gentlemen", being graded as officers and the remainder, described as "ordinary men," being paid as non-commissioned officers and privates. They were mostly survivors of the corps organized during the summer under the command of Ebenezer Jessup, John Peters and other officers who had been granted commissions by Burgoyne under the Carleton's authority as governor of Quebec. They were supplied with arms and clothing from the public stores. Being well acquainted with the country and eager to avenge their personal sufferings and wrongs, detachments of them were stationed at the frontier posts to act as scouts and assist in the apprehension of spies and deserters. The three Canadian companies had fallen considerably below their establishment of one hundred each.

Major-General Frederic Haldimand, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the district of Three Rivers, had been selected as Carleton's successor in September, 1777, but no information of his appointment reached Canada for several months. The ship under orders to take him out and bring Carleton back to England was so long detained by contrary winds that another was substituted in April, 1778. Haldimand's familiarity with the French language, his former acquaintance with the province, and long service in various commands in North America were considered special qualifications for this appointment. He arrived at Quebec on the 26th of June and took the oath of office the following day. His proclamation assuming the Government was dated on the 30th. Carleton did not sail until the 31st of July, when his departure was marked by many demonstrations of sincere regret on the part of the leading inhabitants.

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

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(1)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, pp. 190-1.

The 18th May.

Gentlemen. I have the Pleasure to acquaint you that Lake George and Champlain with the Fortresses, Artillery, &c. Particularly the Armed sloop of George the Third with all water carriage on these lakes are now in Possession of the Colonies. I expect the English Merchants as well as the virtuous disposed Gentlemen will be in the Interest of the Colonies. The Advance Guard of the Army is now at St. John's and Desire Immediately to have a Personal Interview with you. Your Immediate Assistance as to Provisions Ammunition and Spirituous Liquors is wanted and fourthwith Expected, not as a Donation for I am Impovered by the Colonists to purchase the same and Desire you would fourthwith and without further Notice Prepare for the use of the Army of these Articles to the Amount of Five Hundred Pounds and deliver the same to me at St. Johns or at least a part of it almost Instantaneously as the Soldiary press on faster than Provision. I need Inform you that my directions from the Colonies is not to contend with or in any way molest the Canadians or Indians, but on the other Hand treat them with the greatest Friendship and Kindness. You will be pleased to communicate the same to them and some of you Immediately visit us at this Place, while others are Active in Delivering the Provisions. I write in Haste and am Gentlemen Your obedient Humble Servant

Ethan Allen Commander of the Army.

Dated at St. Johns the Day and Date aforesaid.

To the Merchants of Montreal.

Directed to Mr. James Morrison,

and the Merchants that are friendly to the cause of Liberty in Montreal.

(2)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, p. 192.

Dear Sir,

The Bearer Capt. Ninham from Stockbridge is going on an Embassy to Cockna-waugs with a Belt & Speech from his Tribe, any Assistance and Advice you are kind enough to give him will be gratefully acknowledged by Dr Sir

Your most obed't

H'ble Serv't.

Bened't Arnold.

Ticonderoga, 20 May, 1775.

To

Thos. Walker, Esqr.

Montreal.

(3)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, pp. 193-5.

Crown Point, the Head Quarters of the Army, the 24th day of May, 1775.

By Advice of Council I Recommend our Trusty and beloved Friend and Brother Capt. Abraham Ninham of Stockbridge as our Imbassador of Peace to our good Brother Indians of the Four Tribes, namely Kocnawagos, the Swegatches, the Canesandangas and the Saint Fransawas, Loving Brothers and Friends I have to inform you that George our former King has made War against his former good Subjects in this Country of America, and sent his Army and they have killed some of your Good Friends and Brothers that lived at Boston and in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, then your Good Brothers in that Province and in all the Colonies in English America made war with King George and have begun to kill the Men of his

Army and have took Ticonderoga from him and Crown Point and all the Artillery and also a Great Sloop which was at St. Johns and all the Botes in the Lake and have Gathered Two Great Armies, one has gone to fight the King's at Boston and the other is come to Ticonderoga and Crown Point to fight the King's Troops in Canada, but not to fight with our Brother the Indians or our Brothers the Canadians, and as King George's Men first killed our men we hope as Indians are Good and Honest Men you will not fight for King George Against us as we have done you no wrong and would chuse to live with you as Brothers. I always love Indians and Have Hunted a Great Deal with them & know how to shute and Ambush just like Indians and want your Warriors to come and see me and help me fight Regulars. You know they all stand close Together Rank and file and my men fight so as Indians Do and I want your Warriors to join with me and my Warriors Like Brothers and Ambush the Regulars, if you will I will Give you Money, Blankets, Tomahawks, Knives and Paint and the Like as much as you say, because they first killed our men when it was Peace time and Try to kill us all therefore we want our Brother Indians to help us fight for I know you are good Worriors and can shoot well and I think it right for us to kill them and that our Brother Indians also kill them because they Did begin to kill us without cause, therefore we are obliged to fight, but if you our Brother Indians Do not fight on Either side still we will be Friends and Brothers and you may come and Hunt in our Woods and Pass through our Country in the Lake and come to our Joust and have Rum and be Good Friends. We have sent our Friend Wintrop Hoyt to Treat with you on our Behalf in friendship you know Him for he has Lived with you and is your Adopted Son and is a good man. Capt. Ninham and he will tell you about the Whole matter More than I can write. I hope your Worriors will come and see me it may be at Crown Point or St. Johns and Possably at Montreal if I have Good Heart and fight well So I bid all our Brother Indians Farewel, Ethan Allen, Col.

Directed to

The Councillors at Kocanawago,
pr Favor of Capt. Ninham.

(4)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, p. 196.

Crown Point, 24th May, 1775.

Dear Sir,

I wrote you a line the other Day from St. Johns but omitted being particular as I expected it would fall into the hands of the Enemy. I have now to beg the favour of you to advise me from time to Time of the Number of Troops with you, their Movement (& Designs if possible) & if Joined by any Canadians or Indians. If any Number of the former you may assure them they will soon see an Army of Primkins here Men in the Heart of their Country. I have here and at Ticonderago about one Thousand Men & expect to be joined in a few Days by two Thousand more. We are making new Carriages for the Guns & expect Tools and Artificers every Minute to repair Tie and Put in a formidable condition. We yesterday received advice that Four hundred Regulars were making Preparations at St. Johns to come this Way but to our great Mortification the news has been contradicted.

I beg my Compts to all Friends
& am respectfully, Dr. Sir,

Yours &ca.

Bened't Arnold,

Thos. Walker Esqr. at Montreal.

(5)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, May 25, 1775.

On Saturday last Advice was received in Town, that a Number of arm'd Men, said to be from New-Hampshire, headed by one Benedict Arnold, had taken Possession of Ticonderoga by Stratagem, and after disarming the Commander and his Party, had sent them Prisoners into New-Hampshire. That on Thursday last a Party of about 90 of them, headed by one Allen, had come down to St. John's, about 27 miles above Montreal, where they took Possession of the King's Schooner George, the Bat-toes, and such Ammunition and Provisions as they found there. As soon as it was

known at Montreal a Detachment of the 26th Regiment under the Command of Major Preston was immediately ordered out in Quest of them, and about four o'clock on Friday morning came up with and attacked them getting into the Battoes to return, when after exchanging several Shots some of the Free-booters being wounded, and one taken Prisoner, the Rest made off.

In Consequence of the above Intelligence the 7th Regiment, under the Command of Major Stopford, marched early on Monday Morning for Montreal; and in the Afternoon a Schooner commanded by Zachariah Thomson Capt, of this Port, and a Sloop commanded by Capt. Algeo, having on Board Capt. Godwin's Company of Artillery, some Field-pieces Ammunition, &c. sail'd for the same Place.

The same evening, between five and six o'clock, His Excellency Major-General Carleton, Commander of the Northern District, also set out for Montreal.

(6)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS. Series Q. Vol. 11, p. 227.

Lettre adressée aux Habitans opprimés de la Province de Québec.
De la part du Congrès Général de l'Amérique Septentrionale, tenu à Philadelphie.

Aux

Habitans Opprimés de la Province de Québec.

Nos Amis & Compatriotes,

Les desseins formés par un Ministre arbitraire pour extirper la Liberté & les Droits de toute l'Amérique, nous ayant alarmés; un pressentiment du danger commun se joignant aux mouvements de l'humanité, fit que nous vous engageames par notre precedente Adresse a prêter votre attention a ce sujet de la derniere imporation.

Depuis la conclusion de la derniere guerre nous vous avons considérés avec satisfaction comme sujets du même Prince que nous: & depuis le commencement du plan actuellement en execution pour subjuguier ce continent, nous n'avons vu en vous que nos compagnons de souffrance. La divine bonté d'un Créateur indulgent nous ayant donné a tous un droit a la Liberté, & étant tous également voués a une ruine commune par les cruels édits d'une Administration despotique, il nous a paru que le sort des Colonies Protestantes & Catholiques étoit étroitement lié ensemble & consequent nous vous invitames a vous unir avec nous dans la resolution d'être libres & a rejeter avec dédain les fers de l'Esclavage, malgré l'artifice, qu'on auroit employé pour les polir.

Nous devons nous affliger sincèrement avec vous de ce que le jour est arrivé, pendant le quel le Soleil ne peut eclaire de ses rayons un seul homme libre dans toute l'étendue de votre pays: Soyés assurés que votre degradation si peu méritée a émeu de la pitié la plus sincere toutes vos soeurs les Colonies, & nous nous flattons que vous ne souffrirés jamais, (en vous soumettant lâchement au joug que l'on veut vous imposer) que cette pitié soit supplantée par le mépris.

Lorsque l'on forme des attentats audacieux pour depouiller les hommes de ces droits qui leur ont été départis par l'Être Suprême, lorsque pour donner entrée au despotisme on fraye des routes au travers des pactes les plus solennels, lorsque la foi que le gouvernement a engagée cesse de donner de l'assurance a des Sujets fidelles & obeissants, & enfin lorsque les manoeuvres & les stratagèmes insidieux de la paix deviennent plus terribles que les operations les plus sanglantes de la guerre. C'est alors pour eux le tems de maintenir ces droits & de s'opposer avec une indignation vertueuse au torrent de l'oppression qui vient se precipiter sur eux.

Par l'introduction de la forme actuelle de votre gouvernement ou plustot la forme actuelle de Tyrannie, vous, vos femmes & vos enfans sont fait esclaves vous ne possédés rien que vous puissés dire vous appartenir & chaque fois qu'un gouverneur avare ou un conseil rapace seront portés a les demander on peut vous ravir tous les fruits de vos labeurs & de votre industrie. Vous êtes Sujets par ces édits a être transportés en pays étrangers pour livrer des batailles dans les quelles vous n'avez aucun intérêt & repandre votre sang dans des combats desquels vous ne pouvés retirer ni honneur ni profit, la jouissance même de votre religion, suivant le present système, depend d'un corps legislatif auquel vous n'avez aucune part, & sur lequel vous n'avez point d'autorité, & vos prêtres sont exposés a être chassés, bannis, & ruinés, chaque fois que leurs richesses & leur possessions en fournira une temptation suffisante: ils ne peuvent pas s'assurer qu'il y aura toujours un Prince vertueux sur le trône & si jamais

un Souverain méchant & negligéant concuroit avec un ministere abandonné a vous depouiller des richesses and des forces de votre pays, il est impossible de concevoir jusqu'a quelle extremité & quelle diversité de misère vous pourries être réduits sous la forme de votre établissement actuel.

Nous sommes informés qu'on vous a déjà requis de prodiguer vos vies dans un dé-mêlé avec nous: Si vous vous soumettiés a votre nouvel établissement en acquiescant a cette demande & qu'une guerre s'alluma contre la France, vos biens et vos fils pourroient être envoyés pour perir dans des expéditions contre les possessions de cette nation dans les isles de l'Amerique.

Il n'est pas a présumer que ces considerations ne seront d'aucun poids auprès de vous, ou que vous soyés si fort dénués de tout sentiment d'honneur—Nous ne croirons jamais que la presente race de Canadiens auroit si fort degeneré qu'elle ne possederait plus l'ardeur, le courage & la valeur, de leurs ancêtres; certainement vous ne permettrés pas que l'infamie & la disgrâce d'une pusillanimité, pareille réjaillit sur vos têtes & que les consequences qui s'en suivroient retompassent pour toujours sur celle de vos enfans.

Quant a nous nous sommes déterminés a vivre libres ou a mourir, et nous sommes résolus que la postérité n'aura jamais a nous reprocher d'avoir mis un monde une race d'esclaves.

Permettés que nous vous répétitions encore une fois que nous sommes vos amis & non vos ennemis, & ne vous laissés point en imposer par ceux qui peuvent tâcher de faire naître des animosités entre nous,—quant a la prise du fort & des ammunitions de Ticonderoga, dé même que celle du fort de la pointe a la chevelure, & des batimens armés sur le lac; elle a été dictée par cette grande loi, notre conservation propre, ces forts étoient destinés a nous nuire & à interrompre cette correspondance amicale & cette communication qui a subsisté jusqu'à présent entre votre colonie et les autres, nous souhaitons que cette affaire ne vous aye causé aucune inquietude & vous pouvés faire fonds sur les assurances que nous vous donnons que ces colonies ne poursuivrons aucunes mesures quelconques que celles qui seront dictées par l'amitié & une attention pour notre sureté & notre intérêt reciproque.

Comme l'intérêt que nous prenons a votre prosperité nous donne un titre a votre amitié, nous présurons que vous ne voudriés point en nous faisant injure nous réduire a la triste nécessité de vous traiter en ennemis.

Nous conservons encore quelque esperance que vous vous joindrés a nous pour la defence de notre liberté mutuelle & il y a encore raison de croire que si nous nous joignons pour implorer l'attention de notre souverain aux oppressions inouies & injustes de ses sujets americains, il sera enfin détrompé & defendra a un ministere licentieux de continuer d'exercer désormais ses violences sur les ruines du genre humain.

Par Ordre du Congrès,
Jean Hancock, Président.

Philadelphie, le 29me May, 1775.

Endorsed:—

In Govr. Carleton's (No. 14) of 14th August, 1775.

(7)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, pp. 145-6.

Whitehall, 7th June, 1775.

No. 17.

Governor Carleton,

Sir,

I have rec'd your Despatch of the 13th of March, No. 9, and laid it before the King.

The Enemies of the Constitution appear to be unwearied in their Endeavours to convey every Misrepresentation that may have the Effect to weaken the Hands of Gov't and to encourage Faction and Discontent. It is hoped, however, that the Firmness of the present Parliament in support of the Measures which the last Parliament thought fit to adopt for America in general and for regulating the Government of Quebec in particular, will have the Effect to quiet the apprehensions and remove the Prejudices which ill designing men have so artfully endeavoured to create.

The Attempts made to raise new Difficulties to Gov't on the ground of the Petitions of the old subjects in Quebec was supported by the whole strength of the Opposition—how little impression it made within Doors will best appear from the great Majority in

both Houses against the Proposition that was moved upon those Petitions; and I have the Satisfaction to assure you that it met with no greater encouragement without Doors, and that to all appearance the People of England in general concur in the Measures which have been adopted for America.

I have also the satisfaction to acquaint you that an account published here of a skirmish between the King's Troops and the Provincials in the neighborhood of Boston, of which, however, we have received no Intelligence from General Gage, has had no other Effect than to increase that just Indignation, which every Friend to Government feels, for the Insult offered to the Constitution in the rebellious Resistance to the authority of Parliament by the People of North America.

I am, &ca.
Dartmouth.

(8)

Montreal, June the 8th, 1775.

Sir

I have ordered a party of Savages into the woods from the Isle aux noix till below your post, but don't depend upon them so far as to omit taking the same precautions you would observe, were there no such people. I recommend to you, that the two redoubts, one to enclose Hazen's house, the other to enclose the barrack, be finished as soon as you can; you will then have more men at liberty—The soldiers might work two or four hours at most & then be relieved, so the business might go on briskly. I shall allow half a pint of rum to those who work, or have any extraordinary fatigue to mix with their water, at your discretion, but all who get drunk are to be struck off this allowance.

Your
most humble
Servant.
Guy Carleton.

P.S.—

If you
want entrenching
tools, you may
get some from
Chambly.

Addressed
to

Major Preston
commanding the troops
at St. Johns.

(9)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.
Series Q, Vol. 11, p. 235.

Copy of a paper dropped at several of the Habitans Houses in June, 1775.
Onis y soit qui mal y pence
a celui qui ne suivra le bon chemin.
Baston.

Endorsed:—Boucherville.

In Gov'r Carleton's (No. 14) of 14th August, 1775.

(10)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.
Series Q, Vol. 11, p. 184.

(No. 12)

Montreal 7th June, 1775

My Lord,

The 19th of last Month in the Evening, I received Intelligence from General Gage by Sea of the Rebels having commenced Hostilities in the Province of Massachusetts, and Requesting I would send the 7th Regiment with some Companies of Canadians and Indians to Crown Point, in order to make a Diversion, and favour his operations.

The next morning, Captain Hazen arrived Express at Quebec, and brought me an account, that one Benedict Arnold said to be a native of Connecticut, and a Horse

Jockey, landed a considerable number of armed men at St. John's, distant from this Town eight Leagues, about eight in the Morning of the 18th, surprised the Detachment of the 26th doing Duty there, consisting of a Serjeant and ten men, and made them Prisoners, seized upon The King's Sloop, Batteaus, and every other Military Store, and a few Hours after departed, carrying off the Craft, Prisoners, and Stores they had seized.

From this Party we had the first Information of the Rebels being in Arms upon the Lakes, and of their having, under the Command of said Arnold, surprised Ticonderoga, Crown Point, the Detachment of the 26th doing Duty at these two Places, and all the Craft employed upon those Lakes; Arnold told Captain Hazen, He had for that Purpose received a Commission of Colonel from the Congress of the Massachusetts, with the Command of five hundred Men, that Volunteers to the Amount of fifteen hundred followed him, but he did not wait for them all.

The same Evening another Express brought an Account of the Rebels having landed at St. John's a second Time, in the night between the 18th and 19th, this Party was said to be three hundred strong, and that nine hundred more were at the Isle aux Noix; this second Party however was not near so numerous as at first reported, and most probably would have been cut off by a Detachment of one hundred Men from the 26th Detachment, under the command of Major Preston, had they not been advised of the March of the Troops, as they went down the River.

While this Party, Commanded by one Ethan Allen, said to be outlawed in the Province of New York, remained at St. John's, He sent a Letter by this same Bindon, addressed to one Morrison and the British Merchants of Montreal Lovers of Liberty, demanding a Supply of Provisions, Ammunition, and spirituous Liquors, which some of them were inclined enough to furnish, had they not been prevented.

The little Force we have in the Province was immediately set in motion, and ordered to assemble at or near St. John's; The Noblesse of this Neighbourhood were called upon to collect their Inhabitants, in order to defend themselves, the Savages of those Parts likewise had the same orders; but tho' the Gentlemen testified great zeal, neither their Entreaties or their Example could prevail upon the People; a few of the Gentry, consisting principally of the Youth, residing in this Place, and it's neighbourhood, formed a small Corps of Volunteers under the command of Mr. Samuel Mackay, and took Post at St. John's; the Indians shewed as much Backwardness as the Canadian Peasantry.

The Consternation in the Towns and Country was great and universal, every Individual seemed to feel our present impotent situation, for tho' in Danger of Internal Commotions, we are equally unprepared for Attack or Defence; Not six hundred Rank & File fit for Duty upon the whole Extent of this great River, not an armed Vessel, no Place of Strength; and ancient Provincial Force enervated and broke to Pieces; all Subordination overset, and the minds of the People poisoned by the same Hypocrisy and Lies practised with so much Success in the other Provinces, which their Emissaries and Friends here have spread abroad with great Art and Diligence; had it not been for those few Troops, three hundred Rebels might have procured all the Arms, Ammunition, and Provisions can afford, and have kept Post at St. John's with great Security. We are at present fortifying a Post there and at Oswegatchie, tho' there are other Avenues into the Province, I hope the above may be made sufficiently strong to resist any sudden Attack of this Sort; a considerable Force here might not only secure ourselves, but assist General Gage in extinguishing the Flames of Rebellion in the other Provinces more speedily, I fear he has none to spare, and it may be too late in the year to have them from Europe, however I shall see what in our present Situation is further practicable for the King's Service.

Within these few Days the Canadians and Indians seem to return a little to their sense, the Gentry and Clergy have been very useful upon this Occasion and shewn great fidelity and Warmth for His Majesty's Service, but both have lost much of their Influence over the People: I propose trying to form a Militia, and if their Minds are favourably disposed, will raise a Battalion, upon the same Plan as the other Corps in America, as to numbers and Expence, and were it established, I think, it might turn out of great public Utility; but I have many Doubts whether I shall be able to succeed.

These Measures, that formerly would have been extremely popular, require at present a great Degree of Caution and Circumspection: so much have the Minds of the People been tainted by the Cabals and Intrigues I have from time to time given Your Lordship some information of, I am as yet uncertain whether I shall find it advisable to proceed in the aforementioned undertaking; to defame their King and treat him with Insolence and Disrespect, upon all occasions to speak with the utmost Contempt of His Government, to forward Sedition and Applaud Rebellion seem to be what too many of His British American Subjects in those Parts think their undoubted Right,

For my Part since my Return to this Province, I have seen good Cause to repent my having ever recommended the Habeas Corpus Act and English Criminal Laws; these Laws, now used as Arms against the State, require more public Virtue, and greater Fidelity to their Prince, than is generally to be met with amongst the set of People here, that take all the Lead upon all occasions: To render the Colony of that advantage to Great Britain, it certainly is capable of, would require the reintroducing of French Criminal Law, and all the Powers of it's Government.

Our Communication with the other Provinces being entirely stopped, we run a Risk of being at great Loss for Money, to defray the ordinary and extraordinary Expences, the Service here must be attended with. The Money Contractors, as well as Trade, at this Time of the year, being used to procure large Supplies of Cash from New York and Philadelphia, with which Places we have at present no intercourse; if fifteen or twenty thousand Pounds were sent here as soon as possible, it would be of great Use to Government, which must lose considerably by the present low course of Exchange, likely to fall every Day; could it be procured in Dollars, and some part in small silver, the same would prove highly beneficial to this Country, where that species is become extremely scarce.

I am with much Respect and Esteem
Your Lordship's
Most Obedient and Most Humble Servant.
Guy Carleton.

Earl of Dartmouth

One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

P.S. 8th June. Since I wrote the above, I find the Rebels are returned, and have taken Post near to St. John's, and there have the King's Sloop and Major Skene's Schooner well armed, with several Bateaus; tho' I have not as yet been able to procure exact accounts of their Numbers or Intentions, I have Reason to believe from the imperfect Information already received, they are more in Number than upon their former Incursions. G.C.

Endorsed:—Montreal 7 June 1775. Govr. Carleton (No. 12) R. 29 July 1775.

(11)

By His Excellency Guy Carleton, Captain-general and Governour in Chief, in and over the province of Quebeck, and the territories depending thereon in America, Vice-admiral of the same, and Major-general of his Majesty's forces, commanding the Northern District, &c. &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

“WHEREAS a rebellion prevails in many of his Majesty's colonies in America, and particularly in some of the neighboring ones; and whereas many of the aforesaid rebels have with an armed force made incursions of late into this province, attacking and carrying away from thence a party of his Majesty's troops, together with a parcel of stores and a vessel belonging to his Majesty, and are at present actually invading this province with arms in a traitorous and hostile manner, to the great terror of his Majesty's subjects, and in open defiance of his laws and government, falsely and maliciously giving out, by themselves and their abettors, that the motives for so doing are to prevent the inhabitants of this province from being taxed and oppressed by government, together with divers others false and seditious reports, tending to enflame the minds of the people and alienate them from his Majesty: To the end therefore that so treasonable an invasion may be soon defeated, that all such traitors with their said abettors may be speedily brought to justice, and the publick peace and tranquillity of this province again restored, which the ordinary course of civil law is at present unable to effect, I have thought fit to issue this proclamation, hereby declaring that, until the aforesaid good purpose can be attained, I shall, in virtue of the powers and authority to me given by his Majesty, execute Martial Law, and cause the same to be executed throughout this province: and to that end I shall order the militia within the same to be forthwith raised. But, as a sufficient number of commissions to the several officers thereof cannot be immediately made out, I shall in the meantime direct all those having any militia commissions from the Hon. Thomas Gage, the Hon. James Murray, Ralph Burton, and Frederick Haldimand, Esquires, heretofore his Majesty's governours in this province or either of them, to obey the same, and execute the powers therein mentioned, until they shall receive orders from me to the contrary; and I do accordingly in his Majesty's name hereby require and command all his subjects in this Province, and others whom it may concern, on pain of disobedience, to be aiding and assisting to such commissioned officers, and others who are or may be commissioned by me, in the execution of their said commissions for his Majesty's service.

Given under my hand and seal of arms at Montreal, this ninth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, in the fifteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, and so forth.

GUY CARLETON.

By his Excellency's command.

H. T. CRAMAHE.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

(Additional papers concerning the Province of Quebec by Francis Maseres, Pp. 171-2.)

(12)

Proclamation du Gouverneur pour rétablir les milice du 9 Juin.

“Par Son Excellence Guy Carleton, Capitaine General et Gouverneur en Chef dans toute la province de Quebec et Territories en dependants en Amerique, Vice-Admiral, Commandant le Department septentrional, &c., &c., &c.

PROCLAMATION.

“L'esprit de rébellion s'étant manifesté dans plusieurs des Colonies de Sa Majesté en Amérique, et particulièrement dans quelques cantons voisins de cette Province, et plusieurs des dits rebelles ayant fait à armée des incursions dans cette province; où ils ont attaqué et enlevé une partie des troupes de Sa Majesté avec différents effets et une barque appartenant au Roy, et comme ils continuent encore leurs hostilités traîtresses et tâchent de pénétrer dans cette province à la grande consternation des bons sujets de Sa Majesté et au mépris manifeste des loix et du gouvernement, prenant fausement et malicieusement pour prétexte de leur conduite qu'ils n'ont d'autres vues que de mettre les habitants de cette province à L'abri des taxes et de l'oppression du gouvernement, ce qu'ils tâchent d'insinuer par eux-mêmes et par leurs fauteurs, en y ajoutant plusieurs autres rapports également faux et séditieux, tendant à indisposer l'esprit des peuples et à les détacher de obéissance qu'ils doivent au Roy:—Afin donc de repousser promptement et efficacement une invasion si criminelle et perfide, et de mettre en état de punir, comme ils le meritent les auteurs cette sédition et leurs adhérents, et pour rétablir la paix et la tranquillité publique dans toute l'étendue de cette province, ce qu'il n'est pas possible dans les circonstances présentes d'exécuter par le cours ordinaire des loix civiles:—J'ai jugée à propos de publier la présente Proclamation, par laquelle je déclare qu'en attendant qu'on puisse exécuter ce qui est propre cy dessus, en vertu des pouvoirs et autorités que j'ay recus de Sa Majesté, j'ai résolu d'employer le secours des loix militaires dans toute l'étendue de cette Province, et d'ordonner en consequence qu'on mette incessamment sur pied les milices de la dite Province. Mais comme il n'est pas possible d'expedier sur le champ un nombre suffisant de commissions pour tous les officiers qui doivent être employés, je fais sçavoir en même temps à tous ceux qui ont eu cy-devant quelques grades dans la milice par des commissions recues de l'Honorable Thomas Gage, de l'Honorable Jacques Murray, de Ralph Burton et Frédéric Haldimand, Ecquiers et cy-devant Gouverneurs pour Sa Majesté dans cette Province, d'exécuter ce qui leur étoit enjoint par les dites commissions, et de faire usage des pouvoirs qui leur étoient donnés, jusqu'à nouvel ordre de ma part. Et moi en conséquence, et au nom de Sa Majesté, je commande et ordonne à tous les sujets du Roy dans cette Province et à tous ceux qu'il appartiendra, sous peine de disobéissance, de donner aide et secours, en tout ce qui peut concerner le service du Roy, à tous le dits officiers pourvus des dites commissions ou de celles qu'ils pourroient recevoir de ma part.

Donné sous mon seing et le sceau de mes armes, à Montréal, ce 9 jour de Juin 1775, dans la 15 année du règne de Notre Souverain Seigneur George Trois, par la grâce de Dieu Roy de la Grande-Bretagne, de France et d'Irlande, Défenseur de la Foy, &c., &c., &c.

(13)

“GUY CARLETON.”

Etat major des milices nomme a Montreal et a Quebec. Celui de Montreal abuse de ses pouvoirs. Mecontentemens qu'il excite.

En conséquence de cette proclamation—M. Dufy-Desauniers fut nommé Colonel M. Neveu-Sevestre Lieutenant Colonel, et M. St. George-Dupré Major des milices du district de Montréal—à qui il donna les pouvoirs de rétablir la milice et de nommer les officiers—Ces trois Messieurs commencèrent à faire des injustices—par favoriser leurs familles et leurs amis—de manière que les anciens Lieutenants de milice, ils en

furent des Enseignes, et des personnes qui n'avoient jamais été dans les milices—des Capitaines, et laissèrent plusieurs anciens officiers qui n'eurent point de places—Cela fit nombre de mécontents—Toute la ville de Montréal murmuroit, et pour comble de malheur la populace refusoit de se mettre en milice—sous prétexte que le Colonel Templer leur avoit promis qu'ils se formeroient en compagnies de trente hommes, et qu'ils auroient la liberté de nommer leurs officiers,—Tout ceci se passoit sous les yeux du Gouverneur,—Malgré les représentations qui luy furent faites, il ne voulut y avoir aucun égard—au contraire il fit expédier les commissions pour ceux qui avoient été nommés par Messieurs Dufy-Desauniers, Neveu-Sevestre et St. George-Dupré. A Québec, Messieurs Voyer Colonel; Dumont, Lieutenant-Colonel, et Dupré l'ainé, Major.

Dans ce moment critique—les mauvais sujets n'épargnoient point leurs peines pour indisposer le peuple et y mettre la confusion,—Ils répétoient continuellement.

(Invasion du Canada, 1775, par L'Abbé Verreau, P. 36-37.)

(Translation)

A Militia Staff appointed at Montreal and Quebec. That appointed at Montreal abuses its authority. Discontent caused by this.

As a result of this proclamation M. Dufy-Desauniers was appointed Colonel, M. Neveu-Sevestre, Lieutenant-Colonel, and M. St. George, Major of the Militia in the district of Montreal, to whom was given authority to reorganize the militia and nominate officers. These three gentlemen began to act unjustly, to favor their families and their friends so that old Lieutenants of the militia were made Ensigns and men who had never been in the militia were made Captains, and several old officers had no rank. This caused much discontent. The whole town of Montreal was in an uproar, and to increase the trouble the people refused to serve in the militia under the pretext that Colonel Templer had promised to form them into companies of thirty men and that they would have the privilege of electing their own officers. All this took place under the eyes of the Governor. Despite the representations made to him he would pay no attention, on the contrary he caused commissions to be sent out for those who had been nominated by Messrs. Dufy-Desauniers, Neveu-Sevestre and St. George-Dupré. At Quebec Messrs. Voyer, Colonel; Dumont, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Dupré, the elder, Major.

At this critical moment ill-disposed subjects spared no pains to prejudice the people and create confusion. They reiterated continually
(The Invasion of Canada, 1775, by Abbe Verreau, Pp. 36-37.)

(14)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA, HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 215, pp. 1-2.

By His Excellency The Honourable Thomas Gage, General and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in North America.
To Lieutenant Colonel Allan Maclean.

You are hereby impowered with the Officers under your command, by Beat of Drum or otherwise, to enlist for His Majesty's Service in any of His Provinces of North America, such Highlanders, or such other Loyal Subjects as you may be able to procure to be formed into a Corps of two Battalions, to be paid as His Majesty's other Regiments of Foot, and to receive Fifty Shillings Bounty; they are to consist of Ten Companies each, which Companies are to be composed of One Field Officer or Captain, two subalterns, three serjeants, three corporals, two drums, and Fifty private men. The whole to consist of one Colonel in Chief, one Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, two Majors, one of the two Majors to be Major Commandant, seventeen Captains, two Captain-Lieutenants, Twenty Lieutenants, Eighteen Ensigns, two Adjutants, two Quarter Masters, two Surgeons, two Surgeon's Mates, and one Chaplain.

The whole Corps to be cloathed, Armed and Accoutred in like manner with His Majesty's Royal Highland Regiment and to be called the Royal Highland Emigrants.

You are to rendezvous on Lake Champlain or bring them to this place as you shall find most practicable, but should they be formed in Canada, you will act under the Command of General Carleton until further orders.

Given under my hand,
at Head Quarters, Boston,
12 June, 1775.

THOMAS GAGE.

(15)

HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B, Vol. 102, pp. 196-9.

To His Excellency Frederick Haldimand, Esquire, General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in the Province of Quebec and Frontiers, thereof, etc., etc., etc.

The memorial of Colonel Allen MacLean, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the 1st Battn, 84th Regt. Sheweth,

That in the beginning of the year 1775 the memorialist knowing that in North America there was a great many Emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland, He had the honor to hint to His Majesty's Ministers that the Associations then beginning to be formed by the Rebels might receive a very Effectual check by engaging proper persons who had influence among the aforesaid Emigrants to form Counter Associations which with the assistance of the Loyal part of the Natives, and both being properly supported by His Majesty's Governors, and Commanders might if adopted in time have produced very salutary Effects without having recourse to Arms.

After some Deliberation the measure was adopted and the memorialist was sent out with Instructions to the Commander in Chief of the Army in America and to the Governors of the different provinces to co-operate with him and such other Gentlemen as he should Engage, But hostilities having commenced and Rebellion reared its horrid head, the memorialist found it necessary to change his plan.

The memorialist after travelling many journeys from Philadelphia to New York, thence to Boston, back to New York, and from thence to Canada in disguise and often without a Servant or Baggage, with great Expeuce, imminent danger and incredible fatigue Had the good fortune to raise two Battalions with one of which he had the Honour to be highly Instrumental in preserving the province of Canada, and the other Battalion has in a great measure protected that of Nova Scotia. The Levy money for those Battalions was only forty shillings when four Guineas were allowed at Home.

When the memorialist was sent to America, and as he understood by His Majesty's Official approbation, Lord North promised that in case of the memorialists death in the course of the undertaking, his Widow should be provided for by a handsome pension, His Lordship the year afterwards was so well satisfied with the memorialist's zeal in His Majesty's Service that he gave assurance to the Memorialist and to Mrs. Maclean that what was engaged to be given on the contingency of his death, should be granted to her immediately.

(16)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11, p. 226.

A Return of the Shipping on the Lakes Ontario, Erie and Huron.

		Tons.	Guns.
Belonging to His Majesty.	{ Snow Haldimand, Lake Ontario.....	140	18
	{ Schooner Gage, Erie	120	16
	{ Ditto, Dunmore, Huron	90	12
Belonging to Mr. Grant.	{ Sloop Charity, Lake Ontario	60	..
	{ 2 sloops on the stocks.....	..	..
	{ 30 tons each, ditto.....	60	..
	{ Schooner Hope, Lakes Erie and Huron	60	6
	{ Sloop Angelica, ditto, ditto	60	..
Messrs. McTavish and McBeath.	{ Sloop Chippaway, ditto, ditto.....	50	..
	{ Schooner Faith, ditto, ditto.....	30	..
John Askin	{ Sloop Felicity, Lakes Erie and Huron.	30	..
	{ Sloop Archange	15	..

Tons 705 Guns 82

Alexr. Grant.
Montreal, 12th June, 1775.

Endorsed:—In Gov'r. Carleton's (No. 14) of 14th August, 1775.

Vol. 420, P. 224.

EXTRACT.

(17)

GENERAL GAGE TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

Boston, 12th June 1775.

Colonel Prescott goes immediately to Canada to assist General Carleton, for I hear the Rebels, after surprising Ticonderoga, made Incursions, and committed Hostilities upon the Frontiers of the Province of Quebec, which will justify General Carleton to raise both Canadians and Indians to attack them in his turn, and we need not be tender in calling upon the Savages, as the Rebels have shewn us the Example by bringing down as many Indians against us here as they could collect.

(18)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, June 15, 1775.

We hear from Montreal that his Excellency the Governor has been pleased to appoint the following Gentlemen Field-officers of the Militia for the City and Precinct of Montreal, viz. Mr. Dufils Desaunier, Colonel; Mr. Silvestre, Lieutenant-colonel; and Mr. St. George Dupré, Major.

(19)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, pp. 233-4.

In Provincial Congress, New York, June 2d, 1775.
Friends and Countrymen.

The parent of the Universe hath divided the earth amongst the children of men and drawn out the line of their habitations—This great God having ordained that all our joys and sorrows here below should proceed from the effect of human actions upon human beings, our situation has drawn together this great bond of mutual dependance and enabled us to deal out injuries and kindnesses to each other. We consider you as our friends and we feel for you the affection of Brothers.

The great question between Britain and her Colonies is whether they are Subjects or whether they are Slaves.

The rights delivered down to us by our forefathers, the venerable laws of our Country, have subjected our own property to our own disposal, nor hath any earthly power a right to take it away. Mankind ought to be governed by the dictates of Justice and not by the hand of oppression. The peaceable enjoyment of what we yet call our own, and that Liberty which confers on every man the right of adoring his God in the manner which he thinks most agreeable to the divine nature; these are the objects of all our labors and of all our cares.

Ministerial Tyranny hath endeavored throughout all these Colonies to rend from us the dearest rights of humanity and in the defence of those rights some persons have taken certain forts in this colony which are near your Frontiers.

We have heard that others have made an attack upon the Post of St. John's, an attempt without our Council or participation and altho' we have taken measures for the defence of our own Fortresses yet our only intention is to prevent any hostile incursions upon us by the Troops in your Province.

Confident that the enemies of our King and his people will take every opportunity to excite Jealousy and Discord Among us, we beseech you not to be imposed on by their Artifices but call to your remembrance the complicated horrors of a barbarous War, avoid those measures which must plunge us both into distress and instead of consenting to become miserable slaves, generously dare to participate with your fellow subjects in the sweets of that security which is the glorious lot of freedom.

We are with sincere affection
your brethren and friends,
P. V. B. Livingston, Presid't.

To the inhabitants

of the Province of Quebec.

Endorsed: In Gov'r Carleton's (No. 14) of the 14th August, 1775.

(20)

Par Son Excellence GUY CARLETON, Ecuyer, Capitaine Général et Gouverneur de la Province de Québec, et Dépendances, Vice Admiral d'icelle, Maréchal des Camps et Armées de sa Majesté, Colonel du 27ème. Régiment, Commandant au Département Septentrional de l'Amerique, &c., &c., &c.

Etant nécessaire pour le service du Roi, et pour l'exécution de nos ordres de Rétablir les Milices de la Ville et Banlieu de Québec. et étant bien informé du Zèle et de la bonne Conduite du Sieur. NOEL VOYER, ci devant Capitaine des Milices, et de sa Fidélité et affection sur Service du Roi; Nous, en Vertu du Pouvoir à nous donné par sa Majesté lui donnons le présent Brevet de Colonel des Milices de la dite Ville et Banlieu de QUEBEC, pour en jouir avec tous les honneurs et prérogatives, et en faire les Fonctions en la dite qualité, et exécuter les ordres qui lui seront donnés de nous, ou de notre part, durant notre bon plaisir.

ENJOIGNONS à tous les Officiers et Miliciens de la dite Ville et Banlieu, de lui obéir et entendre en tout ce qu'il leur Commandera pour le Service du Roy, en Exécution de nos ordres, sous peine de désobéissance.

EN FOI de quoi Nous avons Signé le présent Brevet, à celui fait apposer le Cachet de nos Armes, et Contresigner par notre Secrétaire.

FAIT à Montréal ce 25 de Juin, 1775.

GUY CARLETON.

Par Son Excellence,
H. L. CRAMAHE.

(21)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11, pp. 204-5.

State of His Majesty's Troops in the Province of Quebec.

	L.c.	M.	C.	Lt.	E.	S.	D. R. & F.	
Chambly	1	3	6	..	8	4	92
St. John's	1	7	13	3	16	9	341
St. Francois	1	..	2	..	32
Quebec	1	1	..	1	5	53
River Chaudiere.....	1	..	1	..	24
Montreal	1	..	3	1	2	7	5	92
Oswegatchie	1	1	..	26
Lachine	1	..	13
On Furlough	11
Prisoners	1	2	1	3	1	61
Total	1	2	15	25	7	40	24	745

Royal Artillery.

	C.Lt.	Lt.1st.	Lt.2nd.	S.	C.	B.	G.	M.	F.	Dr.	T.
St. Johns	1	1	2	2	2	4	5	25	..	2	44
Chambly	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	5
Quebec .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	..	1	6
Montreal .....	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	4
Oswegatchie .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Niagara .....	..	..	1	..	..	1	2	4	..	..	8
Detroit .....	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	3
Michilmackinac .....	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	3
Prisoners .....	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	3	..	..	4
Total	2	1	4	2	4	7	14	46	1	4	85

Guy Carleton.

(22)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11, p. 201.

(No. 13)

Montreal, 26th June, 1775.

My Lord:

Since the Postscript of my last I have proclaimed the Martial Law, and ordered the Militia to be enrolled; what I shall be able to make of them, or of the Savages, I cannot yet positively say, but I am sure it is become highly necessarily to try; Circumstanced as we are, no other Measure is likely to secure the Province. The Party

of Rebels, mentioned in my last, came near enough St. John's to exchange a few Shots with the Troops, and then retired; they seemed to have designed taking Post there, but found it too difficult for the Force they had with them to accomplish.

The Rebels give out, they will return with five thousand men; I believe it is pretty certain, they are constructing a Number of Craft near Crown Point, and that Reinforcements with Provisions have joined them from New York, besides Seamen from the other Provinces; they even talk of Penetrating into the Province through the woods, and small Parties armed have appeared at different places upon the South Side of the St. Lawrence; these hitherto could only be considered as Spies, one Party consisting of four Men, was taken near the Chaudière, with a single Letter, but by Mismanagement made their Escape; they have indeed many Inducements to attempt making themselves Masters of this Province.

I have lately received a Letter from General Gage empowering me to draw for Money, and putting all the upper Posts under my immediate Command, with written Instructions to the Officers Commanding there in future to look this Way for their Orders and subsistence; these Posts are likewise threatened by the Rebels, who talk as if they would make themselves Masters of the whole Continent, before we ever perceived, We ought to prepare for War: the Truth is, that those who retain their Fidelity to the Crown, are astonished at their Numbers and Activity, and greatly intimidated at seeing no Force or Power able to protect them.

By the inclosed Return, Your Lordship will perceive, I have not been able to assemble five hundred Men, Artillery included, at St. John's and Chambli, leaving but very slender Guards indeed at the Towns, Magazines, and Inlets to the Province by the Chaudiere and River St. Francis.

Ten or twelve thousand Men here with a Corps of Artillery, Engineers and Military Stores in Proportion, would cause a great Alteration, not in this Province alone, their operations might have a great influence over the whole Continent, and very effectually second those of General Gage; ten thousand stand of arms would also be necessary, for at present the Province is in want of them.

The 14th instant I received by Mr. Hey Your Lordship's circular Letter of the 15th April, and one of the same Date No. 16.

Just as I was finishing the foregoing, I received a Letter from Colonel Guy Johnson at Fort Stanwix, then on his Progress to Ontario where the Indians of the upper Nations were to meet him; He had pretty direct Intelligence, he tells me, that very important communication was threatened from the Susquehannah and other Quarters, and has applied for Provisions, Ammunition, Leggings, Paint, Blankets, and a small Body of Troops, alledging their appearance thro' the Machinations of designing Men, to be very necessary to encourage the Indians persevering in our Interests; I have and shall supply him with every Article demanded, except Troops, but tho' I perfectly agree with the Colonel, in the Propriety of the Measure, was there a Possibility of complying therewith, the Service here will not admit of our sparing any, while the Rebels are so near us, and can do such infinite Mischief, should they find Means to penetrate into the Province.

I am with much Respect and Esteem Your Lordship's Most Obedient and Most
Humble Servant,

Guy Carleton.

Earl of Dartmouth

One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed: Montreal 26 June 1775.

Govr. Carleton (No. 13)

R. 29th July 1775.

(1 Inclosure)

(23)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11, pp. 152-4.

No. 18.

Whitehall, 1st July, 1775.

Separate.

Governor Carleton.

Sir.

The Transaction in the Province of Massachusetts Bay on the 19th of April and subsequent steps taken by the rebels decide upon the Situation of the King's Affairs in that Country and leave no room in the present moment for any other consideration than that of the most effectual means of augmenting the Army under General Gage.

The King relies upon the Loyalty and Fidelity of his Canadian Subjects for their Assistance to suppress Rebellion, and it is His Majesty's Pleasure that you do, if you see no objection, immediately upon the Receipt of this Letter, take proper steps for raising a Body of 3,000 Canadians in such form and manner as you shall judge most proper, to act as Light Infantry, either as a separate Corps or in conjunction with His Majesty's Troops as shall upon consulting General Gage be thought most expedient.

It is His Majesty's Intention that the Corps should be raised to serve upon the same footing as the Provincials raised in America in the last War, but you will observe that the Commissions given for this purpose must be in your own name without conveying to the Officers who are to be appointed from amongst the Canadians, any claim either to half pay when reduced or to Rank in the Army, except when serving with His Majesty's other Troops, in which case each Officer will take place next to the youngest Officer of the same Rank having His Majesty's Commission.

In all other Respects it is His Majesty's Intention that they should have the same Pay & Advantages as His Majesty's other Troops, subject to the same Stoppages & Deductions; and it will not only be proper in general but also a considerable Saving to the Public that the Officers of Mons. Rigauville's Corps should serve upon this occasion, and that during such service their Pensions upon the Establishment should be discontinued.

I have already given the necessary Orders for providing Arms, Ammunition, Cloathing & Accoutrements for 3,000 men, the whole will be ready in 10 days, and will be sent to you in a ship taken up for that purpose.

The Expence of the Cloathing will be defrayed here and for the rest of the Expences attending to the Levy and pay of the men, they must be defrayed by your Bills upon the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

I will write to you more fully by the Store Ship and therefore will not interrupt the Attention you will immediately give to the Orders contained in this Letter by stating to you those Reflections that occur to me upon the surprisal of the Fort and Garrison of Ticonderoga and which are particularly painful to me when I consider of how much Importance this Event is to the Province under your Government upon the Efforts of which we are now to depend for the Recovery of that Post.

I have said that the Officers of the Corps you are authorized to raise are in general to be Canadians but it is not meant to preclude you from giving a Commission to a natural born subject in any case in which you shall judge it proper.

I am &ca.
Dartmouth.

(24)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, July 6, 1775.

On Thursday last the following ADDRESS from the British Subjects residing in and near Quebec was transmitted to His Excellency Major-General Carleton at Montreal.

Quebec, 28th June, 1775.

Sir,

As it has been found necessary to withdraw His Majesty's Troops from this Garrison, We the Subscribers think it our duty in the present Situation of Affairs to offer our Services in protecting the King's Magazines, as well as our own Property in this Place; and we do therefore most humbly entreat your EXCELLENCY to order the Militia of Quebec to be embodied, and to appoint such Officers for the Purposes of protecting His Majesty's Subjects here as to you may seem expedient; Having the Honour to be His Majesty's most faithful Subjects,

And your EXCELLENCY'S
Most Obedient and
Most humble Servants.

His EXCELLENCY Major-General CARLETON, Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec, &c., &.

To which His EXCELLENCY has been pleased to return the following ANSWER.
GENTLEMEN:—

"I Thank you for your Address, full of good Sense, and Duty to a Sovereign, whose first Care is the Happiness and Protection of his Subjects having now nearly completed the Militia in the Districts of Montreal and Three-Rivers, I shall im-

"mediately arrange that in the District of Quebec, when I flatter myself, all who attempt to disturb the Tranquility of this Province, either by arms and violent Invasion, or by false and treasonable Reports Shall meet with the Chastisements their Crimes deserve.

GUY CARLETON,

Montreal, 3d July, 1775."

(25)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA, HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 20, pp. 8-9.

Extract of a letter from Quebec, dated July 20th, 1775.

"I believe my coming here has very much disconcerted Genl. Carleton in the Dy. Qr. Mr. Genl's Department for he had appointed Mr. Carden to act as Provincial D.Q.M. Genl. & superceded Jack Hay; however: I am told he is relieved from his embarrassment on acct of Mr. Carden for I am told he is to be appointed Major of Brigade, would you believe my good Friend there is not yet a single Canadian rayzed nor is there any appearance of it, those people have lost all their Spirit and seem indeed very averse to fighting, nor can Mr. Carleton get a Single Regiment of Militia to Embody, they are all frighten'd out of their Witts, and the most violent of them only talk of defending their own Province, many of them wou'd lay down their Arms to the Yankies did they but Appear, in fact the Seigneurs have no influence nor can they command out a single man but the Conversation at the Head Quarters of the Province is that its to be hoped in time the Canadians will be prevailed to take Arms in favor of Government Mr. C. . . . n I am told is very much out of Temper and down in the mouth, we are all very anxious to have a Certain Acct. of the affair at Bunkershill, Mr. Carleton is expected in a few days when he will try and embody the Militia, but I think you need not expect any diversion in yr favr. from this Province this year and indeed I have my doubts whether they will act Spiritedly without a body of regular Troops to oblige them. the Enemy's of the Quebec bill who are numerous among the British Inhabitants rejoice at the supness of the Canadians and you may depend upon it, the Yankies have had their Emiceres among the French and made them thus lukewarm to Government besides it appears that a twelve years peace has Extinguished their martial Spirit and that together with the Sweets of British Government makes them desire to live in Quiet, I am of opinion (and so is many others here) that could the rebels march a body of Troops sufficient to overpower the regular Troops at St. John which only consist of two regiments they would make a very easy conquest of Canada but I hope they will have enough to do at home we tryed here Yesterday to get the British Militia of this City and District to Assemble in order to form and have Officers Appointed but the very respectable number did not exceed *seventy*, thus you may see how the English Merchant Traders and Inhabitants are inclined, it is certain that all Winter the people of our Colonies have been corresponding with the Canadians and English people settled here and I am apt to think that is the cause of the present coolness."

Endorsed:

"For Major Hutchison.

Extract of a letter from Quebec, received at Lond, the 19th of Sepr."

(26)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, July 20th, 1775.

We hear two Battalions of Highlanders, to consist of 20 Companies of 50 Men each, are to be raised here immediately; to be commanded by Colonel M'LEAN, and called THE ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANTS; their Uniform to be same with that of the 42d Regiment.

On Saturday last between twelve and one o'Clock the British Inhabitants of Quebec to the Number of about 200, muster'd on the Parade, for the Purpose of forming a Militia; where being drawn up, with the HON WILLIAM HEY, Esq.; at their head, the first Characters in the Place falling into the Ranks indiscriminately, after having their Names taken down and giving three Huzzas for the King, they march'd off again, the Bag-pipes playing Lochabar no more.

(27)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11, pp. 158-160.

No. 21.

Whitehall, 12th July, 1775.

Governor Carleton,
Sir.

This letter will be delivered to you by.....of His Majesty's Ship Lizard who takes under convoy the Jacob, Store Ship, Thos. Brown, Master, having on board Arms, Ammunition, Accoutrements, and Cloathing for 3,000 men and four light Brass three Pounders.

The present state of Rebellion in North America and the Measures which the Insurgents are pursuing in order to cut off the Communication with Canada by Land by possessing themselves of the Posts upon Lake Champlain and Lake George call for the greatest Activity of the Friends of Government in Quebec and I am not without some hope to hear that Ticonderoga has been recovered, or at least that the progress of Rebellion on that side has been stopped.

Our Situation, however, demands the most vigorous Efforts and it is the King's Intention that they should be exerted both by Sea and Land to reduce His rebellious Subjects to obedience. Besides the Body of Troops which you are authorized by my Letter of the 1st Instant to raise for His Majesty's Service in the present Exigency, it is under consideration to augment the Army in America by other means and orders are given for such an Addition to the Naval Strength in North America as may enable Admiral Graves to make such a disposition of his Fleet as that besides the Squadron necessary for the New England Station, in Chesapeake Bay and upon the coast of New York, within the Bay of Delaware, there may be separate squadrons at Carolina.

After what had passed there can be no doubt what ought to be the plan of operations for the squadron upon the New England station and I think it necessary to acquaint you for your own Information that Admiral Graves will be instructed to exert the most vigorous Efforts for suppressing the Rebellion now openly avowed and supported in the Country and to seize & detain all ships and vessels belonging to the Inhabitants thereof, such only excepted as are the property of persons who are friends of Government and have shewn an Attachment to the Constitution.

There is still some Room to hope that the Colonies to the southward may not proceed to the same Lengths with those of New England. It is, however, His Majesty's Intention that the Commanders of the separate Squadrons I have mentioned should be instructed to prevent all Commerce within their separate Stations and any other places than Great Britain, Ireland, and His Majesty's Islands in the West Indies, that they should receive on board and give Protection to any officer of the Crown, who may be compelled by the Violence of the People to seek for such an Asylum and to proceed as in the case of a Town in actual Rebellion against such of the Seaport Towns being accessible to the King's Ships as shall hereafter offer any violence to the King's Officers or in which any Troops shall be raised or Military Works erected other than His Majesty's Authority or any Attempts made to seize or plunder any public Magazine of Arms or Ammunition.

With regard to the plan of operations to be adopted by General Gage, it must depend upon his own Judgement and the opinions of the able Generals with him, and therefore I have only to add that it is His Majesty's express Command that you do exert every Endeavor and employ every Means in your power to aid and support him and Admiral Graves in all such operations as they may think proper to undertake for carrying the King's Orders into full Execution and restoring the Authority of His Majesty's Government.

I am &ca.
Dartmouth.

(28)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11, p. 182.

No. 22.

Whitehall, 24th July, 1775.

Governor Carleton.
Sir,

Since my Letters to you of the 1st & 12th Inst. we have received Dispatches from General Gage of the 12th June containing his idea of the force that will be necessary for suppressing the Rebellion at present subsisting in North America in case we

shall be under the necessity of continuing hostilities for another campaign, and it having been judged proper upon a consideration of these Dispatches that the number of Men to be raised in Canada should be double what was first proposed, it is His Majesty's Pleasure that instead of 3,000 men which you were authorized to raise by my Letter of the 1st July, the number to be raised be 6,000, and I have accordingly given directions for an additional supply of Arms, Cloathing, and Accoutrements in proportion, which will be sent out in another Store Ship that will be ready to sail in about ten days.

The manner and form of raising this additional 3,000 is also left to your judgement and the Commissions which you are to give for the Officers must be on the like conditions as are presented in my letter of the 1st Inst. Vizt" that none of them when reduced are to be entitled to half pay or to rank in the Army from having served in that Corps."

I am &ca.
Dartmouth.

(29)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11, p. 236.

Chambli, Aug't 1st 1775.

Gentlemen,—

Desire to see you as soon as Possible at this Place (the name of the House the Bearer will inform) on Business of high importance, you may well Judge your immediate attendance will much promote publick Welfare and very much oblige your most obedient Humble serv't.

Jno. Brown.

N.B. have sent to Caughnawaga for certain Friends to attend at the same time have sent you a Letter from Gen'l Schyler with't Direction least it might fall into hands which would endanger you. I think you can't fail in compliance in a Matter so interesting if it should happen, write me by the Bearer, a trusty Friend, you know my stay must be very short.

To Messrs. Walker Price & such others as they shall communicate,

Endorsed:—

In Gov'r Carleton's (No. 14) of 14th August, 1775.

(30)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11, pp. 198-200.

No. 23.

Whitehall, 2d August, 1775.

Governor Carleton.

Sir.

On the first Intelligence of the surprizal of His Majesty's Fort of Ticonderoga by the Rebels and of their rash Attempt upon St. John I had no doubt from the confidence I have in your zeal & Activity that Measures would be taken to resist their Efforts; but I was not sanguine enough to suppose that with your small Force you would be able to recover what we have lost. Your Letters of the 17th & 26th of June Just rec'd shew I was not mistaken in my Ideas; and tho' the Backwardness of the Canadians is a discouraging circumstance for the present, I trust that the Resolution here to act with Vigour, and the knowledge of Measures intended for exerting ourselves on the Side of Canada as explained in my former Letters will have a good Effect & inspire more Confidence.

His Majesty hopes to have an Army of 20,000 men in North America next Spring exclusive of Canadians and Indians and you may depend upon a Reinforcement of the Regular Troops in Canada, the whole of which will be under your entire command during the Absence of General Gage, who, as the campaign of this year appears to be over, has leave to return to England.

In this case His Majesty, considering of how much Importance your Presence in the Province of Quebec will be, and that the Service to be carried on there cannot be entrusted to any body but yourself has thought fit that General Gage shall have

a new Commission as Commander in Chief, without the clause of Devolution and that the Command of the Army in America should in his Absence be divided; that of Troops employed in Quebec & upon its Frontiers being given to you by a Commission I have now the honour to inclose, and that of the Troops to be employed in the Colonies upon the Atlantic being given to General Howe.

But it is His Majesty's Pleasure that if in the course of the Service & of Events as they may arise, the Two Armies should be joined, the command of the whole do, in that case devolve upon you as the Senior Officer.

In consequence of your last Letters, a further sum of £10,000 will be put on board the Lizard and also an additional Supply of 3,000 Arms, the remainder of the cloathing with the Presents for the Indians will go in the Store Ship that sails in about ten days; and I shall hope to hear that they have been employed to effect and that Major Campbell has by his zeal and Activity Justified the Confidence that has been placed in him.

I am, &ca.
Dartmouth.

P.S. I think fit to acq't you that in consequence of the Commission I have the Honor to send you it is intended that you should have the full appointments of Commander in Chief.

(31)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, August 3, 1775.

Extract of a Letter from Montreal, dated the 30th Ult.

"As for News—We have the Savage Chiefs, with their Wives and Children here, in all to the Number of 1,600. They have declared in Council that they are unanimous in the Intention of leading their several Nations against the Bostonians, &c.

The Grand Council was held by General CARLETON in one of the Churches, and was conducted with a Solemnity and Decorum that made the Assembly a very respectable, as well as an agreeable Sight."

On Thursday last a Recruiting Party, began beating up here for Volunteers for Capt. William Dunbar's Company of the Royal Highland Emigrants, and we hear they have already enlisted fourteen.

About six o'Clock the same evening The Hon. HECTOR THEOPHILUS CRA-MAHE, Esq; arrived in this City from Montreal.

Yesterday about 7 in the Evening, His Excellency General CARLETON arrived also in Town from Montreal.

(32)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11, p. 220.

Secret Intelligence, August 6th 1775.

The New York Troops under the Command of Colonel McDougale ordered to march immediately for Ticonderoga, when joined by one Thousand Riflemen, will amount at least to Three Thousand Men. These to be joined by Four Thousand New England Forces to Rendezvous at Crown Point, from thence to proceed to Montreal & Quebec, (even if over the Ice) better than half the Canadians have promised to join these Forces.

Endorsed:—

Copy of Secret Intelligence transmitted by Gov'r Tryon in his letter of 9th August, 1775.

Copy enclosed in Lord Dartmouth's Letter to Major General Carleton of 14th Sept'r. 1775.

(33)

Sir

Montreal August 5th, 1775.

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date;

It would no doubt be easy to surprise & take the Rebels posted at point au Fer, but we must not at present attempt anything beyond the Line of the Province.

I have ordered two Batteaux to be sent to you from Chambly.

Inclosed I send you an account of the Affair of the 17th just come to hand. A thousand of the Rebels deserted from their Camp the day after the Action.

I am, with great regard, Sir,

Yr. most obedient
humble Servt.

Rd. Prescott.

The motions of all the Partisans of the Rebels must be carefully watched, & no one suffered to go beyond St. John's except such as are employed on the King's Service by my order, or the Commanding Officer there.

(34)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series -Q. Vol. 11, pp. 238-43.

Déposition de Pierre Charlan, détenu prisonnier dans les cazernes de la ville de Montreal en la Province de Quebec, faite devant Monsieur le Brigadier General Prescott et devant Henry Kneller, Ecuyer, Procureur General du Roy, rédigée par Pierre Panet, Notaire et Avocat.

A dit qu'environ cinq jours après la Saint Pierre, vingt neuf Juin, le nommé, Joseph Menard, habitant de Chambly, lui proposa d'aller au camp des Bostonnois dans le lac Champlain, en presence du nommé Jésus, charpentier, qui étoit après lever une étable, de Quenon, Frichet, et de Joseph Laros, neveu du dit Joseph Menard, lui promettant de nourrir en son absence sa famille; et lui disant que Mr. Walker qui étoit alors sur la montagne de Chambly avec des longues-vues pour decouvrir si l'armee des Bostonnois venoit, lui donneroit plus de la valeur de deux mille francs, qu'un Acadien qui demeure a St. Ours lui donneroit autant qu'il y avoit deux jours qu'il cherchoit le deposant pour cela. Il lui ajouta que Mr. Walker, qu'il venoit de laisser sur la montagne de Chambly lui avoit promis deux barils de poudre et que le dit Sieur Walker lui avoit dit qu'il n'y avoit pas deux jours qu'il avoit reçu des lettres des Bostonnois Que le dit Joseph Menard dit au deposant de s'adresser au General des Bostonnois pour lui dire que les troupes vouloient faire prendre les armes aux habitans de Chambly et que comme les Bostonnois leur avoient écrit de ne pas les prendre, ils ne savoient comment faire; qu'il devoit leur faire savoir s'ils avoient envie de venir ou non, qu'ils venoient les habitans étoient prêts à leur rendre service; qu'ils étoient même revoltés pour ne pas prendre les armes contr'eux. Que le deposant partit ce meme jour muni d'un pain que lui donna le dit Joseph Menard avec deux livres de lard et se rendit chès lui ou il coucha. Que le lendemain il partis de grand matin et fut coucha a la riviere à la Colle sans etre vu que du dit La Bonté avec lequel il fut boire un coup d'eau-de-vie chès le bonhomme Vignola. Que de cet endroit il fut dans l'anse de la Pointe au fers, ou il croyoit trouver l'armée, parceque le dit La Bonté l'assura qu'il la trouveroit en cet endroit. Qu'il ne trouva personne dans cet endroit et revint sur ses pas au bout de la Pointe ches le nommé Petty-Grew, engagé de Mr. Christie pour lui demander un canot; que cet homme lui ayant dit qu'il n'en avoit pas, il fut au bord de l'eau et rencontra deux Accadiens, l'un nommé Peter Granger, demeurant a la Prairie, l'autre nommé Jo. Commo, demeurant à la Petite Rivière de Chambly. Que ces deux hommes lui ayant dit qu'ils en alloient pour travailler dans la Nouvelle Angleterre, il fit route avec eux dans leur canot. Qu'ils furent coucher tous trois ensemble chès le bonhomme La Framboise dans l'ance de la pointe aux Roches. Qu'ils partirent le lendemain et furent coucher chès William Hay ou ils trouverent M. Guilmane. Que le lendemain ils furent coucher à la entrée de la Rivière Bagnet et le lendemain ils se rendirent à la Pointe ou le deposant trouve le Colonel Allen, a qui il dit le sujet de son voyage, que ce Colonel le prit pour un espion voyant qu'il n'avoit aucune lettre, et le tient trois Jours a la garde. Que le troisieme Jour le deposant fut conduit au fort de Carillon, accompagnue du dit Colonel Allen, de deux ministres et de quatre matelots. Qu'il fut presente au Commandant de Carillon, lequel lui demanda s'il avoit des lettres, et sur ce qu'il lui dit que non, ce commandant le soup connâ d'etre un espion. Cependant le dit deposant l'assura qu'il n'étoit point tel; qu'il venoit de la part du Capitaine Menard pour sçavoir si les Bostonnois venoient pour prendre le Canada ou non; qu'on vouloit forcer les habitans de Chambly à prendre les armes contr'eux, ce qu'il ne vouloit pas faire. Que le deposant fut encore gardé pendant trois Jours au bout du quel tems il dit au commandant qu'il pourroit s'informer à deux francois qu'il avec lui, qui le commandant bien s'il étoit capable de les trahir. Que ces deux francois, nommes Champenois et Ronon ayant dit au commandant qu'ils avoient connu le deposant et pensoient qu'il disoit vrai, le dit commandant lui dit qu'il s'en retourneroit à Chambly accompagné d'un Colonel Strong, d'un capitaine nomme Bole, et d'un sergent nomme Toit, et d'un Acadien interprete, nomme Jean Roger. Qu'effectivement le deposant parti avec les quatre sus-nommés, le dimanche, ily a aujourd'hui, quinze Jours et se rendirent le dimanche d'ensuite chès le nomme Thibault au coteau des Hetres, Baronie de Longueuil; qu'ils coucherent dans la maison du bon homme Le Maitre, appartenant à Pitre. Que le

lendemain ils envoyèrent le déposant chercher Joseph Menard qu'il ont leur parler. Que ce même jour le dit Menard se rendit avec le déposant chès le dit Le Maître, ou ils trouverent les quatre Bostonnois sus-nommés. Que le Colonel Strong n'eut rien de plus presse, sitot qu'il vit entrer Menard de lui demander si que le déposant lui avoit dit de sa part étoit vrai, à quoi Menard repondit qui oui; aussitot le Colonel tira une portugaise de sa poche et la donna au dit Menard, lequel dit Menard dit au colonel que s'il avoit besoin de boeufs, chevaux, voitures et autres choses, il pouvoit compter dessus qu'il en avoit à son service. Que le colonel ecrivit une lettre qu'il donna au dit Menard pour remettre a M. Walker a Montreal. Que le deposant partit ce même soir avec le dit Menard et arriva à la pointe du jour chès le bonhomme Goguet, fermier de Brunel; que de ce lieu ils se rendirent le même jour, mardi, à Longueuil et se firent traverser par Louis Bouteiller. Que le déposant et le dit Joseph Menard étant arrivé vers le midi a Montreal furent ensemble chès M. Thomas Walker; que l'ayant demandé, un commis leur dit qu'il n'y étoit pas, qu'il étoit au Point-du-Jour. Que le dit Menard remit à ce commis la lettre dont il étoit le porteur. Ensuite le commis remit au dit Menard une petite lettre qu'il le chargé de porter a M. Walker. Que le dit Menard loua une caleche du nommé Bertrand pour se rendre chès M. Walker mais que le déposant étant avec le dit Menard au fauxbourg de Quebec fut arrêté par M. Perthuis avec des sauvages. Que Menard s'échappa et ne le vit plus. Ajouta le déposant que lorsqu'il a arriva à la Pointe. il y a avoit environ quatre cens hommes; que lorsqu'il a arriva à Carillon, il pouvoit y avoir huit cent hommes. Que quatre Jours apres l'arrivée du deposant a Carillon, le General Dewer y arriva avec environ cinq a six cent hommes; et il fut dit au déposant que l'armée qui étoit prete d'arriver consistoit en quinze mille hommes. Que lorsque le déposant a laissé Carillon, il pouvoit y avoir en tout deux mille hommes; qu'une partie de cette armée travailloit à faire des Retranchemens; qu'il y avoit à Carillon deux batteaux plats nouvellement faits, armés de huit canons et de pierriers. Qu'à la Pointe il y avoit deux autres batteaux dont un n'étoit pas achevé. Qu'en partant il a rencontre la barque pris à St. Jean qui conduisoit une gabarre qu'a fait construire M. Hey, de soixante pieds de long et de seize pieds de dedans en dedans. Qu'il a oui dire au Colonel Strong qu'il avoit couché deux nuits dans les bois vers les fourches de la Petite Riviere de Montreal, dans le tems qu'il portoit des lettres à M. Walker, que ce colonel lui montra mêmes les endroits. Que Menard (Joseph) a asura le déposant que M. Walker recevroit des lettres tous les huit Jours par le village des sauvages du Sault St. Louis. Que les Bostonnois lui ont dit qu'ils fassoient tenir tous les huit Jours des lettres à Montreal par les sauvages du dit Sault St. Louis. Qu'Amable Courtemanche lui a dit en presence de Joseph Menard et du petit Joseph Laros, il y aura demain huit jours, étant ensemble chès le dit Joseph Laros, qu'il n'y avoit huit Jours qu'ils avoient reçu des lettres des Bostonnois, qu'ils avoient envoyées au Grand Cadien de St. Ours.

Lecture faite au dit Pierre Charlan de sa déposition, a dit icelle contenu verité, et ne sachant signer, a faite sa marque ordinaire au bas de chaque page a Montreal ce sixieme jour d'aoust mil sept cent soixante quinze.

Pre Charlan, sa marque.

R. Prescott, Hen. Kneller et Pre. Panet.

Pour véritable copie de l'original.

(Signé)

Pre Panet.

Endorsed:—Copy of the Deposition of Pierre Charlan at Montreal, 6th Augt. 1775. In Govr Carleton's (No. 14.) of 14 August, 1775.

(6)

(Translation)

The deposition of Pierre Charlan, a prisoner in the barracks of the town of Montreal in the Province of Quebec, taken before Brigadier-General Prescott and Henry Kneller, Esquire, Attorney General, written by Pierre Panet, a notary and advocate.

About five days after St. Peter's day, the 28th of June, one Joseph Menard, an inhabitant of Chambly, proposed to him that he should go to the camp of the Bostonians on Lake Champlain, in the presence of a carpenter named Jesus, who was employed in building a stable, Quenon, Frichet, and Joseph Laros a nephew of the said Joseph Menard, also being present, promising to support his family in his absence; and telling him that Mr. Walker who was then on Chambly mountain with a telescope watching to see whether the army of the Bostonians was advancing, would give him more than two thousand francs and that an Acadian, living at St. Ours would give him as much, and that he had been seeking the deponent for two days with this object. He added that Mr. Walker, whom he had left on the Chambly mountain

had promised him two barrels of powder, and that the said Mr. Walker had told him that he had received letters from the Bostonians not more than two days before. That the said Joseph Menard told the deponent to inform the General of the Bostonians, on his behalf, that the troops wanted to make the inhabitants of Chambly take up arms, and that as the Bostonians had written to them not to take up arms, they did not know what to do; that he ought to tell them whether they intended to come or not; that if they came, the inhabitants were ready to help them; that they had even rebelled in order to avoid taking up arms against them. That the deponent set out the same day taking a loaf of bread and two pounds of bacon given him by the said Joseph Menard, and went home where he slept. That the next day he started early in the morning and slept that night in the granary of a small barn belonging to Joseph La Bonté, without being seen by anybody except the aforesaid La Bonté with whom he drank a glass of brandy at the house of good man Vignola. That from this place he went to the cove at Pointe au Fers, where he expected to find the army because the aforesaid La Bonté had assured him that he would find it there. That he found nobody there, and returned to the end of the Pointe to the house of one Petty-Grew, an employee of Mr. Christie to borrow a canoe, that this man, having told him that he had none, he went down to the water's edge where he met two Acadians, one named Peter Granger living at La Prairie, the other named Jo Commo, living at Petite Rivière de Chambly. That these two men having told him that they were going to work in New England, he went along with them in their canoe. That the three of them slept together at the house of goodman La Framboise at the cove at Pointe aux Roches, that they set out the next day and slept at the house of William Hay, where they met M. Guilnane. That the next day they slept at the mouth of the Riviere Bagnet and the following day went to the Point, where the deponent found Colonel Allen, to whom he stated the purpose of his journey. That the Colonel took him for a spy because he had no letters and kept him for three days in the guard house. That on the third day the deponent was taken to the Fort at Carrillon, accompanied by the said Colonel Allen, two clergymen and four sailors. That he was taken before the commandant of Carillon, who asked him if he had any letters, and when he said he had not, the commandant suspected him of being a spy. However the said deponent assured him that he was not; that he came on behalf of Captain Menard to learn whether the Bostonians were coming to take Canada or not; that they wanted to compel the inhabitants of Chambly to take up arms against them, which they did not wish to do. That the deponent was kept in custody for three days longer at the end of which he told the commandant that he might obtain information from the two Frenchmen who were with him, whether he was likely to betray them. That these two Frenchmen named Champeinois and Ronon having told the commandant that they knew the deponent and thought he was speaking the truth. The said commandant told him to return to Chambly accompanied by a Colonel Strong, a Captain named Bole, and a Sergeant named Toit, and an Acadian interpreter named Jean Roger. That in fact the deponent set off with those four above named persons on Sunday, now fifteen days since, that on the following Sunday, they arrived at the house of Thibault, at Coteau des Hetres in the Barony of Longueuil; that they slept at the house of goodman Le Maitre belonging to Pitre. That the next day they sent the deponent to find Joseph Menard and bring him to talk with them. That the same day the said Menard came with the deponent to the house of the said La Maitre where they found the four above named Bostonians. That when Colonel Strong saw Menard come in, the first thing he asked was whether what the deponent had told him on his part was true to which Menard answered that it was; the Colonel at once took a Portuguese coin out of his pocket which he gave to the said Menard on which the said Menard told the Colonel that if he needed cattle, horses, carriages and other things, he could depend on his supplying them. That the colonel wrote a letter which he gave to the said Menard to hand to Mr. Walker at Montreal. That the deponent set off the same evening with said Menard, and at break of day arrived at the house of goodman Goguet, a farmer at Brunel; that from this place they went the same day, Tuesday, to Longueuil, and were ferried over by Louis Bouteiller. That the deponent and the said Joseph Menard arriving towards noon at Montreal went together to the house of Mr. Thomas Walker; that having asked a clerk for him they were told that he was not there but at the Point-du-Jour. That the said Menard gave this clerk the letter which he carried. Afterwards the clerk gave the said Menard a note which he told him to take to Mr. Walker. That the said Menard hired a carriage from one Bertrand to go to Mr. Walker's house; but that the deponent being with the said Menard in the Quebec suburb was arrested by M. Perthuis with some Indians. That Menard made his escape, and he has not seen him since. The deponent added that when he arrived at the Point about four hundred men were

there and about eight hundred at Carillon when he arrived there. That four days after the arrival of the deponent at Carillon, General Dewar arrived there with about five or six hundred men, and the deponent was informed that the army which was about to arrive would consist of fifteen thousand men. That when the deponent left Carrillon, there might be about two thousand men there; that part of this army was working on entrenchments; there were two flat boats newly built at Carillon armed with eight cannon and other pieces. That at the Point there were two other boats, one of which was not finished. That on leaving he met the bark taken at St. Jean towing a raft sixty feet long and sixteen feet in width which had been constructed by Mr. Hey. That he had heard Colonel Strong say that he had slept for two nights in the woods near the forks of the Petite Riviere of Montreal when he was carrying letters to Mr. Walker. That the Colonel showed him the very spots. That Menard (Joseph) assured the deponent that Mr. Walker would receive letters every eight days by way of the Indian village at Sault St. Louis. That the Bostonians told him that they would send letters to Montreal every eight days by the Indians of the said Sault. St. Louis. That Amable Courtemanche, in the presence of Joseph Menard, and little Joseph Laros, it will be eight days ago tomorrow being together at the house of the said Joseph Laros said that not eight days previous they had received letters from the Bostonians, which they had sent on to the big Acadian at St. Ours.

His deposition having been read to the said Pierre Charlan and having said that it was true and not knowing how to sign his name he made his customary mark at the foot of each page at Montreal this 6th day of August, 1775.

A true copy of the original.

(Signed) Pre. Panet.

(35)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. II, p. 221.

EXTRACT.

On board the Duke of Cumberland Packet,
Captain Jefferies, August 10th, 1775.

I have not yet heard of Mr. Finlay's arrival in Canada. I imagine he will be able to keep the Posts on foot in that Country, provided a conquest is not made of it, for the day before yesterday Seven Hundred Men commanded by Colonel McDougall embarked on board a number of Albany sloops within three hundred yards of the Asia Man of War on their way to attack Montreal. They have at the three Posts of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, & Lake George 1,700 effective men & it is said on shore that Col. McDougall has orders to take what part of the militia he thinks necessary out of between 4 & 5,000 men now in training, embody them, & immediately join Col. Schyler, who is appointed by the grand continental Congress to command the Expedition.

Endorsed:—

Extract of a Letter from Mr. John Foxcroft to Mr. Todd, dated 10th August, 1775.

Copy inclosed in Lord Dartmouth's Letter to Major Gen'l Carleton of 14th Sept'r. 1775.

(36)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, August 10, 1775.

Conditions to be given to such Soldiers as will engage in the Royal Highland Emigrants.

They are to engage during the present Troubles in America only.

Each Soldier is to have Two Hundred Acres of Land in any Province in North-America he shall think proper; the King to pay the Patent Fees, Secretary's Fees and Surveyor-general; besides Twenty Years free of Quitrent. Each married Man gets Fifty Acres for his Wife, and Fifty for each Child, on the same Terms.

And as a Gratuity besides the above Great Terms, One Guinea Levy-money.

Allan Maclean,

Lieutenant-colonel Commandant.

(37)

GENERAL GAGE TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

Vol. 420, P. 256.

EXTRACT.

Boston, 20th August 1775.

I hear from General Carleton that the Canadians are not so ready for war as hoped, and some of the Indian Tribes in that Country copy them and appear backward in joining. The Canadians have enjoyed too much quiet and good living since under our Government, and much pains too has been taken both to terrify them and poison their Minds. But a good Force alone is wanted in Canada to set them all in Motion, and if I may venture to take the Liberty to give an opinion, I think no time should be lost to reinforce General Carleton with four thousand men, a number of Arms and other Military Stores, and large quantities of Indian Goods.

(38)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q., Vol. II, p. 222.

(No. 14.)

My Lord,

Quebec 14th August 1775.

The Militia has been formed in all the Parishes of the Districts of Montreal and Trois Rivieres, a few excepted, where the People were most corrupted, some by a more immediate Intercourse with the Rebels upon their Borders, and others by the Friends of Rebellion residing amongst Us; the Difficulty, I have found in proceeding so far, convinces me, till their minds change, it will be unadvisable to attempt assembling any Number of them, except it becomes absolutely necessary to try that Measure, for the immediate Defence of the Province, and that there is no other Resource whatsoever.

The Indians residing upon the Borders of the St. Lawrence have promised to give their assistance, and together with some Messisagés, from the north shore of Lake Ontario, have done Duty with the Troops at St. John's ever since the 18th of June.

The 16th of July Colonel Johnson arrived at Montreal accompanied by some Chiefs of the Six Nations, and was followed by more; at a Congress held in that City with these and the Provincial Indians, they all promised great Things: it is at present absolutely necessary to gain them, and perhaps at all times, tho' at a very considerable Expense, but they are not to be depended upon, especially by those who are in a weakly Situation.

As Colonel Johnson intends residing in this Province, I could wish his Rank and Command were clearly described, and how far the General Officers, and others upon the same Service may, or may not interfere with, or direct, him, least private Jealousies, and the Desire of Command, might prove detrimental to the King's Interests.

Immediately after the Council of the Savages, which broke up the 29th of last Month, was over, I left Brigadier General Prescott, who arrived at Montreal ten days before, to inspect that part of the Province, with the works erecting, and craft building at St. John's, in order to form some arrangements for the Courts of Justice, as well as to forward the completing of the Militia of this District, which I find more backward, than I could have imagined.

By recent Intelligence, the Rebels at Crown Point and Ticonderoga are considerably augmented in Point of Numbers, perhaps from fear of our Militia and Savages, who are now formidable only in Idea, but in Truth very different from what we found them in 1759; the Rebels still give out, they will overrun this Province, I hope soon however to have Craft sufficient, if we can contrive to Man them, to dispute with them the Passage of Lake Champlain: I have required Lieutenant Hunter, Commander of His Majesty's Brigantine Gaspé, who accidentally came up to this Place for Provisions, to proceed up the River, and give his assistance, which he has very Chearfully complied with, unfortunately his Compliment is but twenty-nine, Boys included; I find by General Gage's last Letter, I am to have neither Troops or Seamen from that Quarter, altho' He expects a considerable Diversion to be made from hence.

What adds to our Distress, is the feeble state of the vessels upon the upper Lakes, which are all very ill manned, and no ways prepared for war, yet are they much threatened, and the consequences would be fatal to the upper Posts and Country, should they fall into the Enemies Hands; inclosed is the Copy of a Report of these Ves-

sels, and their Guns, but I have been able to learn nothing further, than that they are all in the contract Service, and in great want of Hands, I fear even those, they have are not to be relied on in the present Quarrel.

I also inclose Letters from the Continental and New York Congresses, of which there has been a vast Importation into the Province, and the copy of a Scrip of Paper dropped at the Door of every Habitant in the Parishes almost opposite to Montreal, which may convince Your Lordship, how indefatigably industrious, the Enemies of Government, without and within the Province, have been, to impose upon the credulous Simplicity of the Canadian Peasantry; at the same time you will receive the Copy of a Letter from one Brown, the same I apprehend, that harangued publicly last April in the Coffee house at Montreal, who had the Impudence to venture himself into Chamblé Parish; We have the Messenger, who was Bearer of it, a man of a notorious bad character, and suspected to have been constantly employed in that capacity by the Party, closely confined, but have not been able as yet to lay hold of Mr. Brown.

I am with much Respect and Esteem

Your Lordship's
Most Obedient and
Most Humble Servant
Guy Carleton.

Earl of Dartmouth
One of His Majesty's
Principal Secretaries of State.
Endorsed: Quebec 14th August 1775.
Governor Carleton.
(No. 14)
R. 18th Sept

(6 Inclosures)

Entd.

(39)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q., Vol. 12, p. 203.

Quebec Aug. ye 28th 1775.

My Lord,

Since I had the honour of writing to your Lordship soon after my arrival here, by Captn. Brash, The affairs of this Province are so far in a better train as the apprehensions of any decisive invasion from the Garrisons of Crown Point and Ticonderoga seem to be removed by the lateness of the season, and an appearance of less alacrity on their Part for a business of that sort than they shewed a month ago, or when I dispatched my other Letter to your Lordship. Whether this arises from the fears which the Congress may have entertained of opening the wound they have given the Mother Country too wide to admit of being closed by treaty, or from those of Individuals in the danger of the attempt, I am at a loss to determine, & can only say, that, from some cause or other, the Expedition appears to be suspended, if not wholly abandoned, & unless they mean to take advantage of the winter when they may pass the Lake upon snow shoes, I should think the latter the most probable.

I could hardly expect to find credit with your Lordship for what I asserted of the backwardness of the Canadians when the situation of things here, made it necessary for Gen. Carleton to declare Martial Law, and call upon the Militia to turn out in defence of the Province; unhappily every day furnishes too many instances of it, and gives me an Idea of the real character of the Canadians very different from what I used to entertain, and constantly represented to your Lordship whenever I had occasion to speak of them. Your Lordship will remember how much has been said by us all of their Loyalty, obedience & Gratitude, of their habitual submission to Government, & their decent civil & respectful demeanour to those who had the conduct of it, but time and accident have evinced that they were obedient only because they were afraid to be otherwise & with that fear lost (by withdrawing the troops) is gone all the good disposition that we have so often and steadily avowed in their names & promised for them in ages to come. Yet I am sometimes willing to think that fear, joined with extreme ignorance and a credulity hardly to be supposed of People, have been overmatched by the subtlety & assiduity of some Colony agents who were very busy here last winter, & that they are not at bottom an ungenerous or disobedient People. That temperate management and gentle methods of persuasion and instruction may yet bring them to a sense of their duty & indeed their interest, & when they are made to understand that

the true point of fear should be that of sitting still & not putting themselves into a state of defence, they will take arms not only for their present defence, but when supported by a body of the Kings troops be ready for any offensive service that the times may demand; which in my poor opinion who pretend to nothing less than military knowledge, would strike more terrour into the Colonies than Gen. Gage's army doubled or trebled at Boston, where from the nature of the Ground & a thousand other circumstances there can be little hopes of making any decisive impression. But be that as it may, your Lordship who has indulged me in a freedom of expressing my thoughts with respect to this country upon points of less importance will forgive me upon one which appears to me so essential, tho it should happen to be a little out of my Line & fall more immediately within that of another to whose circumspection however & Judgment I pay the utmost deference, I mean the Governor's.

It appears to me that while England has a firm hold of this Country, which a good Body of troops & nothing else will give her, her cause with the colonies can never be desperate 'tho' she should not have an inch of ground in her possession in any one of them, from this Country they are more accessible, I mean the N. England People, (Paradoxical as it may seem) than even from Boston itself, & I believe it to be as true as any thing can be that has not been reduced to absolute proof that the Colonies without the assistance of England, would have been reduced from North to south by this Province in the last war. They thought so themselves, & the Pains they have taken to keep the Canadians quiet which a good appearance of troops from England would soon remove, convince me that they are in dread of it at this hour, and I do most firmly believe that if the army at Boston was removed here ready to begin its operations from hence in the spring & the fleet continued (if that could be done) to block up their ports & prevent their trade, it would have a better effect & produce terms of accommodation more likely to be received than any other method that could be adopted, except that of pouring in the whole strength of G. Britain by sea & land & carrying destruction & Ruin thro' every accessible part of the Province. If this be so & there is anything like truth in this observation what a melancholy thing it is to reflect in what a precarious situation this province stands by being deprived of the few Regiments we had here before these troubles broke out, so much so that the very preservation of it in the interest of the Crown depends more upon our Enemies than ourselves. We have hardly 500 men at St. Johns the most obvious pass to defend & are obliged to leave many others intirely neglected, & from what we have had occasion to see of the Canadians very little dependance is to be had upon them. They are terrified or corrupted to a degree that your Lordship can have no Idea of, & are impressed with the strangest ideas that ever entered into the minds of men. Sometimes they believe they are to be sent to Boston and nothing can persuade them that a few transports which are waiting for Provisions, are not lying in wait to receive them, at other times they are told that the People of Boston are fighting merely to prevent the return of the stamps, which they seem to think a matter of great Politeness & do not wish to see them disturbed in so good a work. Some amongst them believe they are sold to the Spaniards (whom they abominate) & that Gen. Carleton has got the money in his Pocket, in short such a mixture of ignorance fear perverseness & prejudice never yet I believe took possession of the human mind or made it more difficult to know what to do with them, in this situation it will readily occur to your Lordship that our only object at present is to keep these Ruffians from invading us in the course of the winter, & wait 'till better & more sober times for the Establishment of the Country under the new Act of Parliament. And yet something of that sort at least in a temporary way must be done and is indeed in agitation at present, in the course of which as far as it has gone it is wonderfull to observe as great an instance of folly & strange infatuation amongst the Canadians as in the article of the Militia, what will be your Lordships astonishment when I tell you that an act passed for the express purpose of gratifying the Canadians & which was supposed to comprehend all that they either wished or wanted is become the first object of their discontent & dislike, English officers to command them in time of war, & English Laws to govern them in time of Peace, is the general wish, the former they know to be impossible (at least at present) & by the latter if I understand them right, they mean no Laws & no Government whatsoever—in the mean time it may be truly said that Gen. Carleton has taken an ill measure of the influence of the seigneurs & Clergy over the lower order of People whose Principle of conduct founded in fear & the sharpness of authority over them now no longer exercised, is unrestrained, & breaks out in every shape of contempt or detestation of those whom they used to behold with terrour & who gave them I believe too many occasions to express it. And they on their parts have been and are too much Elated with the advantages they supposed

they should derive from the restoration of their old Priviledges & customs, & indulged themselves in a way of thinking & talking that gave very just offence, as well to their own People as to the English merchants. The little I have seen of them in Council gives me no Idea of their abilities or moderation inflexible to any arguments either of expediency or Justice they will admit no alteration in their antient Laws particularly in the article of commerce which I insist upon, & believe shall carry in favour of the English Merchants, with whom almost the whole trade of the Country lyes, & which without them was & without them will continue except in a very few articles & those to no extent, a country of no trade at all in short & to relieve your Lordship from this unpleasant prospect of things in detail, Let me say in general that this country affords as gloomy an one in point of security & in the ill humours & evil dispositions of its inhabitants, to one as anxious as I hope I am for the prosperity of my own deeply interested in this, as can be imagined. For the share I have been made to take in it, tho' the most distant from my wishes I repent not but on the contrary will much rejoice if I shall be found to have been an instrument in preventing a still more ruinous state of things, or may be made the means of restoring them to a better. That is at present all my consolation in an office to which I find myself as little equal as I am inclined, & from which I will expect of your Lordships bounty (I had almost said Justice considering the great weight your Lordships recommendation had in sending me a second time hither) an honourable & decent retreat in your Lordships own department I neither expect nor desire it, such of the Employments in your Lordships disposal as require legal ability to fill them I am unequal to in every light, & to those that do not, there must be so many that have better Pretensions to your Lordships favour, indeed there can be none that have less, I do not presume to request, I will hope however for your Lordships general Protection & Countenance & will trust that you will concur with the rest of his Majestys Ministers in thinking that ten years honest, however imperfect, Endeavours to serve the Crown in an unpleasant & something critical situation deserve to be compensated with moderate & reasonable means of Retirement which I should prefer to the first office of distinction or Profit that the Crown has to bestow.

In this hope I take my Leave of your Lordship desiring your Lordship will be so good as present my best respects to Lady Apsley & Miss Bathurst, & believe me with most perfect Esteem & Gratitude.

My Lord

Yr Lordships most obliged & most obed. Hble Sert.

W. Hay.

P.S. It is I hope unnecessary for me to say that I would have executed your Lordships commission with respect to the Nut trees if I could have found an opportunity, but they are not the growth of this Province & your Lordship knows we have no communication with any other. I am told Lord Gage has trees of them of all sorts sent many years ago by his Brother the General from New York.

Sept. 11th.

I am sorry to be obliged to inform your Lordship that matters are much worse since I began this letter which I have not yet found an opportunity of sending No ship having sailed from hence to England during the Interval.

The Rebels are returned into this Province in great Numbers well provided with every thing & seemingly resolved to make themselves masters of this Province. Hardly a Canadian will take arms to oppose them & I doubt all we have to trust to is about 500 men & 2 small forts at St. Johns. Every thing seems to be desperate & I cannot but fear that before this reaches your Lordship Canada will be as fully in the Possession of the Rebels as any other Province upon the Continent, I shall stay 'till every hope is gone which will I fear be but a short time.

Sept. 17th. The Rebels have succeeded in making Peace with the Savages who have all left the camp at St. John's many of the Canadians in that Neighbourhood are in arms against the King's Troops & not one hundred except in the Towns of Montreal & Quebec are with us. St. John's & Montreal must soon fall into their hands & I doubt Quebec will follow too soon in this situation I hold myself in readiness to

embark for England where I possibly may be of some use your Lordship will I hope agree with me that I can be of none here.

Endorsed:—Original Letter from Mr. Hay Chief Justice of Quebec to the Lord Chancellor dated Augt. 20th Sept. 11 & 17th communicated by his Lordship 12 November 1775.

G. P.

S.

W.

D.

(40)

Montreal, August 31st 1775.

Sir

In Baker's papers, mention is made of Macdonald Col; Christie's Overseer at Riviere la Colle, as a person that was very kind & free in telling him all the proceedings of the Regulars, which he found to agree with all his other accounts, but more full & particular.

Be so good as to send a Party & take this fellow up, confine him at St. John's & examine him strictly, that we may see if he is equally inclined to inform us of what he knows respecting the Rebels, You must frighten the Rascal & inform me of what you can get out of him, I then will send you directions how he is to be disposed of.

Be so good as to acquaint me when the schooner is launched & when you think she will be equip'd for Service;

The Wind has been easterly for some time past & will consequently have detained the Rebels on the other side of the lake, when it changes they will probably send some of their people to reconoitre. I wish you wou'd send some parties out to watch for them in different places & surprise them, but not beyond the limits of the Province, they certainly keep up intelligence with some of our Traytors by way of Misisqui Bay.

No arrivals from England or Boston.

I am

Sir

Your most obedient
humble Servant.

Rd. Prescott.

Major Preston.

I desire that no person may be admitted to St. John's but people of known principles, in case of doubt, away with them.

(41)

Mme. Benoit to Frs. Baby.

"Tu as, sans dout, appris les alarmes que nous ont donnés les Bastonnois. La mauvaise volonté du plus grand nombre des Canadiens, et qui n'était que trop manifeste, obligea le colonel (Templer) de menacer de faire sauter la ville par les poudres s'y on ne voulait pas se garder. Tu ne saurais t'imaginer la terreur panique qui s'est emparee de tous les esprits sans distinction de sexe; plusieurs ont envoyé à la campagne leurs papiers et ce qu'ils avaient de plus de conséquence, et beaucoup sont prêts à partir." (No date given.)

(Translation)

From Madam Benoit to Francis Baby.

You have, no doubt, heard of the alarm which the Bostonians have given us. The ill-will of the greater part of the Canadians, which was only too apparent, obliged the Colonel (Templer) to threaten to blow up the town with powder if they would not defend it. You can imagine the panic which seized everybody without distinction of sex; several people have sent their papers and other valuables to the country and many others are ready to leave.

(42)

Letter from General Prescott to M. de Longueuil, Inspector of Militia.

Monsieur.

Je recois à l'instant l'honneur de votre lettre. J'avais lieu de penser, d'apres les temoignages que m'avaient rendus des personnes accreditées et qui meritaient ma confiance que les habitants canadiens neuse refusaient pas à marcher, des qu'ils seraient commandés de la part du Roy; ils ne sentent pas le tort qu'ils se font par leur desobéissance. Tachez, mon cher Monsieur, de faire partir seulement les habi-

tants des paroisses voisines; leur exemple engagera les autres à les imiter. Si vous ne pouvez réussir en vingt-quatre heurs, revenez-vous-en en ville avec les volontaires qui sont avec vous. Bien convaincu de votre zèle, je vous prie d'être assuré de la parfaite estime avec laquelle je suis &c.

(Histoire Populaire de Montreal, par A. Leblond, Brumath, pp. 261-2, note, from papers in possession of M. de Beaujeu, no date given.)

(Translation)

Sir,

I have had the honor of receiving your letter this moment. I should have thought, according to the assurances which had been given me by creditable persons who deserved my confidence that the Canadians would not refuse to march when they received orders on behalf of the King; they are not aware of the harm they caused by their disobedience. Endeavour my dear Sir to induce the inhabitants of the neighbouring parishes, only, to set off; their example will induce others to imitate them. If you cannot succeed in twenty-four hours return to the town with the volunteers who are with you. Well convinced of your zeal, I beg to assure you of the great esteem, with which I am, etc.

(43)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, August 31, 1775.

A Correspondent has sent us the following Account of a Skirmish happened on Lake Champlain.

"On Tuesday the 22d Instant, Lieutenant Willington of the 26th Regiment went "from St. John's with eight Indians in two canoes. Lieutenant Willington with four "Indians to the West-side of the Lake, to make what Discoveries they could. Upon "the Return of the four Indians on the East-side of the Lake, in the Evening on this "side of River La Cole, they discovered a Battoe covered with Branches along the "Shore, which they took away. On their Way back, about a league this side of "River La Cole, they were fired upon by about 16 of the Rebels commanded by Cap- "tain Baker, by which two of the four Indians were wounded; the others returned the "Fire of the Enemy, but it being almost dark they could not see whether or not they "had killed or wounded any of the Enemy. Next Morning Major Preston sent our "Captain Gordon with 25 Indians, 33 Soldiers, and 5 or 6 Volunteers; when they came "to the Place where the Indians were fired upon the Evening before, they went on "Shore, and found Captain Baker lying dead, and a place where a Grass Bed had "been made for a wounded Man at some Distance from the dead Man. The Indians "cut off the Head of Captain Baker and brought it to Montreal.

"The Skirmish happening about three Leagues within the Boundary of this Prov- "ince, it is to be hoped the Canadians will feel like Men on the Occasion, and re- "sent the injury by the Law of Retaliation."

(44)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, pp. 258-60.

a Messieurs les Habitans du Canada.

Chers Amis & Compatriotes.

Les divers raisons qui engagent aujourd'hui les anciens colonies Angloises de l'Amerique à la facheuse necessité de prendre les Armes et les détestables menées d'un Ministère tyrannique qui s'obstiné à vouloir mettre l'Amerique aux fers, ont été misés dans un si grand jour dans les differens placets, memoires & representations publiée par ordre du Grand Congrès qui représente le corps des dites colonies que nos frères, les Canadiens à qui l'on prepare les mêmes chaines, qu'a nous, ne sauroient manquer d'en avoir une parfaite connoissance et de voir avec plaisir le parti que le dit Grand Congrès a pris de faire marcher une armée en Canada pour en déloger s'il est possible les troupes de la Grande Bretagne, qui agissant aujourd'hui par les ressort et sous les ordres d'un Ministère despotique, cherchent a mettre leurs compatriotes et frères sous le joug d'une dur servitude.

Mais quelque nécessaire que soit une mesure soies persuadés, Messieurs, que le Congrès ne se fut jamais détermine à la prendre s'il eut en lieu de croire qu'elle vous eut désagreable; mais jugeant de vos sentimens par les leurs ils ont cru qu'il n'y avoit qu'une pressant nécessité qui put vous porter à essuier les insultes et les outrages

qu'on vous fait journellement et voir d'un œil tranquille preparer les chaines qui doivent vous enveloper avec nous dans une esclavage comun, et notre posterité la plus reculée.

Soies donc persuadés, Messieurs, que le Congrès n'a d'autre vue en ceci que de vous mettre à couvert aussi bien que nous d'un esclavage aussi funeste, de prevenir le dégat que pourroient faire en Canada les troupes du Ministère si elles y restoient plus longtems, et de vous remettre dans la pleine possession des droits dont doivent jouir les sujets de l'Empire Britannique de quelque rang et condition qu'ils soient quelque religion qu'ils professent, et dans quelque lieu de l'Empire qu'ils resident.

Tels etant comé vous ne sauries en douter les sentimens du Congres je me flatte que vous n'aurés pas de peine à croire que je n'ai recu les ordres les plus exprès d'accueillir le plus favorablement qu'il me sera possible chaque habitant du Canada en particulier et generalement tout partisan de la Liberté; de ne point les chagriner dans la possession de leurs biens; mais au contraire de les proteger dans la pleine jouissance de leurs privileges temporels & spirituels.

De mon coté, Messieurs, je suis si assuré de la bonne disposition où les troupes qui forment mon armée sont envers leurs compatriotes, les Canadiens, qu'ils regardent presentement come leurs freres que je ne crois pas que j'aurais le moindre occasion de punir une seule offence de ce genre.

Je vient depuis peu de se conclure a Fort Orange, autrement dit Albany un traité avec les six nations autrement dit les Iroquois. Je suis chargé de presents considerables pour les distribuer à leurs freres les Cagnawagnas & autres nations sauvages du Canada. Si quelqu'un d'entr'eux a perdu la vie, j'en un sincere regret, ca été commis contre les ordres les plus exprès et par les personnes mal intentionnées & ennemies de la cause honorable et glorieuse que nous soutenons. Je me ferai un plaisir tout particulier d'enterrer leurs morts et d'essuier les larmes de ceux de leurs parents qui leur survivent, ce que je vous prie de leur communiquer.

(Signe)

Ph. Schuyler,
Major General & Commandant
de l'Armee des Colonies Unies
de l'Amerique Angloise.

a l'Isle aux Noix,
le 5e 7bre. 1775.

Endorsed:—Copy of General Schuyler's Manifesto, 5th Sept. 1775.
In Lieut. Gov'r Cramahés, Letter of 24 Sept'r 1775.

(45)

(Probably first week of September, 1775.)

Montreal, Tuesday Evening, five o'clock.

Sir

I have just received your's of this day's date—we are preparing here to give the Rebels a good reception. You must defend St. John's to the last Extremity—send frequent Parties for Intelligence & communicating to me by Express all that passes—if a Prisoner could be taken it would be of infinite use—Carden will send you paint, tobacco, &c. without loss of time—Canoes will be difficult to be got, but I will do my utmost to supply you. I am raising the Militia—the English Inhabitants are already under Arms—the Canadian Gentry well disposed & assembling—A few days or Hours respite will, I hope, enable us to repell all attempts. I am, with fervent wishes for your Success Sir

Your most faithfull
humble Servant
Rd. Prescott.

Major Preston.

(46)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, September 14, 1775.

Account of the Battle happen'd near the Camp at St. John's on the 6th Instant.

Major Preston, of the 26th Regiment, commanding at St. John's being inform'd that the Rebels, to the Number of 1500, approach'd, with Intention on making a Defence, order'd out Capt. Tice, the two Lorimiers, Volunteers, and a Detachment of 60 Indians, to reconnoitre and watch their Motions; they advanced to the Point to the North-west of the River St. John, where they perceived the Enemy landing and entrenching themselves, and at the same time discover'd 600 men in ambush lying on their Bellies at about 200 paces distance, who fir'd on them, wounded Capt. Tice in the Thigh, and killed two Indians; thereupon the Lorimiers with their small Detachment

attack'd them briskly, kill'd two of their officers, and drove them back to their Entrenchment, where being reinforced, they again advanced, and an unequal Combat ensued, in which an Indian of the Falls of St. Louis kill'd three, and had engaged a fourth, when he received a Ball in the Thigh; the other Indians animated by his Example obliged them to quit the Field, where they left several of their dead. However, confiding in Numbers, they again return'd to the Charge, but the Indians, flush'd with Success, again charg'd them so vigorously that they retir'd under Cover of their Entrenchement.

The Indians had four kill'd and as many wounded in the Action, and the Rebels own'd to the Inhabitants of the Place where it happen'd, that they had forty kill'd and thirty wounded. The next Day they reimbarc'd, and made sail towards Isle aux Noix.

In consequence of some Dispatches from St. John's, on Thursday last His Excellency the Governor set out for Montreal, as did several of the Members of the Honorable the Legislative Council.

On Saturday last Col. Maclean, with the Recruits of the Royal Emigrants, march'd for Montreal; and Yesterday Morning a Detachment of the 7th Regiment (or Royal Fusiliers) arriv'd here from St. Igan in their Way to the same Place.

On Saturday Evening last at six o'Clock the British Inhabitants muster'd on the Parade, when his Honor the Lieutenant-governor took them under his immediate Command, and appointed Major Caldwell to command under him; and the same Evening twenty-five Gentlemen Volunteers mounted Guards.

On Sunday Morning at 6 o'Clock four Companies of the Canadian Inhabitants also muster'd on the Parade in Presence of his Honour Lieutenant-governor, when His Excellency the Governor's Commission was read to them; and Commissions deliver'd to the several Officers; And on Tuesday Morning six other Companies, with one Artillery, likewise muster'd on the same Place, where their Officers received their Commissions.

(47)

Montreal, Sept. 11th 1775.

Sir

General Carleton is arrived here, I have his direction to acquaint you, that Capt. Hasen the Bearer, has his authority to raise Men & has his orders to joyn you with them & put himself under your Command—the General intended paying you a Visit this morning but an idle Report that the Communication was cut off, prevented him—he Joyns me in Compliments & good Wishes to you & all with you.

Ever Your's
Rd. Prescott.

Major Preston.
Addressed to
Major Preston,
Commanding at St. John's.

(48)

Montreal, Sept. 15th 1775.

Sir

In addition to the letter wrote to you by General Carleton & sent by Monsieur Bellétre of this day's date, I am to inform you that whenever it may be found necessary to send our Detachments to harrass or attack the Enemy, you will do well to consult with him upon the best manner of conducting them, as he is an officer of experience & perfectly acquainted with the manner of carrying War in this Country, & indeed he is capable of advising upon every measure which may become necessary.

Do not forget giving written Orders to any Messenger you may send here, as without one they will not be furnished with Boats or Horses. Most faithfully

Your's
Rd. Prescott.

Major Preston.

(49)

16 Sept. 1775.

By the Honble. Hector Theophilus Cramahé, Esq. Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec, &c., &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS great Mischiefs and Inconveniences may and are likely to ensue from permitting Strangers, who may be in the Interest of the Rebels, to resort to the Town of Quebec, and by that means obtaining and conveying to them intelligence which may prove highly prejudicial to His Majesty's Service.

I do hereby strictly Order and Command all Persons not settled Inhabitants of this Place who since the Thirty first day of August last have, or who hereafter shall come into the Town of Quebec, either to repair themselves immediately, or to signify to one of the Conservators of the Peace, or to such Persons as may from time to time be appointed for that purpose, their Names and place of abode, together with the occasion of their coming into the Town, upon pain of being considered and treated as Spies if they remain therein for the space of two hours without repairing themselves or giving notice as aforesaid.

AND I do likewise strictly Order and Command all Tavern keepers, keepers of Public houses, and all Persons who shall receive any Stranger or Strangers after the Publication of this Proclamation, to Report the Name, place of abode, &c. of all such, in like manner to some one or other of the Persons aforementioned within two hours after the coming of such Stranger or Strangers, upon the like Pain and Peril as herein before expressed.

GIVEN under my hand and Seal at Arms at Quebec this Sixteenth day of September, in the Fifteenth year of His Majesty's Reign, and in the Year of Our Lord 1775.

In the Absence and by the Order of His Excellency the Governor.

H. T. CRAMAHE.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

16 Sept. 1775.

Par l'honorable Hector Théophile Cramahé, Ecuier, Lieutenant-Gouverneur de la Province de Quebec, &c., &c.

PROCLAMATION.

Comm'il peut arriver de grands malheurs et inconvénients, et qu'il en est probablement arrivé de permettre à des étrangers, qui peuvent être dans les intérêts des Rebels, de Venir dans la ville de Québec, pour avoir des intelligences et en donner des connaissances, qui peuvent être infiniment préjudiciables au Service de sa Majesté.

J'ordonne et je commande vigoureusement, par ces présentes, à toutes personnes qui ne sont point censés être habitans de cette place, qui sont arrivées dans la ville de Québec depuis le trente-unième jour du mois d'août dernier, ou qui y arriveront par la Suite, de paraître immédiatement en personnes, ou de déclarer devant un des conservateurs de la paix, ou devant telles personnes qui seront dans aucun tems nommées à cet effet, leurs noms, le lieu de leurs demeures, et les raisons pour les quelles ells sont venues en cette ville, sous peine d'être regardées et traitées comme Espions, si elles y demeurent l'espace de deux heures, sans paraître en personnes ou donner les connaissances ci-dessus.

Et j'ordonne et commande aussi rigoureusement, à tous hoteliers, cabaratiens et à toutes personnes qui recevront aucuns étrangers quelconque après la publication de cette Proclamation, de donner les noms, le lieu des demeures &c., de tous tels étrangers, de la même manière, dans deux heures de l'arrivés de tels étrangers, sous les mêmes peines et dangers cy dessus exprimées.

Donné sous mon Seing et le Sceau de mes armes à Québec ce seizième jour de Septembre, dans la quinzième année du Reyne de Sa Majesté, en l'année de Notre Seigneur 1775.

Dans l'absence et par l'ordre de son Excellence le Gouverneur.

(Signé) H. T. CRAMAHE.

Traduit par ordre du
Lieutenant Gouverneur.

VIVE LE ROI.

(50)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11, p. 255.

La Pointe Olivier, le 16 Sept. 1775.

Messieurs.

Vous saurez que Nos Gens sont arrivés, avec nous ils vous prient de leur envoyer de la Farine. Vous serez bien satisfait de vos depece ils esperent que vos coeurs se joindront aux leurs qui travaillent pour la continuation de vos biens et tout autre Droit affirme sous leurs Armes et Conscience. Si vous juges à propos

d'entertener un Amitie fraternel avec eux c'est de vous transporter en milice pour joindre nos braves Canadiens de la Riviere Chambly le plus promptement que vous pouvez transporte la dite de Paroise ent paroise jusqu'a Quebec.

Par ordre du General Bastonois.
Jas. Livingston.
J. Duggan.

L'adresse est a Messieurs Les Capitaines des Cotes jusqu'a Quebec.

Endorsed:—Copy of a Circular Letter from Livingston & Duggan, 16th Sept'r 1775.
In Lieut. Governor Cramahé's Letter of 24th Sep'r, 1775.

(Translation)

Point Olivier, 16th Sept. 1775.

Gentlemen:

You know that our people have arrived, together with us they request you to send them flour. You will be well paid for your trouble, they hope that your hearts will unite with theirs which labor for the protection of your property and all other privileges confirmed by their arms and conscience. If you think proper to maintain a fraternal friendship with them you should come as a militia to join our brave Canadians as quickly as you possibly can forward this from parish to parish as far as Quebec.

By order of the Bostonian General.
Jas. Livingston
J. Duggan.

Addressed to the Captains of parishes as far as Quebec.

(51)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11, p. 252.

La Pointe Olivier, ce 18 Sept. 1775.

Messieurs,

Le General Bastonois ne scait comment vous themoigner sa Reconnoissance, il voye votre Bon Coeurs et votre Fidelite et il espere que vous transporter promptement à la Pointe Olivier avec vos Armes afin de pouvoir empecher des flaux que nous sommes menaces par des Jens qui ne cherche en tout que notre esclavage; mais vous aves peut comprendre que nos amis Bastonois cherche a nous rendre maitre de nos Biens en abolisant des Taxe que l'on veut nous mettre De plus cest le Bien spirituelle qui les anime de prendre nos propres Interest afin d'entertener avec nous une correspondance paternelle par ordre du General Bastonay. Je suis avec Respect, votre &ca.

Jas. Livingston.

N.B. this same Gentleman is from the Province of New York, was licenced as an Attorney, but has not practiced for some years, turned Wheat Merchant and has lived upon the Sorell these five or six years.

Endorsed:—Copy of an intercepted Letter, 18th Sep'r, 1775. In Lieut. Governor Cramahé's Letter of the 21st Sept'r, 1775.

(Translation)

Point Olivier, 18th September, 1775.

Gentlemen:

The Bostonian General desires to testify his gratitude. He is aware of your goodwill and your fidelity and hopes that you will come soon to Point Olivier with your arms to protect our flanks which are menaced by the people seeking our slavery; but you should understand that our Bostonian friends desire to make us masters of our own property by abolishing the taxes which they wish to place upon us. Moreover it is spiritual good which animates them to look after our interest and to keep up with us a paternal correspondence by order of the Bostonian General.

I am with respect, yours, etc.,
Jas. Livingston.

Vol. 420.

P. 257.

(52)

EXTRACT.

GENERAL GAGE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

Lieut. Colonel McLean has taken pains to raise his Corps of Highland Emigrants and posted Officers in many of the Provinces to collect them, but the great difficulty is to transport them to Canada where the Colonel has established his Head Quarters. He writes from thence that he has recruited 100 men at Quebec and had engaged 400 more on the Mohock River; who waited opportunity to get to Canada, which will not be easy as the Rebels have possessed themselves of Lake Champlain.

(53)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. II, p. 261.

Montreal September 21st 1775.

My Lord,

The beginning of this month a body of two thousand Rebels, returned to this Province. The Militia men formerly warned to hold themselves in readiness were ordered to march and succour St. Johns. The 7th Inst a landing was made in the woods above the forts. The Indians, who were there, attacked, and drove them back to their boats. The rebels, retired to the Isle aux Noix, sent out some parties, who did us little harm, but their emissaries and friends, who are spread all over the Country, have injured us very much.

The Canadians w'd not march, a very inconsiderable number excepted, notwithstanding every effort has been tried, and every argument urged by the Clergy, the better sort of Citizens, and Gentlemen of the Country, who have all manifested great zeal for the Kings Service; the greatest part of these joined the Militia, and form a Corps at the fort of St. Johns, not exceeding one hundred, under the Command of Mr. Belleslettres. The Rebels have been much more successfull with them, and have assembled them in greater numbers. The Indians too have left us, and mostly made their peace, the rest will not act, unless they see the Canadians exert themselves also. The rebels, succeeding so well, by their friends, returned, and with the assistance of the Canadians have invested the forts. A few days ago I had hopes of assembling a Corps on the Sorrell, and another at La Prairie, either of which might have saved the Province for this year; but the friends of rebellion dissipated both by their intrigues and lies. The great importance of this province, has induced me to be obstinate in its defence, in hopes we should not be abandoned by all the Earth, and that assistance might come to us from some quarter: it is now above four months, since the operations against us, first began, yet we could not fit out our vessels, nor man them in our weak situation. I shall spin out matters, as long as I can, in hopes, that a good wind may bring us relief. Yesterday a party of the rebels came to La Prairie, which greatly alarmed the town, many thought it time to capitulate, to prevent their being pillaged; they have been laughed out of this for the present, and as the party retired in the night, all is well for the hour, I can not answer for the next. I send this by Lord Pitt, who has been a Spectator of this disagreeable scene, and is qualified to give your Lordship a detail of the several transactions; and have only to add, that, whatever is our fate, I think that this war can not be carried on more advantageously, than from hence, and that a body of ten or twelve thousand men here, early next spring, completely equipped, with some frigates might greatly change the face of things on this Continent.

I am with much respect and esteem

My Lord

Your Lordships most Obedient and
most Humble Servant
Guy Carleton.

Earl of Dartmouth

Endorsed: Montreal 21st Sept 1775.

Genl. Carleton

R Novr. 2d 1775

Entd.

(54)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. II, p. 249.

Quebec 21st Sepr. 1775.

My Lord!

I am sorry to transmit to your Lordship the disagreeable account of a disagreeable Business, some time in the Beginning of this Month, upon News of the Rebel Army approaching, General Carleton set out for Montreal in great Haste; the 7th instant the Rebels landed in the woods near St. John's, and were beat back to their Boats by a Party of Savages incamped at that Place; in this Action the Savages behaved with great Spirit and Resolution, and had they remained firm to our Interests, probably the Province would have been saved for this Year, but finding the Canadians in General averse to the taking up Arms for the Defence of their Country, they withdrew, and made their Peace.

After their Defeat the Rebels retired to the Isle aux Noix, where they continued till lately, sending out some Parties, and many Emissaries, to debauch the Minds of the Canadians and Indians, in which they have proved too successfull, and for which they were too well prepared by the cabals and Intrigues of these two last years; We knew of their being reinforced, and very considerably, I suppose, as they appeared in Numbers near St. John's last Sunday Evening; where or when they landed, or the Particulars since, we have but very imperfect Accounts of, all communication with the Forts of St. John's and Chambli, being, as far as I can find, entirely cut off.

No Means have been left untried to bring the Canadian Peasantry to a sense of their Duty, and engage them to take up Arms in Defence of the Province, but all to no Purpose; The Justice must be done to the Gentry, Clergy, and most of the Bourgeoisie, that they have shewen the greatest zeal and Fidelity to the King's Service, and exerted their best Endeavours to reclaim their infatuated Countrymen; some Troops, and a Ship of War or two, would in all likelihood have prevented this general Defection.

Some of the King's old Subjects have joined the Rebels, and it were to be wished all of them, inclined to that cause, had done the same, we should be the safer for it, the Copy of an intercepted Letter from one of them is herewith inclosed; some Canadians, I understand, are with the Bostonians upon every Road.

As the ship this goes by sails to morrow very early, I have not time to enter into particulars, Lt. Col. Maclean with about eighty of his new raised corps, and twenty of the fusileers, besides a Militia composed of the Inhabitants of the Town, is all that we have to repair it's Breaches, and defend it; General Carleton, who is still at Montreal, has not received a Line from Your Lordship since the 15th of April, or from General Gage since the 3rd of July last.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect

My Lord!

Your Lordship's Most Obedient and
Most Humble Servant

H. T. Cramahé.

Earl of Dartmouth

One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed: Quebec 12th Septembr 1775.

Lieut. Govr. Cramahé

R. 23rd Octobr

(1 Inclosure)

Entd.

(55)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, September 21st, 1775.

Sunday Morning last the Eleven Companies of Canadian Militia were review'd on the Parade by His Honor the Lieutenant-governor, when Arms were distributed to them. His Honor was highly pleased to find the Canadians of this City firmly resolved to support the Crown and defend their Fortunes against the Rebels. They had before mounted Guard, besides serving on Patroll.

At the same Time the six Companies of the British Militia of this City were also reviewed by His Honor the Lieutenant governor, and two Companies of them mounted Guard at six o'Clock in the Evening.

Extract of Letter from Montreal, September, 18.

"The Rebels have sent circular Letters to some of the Parishes above, upon the South Shore, threatening them with Military execution if they do not send to their Camp fifty men each, completely armed, with four Days Provision, at their own expence.

"To these they returned a spirited and indignant Answer, and are preparing to Arm, and join the King's Troops.

"The Canadians appear now to be sensible (and providentially it is not too late) of the danger they run in giving credit to false promises of Friendship and Union, or even neutrality from these People, propagated by a set of miscreants, who, while they are promoting their own Malignant ends, knew they were setting the Reputation, Safety and Welfare of a generous (but deluded) People at Stake, and involving them in certain ruin under pretence of relieving them from imaginary Grievances, fancied dangers, and the oppression of a Government whose Delight and Glory it has been, and ever will be, to protect, enrich and make the Subject happy.

(56)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11, pp. 253-4.

Quebec, 24th Sept., 1775.

My Lord,

Since my last of 21st September we have further disagreeable accounts from above, the Roads are become so precarious that we dare not trust Letters of consequence to the Post, or the couriers usually employed by the Government. The General has made fresh Efforts to raise a Corps of volunteers and Indians to scour the woods without being able to succeed.

It would not, however, require I believe, a very considerable Force to send the Rebels about their Business, the 18th instant a Body of about two hundred, headed by Attorney Brown, the same who harangued in the Public Coffee House in Montreal last April as mentioned in one of General Carleton's Letters, was attacked by a Detachment from the Fort at St. Johns of half that number and defeated, the Detachment was composed of some Troops and Canadian Gentlemen Volunteers who suffered no very great loss.

The Party at Point Olivier by recent Intelligence, has got down to the Point of Sorel, and it is said at present to consist of three hundred and fifty or four hundred men, what their designs are we have not been able to discover, the inclosed copy of a circular Letter from the Persons who avow themselves the Leaders, it would prove them to be of no very great consequence, their Major Duggan, formerly a Barber in this Town, latterly a broken Wheat Merchant and who has resided some years upon that River, can add no Weight to their cause.

Your Dispatches by the Adamant, dated the 7th June*, 1st and 4th July were received the 2d instant, the original of that of 7th June has never reached this Place; upon the contents of these, if the General does not soon return, I propose writing to your Lordship when our present Hurry of Business will allow me.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most Obedient and most Humble Servant.

H. T. Cramahé.

Earl of Dartmouth One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

*N.B. These Letters contain directions for raising 3,000 Canadians, &c. J.P.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 24th Sept'r, 1775.

Lieut.-Governor Cramahé.

R-25 October.

(1 inclosure.)

(57)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, October, 5th, 1775.

On the 25th September, at nine o'Clock in the morning His Excellency General CARLETON having received advice that a party of the Rebels had landed near Long-Point, immediately assembled the Citizens on the Parade; and in a few words represented to them the danger the Town was in, and the Necessity of repelling them. The faithful Citizens of Montreal, both English and French, wanted little persuasion;

in a moment the whole Town appear'd under arms, and the General, taking the advantage of their martial eagerness sent them out to attack the enemy, under the command of Major CAMPBELL, together with a party of only thirty-four soldiers from the garrison under Captain Crawford. After an hour's march they discover'd the Rebels, who had posted themselves very advantageously behind some houses in the neighbourhood of Mr. Christie's farm. The Rebels, aided by their situation, supported for some time a kind of engagement, but were at length dislodged and totally defeated. The loss of the enemy amounted to fifteen men Killed or wounded, and after their overthrow, from thirty to forty taken prisoners. It is with much regret that the publick are informed that some Canadians from Chambly were found among the prisoners, who have since acknowledged that the pitiful Wages of thirty-coppers a Day, and the prospect of Plunder, induced them to take up arms; the melancholy Supineness of the Province cannot not be lamented, and more especially when it is known to be in power of its inhabitants, by a moment's Exertion, to drive off those Vagabonds, who come with no other View but that of Plunder and Pillage. On our Side the loss is small as to the number, but considerable as to the Persons; Major CARDEN, a brave Man and gallant Officer, is killed. Mr. Alexander Patterson is dangerously wounded. There are two other Persons killed and three wounded.

Extract of an authentick Letter from Montreal, dated September, 28.

"On the 25th in the morning we were informed that Ethan Allen, with a party of Rebels and a number of Canadians were landed on this side of Long-Point, with an intention to march up and attack the town. We lost no time, but sent out to meet them 34 soldiers, 80 English volunteers, and 120 Canadian townsmen. We met them within three miles or less of the town, where they had taken shelter behind a barn, trees, and a natural breast-work which the banks of the little river Truteau afforded them. Our advanced party fired at two or three whom they saw: we never saw above that number at a time untill they took to their heels, which they did in a short while after our general fire began. A party of ours pursu'd them and took Ethan Allen their commander, 17 Yankeys, and 16 Canadians, prisoners. We march'd back to town destroying every boat and canoe we could find. I know not how many there was of the enemy; I think I saw about 100, most of them scamper'd towards the Wood. We killed five of them and wounded ten. On our side we lost Major CARDEN, had one soldier killed and one man shot through the thigh; Mr. Beaubassin was slightly wounded, and Mr. Alexander Paterson shot through the body as he boldly advanced towards the Rebels; his Spirit and activity can never be enough commended; we hope our brave friend will soon recover. This party was to have had thirty coppers a day, and the town of Montreal for plunder, but if they get it, they'll pay dear for it."

(58)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, October 19, 1775.

To the PRINTER OF the QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Sir;—

On reading in your paper an account of the skirmish between the Rebels and Royalists at MONTREAL, on the 25th of September, and thinking it rather imperfect, I have endeavoured to give you as a true and perfect an account as possible, which I shall be glad you'll print in your Paper.

I am, Sir, Yours
NAUTICUS.

On Monday the 25th of September, from day light till 9 o'Clock, were discovered several canoes passing and repassing, 'twixt Longueuil and the Island of Montreal; and on enquiry were found to be a party of Yankee Rebels, and Canadians, (who had join'd them from Chambly River) commanded by Ethan Allen, with intention (as they themselves confest afterwards) to invest and plunder the city of Montreal; which greatly alarmed the inhabitants, and occasioned the drum beating to arms. Immediately the Citizens in general both French and English, by His Excellency the Governor's direction assembled on the parade, and from thence part of them marched to the barracks, and after a short parley about eighty of the English Citizens and one hundred and twenty French, joined Major Campbell and Captain Crawford, with Ensign Campbell and a detachment of about thirty men of the 26th Regiment twenty of Colonel Guy Johnson's Indian department, with 6 or 8 Savages. The Troops Led the van, and the Citizens eagerly followed, and marched down the road to Long-point, destroying every canoe and water carriage as they went along for fear the Vilains, should escape, soon after an advanced party about ten in number fell in with the enemy, and found them lodged in houses, barns, behind trees, and in

a natural breast-work formed by the banks of the little river Truteau, where they sustained a heavy fire for a few minutes before the main-body got up. Then the general fire began on both sides and continued about fifteen minutes, when the Rebels gall'd by a constant and steady platoon fire from the Regulars (who were within sixty yards of them, covered by the gable end of a house) and finding they were surrounded by a flanking party of our Volunteers, some of them gained way and the rest followed, and Allen, with thirty-five prisoners were taken. The loss of our side was Major CARDEN, a brave Officer, who tho' extremely corpulent was one of the first in the field, and unfortunately received a wound of which he expired in 8 hours after, one volunteer shot; a soldier of the 26th Regiment since dead of his wounds. Mr. Alexander Paterson shot thro' the body as he boldly advanced towards the Rebels, this GENTLEMAN'S conduct and courage is worthy of imitation he is now in a fair way of recovery. The Rebels had five killed on the field and ten wounded, two of which are since dead. In this party there were about one hundred and fifty who came to a general Skirmish. Several of the Citizens both French and English distinguished themselves on this occasion; but we cannot help recommending the behaviour of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Butler of the Indian department, who with about six or seven volunteers and one savage were the first up with ALLEN'S party, who being about sixteen in number, threw down their Arms and surrendered, when Allen immediately delivered his sword to Mr. Johnson.

(59)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, September 28, 1775.

We hear that the beginning of last Week a Party of Soldiers, Canadians, and some Volunteers, under the Command of Capt. Strong, went out from St. John's and fell in with about 200 of the Rebels, when a Skirmish ensued, in which about 40 of the latter were killed and taken prisoners. Capt. Hazen, Ensign Tucker, and a Gentleman of New-York are said to be of the Number taken.

Last Sunday Evening a Deserter from the Rebels came into Montreal.

Last Tuesday Evening Lord PITT arrived in this City from Montreal.

(60)

(Probably last week of September, 1775.)

Montreal, Thursday

Afternoon five o'Clock.

Sir

I wrote to you about half an hour since by your Express. I desire you will on receipt of this Letter, order Mr. Hasen to come to Montreal without delay & appear before me, as he shall answer the contrary at his Peril.

Dear Sir

Your's most faithfully

Rd. Prescott.

Major Preston.

A Reinforcement of Canadians & Indians will I hope soon be with you.

(61)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, October 12, 1775.

By the HONORABLE HECTOR THEOPHILUS CRAMAHE, Esq.

Lieutenant-governor of the Province of Quebec, &c., &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

It being absolutely necessary in the present Disorders, to provide in the most effectual Manner for the Defense of the Town and Province of QUEBEC; And whereas great Assistance may be derived from the Sailors on Board the Ships and Vessels in the different Parts of the Province it is hereby Ordered that no Ship or Vessel now in any Port of the Province, or that shall come into any Port of the Province, do proceed in her Voyage to England, or elsewhere, before the Twentieth Day of October next; and the Officers employed in the Collection of His Majesty's Customs are hereby commanded to suffer no Ship to clear out till the aforesaid Time.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal at Arms at QUEBEC, this 28th day of September, in the Fifteenth Year of His Majesty's Reign, and in the Year of our Lord, 1775.

In the Absence, and by Order of His Excellency the GOVERNOR.

H. T. CRAMAHE.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

LA GAZETTE DE QUEBEC.

JEUDI LE 12 OCTOBRE, 1775.

Par l'HONORABLE HECTOR THEOPHILE CRAMAHE, Ecuier,
Lieutenant-gouverneur de la Province de Quebec, &c., &c.

PROCLAMATION.

Etant absolument nécessaire dans les troubles présents, de pourvoir le plus efficacement qu'il est possible à défense de la Province de QUEBEC; Et comm'on peut retirer un grand secours des matelots des bâtimens et vaisseaux qui sont dans les différens ports de cette Province, Il est par ces présentes ordonné, qu'aucuns bâtimens ou vaisseaux étant présentement dans tous les ports de cette Province, ou viendront dans quelqu'uns des ports d'icelle, partiront ou feront route pour l'ANGLETERRE, ou pour tout autre endroit, avant le vingtième jour d'Octobre prochain; et il est par ces présentes commandé à tous les officiers employés dans les Douanes de sa Majesté, de ne délivrer aucunes expéditions à tous vaisseaux avant le dit tems.

Donné sous mon seing et le sceau de mes armes, à QUEBEC, ce vingt-huitième jour de SEPTEMBRE, dans la quinzisième année du Règne de sa Majesté, et de l'année de Notre Seigneur 1775.

Dans l'absence et par ordre de son Excellence le GOUVERNEUR.

H. T. CRAMAHE.

Traduit par Ordre du Lieutenant-gouverneur.

F. J. CUGNET, S.F.

VIVE le ROI.

(62)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11, pp. 256-7.

My Lord,

Lord Pitt brought me the rough Draft of the enclosed from General Carleton, which I copied fair, and is herewith transmitted to your Lordship in his own words; by Intelligence received since of the 26th, we have an account that a Party of the Rebels having crossed over from Longueuil to Long Point in the Island of Montreal in the night of the 25th and that morning the Inhabitants of the Town sallied out with a few Troops at their Head, and met the Rebels about Two Miles from the Town, when after a pretty smart Engagement, the latter fled and dispersed. five or six and thirty Prisoners had been brought in, Colonel Ethan Allen, the Commander of the Party being one of the number. In this Action an old and faithful Servant of the Crown, Major John Carden, was mortally wounded, since dead, and cannot be too much regretted, Mr. Alexander Paterson, Merchant, was dangerously wounded, and Mr. Beaubassin, a Canadian Gentleman, slightly, four or five soldiers and Canadians were killed and wounded.

The Rebels have in every Parish on their Road plundered the Houses and Farms of the Gentlemen and Habitans, that had joined the King's Forces. We have many Reports about this Affair which I do not trouble your Lordship with, as I have not them from the best Authority.

The Want of Ships of Force to command the Navigation of the River has been so sensibly felt that I have hired and am arming vessels for that Purpose and have been obliged to lay an Embargo till 20 October next, upon the Shipping in order to man them. With the Assistance of Lieut.-Colonel MacLean, who is very zealous and has been extremely diligent upon the occasion, we have got the Town in a little better Posture of Defence, to which the Body of eighty stout seamen, besides the number wanted for the armed vessels will prove no Inconsiderable Reinforcement.

A Copy of the Manifesto published by General Schuyler upon his arrival is herewith inclosed. It is said that he has returned upon Account of an ill State of Health,

perhaps to procure more Forces, and that Mr. Montgomery, formerly a Captain in the 17th, stiling himself Brigadier General, now Commands at the Isle aux Noix.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most Obedient and Most
Humble Servant.

H. T. CRAMAHE,

Earl of Dartmouth, One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 30 Sept'r 1775.

Lt.-Gov'r. Cramahé.

R.-Nov'r 2nd, 1775.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, October 5, 1775.

On Monday last the Artillery Company under Messrs. George Gregory first Lieutenant and John Johnson Second Lieutenant, scaled the Cannon mounted in the different parts of the Garrison, when 3 twenty-Pounders, 10 twelve-pounders, and 3 nine-pounders were ready for action; and in two or three Days as many more will be in readiness, exclusive of 16 of thirty-six, thirty-two and twenty-four, which may be fit for action in an hour's time. During the firing the Cannon the Concussion of the Air, as is supposed, occasioned the falling of an immense Quantity of Rock from the Precipice behind the Castle of St. Louis into Champlain Street which considerably damaged a house.

On Tuesday last the arm'd Snow, Fell, compleatly equipp'd with 16 nine-pounders, besides Swivels, &c., and 100 true tars, on board of which Commodore NAPIER hoisted his flag, hauled out into the Stream, and is now moored before this City; and in two or three Days the Ship, Charlotta, Capt. Littlejohn will be ready; besides two others already fitted out under the Command of Captain Chabot and Lizot.

Whereas the publick peace and tranquility as well as the Trade and Commerce of this Province has for some time past been greatly interrupted and almost wholly impeded by a set of Invaders who have come into the Province, in a hostile manner and taken up Arms against and attacked His Majesty's Troops, and the peaceable Inhabitants of this Province, whereby their Lives and Properties have been exposed to the greatest danger. We the Subscribers, His Majesty's faithful Subjects, being convinced that the most effectual means to prevent their wicked designs will be to promote harmony and unanimity among ourselves, Do unanimously resolve and solemnly promise and agree to and with each other respectively that we will, to the utmost of our Power, oppose their Intentions, and defend our Lives and Properties against all such Invaders, their Adherents, Associates and Abettors, and that we will make the cause of each of us the General Cause of the whole. Dated at Montreal the second Day of October, 1775

(Signed.)

Joseph Bleakley
Sam Bernie
Sam'l Judah
John Gregory
James Finlay
Michael Phillips
Joseph Howard
Peter Arnoldi
Thomas McMurray
L. Genevay
John Burke
Benj'n. Frobisher
Peter McFarlan
Jas. Farquharson
Solomon Mittleberger
Edw'd Antill
James McGill

William Kay
Simon Evans
Jno. Stenhouse
Jas. Doig
Wm. McCarty
Rich'd Walker
Alex'r Milmine
Rich'd Pollard
Jacob Jordan
Da'd Geddes
Alex. Hay
James Morrison
Robt. Cruickshank
Sam'l Morrison
Jno. Bell
John Mittleberger
J. Grant

Rich'd, McNeale
William Aird
John Wood
Jas. D. White
Sam'l. Holmes
Allan Paterson
James Blake
Levy Solomons
Thos. Fraser
Edward Chinn
Edw. Wm. Gray
Isaac Todd
John McGill
Rich'd. Dobie
G. Grant
Jno. Porteous
John Thomson

Lawrence Ermatinger
 Jas. Stanley Goddard
 John Lilly
 Thos. Walker, Jun'r.
 Alex. Henry
 John Neagle

Henry Edge
 Nath'l Mellish
 Geo. Singleton
 Jos'h. Bindon
 John Blake
 Thomas Burn

Ezekiel Solomons
 Jacob Vander Heyden
 Hugh Ferries
 John Vienne

Endorsed:—2nd Oct., 1775.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11. pp. 307-8.

Deposition of J. Bte. Bruyeres.
 Du 4bre 1775.

Jean Bte. Bruyères de Belair, capitaine de milice de l'Assomption, après serment fait par devant nous Jugés Conservateurs de la paix pour le district de Montréal déposé:

Que le 25 de 7bre d'er le nommé Séné, forgeron du bourg de l'Assomption envoya chercher lui, déposant, par un jeune garçon, nommé l'Esperance, apprentif dud't Séné; lequel lui dit que deux capitaines Bostonnois le demandoient près de l'église. Qu'il se rendit et vit venir aud't lieu un capitaine ou officier Bostonnois, escorté de deux fusiliers et avec ces trois personnes le Sieur Thomas Walker, marchant au milieu d'eux.

Que le d't Walker le présenté à cet officier et dit en françois à lui, le déposant: Bon jour, capitaine, et lui donna la main, ainsi qu'à plusieurs personnes du village qui s'étoient rendus au d't lieu. Que de ce nombre étoient le Sieur Durocher, marchand, Galleneau, habitant, Corbière, forgeron, et son fils, ainsi que le nommé Neveu, maitre d'école. Que le dit Walker dit au d't Neveu: Retire-toi, coquin, ne te presente jamais devant moi, car j'aurai soin de toi.

Que l'officier Bostonnois, qui parloit un peu françois, dit à lui: Bon jour, Capitain, voulez-vous me faire le plaisir d'inviter votre monde de venir demain avec moi être témoin lorsque je prendrai la ville de Montréal.

Que lui dit le déposant répondit qu'il alloit avertir les habitans et fut dans quelques maisons faire ce dont il avoit été chargé, en leur expliquant néanmoins qu'ils ne devoient tirer sur personne, ne rien entreprendre sur la ville.

Que le lendemain, mardi, 26 dudit mois de 7bre, lui, déposant, alla au portage où il vit environ 80 ou cent hommes, sans armes, hors trois seulement qui avoient leur fusil. Qu'il leur demanda ce qu'ils vouloient faire avec leur fusil, et leur dit qu'il ne vouloit pas qu'aucun d'eux marchât armé, à quoi ces gens répondirent que leur intention étoit de ne tirer sur personne. Que Walker qui étoit présent, dit à lui, d't déposant: Capitaine, cela fait rien, que ceux qui ont des armes, les portent; ils préserveront ma maison et mes biens qui sont dans la ville, et me sauveront contre les gens qui voudroient me piller. Je prierai même le General Bostonnois de faire en sorte que la ville ne soit point pillée. Qu'alors tout le monde se dispersé. Le déposant n'a rien dit de plus et a signé après lecture à lui faite de sa déposition.

(Signé)

Bruguier.

John Marteilhé, J.C.P.

Hertel De Rouville, J.C.P.

H. T. Cramahé.

A true Copy.

Endorsed:—Copy of J. Bapt. Bruyères
 Dep'n. 4 Oct. 1775.

In Lieut. Gov'r Cramahés Letter
 of the 9th Nov'r. (8).

(Translation)

Deposition of J. B. Bruyeres.
 4th October, 1775.

Jean Bte. Bruyeres de Belair, Captain of Militia for L'Assomption, having made oath before us, Justices of the peace for the district of Montreal, deposes that on the 25th of September last, one Séné a blacksmith of the town of L'Assomption sent a message to him by a young man named L'Esperance, an apprentice of the said Séné; who told him that two Bostonian Captains were asking for him near the church. That he

went thither and saw a captain or Bostonian officer come to the said place escorted by two soldiers and with these three persons, Mr. Thomas Walker walking with them.

That the said Walker introduced him to this officer, and said in French to him, the deponent: Good-day Captain, and shook hands with him, and also, with several persons belonging to the village who had come to the said place. That among these were Mr. Durocher, merchant, Galleneau, a habitant, Corbiere, a smith, and his son, likewise one Neveu, a school master. That the said Walker said to the said Neveu: Go away you rascal, do not show yourself before me, for I will take care of you.

That the Bostonian officer, who spoke a little French, said to him: Good-day, Captain, will you do me the favor of inviting your people to come to-morrow with me to look on while I will take the town of Montreal.

That the deponent said to him in reply that he would go and warn the inhabitants, and went into some of the houses to do as he was told, explaining to them, however, that they must not fire on anybody nor attempt anything against the town.

That on the following day, Tuesday, the 26th of the said month of September, he, the deponent, went to the Portage where he saw about eighty or one hundred men, without arms, except three only who had their muskets. That he asked them what they were going to do with their muskets and said to them that he did not wish any of them to take arms with them, to which these men replied that they did not intend to fire on anybody. That Walker, who was present, said to him, the said deponent: Captain, that is nothing, let those who have arms carry them; they will protect my house and my goods which are in the town, and preserve them from the people who want to rob me. I will request the Bostonian general to take care that the town will not be plundered.

That afterwards the crowd dispersed. Further the deponent sayeth not and hath signed his deposition after it was read to him (Signed)

Bruguier,
John Marteilhe, J.C.P.
Hertel de Rouville, J.C.P.

(65)

LA GAZETTE DE QUEBEC.

Jeudi le 5 octobre, 1775.

Monsieur,

Vous êtes prié de faire insérer dans votre Gazette prochaine l'écrit suivant.

MEA CULPA.

Peuple Canadien, ne craignez-vous pas de dire un jour ces paroles MEA CULPA, de vous avoir laissez séduire et intimider par des cœurs lâches et rebelles à leur Souverain, et qui ne cherchent qu'à vous rendre aussi-mal-heureux qu'eux; cependant vous avez du discernement, et une Religion qui vous enseigne le devoir que vous devez à votre Roi, et qui vous apprend à aimer Dieu et honorer le Roi; Lisez l'Épître de Saint Paul aux Romains, chapitre xiii. verset 5, vous y trouverez par ces paroles *Deum Timeate, Regem Honorificate*. Vous voyez par ces paroles de l'Apôtre que vouloir se dispenser de cette obéissance sur quelque prétexte que ce soit, c'est résister à l'ordre exprès de Dieu, qui a établi les Rois comme les lieutenants et ses ministres sur la terre; car il n'y a point de puissance (dit la Sainte Ecriture) qui ne vienne de Dieu, et comme c'est lui qui a établi toutes celles qui sont dans le monde, il veut aussi que tout le monde y soit soumis. C'est donc aux ordres de Dieu que vous vous refusez en vous rendant désobéissants à votre Roy, auquel vous avez tant de graces à rendre pour tous les biens-faits dont il vous a honoré; n'y eut-il que la libre jouissance de votre religion qu'il vous a accordé de sa bonté royale; avez-vous donc oublié ses bien-faits ainsi que les peines qu'a essayé cette illustre personne votre Gouverneur, sur les éléments les plus perfides, pour vous procurer un bien-être futur, et vous assurer une jouissance paisible de vos biens. Réfléchissez sur votre état actuel, et souvenez vous du serment de fidélité que vous avez prêté à votre Roi, et vous verrez que votre conduite n'est pas telle qu'elle devrait être à son égard; vous reconnoîtrez votre faute mais il sera trop tard, il ne vous restera pour ressources que vos plaintes et vos gémissements, qui seront toujours accompagné de ces paroles MEA CULPA. Car pouvez vous croire que ces gens qui deviendront vos maîtres (s'ils peuvent), vous laisseront jouir de la religion que vos ancêtres ont professé, et que vous suivrez actuellement; vous aurez devant les yeux le spectacle le plus affreux, vos Ministres seront envoyés, vos Eglises pillées et brûlées, en un mot il ne restera pas le moindre vestige de cette Religion qui doit faire tout votre bonheur. Que craignez-vous en prenant le parti du Roi votre père et le mien? rien, au contraire vous attirez sur vous et votre postérité les graces et les bénédictions que le Seigneur a promis à ceux qui feroient sa volonté.

Seroit-il possible que par un entêtement impardonnable, vous voulussiez flétrir et couvrir de honte pour toujours, le peuple Canadien, qui a été regardé de tout tems comme un peuple brave, soumis et fidel à son Roi, ainsi que le reconnoissent vos presens Ennemis dans leur lettre du 26 Octobre 1774. Croyez-vous qu'ils auront la même opinion de vous (supposé qu'ils deviennent vos maîtres) non, ils vous regarderont comme des traitres et des parjures, et auront tout juste droit de craindre que vous leur fassiez un jour ce que vous faites aujourd'huy à celui a qui vous devez votre vie, vos biens et votre liberté.

Enfin la dernière raison qui doit vous engager (quoiqu'inférieure aux précédentes) c'est de voir que des gens auxquels vous n'avez rien fait viennent dans votre province pour s'emparer de vos biens les armes à la main, sous prétexte d'être vos Bien-faiteurs, pensez vous que ces gens dénués de vivres et de munitions, vous laisseront jouir tranquillement du fruit de vos travaux, non; ils vous prendront vos grains, vos bestiaux et tout ce que vous aurez (dont ils auront besoin) qu'ils vous payeront avec des Billets (qu'ils appellent Province Bills, ou, Bills of Credit), que ferez vous avec une pareille monnoie? rien. Hélas: de quelque coté que je puisse tourner la tête, je ne vois aucun moyen de liberté qu'en vous rendant obéissant à votre Roy et le mien, car je suis Canadien, et le zèle que j'ai pour ma patrie m'a fait hazarder de vous représenter le triste état où vous êtes. Fasse le Ciel? que mes peines ne soient point infructueuses, et que compatriotes puissent lever le voile qu'ils ont devant les yeux, afin qu'unis de cœur et d'esprit nous puissions chanter pendant toute notre vie, et dans le Royaume des Cieux, GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO.

CIVIS CANADIENSIS.

(Translation)

The Quebec Gazette.
Thursday, 5th October, 1775.

Sir,
You are requested to insert in your next gazette the following letter.

"*MEA CULPA*".

People of Canada, do you not fear some day to have to utter these words *MEA CULPA* for permitting yourselves to be seduced and intimidated by wicked men and rebels against their Sovereign who wish to make you as wretched as themselves; still you have discretion and a religion which teaches the duty that you owe to your king, and which teaches you to love God and honor the king; read the epistle of Saint Paul to the Romans Chapter XIII, verse 5, you will find there these words *DEUM TIME, REGEM HONORIFICATE*. You see by these words of the Apostle that whoever wishes to dispense with this obedience on any pretext whatever disobeys the express orders of God, who has established Kings as his lieutenants and his ministers on earth; for there is no power (saith the Holy Scripture) which comes not from God, and as he has established all those which exist in the world, he wishes also that everybody should obey them. It is then the orders of God that you disobey in becoming disobedient to your King, to whom you owe so many thanks for all the favors with which he has honored you; do you not owe the free enjoyment of your religion to his royal benevolence; have you then forgotten his favors as well as the pains taken by that illustrious person, your governor, to overcome the most perfidious of elements, to secure your future welfare and ensure to you the peaceable enjoyment of your property. Consider your actual condition and remember the oath of fidelity which you have taken to your king, and you will see that your conduct is not what it ought to be in that respect. You will acknowledge your errors but it will be too late. Your only resource then will be complaints and groanings, which will always be accompanied by these words *MEA CULPA*. For can you believe that these people who will become your masters (if they can) will allow you to enjoy the religion professed by your ancestors, and which you actually follow; you will have before your eyes a most frightful spectacle. Your ministers will be sent away, your churches plundered and burned, in a word there will not remain the slightest trace of this religion which ought to make you happy. What do you fear in taking the side of the king, your father, and mine? nothing. On the contrary you will gain for yourself and your posterity the favours and blessings which the Lord has promised to those who do his will.

Is it possible that by unpardonable stubbornness you wish to disgrace and cover with shame forever the Canadian people who have always been considered a brave people, obedient and faithful to their king as your present enemies admit in their letter of the 26th October, 1774. Do you think that they will have the same opinion of you

(supposing they become your masters) no, they will consider you as traitors and perjurers and will have good reason to fear that you will one day treat them as you now treat him to whom you owe your life, your property and your liberty. Finally the last reason which ought to convince you (although inferior to the foregoing) that these people to whom you have done no harm, come into your province to take your property with arms in their hands under a pretext of being your well-wishers, can you think, that these people who are without food and ammunition will allow you to enjoy peacefully the fruits of your labors, no; they will take your grain, your cattle and everything that you have (of which they have need), and they will pay you with notes; (which they call Province Bills, or Bills of Credit) what will you do with such money? nothing. Alas; on whatever side I turn I see no way of liberty except in your becoming obedient to your king and mine, for I am a Canadian and the love I have for my country causes me to take the risk of representing to you your sad condition. Heaven grant that my efforts may not be fruitless and that my countrymen may lift the veil which they have before their eyes so that united in heart and mind we may sing all the rest of our lives and in the Kingdom of the skies, GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO.

CIVIS CANADIENSIS.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES, SERIES B. 184-1. Vol. I. pt. I. p. 15.

HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Papers belonging to L'Anglais of the Ecureuils taken the 5th of Sept. 1779, at his House being orders and received from the Officer of the Rebels in 1775-1776.

Extrait d'une lettre du grand congrès au Général Schuyler.

Messieurs du Congrès sont convaincus de la nécessité qu'y a de faire attention a la situation dans laquelle le Canada se trouve actuellement et se reposant dans cet affaire sur votre prudence et vos soins ils jugent qu'il n'y a pas de nécessité de deputer a ce sujet aucuns membres de leur corps, du moins pour le present. Ce qu'ils esperent de vos soin a cet egard ce serait d'engager Messrs. les Canadiens d'accéder a l'union de nos colonies pour ne faire qu'un Corps avec elles. Pour cet effet il serait apres qu'ils se formassent un congrès provincial a la façon des notres qui soit composé de membres tirez des suffrages du peuple, de leurs diverses parroisses et district, et que le dit congrès provincial envoie des deputez de son corps Au Grand Congrès du continent, pour y représenter leur province et comme dans l'état imparfait ou cette province se trouve Aujourd'hui, on ne sçaurait guère s'attendre a une election aussi regulière qu'elle pourrait l'être dans les temps plus tranquilles il faudra se contenter du choix qui se fera dans les districts ou paroisses que se trouvent se disposees a s'unir a nous. Vous pouvez les assurer quelques droits et privilèges nous tiendrons autant a coeur que les notres propres, Et qu'une fois qu'ils seront unis a nous nous ne negligerons rien pour les mettre en possession de leur posterité apres eux, des avantages inestimables qui decoulent d'un gouvernement libre, tels que sont la surété de leurs personnes, de leurs biens et autres privilèges qui émanent de l'heure se forme de gouvernement auquel nous avons droits et qui sont les appanages de tous Citoyens Anglais dans quelque partie de l'empire qu'il reside. Vous pourrez de plus leur declarer que nous tenons pour sacrer les droits de la confiance et qu'ainsi ils auraient grand tort de supporter que nous, fussions aussi in consequents que de leur contester jamais le libre exercice de leur religion. Si la divine providence eu egard a la justice de notre cause daigne donner heureux succes à vos Armes vous delibererez avec Vos officiers de l'état Major sur le nombre troupes qui sera necessaire pour le defence du Canada et des differentes postes de la grande pointe (au fort St. Frederic) et de Carrillon et sur la maniere la plus convenable de lever les dites troupes pour le service pour ces places si vous remarqué que le Canadien soit porté d'inclination a prendre les armes Vous pourrez tout de Suite lever un regiment parmi eux au frais du Continent et créer tels officiers que vous jugerez leur etre le plus agreable et en meme temps les plus propres pour le service. L'établissement d'un gouvernement civil en Canada est un objet de la dernière consequence et demande les conseils les plus deliberez car il faut connaître a fonde l'honneur; le natural avec les circonstances locals, ou se trouvent nos freres de dites Colonie avant que de pourvoir rien decider sur une question si delicate. Vous cherchez donc quels pourraient etre eu egard les sentiments les plus judicieux et de plus discrets d'entre les principaux tant des Canadiens que des Anglais établis parmi eux. Afin de communiquer au congrès leur opinion a ce sujet avec vos remarques.

Le congrès est resolu quoi qu'il en coute de conserver le commandement du lac Champlain et Souhaite en consequence qu'on prenne les mesures les plus propres a cette fin. Et S'il arrivait que nos ennemis se trouvassent réduits a evacuer le ville de Montreal on ne negligera rien pour s'assurer le fleuve St. Laurent et empecher soit par navires Batteries et autres obstacles de cette nature que les troupes du ministère ne regagné cette ville deux rature nulles.

Signé
John Hancock président

Coppié avec l'ordre du Congrès a la pointe aux tremblés ce 4e 8bre 1775.
C. N. Desdevens député

Endorsed:—Avis Du Grand congrès le Sieur Pierre L'Anglais Capitaine des Ecureuils.
C. N. D.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.
Series Q, Vol. 11, pp. 309-10.

Michel Guillette, habitant de la paroisse de Verchères, Enseigne dans la compagnie de Quintal, dit qu'il s'est rendu aujourd'hui en cette ville, les autres officiers et miliciens de la dit compagnie n'étant point partis, comme ils l'avoient projeté.

Que la raison pour laquelle ces habitans ne sont point partis est qu'un nommé Joseph Casavant dt La Débauche, aussi habitant de Verchères, est arrivé hier matin de Chambly et a repandu dans la paroisse le bruit que le nommé J. Bte. Testreau, habitant de St. Charles, attaché au parti des rebelles, lui avoit fait voir un ordre du chef des dts rebelles à St. Charles, par lequel ordre il étoit commandé au dit Testreau de se mettre à la teste de cent cinquante hommes et d'aller prendre prisonniers les Sieurs Malhiot, St. Laurent et un troisième dont il ne se rappelle pas le nom. Qu'il a scu ces particularités par le nommé Joseph Amiot, forgeron, au dt Verchères, qui lui a dit les tenus du dt Joseph Casavant dt La Débauche; auquel lui dit déposant n'a pas parle mais qui le dit Amiot, aussi que le capitaine Quintal et plusieurs autres qui étoient disposés à partir pour se rendre en cette ville, ont dit à lui, déposant, que ces bruits leurs faisant craindre que leurs maisons ne fussent pillées et ruinées, si le dit Testreau effectuoit l'ordre dont il s'est dit chargé; ils ont pris la resolution de rester chès eux quoiqu'ils ayant dit à lui, déposant, qu'ils se rendroient à leur devoir lorsque le bruit repandu dans la dite paroisse de Verchères, seroit prouvé faux. Que lui, dt Déposant, n'a pas osé, pour cette même raison apporter avec lui son fusil, leur disant qu'il venoit pour s'instruire ici la vérité, et qu'il iroit les desabuser si il lui étoit permis.

Ne dit rien de plus, et après serment par lui fait sur les Sts. Evangiles a dit que sa déclaration est véritable, et a fait sa marque ordinaire déclarant qu'il ne sçait signer, à Montreal le 9 8bre.

de
Marque x Guillette.
MI.

Affirme veritable pardevant moi, l'un des Juges conservateurs de la paix pour le district de Montréal expressement chargé de ce faire par son Excellence le Gouverneur de la Province au dt Montreal les Jours et au que dessus.

(Signé) Hertel de Rouville.
(a true copy.)

Endorsed:—Copy of Michel Guillette's Deposition, 9th Octr. 1775.
In Lieut. Governor Cramahé's Letter of the 9th Novmr.

(Translation)

Michael Guillette, an inhabitant of the parish of Verchères, an ensign in Captain Quintal's company, states that he came to town to-day, the other officers and militia-men of the said company not having started as they had intended.

That the reason why these habitans have not come is that one Joseph Casavant called La Débauche, also an inhabitant of Verchères, arrived there yesterday morning from Chambly and spread in the parish a report that one J. Bte. Testreau, an inhabitant of St. Charles belonging to the rebel party, had shown him an order from the chief of the said rebels at St. Charles, by which order he had commanded the said Testreau to put himself at the head of one hundred and fifty men to go and make prisoners of

Messrs. Malhiot, St. Laurent, and a third, whose name he does not remember. That he learned these particulars from one Joseph Amiot, a smith at the said Verchères, who told him that he had received them from the said Joseph Casavant, called La Débauche, with whom the said deponent had not talked, but whom the said Amiot as well as Captain Quintal and several others who had intended to come to this town, had told him, the deponent, that these reports made them fear that their houses would be plundered and destroyed, if the said Testreau executed the order he had received; they had come to the resolution to remain at home, although they had told him, the deponent, that they would perform their duty if the report spread through the said parish of Verchères, was incorrect. That he, the said deponent, had not dared, for the same reason, to bring with him his musket, telling them that he would come here to learn the truth, and that he would return to give them true information if he was permitted.

Further he sayeth not and after making oath on the Holy Gospels, has stated that his declaration is true, and has made his usual mark declaring that he did not know how to write, at Montreal the 9th October.

Mark of
 x Guillette
 Ml.

Declared to be true before me, one of the justices of the peace, for the district of Montreal, particularly authorized so to do by His Excellency the Governor of the province, at Montreal the day above stated.

(Signed) Hertel de Rouville.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Sériés Q, Vol. 11, pp. 301-.

Province de Quebec
district de Montréal.

Pardevant nous commissaires établis par son Excellence le Gouverneur est comparu Joseph Deschamps, habitant et passager de la Seigneurie de Repentigny, lequel après serment par lui fait sur les Saintes Evangiles de dire vérité, a déposé que vers le commencement du mois de Juin dernier, Mr. Thomas Walker, marchand, demeurant à l'Assomption, vint chés lui, et lui demanda s'il sçavoit des nouvelles; Que le déposant lui ayant repondu qu'il n'en sçavoit aucune, le dit Thomas Walker lui dit, Eh, bien, moi, j'en sçais et suis en état de vous les apprendre; Qu'aussitot lui dit que les Bostonnois venoient en grand nombre et que la ville de Montreal seroit pris avant peu, Que ces mêmes Bostonnois ne venoient pas dans le dessein de faire du mal à personne au contraire; mais que ceux qui prendroient les armes contre'eux feroient fort mal. Qu'il conseille au déposant d'avertir les habitants de sa connoissance de prendre garde à eux, et de ne pas se meler dans cette querelle.

Qu'environ quinze jours après le déposant allant dans le haut l'Assomption pour voir son beaufrère arrêta à la maison du dit Thomas Walker qui lui demanda encore s'il sçavoit des nouvelles; à quoi le déposant lui repondit que non. Que le dit Thomas Walker lui dit qu'il ne falloit pas que les habitans remuassent et prissent les armes contre le Gouvernement, parce que ceux qui seroient dans ce cas s'en trouveroient très mal. Que la Dame Walker qui étoit présente dit à son mari: Prenez garde, Mr. Walker, vous parlez trop; vos paroles pourroient vous nuire.

Que le lundi vingt cinq du mois de Septembre dernier, jour auquel le parti des rebelles fut attaqué et défait près cette ville, le nommé Piquet, traversier du bout de celle isle de Montreal, et son engagé conduisant chés le déposant deux hommes armés, Que le dit Piquet lui ayant crié du milieu de la traverse de Repentigny d'ateler sa voiture; ils la trouveront preste en arrivant chés lui. Que le déposant les ayant vus et lui paroissant étrangers; il lui demanda au dit Piquet qui les etoient; lequel lui dit que c'étoit des Bostonnois; ce qui lui fut confirmé par l'un des deux étrangers, Accadien, lequel servoit d'interprète françois à l'autre, qui l'on lui dit être un officier Bostonnois; que ce prétendu officier étoit vêtu d'un capot de couverte et avoit une plume à son chapeau.

Que le déposant dit à ces étrangers qu'ils ne pouvoit pas les conduire à moins qu'ils n'eussent un ordre; quoi, l'Accadien dit au déposant, C'est Monsieur, qui vous commandé à présent; Qu'ayant persisté à dire qu'il ne pouvoit mener personne sans ordre, Piquet lui dit: Deschamps que voulez-vous faire contre des hommes armés; Qu'il n'avoit alors aucun de ses engagés chés lui et que sa femme l'ayant prié de ne pas resister, il les conduisit dans sa voiture chés le dit Thomas Walker à l'Assomption.

Qu'avant d'arriver chés le dit Thomas Walker, ces étrangers demandèrent au déposant ou demeùroit le Sieur Correy; que leur ayant dit qu'il lui sçavoit ils restèrent sur le chemin, vis-a-vis léglise et envoyèrent le déposant sur le bord de la rivière crier au dit Correy de se rendre chés le dit Thomas Walker.

Que ce prétendu officier Bostonnois étant arrivé chés le dit Walker s'arrête hors de la maison pour quelque besoin; que l'Accadien ayant parlé à la Dame Walker en Anglois, elle entr'ouvrit sa porte au moment que Correy traversoit la rivière. Que l'instant après la dite Dame ouvrit sa porte entièrement et introduisit ces deux étrangers dans sa maison, dans laquelle Correy entra l'instant après, que le dit officier donna la main à Correy. Que le dit Thomas Walker n'étoit pas alors chés lui; que son épouse envoya un negre le chercher dans son champs, et que s'apercevant que le negre n'alloit pas assés vite, elle prie le déposant d'aller avertir le dit Sieur Walker que deux Messieurs Bostonnois le demandoient; qu'il y alla; et que le dit Walker, auquel il fit cette commission lui dit: Prenez garde à ce que vous dites, à quoi le dit déposant repliqua: cela est ainsi.

Que le dit Thomas Walker étant rendu à sa maison, entra dans une chambre séparée avec le dit officier Bostonnois, avec lequel il reste enfermé environ une demi heure; qu'ensuite il rentra dans l'appartement où étoit le déposant avec six à sept autres habitans de l'Assomption et dit hautement, parlant aux dits habitans: n'est il pas vrai que j'ai trois à quatre cents habitans à ma disposition? A quoi les dits assistans répondirent unanimement: Oui, Monsieur et nous aussi. Que de ce nombre étoit Amable Jean Vaine, le nommé Regis, Joseph Raimond, un autre Jean Vaine, cousin du premier, qu'il ne connoit pas les autres par leurs noms, mais seulement de vue. Que dans le même moment le dit Accadien qui servoit d'interprète et suivroit l'officier Bostonnois, pria ces mêmes habitans qui étoient dans la chambre d'aller dire aux Accadiens établis à l'Assomption de le venir voir au dessus de la Longue Pointe, ajoutant qu'il y avoit parmi ces Accadiens plusieurs de ses parens.

Que le dit Sieur Walker se renferma encore avec le dit officier Bostonnois, lequel peut avoir resté chés le dit Thomas Walker l'espace d'environ une heure et demi de tems. Qu'ensuite l'Accadien et le dit Thomas Walker dirent au déposant d'aller passer sa caleche à une bacq qui étoit plus haut. Qu'avant de partir le dit Accadien dit aux habitans éres nommés: Venez-vous voir, nous serons au dessus de la Longue Pointe; Que l'officier Bostonnois donna la main à tous les habitans qui se trouverent chés le dit Thomas Walker.

Que le déposant se rendit chés le dit Correy, où l'officier Bostonnois et le dit Thomas Walker arriverent l'instant après; Que Correy avoit pris le devant et y étoit rendu avant eux. Qu'il vit à la port du dit Correy les nommés Belair, capitaine de milice, Galineau et divers autres qu'il ne peut dire les noms.

Que l'officier Bostonnois et l'Accadien se mirent dans la caleche du déposant où le dit Thomas Walker vint les conduire. Qu'étant parti et étant à environ un demi arpent de la maison du dit Correy, ce dernier fit arrêter la caleche et parla en Anglois à l'officier Bostonnois.

Qu'étant arrivé près de la demeure de Mlle La Valterie, les deux étrangers rencontrèrent les curés de St. Sulpice et l'Assomption; que l'officier Bostonnois fit arrêter la caleche, et descendit pour les saluer, et parla en Anglois au curé de l'Assomption. Que le déposant entendit que l'Accadien dit à ces Messieurs: Nous sommes cent hommes au dessus de la Longue Pointe. Que les deux étrangers arrêterent chés le nommé St. Germain, ou ils burent une bouteille de vin, et auquel l'Accadien dit qu'ils étoient huit mille hommes.

Que de la il conduisit ces étrangers à sa maison et les fit ensuite traverser par un homme qu'il avoit chés lui au bout de l'isle lequel homme les conduisit au pied chés le nommé Dubreuil, maitre de poste. Que ces étrangers ayant appris chés cet habitant la défaite de leur parti revinrent chés le nommé Piquet qui les traverse à l'isle Ste Therèse.

Ajouté le déposant qu'il se rappelle que lorsqu'il fut de retour de l'Assomption, et arrive chés lui, l'Accadien, interprète lui demanda s'il ne traverseroit pas les Accadiens que lui déposant répondit qu'en payant il les traverseroit. Qu'il demanda au dit Accadien pourquoi il lui faisoit cette question? Il lui répartit qu'il espéroit que plusieurs viendroient le voir. Qu'il ne sçait pas le nom de cet Accadien; qu'il a oui nommé l'officier Bostonnois qui l'on disoit être un capitaine, mais ne se souvient pas du nom. Ajouté le déposant que l'officier Bostonnois a mangé et bu chés le dit Thomas Walker. Dit en outre que le dit Thomas Walker étant à la porte de la maison du dit Correy dit au nommé Neveu de l'Assomption, qui passoit: Retire toi, coquin, j'aurai soin de toi et te reconnoitrai, et n'a rien dit de plus.

Fait à Montreal le dix Octobre mil sept cent soixante quinze; le dit déposant ayant déclaré ne savoir signer, à fait sa marque ordinaire, apres lecture a lui faite de sa déposition.

sa
Joseph x Deschamps.
marque.
Affirmé devant nous. Hertel de Rouville.
(Signé) Lemoine.
(a true copy.) Pre Panet.
H. T. Cramahé.

Endorsed:—Copy of Joseph Deschamps Deposition at Montreal, 10th Octr. 1775.
In Lieut. Governor Cramahé's Letter of the 9th Novemr.

(7).

(Translation)

The deposition of Joseph Deschamps.
Province of Quebec.
District of Montreal.

Before us Commissioners, appointed by His Excellency the Governor, hath appeared, Joseph Deschamps, a habitant and teamster of the Seigniory of Repentigny, who after making oath on the Holy Gospels to speak the truth hath deposed that about the beginning of the month of June last, Mr. Thomas Walker, merchant living at L'Assomption, came to his house and asked him if he had heard the news; that the deponent having replied that he had not, the said Mr. Walker said to him, Well then I have and can tell you; that he told him that the Bostonians were coming in great numbers and that the town of Montreal would be taken in a little while, that these same Bostonians did not come with the intention of doing harm to anybody, but on the contrary; but that those who took arms against them would do very wrong. That he advised the deponent to warn the inhabitants of his acquaintance to take care and not mix up in the quarrel.

That about fifteen days after, the deponent going into the upper part of L'Assomption to visit his brother in law stopped at the house of the said Thomas Walker who asked him again if he had heard any news, to which the deponent replied that he had not, that the said Thomas Walker said to him that should the inhabitants not rise and take up arms against the government they would find themselves badly off. That Mrs. Walker who was present said to her husband: take care Mr. Walker, you talk too much; your words may do you harm.

That on Monday the 25th of September, the day on which the rebel party was attacked and defeated near this town, one Piquet, the ferryman from the end of this island of Montreal and his hired man, brought over to the house of the deponent two armed men, that the said Piquet having called out to him from the middle of the ferry of Repentigny to hitch up his carriage; they found it ready on arriving at his house. That the deponent having seen that they appeared to be strangers asked the said Piquet who they were; he said that they were Bostonians; which was confirmed by one of the two strangers, an Acadian, who acted as a French interpreter to the other, who he said was a Bostonian officer wore a blanket overcoat and had a feather in his hat. That the deponent said to these strangers that he could not drive them unless they had an order; what, the Acadian said to the deponent, It is this gentleman who commands you now; that having persisted in saying that he could not convey anybody without an order, Piquet said to him: Deschamps, what can you do against armed men; that he had none of his employees with him and his wife having begged him not to resist, he conveyed them in his carriage to the house of the said Thomas Walker at L'Assomption.

That before arriving at the house of the said Thomas Walker, these strangers asked the deponent where Mr. Correy lived; having told them that he knew him, they stopped on the road opposite the church, and sent the deponent down to the bank of the river to call out to the said Corey to go to the house of the said Thomas Walker.

That this alleged Bostonian officer having arrived at the house of the said Walker stayed outside of the house for some personal need; that the Acadian having talked with Mrs. Walker in English, she half opened the door at the moment when Corey crossed the river. That a moment after the said lady opened her door entirely and admitted these two strangers into her house, into which Corey entered a moment after. That the said officer shook hands with Corey. That the said Thomas Walker was not at home. That his wife sent a negro to look for him in the fields, and that

observing, that the negro did not go fast enough she begged the deponent to go and warn the said Mr. Walker that two Bostonian gentlemen were asking for him; that he went; and that the said Walker, to whom he gave this message, said to him: take care what you are saying, to which the said deponent replied, that is a fact.

That the said Thomas Walker having gone to his house, went into a room apart with the said Bostonian officer, with whom he remained shut up for about half an hour; that afterwards he returned into the room where the deponent was together with six or seven other inhabitants of L'Assomption, and said in a loud voice, speaking to the said inhabitants: is it not true that I have three or four hundred inhabitants at my disposal? to which the said persons replied unanimously, yes sir and we also. That among the number were Amable Jean Vaine, one Regis, Joseph Raimond, another Jean Vaine, cousin of the first, that he did not know the others by name, but only by sight. That at the same time the said Acadian who acted as interpreter and accompanied the Bostonian officer asked these same inhabitants who were in the room to go and tell the Acadians settled at L'Assomption to come and see him above Long Point, adding that among these Acadians there were several of his relatives.

That the said Mr. Walker again shut himself up with the said Bostonian officer who may have remained at the house of the said Thomas Walker about an hour and a half. That afterwards the Acadian and the said Thomas Walker told the deponent to go and take across his carriage at a ferry higher up. That before leaving the said Acadian said to the before named inhabitants: come to see us, we will be above Long Point; that the Bostonian officer shook hands with all the inhabitants who were at the house of the said Thomas Walker.

That the deponent went to the house of the said Correy where the Bostonian officer and the said Thomas Walker arrived the moment afterwards; that Correy had gone on before and arrived there before them. That he saw at the door of the said Correy's house, one Belair, a Captain of militia, Galineau and several others whose names he cannot remember.

That the Bostonian officer and the Acadian got into the deponent's carriage to which the said Thomas Walker came with them. That having started and being about half arpent distant from the house of the said Correy, the latter stopped the carriage and spoke in English to the Bostonian officer.

That having arrived near the house of Mlle. La Valterie, the two strangers met the curés of St. Sulpice and L'Assomption; that the Bostonian officer stopped the carriage and got out to salute them and spoke in English to the Curé of L'Assomption. That the deponent heard the Acadian say to these gentlemen, we have a hundred men above Long Point. That the two strangers stopped at the house of one St. Germain, where they drank a bottle of wine, and to whom the Acadian said that they had eight thousand men; that thence he took these strangers to his house and had them ferried across afterwards to the end of the island by a man whom he had there, which man took them on foot to the house of one Dubreuil, a postmaster. That these strangers having learned of the defeat of their party, at this man's house, returned to the house of the said Piquet, who ferried them over to the Island of St. Therese.

The deponent added that he recollected that when he returned from L'Assomption and had arrived home, the Acadian interpreter asked him if he would not ferry over the Acadians and the deponent replied that if they paid him, he would ferry them over. That he asked the said Acadian why he put this question? he replied that he hoped that several of them would come to see him. That he did not know the name of this Acadian; that he had heard the name of the Bostonian officer who they said was a Captain, but did not remember it. The deponent added that the Bostonian officer had eaten and drunk at the house of the said Thomas Walker. Further that the said Thomas Walker being at the door of the said Correy's house said to one Neveu of L'Assomption, who was passing; go away you rascal, I will take care of you, and will remember you and further he sayeth not. Made at Montreal the 10th October, 1775; the said deponent having declared that he did not know how to write his name has made his usual mark after his deposition was read to him.

Joseph Deschamps
Affirmed before us,
Hertel de Rouville.
Lemoine.
Pre. Panet.

(Signed)

(69)

Vol. 279, P. 247.

GUY JOHNSON TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

Montreal, 12th October, 1775.

My Lord:—

The uncommon trouble and various Difficulties I met with in the Discharge of my Duties the last Summer, together with the uncertainty of Events prevented my writing to your Lordship for some time past, and indeed there only offered a Single opportunity since I came into the Province, however I would not let the vessel sail at this time without doing myself the Honor of giving your Lordship a brief sketch of my past Transactions, hoping to lay the whole before you more fully in a Little time.

Finding in May last that all necessaries for the Indians were stopped by Order of Committee, and myself threatened with an Attack from a Considerable force, and having then received secret Instructions and despatches from General Gage respecting the measures I had to take I left home the last of that month, and by the help of a body of White men and Indians arrived with great difficulty at Ontario where (in a little time) I assembled 1458 Indians and adjusted matters with them in such a manner, that they agreed to defend the Communication, and assist His Majesty's Troops in their Operations. The beginning of July I set out for this place, with a chosen body of them and Rangers to the number of 220: not being able to get any Craft, or even provisions for more, and arrived here the 17th of the month and soon after convened a second body of the Northern Confederates to the Amount of 1700, and upwards who entered into the same engagements, notwithstanding they had declined coming in some time before on Governor Carleton's requisition, their minds having been corrupted by New England Emissaries and most of them discouraged by the backwardness of the Canadians. These Indians remained encamped for a considerable time waiting the motion of Troops, and I detached from them about 100 Indians to serve as Scouts and Covering Parties to the Troops at St. Johns, who were then exposed. These Indians had several Skirmishes with the New Englanders, in which they killed Capt. Baker, an outlaw of N. York, and a very daring and dangerous Rebel, who was returning to the Enemy with a particular State of the force at St. Johns.

The Preparation for the Defence of this Province and the annoyance of the Enemy going very slowly, thro' the prejudices of the Canadians, and the want of influence among the Noblesse, and Governor Carleton not judging it expedient to permit the Indians to pass the Limits of the Colony, the latter after a stay far beyond what is usual with Indians, began to return to their respective Countries giving Assurances of their readiness to return whenever there was a prospect of Troops, or Military Operations, leaving me with however a body of about 500 in three camps.

On the 6th of September the Rebel Army advanced in View of St. Johns, and the first Division consisting of about 700 men under a General Montgomery began to land near that place. On which the Indians were marched out, and tho' unsupported by army Troops &c., gave them so warm a reception that after being twice repulsed they retired with precipitation with the loss of about 100 killed and wounded, on our side one of my Captains was shot through the thigh, and 6 Indian Warriors killed and as many wounded. The number of Indians in that Action was under 90 and at that time I had in different encampments 408 of the several nations. This my Lord, was the Critical time for striking such a blow as would have freed the Country of these Invaders and greatly contributed to assist General Gage's operations, but such was the Infatuation of the Canadians that they could not with all General Carletons endeavors be prevailed upon, *even to defend their Country*, and the Enemy after a pause of some days at Isle aux Nois returned Invested the small body of Regulars at St. Johns, cut off all Communication with it and Montreal, and Scattered their parties thro' the Country, some of whom came within sight of the City, whilst the Indians disappointed at finding none to Co-operate with them, began to take measures for their own Security and many of them retired. During all this time the Enemy employed their most fitting Officers with parties to draw in the Canadians to joyn them, and numbers did so. Encouraged by this, and relying on some persons said to be disaffected in the City. Allen their most daring Partizan advanced with a body of about 140 Rebels very near Montreal which was thrown into the utmost confusion, a body consisting of some Regulars, Volunteers and 32 officers and men of my Department with a few Indians marched to oppose them on the 25th of Sept. and engaged them within less than three miles of the Gates where the Rebels were defeated. and Col. Allen being vigorously pressed by those of my Corps surrendered to Mr. Johnson one of my Officers.

This small affair promised great Consequences and had the Governor been able to pursue it immediately, this Colony would now have been freed from the distress under which it has long laboured, but the Canadians have not as yet come in in such numbers as to answer the design of Government and the season being very far advanced in the Cold Climate, the few remaining Indians propose to return home in a day or two.

This my Lord is but a hasty Sketch of the Summer past, every part of which would require much Enlargement and therefore finding my Person proscribed, my Estate advertised for Sale and nothing to be done till next May, I have judg'd it best after regulating the Affairs of the Department and posting my Officers in proper places for preserving the friendship of the Indians, to pay my personal respects to your Lordship, receive His Majesty's Commands, and fully explain the several matters required of me in your last Letter, as well as several other things of Such Essential Importance and requiring such immediate regulation that when I have the Honor of an Interview myself your Lordship will be fully satisfied with the propriety of this measure.

As the nature of the service I had to perform in persuation of the General's Instructions occasioned an expence far exceeding the ordinary peace establishment of the Department I have after Consultation with Governor Carleton, as there is no money to be had here and the Communication with General Gage over for the Season found it necessary to satisfy those who have supplied me with Cash and Goods by giving two or three Orders on the Lords of the Treasury in which I hope to be justified from the peculiar situation of Affairs here and Circumstances which I can fully explain, and your Lordship may be Assured that I shall take every possible measure for promoting the Interests of Government with the Indian Nations during my necessary Absence.

I have the Honor to be with the utmost respect.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most faithful humble Servant.

G. Johnson.

The Rt. Honble,

The Earl of Dartmouth.

The Indians who live in the Neighborhood of this City have assur'd me that should any body of Troops advance against the Rebels, Late as the Season is, they will joyn them.

(70)

EXTRACTS from the Records of Indian Transactions under the Super-Intendency of Col. Guy Johnson during the year, 1775.

Col. Johnson having early Perceived that the different Colonies were about to follow the example of the Massachusetts Bay and finding that various measures were taking by New England Missionaries and other to alienate the affections of the Indians and Spirit them up to bad purposes he Communicated the same to Lord Dartmouth in march and soon after sent messengers to call the Six Nations, &c., to a General Congress. The 14th of may he Received by Express an acco't that a party of New Englanders were on their way to make him prisoner on which he fortified his house and kept a large Guard at a Considerable Expence, a few days after he found that his Expresses to the Indians had been stopped and the purport of his messages altered and that the provisions, &c, his Agent had provided at New York were seized together with the Ammunition and Goods he was providing for the intended Congress, finding this and that his Communication with the Indians would soon be totally obstructed he Resolved to proceed to the Westward (with such presents as he then had) and meet them in their own Country while it remained practicable and during his Preparation for this secretly received a dispatch from General Gage containing Instructions, he then with such of the Mohacks as were at home and a body of armed White men making together about 250 marched to the upper Settlements under every Circumstance of Difficulty and leaving all his property at the discretion of the misguided populace, from thence he proceeded to Fort Stanwix where he met 250 Oneidas and Oughgaugas (?) with whom he held a conference but was obliged to take leave of them for want of provisions the whole Country being then in Arms behind him and no possibility of obtaining supplies from thence he accordingly wrote to the Commanding Officers at Niagara and Oswegatchy (?) for Vessels and provisions and on the 17th of June he arrived at Ontario to which place he had directed them to be first sent and where one small Sloop shortly arrived with 90 Barrels which tho' all that could be spared from Niagara was very unequal to supplying the Indians who Assembled there in a few days to the No. of 1458 with about 100 White men including the Officers of the Department, from the State of the Country and the Vilianious

Stories Propagated it required some time with great skill and influence to remove false reports and fix the Indians heartily in the Interests of the Crown he however had the good fortune at Length to bring them to resolve to co-operate with His Majesty's Troops in the defence of the Communication and waters Emtying into the River St. Lawrence and in the Annoyance of the Enemy and also to send their band of warriors present with him to Montreal, to inspire their dependants there with the same Resolutions, he also procured the like engagements from the Huron Chiefs of Detroit who attended the Congress which they very faithfully observed and thereby prevented the Design of the Virginians against that Country as the papers in his hands will shew,—after which he delivered them a handsome present and a parcel of New Arms, &c., and his provisions being nearly Exhausted prepared to proceed to Montreal but the Indians having few canoes and those unfit for Crossing the Lake he was obliged to set out July 11th with the Sloop and four or five Small Boats Carrying together 220 White men and Indians the Remainder of the Latter being necessitated to return home for want of craft to Transport them, after giving him assurances of their readiness to follow when called upon. Col. Johnson on his landing at Montreal July 17th with 220 Indians from Ontario he had immediately an Interview with General Carleton to whom he Communicated his Information and Design to Assemble the Indians in that Country to join those that had accompanied him, he also acquainted him with the Accounts he had received of the preparations making by the New Englanders at Ticonderoga and that they Considered Canada as an Essential Object, adding that it would be Extremely Necessary to put the Indians as soon as possible in motion as they were unaccustomed to remain Long Idle. The General observed that he had only a slender Force of Regular Troops, and that the Province of Quebec must depend on the Canadian Militia that he had some hopes in a Little time of Assembling a good Body of them and that the Indians must in the mean time be amused in the best manner that could be found as he did not think it prudent to let them go beyond the 45th deg. of Lat. or over the Province Line. Col. Johnson had proposed to hold his conference with the Indians at La Chine to prevent the Intemperance to which they must be exposed at Montreal and the Indians were so sensible of this that they were prevailed on with difficulty to come into town to oblige General Carleton who wanted to see them there. On the 26th of July the Indians all assembled pursuant to Col. Johnson's summons and finished their Business on the last of the month when their number amounted to 1664 who readily agreed to the same measures engaged by the Six Nations after receiving a valuable present were disposed of in different camps on the Island of Montreal, an Indian Officer and thirty men were also sent to St. Johns to remain there at the desire of General Carleton, On the 5th of August the Indian Officer at St. Johns informed Col Johnson of his having discovered a Large Body of the Enemy near Pt. au fer (above St. Johns on Lake Champlain) who fired on his party and of the eagerness manifested by the Indians to form a Large Body and go against them. Col. Johnson immediately Communicated this to Brig'r. Prescottt who Commanded on General Carleton's Departure for Quebec he also told Gen. Prescottt that the Warriors of the Several Nations were to assemble that day when he would give them the War Belts as they appeared very spirited and in consequence of the Rebels approach would gladly go and dispossess them of any Posts they had taken on Lake Champlain, and that he should be glad to have his sentiments upon it. The General answered that if any Parteyes were sent out to gain intelligence and to see what the Enemy were doing it might be well, but at present he did not intend Acting out of the Line of the Province. On Col. Johnson remarking that Indians could not be managed as other people it being necessary to keep up their Spirit and encourage on that Subject. The General replied that arguments were needless on this occasion his orders being such as not to act out of the Line of the Province. Col. Johnson observed that this did not appear to correspond with his Instructions from General Gage and that it would be a very difficult matter to manage Indians under such Circumstances and Limitations, on which the General concluded with saying that all in the Province must be subject to General Carleton's orders, and that Colonel Johnson must act in the best manner he could without going out of the Colony.

However the Indians being assembled Col. Johnson delivered each Nation a War Belt to be held ready for service which the Indians chearfully accepted but said they were afraid the Axe would cut them if they kept it long without using it. Several of the Six Nations Oughquissasmis, &c., having waited till the 12th of August in hopes of some Operations Returned with their War Belts to Onandaga after assuring Col. Johnson that they would be ready to return whenever there was a Prospect of vigorous measures. Col. Johnson continued to Release the Party at St. Johns by detachments from the different Indian Encampments and endeavoured all in his

power to render them contented with their situation. The Party at St. Johns continued to Scout on Lake Champlain (within the limits prescribed) and on the 22nd of August 4 Indians detached from a Larger Party seized a New Barge with which the Rebels were Reconnoitring which brought on a Skirmish Capt. Baker a noted Rebel was killed whose head together with his instructions plans etc., they Brought into St. Johns in this Affair three Indians were wounded. For some time notwithstanding all the cares to prevent it some of the Inhabitants &c., combined to sell Liquor to the Indians and to strip them of their Cloathing propagating also many Dangerous reports among them, and telling them that they approved of the Rebels coming as it was for the Interest of the Colony. The Indians complained much of all this and as they had already waited inactive far beyond what they had ever done before, Col. Johnson wrote to General Carleton Representing their urgency to go against the Rebels or attack their Communications with his opinion that it would answer great Purposes. Whilst Restraining men unaccustomed to inactivity would abate their Ardour and might occasion their defection. To which the General answered that no one thing had yet happened to make him Alter his Opinion in Regard to the Keeping the Savages within the Line. Col. Johnson therefore took all possible pains to amuse them and satisfied them on that head. On the 3rd of September in Consequence of Reports Brought by the Indians that the Enemy were advancing Col. Johnson Augmented the party at St. Johns to 4 officers and 121 Indians and on the afternoon of the 4th General Prescott desired him to stop sending any more Parties but keep them about the Town lest the Rebels might make an attempt on the City of Montreal by Crossing the Country. The next day an Express arrived from one of Col. Johnson's officers at St. John Informing that a Scouting Party of Indians had discovered the Rebel Army on the Isle aux Noix (16 miles from St. John) and that a Second Scout had fallen in with some of them and exchanged a few shots by one of which an Indian wounded. The General immediately ordered the Walls of Montreal to be Repaired and summoned the Inhabitants to appear Armed on the Parade that evening, and Col. Johnson sent of an Officer and party of Indians to Cover the Kings Magazines near La Chine; a body of 86 Canandaga Warriors also Came in and Joyned Col. Johnson who told them the General requested they should remain in readiness to march where their Services was most wanted. The next day the Rebel Army Came before St. John and on the 7th at daylight two Indians arrived with Letters giving an Act that the day before the first division being about 1,000 men under a General Montgomery Covered with Vessels Row Galleys, &c., began to Land about a mile from St. John when the Indians sallied out and engaged them with so much success that they obliged them to Retire twice and that they had at length Crossed the Lake and afterwards Retreated to Isle au Noix the loss of the Rebels according to the best Accts was one field Officer 2 Capts. 2 Lieuts. and about thirty men killed and the wounded were since found out to be double that number on our side Capt. Tice one of Col. Johnson's Officers was shot through the Thigh, Captain Daniel a faithful Mohack one Conijaharie with two Caughnawagas killed and several wounded of which 3 Dyed soon after. The Indians complained much that there were no troops to support them and in the Evening a Detachment of 16 of the 26th Regiment with some of the Recruits and Volunteers were ordered out with which Col. Johnson sent 2 Officers and 70 Indians on the 10th of Sept. on a Report that some Canadians had assured the Caughnawagies that the Rebels would destroy their town Daniel Claus Esq. Dept. Agent was sent there to Remove any fear on that head to whom the Indians complained that they had lately been much Traduced by some of the French Gentlemen who were too apt to be busy about them and Resented that the Indians would not attend to them observing that at the reduction of Canada they had been assured that such Persons should no longer interfere with them they added that their Case was now very hard as they were threatened with ruin by the Rebels assured by the Canadians that they would not oppose them, and that there appeared no prospect of relief from any other Quarter from all which Col. Johnson perceived that these people were so Circumstanced that they could no longer be depended on. And this day Major Campbell arrived being appointed agent of Indian Affairs for the Province of Quebec. The next day a Party of Indians Reconnoitring were fired on, by a Considerable body of the Enemy and Pathinis an Interpreter with an Indian Surprised and killed at a house on Lake Champlain on the 12th Col. Johnson held a Conference with the Caughnawagas to Remove their Apprehensions and on the 13th another was held in presence of General Carleton (then returned from Quebec) in consequence of Intelligence given Col. Johnson by the Six Nations that the Rebels had employed agents to negotiate a Neutrality with the Caughnawagas this day General Carleton gave his thanks to the Indians in Gen'l. Orders in the words following.

The General gives his Thanks to the Indian Chiefs and Warriors who behaved so gallantly in the action of the 6th Inst. near St. Johns and desires that the same may be Communicated to them and their Nations by Col. Johnson their Superintendent.

FRANS LE MAISTRE,
Major Brigade.

Montreal, Sept. 13th 1775.

Col. Johnson continued his endeavours notwithstanding the General discouragement among the Indians that they might be in readiness in Case the General could raise any force to go against the Enemy. On the 20th one of Col. Johnsons officers with his party of Indians from St. Johns which was not now Completely invested and acct's Received that a certain Livingston with the Inhabitants of Sorelle had joined the Rebels on which the Generals, &c., put their papers and Baggage on Board the Vessells in the River. The Rebels had now over ran all the Country and were in many places Joyned by the Perfidious Canadians. The Indians thus without prospect of aid began to provide for their own Security after complaining bitterly of the disappointment of their hopes of Succour. And on the 25th Colo. Ethan Allan Crossed to the Island of Montreal and with a party of about 140 Canadians began his march for that City when he was opposed by a Small party of the 26th Regiment some Volunteers and thirty Officers, Rangers and Indians of the Indian Department the Latter of whom fortunately falling on the flank where Allen was he delivered up his Sword and surrendered to one of Col. Johnsons Officers who with his party took the most of those made prisoners, On the 27th Col. Johnson renewed his applications to General Carleton for marching a body of men in which Case he could Still get many of the Neighbouring Indians to cooperate to which the General answered verbally (by the Secretary of Indian Affairs) that he hoped that Affairs were taking a more favourable turn and that he should very soon be able to form a better Judgment. From this time to October 12th every art and means was made to assemble the Canadians and several came in were Cloathed and Armed and afterwards Joyned the Enemy, finding therefore the Season very far advanced the Indians almost all withdrew discontented and unwilling to Credit any further promises of aid, than those that remained Earnestly sollicitted for troops to be sent out and that Colo. Johnson should procure them the Redress of Sundry Grievances they had they had often Represented and also having at the same time Received Dispatches from the Secretary of State directing that their several Grievances should be immediately laid before the King, finding likewise that Major Campbells powers as Agent to Canada must occasion some difficulties that would effectually obstruct the service Colo. Johnson signified his intention to go to England get these points in some measure adjusted before the Indians from their Respective Nations could take the field next year in which resolution he was confirmed by the Indians who deputed a faithful Young Chief to accompany him and having posted his Officers at such places as they might be most useful to preserve the Fidelity of the Indians with proper Instructions; he proceeded for Quebec from whence he sailed for England the 11th of November.

The foregoing is a brief abstract from the Minutes of Indian Affairs and may serve to give a general sketch of his Conduct and success; the last Campaign tho' labouring under every Circumstances of disadvantage but the points necessary to be enquired into and Regulated on which the future good conduct of those hitherto faithful People must depend and the Reasonableness and Propriety of Colo. Johnsons proceedings will appear from the annexed State which is honestly and impartially submitted.

London Jan'y. 26th 1776.

A true Copy of Extracts from the Indian Records.

JOSEPH CHEW,
Secy. of Indian Affairs.

Endorsed to Colonel Johnson 26th Jan'y. 1776.

(71)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11, pp. 297-8.

Dead River, about 160 miles from Quebec,
13th October, 1775.

Dear Sir,

I am now on my march for Quebec with 2,000 Men, where I expect to have the pleasure of seeing you soon. This Detachment is designed to co-operate with General

Schuyler to frustrate the unjust and arbitrary mesures of the Ministry and restore Liberty to our Brethren of Canada, to whom we make no doubt that our exertions in their favour will be acceptable and that we shall have their assistance or at least their Friendly wishes as the expedition is undertaken at the request of many of their principal inhabitants. I beg the favor of you on the receipt of this, which will be delivered to you by one Eneas, a faithfull Indian, that you will immediately write me by him of the Disposition of the Canadians, of the number of Troops in Quebec, by whom commanded, and every advice you may have received from General Schuyler, and the situation of matters in general, what ships are at Quebec, and in short what we have to expect from the Canadians and Merchants in the City, whether any advice has been received of the march of this detachment.—If any Gentleman of my acquaintance will undertake to meet me on the Road, he will be received with pleasure and handsomely rewarded. The inclosed letter to General Schuyler I beg the favor of you to forward by express, which charge shall be reimbursed you with thankfulness.

I am with much esteem

Dear Sir,
Your Fr'd & very
humble serv't
Bened't Arnold.
To John Mercier, Esq.

Endorsed:—Copy of an Intercepted Letter from Bened't Arnold to John Mercier, Esq., 13th Oct'r 1775.

In Lieut. Governor Cramahe's Letter of the 9th Nov'r.

(72)

LA GAZETTE DE QUEBEC.

Jeudi le 12 Octobre, 1775.

ADRESSE AUX CANADIENS.

De la part de leurs Compatriotes.

PEUPLE infortuné du CANADA, ne sera-ce pas avec juste droit, que le Roi pourra vous dire les paroles que disoit autrefois notre Seigneur au peuple d'israel—POPULUS MEUS, QUID SECI RIBI? aut in quo contristavi te? Mon peuple, que vous ai-je fait? ou en quoi vous ai-je attristé. Parce que je vous ai regardé comme mes propres enfans, et que je vous ai assuré la jouissance de vos biens, vous êtes devenu infidèle et rebelle parce que je vous ai assuré l'entier exercice de votre Religion, vous avez livré vos loiaux sujets entre les mains de mes ennemis; parce que je vous ai accordé vos anciennes loix municipales, comme vous devant être plus agréables, vous avez pris les armes contre moi et vous m'avez trahi.

Peuple autrefois connu pour brave et fidèle, mais devenu dans ces malheureuses circonstances, abominable aux yeux de Dieu et des hommes, voila les reproches que vous devez attendre de votre Roi, ne sont-ils pas justes, et ne devez-vous pas attendre d'avoir pour la punition que mérite une telle perfidie? Dieu est trop juste pour laisser un pareil crime impuni; car pensez que vous êtes coupable du crime de Lèze-majesté, divine et humaine, et que tôt ou tard vous recevrez le châtement que vous méritez.

Cette personne illustre qui vous a gouverné avec tant de douceur depuis plusieurs années, devoit-elle s'attendre à un traitement aussi cruel de votre part, après avoir risqué sa vie sur les élemens les plus perfides pour vous procurer votre bienêtre O Peuple ingrat, vous avez mis le comble à vos bassesses, et votre perfidie sera connue de la postérité la plus reculée; l'on ne vous connoitra plus sous le nom de braves CANADIENS, ni de CHRETIENS; ce sera au contraire sous le nom d'infidèles, de traitres et de barbares; puisque vous n'avez pas épargné votre propre sang pour exécuter votre horrible dessein. Quelles raisons pensez-vous alléguer pour vous excuser d'une telle perfidie? Depuis que vous êtes sous la domination de la GRANDE BRETAGNE, quelles peines vous a-t-on faites? vous avez joui paisiblement de vos biens, vous les avez augmentés; vous n'avez païé aucunes taxes; en un mot vous avez dû vous regarder comme le peuple le plus heureux. Ah! croiez-vous, rejetez tous ces mauvais conseils, qui vous sont suggérés par des coeurs lâches; ouvrez les yeux, et vous verrez le danger où vous êtes. Cependant il, est encore tems de réparer votre faute; ne retardez donc pas, et dès à présent implorez la clémence de votre Prince; espérez tout de sa bonté, puisqu'il vous regarde comme ses propres enfans. Y auroit-il parmi vous de ces esprits pusillanimes, qui aimeroient mieux être couverts de honte, que de recourir aux graces de leur Roi; méfiez-vous de ces personnes dangereuses, qui ne cherchent qu'à vous engloutir dans les abîmes les plus profonds.

Fasse le DIEU TOUT-puissant, que vous puissiez vous reconnoître avant qu'il soit trop tard; et soiez assuré, que ceux qui vous adressent cet épitre, sont de vos sincères amis et vrais sujets de sa Majeste.

CANADIENS.

(Translation)

An address to the Canadians from their Countrymen. Unhappy people of Canada, might not the king justly use towards you the words which formerly our Lord used to the people of Israel *POPULUS MEUS QUID SECI RIBI?* aut in quo contristavi te? My people, what have I done to you? or in what way have I made you sorrowful? Because I have considered you as my own children and I have guaranteed you the enjoyment of your property, you have become unfaithful and rebellious, because I have guaranteed you the service of your own religion, you have delivered your loyal subjects into the hands of my enemies; because I have granted you your ancient municipal laws as being most agreeable to you, you have taken arms against me and betrayed me.

A people formerly known as being brave and faithful but in these unhappy circumstances has become hateful in the eyes of God and of men. Such are the reproaches which you may expect from your king, are they not just and ought you not to expect the punishment which such perfidy deserves? God is too just to leave such a crime unpunished; for remember that you are guilty of the crime of high treason, divine and human, and that sooner or later you will receive the chastisement which you deserve.

Had this illustrious person who has governed you with such gentleness for several years, any reason to expect such cruel treatment on your part, after having risked his life on the most treacherous of elements to advance your welfare. Oh ungrateful people, you have put the finishing touch to your baseness, and your perfidy will be known to the most distant posterity; you will no longer be known by the name of brave Canadians nor of Christians; but on the contrary by the name of faithless people, traitors and barbarians; for you have not spared your own blood relations in the execution of your horrid design. What reasons can you allege to excuse you for such perfidy? Since you have been under the rule of Great Britain, what grievances have you had? You have enjoyed your property in peace, you have increased your wealth; you have paid no taxes: in a word you should have considered yourselves as the happiest of people, ah, listen to me, cast aside all these evil counsels which have been suggested to you by base hearts; open your eyes, and you will see the danger you are in, however, there is still time to remedy your error; do not delay and at once implore the mercy of your Prince; you may hope for everything from his kindness, since he considers you as his own children. Should there be among you weak spirits who prefer to be covered with shame than to apply to the benevolence of their King; suspect these dangerous persons who only seek to engulf you in the deepest abysses.

May the Omnipotent God enable you to see this before it is too late; and be sure that those who address you this letter are your sincere friends and true subjects of His Majesty.

CANADIANS.

(73)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. II. p. 289.

Boston, 12th October, 1775.

Sir,

From different conversations I have had on the subject of Navigating the River St. Lawrence at this time of the year and on the probability of Vessels getting to Quebec who may sail in a few days from Boston, I have been led to take the opinion of Captains Hartwell and Macartney upon the likelihood of the Cerberus and Transports arriving at Quebec supposing they were ready to depart.

These Gentlemen assure me and authorize me to say the attempt is extremely dangerous and that to persevere after getting into the River will be fatal to the whole

and that they look upon the scheme to be impracticable, the reasons they have given are so forcible that I am entirely of their opinion and think it not advisable to attempt it.

I am, Sir,
with great regard and esteem,
yours &ca.,
Sam'l Graves.

Endorsed:—Copy of a Letter from Vice Admiral Graves to Major General Howe,
12th Oct. 1775.

In Lieut. Governor Cramahe's Letter of 9th November.

(74)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. II. p. 288.

Boston, 13th October, 1775.

In consequence of your Excellency's Letter of the 11th Sept'r, received here by the schooner Success the 10th instant in the afternoon after the departure of General Gage for England, in the morning, I ordered two transports to be immediately prepared for the Reception of a Battalion with an Experienced Officer to proceed to Quebec under the convoy of the Cerberus Frigate. The Troops and Transports would have been in readiness on the 15th but the inclosed Letter received last night from Admiral Graves has, I am concerned to say, frustrated my intentions by stating difficulties that did not occur/to me/.—under such circumstances I hasten to dispatch back the schooner Success and shall be extremely anxious to hear the result of your critical situation.

a true Copy.
H. T. Cramahe.

His Excellency
Major-General Carleton.

Endorsed:—Copy of a Paragraph of a Letter from Gen'l Howe to Gen'l Carleton,
13th Oct'r, 1775.

In Lieut. Gov'r Cramahe's Letter of the 9th Nov'r.

(75)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11. pp. 311-2.

Province de Québec,
district de Montréal.

Pardevant Nous,

commissaires établis par son Excellence le Gouverneur, &c. est comparu le Sieur Germain Le Roux, marchand, demeurant à l'Assomption en ce district, lequel après serment fait sur les Saints Evangiles de dire vérité a déposé qu'il y a environ trois semaines cinq à six habitans vinrent chès lui pour l'avertir que le Sieur Thomas Walker, marchand, demeurant au même lieu de l'Assomption, vouloit le faire piller et bruler. Que sur les rapports le déposant, inquiet, fut le dimanche, vingt quatre Septembre, dernier, chès le dit Thomas Walker, vers une heure apres midi, pour en faire part; qu'y étant arrivé, il lui demanda si ces rapports étoient vrais, et ajouta: Seroit-ce, Monsieur, parce que je suis attaché à mon Prince? Je pense que ce seroit une raison pour acquérir l'estime des honnetes gens et des Bostonnois mêmes; d'ailleurs ma conduite ne merite pas un pareil traitement. A quoi le dit Thomas Walker lui repondit—Pourquoi avez-vous souffert ce coquin de Rouville chès vous, et avez-vous de concert avec cinq à six des plus notables de la paroisse, signé un certificat contre moi? vous ne deviez pas recevoir chès vous, vous deviez au contraire le prendre par le bras et le jeter à la porte. Qu'il s'apercevoit bien que le déposant étoit de concert avec le dit Sieur de Rouville pour lui faire du tort. Ensuite le dit Thomas Walker ajouta sitôt que j'aurai pris la ville de Montréal je ferai mener ce

gueux de Rouville par la ville, la corde au col par la main du Bourreau et nombre d'autres qui se souviendront de Walker. Qu'après ce discours le déposant se retira.

Le quel déposant n'a rien dit de plus.
fait à Montreal ce 13e 8bre, 1775.

(Signé)

Leroux.

Affirmé pardevant nous
les jour et sus dits.

(Signé)

Pre. Panet.

Lemoine.

Edw. Wm. Gray.

(a true copy.)

Endorsed:—Copy of Germain Le Roux's D^eposition, Montreal, 13th Octr. 1775.
In Lieut Governor Cramahé's Letter of the 9th Novr.

(10.)

(Translation)

Province of Quebec,

District of Montreal, before us Commissioners appointed by His Excellency, the Governor, etc., hath appeared Mr. Germain Le Roux, merchant, living at L'Assomption in this district, who after making oath on the Holy Gospels to speak the truth, hath deposed that about three weeks since five or six Habitants came to his house to warn him that Mr. Thomas Walker, merchant, living at the same place, L'Assomption, wanted to cause his property to be plundered and burnt. That the deponent, becoming apprehensive, on Sunday the 24th of September last, went to the house of the said Thomas Walker about one o'clock in the afternoon, to make this known to him; that having arrived there, he asked him if these reports were true, and added, Is this Sir, because I am attached to my Prince? I think that this ought to be a reason to gain the esteem of honest men and even of the Bostonians; besides my conduct does not deserve such treatment, to which the said Thomas Walker replied—why have you allowed that rascal de Rouville in your house, and why have you in conjunction with five or six other leading persons of the parish signed a certificate against me? You ought not to allow him in your house. You ought on the contrary to take him by the arm and throw him out of the door. That he saw very well that the deponent was acting with the said Mr. de Rouville to do him wrong, afterwards the said Thomas Walker added as soon as I shall have taken the town of Montreal I will cause that beggar de Rouville to be led through the town with a rope around his neck by the hands of the hangman, and a number of others who will remember Walker. That after this conversation the deponent withdrew. The said deponent hath said nothing further. Done at Montreal this 13th October, 1775.

(Signed) Leroux.

Affirmed before us the day aforesaid

(Signed) Pre. Panet,

Lemoine,

Edw. Wm. Gray.

(76)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. II. pp. 299-300.

Dead River, 160 miles from Quebec,
13th Oct'r, 1775.

Dear Sir,

I make no doubt his Excellency General Washington has advised you of ordering me with a detachment of the Army at Cambridge to march against Quebec, in consequence of which I left Cambridge the 15th Sept'r and after a very fatiguing and hazardous March over a ruff country, up Kinnebec River, against a very rapid stream, thro' an uninhabited Country and meeting with many difficulties—which we have happily surmounted, and at last arrived at the Dead River, which we have examined to the Chaudiere Pond, and hope in a Fortnight to have the Pleasure of meeting you in Quebec. Any

advice or intelligence you can communicate will be gratefully received as this Detachment was intended to co-operate with your Army.

I am
with much esteem
Dear Sir
Y'r mo' ob't
h'ble serv't
Bened't Arnold.

To the Honorable
Philip Schyler, Major Gen'l and commander in Chief of the Northern Army or in his absence to Brig'r Gen'l Montgomery.

Endorsed:—Copy of a Letter from Ben't Arnold to Gen'l Schuyler and inclosed to John Mercier, Esq., dated 13th Oct'r 1775.

In Lieut. Governor Cramahe's Letter of the 9th November.

EXTRACT.

(77)

GOVERNOR TRYON TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

ON BOARD THE "DUTCHESS OF GORDON,"

NEW YORK HARBOUR, 11th NOV. 1775.

Fort Chamblee fell into the hands of the Rebels the 18th of last month, but as St. John's by Letter from Ticonderoga of the 31st of October was still besieged it is hoped the attempts of the Enemy on that Fort will be defeated through the bravery of the Garrison, favored by the Severity of the Season, or relieved by General Carlton, who it is confidently asserted has Levied a Body of Highlanders and Canadians, for that purpose.

The following is Mons. I. Oriet's Acct.:

Six Parishes on the River Sorrel amounting to 1500 fit to bear Arms renounced their Allegiance at the instigation of James Livingston and one Du Gand, two Country Traders, on that River; but the principal Farmers, the officers of Militia &c. (Few in Number) disapproved of the Conduct of the others and endeavoured to persuade them to return to their Allegiance and had so far succeeded on the 15th of Sept., that the Inhabitants of one of the Parishes (St. Denny) had requested of Governor Carleton to offer them a Pardon, provided they returned to their duty in three Days, which the Gov. agreed to and sent a Proclamation for that purpose by Mons. Oriet a Merchant of Montreal; who on the 17th of Sept. was made a Prisoner at St. Denny, by a party of 20 Canadians and as many English of Montgomery's Army Commanded by E. Allen and Livingston, this entirely defeated the Plan of which Mons. Oriet conceived would have been attended with the greatest success.

The Canadians in general are well affected to Government especially those on the North Side of the River St. Lawrence including the Inhabitants of Montreal and would cheerfully join in attacking the Provincials, provided there were a sufficient Number of King's Troops in the Province to support them in case of a defeat, the want of which makes them remain neuter, tho' they are greatly displeased with the attack made on their Province.

Quebec he apprehends is in no danger, for that it contains 3,000 inhabitants fit to bear Arms, who will defend it against any attempt that can be made by twice that Number.

St. John's is well fortified and supplied with plenty of Ammunition and three month's Provisions from the 1st of Sept. 20 Pieces of Cannon are mounted on the two Redoubts from 12 to 18 Pounders, and three large Mortars. . . Major Preston of the 26th Commands and has 600 Regulars and 70 Canadians. Montgomery's Army consisted of 3,000 Men, the Batteries he had erected Oriet conceives cannot batter it in breach and he laughs at the Idea of it being carried by assault. . . . No Indians have been employed on their side since the first attempts to land by Schuyler and Montgomery with 1,200 men, who were repulsed by a party of 60 Indians and 3 Canadians under the Command of Capt. Tice. . . The Loss of the Provincials on that Occasion was 40 killed. . . of Tice's party 4 killed and two wounded.

The intercourse between St. John's and the Country is stop'd. One of the Prisoners (La Mott by name) was sent with a Letter from Gov. Carleton to the Commanding Officer at St. John's with orders for him to retreat down the Sorrel to Quebec; provided he could bring off every articles in the Fort, he was also to burn the Settlement on the River Sorrel; this he says was with an intent to encourage the Inhabitants on the North Side of the River St. Lawrence, who would then have formed a Body to join the King's Troops.

Gov. Carleton was at Montreal the 20th Sept., and had the promise of the Citizens both French and English to protect him and defend the Place, which was garrisoned by 50 of the King's Troops. . . There was a Sloop of War of 20 Guns lying at Montreal, and also a well arm'd Vessel at the mouth of the Sorrel and another half way up the River. . . The arm'd Schooner lays opposite St. John's and had not made an attempt to get into the Lake when Mons. Oriet was taken. The Pickets of the old Fort and two Vessels yet on the Stocks he apprehended will be sufficient for fire wood in case of necessity. . . Ethan Allen was taken on the Island of Montreal on the 27th of Sept, his party consisted of about 90 men, French and English. . . Mons. Oriet entertains the most flattering hopes from this Circumstances, he conceives the Inhabitants are rousing from their Lethergy. . . The two Onidas that were sent by the Commiss. from Albany prevented the Indians from joining the King's Troops, who would otherwise have acted in favor of Government. . . 200 Canadians have joined Montgomery's Army, commanded by James Livingston. . . No acct of Col. Arnold when Mons. Oriet left Canada.

Mons. I. Oriet gave the above narration while a prisoner at Albany. He has since been removed into Connecticut Government.

In Gov. Tryon's (No. 17) of 11th Nov. 1775.

Some Particulars of the Garrison of St. John's &c. from Lieut Richardson of the 86th Regiment.

The Garrison of St. John's consisted of Detachments from the Royal Regiment of Artillery, the 7th, 26th, Col. McLean's Corps, Canadian Volunteers, and some Sailors and Carpenters, who had been employ'd in building Vessells for the Lake.

Royal Artillery, including Officers.....	38
7th Regt.	228
26th Regiment	189
McLean's	37
Sailors	19
Carpenters	22
Canadian Volunteers	78
	611

The 7th and 26th were employed from the latter end of May to the middle of Sept. in constructing two Redoubts under the direction of Engineer, Capt. John Marr.

Some Beds and Blankets were sent from Montreal, but not sufficient to accommodate one third of the Garrison, who lay on boards. The 7th and 26th were ordered to take only their Summer Cloathing towards the latter end of the Siege, the men suffered much on this Account. The Houses they had used as Barracks were from the Enemy's Shot and Sneels rendered uninhabitable and the only Shelter for the whole Garrison was the Cellar of Col. Christie's House in the North Redoubt, which also served for an Hospital, Magazines, &c. Col. McClean's and the Canadians did not arrive untill the Redoubts were finished. The Volunteers never did any Duty being composed of the Canadian Noblesse. During the Siege at different periods Major Preston sent four Expresses to Montreal, to Generals Carleton and Prescott, but could never hear from either. The Garrison after having been on half allowance for three Weeks, & having a considerable number of Sick & Wounded, without a proper place for them or nourishment, and their Ammunition expended were reduced to the mortifying necessity of capitulating—A Schooner mounting twelve Guns, Six, Four, & three Pounders, and a Row Galley, that carried a 24 pr. had been built. . . . The Command of these Vessells were given to Lieut. Hunter of the Navy, who was sent by Gen Carleton to St. John's for that purpose. Major Preston often pressed Hunter to attack the Enemy, offering him every Assistance from the Garrison. Hunter wrote him a Letter in which he offered several reasons, for his declining to do it.

The Schooner was sunk by the Enemy's Shot.

In Gov. Tryon's of the 7th Dec. No. 23.

(78)

14th Octobre Proclamation qui pourvoit aux des champs pour ceux qui etaient sous les armes.

“Par Son Excellence Guy Carleton, Capitaine Général et Gouverneur en chef dans toute la Province de Quebec et Territoires en dépendants en Amérique, Vice-Admiral d'icelle, Maréchal des camps et armées de Sa Majesté, Commandant de Département septentrional, &c., &c., &c.

“A tous les Capitaines et autres Officiers commandants les milices dans la Province de Québec, &c.

Vu qu'un nombre considerable de fidèles sujets de Sa Majesté qui se sont rendus près de nous, pour donner des preuves de leur zèle et fidélité envers sa dite Majesté,

ont laissé beaucoup de travaux imparfaits chez eux, et qu'il ne seroit pas juste que de tels sujets souffrissent pour s'être d'ailleurs très-intéressant pour le bien général de cette Province que les ouvrages de la campagne soient faits avant le mauvaise saison:

"A ces causes, nous vous ordonnons de faire faire, chacun dans vos districts respectifs, par les habitants qui sont restés chez eux, et ce par corvées que vous réglerez avec équité et conduires avec exactitude, tous les ouvrages et travaux que les dits habitants de vos dits districts—qui servent près de nous ou ailleurs par nos ordres—n'ont pu et ne peuvent faire: faucher les foins, couper les avoines ou autres grains, serrer & engranger le tout bien conditionné, faire les guérets et labours, réparer et mettre les bâtiments en état d'hivernement.

"Nous vous déclarons que, faute par vous de tenir la main, a l'exécution du present ordre, vous nous en serez personnellement responsables, et que nous ferons payer et rembourser par les contrevenants toutes pertes ou dommages que pourroient souffrir les fidèles sujets du Roy qui ont genereusement préféré son service et la tranquillité de cette Province a leurs intérêts particuliers.

"Nous vous mandons et ordonnons de faire immédiatement publier, tant a la porte des églises dans vos districts respectifs que partout ailleurs où besoin sera, notre dit present ordre, et d'en certifier à Messieurs les Colonels des milices, chacun dans leurs districts, aux quels il est par les présentes ordonné d'en rendre compte, sçavoir:—pour les paroisses de Québec à notre Lieutenant Gouverneur, et pour celles des Trois-Rivières et de Montréal à nous, ou, en notre absence, à l'officier commandant.

"Donne a Montréal, le 14 Novembre, 1775.

"Guy Carleton."

(Invasion du Canada, 1775 par L'Abbé Verreau Pp. 57-58.)

(79)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11. p. 283.

Return of his Majesty's Garrison of Chambly made prisoners by the Rebels, 17th October, 1775.

Corps.	Maj.	Cpts.	Lts.	Surg.	Sgts.	Drs. & fifiers	R. & F.
Royal Fusiliers ..	1	1	4	1	5	3	62

	Capt.	Lt. Corp.	Matrosses.
Royal Artillery .	1	1	3

Names of officers taken.

Royal Fusiliers.

Major Stopford.

Capt. Brice.

Lt. Harrison.

Lt. Shuttleworth.

Lt. Hamer.

Lt. Barrington.

Surgeon Huddleston.

Royal Artillery.

Capt. Lt. Godwin.

Guy Carleton.

(80)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. II, p.

Camp before St. John's, Oct'r 22d.

Sir,

I have received information from different Quarters that the Prisoners you have made are treated with cruel and unnecessary severity being loaded with Irons and that Colonel Allen himself meets with shocking Barbarity.

Your Character, Sir, induces me to hope I am ill informed—Nevertheless the Duty I owe the Troops committed to my charge lays me under the necessity of acquainting your Excellency that if you avow this Conduct and persist in it, I shall (tho' with the most painfull Regret) execute with Rigour the just and necessary Law of Retaliation upon the Garrison of Chamblu now in my possession and upon all those

who may hereafter fall into my Hands. I must be understood to stipulate for the unfortunate Canadians, your Prisoners, who have thrown themselves into the Arms of the united Colonies for Protection—whose enraged Countrymen have with Difficulty been restrained from Acts of violence on the Garrison of Chamblé.

I shall wait your Excellency's Answer six days. I must interpret your silence into a Declaration of a barbarous War.

I cannot pass this opportunity without lamenting the Melancholy and fatal Necessity which obliges the firmest Friends of the Constitution to oppose one of the most respectable Servants of the Crown.

I have the Honour to be with great Respect,
 Ric'd Montgomery,
 Brig'r General
 Cont'l Army.

Endorsed:—Copy of a Letter from Richard Montgomery, stiling himself Brig'r Gen'l, Cont'l Army, dated at the Camp before St. John's, 22d Oct'r, 1775.

In General Carleton's Letter of the 25th October, 1775.

(81)

(Extract from Additional Papers concerning the Province of Quebeck, by Francis Mares, London, 1776.)

"About the beginning of December last 1775, a gentleman of Quebeck, of exceeding good sense, and who is well acquainted with that province, (which has been his usual place of residence ever since the year 1768,) related to me some very extraordinary facts, concerning the dissatisfaction of the great body of freeholders of Canada, at the late Quebeck-act, on account of the general revival of the French laws of the province in all civil matters, which is contained in it, and which, in their apprehension, includes a revival of the powers of Government, that were formerly exercised over them by their Noblesse and the officers of the crown, during the subjection of the province to the French King; of which powers they have a great dread and abhorrence. They have been more particularly alarmed at some endeavors which have been made by some of the Seigniors or Lords of manors, in the province to call out their tenants to attend them, as soldiers, to oppose the American army under General Montgomery, under pretence of a right to command their military service on such occasions, by virtue of their tenures of their lands. These attempts of the seigniors have so disgusted the peasants of the seigniories in which they have been made, that they have broke out into acts of open violence to resist them. Of these tumultuous proceedings of the peasants, the gentleman above alluded to, gave me three remarkable instances, of which I shall now proceed to insert the following narrative, which was drawn up by that gentleman himself, at my desire, as I did not care to venture to relate them myself from the verbal accounts which he had given me of them, for fear of making some material mistake.

"A Narrative of the tumultuous conduct of the freeholders of divers seigniories in the province of Quebec in the summer of the year 1775, in opposition to the endeavours used by their Seigniors to call them out to take arms against the American army, that had invaded the province: Shewing their aversion to being commanded by their Seigniors, and the little influence their Seigniors, and the other Noblesse of Canada, have over them.

(Written by a Gentleman very lately arrived from Quebeck).

"An opinion prevails in the Province of Quebeck, (whether just or not, I will not pretend to determine) that the Seigniors owe military service to their Sovereign, by the tenure of their lands; and that in the acts of (*Foi et Homage*), or fealty and homage, they promise to perform the same to the Crown, when called upon: And that, by the same act, they also engage for the personal service of all their vassals, and other tenants, who hold their lands from them, either *par foi et homage* or *par cens et rente*, or (as it is often expressed) *en Roture*. It is universally believed, that the Seigniors have by the customs of Canada, (which are revived by the late Quebeck act) a legal right, to command the personal service of all holders of land under them, whenever the Sovereign, or his Representative, calls upon them, (the seigniors) for that purpose: And Government has thrown out hints, that those inhabitants, who refused to obey their seigniors last Summer, when called upon to oppose the provincials, have, by such refusal, forfeited all title to their lands, which ought, on that account, to revert to the seigniors; And that, as soon as things shall be settled in the province, suits of law should be instituted in the Courts of Justice, to dispossess them. The inhabitants themselves acquiesce in the truth of this doctrine; but they are determined to hold possession of their lands by force.

"Mr. La Corne, a young man of about twenty-two years of age, and nephew to Mr. La Corne de Saint Luc, was sent by General Carleton to raise the inhabitants of Terrebonne, a village of which he, (the younger Mr. La Corne), is Seigneur. He addressed them in a very high tone, mentioning the above right, which he had, by the tenure of their lands, to command their military service. They answered, "that they were now become subjects of England, and did not look on themselves as Frenchmen in any respect whatever." Mr. La Corne was imprudent enough to strike some of them who spoke loudest. This provoked the people to such a degree, that Mr. La Corne found it necessary to get away from them, and go back immediately to Montreal, but threaten'd to return speedily amongst them with a party of two hundred soldiers, who would make them dearly pay for their refusal to obey him. The people, hearing this, forthwith armed themselves, some with guns, others with clubs; and they all resolved to die rather than submit to be commanded by their seigneur. General Carleton hearing of the disturbance that Mr. La Corne's behaviour had occasioned, instead of complying with his desire of sending troops to enforce obedience to his authority, thought it advisable, to send with him an English officer of merit, Capt. Hamilton, (late of the 15th Regiment, and now Lieutenant Governour of Detroit,) to pacify the people. Capt. Hamilton asked them, what they meant by assembling in that riotous, disorderly manner? They answered, that their intentions were to defend themselves from the soldiers, with whom they were threatened by Mr. La Corne their seigneur. "If General Carleton (said they) requires our services, let him give us Englishmen to command us: such a man as you, for instance, we would follow to the world's end." But, replied Mr. Hamilton, English military gentlemen are not to be found in sufficient numbers, in the province, to take the command of you. "Then, said they, "give us common soldiers to lead us, rather than those people. For we will not be commanded by *ce petit gars*, that is, (literally by that little boy, but in their sense of it,) by that insignificant, raw, young man. "At last, upon Capt. Hamilton's promise, that their seigneur should come no more among them, they dispersed. Whether or not those people would have kept their word, and followed English Leaders, is uncertain, because General Carleton has never thought proper to make the experiment.

"The behaviour of these people is the more remarkable, because Mr. La Corne is a very pretty young man in his person and appearance, and not despicable in point of understanding, and not less than three and twenty years old; so that nothing but his quality of seigneur, and the odious powers which they suppose to be connected with that character, can have rendered him disagreeable to the people.

"Mr. Deschambaud the son, (an officer at this time in the service and pay of the king of France, who is absent from his regiment upon leave,) went over to a seignory belonging to his father, situated on the river Richlieu, and began to harangue the inhabitants of the seignory, much in the same stile that Mr. La Corne had used at Terrebonne. Like consequences ensued. The people were exasperated at his treatment of them. They replied with sharpness. He drew his sword: they surrounded him, and beat him severely. He returned to Montreal, and complained of them to General Carleton. The next day Mr. Deschambaud, the father, went over and told the people, that the governour was highly displeas'd at the treatment his son had received from them: But that all would be forgiven, if they would repair to Montreal and ask his (young Deschambaud's) pardon; otherwise they might expect to be severely punished for their behaviour.

"This speech served only to provoke them still more: they armed themselves immediately, went to the traders on the river Richlieu, and purchased all the ammunition they had in their stores, paying so great a price as five shillings a pound for powder, which is usually sold for less than a third part of that sum. They assembled to the number of near three thousand at Fort Chambly and began to march towards fort St. John's, to face the two regiments of regulars, that were in garrison there; that being the force, which, they imagined, General Carleton would employ against them. But he, upon notice of their proceedings, sent an English officer to disavow the message delivered them by Mr. Deschambaud, the father, and to acquaint them, that all would be well, if they would disperse, and retire, each to his home. This was immediately complied with.

"Mr. Cuthbert, an English gentleman, who is the proprietor of an extensive and valuable seignory, called Berthier, summoned the inhabitants on his seignory to assemble at his house. They sent him for answer, that, if he had any thing to communicate, he might come to them: and they accordingly assembled at a place where three roads meet, and where there is a cross erected. Mr. Cuthbert came thither to them,

and made a peremptory demand of their services on the French system, as being their seignior. They told him, if that was his business with them, he had best retire to his own home, and trouble them no more; for that not a man of them would follow him. And as soon as he was gone, they all made oath on the cross, round which they were assembled, that they never would take arms against the provincials;—That, if one among them offered to join government, they would directly burn his house and his barn, and destroy his cattle:—And, that if General Carleton should attempt to compel them into the service, they would repel force by force. And, having thus sworn, they went home. This happened in the latter end of July, or the beginning of August. Afterwards, (I think) about the end of September, Mr. Lanaudiere, the son, (who is owner of a seignior at another place, called Saint Anne's), came to them from Montreal, and said, that he was employed by General Carleton to lead them against the provincials; that he was going at that time to his estate at St. Anne's, but should return to Berthier in a few days, when he expected that they should be prepared to follow him; otherwise, he assured them, that their lands and houses should be burnt and laid waste. He accordingly did return to Berthier some days after; and, on entering the limits of the parish, he, and Mr. Tonnancour, the son, with sixteen others, were surrounded and made prisoners by the inhabitants. Warm debates ensued amongst them, whether or not, they should send Mr. Lanaudiere to the provincial camp near St. John's. It was, at length, agreed to set him and his friends at liberty, on his promise to obtain for them General Carleton's pardon for this outrage, and on his further promise, never to come again amongst them on the like errand.

“Violent, as the proceedings of these people may appear, and averse as they may seem to the service required of them; they have, notwithstanding, often declared, to Mr. Charles Gordon, a young man of knowledge and excellent character, from whom I had this intelligence, and who has resided two years in that parish; they have, I say, declared to him, that, if General Carleton would promise, (by affixing a writing, to that purpose, to the church door,) that he would use his interest and endeavours for the repeal of the Quebec Bill, and for restoring to them those privileges of which they were deprived by its operation; in that case, the inhabitants of that district (who are very numerous) declared themselves ready, to defend the province for Government “But (say they) as things are now circumstanced, what have we to fight for? We have enjoyed very valuable privileges, since we became subjects of Great Britain: We had the Royal Promise for the continuance of that enjoyment. On a sudden, without our having done any thing to merit such treatment, we are deprived of those inestimable privileges, and reduced to our former state of slavery. The people, whom we are desired to regard as enemies, tell us, they are our real friends, and they give us convincing proofs of their sincerity. They are now in arms for our defence from our oppressors; and they make the repeal of the Quebec Bill one of the conditions on which they offer to lay them down. Which party then ought we to assist? Certainly that one, which is fighting for the restoration of that liberty to us, of which we have been wantonly and most cruelly deprived by the other. “And this is not the language of the inhabitants of that district only: the same is in the mouths of the most ignorant peasants all over the province.

There are in Montreal many English Gentlemen of experience in military affairs, who offered their services to Governour Carleton, and would have been glad of being employed to head the Canadians. *But their offers were not accepted;* while Mr. de Rigouville, a French Gentleman, whose talents either for the Cabinet or the Field are not in the highest reputation, was invested with a command. The consequence was, that his party all away, and he himself was surprised in his bed, and taken prisoner. Maj. Cox, an English Officer of eminence, and Lieutenant Governor of Gaspé, offered to go to St. John's, with 25 men, which he had raised at Beaufort: but he was told, (as Monsieur Le Brun had been on his making a similar offer of his services) *de rester tranquille chez lui:* to stay quietly at home and not meddle in the business. The English inhabitants of the province, though they felt for their treatment from Administration, and from General Carleton, yet did not think that treatment could justify their countenancing in any degree, those who were in arms against their sovereign. Accordingly they have been very active in the defence of the province; and those few Canadians, who have taken part with Government, have been influenced entirely by their example.

Addressed

To Major Preston, Commanding.
at St. Johns.

The Garrison of Chambli having passed their baggage to the Encampment of the Continental Army—The General with the most painful reluctance desires the Commanding Officer of St. John's to prepare for his defence.

Camp before St. Johns,
ye; 21st October, 1775.

(82)

Edwd. Fleming

Dep; Adjt. General in
the Continental Army.

Addressed

The Commanding Officer, St. Johns.

Sir

Being obliged to surrender Fort Chambly and made prisoners of War, am under the necessity of applying to you for permission for five Batteaux to pass & repass your Forts to convey our Women, Children, and Baggage, to Genl. Montgomerys Camp, if this request cannot be granted we shall loose all our baggage & be under the necessity of leaving our Women and Children behind, as we are to be sent to New England immediately, I have pledged my honor that our Drum Major returns as soon as possible.

I am Sir Your Humble Servant,
J. Stopford, Major

Addressed

To Major Preston
Commanding at St. Johns.

(84)

Extract of a letter from Quebeck, dated October 24, 1775, shewing the dissatisfaction of the body of the French, or Canadian, inhabitants of the province of Quebeck at the revival of the French laws by the late Quebeck act.

"Monsieur,

Quebec, Octobre 24, 1775.

Je crois ne pas être le premier à vous apprendre la triste situation de notre malheureuse province. Mais je puis avec certitude vous apprendre, que l'annonce de l'établissement des loix Francoises, et la nomination des Conseillers et Juges pour la ditte province,—que le tout ensemble, dis-je, a fait un mécontentement si général et une consternation si grande que la foudre la plus redoutable n'a jamais pû faire sur un peuple.

"On en a aussi ressenti les effets aussitot. Car dans ce meme moment nos frontières ayant été envahies par les ennemis du roi, on a voulu avoir recours aux habitans pour defendre ce malheureux pais. Mais, loin de s'y preter, plusieurs cantons se sont joints aux rebelles: et, en général, aucuns n'ont voulu prendre les armes, ni, disent-ils, *defendre un tas de b—— de pensionnaires ni leurs f—— loix Francoises*. Voici, Monsieur, les propres termes dont se servent,—Ajoutez à cela que l'on ne se sert envers eux que des personnes qui leur sont en abomination.

"Vous scaurez que dernièrement Monsieur Walker de Montreal a été arrêté comme traître et rebelle, et est en consequence detenu prisonnier comme tel. J'aurois eu l'honneur de vous adresser une relation exacte de tout ce qui s'est passe dans ces contrées depuis le mois de Mai: mais, comme l'on a établi ici les loix despotiques, nos vies et nos biens ne sont pas en sureté, je craindrois que l'on ne s'avisé d'ouvrir ma lettre, et que l'on ne me fasse un mauvais parti à ce sujet, c'est à dire, pour dire et écrire la verité.

Translation of the foregoing extract of a letter from Quebeck, dated October 24, 1775.

Sir,

I Presume that, before this reaches you, you will have received from other hands an account of the dismal situation of our unhappy province. But I can assure you with the greatest certainty, that the news of the revival of the French laws in this province, together with the appointment of the members of the legislative council and the new judges for the said province, have spread such discontent throughout the province, and thrown it into so great a consternation, that the most violent storm of thunder and lightning could not have produced a greater effect upon a people.

"The ill effects of this new establishment have been felt almost as soon as it took place. For at that very instant the frontiers of the province were invaded by the king's enemies, and the Governour endeavoured to excite the inhabitants of it to take arms in its defence. But they were far from complying with his exhortations. For many of the parishes joined the rebels: and throughout the rest of

the country the inhabitants have, in general, refused to take arms for the government, and to defend, as they express it, a pack of rascally pensioners of the crown, and their damn'd French laws. For those, Sir, are the very words that they make use of. Add to this, that no persons have been employed to endeavour to raise them on this occasion but such as they hold in utter detestation.

"You will no doubt have heard that Mr. Walker of Montreal has lately been arrested, upon a suspicion of treason and rebellion, and is kept prisoner on that account. I should have given you an exact account of every material occurrence that has happened in this province since the month of May last, if it had not been for the establishment of martial law in it. But as under that arbitrary law our lives and fortunes are not in safety, I was afraid that my letters might have been opened, and that I might have been brought into trouble on that account, that is for speaking and writing the truth.

(Additional papers concerning the Province of Quebec, by Francis Maseres, Pp. 96-9.)

(85)

An account of the state of the province during the last summer, and the motives that have caused the Canadian, or French inhabitants of it to decline taking arms for the defence of it; extracted from a letter, dated at Quebec, on the 25th of October, 1775.

Quebec, Oct. 25, 1775.

"Administration may now easily see (if they are not determined to remain in perpetual blindness and ignorance) what operates with the Canadians in this grand unhappy contest, and that it is not in the power of a Governour, a beggarly Noblesse, or their seigniors, (whom they detest) nor in the power of their clergy with all their threats and interdictions (if you can suppose they preach the same in private, as they do in publick) to make the Canadians take up arms to shackle themselves in slavery. If we dared to apply to the Canadians for an union with us to petition the King for an amendment of the Quebec bill, we should find the tradesmen, most of the merchants, and all the country-inhabitants, unanimous in our favour. But we are deemed, and (I do believe,) are represented by those persons who are the authors of all our misfortunes, to the Ministers of State to be worse than the Bostonian rebels, for infusing the principles of Liberty, (the birth-right of every Briton), into our fellow subjects in Canada. For they must make somebody or other bear the blame of the behaviour of their *faithful Canadians*, as they used to call them, which has been so contrary to the false reports they had made, concerning their sentiments, to his Majesty's Ministers of State. And if the secret, wicked plots of these persons take place against us, many innocent persons must suffer on account of this defection of the Canadians, though the real causes of their behaviour, at this time, are these: First, a general cowardice; for they seem to have a horrid aversion to taking arms: secondly, a sharp remembrance of their former state of slavery; and a dreadful apprehension of returning into the same state, under their ancient laws and customs now confirmed to them; to which we must add, in the third place, that the canting Enthusiasts, who have come at different times from New England to preach Liberty and independence among them, have had more influence over their principles, (if you allow them to have any), in this unhappy contest, than all the Jesuits in France, before their expulsion from that Kingdom, could have had; and, lastly, the behaviour of their seigniors towards them (for General Carleton would hardly employ any others to command them) increased their disobedience to government. This days post brings advice that a strong body of men was to have crossed over the river Saint Lawrence on Tuesday last, and that another body was to march up under the command of Colonel MacLeane, a very active officer: and that then both these bodies were to clear the country before them, join each other, and relieve the Fort of St. John's. This week must determine our fate, whether there be a probability to keep the country until we have a re-inforcement from England next Spring, or become subjected to the American colonists.

(Additional papers concerning the Province of Quebec, Pp. 91-3.)

(86)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. II, p. 267.

(No. 16.)

Montréal, October 25th 1775.

My Lord

After my Letter by Lord Pitt, the Disobedience of this People encreased, & bore some proportion to the encrease of the Rebels on the opposite side of the River; these

received several Reinforcements, & their Emissaries travelled through the Country with less danger, than the King's Servants.

The 24th of September it was so generally believed the Rebels wou'd cross the River & storm the Town, that all those who had Ladders in the Suburbs, were ordered to lodge them within the walls; this they refused with Insolence, & even Menaces, against whoever shou'd attempt to carry it into Execution; it was very doubtful if a Guard for the Gates cou'd be procured from the Militia the next day; We had about sixty Soldiers in the place, the walls extensive & defenceless.

The next morning it was rumored the Rebels had crossed the River in the night, & were posted about three Miles below the Town, this was soon confirmed; the Drums beat the alarm, all the old Gentlemen & better sort of Citizens English & Canadian, turned out under Arms, some of the lower Classes followed their Example; they were ordered to join the Troops at the Barracks, & from thence to the further end of the Quebec Suburbs; Captain Crawford with thirty Soldiers marched first; a few mostly Colonists, then stept forward & turned off the contrary way, the rest, with some Officers who have retired, or are on the Staff, and a few Indians, followed the Troops very gallantly, & hurried them forward without further command & without much Order; They soon came up to the Rebel's Post, & in a little time put them to the Rout. These were about one hundred & fifty in number, two thirds Canadians; they say they expected all in the Suburbs, some in the Town, & many from the neighbouring Parishes wou'd have joyned them, & that they were to march in without opposition; Ethan Allen their Chief, & about thirty five Men, were taken Prisoners, five of these wounded.

Major Carden who was our Senior Officer in the Action, & very capable of conducting an affair of this sort, was mortally wounded; Mr. A. Patterson, an english Merchant, received a bad wound, but is likely to recover, three or four Soldiers & discharged Soldiers killed or wounded. This for a time, gave a favorable turn to the Minds of the People; some of the Parishes now began to send in their Quotas from the Militia.

On information that Mr. Walker still continued to preach up Disobedience & Rebellion, a party of Troops with some Canadians were sent to apprehend & bring him Prisoner, he had prepared his House for defence, & fired several Shot at those who surrounded it. Ensign Macdonald was wounded in the arm, & a soldier received a bad wound in the thigh, occasioned by their Humanity; the House was then sett on fire, & Mr. Walker, his Wife & Servants surrendered, this occasioned our numbers to encrease, & willing to profit by these favorable Events, several officers were employed to make another Effort, to bring up some Militia; Mr. Lanau-diere arrived at Berthier with about seventy, mostly unarmed, the People of this Parish took him Prisoner, & those he led immediately dispersed; their first design was to have carried him to the Rebels, but those who had charge of him, repented & let him go; he has since joyned Lt. Colonel Maclean, who, about this time, marched with the small remains of the Troops from Quebec, & with what Militia he cou'd assemble below, has taken post at Sorel. I had purposed on the first alarm to have formed a considerable Corps here, & shou'd have encamped them at Chambly, had not this wretched People been blind to Honor Duty & their own Interest.

Rigouville, on the same business, met with still a worse fate at Verchère, the Inhabitants of that Parish sent for some Bostonians & joyning them attacked him in the night, he had but one old man killed, out of an hundred & forty, all armed, he was taken Prisoner & carried off, the rest of his Party returned in their Boats.

These two Events, trifling as they are, have occasioned great Desertion, I had assembled about nine hundred Men since our little Combat, but they disappear thirty or forty of a night, & if this continues a little longer, we shall be in as forlorn a state as before, Chambly surrendered about a week ago, the Garrison are Prisoners, this I fear, will sink their Spirits still more.

About three score Savages from one of our villages are come in this Evening, for after the departure of Colonel Johnson, I summoned them all except the Cagnawagas, this Gentleman understands he has the supreme Command over all the Indians, & I wou'd not dispute it, though I believe we can manage those of this Province better. I expect many more soon, but they are as easily dejected as the Canadian Peasantry, & like them, choose to be of the strongest side, so that when they are most wanted, they vanish.

I yesterday received a Letter from Mr. Montgomery, a copy is herewith inclosed: 'tis true the Rebels have been in Irons, not from choice but necessity, we have neither Prisons to hold nor Troops to guard them, so that they have been treated with as much humanity, as our own safety wou'd permit; I wou'd not even suffer a Savage

to pass the Frontier, though often urged to let them loose on the Rebel Provinces, least cruelties might have been committed, & for fear the innocent might have suffered with the Guilty. I wish to explain this matter to Your Lordship, but I shall return no answer, nor enter into any correspondence with Rebels. I shall treat all their threats with a silent contempt, & in this persevere, were I certain of falling into their hands the following week, not thinking myself at liberty to treat otherwise those who are Traytors to the King, without His Majesty's express Commands.

I am with much respect,
Your Lordship's
Most obedient & most humble Servant
Guy Carleton.

Earl of Dartmouth.

(87)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol II, p. 284.

Liste des Messieurs les Officiers & Gentilhommes Canadiens qui ont servit en qualité de Volontaires sous les ordres de Mr. Belletre & pris prisonniers dans la Garnison de St. Jean sous le Commandement du Major Preston.

Officiers et gentilhommes.

Belletre, Chev'r de.
St. Louis.
de Longueuil.
Du Chenay.
Rouville.
Deschambault.
St. Blain du Verger.
La Ronde.
La Morandiere.
Boucherville.
Chevalier Hertel.
Cuisy.
La Madelaine.
Lotbiniere.
Saint Ours.
Fleurimont.
Tonnancourt.
Soumandiere.
Sallabery.
Pothier Varenne.
Gaucher.

Ste Marie Moussette.
Ste Marie Pacquin.
Chs. Hauclair.
frs. Lamirande.
Anthe Des Jarlais.
Piere Plante.
Joseph Grenier.
Louis Lessar.
Anthe Lessar.

Riviere du Loup.

Volontaires.—Particuliers.

Montesson, Capt.
& Chev'r St. Louis.
Mackay.
Mounier.
Luc Schmitt.
Roberson.

Officiers de milice. Citoyens des Villes
de Montr'l & 3 Rivieres.

Hervieux.
Gamelin.
Mocquin.
Des Ruisseaux.
Jacques Hervieux.
Giasson l'aine.
Giasson, cadet.
Desprez.
Foucher.
La Marque.
Demusseau.
Bellefeuille 3 Rivieres.
Boulanger.
Duchénay.
Jean Bte. Dupuis.
Lamothe.

Miliciens des Villes & des campagnes.

Joseph Etier. {
Francoeur. { Montreal.
Guerbois. {
Rouillard. {
Joseph Le Brun. {
Raphael Comières. { 3 Rivieres.
Pierre Le Merise. {
Pierre Le Clair. {
Michel Beauchamps. { Mascouche.
Joseph Etie. {
Gabriel Etie. { St. Eustache.
Paul Etie. {
Amable Richard, Varennes.
Jean Bte. Millet. {
Alexis Gelina. { Machiche.
Joseph Gautier. {
Etienne Duval. {
frs. La Fleur. {
Andre Courreaud. { Pte du Lacq.
Charles Texier. {

Officiers de Milice des Campagnes.

Felix Jolly.
frs. Corbin.

Mieh. Baussin.
 Pierre Auge.
 Augustin La Ronde.
 Bapte. Pothier.
 Joseph La Sarte.
 Louis Tirnis.
 Fras. Rouville.
 Leveiller.

Volontaires de Mr. Mackay.

King.
 Croan.
 Sears.
 Ab. Baron.
 Thos. Baron.
 Jean McNeal.
 La Coste.
 2 Sauvages.
 Guy Carleton.

(Sgd)

Endorsed:—Canadian prisoners. In Governor Carleton's of the 5th November, 1775.

(88)

First Letter.

Camp before St. Johns.
 Nov. 1st.

Sir

From an anxious desire to spare the effusion of my fellow subject's blood, I permit a taken in an action with Governor Carleton at Longueil a few days since to pass to the Fort, from him you will learn how small your prospect of relief. By your deserters we find the low state of your provisions; that you throw away and destroy the Artillery, Stores, tools, Etc.—

Let me entreat you Sir to spare the lives of a brave Garrison entitled to every indulgence consistent with my duty to the Public. Should you continue to destroy the Stores and obstinately persist in a defence which cannot avail you—I will assemble the Canadians, and shall deem myself innocent of the melancholy consequences which may attend it.

I am, Sir, with great esteem,
 Your most humble servant
 Richard Montgomery.
 Brigd. Gen.

Addressed

To Major Preston 26th Regt.
 or Officer Commanding
 St. Johns.

(89)

Second Letter.

Sir

The advanced season of the Year will not admit of your proposed delay—I do assure you upon the honour of a Gentleman, that what the Prisoner has informed you of, is true as far as has come to my knowledge however if it wants further confirmation, Mr. Depane of Montreal who is also my Prisoner will I believe give you the same intelligence.

Having now acquitted my conscience I must to save time & prevent trouble acquaint you that if you do not surrender this day, it will be unnecessary to make any future proposals. The Garrison shall be Prisoners of War—they shall not have the honours of War & I cannot ensure the Officers their baggage.

Should you wish to send an Officer to Mr. Depane who is on board the Sloop you have my permission Captn. Stewart carries an order for that purpose.

But should you be inclined to perish in a useless defence you will be so good, as to fire a cannon without shot for a signal.

I am Sr.

Your Most Obnt. Servnt.
 Richd. Montgomery.
 Brigr. Genl.
 Continental Army.

Camp before St. John's
 Novr. 2d.

Addressed.

Major Preston 26th Regt.
 Commanding
 at
 St. Johns.

(90)

St. Johns, 1st November 1775.

State of the Troops Under Command of Major Charles Preston, 26th Regt, on the 17th day of September last, with the Occurrences which since happened.

Artillery consisted of.	Captain	Capt. Lt.	First Lts.	2nd Lts.	Serjeants.	Corporals.	Bombardiers.	Matrosses.	Gunners.	Fifer.	Drummers.	Total.	N.B. One Mattross Killed by the Enemy & One Killed by an Accident. 3 Killed.
17th Septr..	..	1	1	2	3	2	2	7	18	..	2	38	3 Killed.

Detachments of the 7th & 26th Regiments.

Regimts.	Major.	Captains.	Lieuts.	Ensigns.	Adjutant.	Mate.	Sergeants.	Drums & Fifers.	Rank & File.	Major.	Captains.	Lieuts.	Ensigns.	Adjutant.	Mate.	Serjeants.	Drums &c	Rank & File.	KILLED.			
7th .....	..	5	9	..	..	..	11	5	229	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	3		
26th	1	4	6	3	1	1	10	6	183	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2		
Total ...	1	9	15	3	1	1	21	11	412	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	5		

N.B.—Seven Men from the Rebels Joined the 26th Regiment at different times, One of which had Deserted; 9 Men Wounded at different times who are Recovering.

EMIGRANTS.

	Captain.	Sergts.	Rank & File.	N.B. One man Killed.
Total	1	2	17	

Kill'd—	Wounded—
Artillery	Artillery
Fusiliers	Fusiliers
26th Regiment.....	26th Regiment
Emigrants	Canadians
Savages	Carpenters
Canadians	
20	23

(91)

St. John's 2d Novr. 1775.

Articles of Capitulation proposed by Major Charles Preston for His Majesty's Forts at St. John's in the Province of Canada.

Art. 1. All Acts of Hostility shall cease on both sides 'till the Articles of Capitulation shall be agreed upon and signed. Agreed—

Art. 2. The Garrison shall be allowed all the Honours of War, and suffered to proceed with their Baggage and Effects to the most convenient Port in America, from thence to embark for Great Britain as soon as they shall be furnished with Transports and Provisions by His Excellency General Gage or Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Troops in America.

(Ans.)—The Garrison shall march out with the Honours of War—This is due to their fortitude and Perseverance. The Noncommissioned Officers and Privates shall ground their Arms on the Plain south of the Fort, & immediately embark on board such boats as shall be provided for that Purpose. The Officers shall keep their side arms; & their fire arms shall be put up in a box, & delivered to them when these unhappy disputes are ended if they do not dispose of them before.

The Garrison must go to Connecticut Government or such other province as the Honble. the Continental Congress shall direct, there to remain till our unhappy differences shall be compromised, or 'till they are exchanged.

Our prisoners have been constantly treated with a brotherly affection—The effects of the Garrison shall not be withheld from them.

Art. 3d. An Officer or Quarter Master from each Corps shall be allowed to pass to Montreal upon Parole of Honour, there to transact & settle the Business of his respective Corps, and to bring up their Baggage, Cloathing and Pay, for which purpose they shall be furnished with Carts and Batteaux.

Agreed to its fullest Latitude—

Art. 4. The Canadian Gentlemen, Inhabitants and other Persons residing in the Province, and now at St. John's, shall be permitted to return unmolested to their respective homes, with their Arms & Baggage, and remain secure in their Property and Effects.

Answered in the second; the Canadian Gentlemen, & others being part of the Garrison.

Art. 5. The Sick and wounded shall be taken care of and permitted to join their respective Corps or return to their respective homes upon their Recovery.

The sick & wounded shall be taken care of by their own surgeons, & when recovered follow their respective Corps.—

Art. 6. As soon as the above Articles shall be signed, Major Preston will deliver up the Forts with the Ammunition, Provisions &c.

Tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock the Garrison will march out, having first collected their baggage & effects together in a convenient place for embarkation, & leaving a guard for its protection. The officers must be upon honor with respect to their baggage; for should any Canadian or other effect his escape, his baggage shall be given as plunder to the troops.

The Quarter Master General, with proper Commissaries, will attend at 8 o'clock to receive the Artillery, Ammunition, Naval Stores, &c.—

The deserters from the Continental Army shall not be included in the stipulation for the Garrison. The Commanding Officer to sign & deliver the Articles of Capitulation by sunset this evening.

Major Preston's reply to Montgomery's Articles of Capitulation.

The Answers to the above articles will be assented to by Major Preston, provided the Expression (in Answer to Article 2d) "I WISH THEY HAD BEEN EXERTED IN A BETTER CAUSE" be entirely erased; the Garrison being determined rather to die with their arms in their Hands, than submit to the Indignity of such a Reflection.

(92)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. II, p. 274.

Montreal November 5th 1775.

My Lord

Yesterday I was informed that the Troops at St. John's surrendered the day before; inclosed is a copy of the Capitulation, & the returns both of the Troops, Canadians & Seamen, as accurate as can be made out amidst some confusion, there are also some Artificers taken, of them I have not yet procured an account. Thus the three great points I endeavoured to effectuate for the defence of the Province, are brought to a conclusion; the construction of Vessels to dispute the passage of Lake Champlain, failed for want of hands, to build as expeditiously as the Rebels, they had Artificers in abundance from their maritime Provinces, the few sent me from Halifax did not arrive till a Month after the place of construction and Redoubts were invested, the entrenched Camps that might have been formed near Chambly & St. John's, were effectually prevented by the corruption, & I may add, by the stupid baseness of the Canadian Peasantry, who not only deserted their duty, but numbers of them have taken arms against the Crown: in this manner St. John's, left to its own strength, in works of their own constructing, after having retarded the operations of the Rebels two months since their last arrival in the Province with a large Force, were reduced to surrender the Indians who remained with me till this Event, have since taken their leave; the remains of the Militia from the Parishes, deserted: the good Subjects in the Town greatly frightened, both at the Rebels in open Arms without, & at those Traytors within, who by their Art & insinuation are still more dangerous to the publick safety.

I have no doubt but as soon as the Rebels land on this side they will give up the place on the best terms they can procure, unless Troops arrive immediately; to say the truth, as the greatest part of the lower people will not act, and some are dissatisfied,

the rest cannot make a defence with the assistance of eighty Soldiers in a place of this sort; I shall try to retard the evil hour, for reasons formerly given, tho' all my hopes of succour now begin to vanish.

The prospect at Quebec is not much better; Accounts say B. Arnold is on the Chaudiere, with twelve or fifteen hundred Men, we have not one Soldier in the Town, & the lower sort are not more loyal than here.

Lieut. Colonel Maclean, whom I sent up the River Sorel, with about sixty of the Fuziliers an hundred & twenty of his own Recruits, with what Canadian Militia he cou'd raise, has also been abandoned by his Militia, & obliged to embark the Troops on board Vessels lying off the mouth of that River; these Vessels were armed for the protection of the Trade & to preserve our communication, otherwise very doubtfull. I have the honor to be with great Esteem & regard

My Lord
Your Lordship's
Most obedient & Most humble
Servant
Guy Carleton.

Earl of Dartmouth.

Endorsed:—Montreal Novr 5, 1775.
Govr. Carleton
R 23d Decr 1775.

Entd.

(93)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, pp. 321-2.

Messieurs les habitans de Montreal.

Messieurs,

La vive douleur que je ressens à la vue du malheureux sort dont votre ville est menacée me porte à vous exhorter d'employer tout le Credit que vous pouvés avoir sur l'esprit de la Bourgeoisie pour la determiner prendre les mesures nécessaires pour prevenir la Position de mes Batteries contre le Montreal. Quand je considere les funestes suites d'un Bombardement, l'extreme détresse que accompagne toujours l'Incendie mais plus encore dans une saison que vous ne permet pas d'en reparer a tems les Ruines, quand je me représente combien de Persones innocentes souffront de celle Catastrophe, et que les Amis même de la Liberté qui peuvent se trouver parmi vous seront envelopés dans une même Ruine avec les Organes iniques de la Tyrannie, mon Coeur fremit de la cruelle nécessité ou je me trouve de livrer cette ville infortunée à la fureur des flammes.

Je vous conjure donc parce que vous avez de plus cher et par les liens sacres de l'humanité de faire votre possible pour engager votre Gouverneur à compatir aux misères qui menacent la Peuple commis à ses soins, dans le tems qu'une vaine Resistance ne pourront servir qu'à augmenter les malheurs de votre etat et a servir chez lui le caractere de l'humanité.

Je suis avec les voeux les plus sinceres pour le success de cette negotiation.

messieurs,
votre tres humble serviteur,
Rich'd Montgomery, Brig'r Gen'l.
Cont'l Army.

a la Prairie le 9e Novre, 1775.

P.S. Je viens d'apprendre qu'on vous a malicieusement raporté nous venons dans le dessein de mettre la ville au pillage, pour refuter une calomnie aussi odieuse, j'en appelle à la Conduite que nous avons tenu jusqu'ici et que vous ne sauriez ignorer. Avez vous oui quelqu'un plaindre d'un pareil procédé de notre part depuis notre Entrée dans votre Province?

Endorsed:—A Monsieur,
Pierre Du Calvet,
Negotiant
au Montreal.

In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 20th Nov'r.

(Translation)

To the inhabitants of Montreal.

Gentlemen:

The great sorrow that I feel with respect to the unhappy fate by which your town is threatened causes me to urge you to exert all the Influence you can have upon the opinion of the Citizens to induce them to take the necessary measures to prevent the establishment of my Batteries against Montreal. When I think of the fatal results of a bombardment the extreme distress which always accompanies a Conflagration, but more particularly at a time of the year which will not permit you to repair the Damages at once, when I reflect how many innocent Persons will suffer by this Catastrophe, and that the Friends, even of Liberty who may be among you will be involved in the same Ruin with the wicked Instruments of Tyranny, my Heart aches at the cruel necessity in which I find myself of giving over this unfortunate town to the fury of the flames. I adjure you then for the sake of all you hold most dear and by the sacred ties of humanity to do everything possible to influence your Governor to take pity on the misery which threaten the people committed to his care, at a time when a futile Resistance can only serve to increase the misfortunes of your condition and to preserve for himself the reputation of humanity.

I am with the sincerest wishes for the success of this negotiation.

Your very humble servant,
Richard Montgomery, Brig. General,
Continental Army.

La Prairie, 9th Nov. 1775.

P.S. I have just learned that you have been maliciously informed that we intend to give up the town to plunder. To contradict such an odious calumny, I refer to the Conduct which we have observed so far and of which you cannot be ignorant. Have you heard any one complain of such an act on our part since our Entrance into your Province?

Endorsed, to Pierre Du Calvet,
Merchant at Montreal.

(94)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11. pp. 334-5.

Point Levy, 8th November, 1775.

May it please your Excellency,

My last Letter was of the 27th ulto from Chaudier Pond advising your Excellency that as the Detachment was short of Provisions by reason of losing many of our Batteaus, I had ordered Colonel Enos to send back the sick & feeble and those of his Division who could not be supplied with fifteen days Provisions & that I intended proceeding next day with fifteen men to Sartigan to send back Provisions to the Detachment. I accordingly set out the 28th early in the morning and descended the River amazingly rapid and rocky for about twenty miles when we had the misfortune to stave three of our Batteaus & loose their Provisions &c., but happily no lives.—I then proceeded with the two remaining Batteaus and five men and very fortunately reached the French Inhabitants, the 30th at night, who received us in the most hospitable manner, & sent off early the next morning a supply of fresh Provisions, Flour, &c. to the Detachment, who are all happily arrived (except one man drowned, one or two sick and Colo. Enos's Division, who, I am surprised to hear, are all gone back), and are within one or two days march.

I have this moment received a Letter from Brigadier General Montgomery, advising of the Reduction of Chamblie, &c. I have had about 40 savages join me and intend as soon as possible crossing the St. Lawrence. I am just informed by a Friend from Quebec that a Frigate of 26 guns & two Transports with 150 Recruits arrived there last Sunday, which with another small Frigate & four or five small armed Vessels up the River is all the Force they have except the Inhabitants, very few of whom have taken up Arms & those by compulsion, who declare (Except a few English) that they will lay them down whenever attacked. The Town is very short of Provisions but well Fortified. I shall endeavour to cut off their com-

munication with Country, which I hope to be able to Effect & bring them to Terms, or at least keep them in close Quarters, until the arrival of General Montgomery which I wait with Impatience.

I hope at any rate to be able to effect a Juncture with him at Montreal.

I am
with the greatest Respect,
your Excellency's
most obedient
humble servant,
Bened't Arnold.

(Signed)

His Excellency General Washington.

Endorsed:—Copy of a letter from Benedict Arnold to Mr. Washington, 8th Nov'r 1775.

In Lieut. Governor Cramahé's Letter of the 19th Nov'r.

(95)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. II. pp. 331-3.

Camp at St. Maria,
2 1/2 leagues from Point Levy.
8th Nov'r, 1775.

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 29th ultimo I received at one o'clock this morning which gave me much pleasure. I heartily congratulate you on your success thus far. I think you have had great reason to be apprehensive for me, the time I mentioned to General Washington being so long elapsed. I was not then apprized nor indeed apprehensive of one half of the Difficulties we had to encounter of which I cannot at present give you a particular Detail, can only say we have hauled our Batteaus over Falls, up rapid streams, over Carrying Places & marched thro' morasses, thick woods & over Mountains about 320 miles, many of which we had to pass several times to bring our Baggage. These difficulties the Soldiers have with the greatest Fortitude surmounted & about two thirds of the Detachment are happily arrived here or within two days march, most of them in good health and high spirits,—the other part with Colo. Enos returned from the Dead River without my expectation, he having orders to send back only the sick & those that could not be furnished with Provisions.

I wrote General Schuyler the 13th October by an Indian I thought trusty, inclosed to my Friend in Quebec, and as I have had no answer from either, and he pretends being taken at Quebec I make no doubt he has betrayed his Trust which I am the more confirmed in, as I find they have been some time apprised of our coming in Quebec, and have destroyed all the canoes at Point Levy to prevent our passing—this difficulty will be obviated by Birch canoes, as we have about 20 of them with 40 savages who have joined us and profess great Friendship, as well as the Canadians by whom we were very friendly received and who will be able to furnish us with a number of canoes.

I am informed by the French that there are two Frigates & several small armed vessels lying before Quebec & a large ship or two lately arrived from Boston, however, I propose crossing the St. Lawrence as soon as possible, and if any opportunity offers of attacking Quebec with success shall embrace (it) otherwise shall endeavor to join your Army at Montreal. I shall as often as in my power advise you of my proceedings & beg the favor of hearing from you by every opportunity. The inclosed letter to His Excellency General Washington I beg the favor of your forwarding by express.

I am very respectfully,
Dear Sir,
your most obedient
humble Servant,
Bened't Arnold.

Brigadier General Montgomery.

P.S. Since writing the above I have seen a Friend from Quebec, who informs a Frigate of 26 guns & two Transports with 150 Recruits arrived from St. John's Newfoundland last Sunday which with the Inhabitants who have been compelled to

take up arms amounting to about 300 men. That the French & English Inhabitants in general are on our side & that the City are short of Provisions. I shall endeavor to cut off their communication with the country & make no doubt, if no more Recruits arrive to bring them to Terms soon or at least keep them in close Quarters until you arrive here, which I shall wait with impatience, but if St. John's should not have surrendered & you can possibly spare a Regiment this way, I think the city must of course fall into our hands.

P.S. I have paid the Indians Ten Dollars expences and promised them they shall be well rewarded if they make Dispatch.

B. A.

Endorsed: In Lieut.-Gov'r Cramahé's Letter of the 19th Novem'r.

(96)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11. p. 285.

My Lord!

Quebec 9th Novr. 1775.

Inclosed Herewith Your Lordship will receive a Copy of a Letter wrote to General Gage by General Carleton in the Month of Feby. 1767, and another in Feby. last; they relate to the Occurrences of the present times, and shew the Judgment He had long since formed upon the Subject.

The 2d instant the very uncomfortable Account was received, that we had no Succours to expect from Boston, Copies of Paragraph of General Howe's Letter, and of Admiral Grave's to him are herewith inclosed, and annexed thereto a Report of the Arrivals of Shipping at the Port of Quebec in the Month of Novr. since the Establishment of the Custom house, in the year 1760 two ships arrived so late as the 24th of Novr.

Tho' General Gage did not seem to believe it, a Body of Men are certainly arrived by the way of the Chaudière, and their advance Guard is actually at Point Levi; for the Defence of the Town we have only about fourscore Recruits of Colonel Maclean's Corps, just arrived from St. John's, Irish Fishermen, unacquainted with the use of Arms, and about five and thirty Marines, landed out of the Lizard, the rest are Militia, with Difficulty brought to Mount Guard, and consequently not much to be depended on.

The Rebels are now upon the North Shore of the St. Lawrence, have cut off the communication by Land with Montreal, stopped the Post, and seized some Persons travelling down this Way, whom they since Released, and the Winds hanging to the Eastward, prevent the General's coming down by water, if that is his Intention; The Rebels, being in Force, have upon their side the Canadian Peasants, whom neither the zealous Exertions of the Gentry, Clergy or Bourgeoisie could prevail upon to do their Duty, and for want of a Force, we could neither awe or compel them to it; two Battalions in the Spring might have saved the Province, I doubt whether twenty would regain it.

From the peculiar Situation of Things, we are obliged to send Home the Rebel Prisoners, having no proper Gaols to confine them in, or Troops to Guard them, a List of them is herewith transmitted, and the Master having insisted upon it, as a Condition without which he would not take them on board, I have been obliged to write a requisitorial Letter to any of the Officers Commanding the King's Ships or Forts upon the Coast, to receive them until further Directions could be given therein: Copies of some Affidavits in regard to Mr Walker, and of two intercepted Letters, upon which I took up Mr. Mercier of this Town, are likewise inclosed.

Should a large force be sent out to this Country next Spring, Mr. Brook Watson, with whom I have conversed upon the Subject, and who knows the Country, can give the King's Servants several useful Hints, which the Shortness of Time, and the Hurry and Confusion attending this near approach of the Enemy, prevent my committing to writing.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect

My Lord!

Your Lordship's Most obedient and Most Humble Servant

H. T. Cramahé.

Earl of Dartmouth

One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec 9th Novr. 1775.

Lt. Govr. Cramahé.

R 23d Decr. 1775.

(97)

Extract of a letter from Quebeck, dated Nov. 9, 1775.

Lieutenant Governor Cramahé told Mr. MacAulay of this place, a few days ago, in great anger "that it was our damn'd committees that had thrown the province into its present state, and prevented the Canadians from taking arms; but that he should hear more of that hereafter." By these words we presume we are to understand, that if they had power in their hands to enforce their authority, a star-chamber would be erected to harrass those who might differ in opinion from them, or might make any attempts, by future applications to the Throne, for a redress of their grievances; for we are told that all meetings are illegal by martial law. The new arrangement of government under the Quebeck-bill, met with a general disapprobation. Not to mention the English inhabitants, (who could not but dislike it, as it was totally different from what they had expected and applied for) the Canadians in general were displeas'd with it, and declared that it was not at their desire or sollicitation that it was pass'd; and that they had not been made acquainted with the petition which was presented to the King from a few persons in the province, and was made the ground of passing it. They said that the persons, who had sign'd that petition, consisted principally of their ancient oppressors, their Noblesse, who wanted nothing more than, as formerly to domineer over them; and they exclaimed against them bitterly on that account; but intimated that they had better take care of themselves, and not be too forward to put their intentions into execution. The Lawyers and Notaries, and such of the citizens as had been induced to sign that petition (or rather, had been afraid to refuse to sign it, for fear of being pointed at by the friends to such measures) almost unanimously declared their disapprobation and dislike of the Act of Parliament, more especially when the appointments of the members of the new council came to be made, and it was found that none but the Noblesse, or those who had the Croix de Saint Louis, were appointed to it, without a single person taken from the commercial part of the French inhabitants of the province. This, with the giving the half-pay to a set of French officers who had served on a Battoe expedition against the Indians in General Murray's time, and the appointment of Monsieur de Rouville for one of the Judges at Montreal, and of Claude Panet for Quebeck, with salaries, as it is given out, of £700 a year each, and, in short, the wantonly and profusely inventing places for creatures and sycophants, with which the Governour was continually surrounded, has given great disgust. It is indeed alarming to think how all this money was to be raised. A very little matter would have induced the Canadians to unite in a body to petition for a Repeal of the Act. But no one cared to step forth, and set forward any measure of that kind, partly thro' fear of the ill treatment, which they might be made to suffer in consequence of having done so, now that the Governour's authority is so extensive, and partly through the hope that we continually entertained of hearing from England of the Repeal or Amendment of it. Peter Panet, of Montreal, who is brother to the other, but quite another sort of man, had every reason to expect to be made a Judge, if any of the French were to be made so. He is really very clever, and had been Clerk to the Court of Captains of the Militia immediately after the conquest of the country, or, one may almost say, both Clerk and Chief Judge; and he certainly ought, on this occasion, to have had the preference by far to Rouville. Indeed, the nomination of the latter to this office is so offensive to the Canadians at Montreal, that they were quite exasperated at it, and were going to prefer a petition to the Governour against his being appointed to it. But the taking of Crown Point and the subsequent disturbances in the province, put a stop to every thing, and has prevented any part of the Act from taking place.

"(The Canadian inhabitants of this province openly avow their affection to the English manners and customs, and declare that they never wish to live quieter or more happy than they have done since the commencement of civil government. Indeed it is surprising to see how much they have flourished and increased in riches within these few years, by meeting with so good a market for their produce. This is owing to the great spirit of speculation—trade that prevails among the English merchants here and their Friends at Home, and cannot in any degree be attributed to the French Merchants, who have nothing of the spirit of trade in them. This flourishing state of the province, since the establishment of the English laws in it, makes the Canadians fond of those laws, and desirous of their continuance: And numberless are the proofs that might be given of their preferring them to the French laws by which they were formerly governed, were it not for the artifices of a very few persons, the Noblesse of the province, who, by having gained the support and assistance of Government, have had it in their power to disguise the truth, and pre-

vent an union between the old and new subjects in making application to the Throne to obtain a settlement of the province upon the foundation of the English law. When any strangers from England have come to these parts by way of curiosity, who on their return might have represented things in a true light, they have been kept up amongst a small circle of people, and have hardly ever appeared in publick, or conversed with the people at large, and have thereby been prevented from getting true and general information concerning the real state of the province and the sentiments of its inhabitants.

"The Canadians, very early this Spring, declared, that the Noblesse had no manner of authority over them, and that even their seigniors had no right to command their military service. They acknowledged, that they owed them respect as their Lords of the Manor; but they insisted, that, when they had paid them their quit-rents, and all their other just dues, together with certain compliments which were customary at different seasons, they owed them nothing further, and were not bound to submit to any power they might presume to exercise over them. For some of the seigniors have pretended to some authority over their tenants; of which there was an instance in the seigniorie called *La Beauce* behind Point-Levi, where the young seignior, Mons. Taschereau, caused one of his tenants to be confined for refusing to march at his command against the Provincials, who had invaded the province; but he soon thought it best to solicit the man's release and did not afterwards try the same experiment with any other of them. But in other parts of the province several of the Canadians have been threatened with the same treatment, if they did not obey their seignior's order to take arms for the defence of the province, in order to frighten them into the service. But it has had the contrary effect, and has been found to be of bad consequence. Nothing of this kind had appeared before the Quebec Bill passed. But the strongest verbal proof that I can give you of the dislike of the Canadians to the Quebec Bill is this: Mr. John Thompson (who is a very honest man) told me yesterday that he was present at the Coffee-house at Montreal when Mr. James Finlay of that place declared publicly, that the Captain of the French Militia had, in his presence, told Governour Carleton, "That the Canadians in that town, themselves included, would not take arms as a Militia, unless His Excellency would assure them on his honour, that he would use his utmost endeavours to get the Quebec Bill repealed;" and that he thereupon promised them, that he would do so. But now all these considerations are at an end for the present, as we are likely to have new masters shortly.

"The governour's reason for establishing Martial Law in this province was, that he might be able by means of that law (which he thought would authorize him so to do), to force the Canadians to take arms. But he has entirely failed of success in this attempt. Indeed, it was a most ridiculous attempt, as he had no troops at hand to enforce his authority or commands. Great threats are frequently thrown out, and every now and then people are put under confinement by the militia. On Saturday, the 28th of October, Mr. John Dyer Mercier, as he was going into the Upper-Town, was laid hold of by the Town-Serjeant, and conducted to the main guard, and there confined, and his papers were seized and examined, merely by order of the Lieutenant-Governour, without any crime or accusation alledged against him; and, at day-break the next morning he was put on board the Hunter Sloop of War. This was very alarming to the citizens of Quebec, who thereupon had a meeting, and appointed three of their number to wait on the Lieutenant-Governour to know the cause of so remarkable a step. He made answer, "that he had sufficient reasons for what he had done, which he would communicate when and to whom he should think proper." But he soon thought better of it. For the next morning he called together the six Captains of the British Militia, and communicated to them one or more intercepted letters directed to Mr. Mercier, of a nature that was sufficient to warrant his being secured for the safety of the town. But nothing was found that proceeded from him, or that could serve as a proof to convict him of any crime. This communication gave a good deal of satisfaction. It is a piece of Justice to the French inhabitants of the province to say, that those of them who have taken arms for the defence of the province, are not corrupted in their tempers by the use of them, so as to be ready to act as the instruments of arbitrary power over their fellow citizens, but rather decline being so employed. Of this we had lately a remarkable instance at Montreal. For General Prescott, who commands at Montreal, having thought fit to place centinels at the fore and back doors of Mr. Walker's house to be a guard upon Mrs. Walker (notwithstanding her husband is no longer with her, but a prisoner on board a sloop of war) ordered Pascal Pillet, one of the French inhabitants of Montreal who had taken arms for the defence of that city, to attend that duty. But Pillet would not do it, but replied, "that he took up arms for the defence

of the city, and was willing to stand sentry in his turn on the walls to oppose the enemy, but would not be employed as a gaoler to watch his fellow-citizens, but would sooner throw down his arms, though they were his own property, and let those persons take them who would consent to be so employed.

General Prescott upon being told of this refusal, thought proper to drop his design of setting a guard upon Mrs. Walker, and said, it was hardly worth while to watch an old woman. This certainly does honour to the spirit and temper of the French inhabitants who have entered into the Militia upon this occasion. Shortly after this affair we heard that Fort Chambly was taken, with eight officers and 60 men. Then it was said that a plan was formed for General Carleton and Col. M'Lean to join their forces and march to the relief of St. John's Fort. It was given out that General Carleton had 1500 Canadians with him. Proper signals were agreed on, and General Carleton was to cross over the River St. Lawrence with his army, which consisted, first, of the militia of Montreal; and, secondly, of a number of Canadians that he had with him, and whom he had maintained for some time before at Montreal; and, thirdly, a few troops that he had with him, who might amount to about 100 men, and who were to have headed the Canadians; and, lastly, some Indians. They accordingly set off from Montreal in high spirits, and attempted to cross the River St. Lawrence, and land at Longueuil; but they were so warmly received by the provincials on the other side the river, that they could not make good their landing, but were thrown into great confusion, and retired with precipitation. Some of them ran aground on an island, and had like to have perished, but were saved by the New England men. Two Indians were killed, and two more taken prisoners. The next Express informed us, that, upon Colonel M'Lean's party hearing of this repulse, his Canadians had all left him, and retired to their homes. And the night before last an Express brought the News, that the garrison of St. John's had capitulated (being starved out) and were all made prisoners of war; and that Montreal was invested, and its communication with the country entirely cut off; and that the provincials were on St. Helen's Island, over-against the town, and were there erecting a battery to fire upon it, in case they shall refuse to capitulate; and that Governour Carleton was on board the *Fell*, an armed snow.

"There are also 1500 provincials arrived at Point Levi. We have within a few days heard of their approach, and our guards have been doubled on that account. Our fate (at least for some time) must soon be decided. There are fifteen Commissaries appointed, consisting of the six English and six French Captains of Militia, and the three Judges. Three of them sit every day, to examine into small matters, and give passes to all the canoes that come into, or go out of, the town. This, with the means made use of to get Canadians from the neighbouring country to do duty in the town has so intimidated the inhabitants of the Country, that very few of them venture to come to town, so that we have hardly a supply of provisions from hand to mouth, much less to stand a siege.

"P.S. Just now an order is come down for eight men from each of the six companies of the British Militia to appear on the parade *without Arms*, to receive One Shilling and a pint of Porter for the business they were to do. Orders are also given for a party of Marines to be on the parade *armed*. So we are inclined to judge the intentions of our Government to be to force us to a defence of the town, and sacrifice our lives and properties. The Shilling and a pint of Porter are supposed to be considered as King's money to enlist us, and subject us to military discipline. The Lord protect us from our enemies within and without.

(Additional papers, concerning the Province of Quebeck, by Francis Maseres, Pp. 101-11.)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 13, pp. 48-56.

Memorandum of the Rebel Invasion of Canada in 1775.

In the Beginning of May, 75, Col. Allen took Tiyondarogon Garrison, by Surprise after midnight, and immediately prepared, crossing Lake Champlain in *Batteaux* in Quest of the King's Vessell and finding she had got to St. Johns, proceeded with 150 men to that place garrisoned by a Serjeant's party and landed out of sight of the place, his party consisting mostly of Inhabitants about Lake Champlain that had a daily Intercourse with the people at St. Johns, they gradually entered the place, as it were accidentally, without being suspected, (the taking of Tiyondarogon, or other Disturbances at Boston & the Colonies not being known or heard

of there), till they took an opportunity of surrounding the chief part of the Garrison without their Barracks, then securing the rest & their Arms within, and seized the King's Sloop laying at the Wharff, one of the Soldiers, however, made his Escape to Montreal and carried the News to Lt. Col. Templar of the 26th Regt, who sent off a party with a field piece to St. Johns and would have surprized the Rebels and taken them prisrs had not one Benton, a Mercht of Montreal got to St. Johns before the party and apprized them of it, and they were not out of Canon Shot when the Troops arrived at St. Johns, being luckily favored with a fair wind to carry them over the Lake to Tiyondarogon. This Expedition to St. Johns happened abt the middle of May. The Rebels then in the course of June sent Reinforcements and Provision & ammuniton to Tiyondarogo, and having intercepted the Return of the few Troops left in Canada and being in possession of all the Vessels & Crafts in Lake Champlain set their Invasion of Canada on Foot, constructing Batteaux & making other preparations.

On the 1st of June I left my House on the Mohawk River to proceed to Canada by way of Oswego, (a great round abt, the Communication by Lakes George & Champlain being cut off by the Rebels,) & at the same time assisting Col. Johnston to assemble the Six Nations Indians and apprize them of the Rebels proceedings; arrived abt the middle of July at Iro-Aughquiasne or St. Regis, an Iroquois Town on the River St. Lawrence, and summoned those Indians to a Congress at Caghnawagay, alias Sault St. Louis, the Fire or Council place of the Indian Nations in Canada, where I arrived the 17th of July. Col. Johnson brought some of the Six Nations with him and proceeded immediately to Montreal. I remained opposite Caghnawagay to meet and conferr with those Nations upon the Situation of Affairs and they being summoned, they immediately attended and expressed their great satisfaction of seeing me, then related to me all that had happened since the Affair at St. Johns, and what Consternation and Alarm the Rebels occasioned in Canada, and the fear of Defection of the Canadians on Acct. of the defenceless state of the country. That the Governor sent for them and desired as their assistance to have a Look out to watch the motions of the Rebels who were expected to pay another visit soon in Canada. They replied that this being an Affair of Moment & a Surprise they must first consult upon it being strangers to the nature of the Dispute between the King and his Children, the Colonists, and in short were at a Loss how to act, that at our taking of Canada in 1760, they were desired and treated with to consider the King's English subjects as their friends & Brothers for the future, forgetting all former Hatred agst them, which they then promised and hitherto fulfilled. Now they were desired to act agst them when the Inhabitants of the Country who had more reason to do were so backward & defected, a thing they could not so easy determine upon. At which they said the Governor seemed to be displeas'd & angry, acquainting them that in case of their persisting in their Denial, they must expect having their Lands taken from them & be deprived of other privileges they enjoyed. They answerd that if their Lives were at stake, they could not rashly & inconsiderately enter into a War, the nature of which they were unacquainted with, that they considered themselves independent & free agents in that Respect and could say no more abt it & so the meeting broke up.

They therefore repeated agn they were very happy at my arrival and begd & entreated me to give them a full acct of this extraordinary & unexpected Dispute. Accordingly I begun with the original settling of the Colonies, Governments care, Indulgence & protection of them at an immense expence to the British Nation, some of which instances they were themselves sensible of, vizt. their protection from becoming French Subjects in the Beginning of the late War, and the consequent conquest of Canada by the british Arms only wch secured to them peace & Tranquility after many years War & Troubles. I then recounted to them the Colonists, particularly ye New Englanders most ungratefull Returns for these Favours & Blessings from the Time of the Stamp Act to the destroying of ye Tea at Boston. The necessity of Government sending an Armament to enforce the Laws of the Kingdom, the New Englanders insulting the Troops and becoming the Aggressors at Lexington, their unwarrantable & rebellious Invasion of Canada, a country not in the least concerned in the Dispute; their being then in possession of the Territory abt Lake Champlain wch His Majesty allotted them for Hunting & fishing, the danger of their losing those Means of Subsistence in case the Rebels should get a footing there; Their ill usage of the Indians in general & striping them of all their Lands if not guarded against by the Crown; the striking example of their own people living among the Colonists, some of whom they made slaves & servants of & got their Lands from them in a fraudulent Manner, which would be the case with all Indians, should they become the Rulers of the Continent of America; with several other

touching arguments on the Subject with which they were so struck and roused that immediately they determined of attacking & laying waste the New England frontiers. I advised them to declare first their sentiments to Sir Guy Carleton at the public Meeting to be held at Montreal in a few days and that I was of opinion that they ought first to warn the New Englanders off their Territory at Crown Point & Tiyondarogon, and if they refused, to acquaint them of their Resolution.

Accordingly in the Beginning of August a Congress of upwards of 1500 Indians, including abt 600 Warriors, took place at Montreal, when the Indians in public Council made the above Offers & proposals to Sir Guy Carleton, who in his Answer thanked them for their good Will but did not at all approve of the scheme. That all he wanted and desired of them was to keep a party of 40 or 50 of their young men at St. Johns to have a Lookout from that Garrison & watch the motions of the Rebels at Crown Point but they were not to go beyond the Line of the Province of Quebec. After this Meeting Sir Guy Carleton went to Quebec wch was towards the middle of August. The Indians were something disgusted at their Offer being rejected, however, they kept such a party of abt 50 of their Warriors at St. Johns who being attended by two Indian Officers, made several discoveries, killed one Capt. Baker & wounded some of his party, in the Capt's side pockets were found his Journal & other papers relative to his Discoveries abt St. Johns & Chamblee.

About the Middle of Sept. a Relief of Indians was sent to St. Johns and before the relieved party came away the news was brought that the Rebel Army was in Sight, upon which Major Preston ordered the Indian Officer with all the Indians to march out of the Fort and meet the Rebels without any other White Man, accordingly they came up with the Rebels abt 1 1/2 miles from the Fort on the west shore, who were landing & partly landed, the Indians attacked them with all the advantage they could, the Rebels being abt 10 to 1 Indn, made them give way at two diff times and at last obliged them to retreat to the Isle aux Noix, 15 miles from St. Johns. The Indians had 8 killed & some wounded and the Rebels it was thought upwards a hundred, they carrying off their Dead in their boats; the Works at St. Johns on the side where the Rebels landed not being finished, they must have soon carried the place and Montreal & Quebec being unguarded & open must have made an easy Conquest.

General Schuyler who must have commanded that Expedition, fell sick after the Repulse and returned home, when the command devolved on Genl Montgomery, who, after the defeat, sent very threatening Messages to Caghnawagay, (the nearest Indian Town, to his Army & no River to cross from where he was, to attack their Town), acquainting them with his Displeasure at their late enimical Behaviour at St. Johns against him (their being the most numerous Nation in the attack) and desiring their sending Deputies to him at the Isle aux Noix immediately, otherwise they would march against their Town, burn it and destroy their families. The Caghnawagey Indians were much alarmed at these Messages, seeing themselves exposed to the Resentment of the Rebels and no appearance of protection from Government and the disaffected Behaviour of the Canadians & being left in the Lurch by the Troops when they attacked the Rebels at their Landing had no Resource or means left to extricate themselves from obeying the Summons & saw themselves obliged to send Deputies with great Dread & Fear of ill Treatment. However, on their arrival at ye Isle aux Noix, they were well rec'd by Mr. Montgomery, who upbraided them at the same time for interfering in a Dispute they had no Business with and hoped they would not do so for the future, that as he did not want the assistance of any Indians & it was to be supposed so powerfull a prince as the King of England did not want the help of Savages. In the meantime he kept these Deputies of the Caghnawageys by way of Hostages untill their People were removed from St. Johns making them a present of 1000 Dollars, then proceeded with his Army to invest St. Johns a second time which was about the 20th of September and succeeded, however, the Garrison had time to prepare themselves since the first Attempt and he was obliged to besiege it regularly. After this the Caghnawagey Indns were signalized as Traitors altho' they repeatedly offered to join any Body of Troops or Canadians that should be sent to raise the siege of St. Johns and being one day informed of such a party to be sent, they in a Body went to meet them at la prairie but finding a false Report they returned home.

About the latter end of Sept. Col. Allen attempted with abt 200 men to take Montreal by a coup de main, being met by a Body of Troops & Canadians they were dispersed, some killed & wounded, Allen was pursued by two young Indn Officers, a few Rangers and Indians and was taken prisr with a party of his best Men. After this Affair the Canadians came to Montreal under an appearance to lend

their services, they were armed, accoutred, &ca., and ordered to be ready when called upon but many of them disappeared. Towards the middle of October the Rebels having exhausted their ammunition & provisions, planned the Taking of Chamblee Garrison well stocked with these Articles. Its to be remarked that after St. Johns was invested that post could be of no service to the former but would have added great strength to our Troops at the Sorell or Montreal. Accordingly the Rebels tempted with so valuable an acquisition and so little Risque, (the place being defenceless agst Artillery), brought two light pieces of Iron Cannon thro' the woods out of reach of St. Johns Fort and soon made a Breach into the thin walls of Chamblee, so that Major Stopford who commanded saw himself obliged to surrender with his Garrison when the Rebels found upwards 100 Barrls of Powder & Shot in proportion & 200 Barrls of Provision by which Means they were enabled to take St. Johns, otherways by their own Confession must have quitted Canada, having but few Rounds of Ammunition & very little provn left. The Rebels were fortunate enough at the Beginning of the siege to take a parcell of Provision & Cloaths intended to be thrown into St. Johns for the Troops, which Articles they much wanted at that season. The latter end of October Sir Guy Carleton made an Attempt to relieve the Garrison at St. Johns and endeavoured to cross at Longueuil with a Body of Canadians & Indians but the former seemingly could not be depended upon and the latter thereby drew the Rebels upon them, lost their chief Warrior & others wounded & taken, the effort proved abortive and St. Johns was obliged to surrender for want of succour & provision the beginning of Novr & soon after Montreal. Its to be observed that after the Rebels Repulse from St. Johns, Montreal & Quebec were put in as good a State of Defence as the Time would permit; Several Armed Shipping arrived at the latter & Capt. Hamilton in the Lizard on the 9th of Novr. The 11th of Novr. I embarked for Europe.

Danl Claus,

late Agt for Indn Affairs, Provice
Quebec.

Endorsed:—Memorandum of the Rebel Invasion of Canada in 1775,
By Colo. Claus.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. II. p. 327.

Camp before Quebec, 14th Nov'r, 1775.

Sir,
The unjust, cruel, and tyrannical Acts of a venal British Parliament tending to enslave the American Colonys have obliged them to appeal to God and the Sword for redress That being in whose hands are all human events has hitherto smiled at their virtuous efforts and as every artifice has been used to make the innocent Canadians instruments of their cruelty by instigating them against the colonies and oppressing them on refusing every oppressive mandate—The American Congress induced by motives of humanity have at their request sent General Schuyler into Canada for their relief, to co-operate with him I am ordered by his Excellency General Washington to take possession of the Town of Quebec. I do therefore, in the name of the united Colonies, demand immediate surrender of the Town Fortifications, &c. of Quebec, to the forces of the United Colonies under my command, forbidding you to injure any of the inhabitants of the Town in their persons or property, as you will answer the same at your Peril. On surrendering the Town the property of every individual shall be secured to him. But if I am obliged to carry the Town by storm you may expect every severity practised on such occasions and the Merchants who may now save their Property will probably be involved in the general ruin.

I am,

Sir,

your most obedient, humble Servant,
Bened't Arnold, Coll.
& commanding the American
Forces.

Hon'ble Hector Theophilus Cramahé, Lieutenant Governor & Commander of Quebec.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. II. pp. 329-30.

Camp before Quebec, 15th Novem'r, 1775.

Sir,
I yesterday sent the inclosed with a Flag and an Officer, who approaching near the Walls of the Town was contrary to humanity and the Law of Nations fired on and narrowly escaped being killed. This I imputed to the ignorance of your Guards, and ordered him to return this morning, and to my great surprise he was received in the same manner as yesterday. This is an insult I would not have expected from a private soldier, much more from an Officer of your Rank, and thro' me offered to the united Colonies will be deeply resented, but any any rate cannot redound to your honor or valor. I am informed you have put a Prisoner of mine into Irons. I desire to know the truth of this and the manner in which he is treated, as I have several prisoners taken from you, who now feed at my own Table, you may expect that they will be treated in the same manner in Future as you treat mine.

I am, Sir,
your humble Serv't
Bened't Arnold, Coll. &c.

Hon'ble Hector T. Cramahé.

Endorsed:—Copies of two letters, dated 14th & 15th Nov'b'r. from Bened't Arnold.

In Lieut. Governor's Letter of the 19th Novem'r.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. II, p. 323.

Head Quarters, Sorel, one o'clock,
15th Nov'r, 1775.

Sir,
By This you will Learn that General Montgomery is in possession of the Fortress Montreal. You are very sensible I am in Possession at this Place, and from the Strength of the United Colonies on both sides, your own situation is Rendered very disagreeable—I am therefore Induced to make you the following Proposal, viz.

That if you will Resign your Fleet to me Immediately without destroying the Effects on Board, you and your men shall be used with due Civility, together with women & children on Board—to this I expect your direct and Immediate answer. Should you Neglect you will cherefully take the Consequences which will Follow.

I am, Sir, &ca.
James Easton.

To Gen'l Carleton or
Officer commanding the
Fleet in St. Lawrance.

Endorsed:—In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 20th Nov'r.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. II, p. 345.

Quebec, Nov'r 16th, 1775.

Sir,
It haveing been found adviseable by the Council of War this day to attempt the defence of the Town of Quebec and it being impossible to defend it without the assistance of King's Ships and Seamen under your Command you are requested by the

Lieut. Governor, the Civil Magistrates and the Military Gentlemen who was present at the Council of War to lay up the Ships and order the seamen on shore for the Immediate Defence of the Town.

We are with great regard, Sir,
your most obedient and
most Humble Servants,

H. T. Cramahé.
Allan Maclean.
Nichs. Cox.
Thos. Faunce.
Adam Mabane.
Henry Caldwell.
Thos. Dunn.
Thos. Jones.
Geo. Lawe.

Copy,
John Hamilton.

Captain John Hamilton, Commanding His Majesty's Ships in the Province & Harbor of Quebec.

Endorsed:—In Capt. Hamilton's of the 20th Novem'r.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. II, pp. 342-4.

At a Council of War held at Quebec, the 16th Nov'r, 1775.

Present, Hector Theophilus Cramahé, Lt. Governor.

Lt. Colo. McClean.

Major Cox.

Major Caldwell.

Capt. Jones.

Capt. Lawes.

Lieut. Faunce, acting Town Major.

Capt. Hamilton, Lizard.

Capt. McKenzie, Hunter.

Lieut. Nunn, Magdalen.

Lieut. Pringle, Lizard.

Lieut. Fooks, Lizard.

Adam Mabane | Conservators of the Peace and
Thomas Dunn | Members of His Majesty's Council.

The annexed Returns of Provisions, of the men in the Garrison and of those in the Ships in Quebec Harbor who may be employed in the defence of the Town, having been laid before the Council of War by the Lieut. Governor. It is the unanimous opinion of the Council of War that it is for the Benefit and Honor of His Majesty's Service at all Events to defend the Town to the last Extremity.

It is likewise there Opinion that the Suburbs of St. John's and all Houses adjoining to the Fortifications and defences of the Town which may afford shelter to the Enemy should be destroyed as soon as Possible.

Also that as many Pilots as can be procured should be sent to Europe on board the Express which is to carry the Dispatches of the Lieut. Governor, of Captain Hamilton, Commanding Officer of the Troops, and the determination of this Council of War.

That a Signal should be agreed upon by the Lieut. Governor & Captain Hamilton and be by them communicated to His Majesty's Secretary of State and the Commanding Officers of the Fleet and Army at Boston, by which it may be made known to the Fleet and Army, which may come to the relief of Quebec next Spring whether it is in the Possession of the King's Troops or not.

That as several Masters of Vessels which have been detained in consequence of the Embargo laid upon Shipping for the defence of the Province have been subjected to

great Inconvenience (and who are zealous for the Service), some immediate Provisiion should be made for them by the Lieut. Governor and their case represented to His Majesty's Secretary of State.

H. T. Cramahé.
Jno Hamilton.
Allan Maclean.
Nichs. Cox.
Henry Caldwell.
Thos. Mackenzie.
Thos. Pringle.
Willm. Fooks.
Thos. Faunce.
A. Mabane.
Geo. Lawe.
Thos. Dunn.

Copy.

John Hamilton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. II, pp. 324-7.

Quebec, 19th Novr., 1775.

My Lord,

My last of the 9th instant gave your Lordship a disagreeable Account of the State of this once flourishing Province its situation at present is truly critical and dangerous.

Since the 5th instant I have not had a Line from Governor Carleton, and tho' several Persons have at different times been employed and no Expense spared to convey to him Intelligence of what was passing here, I have Reason to believe that only one short Letter ever reached him, if the last obtained can be depended on; the little Force he had still remaining, consisting of about eighty or ninety Men, as well as I can Judge, with the Powder, Artillery, Stores, and Provisions had embarked at Montreal on board some armed and River Vessels in Order to make their Way down to this Place, at the same time I received advice the Rebels had raised Batteries in different Places to prevent their passage through the Islands at the Mouth of the Sorel and if the same winds prevailed above, that we had here, they could not attempt sailing by them before yesterday, should they be so fortunate as to pass those Batteries and come down safe before any Accident happens to us, it will add Vigor and Spirit to the Defenders of this Town.

In the Night between the 13th and 14th instant Arnold's Party crossed over from Point Levi and took Post about a Mile and a half from Town, where spreading themselves, and posting small Guards on all the Avenues they actually Prevent fuel or Refreshments of any kind being brought in.

The Enemy without, however, are not to be dreaded as much as their numerous Friends in the Town, they endeavour to alarm and threaten to storm us as your Lordship will see by the inclosed Copies of Arnold's Letters; the circumstances of firing upon his Flag of Truce is an arrant Falsehood calculated for figuring in the American Prints, a body of two or three hundred paraded before the Town and were fired upon as they deserved, of his March hither your Lordship will see his own Account in Letters of the 8th Instant, by the mistake of his Courier, an Indian of Lorette delivered to a Party of Lt.-Col. Maclean's then moving downward.

In this difficult situation I was under the necessity of consulting His Majesty's sea and Land Officers and the result of their deliberations is hereto annexed; whether we shall be able to execute what we judged our Duty and the Interest and Honor of our Country required us to undertake, is more than any one thoroughly acquainted with our situation can venture to say.

Whether the Enemy do or do not possess themselves of the Town, it will require a very large and powerful Land and Naval Armament to reconquer the Country and seize a proper hold of it, no time should be lost, they will undoubtedly spare no Pains to the Equipment for this Undertaking, no dependence ought to be had on the Ships and Stores at present in the Place, its Preservation being extremely precarious.

To get here early in May is absolutely necessary, and whether the Garrison stands or falls before that time, upon that most probably will depend the whole success of the Expedition. Captain Hamilton and I have agreed upon a private signal to be made when the Fleet come up in Spring, which is herewith enclosed.

Inclosed you have the Copy of a Memorial from the Masters of the Merchant Ships, who with their men have been detained for the Defence of the Town, we have determined to make them an allowance, and hope themselves and owners will receive some compensation for their Loss of Time and Trouble.

In the Hurry and Confusion of the present disagreeable Time, I scarcely have a Moment's Leisure, and therefore beg leave to refer Your Lordship for further Particulars to Lieutenant Pringle, whom Captain Hamilton sends home with his Dispatches, and to Mr. Wm. Grant, whom I have entrusted with mine, the former, tho' but a short time in the Province has taken Pains to inform himself of its present situation, Circumstances and the Measures to be taken for the Recovery of it, the latter has resided in it many Years, is sensible and intelligent, well acquainted with the Country, and the People.

Just as this Letter was finishing I received Information of the Rebels having marched upwards, whether in the intention of joining Mr. Montgomery's Corps, and providing themselves with Warm cloathing of which they are in great want, attempting some of our armed Vessels, or of returning hither and surprising the Town, is altogether uncertain; if the latter is their scheme, redoubled vigilance on our Parts, will, I hope, defeat it.

I have the Honor to be with great
Respect, My Lord,
your Lordship's
most Obedient and
most Humble Servant,
H. T. Cramahé.

Earl of Dartmouth,
One of His Majesty's
Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 19th Novem'r, 1775.
Lieut. Governor Cramahé.
R/25 December.

(105)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. II, p. 344.

Return of Men for the Defence of the Town of Quebec this 16th November 1775.

	Officers.	Privates.
Royal Artillery	1	5
Recruits belonging to Royal Emigrant Regt.	14	186
Lizard Frigate Marines	2	35
" Seamen effective	19	114
Hunter Sloop	8	60
Magdaline arm'd Schooner	4	16
Charlotte arm'd Ship	4	46
Masters, Mates, Carpenters & Seamen belonging to the Trans- ports & Merchant Ships that have not been impressed.	0	74
Artificers & Carpenters	0	80
British Militia, including Officers		200
Canadian Militia, including Officers		300
	52	1,116
Royal Fuseleers on board the Fell & Providence arm'd Vessels ex- pected to arrive soon	3	60
Seamen belonging to said Vessels	8	72
	63	1,248

Return of Provisions in the Garrison

Flour	1950	Barrels
Wheat 7,840 Bushells will make in Flour	1500	do
Rice in Tierces about 450 Lb. each	146	
Bisket	1100	Quintals
Butter	406	Firkins
Pease	800	Bushells

Endorsed; In Capn. Hamilton's of the 20th Novemr.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. II, pp. 339-41.

My Lord,

Consistant with my Duty, I have the Honor to acquaint your Lordship we held a Council of War the 11th Instant. to propose means for the defence of Quebec as the Rebels were on there march to invest it when it was resolved to lay an Embargo on all Shipping, British Inhabitants and Seafaring People from leaveing the Province at this critical Time, & to offer a reward of Three Pounds for all Seamen entering voluntary into His Majesty's Service, to put the city into the best state of defence Possible, whether it was absolutely necessary to detain the King's Ship, which last was refered to a Council of War to be held the 16th for many reasons, to collect the number and Force of the Garrison, the Quantity of Provisions and firing. The number to be fed and what Time it would last which could not be ascertained before the time proposed for the Council to be held, a copy of which I have enclosed. The Provisions in the Garrison with the greatest frugality will not last longer than the middle of May, and the Garrison has received no reinforcement except Colo. McClane and about 100 of his men, it was judged by the members that it was absolutely necessary that the King's Ships should be detained and lain up as soon as possible as the Inhabitants would look on themselves as deserted if they sailed and would not defend the Place. I therefore informed the Members that if they were determined to defend the Garrison I would assist all that lay in my Power, and have given the necessary Orders for their being dismantled and lay'd up as soon as Possib'e and if the Place is not betray'd into the Hands of the Rebels before we can accomplish it, as in the Intrin we are neither in a state to Act at sea or on shore, but when once landed shall think we have little to fear—Your Lordship will find what a distress'd situation we are in and cannot be extricated from but by a sufficient Force and quantity of Provisions as early as possible.—I have wrote to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty by this opportunity and as I have it not in my Power to give your Lordship so distinct and perfect an account in writing as I could wish and as your Lordship might be desirous to be informed of many things relative to the true State of Affairs here I have dispatched Lieutenant Pringle of His Majesty's Ship Lizard under my Command, who will explain and inform you of every particular and to whom I beg your Lordship may be refer'd.

B a deserter that came from the Rebels we learn that Arnold's Men are short of ammunition and cloathing, and that on hearing a Salley was intended from the Garrison had retreated into the woods to wait being joined by a Party of 2,000 men said to be on their march from Montreal. I have the Pleasure to acquaint your Lordship that since I wrote this General Carleton is arrived.

I am,

my Lord, your Lordship's,
most Obedient and
most Humble Serv't,
John Hamilton.

Lizard, 20th Novem'r, 1775.

The Rt. Hon'ble The Earl of Dartmouth.

Endorsed:—Lizard, off Quebec,
Capt. Hamilton,
8th Novem'r, 1775.
R/25 Decem'r.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. II, p. 337.

Private Signal for the Information of the Fleet.

In case any of His Majesty's Ships should be afloat and not in the Hands of the Enemy, I shall hoist a Blue Pendant at the Main top Gall't Mast or upper Mast Head with a Union Jack under it and fire five guns and if the ships are not there the Fort will hoist the same on the Flag Staff and fire the same number of Guns.

To be answered by the Fleet by a Red Flag at the main top Gall't Mast head and a Union at the Mizzen Top Gall't Mast Head & fire 7 Guns.

John Hamilton.

Quebec, 20th Nov'r, 1775.

Endorsed:—Signals.

In Lieut. Governor Cramahé's Letter of the 19th Nov'r,

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. II, pp. 349-50.

To the Honorable Hector Theophilus Cramahê, Esqr. Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, &c. &c.

The Memorial of the Subscribers, Masters of Vessels in this Port, Humbly Sheweth.

That in consequence of a Council of War held yesterday, the 11th instant it was resolved to lay an Embargo on the Shipping under their command.—That this day a Signal was made on board His Majesty's Frigate the Lizard, John Hamilton, Esqr. Commanding, for all masters of Merchant Ships to repair on board, with which your Memorialists complied; when the said Commander addressed himself as follows, vizt.

"That the present situation of affairs in this Province were such that he could not suffer any Shipping to go from Quebec this Winter; and recommended to your Memorialists to get their Vessels hauld on shore as soon as possible into some place of safety."

That your Memorialists have His Majesty's Service much at heart and the next points in consideration with them is the safety of their vessels, loss of time, Damages and many other unavoidable Expenses, which may accrue during their detention here being circumstances which may in the end tend to their total ruin.

That your Memorialists further represent to your Honor that it is highly necessary for the preservation of the Vessels that two Persons should remain on board and as their present situation cannot admit of defraying the Expenses which must necessarily attend such Persons, your Memorialists having it not in their power to earn six pence for themselves, owners or others concerned.

Therefore your Memorialists, (the Premisses considered), humbly hope that Provision will be made adequate to such circumstances and that your Honor will be pleased to give a favorable answer to this their Memorial in writing.

And your Memorialists will ever Pray.

Quebec, 12th Novem'r,
1775.

Signed. Richard Littelwort.
Owen Bryan.
Joshua Coffin.
David Roche.
Wm. Gill.
Robt. Quick.
Sam'l Blow.

Signed. Hilary Gosselin.
Edward Roland.
Thos. Frazar.
Robert Smith.
John Coppinger.
Charles Thomson.
Robert Grant.

Endorsed:—Mémorial of the Masters of Merchant Ships in the Port of Quebec to Lieutenant Governor Cramahê, inclosing their Petition to the King.
R/26th December.

(109)

Quebec 20 Nov. 1775.

My Lord.

I will offer to enter into the various unfortunate circumstances, that have contributed to the loss of Canada the Town of Quebec being at this moment the only spot of it that remains subject to his Majesty's obedience.

To enter into that disagreeable detail would be both tedious and difficult, besides as taciturnity and Inactivity were the ruling maxims in this Province, a person not thoroughly conversant with all the circumstances of every Operation of Government might apt to mistake and lay the Blame where there was none due. That there have been Gross Blunders Committed I think I may venture to Assert with great deference to our Rulers. On the other hand our military force has certainly been very small. But what Contributed most to the loss of the Country is the treachery and Villainy of the Canadians, for it is a certain fact that 2,000 of those fellows never could have done us any mischief had they not been joined by the Canadians.

I have the misfortune to be the Oldest King's Officer in Canada our Governor and General Prescott being both taken prisoners at Montreal by the Rebels; Many Officers now at home, know the situation of Quebec, and the difficulty of defending it, even with a Good Garrison, the enclosed Return of our Numbers will convince you of the very disagreeable situation we are in, we have been now ten days invested so that we can get nothing into the Town, and our provisions are by no means Adequate to Maintain the Number of Inhabitants, and if we turn out some thousands, we run a very great risk of having the Canadian Militia Mutiny. The Copy of the

Council of War enclosed will show our determination, and small as our means of defence are, did they all keep firm and that we could depend upon them I should not be afraid by activity and firmness to foil the enemy. But what above all gives me the greatest uneasiness is, that the very best Train of Artillery in Canada fell into the hands of the Rebels at St. John's, there is not a single piece of Brass Ordnance in the Whole Province that they have not got, and if they have got a ship that lay at Montreal with 2000 Barrells of Powder, which I am afraid is the case, we shall be undone, the defences of the Town are in a most ruinous condition. I have not been idle since General Carleton sent me here, but except the few of my own Regt. and the sea men I cannot get a man to repair the works, not an Engineer nor an Artillery man but Capt. Jones and six private men; we shall however do all that can possibly be done; and if we fall it shall not be our faults. I must refer you for particulars to Capt. Pringle who can give you a distinct clear account of everything necessary for the Knowledge of His Majesty and I have the honour to be &c., &c.

Allan McLean.
Lt.-Col. Commandant.

Ld. Vt. Barrington.

This moment Gen. Carleton arrived here having made his escape from Montreal in a canoe and he has given his approbation to my proceeding while I commanded in his absence. I am sorry your nephew is also a prisoner.

(110)

Ste Anne, November 21., 1775.

In behalf of the Continent I make Seizure of all the Effects, goods and Chattels belonging of the estate of Charles De Lanaudiere Torry and Ennemy to the American Constitution I therefore forbid every person removing or destroying any thing there unto belonging unless for the use of the Continental army.
By Order of Colonel Arnold.

(Signed)

Mathew Ogden, Capt.

Endorsed:

Copy of the Seizure,
No. 3.

(111)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 11, p. 318.

Quebec Novr. 20th 1775.

My Lord:

After the taking of St. John's, I waited but for a fair Wind to bring the few Troops that were at Montreal to this Town in the Gaspé and two armed Vessels detained there for that purpose; all communication but by water was rendered impracticable by the Rebels, who had crossed over to Berthier, where they were joined by many Canadians: They also crossed over in large Bodies, with Cannon, above the Town; the 11th instant in the Evening, the wind being tolerably fair, the Garrison, about ninety men, with Brigadier Prescott and all the Military Department embarked, sailed an Hour before Night, taking under convoy the Provision Vessels, and what small craft remained, the whole consisting of eleven sail; besides the advantage of gaining time in this advanced season, it became advisable, if possible, to set out with a fair Wind, as their Measures till then would all tend to reduce Montreal, and immediately after our Departure, be turned against the lower part of the Province, and to intercept our Passage.

The 12th one of our armed Vessels ran aground, which occasioned a considerable Delay, in the Evening the Wind failed Us near Sorel, and became contrary for several Days; the 15th the Rebels made Us shift our anchoring Ground by some Cannon from the Shore, and a floating Battery a League above Sorel; The Wind still continuing adverse, the 16th in the Night I with Difficulty procured the Master of one of the Vessels to pilot me through their Guards in a Whale boat, and arrived here Yesterday. The seaman tell me the Wind was fair for passing by Sorel last Night, Yesterday, and the Night before.

On my arrival here I received a commission as Commander in Chief in this Province, &c., and cannot enough express my gratitude for this Mark of favor and confidence His Majesty has been graciously pleased to Honor me with; nor can I enough

lament the blind Perverseness of this People, who frustrate all His Paternal intentions for their own Protection, Interest and Happiness, by an unprecedented Defection without even pretending the least cause of Complaint.

Besides this base Desertion of the Canadian Peasantry, which renders impracticable any scheme for their own Defence, founded on the Provincial Strength alone, another would arise from the Mode prescribed by your Lordship, for raising a Body of Canadians: the Gentlemen, who have given ample Proofs of their Zeal for the King's Service, and many of them have suffered both in their Persons and Properties during the course of this Campaign, have ever held it dishonorable to serve in the Militia, and Rigauville's Regiment was greatly disappointed and humbled to find themselves treated as such.

So far as I have had the time to inform myself, since my Return, I find every thing has been done in my absence for the Defence of this Place, the unfortunate Situation of Things would permit: could the People in the Town, and Seaman, be depended up, I should flatter myself, we might hold out, till the Navigation opens next Spring, at least till a few Troops might come up the River, for I fear the Delays commonly attending a large armament; but tho' the severe weather is far advanced, we have so many Enemies within, and foolish People, Dupes to those Traitors, with the natural Fears of Men unused to war, I think our Fate extremely doubtful, to say nothing worse.

I am with much Regard and Esteem,
Your Lordship's
Most Obedient and Most Humble Servant
Guy Carleton.

Earl Dartmouth

One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec 20th November 1775.

Guy Carleton
R 25th Decembr.

Entd. 2 Inclosures.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12, p. 24.

By His Excellency Guy Carleton Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of Quebec, and the Territories depending thereon in America Vice Admiral of the same and Major General of His Majesty's Forces, commanding the Northern District &c., &c., &c.

A Proclamation

Whereas it has been found expedient to raise and embody a Militia within this City, to co-operate with, and to assist His Majesty's Troops in this Garrison in the preservation of the City, and of the Persons and property of his Majesty's good and Faithfull subjects resident therein, against certain rebellious Persons who have invaded this Province, a Number of whom have lately appeared in Arms before the Walls of this Town AND WHEREAS Information has been given me that some persons resident here have contumaciously refused to enroll their Names in the Militia Lists, and to take up Arms in Conjunction with their Fellow-Citizens for the purpose aforesaid; and that others who had enrolled their names and had for some time carried arms in the Defence and preservation of the City, have lately laid them down: And also that some persons are busy in endeavouring to draw away and alienate the Affections of His Majesty's good and faithfull Subjects of this City from his Majesty's Person and Government for these Reasons, and in order to rid the Town of all useless, disloyal and treacherous persons I have thought fit to issue this proclamation And I do hereby strictly order and enjoin all and every person and persons whatsoever liable to serve in the Militia and residing at Quebec who have refused or declined to enroll their Names in the Militia Lists; and to take up Arms in Conjunction with his Majesty's good Subjects of this City, and who still refuse or decline so to do; as well as those, who having once taken up arms have afterwards laid them down, and will not take them up again, to quit the Town in four Days from the Date hereof,

together with their wives and children, and to withdraw themselves out of the Limits of the District of Quebec before the first Day of December next, Under pain of being treated as Rebels or Spies, if thereafter they shall be found within the said Limits.

And inasmuch as the persons who in Obedience to this Proclamation are to quit this Town and District, may have bought up a considerable Quantity of the Provisions brought in for the subsistence of the Inhabitants of the Town, and it would be imprudent to suffer those provisions to be carried out, more especially as the Country abounds with the Necessaries of Life; I do hereby further order and enjoin all and every such person and persons to deliver in forthwith to the Honble George Allsopp Esqr. Commissary, a true List or Inventory of their provisions and Stores, in order that they may be fairly and justly valued, and the full Price paid to the respective proprietors before their Departure.

Given under my Hand and Seal of Arms at the Castle of St. Lewis in the City of Quebec this twenty second Day of November one thousand seven hundred and seventy five in the sixteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith and so forth.

(Signed) Guy Carleton.

By His Excellency's Command

(Signed) H. T. Cramahé

God save the King.

Endorsed:—Copy of General Carleton's Proclamation dated 22nd November 1775.
In General Carleton's Letter of the 24th May No. 2.

(113)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, November 23, 1775.

On Sunday last at Noon the arm'd Snow Fell, Capt. Napier, arrived here from above, having on board his Excellency Major-general Carleton, Charles Delanaudiere junr. Esq., his Aid-de Camp, Capt. Owen and Lieut. Selwyn of the 7th or (Royal Fusileers) with several Men of their Corps. His Excellency was saluted on his arrival by the Garrison, and the Frigates and arm'd Vessels in the Harbour.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol II, p. 338.

Intelligence from Quebec, 25th December, 1775.

The Elizabeth Store Ship left Quebec the 22d of November in order to proceed to Boston but being driven off the coast of America by Contrary Winds is arrived at Portsmouth, and the Master, Lieut Parry, is come up to Town.

By the Letters from Capt. Hamilton of the Lizard to Admiral Graves, it appears that Carleton was come down to Quebec, and that it was resolved in a Council of War on the 16th. of Novem'r to defend the Town to the utmost. The Garrison amounted in the whole to 1600 men including the marines and seamen of the Lizard, Hunter sloop, Magdalen schooner, &c., and people of all Descriptions. They had Provisions sufficient to last till the middle of May; a ship called the Polly came down the River with the Elizabeth having on board a Deserter from the Rebels and Dispatches from General Carleton.*

The Rebels had not on the 22d of November come down from the upper part of the River; about 500 of those belonging to Arnold had crossed over and came under the Walls of Quebec but dispersed on being fired at.

*—N.B. She is not yet arrived.

Endorsed: 25 Dec'r, 1775. Intelligence from Quebec, 22d Nov'r, 1775.
1/2 pt. 10 a.m.

(115)

Extract.—General Howe to Secretary of State.

27th November 1775.

General Gage would of course acquaint your Lordship that a vessel arrived express from Quebec on the 10th October with letters to him from General Carleton and Lieutenant Gov. Cramahé, copies of which are herewith enclosed. In consequence I determined to send, and had ordered a Battalion of Marines to embark immediately on Board Transports and proceed to Quebec, under the Convoy of the Cerberus Frigate, as had been settled with Admiral Graves. The Transports were in readiness to receive the Troops the 13th following, when I received the enclosed letter, No. 1, from Admiral Graves, declaring the Attempt unadvisable and impracticable for Transports, upon which I wrote to him, that I should drop the idea of sending the Troops in Transport upon his Representation, as your Lordship may observe by a Copy of my Letter enclosed No. 2, intending at that time to procure smaller vessels better adapted to working their way up the River St. Lawrence, but not being able to have them fitted for sea in reasonable time to undertake the voyage with the least prospect of succeeding, I judged it most prudent to decline sending the Reinforcement, and dispatched the Express Vessel back to Quebec on the Evening of the 13th of October.

(116)

Whereas the Crews of His Majesty's ships & Vessels and Merchant ships at Quebec are disembarked to do duty as soldiers in the garrison—and as I have thought fit to appoint you to act as second Lieutenant—I do therefore hereby appoint you to act as second Lieutenant accordingly in the Eighth company of the Navy Battalion of British seamen willing and requiring all the officers and men to behave themselves with due respect and obedience to you their said Lieutenant and you are to execute all such Orders as you shall receive from His Excellency General Carleton, me or any other your superior officers for His Majesty's service for which this shall be your Order.

Given under my Hand at Head Quarters at Quebec this 1st day of December, 1775.

John Hamilton.

To

Mr. Harrow

herby appointed second Lieutenant in the Navy Battalion of British Seamen at Quebec.

(117)

Dr. Sir:

Sandwich, 20th August 1800.

Being informed that an Advertisement is published for all those who served in Quebec during the Blockade '75 & 1776, to give in their names that they may receive waste Lands of the Crown. As I did serve during the Blockade as 2d Lieutenant of Captain Littlejohn's Company of British Seamen in that Garrison, as will appear from my Commission from the late Sir John Hamilton of the Royal Navy, then Colonel of the Navy Battalion, I would beg the favor of you to make application at the office or place pointed out, and in my name and for my account, for what quantity may be allowed to officers of similar appointments. If any other identification is necessary be Pleased to inform me, Mr. Frost, the C'l of the Port at Quebec was my brother Lieutenant. I am known to Mr. Dunn, Govr. Lancaster? Mr. Lester, Mr. Scott and all the old loyal Standers? I beg to inclose you the Commission I acted under, And I am,

Dr. Sir,

Your very obedt. Servt.

Allex Harrow.

Thos. Forsyth, Esq.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 12, pp. 18-9.

My Friends & fellow subjects.

The unhappy necessity which subsists of dislodging the Ministerial Troops obliges me to carry on Hostilities against your City, which they now occupy. Tis with the utmost Compunction I find myself reduced to Measures which may overwhelm you with Distress. The City in Flames at this severe Season. A general at-

tack on wretched works defended by a more wretched Garrison. The Confusion, Carnage & Plunder, which must be the consequence of such an Attack fill me with horror. Let me intreat you to use your endeavours to procure my peaceable Admission. You cannot surely believe the ungenerous Falsehoods propagated to our Disadvantage by Ministerial Hirelings. The Continental Arms have never been sullied by any Act of Inhumanity or Violence. We came with the professed Intention of eradicating Tyranny, and giving Liberty and Security to this oppressed Province, Private Property having ever by us been deemed sacred.

I have inclosed you my Letter to General Carleton, because he has industriously avoided giving you any information which might tend to shew you your true Interest. If he persists & you permit him to involve you in that Ruin which perhaps he covets to hide his shame, I have not the Reproach to make my own Conscience that I have not warned you of your Danger.

(Signed.)

Richard Montgomery.
Brig'r Gen'l.
Continental Army.
G. C.

Holland House.
Decr. 6th.

Endorsed:—Copy of a Letter in English from Mr. Montgomery commanding the Rebel Army, to some of the English Merchts, dated 6th December, a translation of which in French was likewise addressed to some French Merchants and sent in by the same old Woman on the 7th December, 1775.
In General Carleton's Letter of the 14th May, 1776.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 12, pp. 20-1.

Head Quarters, Holland House, near Quebec.
15th December, 1775.
Parole, Connecticut.
Countersign, Adams.

The General having in vain offered the most favorable Terms of Accommodation to the Governor and having taken every possible Step to prevail on the Inhabitants to desist from seconding him in his wild scheme of Defence, nothing remains but to pursue vigorous measure for the speedy Reduction of the only Hold possessed by the Ministerial Troops in the Province. The Troops flushed with continual success, confident of the Justice of their cause and relying on that Providence which has uniformly protected them, will advance with alacrity to the Attack of Works incapable of being defended by the Wretched Garrison posted behind them, consisting of Sailors unacquainted with the use of Arms, of Citizens incapable of the Soldier's Duty, and a few miserable Emigrants. The General is confident a vigorous and Spirited Attack must be attended with Success. The Troops shall have the Effects of the Governor, Garrison, and of such as have been acting in misleading the Inhabitants and distressing the Friends of Liberty, to be equally divided among them, each to have the one hundredth share out of the whole which shall be at the disposal of the General and given to such Soldiers as distinguish themselves by their Activity and Bravery and sold at Public Auction. The whole to be conducted as soon as the City is in our hands and the Inhabitants disarmed. A Guard to mount this evening at 4 O'Clock to be paraded at Colonel Nicholson's Quarters, consisting of two Captains three subs, 4 serjts. 4 Corpls., and one hundred men.

Colonel Arnold's Party is to give one Capt. one Sub. 2 serjts. 2 Corpls. and 60 men.
Colo. Nicholson's Party is to give one Capt. one Sub. 2 serjts. 2 Corpls. and 40 men.

Field Officer for to-day, Major Bidelow.

The Guards both of Colo. Arnold's in the suburbs of St. Roch and the Guards at the Battery are to observe each other in case of an Attack that they may be enabled to succor each other and to give timely notice to the rest of the Troops. The Field Officer of the whole Army to attend at 7 O'Clock this Evening.

The General at Head Quarters.

(Signed.) Fred. Weisenfels, Major
of Brigade.

Endorsed:—Copy of an Order of Mr. Montgomery's, commanding the Rebel Army,
15th Decem'r, 1775.

In General Carleton's Letter of the 14th May.

No. 1.

(120)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, MARCH 21, 1776.

(Published by Authority.)

Letter from Mr. Montgomery, sent into Town by an old Woman the 7th of December, a Copy whereof was shot in upon an Arrow some Days after.

SIR,

HOLLAND-HOUSE, December 6th.

Notwithstanding the personal ill treatment I have received at your hand, and notwithstanding your cruelty to the unhappy Prisoners you have taken, the feelings of humanity induce me to have recourse of this expedient to save you from the Destruction which hangs over you.—Give me leave, Sir, to assure you I am well acquainted with your situation:—A great extent of works in their nature incapable of defence, manned with a motly Crew of Sailors the greatest part our friends, of Citizens who wish to see us within their Walls, and a few of the worst Troops who ever stilled themselves Soldiers;—the impossibility of relief, and the certain prospect of wanting every necessary of life, should your opponents confine their operations to a simple Blockade, point out the absurdity of resistance—such is your Situation—I am at the head of troops, accustomed to success, confident of the Righteousness of the Cause they are engaged in; inured to danger and fatigue, and the ungenerous means employed to prejudice them in the minds of the Canadians; that it is with difficulty I restrain them till my Batteries are ready, from insulting your works which would afford them the fair opportunity of an ample vengeance and just retaliation.

Firing upon a Flag of Truce, hitherto unprecedented even among Savages, prevents my taking the ordinary mode of communicating my sentiments—However I will at any rate acquit my conscience—Should you persist in an unwarrantable defence, the consequences be on your own Head.

Beware of destroying Stores of any kind public or private, as you have done at Montreal and in the River—if you do, by Heavens there will be no mercy shewn.

(Signed) RICHd. MONTGOMERY.

Brigadier-general Continental Army.

The Direction upon the Cover,
His Excellency Major-general CARLETON.
QUEBEC.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1776.

(Published by Authority.)

Montreal, January 6th, 1776

DEAR SIR,

With the greatest distress of Mind, I now sit down to acquaint you of the Event, of an unfortunate attack made upon Quebec, between the Hours of 4 and 6 of the Morning of the 31st of December, Unfortunate indeed, for in it, fell our brave General Montgomery, his Aid de Camp M'Pherson, Captain Cheeseman, Capt. Hendricks of the Riflemen, and 2 or 3 Subaltern Officers, and between 60 and 100 Privates, the number not certainly known, and about 300 Officers and Soldiers taken Prisoners, amongst which are Lieut. Col. Green, Major Bigalow, Major Meigs, and a number of Captains and inferior Officers, Col. Arnold was wounded in the leg in the Beginning of the Action, as was Major Ogden in the shoulder, and brought off to the General Hospital; I have not time to give you all the Particulars, but thus much, will serve to shew you, that in consequence of this defeat, our prospects are rendered very dubious, and unless we can be quickly reinforced, perhaps this may be fatal, not only to us who are stationed here, but also to the Colonies in General the Frontiers especially very greatly depends upon keeping Possession of this Country,—You know as well as any Man, the Tempers, Dispositions and Character of the Canadians, they are not Persevering in Adversity, they are not to be depended upon, but like the Savages, are exceeding fond of chusing the strongest Party; add to this our enemies in this Country, of whom there are very many, use every Method to excite the Canadians against us,—the Clergy refuse Absolution, to all who have shewn themselves our Friends, and preach Damnation to those who will not take up Arms against us, and tell them, that now it is not too late, that we are but a handful of Men, &c.—I have sent an Express to Gen. Schuyler, Gen. Washington and the Congress, but you know how far, they have to go,—and that it is very uncertain how long it will be, before we can have relief from them; Therefore

let me beg of you to collect immediately as many Men as you can, 5 or 6 or 7 hundred, if it can be done, and some how or other get into this Country, and stay with us, till we can get relief from the Colonies.—You are sensible we have Provisions of all kinds enough, and the Weather in this Country, is far from being so frightful as many have imagined,—You will see that proper Officers and Soldiers are appointed under you.—And both Officers and Soldiers shall be paid, as other Continental Troops, it will be well for your Men to set out, as fast as they can be collected,—not so much matter whether together or not, but let them set out by 10, 20, 30, 40 or 50, as they can be collected, for it must have a good effect upon the minds of the Canadians to see Succours coming in.—You will be good enough to send Copies of this Letter to the People below. I can't but think our Friends will make a Push, to get into this Country, I am confident you will not disappoint my most fervent wish and Expectations of seeing you here, with your Men in a short time, Now, Sir, is the time to distinguish yourself and obtain the united Applause of your ever grateful Countrymen, of your distressed Friends in Canada, and your sincere Friend, &c.

(Signed) DAVID WORSTER.

To Col. WARNER.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES. SERIES B. Vol. 184-1. pt. 1. p. 121.

Pour le Service du congrès.

De la part de Monsieur le general Wooster comandant en chef de l'armée auxiliaire du continent en Canada.

A tous les Capitaines de Milice et autres officiers qui comandent les diverses parroises et districts de cette Colonie: Salut.

Attendu que le grand congrès, qui represente aujourd'hui les treize Colonies unies de l'Amerique Anglaise a jugé nécessaire pour surété de l'Amerique en general et la protection de cette province en particuliere, d'envoyer dans cette Colonie, l'armée qui se trouve actuellement pour chasser les troupes du ministere Et ainsi mettre ces habitans a couvert de la servitude general dans laquelle le ministere Britannique s'efforce d'envelopper toutes nos colonies, et attendu que le dit congrès a depuis resolu de renforcer la ditte armée d'un autre corps de troupes encore plus considerable que le premier lequel doit penetrer dans cette province par le lac Champlain sitost que la route en sera pratiquable nous esperons que nos freres de cette colonie Concourrons de tout leur pouvoir a favoriser un si louable dessein, Et comme il se trouve encore dans cette province certaines personnes mal intentionnées et disposées a nuire a la cause commune que nous deffendons Vous êtes Enjointes par les presentes de publier selon les formes ordinaires et faire Scavoir a tous les sujets de vos diverses parroisses et districts afin que personne N'en puisse pretendre cause d'ignorance la notification suivante.

Scavoir.

Que tous Citoyens et autre habitan du Canada qui sera trouvé a nuire ou en aucune maniere a porter prejudice aux intérets du congrès et au progrès de nos Armes soit par des discours et propos injurieux s'éduction de bons sujets protection de deserteurs aussi que de toutes personnes suspects de fournir des Vivres et de tenir ou favoriser aucune correspondante avec la Ville de Quebec comme aussi toutes personnes coupables de coutumace et des obeissance au officiers par nous créés serons par nous declarez ennemis de la liberté general traitres a la patrie et comme tels punis avec rigueux faits prisonniers et même transportés hors le la province si le cas le requiert.

Donné a Montreal par l'ordre de Monsieur le general le Sixieme janvier de l'an 1776.

Signé a l'original

Fred Weissenfel Major of Brigade.
Et pour Coppie.

C. N. Desdevens Capitaine

(Translation)

On Service of Congress.

From General Wooster, Commander in Chief of the Auxiliary Continental army in Canada.

To all captains of militia and other officers commanding the different parishes and districts of this Colony; Greeting.

As the general Congress now representing the thirteen united Colonies of English-America has judged necessary for the safety of America in general, and the protection of this province in particular, to send into this Colony the army which is

actually here to drive out the ministerial troops and also to protect the inhabitants from the general slavery to which the British ministry is endeavouring to subject all our colonies; and as the congress has since determined to reinforce the said army with another body of troops still larger than the first which will enter this province by Lake Champlain as soon as that route becomes practicable, we hope that our brethren in this colony will unite with us with all their power to assist so praiseworthy a design, and as there are still in this province certain ill-disposed persons who wish to damage the common cause which we uphold You are enjoined by these presents to publish in the usual way and make known the following notification to all residents in different parishes and districts, so that nobody can profess ignorance of it.

To Wit.

That all Citizens and other inhabitants of Canada who are found opposing or in any way injuring the interests of Congress and the progress of our Arms, whether by speeches and injurious remarks seducing good subjects, protecting deserters, also all persons suspected of furnishing Supplies and maintaining any correspondence with the Town of Quebec, as well as all Persons guilty of contumacy and disobedience to officers appointed by us will by us be declared enemies of public liberty, traitors to their country, and as such, punished with severity, made prisoners and even banished from the province if their case requires it.

Given at Montreal by order of the General, the 6th January, 1776.

(Signed in the original)

Fred. Weissenfel,
Major of Brigade.

and in the Copy

C. N. Desdevens, Captain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 12, p. 11.

Copy of a Letter from General Carleton to General Howe dated at Quebec 12th January 1776.

Sir,

The 5th of December Mr. Montgomery took Post at St. Foix, within less than two Miles of Quebec, with some Field Artillery; his heavy Cannon were landed at Caprouge: at the same time Arnolds Party took Possession of the other Avenues leading to the Town, and prevented all Communication with the Country.

The 7th a Woman stole into Town, with Letters addressed to the principal Merchants, advising them to an immediate Submission, and promising great Indulgence, in Case of their Compliance; inclosed was a Letter to me in very extraordinary Language, and a Summons to deliver up the Town, the Messenger was sent to Prison for a few Days, and drummed out.

To give more Efficacy to these Letters, five small Mortars were brought to St. Rock's, and a Battery of five Cannon and one Howitzer raised upon the Heights, within about seven hundred Yards of the Walls; soon after Arnold appeared with a white Flag, said he had a Letter for me, but was refused Admittance, and ordered to carry back his Letter.

After every preparatory Stratagem had been used to intimidate our wretched Garrison, as Mr. Montgomery was pleased to call it, an assault was given the 31st of December, between four and five of the Morning, during a snow storm from the North East; The Alarm was general: from the Side of the River St. Lawrence, along the fortified Front, round to the Bason, every Part seemed equally threatened; two real Attacks took Place upon the Lower Town; one under Cape Diamond, led by Mr. Montgomery; the other by Mr. Arnold, upon the Part called the Saut au Matelot; this at first met with some Success, but in the End was stopped, a Sally from the Upper Town, under Captain Laws, attacked their Rear, and sent in many Prisoners, Captain Macdougall afterwards reinforced this Party, and followed the Rebels into the Post they had taken; Thus Mr. Arnold's Corps, himself and a few others excepted who were wounded and carried off early, were compleatly ruined; They were caught as it were in a Trap; We brought in their five Mortars and one Cannon; the other Attack was soon repulsed with Slaughter, Mr. Montgomery was left among the Dead.

The Rebels have on this Assault between six and seven hundred men, and between forty and fifty Officers, Killed, wounded, and taken Prisoners; We had only one Lieu-

tenant of the Navy, doing Duty as a Captain in the Garrison, and four Rank and File wounded, two of the latter are since dead.

You will be pleased to transmit a Copy of my Letter to the Secretary of State, by the first Opportunity, for His Majesty's Information, &c.

G. C.

P.S. Please to give the Bearer what money he may want for his Return.

Endorsed:—Copy of a Letter from General Carleton to General Howe dated the 12th January 1776.

In Genl. Carleton's Letter of the 14 May No. 2.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES, SERIES. B. 184-1. VOL. I. pt. I. p. 23.

Extrait d'une lettre adressée au soussigné Maurice Desdevens Capitaine de milice, a la pointe aux trembles par ordre de Mr Le colonel Arnold commandant en chef l'armée Americaine, dattée au quartier general de St. Jean devant Québec Le 13 janvier 1776. Lequel contient:

Monsieur Dugan de la rivière Chambly, homme universellement connu en Canada, et fort estimé, a reçu un brevet de colonel dans notre armée, pour lequel il doit lever un regiment, il me charge de vous écrire pour vous prier de lui procurer autant de gens de bonne volonté que vous pourré en trouver, ils s'engagerons dans le service jusqu'a la fin du moi de May. Auquel tems ils seront dechargez, ou plutost, si québec est rendu avant ce tems la.

Il faut qu'ils soyent armez, et comme il pourra s'en trouver qui n'auront pas d'armes, vous visiterés les maisons ou il y en aura, Vous prendrez celle que vous y trouverés en leur donnant un reçu des armes qu'ils vous remettrons et par ce reçu vous vous engageré a les leur remettre en bon ordre, ou a leur en payer la vailleur a la fin de la campagne; pour votre décharge a ce sujet le colonel vous donnera des reçus pareils a ceux que vous aurez Livrés. Si vous voulé prendre la peine de les conduire vous mêmes jusqu'en il vous defrayera. Ceux qui apporterons avec eux leurs couvertes recevront 12lb en payement de ditte Couverte, et on en fournira ici a ceux qui n'en auront pas, ils auront 40 francs par mois et les provisions comme le reste de nos troupes. Il faut qu'ils apportent leur corne a poudre, sac a plomp etc. Vous obligeré Nos messieurs infiniment, si vous vous enpressé a remplir cette affaire. Vous communiquéré cet dessein a Monsieur Langlois des Ecureuils, en le priant d'agir de son côté pour l'accomplissement de ce projet et de s'y porter avec le même zéle, en attendant votre reponse je demeure tres parfaitement, Monsieur.

Votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur -

J. P. Têtard.

Quartier General de St. Jean devant Québec le 13 Janvier 1776 Je certifie le present extrait conforme a l'original resté a mes mains, j'exhorte Monsieur Langlois et tous nos autres Messieurs les Capitaines de Milice de s'y conformé ponctuellement, et de les faire pénétrer le plus possible, Et je garrantis les executions en vertus du pouvoir a moi donné par Monsieur le General Montgomery, a la pointe aux trembles ce 16 Janvier 1776.

C. N. Desdevens, Capitaine.

(Translation)

Extract of a letter addressed to the undersigned Maurice Desdevens, Captain of Militia at Pointe aux Trembles, by order of Colonel Arnold, commander in chief of the American army, dated at headquarters at St. Jean, before Quebec, the 13th January, 1776, which reads:

Mr. Dugan of Chambly river, a man universally known in Canada and greatly esteemed, has received a brevet of colonel in our army for which he is about to raise a regiment, he directs me to write to you to request you to obtain for him as many volunteers as you can find, they will enlist in the service until the end of the month of May at which time they will be discharged, or sooner, if Quebec surrenders before that date.

As they must be armed, and as some of them may have no arms, you will visit houses where there are any and take such as you find, giving a receipt for the arms which they deliver you, and by this receipt you will undertake to return them in good order, or to pay their value at the end of the campaign; for your quittance in this matter, the Colonel will give you receipts similar to those which you will

have given. If you will take the trouble of conducting them hither, yourself, he will pay your expenses. Those who bring with them their blankets, will receive 121b in payment for each of the said blankets, those who have none will be supplied here. They will receive forty francs per month and rations like the remainder of our troops. They must bring their own powder horn, bullet bag, etc. You will oblige our gentlemen, extremely if you will endeavour to perform this business. You will communicate this design to Mr. Langlois of Ecureuils, requesting him to act in his neighbourhood for the accomplishment of this project and to execute it with the same zeal.

Awaiting your reply, I remain,

Very truly, Sir, etc.

J. P. Tetard.

Headquarters at St. Jean, before Quebec, the 13th January, 1776.

I certify the present extract agrees with the original remaining in my hands. I urge Mr. Langlois and all other captains of Militia to carry it out punctually and cause it to be distributed as widely as possible, and I guarantee the execution thereof in virtue of the powers granted me by General Montgomery at Point aux Trembles, this 16th January, 1776.

C. N. Desdevens, Captain.

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THE MEMORIAL OF CHARLES DE LANAUDIERE, ESQ., OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

Sheweth,

That the said Charles De Lanaudière in a Memorial which he had sometime ago the Honor of presenting, has, among other things Stated his Claim to a compensation for the Damage, done to his property by the Americans during the Invasion of the Province of Quebec in the Years 1775 and 1776.

As your Memorialist has heard that an answer has been given by the Lords of his Majesty's Treasury to an application on Behalf of the Sufferers at Quebec, which may be supposed to affect his Claim, he begs leave to submit that his situation is totally different from that of those Sufferers, and that an attention to his particular case would form no precedent at all inconsistent with the answer given to the General Application. He knows it to be impossible for any Government to indemnify its Subjects against all the calamities that are the necessary consequences of war and Invasion. But when the particular exertions of an individual expose him to a loss which he would not otherwise have suffered, your Memorialist presumes that such Individual has in Reason & Justice a fair Claim to a liberal Compensation For it would be singularly hard that the Public should reap the Benefit of such services as a private man may have it in his power to perform, & yet leave him to bear all the loss which the very performance of those Services shall have brought upon him. In this Situation your Memorialist Stands Settled as a private Gentleman on his own Estate & bound by no Military tie to expose himself to the Hazards and Inconveniences of War he might have remained at home as others who held Employments under the government actually did, & might by so doing have preserved his property safe & untouched, But he chose to act a more honorable, and he hopes he shall not find it a less prudent part. During two Campaigns, & during the Siege of Quebec, he exerted himself with indefatigable Zeal and altho' he will not again enumerate the Services which he has Stated in his former Memorial, he must be permitted to say that some of those Services were such as no other person in the Service could have rendered to Government.

Your Memorialists conduct necessarily rendered him particularly obnoxious to the American Commanders. They declared him an Enemy to their cause and therefore ordered his Estate and Effects to be seized for the use of the Continental Army. This was accordingly done. The Houses on his Estate were greatly damaged and the moveables disposed of, or carried away to a considerable Amount. Your Memorialist submits whether it be Just that a Loss suffered in such a manner, and for such a reason should be borne by him. No man in your Memorialists Situation, whatever may be his Zeal, can afford to sacrifice his private Fortune to the Public Service. The active Exertions of particular Persons may Sometimes be of the utmost Consequence to the State, but your Memorialist apprehends that such Exertions are seldom to be expected if men, after risking their Lives, and undergoing every personal Hazard and Inconvenience, are obliged to bear the Loss of that property which they might preserve by remaining at home in Ease and Safety.

The Losses of the Inhabitants of Quebec & its Neighbourhood were the inevitable Consequences of a Siege, but your Memorialists Property was situated at a Distance from the scene of Action, & was marked out for Plunder only on account of the decided part he had taken in favor of the British Government. Always considering his case as Distinct from that of those Sufferers he did not think it proper to appear with them before the Commissioners appointed by Sir Guy Carleton so that he was not included in the General application lately made, nor as he hopes in the general answer given to that application.

Your Memorialist begs leave further to observe that not being in the Military Service he could not look to Military Honors & preferment as a recompense for his sufferings. He quitted a private Station at a moment of Difficulty and Danger, because he thought that, circumstanced as the Province then was, he could be essentially useful to the Public, He had reason to expect that after a Series of faithful & Zealous Services he should not be permitted to return to that Station in a worse condition than when he left it. Far from doubting that he should receive a compensation for his losses, he has always indulged the Hope that his Services would not be thought undeserving of a liberal Reward. For the one he thinks he has a Claim on the Justice of Government. The other he Trusts entirely to its generosity. On this last Subject however as well as the Loss of his Employment he does not mean to enlarge at present, this Memorial being intended only to obviate any objections that the above mentioned answer of the Lords of the Treasury might be Supposed to furnish against his Claim on an Indemnity for the Losses he sustained by the Invasion of the Province of Quebec.

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THE MEMORIAL OF CAPTAIN MALCOLM FRASER.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA, Series C. Vol. 15, p. 18.

To His Excellency the Right Honourable Guy Lord Dorchester General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's forces in North America.

The Memorial of Captain Malcolm Fraser of His Majesty's late 84th Regiment of foot.

Sheweth, That he entered into His late Majesty's Service as an ensign into the 78th Regiment of foot on the 18th July, 1757. That he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant on the 25th Sept., 1759 and was appointed Adjutant to the said Regiment in the year 1761 and did duty as such till the Regiment was disbanded.

That the 78th Regiment having been disbanded in the month of December, 1763, the Memorialist was on half pay as Lieutenant from that time till the 14th of June, 1775, when he was promoted to the rank of Captain in the first Battalion of His Majesty's late 84th Regiment of foot in which he served till the 24th of June, 1784, when the Battalion was disbanded and your Memorialist is now on the half pay as Captain of the said 84th Regiment.

.....

That he served at the Siege of Louisbourg in the year 1758. That he was present at the first Battle of Quebec on the 13th Sept. 1759 when he was wounded. That he served in the Garrison of Quebec during the winter 1759/60, was present at the second battle of Quebec on the 28th April, 1760 where he was again wounded. That he went with the Army from Quebec under the command of General Murray and which joined that under General (now Lord) Amherst to whom the Town of Montreal and all Canada surrendered in September, 1760. That in the year 1775 he was ordered on the recruiting service to the Island of St. John's and returned to Quebec in Novemr. of that year with a considerable number of men and having with them served under your Lordship during the blockade of Quebec by the (then) Rebels, he, on going his rounds as Captain of the main guard, on the morning of the 31st December, 1775, had the good fortune to be the first, (as he verily believes), who discovered by some signals that the enemy intended an attack and having immediately reported to your Lordship, you was pleased to order the alarm to be given and thus the Garrison had time to receive them.

.....

Quebec, 31st March, 1791.
Malcolm Fraser.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 27, pp. 385-6.

Par Moise Hazen, Ecuyer, Colonel et Commandant d'un des Regiments qui doivent etre levee en Canada, &ca.

En vertu du pouvoir et de l'autorité à moi donnés par l'honorable Congres du Continent séant à Philadelphie, et en consequence des ordres que j'ai reçu de l'honorable Philippe Schuyler, Major Général, de former un regiment de quatre Bataillons pour agir Conjointement avec les Troupes des Colonies unies pour la Defense de leurs Droits et privileges; lesquels pouvoirs & ordres ont été communiqués à l'honorable David Wooster, Major General, commandant des Forces du Continent en Canada.

Vous êtes par ces presentes autorisés & Pouvoir vous est donne d'engager au son du Tambour ou autrement toutes personnes capables de servir et qui voudront s'engager volontairement pour le tems et l'espace d'une année du jour de leur engagement jusqu' à la fin des presents troubles.

A ce fin vous aurez soin de n'engager que des hommes capables de servir a tous égards et en etat d'être recues a la revue car vous serez responsable du Contraire.

Et pour encourager et avancer les dites engagements vous payerez à chacun des dites engagés volontaires, en passant leurs engagements quarante livres en form de gratification, en outre il leur sera paye par chaque mois à chacun d'eux la somme de quarante Livres, a compter du jour de leur engagement. Les dits volontaires se fourniront eux-mêmes tous les habillemens et equipemens necessaires pour le service- Ou bien les dits habits & equipemens leurs seront fournis & à compte de leur solde.

A Montreal,
ce 10th Fevrier, 1776.

Endorsed: 10th fevr. 1776 warrt, from Col. Hazen.

(Translation)

By Moses Hazen, Esq., Colonel and Commandant of one of the Regiments which are to be raised in Canada, etc.

By virtue of the power and authority given to me by the Honorable Continental Congress sitting at Philadelphia, and in pursuance of orders which I have received from the Honorable Philip Schuyler, Major-General, to organize a regiment of four battalions to act in conjunction with the Troops of the United Colonies for the Defence of their just Rights and privileges; which powers and orders have been communicated to the Honorable David Wooster, Major-General, commanding the Continental Forces of Canada.

You are by these presents authorized & Power is given to you to enlist by beat of Drum or otherwise all persons fit for service and who desires to enrol themselves voluntarily for the time and space of one year from the date of their engagement, or until the end of the present troubles

With this object you will take care to engage only such men capable to pass inspection as you will me responsible in the contrary case.

And to encourage and promote the said enrolment you will pay to each of the said recruited volunteers on passing their attestation, forty pounds as a bounty, besides which each of them will be paid every month the sum of forty pounds, to date from the day of their enlistment. The said volunteers will supply themselves with all clothing and equipments necessary for the service or the said clothing & equipment will be furnished to them and deducted from their pay.

At Montreal,
this 10th February, 1776.

Endorsed: 10th February, 1776, Warrt. from Col. Hazen.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12, pp. 1-3.

No.1.

Governor Carleton,
Sir,

The Events which happened in the Province under your command in the month of November last, left no room for any other consideration but that of sending as early as possible a relief to the Town of Quebec, in case you should have been able

Whitehall, 17th February, 1776.

with the small Garrison you had collected together, to maintain possession of it during the Winter, such relief to be followed by a Body of Troops sufficient to retake the Town in case it should have fallen into the hands of the Rebels, and to effect the Recovery of the whole of the Province to His Majesty's Possessions.

To this End it was judged Expedient immediately upon the arrival of Lieutenant Pringle in the Nancy to equip a small Squadron of His Majesty's Ships, consisting of the Isis of 50 Guns, the Surprise and Triton Frigates, and the Martin Sloop of war. This Squadron has accordingly been prepared with the greatest Dispatch and will be accompanied by three victuallers & two large Navy Transports, having on board Provisions for 3,000 Men for three Months.

His Majesty has also thought fit to direct that the 29th Regiment should be distributed on board the different Ships in the manner stated in the inclosed Paper and the whole being now ready to sail, inclosed I send you a Copy of my letter of Instructions to Lieutenant Colonel Gordon and of the Instructions given by the Admiralty to the captains of the several Ships, pursuant to the Directions I had the Honor to send their Lordships by His Majesty's command.

Every Effort is making to push forward the Second Embarkation of Troops so that they may be able to sail by the 20th of next month.

That Embarkation will consist of six Regiments from Ireland and two from Great Britain with four companies of Artillery, and a large Battering Train, the whole to be under the command of Major General Burgoyne, who, together with Major General Lord Cornwallis, is appointed by the King to serve under you on the side of Canada, but it will possibly be some time before you can have the Assistance of Lord Cornwallis, as he is at present appointed to serve under Major General Clinton upon an Expedition to the Southward, but he will proceed to Quebec with his Regiment as soon as that Service is over.

To this force it is proposed to add about 5,000 foreign auxiliary Troops furnished by the reigning Duke of Brunswick and the Prince of Waldeck, of which about 3,000 will be ready to embark on the Elbe in the beginning of March and the remainder as soon after as possible.

Inclosed I send you the State of the British Regiments that are to proceed under th command of Major General Burgoyne and I am to signify to you His Majesty's commands that you do give the necessary Directions for the Disembarkation of the said Regiments as well as of the foreign auxiliaries, and that you do employ them in such manner as you shall think most Effectual for His Majesty's Service.

Major General Burgoyne will be so fully Instructed in every point in regard to the important Services that are to be carried on, on the side of Canada, that it will be unnecessary now for me to say any thing on that subject and therefore I have only to inclose to you His Majesty's Warrant containing a signification of His Majesty's pleasure for your Direction in carrying into Execution the Powers vested in you by your Commission of posting Officers to vacancies.

I am, &c.
Geo. Germain.

Endorsed:—Draft to Governor Carleton.
17th February, 1776.
(No. 1.)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.
Series B, Vol. 27, pp. 387-8.

Montreal, 10th March, 1776.

Dear Antill,

I wrote to you a few days past to tell you that Recruiting goes on slow in this part of Canada I hope you have better success at and about Quebec Indeed my money is now exhausted and am not like to get any more till it arrives from below—General Lee is daily expected. I hope he will bring a supply of every necessary.

Mr. Bondfield, tells me that Mr. Duggan's recruiting officers have brought a no. of men from below Quebec. I think you should endeavour to re-enlist them or at least such as you are willing and form the others into separate Companies to serve in the same Regt. during the time which they are engaged, before the period of which

matters may make a change more favorable for recruiting in this country, you must be very active and diligent in this business. Lay the aside the delicate Gentleman and put on the recruiting officer. Let me hear from you often, pay great attention to Mrs. Antill and believe me to be,

Dear Sir,
Yours most sincerely,
Moses Hazen.

P.S. I think I told you in my last of Mr. Duggan's elopement, he is gone without General Wooster's or Arnold's letters which is all that I would wish. I shall always adhere to our resolution with respect to his being employed.

Goddard, Dick Walker, and Lorimier have stole away into the upper country they passed by St. Regis on Wednesday last.

M. H.

Addressed to

Colo. Edward Antill,
at the camp before Quebec.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 27, pp. 398-400.

Montreal, 20th April, 1776.

Dear Antill,

I have your letter of the 10th Current by General Arnold, am sorry to hear of your ill-luck in Recruiting you have long since heard of Mr. Goddard, Walker's and Lorimier's exit, the last mentioned rascal was seven days since at the Cedars with your Batteaux and a party of soldiers from Oswegatchie enlisting men and stirring up the Indians to cut our Throats, assuring them that Eight Hundred Indians with the Garrisons of Detroit, Niagara, &c., together with all the French inhabitants in that country would be at the Cedars in Twenty days time, which has caused great convulsions in that part of the country. Indeed there is nothing but plotting and preparations making against us throughout the whole District. The Priests are at the bottom. I have good intelligence and you may depend upon what I say to be fact. Mr. Lorimier has returned with his Batteaux Laden with Provisions, on this information I ordered Colonel Birtle (Bedell) with a detachment of his Regiment who were just then arrived at St. John's to march immediately to take post at the Cedars, intending also to establish another at Carignon (Carillon). General Arnold soon after arrived and much approved of this measure as it will totally cut off all communication with the upper country.

I have been very attentive in my endeavors to secure the Indian nations at Caughnawaga, Canasadaga, St. Regis and St. Francois in our favour and hope we shall succeed, indeed I have so far as to induce the Caughnawaga tribe to call together the Heads of those other nations in general Congress. We must at any rate have them in our interest, after which we shall have nothing to fear from the upper Country. Frobisher is returned, his Business is refered to a Comitty of Congress who is supposed now to be at Fort George. General Thomas is said to be at or near that place on his way to take the Command in Canada. General Howe with his whole Army has left Boston. You will remember my remarks to Congress with respect to this matter. We have no certain accounts of Lake George being open but I take it for granted that it is before this Consequently the arrival of our Army before Quebec will depend upon wind and weather as its all water carriage. You cannot now expect them at Quebec before the 5th or 10th of May. General Wooster has ordered me to join him at Quebec with the handful of men I have, calling it a Regiment, not considering, I am sure, the situation I am in, a sample of you see by Brandimour's Company, when 9 out of Twenty two deserted on their way down. It will not do to break faith with the Canadians & I know it is impossible to march from this until they are paid. Indeed in all appearances it has been with difficulty that I have prevailed on them thus far to do their Duty, in which Pier (Père) Floquette has assisted by giving them Absolution when every other Priest in the Country refused, he has now the name of my Chaplain.

I have necessary intelligence through that quarter, indeed, I have laid myself out for it and believe I have what may be depended upon, a stroke must by and by be struck here. I only wanted force to put it in Execution before this. I have been free in revealing secrets, your Prudence will manage them in a proper manner.

To Colo. Edward Antill,
at Camp before Quebec,

Yours, &c.,
Moses Hazen.

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 PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS. Series Q. Vol. 12, p. 35.

Return of His Majesty's Forces in the Garrison of Quebec, May 1st, 1776.

CORPS.	STAFF						Ensigns	Lieutenants	Captains	Majors	Lt. Colonels	Colonels	ROYAL ARTILLERY						Total		
	Chaplains	Adjutants	P. Masters	Surgeons	Mates	Serjeants							Drummers & Fifers	Rank & File fit for duty	Rank & File Sick	Assistant	Bombardier	Gunners		Matrosses	Additional Gunners	Drummers	Total
Royal Fusiliers	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	2	2	2	1	10	67
Royal Emigrants	..	1	6	4	6	..	1	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	18	7	177	15	192	192	
Corps of Seamen	1	..	1	9	18	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	18	1	323	35	358	358	358
Marines	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	30	2	32	32	32
Artificers, &c.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	72	5	77	77	77
British Militia	..	1	6	14	5	..	1	1	1	..	18	1	228	49	277	277	277	277	277	277	
Canadian Militia	1	1	1	9	18	11	..	1	..	1	..	23	457	51	508	508	508	508	508	508	
Compy of Invalids	1	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	4	..	55	..	55	55	55	55	55	55
Total	2	3	4	32	61	24	..	5	3	4	1	85	16	1,404	162	1,566	1,566	1,566	1,566	1,566	

CIVIL BRANCH OF ORDNANCE.											
Store Keeper	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Clerk of Survey	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Extra Clerk	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Barrack Master	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Acting Engineer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Assistant	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Artificers	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Extra Artificers	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Labourers	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

GENL. STAFF						GARRISON STAFF									
Major General	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Brigadier Major	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Acting Major	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Town Major	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Town Adjutant	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Surgeon	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Town Sergeant	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1

N.B. Fifteen Masters of Vessels doing duty, not included in the above.
 Guy Carleton.

Endorsed:—Return of His Majesty's Forces in the Garrison of Quebec, May 1st 1776.
 In Genl. Carleton's Letter of the 14th May No. 1.

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Le vingt cinq mars—il se forma un party de Canadiens Royalistes—dans les campagnes du sud en bas de Québec—au nombre d'environ trois cent cinquante hommes—commandés par Mr. Beaujeu—ancien capitaine canadien—Il fit avancer une avant garde de cinquante hommes—jusque dans la paroisse St. Pierre—commandée par le Sieur Couillard—pour favoriser sa marche jusqu'a la Pointe-Lévy—vis-à-vis Quebec pour entrer dans la ville—s'il étoit possible—afin de donner du secours. Mais il s'assembla un autre party d'habitants de différentes paroisses, avec environ cent cinquante hommes des Bastonnais, qui cernèrent la maison où étoit l'avant-garde des Royalistes, les attaquèrent vivement & les firent prisonniers,—Dans ce combat il y eut trois habitans royalistes de tués, dix de blessés avec Mr. Bailly, pretre, qui étoit avec eux—Ils auroient tout été tués, après s'être rendus prisonniers—si les Bastonnais ne l'eurent empêché—Il fut envoyé dix huit prisonniers à Montréal—des principaux—le reste renvoyé chez eux, avec promesse de ne plus prendre les armes,—Mr. Beaujeu fut obligé de congédier sa petite armée et de se cacher de crainte d'être fait prisonnier—L'on vit dans cette affaire les pères se battre contre leurs enfans et les enfans contre leurs peres—ce qui paroitra sans doute bien extraordinaire.

20 mars 1776.
Wooster
quitte
Montreal.

Tentative
de Mr. de
Beaujeu dans
les paroisses
du sud.

(Invasion du Canada, 1775, Par M. L'abbé Verreau.)
P. 105-106.

(Translation)

20 March, 1776, Wooster leaves Montreal. Attempt of Mr. de Beaujeu in the southern parishes.

On the 25th of March a party of Canadian Royalists numbering about 350 men was organized in the southern parishes below Quebec under the command of Mr. Beaujeu, formerly a Canadian captain. He sent forward an advanced guard of fifty men as far as the parish of St. Pierre, commanded by Mr. Couillard, to aid his march upon Pointe-Levy opposite Quebec to enter the town if possible and relieve it. But another party of the inhabitants from different parishes assembled with about 150 Bostonians, who surrounded the house where the advanced guard of the Royalists was posted, attacked them briskly and made them prisoners. In this combat three Royalist habitans were killed, ten wounded, with Mr. Bailly a priest, who was with them. They would have all been killed after being taken prisoners if the Bostonians had not prevented it. Eighteen of the principal prisoners were sent to Montreal, the remainder sent home under a promise not to take arms again. Mr. Beaujeu was obliged to discharge his little army and hide himself through fear of being made prisoner. In this affair, fathers were seen fighting against their children and children against their fathers, which will no doubt appear very strange

(The Invasion of Canada, 1775, By the Abbé Verreau, Pp. 105-106.)

(133)

Les prisonniers du coup que les Bostonnois ont faits dont nous avons parlé le 30 du mois dernier, sont arrivés aujourd'hui au nombre de 21, au lieu de 30 qu'un nous avoit annoncé. Il n'y a rien de plus exécration et qui répugne plus à la nature, que de voir des pauvres malheureux conduits par leurs compatriotes, sans qu'ils en soient le moins touchés; au contraire, les misérables le mènent avec une jubilation sans pareille et comme s'ils menoient des gens dont ils n'auroient jamais entendu parler, ou leurs plus grands ennemis. Ces prisonniers disent qu'ils avoient reçu des ordres de Mr. le Genl. Carleton pour venir secourir la ville de Québec, et qu'ils étoient 500 hommes sous le commandement de M. Beaujeu qui en avoit envoyé 50 pour l'avant garde (dont ils étoient du nombre); et que les gens de la rivière du Sud en ayant eu nouvelles les avoient arrêtés; et que Fr. Bailly, prestre, qui étoit leur aumonier, avoit été blessé.)

(Invasion du Canada, 1775, par M. L. Abbé Verreau.)
P. 197.

(Translation)

The prisoners whom the Bostonians made in the affair of which we have spoken on the 30th of last month, have arrived to-day to the number of twenty-one, in place of thirty as we had been informed. There is nothing more abhorrent and repulsive to human nature than to see these poor fellows guarded by their countrymen without being the least affected by it; on the contrary these wretches escorted them with unparalleled exultation and as if they were escorting people of whom they had never heard, or their greatest enemies. These prisoners said that they had received orders from General Carleton to come to the relief of the town of Quebec, and that they numbered five hundred under the command of M. Beaujeu, who had sent forward fifty as an advanced guard (to which they belonged); and that the people of Rivière du Sud, having had information had arrested them; and that Mr. Bailly a priest, who was their chaplain had been wounded

(The invasion of Canada, 1775, by Abbe Verreau, P. 197.)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 27, p. 389.

De la pointe de Levis, ce 16 Mars 1776.

Monsieur,

Comme etant necessaire de vous instruire ce qu'il se passe dans les Cotes j'ai cru qu'il seroit necessaire de vous temoigner La chose est qu'il y a apparence que quelque personne que vous croye estre sincere au vis-a-vis de Congres ces sont des personnes reelement qui cherche a vous trahir, attendre que nous avons ete avertis par vous directe que ces sortes des gens avoit des communications avec la ville et assurent par les Costes que vous n'etiez que 12 ou 13 cent homes insinuan pour ainsi dire La Revolte a tous les paroisses du Cote du Sud, disant meme et probable que ceux que sont a vostre service que ce n'etoit que pour les amuser vous que vous ne les payerai point, c'est ce qu'il cause une grande trouble parmi ces paroisses que vous ne pourrit pas avoir aucun secours en quelque facon que se puisse etre. Je vous prie, Monsieur, que pour les convaincre ces sortes de gens attendre qu'il en a par ici a votre service de ces paroisses qu'il avoit necessaire de les payer en argent si vous le juger a propos pour mettre la calme a tout cela et que par la presque tous ceux qui sont ici s'engagerent plus facilement. Je vous prie de me croire, soyez persuade que le chose nous touche d'asse pres; je vous prie d'envoyer a moi Lieutenant Mac giberne et une baillonete vous obligerai vostre serviteur,

piere Ayot.

(Translation).

Pointe Levis,

this 16th March, 1776.

Sir,

As it seems necessary to inform you of what is going on in these parts, I have believed that it will be necessary to make known to you that some people whom you consider to be faithful with respect to Congress, are the people who are really trying to betray you, as we have been warned by you direct that these kind of people have communication with the town and assure the people in these parts that you are only 12 or 13 hundred men, instigating so to say a revolt in all the parishes on the south shore, they say even that it is likely that those who are in your service are there only to amuse you and that you will not pay them. What causes great anxiety in these parishes is that that you cannot have any kind of assistance. I beg you, Sir, that to satisfy this kind of people here who are in your service from these parishes it will be necessary to pay them in cash if you consider it proper to set their minds at rest and by the same means all who are here will enlist more easily. I beg you to believe me. Be certain that this matter concerns you closely; I beg that you will send me Lieut. Mac a cartridge box and a bayonet you will oblige your servant,

piere Ayot.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA.

HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 27, pp. 392-3.

Montreal, 26th March, 1776.

Dear Sir,

.....

As I am ordered to take command of this District for the present and as I shall Reside in the Chateau I have offered Mrs. Antill what rooms she has occasion for and my table until she can be better provided for.

I have about 250 men enlisted, the General has ordered two companies to be sent down to you, one to remain in this town and one at Chamblie but I am much afraid they will not be able to get to Quebec before the Roads break up. The want of both Arms and Accoutrements and money has occasioned great delays.

The General has given over to me Mr. Duggan's Accts., enclosed you have what regards the people about Quebec which you must endeavour to settle. I told you before that I thought you ought to take those men under your charge and I suppose the General will order it to be done. I know the embarrassment it will occasion to us, but at the same time it will ease the General of a great deal of trouble and be for the good of the service. I shall leave this place for the River Chamblie the instant which the General leaves town and I shall endeavour to despatch a company to Quebec immediately, suppose it will be Mr. Brandimour's? which you complain so much of but if he has acted amiss he may be suspended or broke. If I were not to give him his commission now his men would not march.

I believe he has interest with the people about Quebec and may be useful to your recruiting service.

Yours &c.
Moses Hazen.

Addressed to
Colo. David Antill,
in camp before
Quebec.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q., Vol. 12, pp. 4-6.

No. 2.
Governor Carleton,
Sir,

Whitehall, 28th March, 1776.

I have already informed you in my letter of the 17th February, of which I now inclose a Duplicate, that the Force to employed in Canada under your command would consist of nine British Regiments and about 5,000 foreign auxiliaries.

I hope that by this time the Regiments from Ireland are nearly ready to proceed, and this letter will be delivered to you by General Burgoyne, who accompanies the first Embarkation from hence, consisting as you will see by the inclosed State of about 2,000 Brunswick Troops, being the first Division of that Corps, and also of the 21st Regiment from Plymouth.

It is impossible on account of the difficulty of procuring Transports to say when the second Division of the Brunswick Troops will be ready to embark but I hope it will be in the course of next month.

Inclosed I have the Honor to send you a List of Commissions by which His Majesty gives military Rank in America to his General Officers serving there, and it is hoped that this arrangement will have the Effect to prevent any Embarrassment or Inconvenience from any claim in the General Officers of the foreign Troops to have Command in consequence of superior Rank to the natural born subjects of Great Britain, upon whom it is His Majesty's Intention that the Command shall in all cases devolve.

The defeat and repulse of the Rebels on the 31st December, was a great and happy Event & I am commanded by the King to express to you the sense His Majesty Entertains of your Services on that important Day, and of the services of all those who distinguished themselves upon that occasion.

It is hoped and believed that so severe a Check will have had the consequence to deter the Rebels from any other such attempt upon Quebec, and we trust the armament now sending out will arrive in time to prevent them forming any regular siege of that important Post.

If the Rebels should Attempt to keep Possession of Montreal, or any other place in Canada on your side the Lakes, the Army under your Command will be sufficient to drive them from that part of the Province, and there is no doubt if you succeed in these first Operations but that you will endeavour to pass the Lakes as early as possible, and in your future progress to contribute to the success of the Army under General Howe.—if contrary to all our present Expectations Quebec should have fallen into the hands of the Rebels, a battering train of Artillery is sent out with Engineers and a strong Detachment of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, to enable you to regain that place either by immediately attacking it or by seizing Montreal and by that means cutting off all communication between Quebec and the Rebellious Provinces, but these Operations must be left to your judgment and discretion, as it would be highly improper at such a distance to give any positive Orders, especially as so much confidence is placed in your knowledge and Military Experience.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA.

HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 27, pp. 395-6.

Dear Antill,

Montreal, 3rd April, 1776.

.....
 We have at this place letter after letter from Camp before Quebec on matters of the utmost importance but not a line from you or any one Public Officer; are you all dead or what is the matter?

The Roads are now breaking up; very few men more will join your camp before the river opens, am a-making all possible preparations against that time.

I am sorry to find that the Garrison at this place so determined to return down the Country on the opening of the Lake. I suppose Quebec will be in the same situation, indeed there is no probability of stopping the men if they remain determined. But the officers may and I should think on the present amergency ought to be stopped. I am convinced if such an order was given, at the same time encourage the men to remain with their officers until matters take a change there would be in that case many men re-engage for the service who would otherwise go home immediately. I don't mean by such an order to keep officers here without men, no further than to try the experiment for a few days which I do think would have a good effect. Mention this to Generals Wooster and Arnold.

I am

Yours,
Moses Hazen.

P.S.—Brandimour is gone down to you, he has interest, as he says, amongst the Canadians, will soon fill his Company, perhaps more, I think. I have advanced him 300 dollars, you will be able to give him money at Quebec, tell him he shall have his Commission as soon as his Company is full, that is the rule I follow here. I have mustered Duval as an Ensign in Lieber's company, can at any time raise him to a Lieut. if he wants it. You had best let him know it. If he was here he might be serviceable to me as Clerk.

Yours

Moses Hazen.

Addressed to

Colo. Edward Antill.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12, p. 39.

My Lord,

Quebec, 10 May, 1776.

I congratulate my King and Country on the Appointment of Lord George Germain to be Secretary of State to the American department in these times of such dangers and difficulties as those we now have.

A full and Accurate detail of affairs here will be given your Lordship by My brave honest friend Colonel Caldwell who carries the Generals dispatches; Colonel Caldwell Commanded the Regiment of British Militia who so bravely and so greatly contributed to defend Quebec, and its but Justice to say that his merit on this occasion deserves the greatest favours his King and Country can confere upon him, his fidelity and attachment to his King and Country have made him the object of the Vengeance & Resentment of the Rebels, for they burnt his Houses and destroyed his Property to a very considerable amount, all I shall say about myself is that I endeavoured to do my duty, and am happy that my Endeavours have in some Degree Contributed to the Glorious End, that has crowned our Endeavours with success—the moment the rest of the 29th Regiment are arrived at Quebec with the 47th now in the River from Halifax, I hope we shall follow the Rebels closs at their heels, and not give them time to recover from the Panick and Consternation that their late Precipitate retreat from Quebec has reduced them to. I have now my Lord a Glorious Prospect before us Early in the Season. I also hope we have had Experience Sufficient to convince us that our Unactivity and want of Spirit was what greatly contributed to the distresses to which this province has been reduced last year, timidity in the field My Lord is a dangerous matter, for I am convinced few Generals are capable of conducting a defensive War.

I have the honor to be with the most profound respect

My Lord

Your Lordship's Most Humble & most obedient Servant,
Allan Maclean.

Endorsed: Quebec 10th May 1776. Lieut.-Col. Maclean.

R. 10 June,

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, November 14, 1776.

Quebec, May 10, 1776.

My dear Friend,

When I arrived here on the 5th of November last, I found the Place in a most defenceless State. I had persuaded the Master of the vessel I was in to take on board upwards of 100 Men, who were waiting at Newfoundland for a Passage hither; for I had some Intimation of the State of Affairs here, tho' nothing near so bad as I found it; and it was fortunate we did bring these Men, for the greater part of them were Carpenters, and other Artificers, and were of the greatest Service in repairing our Defences, and making Platforms for our Cannon; so that I sincerely think we could not have done without them. We had at that Time not a single soldier. On the 12th of November, Colonel Maclean arrived with about 170 Men of his Regiment, and it was lucky he did; for on the 14th Arnold appeared before the Town, and I really believe the Gates would have been opened to him by the Disaffected and Faint-Hearted among us, if it had not been for the Colonel. On the 19th General Carleton arrived, and it was then I first began to conceive tolerable thoughts of the Defence of the City; though I was before determined to wait the Event, for I could not bear the idea of shewing about in London the Face of a Man, who had run away from Quebec at such a Crisis. The first thing the General did was to turn out those he suspected and to permit the departure of all who would not assist in the Defence of the Place. This occasioned a great trooping out of Town, but though it diminished our number, it added greatly to our Strength, and has proved our Safety; for what could we have done with such a Parcel of false Friends, and trembling ones? As it was, God knows we had enough to do.

On the 1st of December Montgomery landed at Point-aux Trembles; he appeared before the Town on the 5th, and sent us a Summons, which was turned back without being attended to. On the 10th he began to throw Bombs into the Town, and on the 17th he began to cannonade, but with very little Effect. At different times he attempted several Proposals, but none were hearkened to. About the 20th we were informed by Deserters that he was preparing to storm us; on the 25th some of their People were seen near the Walls before Daylight, and we had a terrible Alarm, but they did not follow their Purpose. From that time to the 31st the Garrison were all under Arms every Night; and that Day, in the Morning, they made their Attack in good earnest. While two parties made false Attacks in two different Parts of the Wall. Montgomery attempted the South End, and Arnold the Northern End of the Lower-town, Montgomery was killed at the first Discharge, and a very great number

of his men fell about him; Indeed his whole Party must infallibly have been cut off if a Canadian Officer had not failed in his Duty. On the other Side of the Town Arnold was surrounded, and got off, very early, with about 20 more of his Party; the Retreat of the rest was cut off by a well-concerted Sortie from the Palace Gate, and they were all either killed or taken Prisoners. They acknowledged they lost about 800 Men, and they are not given to exaggerating their own Losses.

The Prisoners we made amounted to 452, Officers included; and they may very well be included with their common Men, for I am persuaded you would find it difficult to distinguish them. Arnold then turned his Siege into a Blockade, and we continued pretty quiet till the 16th of February. We then found they were beginning to receive Reinforcements, and have been in continual uneasiness and expectations ever since. They erected three new Batteries, with which they did some damage to the Shipping in the Cul de Sac, and killed a few People. At last on the 3d. of May, they took the Opportunity of the Flood to send a fire Ship up the River, in order to set fire to the shipping, and at the same time we could see them drawn up, ready to attack the Walls, if the fire ship took Place; In truth their Scheme was tolerably well laid. The ship coming from below was at first supposed to be a friend arrived from Sea to our Relief; It was Night, and it was not till she was very near our shipping that she was discovered to be an Enemy. On this we began a heavy fire on her; and when they found they were discovered they lighted the Train, and in a Moment she was in a Blaze; her Sails immediately took Fire, and checked her Way, and the tide then beginning to ebb she was carried down the River by it. The Fellows on board her attempted to make their escape in three Boats, one of which it was thought was sunk by a ball from us. Had their Scheme succeeded it must have thrown us into great Confusion; and if they had taken that Opportunity to assault, for which they prepared, we should have been in imminent Danger; but it pleased God to preserve us. Their Ladders were laid round the Town at Hand for them a day or two before. On the 6th of May, in the morning, we were again alarmed with another Ship, and we all repaired to our Alarm Posts; but we were soon agreeably disappointed at finding it to be the Surprize Frigate come to our Relief, which was presently followed by the Iris of 54 Guns, and the Martin Sloop. They had on board about 100 Marines, and two Companies of the 29th Regiment, which were landed with all Expedition, and at Noon we marched out to attack the enemy, but they did not chuse to wait for us. Some few shot fell near where I was, but they fell harmless, and I believe were the only shot they fired. They ran as if the Devil was after them, and we never could get near them. We have taken all their Ammunitions, Baggage, &c., in such prodigious Quantities, that it is inconceivable where they could get it. Many of them threw away their Firelocks, and even their Coats and Waistcoats, that they might move off the faster, and by Midnight they had marched, or rather run thirty Miles to the Pointe aux Trembles; here they stopped for two hours till two in the Morning of the 7th, when they were alarmed with an Account of our being within two leagues of them; On this they set off again on the run, and we have not since heard where they are got to. The Surprize frigate, and the Martin Sloop, with two armed schooners that we had here, sailed up the River about the time we marched out, and have taken on the River the Gaspee Sloop of War, which the Rebels had seized last November, with a Number of other Vessels and Boats, and a great Quantity of Artillery and Ammunition, and a Number of Prisoners, we know not precisely how many. In truth this Rout has been a most wonderful Affair; the utmost of our Numbers that marched out did not exceed 800 Men, for no Militia was ordered out, only such as offered themselves as Volunteers, and the Rebels considerably exceeded 3000 Men; so that after having been such Bobadils all Winter, they have been suddenly Planet-struck, and must be in a most terrible situation, and in the greatest confusion; and it is very probable not one will be able to get out of this country. If that should be the case, the Quebec Expedition, from first to last, will cost the Congress 6 or 7000 Men.

My share in the Transactions is very small indeed. Possibly I might have been an Officer, if I had asked, but when I saw so many desirous of being Officers, that it was impossible to content a quarter part of them, and that hardly any body considered the great want of private Men, I thought I did more service by taking up a brown Musquet and putting on a Soldier's Coat, than I could do any other Way; I therefore enlisted in Capt. Johnson's Company as Private, and as such I have served during the Siege. I was Volunteer on the Sortie the 31st of December from the Palace Gate, and helped to bring in a great Number of the Prisoners, and on the 6th of May, I was the Right-hand man of the Left-wing of our little Army. My fatigue has been great. Before this Affair, I scarcely ever laid two successive Nights in my Cloaths, but on this

Occasion I slept in my Cloaths 80 successive Nights. (except when I was on Duty, and did not sleep at all) and my Room was a Guard-room. We have not wanted provisions, but we have wanted Wood very much, which in this excessive cold Country is terrible indeed; however we have got through it, God be praised successfully.

This, as nearly as I can make out, was our Garrison during the Siege:

Col. Maclean's Men	170
A Company of the 7th Regiment	60
Marines	40
Seamen	450
Militia, about	800

1520

Out of these we had scarcely any that could be called Regular Troops. Col. Maclean's is a Corps just beginning to be raised, and the Company of the 7th is composed of three Fourths of Recruits last Spring (most of them Norfolk Men) Indeed the Militia was of more Importance than you can conceive, and behaved very well

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12, p. 31.

By His Excellency
Guy Carleton,

Captain-general and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of Quebec, and the Territories depending thereon in America, Vice-Admiral of the same, and Major-general of His Majesty's Forces, commanding the Northern District, &c., &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas I found it necessary, by a Proclamation dated the twenty-second day of November, One thousand seven hundred and seventy-five to order and enjoin all and every Person and Persons whatsoever, liable to serve in the Militia, and residing at Quebec, who had refused or declined to enroll their Names in the Militia Lists, and to take up arms in conjunction with his Majesty's good Subjects of the said City, as well as those who having once taken up arms and afterwards laid them down and refused to take them up again, to quit the Town in four Days from the date thereof, together with their Wives and Children, I Do now Hereby Order, That no Person or Persons of the above Description, who quitted the City of Quebec in consequence of the said Proclamation, nor any Person or Persons who either before or after the said Proclamation, deserted or withdrew from any corps to which they once belonged, shall presume to enter the said City again without a Permission in writing under my Hand, or under the Hand of the Lieutenant-governor of this Province.

Given under my Hand and Seal of Arms at the Castle of St. Lewis, in the City of Quebec, this Twelfth Day of May, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-Six, in the sixteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth

Guy Carleton.

By His Excellency's Command
H. T. Cramahé.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

(141)

LA GAZETTE DE QUEBEC.

Par Son EXCELLENCE.
GUY CARLETON.

Capitaine-général et Gouverneur de Chef dans toute la Province de QUEBEC, et territoires en dépendans en AMERIQUE, Vice-amiral d'icelle, et MARECHAL des Camps et Armées de sa Majesté, Commandant le Département Septentrional, &c., &c., &c.

PROCLAMATION.

COMME J'AI TROUVE NECESSAIRE D'ORDONNER ET D'ENJOINDRE, par une Proclamation en date du Vingt-deuxième jour de Novembre Mil sept cens

soixante-quinze, à toutes et chacunes personnes quelconques, capables de servir dans la Milice, résidents à QUEBEC, qui ont refusé ou éludé de faire inscrire leurs noms dans les rôles de la Milice, et de prendre les armes conjointement avec les bons Sujets de sa Majesté de cette dite ville, ainsi qu'à celles qui aiant une fois pris les armes, les ont ensuite mis bas et refusé de les reprendre, de vuidier la ville, sous quatre jours de la date d'icelle, avec leurs femmes et leurs enfants, j'ORDONNE PRESENTEMENT PAR CES PRESENTES, que toutes telles personnes désignées ci-dessus, qui ont quitté la ville de QUEBEC en conséquence de la dite Proclamation, ainsi que toutes celles qui ont déserte ou sorti d'aucun corps, sans une Permission par écrit donnée sous mon seing, ou sous le seing du Lieutenant-gouverneur de cette Province.

Donné sous mon seign et le sceau de mes armes, au chateau St. Louis, dans la ville de QUEBEC, le douzième jour de MAI, mil sept cens soixante-seize, dans la sixième année du Règne de Nôtre Souverain Seigneur GEORGE trois, par la Grace de Dieu, Roy de la GRANDE-BRETAGNE, de FRANCE et d'IRELANDE, Defenseur de la Foy, &c. &c. &c.

(Signé) GUY CARLETON.

Par Ordre de son EXCELLENCE,

(Signé) H. T. CRAMAHE.

Traduit par ordre de son Excellence

F. J. CUGNET, S.F.

VIVE le ROI.

(142)

QUEBEC GAZETTE.

By His Excellency
Guy Carleton,

Captain-General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of Quebec, and the Territories depending thereon in America, Vice-Admiral of the same, and Major-general of His Majesty's Forces, commanding the Northern District, &c., &c., &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas I am informed that many of his Majesty's deluded subjects of the neighbouring provinces, laboring under wounds and divers disorders, are dispersed in the adjacent woods and parishes, and are in great danger of perishing for want of proper assistance. All captains and other officers of militia are hereby commanded to make diligent search for all such distressed persons, and afford them all necessary relief and convey them to the general hospital, where proper care shall be taken of them. All reasonable expenses which shall be incurred in complying with this order shall be paid by the receiver-general.

"And lest a consciousness of past offences should deter such miserable wretches from receiving that assistance which their distressed system may require, I hereby make known to them, that as soon as their health is restored they shall have free liberty to return to their respective provinces.

"Given under my Hand and Seal of Arms at the Castle of St. Lewis, in the City of Quebec, this Tenth Day of May, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-six, in the sixteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., &c., &c.

"Guy Carleton."

By His Excellency's Command,
H. T. Cramahé.

(143)

LA GAZETTE DE QUEBEC.

Par Son EXCELLENCE.
GUY CARLETON.

Capitaine-général et Gouverneur en Chef de la Province de QUEBEC, et territoires en dépendans; Vice-amiral d'icelle, Maréchal des Camps et Commandant en Chef des armées de sa Majesté, dans la Province de QUEBEC et frontières d'icelle, &c. &c. &c.

PROCLAMATION.

Comme je suis informé que beaucoup des sujets abusés de Sa Majesté des Provinces voisines, qui souffrent de leurs blessures et d'autres maladies, sont dispersés

dans les bois et paroisses voisines, et qu'ils courent grand risque de périr faute de secours nécessaires; Il est ordonné par ces présentes à tous Capitaines et Officiers de Milice, de faire une prompte recherche de toutes telles personnes malades, de leur procurer les secours nécessaires, et de les faire conduire à l'Hopital-général, où on en aura grand soin; toutes les dépenses raisonnables qui auront été faites en obéissance à cet Ordre, seront remboursées par le Receveur-général.

Et de peur que la crainte du châtement de leurs crimes passés n'empêche point ces malheureux de recevoir les secours que leur misérable situation peut exiger, je leur donne à connaitre par ces présentes, qu'aussitot que leur santé sera rétablie, ils auront l'entière liberté de retourner dans leurs différentes Provinces.

Donné sous mon seing et le sceau de mes armes, au chateau St. Louis, dans la ville de QUEBEC, le dixième jour de Mai, mil sept cens soixante-seize, dans la seizième année du Règne de Notre Souverain Seigneur GEORGE trois, par la Grâce de Dieu, Roy de la GRANDE-BRETAGNE, de FRANCE, et d'IRELANDE, Défenseur de la Foy, &c. &c. &c.

(Signé)

GUY CARLETON.

Par Ordre de son Excellence,

(Signé) H. T. CRAMAHE.

Traduit par ordre de son Excellence,

F. J. CUGNET, S.F.

VIVE le ROI.

(144)

Carleton to Barrington.

Quebec 14th May 1776.

My Lord,

The 8th instant I received your Lordship's letter of 9th September last; should the Camp Equipage of the 26th arrive here, tho' we have had the misfortune to lose that Corps, we may find some use for it; a Letter from some of the King's faithful subjects at Montreal, they found means to introduce into the Town last March, mentions the Post of Oswagatchie being safe the end of February.

Your Lordship will learn, from my Dispatches to the Secretary of State, the event of 31st December, and that after blocking up the Town the whole Winter, and receiving very considerable reinforcements, upon Marching out two hundred men of the 29th and Marines, with a great part of the Garrison the rebels fled, leaving them all their Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions, and Baggage.

To give a few regular troops we had, composed chiefly of Recruits, some consistence I formed the small remains of the Fusiliers under Captain Owen the Marines of the Lizard, and Lieutenant-Colonel Maclean's Emigrants into one Corps, Commanded by the Lieutenant Colonel, Major Cox of the 16th acting as Major, with some other experienced officers under them, and they have gone through the service all the Winter, with a steadiness and resolution which could hardly have been expected from raw undisciplined troops, and for which they cannot be too much commended.

I cloathed this Corps, as indeed I did the Seamen and two Militias, out of the Cloathing sent out by Sir Thomas Harley, which was of great service both in respect to keeping the men warm and in health, during the severe Season, and exciting an Emulation amongst the Corps; Lieutenant Colonel Maclean, who is very anxious to get his Regiment into Order; wishes to have it assembled in this Province. I think it may prevent confusion both in Accounts and Commission; He has also desired I should recommend to your Lordship, that the reckonings might be paid; I don't clearly understand how this matter is, but am persuaded, his being a zealous and faithful Servant to the Crown will prove a sufficient recommendation to your Lordship for everything that is reasonable.

This will be delivered to your Lordship by Major Caldwell, who Commanded the British Militia here and has approved himself a zealous Subject of His Majesty's, and an active diligent officer; He and every other Loyal Subject in the Province, are great sufferers by this hostile Invasion of their fellow subjects.

I am with great regard,

Your Lordship's

Most Obedient and

Most Humble Servant,

Guy Carleton.

P.S.:—Inclosed is a Garrison Return of the 1st May, G.C.

Lord Viscount Barrington,

His Majesty's Secretary at War.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 12, pp. 21-3.

Copy of Intelligence received from Montreal at Quebec the 14th May from a Person who never yet deceived.

A Carillon une Garde, 60 Hommes, aux Cedres, 150, au bout de L'Isle d'enhaut environ 60 Hommes. Il est passé par la Rivière Chambly 2 Mortiers de 13 Pouce Diametre, 2 Canons de 32, 2 de 24, 4 de 18, 4 de 12, 4 de 9, 4 de 6 six de 4, et six de 2, et environ 1200 Hommes avec il y en a environ 2,000 sur le Lac Champlain et Carillon, mais le 10 Mai aucun de ces derniers n'avoient paru à St. Jean. Le General Thomas doit arriver vers le 12 à Berthier avec quelques Troupes revenant de Quebec. Le General Prussien y est arrivé le 10 au matin, de la Ils feront traverser leurs Troupes à Sorel. Monsr Hazen est à St. Jean y faisant faire des Retranchements. Mr. Arnold commande à Montreal. Monsieur Franklin est reparti le 11 à 8 heures avec Madame Walker et Madame Price dans un bateau. 3 Messieurs du Congress nommés Chace, Carrol et un Jesuit sont encore à Montreal. Monsieur Price y est arrivé le 10 au soir et doit en repartir le 12. Les Messieurs du Congress ont donnés des Permis à quelques Voyageurs sous condition qu'ils n'assisteroient en aucune maniere les Troupes du Roi. Messieurs Welles, Maccarty, Meredith, Tucker, Heywood, Bindon et beaucoup d'autres, aussi tous les Juifs, s'appretent pour partir. M. de Lorimier et le Commandant de la Galette sont venus aux Cedres le 11 Avril y prendre 125 quarts de Provision et assurant que dans peu il y auroit beaucoup de sauvages et des Troupes rendues aux Cedres et depuis ce tems rien de nouveau. Les Bostonnois ont pris aujourd'huy de Force chez Messieurs Moquin et Le Moine beaucoup Quarts de Farine, promettant de payer bientôt. Les Habitans ont à present peur, craignent il y a environ 200 Hommes de Garrison à Montreal Mais il n'y a point d'argent pour rien payer ni en espee ni en Papier.

tout ceci est vrai.

G. C.

Endorsed:—Copy of a Paper of Intelligence from Montreal received at Quebec, 14th May, 1776. In General Carleton's Letter of the 14th May.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12, p. 7.

(No. 1.)

Quebec, 14th May, 1776.

My Lord,

After this Town had been closely invested by the Rebels for five months, and had defeated all their attempts, the Surprise Frigate, Isis, and Sloop Martin came into the Basin the 16th Instant.

As soon as that part of the 29th they had on board, with their Marines, in all about two hundred, were landed, they, with the greatest part of the Garrison, by this time much improved, and in high Spirits, marched out of the Ports of St. Louis and St. John's, to see what those mighty Boasters were about; they were found very busy in their Preparations for a Retreat a few shot being exchanged, the Line marched forward, and the Plains were soon cleared of those Plunderers; all their Artillery, Military Stores, scaling Ladders, Petards, &c., &c., were abandoned, the Surprise, Martin, and a Province armed Vessel went up the River, when they also quitted the Gaspé, and the Armed Schooner Mary; the Rear of the Rebels have halted at Dechambault, and the Surprise with the other two Vessels, are a little upon this side of the Falls of Richelieu.

Thus ended our Siege and Blockade, during which, the mixed Garrison of Soldiers, Sailors, British and Canadian Militia, with the Artificers from Halifax and Newfoundland, shewed great zeal and Patience under very severe Duty, and uncommon Vigilance, indispensable in a Place liable to be storm'd, besides great Labor necessary to render such Attempts less practicable; Notwithstanding the inclement Season they preserved good health and their Spirits increased every day; a copy of my Letter to General Howe will inform your Lordship of our situation to the defeat of the Rebels upon the 31st of December.

For three Months after they confined their operations to the preventing all supplies from coming to Town, and in burning our Suburbs, and Shipping; the latter have almost all escaped but the greater part of the Suburbs of St. Rock and St. John have been burned, the remainder was brought into Town for Fuel, which was much wanted.

The beginning of February the Rebels again attempted to enter into a correspondence by a Flag of Truce, encouraged to it, I suppose, by a permission granted for the Prisoners Baggage to enter the Town, but as they were told immediately to withdraw, unless they came to implore the King's Mercy, they have not since returned.

March the 25th the advance Guard of a Party raised by Mr. Beaujeu to relieve the Town, was defeated, the rest dispersed; the 31st it was discovered that the Rebel Prisoners had formed a Plot to escape, to seize the Guard at St. John's Gate, and let in Mr. Arnold, which was effectually disappointed.

The 4th of April the Rebels opened a Battery of four Guns and one Howitzer from the opposite side of the River St. Lawrence, and the 22nd another of two Guns, and one Howitzer from the opposite side of the River St. Charles, these were also intended to burn the Town and Shipping, from both they fired red hot Ball; the 23rd they attempted throwing some shells into Town from a Battery on the Heights opposite to Port St. Louis, all these Batteries were much damaged by our Artillery.

May the 3rd about ten at Night a Fire Ship attempted to run into the Cul de Sac, where the greatest part of our Shipping were laid up, but this also proved abortive, and she burned to the Water's edge without doing us the least Injury; 'tis supposed they intended a general Assault, had they succeeded in setting fire to the Ships and lower Town.

I cannot conclude this Letter without doing Justice to Lieutenant Colonel Maclean, who has been indefatigably zealous in the King's Service, and to his Regiment, wherein he has collected a number of experienced good officers, who have been very useful; Colonel Hamilton, who commanded the Battalion of Seamen, his Officers and Men discharged their Duty with great Alacrity and Spirit, the same thing must be acknowledged of the Masters, inferior Officers, and Seamen belonging to His Majesty's Transports, and Merchant Men detained here last Fall; only one Seaman deserted the whole time; the Militias British and Canadian behaved with a steadiness and Resolution, that could hardly have been expected from Men unused to arms, Judges and other Officers of Government, as well as Merchants cheerfully submitted to every Inconvenience to preserve the Town; The whole indeed upon the Occasion shewed a Spirit and Perseverance, that does them great Honor.

The 47th from Halifax, and the greatest part of the 29th are since arrived.

Major Caldwell, who commanded the British Militia all Winter, as Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, and is Bearer of these Dispatches to your Lordship, has proved himself a faithful Subject of His Majesty's, and an Active diligent Officer; and indeed almost every loyal Subject, are very considerable Sufferers by the present hostile Invasion.

I am with due Respect

Your Lordship's Most Obedient and

Most Humble Servant

Guy Carleton.

Lord George Germain

one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State

Endorsed: Quebec 14th May 1776.

General Carleton

(No. 1) R 10th June.

Entd.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 12, pp. 14-5.

No. 2.

Quebec, 14th May, 1776.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's circular Dispatches of the 10th and 23rd December, and the particular one numbered 1, of the 17th February, with the King's Warrant for posting Officers in case of Vacancies, and the several other Inclosures thereto annexed, were

delivered to me the 10th instant by Lieutenant Colonel Nesbitt in the Niger Frigate, who had left the 47th Regiment sent by General Howe to our relief, below in the River.

Your Lordship will herewith receive a Proclamation, I found necessary to issue for the safety of this Town, on my Return from Montreal in November last, Copies of Mr. Montgomery's Letter to the Merchants, and of that inclosed to me, smuggled into Town by an old Woman, who was sent to Prison and afterwards drummed out, Duplicates whereof tied to Arrows were shot in a few Days after, and of an Order of Mr. Montgomery's, dated 15th December, extracted out of some of their Orderly Books, a Return of the Rebels taken prisoners, 31st of December, of their killed and wounded who fell into our Hands that Day, besides which many perished in the River and their Hospitals were crowded.

I likewise inclose two Proclamations issued since the Rout of the Rebels, and a Copy of a Paper of Intelligence received from Montreal this Day.

I am with due Respect,
your Lordship's
most obedient and
most Humble Servant,
Guy Carleton.

P.S. inclosed is a
Garrison Return of the 1st Instant.
G. C.

Lord George Germain,
One of His Majesty's
Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 14th May, 1776.
General Carleton, No. 2.
Rd. 10th June.
(10 Inclosures.)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 12, pp. 41-3.

My Lord,

Permit me to embrace this opportunity of acquainting your Lordship that after in some degree a troublesome passage owing to the quantity of Ice, we encountered in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, I arrived in the Lord Howe Transport at the Isle of Coudre upon the sixth of this month, where I got information that the town of Quebec was still closely Besieged, in consequence of which I made the best of my way up and came to Anchor here the 8th. I will not take up your Lordship's time with a long detail of the Sortie made by the Garrison and the Rout of the Rebel Army; these will be transmitted to you by more able and authentic hands. I shall only say that the Garrison both Soldiers and Seaman have behaved with the utmost Courage and perseverance during a long and fatiguing Siege, and that the Rebels whose Rear Guard consisting of 600 men at Dechambeau, have left their Artillery, Ordnance Stores and almost everything behind them.

It is impossible to describe the good effect of the early arrival of Capt. Lutwidge's Convoy, the Rebels are in the greatest consternation and his Majesty's Troops in the best spirits, in short my Lord, if I might be permitted to Judge, I would say that the Armaments you have sent and are now sending to this Country will be of the utmost consequence to his Majesty's Service, and I hope in a short time will convince America that He can punish as well as protect Her.

There is at present a report but with what truth I cannot say that Col. McLean is to be advanced directly with some Troops and I am well convinced that what can be will be done by him. He has deservedly the character of an Excellent Officer and seems peculiarly calculated for this Service, Beloved, Dreaded, & indefatigable.

Give me now leave, My Lord, after congratulating you upon the success of the Expedition, to return my best thanks for the Preferment I have received by your Lordship's Protection, two days after my arrival here, I had the honour of being promoted to the rank of Master and Commander of the Lord Howe Armed Ship by Commission

dated the 10th, and although no opportunity may ever offer of approving myself worthy the preferment confer'd upon me under your Lordship's Patronage, I shall at least studiously endeavour to show myself ready to deserve your protection. I have the honour to be with the utmost respect, &c.

Thos. Pringle.

Lord Howe, Quebec.
14th May, 1776.

After having wrote the foregoing I have the pleasure to acquaint your Lordship that we have got information of the Rear Guard of the Rebels being retired to Three Rivers which is ninety miles from hence.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 14th May, 1776.
Capt. Pringle.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, September 26, 1776.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, June 11.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE June 11, 1776.

By letters from Capt. Douglas, of his Majesty's ship the *Isis*, dated Quebec the 8th and 15th of May, received yesterday by Capt. Hamilton, late of the *Lizard*, who arrived from thence in his Majesty's sloop the *Hunter*, it appears that the *Isis*, which sailed from Portland on the 11th of March, having succours on board for the relief of the place, made the island of St. Peter's on the 11th of April; that he had from thence with the greatest difficulty made his way, pressing the ship by force of sail for 50 or 60 leagues through large fields of thick ice, that on the 21st of April, when he got clear of the ice, he made the island of Anticosti, and the same evening entered the River St. Lawrence; that on the 30th he anchored in a snow storm near the Pilgrim Island, and from thence, as the storm cleared up, observed successive smoaks from Cape to Cape towards Quebec; and that, after various obstacles from fogs, calms, or contrary winds, he arrived on the 3d of May near Isle aux Coudres, where he was joined by his Majesty's ship the *Surprize*, and Martin sloop, which sailed on the 20th of March from Plymouth, having likewise succours on board. Capt. Douglas adds, that having secured here all the French Pilots, and every hour becoming more and more precious, he gave orders on the 5th of May to Capt. Linzee, of the *Surprize*, to make the best of his way, and gave notice to Governor Carleton of the approaching relief. Capt. Linzee arrived in view of the town at six o'clock the next morning, and after answering the private signal from the garrison, came to an anchor in the bason of Quebec, between the Rebel-battery on Point-Levi and the Lower-town, where the *Isis* and Martin came to an anchor also, very soon after; and the several detachments they had on board were immediately landed. Capt. Douglas further observes, that the General wisely availing himself of the different impressions which the arrival of the ship had made on the rebels, marched out to give them battle, but that they as instantly retreated; on which Capt. Douglas ordered Capt. Linzee and Capt. Harvey of the Martin sloop, with a Province armed vessel, to proceed up the river as far as the Rapids, in hopes to annoy them in their retreat, which was attended with good effect, as it hindered the parties on the opposite sides of the river from joining in their flight towards Montreal. He represents their flight to have been very precipitate, as they left not only their cannon undischarged, their ammunition, scaling ladders, intrenching tools, and provisions, but even many of them their musquets.

The *Surprize* and Martin were further successful in taking an armed schooner belonging to the Rebels, carrying four 6 pounders and six three pounders but the men escaped into the woods; they also recovered his Majesty's schooner *Gaspé*, which in the winter had fallen into the hands of the Rebels, and had been sunk by them, but was soon weighed and found to be not materially damaged. It also appears, from Capt. Douglas's letters, that on the 8th of May his Majesty's ship *Niger* arrived with three transports having on board the 47th regiment, from Halifax; and that on the 10th, Capt. Lutwidge, of his Majesty's ship the *Triton*, arrived with the Lord Howe and Bute transports, having troops on board, together with the British Queen, Agnes, and Beaver, victuallers, from England.

Capt. Douglas speaks highly in commendation of the Captains and Officers of the ships employed to carry succours, for their perseverance and exertion in the many difficulties they had to encounter in their passage through the Gulph, and in every other part of the service.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12, p. 49.

On board the Maria, opposite St Ann's May 25 1776. (No. 3)

My Lord

I have this moment received an account from Captain Forster, that He, with a detachment of the 8th regt, some Canadians & a number of Indians, had taken the 19th inst. a fort at the Cedars two pieces of Cannon, & 390 rebels, prisoners at discretion. The day following a party of 120 rebels crossed from the island of Montreal to Kinchin, these were attacked by Mess. Lorimier & Mongtyn, defeated and taken.

The small force that is already arrived is drawing nearer to the Rebels to see if any assistance can be given to the Kings good Subjects above, who have begun rather sooner than I could have wished. The Rebels are still numerous in the province, & talk of large reinforcements.

I am with all due respect

My Lord

Your Lordship's Most obedient
Most humble servant

Guy Carleton

Lord George Germain

Endorsed:—On board the Maria, opposite St. Ann's May 25th 1776.

Govr. Carleton

Entd. (No. 3) R 24th June.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 12, pp. 50-2.

Quebec, 25th May, 1776.

My Lord,

The inclosed Intelligence was sent down to me by General Carleton to be forward by the Express which carries Home Duplicates of his Dispatches to your Lordship of the 14th May.

We have since received an account of a party of the Rebels posted at the Cedars having been defeated by a Detachment of the 8th, some Savages and Canadians from Detroit. I believe the Account to be true, tho' the Particulars have not yet reached us.

The Rebels have evacuated Trois Rivieres and by the last Accounts from above, after plundering the Seigneur of Berthier's Corn and Cattle, were just upon the point of crossing from thence to Sorel, where they cannot have less than three or four and twenty hundred men.

By a variety of Accounts and from sensible People the number of Rebels in the Province, including the Party at the Cedars, which had been reinforced to between three and four hundred men, cannot be less than five thousand, and an article from New York, in some of their papers, dated 29th April, mentions a Brigadier General Sullivan being to march from thence to this Province in a day or two with six Regiments.

As the Rebels are in Possession of that Part of the Country which abounds most with Corn and it appears to be their intention to strip it of every thing that can be of use to His Majesty's Forces, no great Dependence ought to be placed upon the Produce of this Province for supplying them with Provisions, of which to me seems necessary to give your Lordship the earliest Information, that some care be taken in a Point which may prove of the last Importance and which at this time it is impossible in the present Confusion of things to form any or precise Idea.

The Rebels are in want of Provisions and except what they plunder from Persons attached to Government it is the article they pay for in Cash, with which they are supplied by Bills their Friends have drawn upon Britain; the enclosed Bills were intended to supply a Mr. Bondfield, who has served them all the winter in that way and was lately, I understand, appointed by the Continental Congress, Commissary to their Northern Army, they were put into General Carleton's Hands by one of their Friends but who wanted to make his Peace, and the General has been pleased to direct their being transmitted to your Lordship that Government may be informed of those who support their cause.

Inclosed is a list of Sailors maimed and wounded at different Places during the course of this Invasion and sent Home in the Hope Transport; tho' they did not belong to the Navy it is hoped some Provision will be made for them in consideration of their faithful Services, and of what they have suffered in Consequence, twenty Dollars out of the money remitted to General Carleton for the Relief of the Army, &c. serving in America, have been given to each of them for a present supply of shoes, stockings and other necessaries.

Since my letter was begun we have a confirmation of the Defeat of the Rebel Guard at the Cedars, consisting of two hundred and forty men and of a reinforcement that was coming to them of one hundred and forty, these Accounts do not mention who commanded the King's Troops upon this occasion but added our Loss was trifling, only one man killed and two wounded.

Unfortunately the North Easters common at this Season of the year have not prevailed as usual and prevent the Arrival of the expected Succours from Britain, as well as the 29th and 47th with General Carleton proceeding up the River, but as the wind is now fair, hope they will be able to get on a good way.

I have the Honor to be &c.

H. T. Cramahé.

Lord George Germain,
One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed: — Quebec, 25th May, 1776. Lieut. Govr. Cramahé. R./ 24th June.

(2) Inclosures.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12, p. 69.

Quebec 25 May 1776.

Sir,

I took the Liberty of writing a few Lines to my Lord North, by the Hunter Sloop of War, of the Great and fortunate Events that have happened here on the 31 Decr. 1775 and the 6th May 1776, but I would not presume to trouble His Lordship with a Long and tedious detail of particulars he will have that from Publick Authority in a much Better Manner than I could possibly do; tho' I can say with truth as second in Command I bore a Large Share in all those Long and Laborious transactions. The Account you had from the Rebels on the 31 was not the whole truth, for their Loss amounted to 650, in which number we burried 220 and since the snow went away we found 20 more that lay all winter under the snow, on the arrivall of the Surprise Frigate and the Issis Man of war the 6th May, early in the Morning they landed 100 Men of the 29 Regt. and 80 Marines, with these and 720 of the Garrison we marched out at 12 O'clock the same day the General at one Gate, and I at the other Gate, all my Regiment were relieved from the different Guards in Town by the Militia, as we were the only Kings Soldiers that were to defend Quebec; and I do say that no troops could behave better than my young men, indeed the Officers were all old tried Experienced Officers who had been Long in the Service, that no danger or difficulty could startle, or make them deviate from their duty and I am convinced General Carleton will do them Justice—On Marching out of Town Capt. Nairn of my Regiment commanded the advanced Party, he in a moment seized upon and took two Batteries the Rebels had raised against the Town, and in half an hour the General with his whole detachment was in possession of the heights of Abraham, for the moment Capt. Nairn marched on to Attack the Batteries the Rebels after firing a few Muskets ran away, and by the time we were formed upon the heights with our 900 men and four field Pieces, the route of the Rebels became General; tho they were 3000 Strong; Many of them threw away their arms, the General when he went out, intended nothing more than to demolish their Batteries, and did not mean to bring on any Genll Engagement, but when we got a full view of the enemy it was then found that they ran away so fast that it was impossible to bring them to any engagement their two Generals were amongst the first fugitives and after a retreat was ordered, my Regiment Eat the Dinner of the two Generals found upon the table in good order, we took all their Cannon, Ammunition Artillery Stores, Provisions, Baggage, & all their Papers, thus never was a more Compleat Victory, without the Loss of a man, we took a good many Prisoners, many of them sick; and its very certain that this defeat, at the beginning of a Campaign, is a glorious Prospect for us, and a ruinous one for them; they made no stop till they came to the Sorell River, 140 miles from Montreal they are now fortifying themselves there. Yesterday an Express arrived with the news that a part of the Eight

Regiment from the upper Posts with some hundreds of indians, and the Canadians of Detroit, had come down to a place call'd the Cedars about 45 miles above Montreal, where they attacked and Beat a Guard of 400 Rebels Commanded by a Colonel Battle, and that our People were on the March to Montreal after those that Escaped; so that I do apprehend the stay of the Rebels in Canada will not be long, its a Pity the troops from Europe were not arrived for we should not allow any of these Scoundrels ever to get home; General Carleton left this three days ago with the 29 Regiment, 600 and the 47th Regiment from Halifax 340 men, But we have such constant gales of N. westerly winds, but they have made Little progress. I am left here to wait for the arrival of the troops to hasten them up, the Country, and I promise that I shall not be deficient in that Respect—you will pardon this long detail, but as I look upon myself as accountable for all my actions to Lord North I do mention these circumstances for his information I hope I have kept my word with his Lordship and that I have not disgraced his Recommendation, I will Even Venture to say that I have contributed greatly to saving Quebec & of course Canada, I found the means, on my first arrivall here, to Reconcile the English Merchts of Canada, to Government here, as they were greatly soured by the preference, (which they insisted) was constantly given to the Canadians, and I will say that 330 British Militia of Quebec did their duty like brave men, many of the men and all the officers at their own Expence; the General I am convinced will do them and my Regiment Justice—I therefore confess I was greatly mortified to find that my Regiment had not been put on any Establishment not on my own Account, but on account of the Officers Who are all men that have served Long & well none of my captains less than 20 years, that many of them have had their houses Plundered & their Effects taken away & yet Young Regiments are Raising & Establishing at home who never have done their Country any Service whilst many of my poor Fellows have been knocked on the head and wounded, besides I will say that my Regiment did keep Quebec & preserve Canada, with respect to myself I have nothing to say, I did not ask anything when I left England; when I do go home; which will be at the End of the Campaign if alive I know Lord North will keep his word with me, and will get his Majesty to do for me what he thinks I deserve, but I really for my officers who are all men of real worth & long Service and who have been severe sufferers in their Property's in this Country on account of the firmness Loyalty & attachment to their Country & Sovereign that they should be forgot while a parcell of young men who hitherto have no claim, in Frasers Regiment, who never saw an Enemy are to be taken care of, I have however no doubt but Justice will be done them by Lord North, their merit is great & they have done real & Eminent Service, the General has appointed me Adjutant General to the Army and would have given me Colonels Rank, but had he had the Power—

I am with regard

Sir

Your most obedt. Humble Servt

Allan Maclean.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12, pp. 53-5.

Copy of a Paper of Intelligence from Montreal by a Person whose Veracity may be depended on. Received at Quebec 22d May, transmitted to General Carleton on board the Mary schooner and returned by him, 24th May, 1776.

Il est partie d'Albanie pour venir en Canada quatre Regimens, commandé par le General Thompson, scavoir le premier Regiment, consistant de 375 Hommes, est parti le 26 Avril, le 2d le 27 Avril de 325 Hommes, le 3me le 28 de 320 Hommes et le 4me partit le 29 de 420 Hommes, ensemble 1440 Hommes. Le premier de ces Regimens arriva a Sorel le 8 Mai, le 2me est arrivé a St. Jean le 9 Mai et le 4me Regiment étoit le 8 Mai matin au Debarquement de Carillon avec le General Thompson et le Colonel St. Clair, et comme le vent a continué au sud jusqu'à L'Après dinée du 11 Mai ce dernier doit être arrivé a St. Jean le 11 Mai.

Le 2 Mai est arrivé à Albany 50 Hommes faisant partie de la Brigade du General Sullivan qui a Ordre aussi de marcher en Canada. Le Vent étoit alors favorable et le 3 du mois on attendoit le reste de cette Brigade qui dit-on, doit être composée de 2,500 Hommes.

Le 8 Mai il y avoit à Carillon 4 Batimens ou Barques, scavoir, un Bateau et un Goelette du Roi, La Goelette du Major Skene que les Bostonnois ont prise a St. Jean, dans le mois de Mai, L'Année dernière, et la Goelette que le Roi a fait construire

L'été dernier à St. Jean, une de ces Goelettes est percée pour mettre 16 Canons et un autre pour 8, ces Barques n'étoient aucunement agrées mais en très mauvais état, et avec la plus grande Expedition et assiduité on ne peut les rendre utiles avant le fin du mois de Mai, cependant le 9 Mai les matelots et capitaines pour ces Batimens sont arrivées à Carillon. Si les soldats du Congrès sont repoussés jusqu'à St. Jean, avant le 25 Mai, il n'y a aucun doute que les Troupes du Roi ne peuvent aisement s'emparer du Fort, la point Carillon et Fort George. Les Troupes du Congrès sont frappées d'une Terreur panique, et dans la plus grande Confusion, à Montreal ils ont trois Goelettes devant la ville abord desquelles ils ont mis le 11 Mai trois cents quarts de Farine qu'ils ont pris à un negociant de cette Ville. M. Franklin, un des Deputes du Congres, arrivé depuis peu, est parti le 11 à 8 Heures du matin, quelques uns se proposant d'accompagner Messieurs Chace et Carrol et le Jesuite qui doivent partir aujourdhuy, 12 Mai à trois Heures, ils étoient tous partis, Haywood, Maccarty, General Arnold, Tucker, John Welles & d'autres partirent le 13 en grande nombre.

Nota. Le Regiment de 325 Hommes qui étoit à St. Jean le 9 Mai est arrivé à la Prairie le 12 a deux heures après midi, commande par le Colonel Peterson. La Frigate dans la quelle est embarqué la Farine est parti aujourdhuy de Port de Montreal pour aller vers Sorel.

Tout ceci est vrai.

Other Intelligence from a Parish almost opposite Sorel.

Aujourdhuy (12 Mai), j'arrive de Sorel ou ils sont environ 1200 Hommes ayant été joint le 11 par trois cens, venus du Colonies; les officiers du camp m'ont dit qu'ils espéroient que leur armée seroit bientôt de 10,000 Hommes; ils font un Re-tranchement à environ 300 pieds du moulin à Vent au Nord Est au bord de la Rivière avec des Fascines, ils en doivent faire un pareil dans L'Isle St. Ignace, mais il n'est pas meme tracé et les Fosses de celui de Sorel ne sont pas même moietie faits, ils ont 14 pieces de canon, que j'ai touché et compté dont 5 de 32, 4 de 24, ou de 18, les autres sont de 12, de 6, et de 4. La Galère et deux Batiments sont devant Sorel. J'ai vu les Generaux Arnold, Wooster, et la Prussien, dont, j'ignore le nom, et l'ingenieur Antill.

H. T. C.

Endorsed:—Copy of Intelligence received 22nd May, 1776. In Lieut. Govr. Cramahé's of 25th May, 1776.

Copy of a Paper of Intelligence from Montreal by a Person whose Veracity may be depended on. Received at Quebec, 22nd May, transmitted to General Carleton on board the Mary schooner and returned by him, 24th May, 1776.

(Translation.)

Four Regiments commanded by General Thompson, have left Albany to come into Canada, to wit, the first Regiment, consisting of 375 Men left the 26th April, the 2d the 27th April of 325 Men, the 3d the 28th of 320 Men and the 4th left on the 29th being 420 Men, altogether 1440 Men. The first of these Regiments arrived at Sorel on the 8th May, the second arrived at St. Jean the 9th May, and the 4th Regiment on the morning of the 8th May was at the landing place at Carillon with General Thompson and Colonel St. Clair, and as the wind continued in the south until the afternoon of the 11th May the latter ought to have arrived at St. Jean on the 11th May.

On the 2nd May, 50 Men arrived at Albany being a portion of General Sullivan's Brigade which also had Orders to march into Canada. The Wind then being favorable the remainder of this Brigade which it is stated would be composed of 2,500 Men would arrive on the 3rd of the month.

On the 8th of May, four Vessels or Barks were at Carillon, to wit, a Batteau and a King's Brig, the Brig belonging to Major Skene which the Bostonians took at St. Jean in the month of May last year, and the Brig which the King had built at St. Jean last summer. One of these Brigs is pierced to carry 16 Guns and another for 8, these Barks were not equipped but in a very poor condition and with greatest Expedition and assiduity cannot be rendered useful before the end of the month of May, however on the 9th of May, the sailors and captains for these Vessels have arrived at Carillon. If the soldiers of Congress are driven back as far as St. Jean before the 25th of May, there is no doubt that the King's troops can easily take possession of the fort, Point Carillon and Fort George. The troops of Congress are stricken by a panic and are in the greatest confusion; at Montreal they have three brigs in front of the town on board of which they placed on the 11th of May, 300 quarters of Flour which they have taken from a merchant in the town. Mr. Franklin, one of the Delegates from Congress, who arrived a short time ago departed on the 11th at 8 o'clock in the forenoon. Some others are

proposing to accompany Messrs. Chace and Carrol and the Jesuit who intend to go to-day. The 12th May at 3 o'clock they had all gone, Haywood, Maccarty, General Arnold, Tucker, John Welles, and many others left on the 13th.

Note. The Regiment of 325 Men which was at St. Jean on the 9th of May, arrived at La Prairie on the 12th at 2 o'clock in the afternoon under the command of Colonel Peterson. The Frigate on which the flour was embarked left the port of Montreal to-day going towards Sorel.

All this is true.

Other Intelligence from a Parish almost opposite Sorel.

(Translation.)

Today (12th May) I have arrived from Sorel where there are about 1200 Men, having been joined on the 11th by three hundred, who came from the colonies; officers in the camp told me that they hope their army would soon consist of 10,000 Men; they are making an entrenchment at about 300 feet from the windmill to the north east on the bank of the River with Fascines, they intend to make another on the Island of St. Ignace, but it is not yet even laid out and the Ditches of the one at Sorel are not yet half made, they have fourteen pieces of cannon; which I have seen and counted, of which five are thirty-two pounders, four twenty-four or eighteen pounders, the others are twelve pounders, six pounders and four pounders. The Galley and two vessels are lying before Sorel. I have seen Generals Arnold, Wooster, and the Prussian whose name I don't know and the engineer Antill.

H. T. C.

Return of the following seamen who were wounded in the King's service since the commencement of the Invasion by the Rebels in this Province.

William Money of the Province Armed Snow Fell, had his thigh broke last Fall at Sorel by a Cannon Shot from the Rebels.

William Wadlow of the same vessel had his right Breast shot off at the same time and place by a cannon shot from the Rebels.

John Edge of the same Vessel was shot through his head by a Musquet ball on the morning of the attack of the 31st December, 1775, at Saut au Matelot.

John Johnson who served in Capt. Littlejohn's Company of seamen during the Winter, had almost lost his eyesight by inclemency of the season.

H. T. Cramahe.

Quebec, 25th May, 1776.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, September, 19, 1776.

Copy of Articles of Capitulation agreed to between Captain FORSTER of the Eighth Regiment of Foot and Benedict Arnold as General of the Rebel Forces, respecting an Exchange of Prisoners.

After the maturest Deliberation of the Customs and Manners of the Savages in War, which I find so opposite and contrary to the humane Disposition of the British Government and to all civilized Nations; And to avoid the inevitable Consequence of the Savages Customs in former Wars, (which by their Threats and Menaces are not changed) of putting their Prisoners to Death to disencumber themselves in Case of their being attacked by their Enemies; I therefore in Compliance with the above Disposition in Government, and the Dictates of Humanity, thought fit to enter into the following Articles of Agreement with General Arnold in the Name of the Power he is employed by, and of the Officers and Soldiers who shall be released by this Agreement, whose Rank and Number shall be endorsed on this Cartel.

I. That there shall be an exchange of Prisoners faithfully made, returning an equal Number of his Majesty's Troops of the same Rank with those released by this Agreement as soon as possible, within the Space of two Months, allowing a moderate time for Casualties that may render the Performance of this Article impracticable.

II. That the Prisoners shall be conducted with safety and all possible Convenience and Dispatch that Circumstances will permit, to the South Shore of the River Saint Lawrence, from which they are to repair to Saint John's and return to their own Country immediately, without committing any Waste or Spoil on their Arrival thither; allowing ten or twelve days to go to Montreal to transact their private affairs.

III. That the Prisoners so returned shall not on any Pretence whatsoever, either in Words, Writing or Signs give the least Information to the Enemy's of Government or their Adherents now in Arms, that may in any degree be prejudicial to his Majesty's Service.

IV. That the Batteaux or other Conveyances made use of to transport the Prisoners to the South Side of said River and the necessary People to conduct them, shall return unmolested.

V. That Hostages be delivered for the Performance of Articles to the full, according to the Sense and Spirit of this Agreement, without any Equivocation whatever.

VI. That the Security of the Subscribers be given to the Inhabitants for all the Waste and Spoil committed by the Detachment under Colonel Bedle on fair Account stated and signed being delivered for which the Hostages are not to be accountable.

It being our full Intention to fulfill the above Articles, we mutually sign and interchange them as Assurance of Performance.

Vaudreuil. Given under our Hands this 27th day of May, 1776.

(Signed)

GEORGE FORSTER, Captain,
Commanding the King's Troops.

To the above Requisition BENEDICT ARNOLD, the Rebel General, acting under the Authority of the CONGRESS return'd the following Answers.

Article II. The Prisoners shall be sent to the South Shore of the River Saint Lawrence, within one League of Caughnawaga, and from thence to Saint John's and their own Country, except twelve who have Liberty to go to Montreal, for which Purpose six days shall be allowed and Hostilities to cease on both sides.

Art. IV. Four Captains shall be sent to Quebec as Hostages, and remain there until Prisoners are exchanged.

Art. VI. The Continental Troops from Principle have ever avoided plundering; upon Proof being made of any Waste being committed by Colonel Bedle's detachment, Reparation shall be made.

Saint Ann. Given under our Hands this 27th day of May, 1776.

Vaudreuil.

(Signed) B. ARNOLD.

GEORGE FORSTER, Captain,
Commanding the King's Troops.

Rank and Number of Prisoners as indorsed on the Cartel.

Two Majors.

Nine Captains.

Twenty Subalterns.

Four Hundred and forty-three soldiers.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12, p. 69.

(No. 4.)

Quebec, 2d June, 1776.

My Lord:

Since my Letter to Your Lordship No. 3., Captain Forster, incumbered with more than 500 Prisoners, was obliged to retire from the Island of Montreal, the Rebels having sent a very superior Force against him; 'tis reported, that after his Retreat, to get rid of the Prisoners, who in Numbers far exceeded his Detachment, He, or the Savages, sent them all back, except some of the Chiefs, retained as Hostages, upon the express Condition, they would never more serve against the King, until released by an equal number of our Prisoners taken at St. John's and Chambli.

The Winds constantly blowing down the River, I could get no higher up with the 29th and 47th Regiments, than within a short Distance of Trois Rivieres, where I posted a Canadian Guard, to advise me of the Enemy's Movements, and returned to this Place, to make some necessary Arrangements, and to hasten the refitting and building of Batteaux, of which we stand in much need, and the want whereof greatly retards our Operations.

The Regiments from Ireland under Lt. Colonel Fraser, and General Burgoyne with his Division, are, I apprehend, mostly arrived, tho' the Transports being ordered

to proceed without stopping, and lying at a Distance from one another, it has been impossible to obtain exact Returns, or to ascertain whether the whole is yet come up.

I am with all due respect,

My Lord:

Your Lordship's Most Obedient and
Most Humble Servant
Guy Carleton.

P.S. 6th June.

Since the writing of the above, I have heard from Capt. Forster, and inclose a Copy of the Settlement, his Situation obliged him to make, in Regard to his Prisoners, the Rebels still continuing to pour up Numbers against him. He has been under the necessity of retreating to Oswegatchié; I am advised of Lt.-Col. Fraser's arrival with a Body of Troops, and some Transports, at Trois Rivieres, which I have appointed the General Rendez vous of the Force, I can at present conveniently assemble.

G. C.

Lord George Germain

One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Genl. Carleton June 2d Quebec, 1776.

Rec'd Kew July 27th 1776 (No. 4.) Enclosing Capt.
Forsters Agreement with the Rebels. (1 Inclosure)

Entd.

ON BOARD THE HUNTER, SLOOP-OF-WAR, JUNE 15, 1776.

My Dear General (General James Murray),

In my last letter I gave you a full account of the state of our Province at that time. I am not now certain whether Arnold had arrived when my letter went away; he, however, with the greatest difficulty, got, with about 800 men, to Sertigan, in the beginning of November. The people, from hunger and fatigue, were in a weak condition, so much that fifty men properly posted, might have been made the whole party prisoners; nor, indeed, could they have got forward, had not the Canadians sent bullocks and other provisions to meet them. The 8th, they got to Pointe Levy, where they took post, as also at my mill. The fellow whom I had employed to put the mill in order, and who was to have had a share in the profits of it, turned out a great scoundrel, put me to a great expense, and has proved to be in the rebel interest. He contrived to detain some of my flour, and two hundred bushels of my wheat, which was at the mill, for the rebels' use; he afterwards was appointed their commissary of provisions, and acted in that position till the siege or blockade—whichever you please to term it—was raised, which happened on the 6th May, on the arrival of the Isis, man-of-war, and two frigates with some transports, and the 29th Regiment; a frigate also arrived a few days after, with the transports of the 47th Regiment from Halifax. I think, in my last letter, I mentioned to you the surrender of St. John's; a few days after Generals Carleton and Prescott evacuated Montreal, with about one hundred and fifty men, the remains of the 7th and 26th Regiments, with the staff, who embarked in the Gaspé, sloop-of-war, and some armed vessels that lay there; they fell down the river till they got within a few leagues of Sorel, where the enemy, by that time, had taken post, and erected batteries of 2, 3, 6, 9, and 12-pounders each. The wind not serving, the ships stopped there about the 16th of November, when Gen. Carleton quitted the Gaspé in the night, escaped in a birch canoe, and arrived at Quebec about the 20th. Two days after, as we were told, the pilots on board the vessels mutinied, and refused to conduct them past the batteries; and Prescott, with his people surrendered, with, I suppose, about 100 seaman, chiefly Canadians, that were on board the different vessels—I must confess, to my very great surprise. Nor have I been able to account for it, since there must have been some circumstances with which we were unacquainted; for the pilots might have been obliged to do their duty and, waiting for a leading gale of wind, the ships might have passed the narrows with little loss, in spite of the batteries on shore, or a floating battery, which, by means of a heavy gun, might have been kept at a distance, and annoyed them a little. Be it as it may, our garrison at Quebec suffered considerably in the loss of the men and officers that were taken. In the mean time, Arnold as I before told you, had taken post at Pointe Levy, with about 800 men; not a soldier at Quebec but Col. McLean, who just arrived about that time from Sorel, from whence he had been obliged to decamp, with about 100 of his new corps of emigrants; about 60 of the Fusiliers, composed chiefly of their recruits, and about 100 recruits of McLean's corps, which Malcolm Fraser and Captain Campbell had raised in Newfoundland, and had just landed,

The LIZARD, frigate, arrived also about the same time, with £20,000 cash; though that gave us some spirits, yet the town was in great danger of being given up, through the cabals of the disaffected, whom Cramahé permitted to remain in town, notwithstanding the repeated representations made to him to order them away. Indeed, to tell the truth, I believe he was thoroughly frightened. However a kind of council of war was summoned, at which the Captains of the LIZARD and HUNTER, sloop, Colonels McLean and I, with some others, assisted. It was there determined that the town should be defended to the last, and that it was for the King's service that the LIZARD and HUNTER should winter at Quebec, and their crews assist in the defence of the place. That an embargo should be laid on the ships in the harbour, and that their masters and crews should also assist. The money was got on shore, and the militia assembled. The Canadians at first were very luke-warm, and said if the English inhabitants would defend the town they would; and the British subjects, to their eternal honour, not only set an example on that, but on every other occasion during the siege. We were about 330, officers included; every body did duty, either as officers or privates, and I can assure you, duty was never done with more punctuality or earnestness. Inhabitants worth £3,000 or £4,000, standing sentry in their turn, during our severe winter nights, with the greatest alacrity; and what is still more to their honour (as it was found necessary to mix the guards, British and Canadians), they submitted with the greatest cheerfulness to the command of the Canadian Officers, whom they held cheap, and who were in reality their inferiors, both as to education and fortune. Indeed, in general, I had the greatest reason to be satisfied with my corps (for Cramahé gave up his share of the command of it, never making his appearance out of doors the whole winter). Indeed, the better kind of people, by keeping up a spirit of emulation amongst them, hardly ever put it in my power to reprimand them; those of a lower class were kept in very good order, by fining them of their pay, and by the black-hole on bread and water, a punishment they were much afraid of; and though at first I didn't attempt it, yet in a little time, I brought them to it without murmuring. Arnold crossed the river about the 14th of November, landed at Wolfe's Cove and Sillery, and marched directly to SANS BRUIT, where he surprised some of my servants, who were busy loading some of my carts and waggons for town. They got there before day, seized on all my working bullocks about 20, and 4 or 5 fat ones, with all my horses; and there they lived on my beef and potatoes about a week, when they retreated to Pointe-au-Tremble on a rumour of our intentions to attack them from the town, for their ammunition had been spoiled carrying through the woods, so that they had not more than 4 rounds a man; and their shoes and clothes were all in pieces, and the men themselves but ill recovered from their fatigues; we had indeed talked of attacking them the morning they passed the river, and I wished for it much from the idea I had formed of their situation, but our field pieces were not in readiness, and that plan was laid aside; the day Arnold retreated, General Carleton arrived. I saw as affairs were situated, that the public service suffer, by being on bad terms with him, and resolving that every thing should give way to that, I went to see him, which I had not done for six months before; and we have been on good terms ever since. On the General's arrival, he ordered all the people that were disaffected and those that did not choose to take up arms, out of town, on pain of being taken up and treated as spies. That order strengthened the garrison considerably. We could guard against open and avowed enemies, but not against these lurking about town; cabals then ceased, and every body seemed zealous for the public service, the Bonfields left the town on that occasion, Wells, Zachary McCauley, Murdock, Stewart, John McCord, and several others amongst whom were four or five of the militia officers appointed by Cramahé. It is not doubted whether your friend, Mr. Allsop, would have been of the number, had it not been for the employments he held. He continued, however, to be almost the only man in the garrison that did not do duty, pleading his business as commissary to which Mr. Carleton named him. When Arnold retreated, I got in a little of my hay, some oats, wheat, &c., but they returned whilst I had about 15,000 bundles of hay out; and a day or two before their return, as I suppose, some Canadians, wanting to pilfer something at SANS BRUIT, where I had only an old man to take care of the house, the fire from his pipe, I imagine, fell in some hay (of which there was a quantity in each room to serve as beds to the Yankees) set it on fire, and before morning, the house was burned to the ground. The out-house, however, still remained, and La Gorgendière's house was then in pretty good repair; but when the siege was raised, it was pitiful to behold the desolation and waste that reigned about all my farms; the barns and stables torn to pieces and burned; the fences torn all to pieces, and though the house at La Gorgendière's was not burned, yet it was torn to pieces. In the inside, the floors torn up and useless, the windows all broken, and the offices entirely destroyed; that, however, must be my

future residence, and I have given orders to have it repaired. What I have suffered in my fences and farms, &c., &c., including hay, carts, and ploughs, and at my mill in wheat and flour stolen, independent of the destruction of my houses and offices, which you can form an idea of, (and which must have cost you about £2,000) is not less than £1000 sterling, for I had just got every thing in order, and was beginning to put myself snug and comfortable, when those plunderers came to disturb me. However they have not gained much by their expedition, and I flatter myself Government will take compassion on a poor ruined farmer, who, has not been inactive in their service. The burning of my houses led into this digression. The day after this happened, my clerk, (Joshua Wolf) trying to save some more work, was taken prisoner by some of the enemy's flying parties, and a few days after, Gen. Montgomery (brother to him, you might remember at Quebec) and lately a Captain in the 17th Regiment, and your old acquaintance and friend, Colonel Donald Campbell, quartermaster-general arrived at Holland's house (now the rebel headquarters.) We were not idle, in the mean time, in town; we got the merlons and embrasures repaired; platforms laid, guns mounted, the picketing at Cape Diamond and behind the Hotel Dieu repaired; barriers were made between the upper and lower town, and at the extremities of the lower town, at Sault-au Matelot, and at the other side, at Prés-de-Ville, which you may remember, is on the further side of the King's wharf, past the old King's forges; these posts were strengthened with cannon. In that situation, we were in the month of December; about the 14th, Mr. Montgomery got a battery formed of gabions, filled with snow, and rammed close, with water thrown on it, which made it freeze, which intermixed with fascines and snow, did not answer well; but, as well as could be expected. On this battery, he mounted five guns, 12 and 9-pounders, and then sent a flag of truce, which the General would not receive, except on condition that they came to implore the King's mercy, which indeed, was the way he treated several flags of truce that the enemy wanted to send in. Mr. Montgomery then contrived to have several letters thrown in to the town on arrows, directed to the merchants; and inhabitants of the town, full of threats and scurrility. He then opened his battery which was erected on a rising ground, in a line with the tanners, who lived on the road to SANS BRUIT, but without effect; and Arnold's corps, which took post in St. Roch, under our walls, were continually firing at our sentries—the three Rife companies in particular—these sometimes wounding a sentry. They also got seven Royals behind Grant's house * and threw a number of shells into town, also to no effect; and their battery was soon silenced, and some of their guns dismantled by the superior fire from the town. About the 23d, at night, my clerk made his escape, and brought with him one of their people. He effected it by getting a bottle of rum, and making the sentry over him drunk. He brought the first certain accounts of their intention to storm the town; of their having ladders prepared, and of the different attacks that they were to make, as talked of amongst their troops; that Mr. Montgomery had declared his intention of dining in Quebec on Christmas day; and in public orders he promised the plunder of the town to the soldiers, which we afterwards found out wah true. We had before kept a good look out but this put us more on our guard. The few regular troops, such as they were, were off guard, ordered to be accoutered, with their fire-arms beside them; the sailors, formed into a corps, under the command of Capt. Hamilton, of the LIZARD, lay in their barracks in the same manner; and the two corps of militia, assembled at different points to take their rest, in the same manner also. They remained quiet until the 31st of December; about five o'clock in the morning we were alarmed at our picket by Capt. Fraser, who was captain of the main guard, and returning from his round, told us that there was brisk firing kept up at Cape Diamond. The morning was dark, and at that time a drizzling kind of snow falling. McLean (who was second in command in the garrison, and who really, to do him justice, was indefatigable in the pains he took) begged that I would take part of my corps to Cape Diamond, and if I found it a false attack (as we both supposed it to be), after leaving the necessary reinforcements there, I might return with the rest. I accordingly went there, found the enemy firing at a distance, saw there was nothing serious intended, and after ordering a proper disposition to be made, proceeded to Port Louis. There I met Captain Laws, an officer to whom the General had given the command of an extra picket, composed of the best men of the detachment of the 7th and McLean's corps there; him I ordered back again to wait the General's orders, and proceeded to St. John's Gate, where I first learned that the enemy had surprised the post at Sault-au-Matelot, and had got into the Lower Town. I still had part of the B. Militia with me, and took upon me also to send some whom I found unnecessary on the ramparts, to the party to

* Grant's house stood about the centre of St. Roch.

wait for orders; and took an officer with a small party of the Fusiliers with me, by Palace Gate, just at the time when the officer I had mentioned to you, with about 70 men, was ordered to make a sortie and attack the enemy at Sault-au-Matlot in the rear. I hastened, with what expedition I could, by the back of the Hotel Dieu, in the Lower Town, and on my way passed by the picket drawn up under the field officer of the day, who was Major Cox, formerly of the 47th, and now Lieut.-Governor of Gaspé. I got him to allow me to take your friend Nairne, with a subaltern and thirty men, and then proceeded to the Lower Town, where I found things, though not in a good way, yet not desperate. The enemy had got in at the Sault-au-Matlot, but, neglecting to push on, as they should have done, were stopped at the second barrier which our people got shut just as I arrived. It was so placed as to shut up the street of the Sault-au-Matlot from any communication with the rest of the Lower Town. As I was coming up, I found our people, the Canadians especially, shy of advancing towards the barrier, and was obliged to exert myself a good deal. To do old Voyer, their Colonel, justice, though he is no great officer, yet he did not show any want of spirit. However, my coming up with Nairne and a Lieutenant, with fifty seamen, gave our people new spirits. I posted people in the different houses that commanded the street of Sault-au-Matlot; some in the house where Levy the Jew formerly lived, others at Lymeburner's; the officers of the Fusiliers I posted in the street with fixed bayonets, ready to receive the enemy in case they got on our side of the barrier; they had on their side of it, fixed some ladders, and then another to our side as it were to come down by, that was usefull to us. I ordered it to be pulled away and fixed it to the window in the gable end of a house towards us; the front of which commanded the street of the Sault-au-Matlot, and their side of the barrier. Then I sent Captain Nairne, and Dambourges, an officer of McLean's corps, * with a party of their people; Nairne and Dambourges entered the window with a great deal of spirit, and got into the house on that side, just as the enemy was entering it by the front door. But Nairne soon dislodged them with his bayonets driving them into the street; nor did they approach the barrier afterwards. They however kept up a brisk fire from back windows of the houses they had occupied in Sault-au-Matlot street on our people in Lymeburner's house, on his wharf, and the street adjacent, from one of their houses. I had a narrow escape, for going at day-break to reconnoitre on the wharf under them, just as they took post there, they asked, "who is there?" At first I thought they might have been some of Nairne's people, who I knew were, next door to them, and answered "a friend"—Who are you? they answered "Captain Morgan's company." I told them to have good heart for they would soon be in the town, and immediately got behind a pile of boards beside me, not above ten or twelve yards from them, and escaped. Their fire, however, a good deal slackened towards nine o'clock, especially after I brought a 9-pounder on Lymeburner's wharf to bear upon them; the first shot of which killed one of their men and wounded another. I then called out to Nairne in their hearing, so that he should let me know when he heard firing on the other side; our General had sent 500 men to hem the enemy in on that side; they soon after began to give themselves up and surrendered to Nairne, who sent them through the window to us. They then began to crowd in in such numbers, that we opened the barrier, and they all gave themselves up on that side, while the party that made the sortie were busy in the same manner on the other side of the post, and which had delayed so long from coming up, in taking and sending in by Palace Gate some straggling prisoners; but they had not fired a shot at them, and just arrived on that end of the post, the enemy surprised at the time the officer I sent to take possession of our old post, arrived with a small party, supported by Nairne with 100 men; thus ended our attack on that side, in which the enemy had about 20 men killed, upwards of 40 wounded, and about 400 made prisoners. Had they acted with more spirit, they might have pushed in at first and possessed themselves of the whole Lower Town, and let their friends in at the other side, before our people had time to have recovered from a certain degree of panic, which seized them on the first news of the post being surprised. In the mean time, Mr. Montgomery made his attack at Près-de-Ville; rockets were thrown up as a signal to Arnold that both attacks might be made at the same time. He got past some pickets, where at first established our advance post; the guard was alarmed in time and prepared for his reception, but the post was much stronger than, I believe, he imagined, and defended by four cannons there and a 4-pounder; they were served by some seamen under the orders of the master of the

* It was there that an athletic Canadian, named Charlant, distinguished himself, together with Capts. Dumas and Dambourges.

transport; his name was Barnsfare. The guard was under the command of a * Canadian officer of Militia; the men, Canadians and British, mixed, Barnsfare declared he would not fire till he was sure of doing execution, and with the utmost coolness, waited till the enemy came within his view, at about 30 yards distance, where they received a general discharge from the cannon and musketry. Nothing but groans were heard, and the rebels immediately retired; their General, his Secretary, two or three other officers, and about five privates being killed on the spot; their wounded got off. We had a block house on Cape Diamond, over Drummond's wharf, where the enemy formed. Had the officer of the Canadian Militia, who commanded there, done his duty, great havoc might have been made among the enemy, who was quite exposed directly under them, and not a shot fired at them. Soon after the enemy was repulsed at that side, some old women brought an account that the rebels had surprised the post at Sault-au-Matelot, and had got into the Lower Town; part of the garrison that had lately behaved so well, were struck with a panic and began, some to hide their arms, some to throw them into the river; the _____ officer began to feel a little frightened, when a Mr. Coffin, a British gentleman, who, with his wife and twelve children had taken refuge there, expecting to find there peace and quietness, and who had served previously in our Militia, drew his bayonet, and declared he would put the first man to death who laid down his arms or attempted to abandon his post, by which means he re-established order, and with the assistance of Captain Barnsfare, who commanded the seaman, got two of the guns pointed on the opposite side, in case Arnold's people having got into the Lower Town should attempt to force the post on that side; they however, at that time surrendering themselves prisoners, and immediately having secured the post that had been surprised, I ordered all the rest of the men to the parade, to wait the General's orders, in hope that we should have marched out directly and completed our victory. But all that was done was going out as far as Mr. Grant's in St. Roch, and bringing in 7 Royals, that were placed behind his house; one small brass-field piece was also taken, and a few of the houses in which the enemy had before posted themselves, and from whence they had much annoyed us, were burned. The General did not choose to risk anything further, his ideas seemed entirely to centre in the preservation of the town, certain of succours arriving in the spring; nor did he seem to carry his views towards the operations of the summer campaign, which might have been much forwarded by the entire route of the enemy, as in that case, St. John's might have been recovered, some of their craft, and the entrance into Lake Chambly secured. Indeed, by the intelligence we received afterwards, their little army was thrown by our success into the greatest confusion. Above three or four hundred remained in a body together, and parties from them were continually in the march after large parties that were deserting with the intention of going homewards. We were, however, kept blocked up in the town, received little or no intelligence; indeed such was the extent they were obliged to guard that, had I been in their situation, the expectation of having my quarters beat up would have prevented me from sleeping very sound. From the 31st, things wore another face in town; the Yankees were no longer held in a respectable light; our success at least was equal to a reinforcement of 500 men; the garrison was in high spirits, and wished for nothing more than a second attack. Never were people more alive or watchful; for my part I never thought the enemy could be brought to a second attack, though, for example sake, I hardly ever lay at my own house at night; on duty for a great part of the winter every second day, never less than the third day, and nobody in the garrison ever took off his clothes, and the men of the militia who were not for guard the next day, always assembled at pickets in the evening, in order to turn out, if necessary, at a moment's warning. Thus we remained the remainder of the winter, always on the QUI VIVE. The army of the rebels retreating, for as they had engaged only to certain periods, so when their time was up, many insisted on going home, and those were replaced by others; nor do I think that troops of that kind can be ever formidable, for as they only engage for a year or a year and-a-half, as soon as they know anything, they are discharged, and as their officers are very little their superiors in point of birth, they cannot enforce the respect which is necessary to keep up proper discipline; and, indeed, I believe also that the Quebec expedition will make them heartily sick of engaging in war out of their Provinces, as I do not think, by all accounts, they could have lost by sickness less than 500 men

* Error: two Canadian Militia officers were in command of this post; "alors le sieur Chabot et le sieur Alexandre Picard, qui commandaient ce jour là la garde, donnèrent ordre de mettre le feu au canons charges à mitraille"—Sanguinet's Journal.

in the course of the winter; the small-pox also raged violently amongst them, and of those we had taken prisoner, not less than 200 were cured of that disorder. A great part of their army was also composed of Europeans; on these they had the greatest reliance, and with some reason, the spirit that caused them then to imigrate would naturally operate in every other circumstance of life. Of the prisoners we took, about 100 men of them were Europeans, chiefly from Ireland; the greatest part of them engaged voluntarily in Col. McLean's corps, but about a dozen of them deserting in the course of a month, the rest were again confined, and not released till the arrival of the ISIS, when they were again taken into the corps. You can have no conception what kind of men composed their officers. Of those we took, one Major was a blacksmith another, a hatter; of their captains, there was a butcher, a _____, a tanner, a shoemaker, a tavernkeeper, &c., &c., Yet they all pretended to be gentlemen. They, as well as their privates, were treated well, had full allowance of provisions, and allowed as much liberty as the nature of our situation would admit; some of them abused that liberty, and suffered for it. Some officers tampering with the sentries were discovered and put in irons; and their privates had actually laid a plot, named their officers, and proposed seizing one of the gates, and endeavour to open it for their friends, how they found means of informing of the design, by one of them making his escape. The plot was discovered, and the delinquents put in irons; they were, however, all released on the arrival of the ISIS. Nothing very violent as attempted after the 31st. Their numbers for two months after that period did not by all accounts, exceed 1400 men. Finding, however, that we attempted nothing against them, they were enabled effectually to block the town, so as to prevent any fresh provisions coming into it, and but little intelligence of what was passing. Of the former we were not very much in want of, the hospital was sufficiently provided. Most families had taken care to provide themselves; those that did not, could buy from the butchers at 1s. per lb. The militia that would receive pay had 1s. per day, and provisions for themselves and family; they lived by that means at least as well as they had ever done before. It is true they were dear troops, but the situation of affairs made that necessary. The rebels, as I mentioned before, continued to hem us in on every side. They raised a battery of four guns at Pointe Levy another of three guns near the ferry on the river St. Charles, and they were busy erecting another of six guns on the heights of the town between Port Louis and St. Jean, which was to have opened on the 8th of May, From the two former they cannonaded the town as briskly as they could (with red hot shot), considering the fire that opposed them; and sometimes from Pointe Levy they fired at our shipping in the Cul-de-Sac, but to very little purpose. The women and children were at first a little afraid, but in a short time walked about the town as usual. By their whole fire we lost but one man and one child killed, and three men and one child wounded. In the mean time we had strengthened ourselves in the Lower Town, which was most accessible. We made ourselves very strong from Levy the Jew's house to Lymburner's wharf, as well as in every other accessible place. We kept the ditches clear of snow, every man, without distinction, taking a shovel on that occasion; we got at length about 140 pieces of cannon mounted in different parts about the town; we had not originally above 30, carriages made from the King's ships, and the carriages made during the winter, the rest were completed. Things were at this situation on the 1st of May, plenty of provisions in the garrison, and everybody in good spirits, expecting soon to be relieved, when on the 2nd, in the evening about 9 o'clock, a vessel * was seen coming round Pointe Levy; everybody was in high spirits, expecting it to be the fore-runner of the fleet. She came up to the great joy of every one in town within hail of our battery, when not answering, she was fired upon, and then soon proved what she was, for she sheered into the Cul-de-Sac, (where all our shipping were laid, a 28-gun frigate, a King's sloop, and 30 merchant men and transports) and was immediately set on fire. Had she got one hundred yards further, she would have effected her purpose, but the people were frightened and quitted her too soon. When the sails took fire, which they did immediately, she lost way; an eddy tide took hold of her, and she dropped down clear of the shipping, which had they taken fire must have communicated to the Lower-Town, and in the confusion consequent thereon, it is imagined the enemy intended to attack us. They knew, at this time, of the ISIS being in the river; and being now near 3000 strong, they attempted this as their last effort; we were, however, prepared to receive them well everywhere, every man retiring to

* The Gaspé, which belonged to Simon Fraser, had wintered at the Island of Orléans and been taken possession of by the Yankees.

his alarm post. On the 6th of May, early in the morning, a frigate hove in sight, and in about an hour after, the Isis and a sloop-of-war appeared to the great joy of the whole garrison. Lord Petersham with the grenadiers, and a small party of the 29th were on board the ISIS. They, with the marines, were immediately landed, to the amount of about 200 men. A sortie was immediately ordered, not with the intention of attacking, but merely to see what the enemy was about. Our sortie consisted of from 1000 to 1200 men. When we got on the heights, a few straggling shots were fired at us from a distance, by part of their guard, left I suppose, to cover their retreat and prevent our getting intelligence of their motions. We also saw some small parties filing off by Holland's house, and some people at Mabane's house * which they had made an hospital of; and I had got the wood near the back gate of SANS BRUIT reconnoitred, and intended getting near the ruins of the house, in order to try and some of those people and get a nearer view of the enemy, but did not succeed. My scheme would have been to have pushed the rebels off the heights as far as Cape Rouge, at least, as far as LA SUEDE which, if you remember, is the cross road which leads from old Lorette to St. Foy. By taking post there, we must have cut off all out-parties that had been on the lower road of the General Hospital and Beauport, which they had no time to call in, which must have past that way. I mentioned it to Major Carleton who arrived in the ISIS; he spoke of it to his brother, the General, but he still (perhaps with propriety) adhered steadily to his resolution of running no risk as to the safety of the place. No body was more ready than he was at all times to expose his person, his timidity was only shown in respect to others, and the safety of the town. Other people in his situation perhaps might have extended their views to the recovery of the country, and to the operations of the summer campaign. I confess those ideas struck me in the course of the winter. No body knows better than you do how far the minds of mankind are depressed on receiving a check, and that in all military operations there are particular circumstances which authorize a commander to undertake, with propriety, what with reason may be deemed rashness at another time; that there are particular moments which, if lost, may never be regained, when it is of the greatest consequence to see with quietness and judgment, and execute with rapidity. By all accounts which we afterwards received, had we followed up our blow of the 31st December, the enemy might have been driven out of the Province. Not more than 400 of them kept together, and they were obliged to send large parties two or three days afterwards to bring back their fugitives; and, indeed, during a great part of the winter we were blocked up by the rebels, not superior to us either in numbers or the goodness of their troops, and they were of necessity obliged to post themselves round us in such straggling manner, to cut off our communication with the country, (which they absolutely effected), that had we taken advantage of it, their headquarters might have been beaten up, and they punished for their temerity. Had they been the best troops in the world, and the best officered, we could not have treated them with greater respect. However, a great many circumstances combined to do as we have done, and which were more, I believe than was expected from us. Nor is it possible to conceive that people unused to arms could do more than our Militia, the British in particular. I forgot to mention a circumstance in favour of the Canadians, (I would willingly say as much in their favour consistent with truth, as I could) A HABITANT (peasant) from Beaumont (the only one that crossed to town during the winter from that side) came to Quebec in a canoe with some fresh provisions, and mentioned that many of the inhabitants of the South side were inclined to serve the government, if they knew how. The General by this man wrote to Mons, de Beaujeu, who lived in obscurity on the Isle aux Grues, to try and endeavour to assemble the Canadians, and cut off the guards they then had at Pointe Levy. He engaged about 150 Canadians in that design; but they were betrayed by others of the disaffected Canadians. Some of them assembled in a house together, were surrounded and about thirty taken prisoners. Messire Bailly, a priest, was shot through the body, and also taken; he, however, has since been released, and recovered of his wounds. The priests in general behaved well, and refused to confess the Canadians in the rebel interest, for which they suffered persecution Messire de Lotbinière, alone excepted, he they proposed to make Bishop. Mons. De was almost the only person of the NOBLESSE that did not do everything he could for the public service. I mentioned to you before of having refused the command of the Militia without the rank of Colonel in the King's service.

* Judge Mabane had purchased this property from the reverend gentlemen of the Seminary, shortly after the conquest. It had previously belonged to Bishop Dosquet and changed its name of "Samos" to that of "Woodfield."

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 17.

Longueuil, 18th June 1776.

4 o'clock Evening.

Sir,

A considerable Body of Canadians and Indians have marched to day to La Prairie, and this evening they move on towards St. Johns, and I intend tomorrow to follow them myself with a corps of the army. I approve entirely of your intention.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed) Guy Carleton.

To Lieut.-Genl. Burgoyne.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 18.

Longueuil 18th June 1776

4 o'clock in the Evening.

Sir,

The general directs that you should send on the Canadians and Indians immediately towards St. Johns, and that you move on yourself with the Troops you have at such distance as you shall think proper.

Intelligence is received that the greatest part of the Rebels is already gone from St. Johns, that nothing remain but a party to cover their Baggage, which the Indians may possibly intercept if they are expeditious. The general recommends the bearer particularly to you.

(Signed) Edward Foy, D.A.G.

To Major Carleton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 12, pp. 64-7.

No. 5.

Montreal, the 20th of June, 1776.

My Lord,

In a former letter I informed your Lordship that the Troops were ordered to assemble at Three Rivers; they all pushed forward with great expedition as fast as they were arrived off Quebec, by land or water as best answered that end. The eighth Instant the Rebels attempted a very bold enterprise indeed; they crossed over from Sorel, in Fifty boats, better than Two Thousand men, land at Pointe du lac before daylight, and march to attack the Troops at Three Rivers, disregarding the Sloop Martin, some armed Vessels and Transports full of Troops, that were at anchor Three Miles above the Town, otherwise than to keep out of reach of their Cannon. They made some attempt to force the 62nd Regiment but whether they found Brigadier-General Fraser, who commanded at Three Rivers, too strong and too well posted or that they were alarmed by Brigadier-General Nesbitt, who landed the Troops from the Transports behind them, tis certain they soon gave up offensive measures and retreated with all speed up the river, keeping in the woods. The Brigadiers Nesbitt & Fraser pushed up likewise but kept by the water side in hopes of getting their boats and cutting off their retreat, the first as far as Machiche, the latter to the Pointe du lac. The sloop Martin and armed vessels sailed as high as the River du Loup and took two boats, but the rest were gone too far as were their troops.

I know not the number of killed and wounded of the Rebels, about Two Hundred surrendered or were taken prisoners, amongst those was their chief, Mr. Thompson, whom I think they call a Major General, and a Mr. Irwin, who was the second on this expedition and some others. The killed and wounded of the King's Troops amount to Twelve or Thirteen soldiers only.

The next day the Troops were ordered to their former Station, and all who had Transports up, reembarked. Brigadier General Fraser was ordered to march along the north shore with the Troops whose Transports had not been able to get up, and measures were taken to march a body of Troops also by the south shore had the weather

continued unfavorable; for it seemed of great importance in this unhappy war, that the Rebels should be driven from the upper part of the Province, as soon as possible. The wind springing up fair, the fleet sailed and arrived off Sorel the evening of the 14th Instant.

The last of the rebels had retreated from there some hours before. The Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the Troops in this division immediately landed, supported by Brigadier Nesbitt and part of his Brigade. The next morning more Troops were sent on shore and the command of this column given to Lieutenant General Burgoyne, with Instructions to pursue the Rebels up the River Sorel to St. John's, but without hazarding any thing till the column on the right should be able to co-operate with him. As soon as the regulations for the different Transports could be made out, the remainder of the fleet sailed for Longueuil, four leagues from Chambly, (Chambly is fifteen leagues from Sorel by the river of that name), and had not the wind failed, this column might have arrived at Longueuil the same night, and about the same time with Mr. Arnold, and the remainder of the Rebels, returning from Montreal. The next day the Troops landed and marched by la Prairie towards St. Johns. The advanced guard was supported by all the English remaining after the disposition already mentioned, under the command of Major General Phillips and this division followed by two Regiments of the Brunswick Troops and that of Fraser commanded by Major General Reidesel. The advance guard arrived the Morning of the 19th Instant near to St. Johns when they learned that the head of Lieutenant General Burgoyne's column had taken possession of the redoubts the night before. They found all the buildings in Flames, all the craft and large boats the Rebels could not drag up the Rapids of Chambly, with some provisions, were also burned. I hear that two and Twenty pieces of Cannon are left behind, hid in the woods, several other marks appear of great precipitation and fright on this occasion. I think they had no small cause. All His Majesty's National and foreign Troops shewed a great zeal and eagerness to overtake the Rebels and I doubt not but they would have given every proof of Fidelity and valour had the Enemy delayed their retreat a little longer. The Corps of artillery shewed great diligence likewise on the occasion, there were Brigades which marched with both columns. Brigadier Fraser's Corps crossed from the north and fell into the rear of the two columns on the south side, they were also joined by numbers of Canadians and that on the right by many Indians.

Captain Le Maitre will have the honour to present to your Lordship these dispatches he is an intelligent Officer and well qualified to give any further information of the transactions in this province. I shall take the liberty to recommend him to your Lordship as an Officer of Merit.

I am, &c.

Guy Carleton.

Lord George Germain.

Endorsed:—Montreal, 20th June, 1776.

General Sir Guy Carleton.

(No. 5.)

R/27th July.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 26.

La Prairie 20th June 1776.

Sir,

.....

Thank all the Canadians for their zeal, as the Rebels are gone I shall not detain them any longer from their homes at present, but they may hold themselves in readiness to march when we may be prepared to follow those disturbers of publick tranquility. When you have ordered all those Matters I should be glad to see you at Montreal, to settle with you future measures; if not inconvenient pass by St. Johns and this road to regulate what may be amiss.

I am Sir, &c.

(signed) Guy Carleton.

To Lieutenant General Burgoyne.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 12 A. Pt. I, pp. 189-94.

Govr. Carleton,

Whitehall 21st June, 1776.

Sir,

I received on the 10th instant your letter of May 14th, together with the copy of a letter which you wrote to General Howe on January the 12th.

The impossibility of sending Succours to you sooner having occasioned me great and constant anxiety. I could not but derive much pleasure from the perusal of the first Paragraph of your Letter wherein you inform me of the arrival of the Surprize Frigate, Isis and Sloop Martin in the Basin of Quebec in the 6th ulto., as I was confident that even the smallest reinforcement which those vessels were able to Convey to you would be sufficient to raise the siege.

The state of readiness for Action in which the Succours found your Garrison as well as the Ardour and Alacrity with which you so directly marched out to attack the Rebels do you infinite Honour. I sincerely congratulate you on the success of the Day and am happy to have it in command from the King to inform you your Sovereign highly applauds the spirit, Discretion and perseverance you have manifested in the defence of that important place.

His Majesty likewise much approves of the behaviour of the officers, Soldiers, Sailors, British and Canadian Militia and the Artificers from Halifax and Newfoundland and orders me to acquaint you that it is his pleasure that his approbation be by you signified to them and also the Judges and other officers of the Government and the merchants who have so cheerfully submitted to the inconveniences of a long Siege and Blockade.

It will give you satisfaction to know that Colonel Hamilton, who in your absence with so much spirit stepped out of his line in order to put that Garrison in the best state of defence and who, continuing there by his Example excited the Inhabitants to join him in the defence of it has been honored by the Royal Approbation, as have also been Colonel Maclean, Major Caldwell, Captains Lawe and McDougal.

I must necessarily regret that you have neither specified the actual force of the Rebels, nor communicated the Intelligence which you may have received nor the Conjectures you may have formed relative to their Intentions. Your Silence also as to your own intended Operations and the present Dispositions of the Canadians is much to be lamented because the Ignorance in which you have left me concerning these matters renders it impossible for me to convey to you at present any further Instructions.

His Majesty, however, trusts that the reinforcements which must have reached you long ago, together with the second Division of the Brunswick forces & the Hanau Artillery Company, (which are now arrived at Spithead, and it is hoped will sail in a few days) , will be fully sufficient not only to reduce the Canadians to lawful obedience, but being under the command of an officer of your Experience, will make such an impression upon His Majesty's rebellious Subjects in Arms as will influence even distant operations, and enable General Howe more effectually to carry into execution those coercive measures which have unhappily been found necessary for the maintenance of the Constitutional Authority of this Kingdom over its Colonies.

As General Howe, through his zeal and anxiety for the safety of Quebec, sent you the 47th Regiment of Foot, without orders from hence, His Majesty has been pleased to direct that the Regiment of the Prince of Waldeck and the Artillery thereto belonging, which were intended to make part of the Army under your command, shall be forthwith conveyed to and form part of the Army under the command of General Howe. It is therefore His Majesty's pleasure that you do not return the 47th Regiment of Foot to General Howe notwithstanding any request that be made by him to you for that purpose.

.....
 If there should be more transports than you find necessary for the service you will be pleased to inform the Commander of His Majesty's Ships of War thereof that he may give the necessary orders concerning them.

Inclosed you have the Embarkation Returns of the Brunswick Troops and also of the Recruits destined for the British Regiments in Canada.

I am &c.

Geo. Germain.

P.S. As the foreign ships which make part of this Embarkation cannot be employed on any other service in America, as soon as the Troops are landed you will give orders for their being discharged; and as, from the Behaviour of the Masters, there is good ground to suspect that they have Stores of different kinds concealed on board, it will be very proper that their holds should be carefully examined.

Montreal, June the 21st, 1776.

My Lord,

Our motions have hitherto been so rapid and the Troops in their Transport hurried up from Quebec as fast as they arrived with such expedition, that the Regiments had not leasure to prepare their monthly Returns nor was there time for many arrangements essentially necessary in all Armies; but which, for the moment, gave place to a more urgent service, that of Driving the Rebels quite out of this Province with all possible dispatch; this great object now accomplished, we shall soon, I hope get into order.

Lieut. Colonel Maclean has pressed me for leave to go home to solicit for his Regiment, that if reduced the officers may preserve their ranks, and half pay; I have already mentioned to your Lordship that he had collected many old officers of service, and that both he and they were of great use in the defence of the Town of Quebec; and I cannot now neglect adding that I think this mark of favour will be conferred on officers of merit, if such should be the King's pleasure; I have prevailed on him to delay his departure till I can collect and send your Lordship a State of Troops which I flatter myself can be of no prejudice to this business.

I am with great regard and esteem,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant.
Guy Carleton.

Lord Barrington.

Montreal the 22nd of June 1776.

My Lord,

I think it proper to acquaint your Lordship that I have Brigaded the Army; and I found it necessary for the service to appoint four Brigadiers to command the British, being the number of Brigades into which they are formed; the Brigadiers are Lieutenant Colonel Nesbit of the 47th Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Fraser of the 24th Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Powel of the 53rd Regiment and Lieutenant Colonel Gordon of the 29th Regiment.

I am My Lord your Lordships,
Most obedient and most humble servant.
Guy Carleton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 31.

Montreal 24th June 1776.

Half after 6 o'clock.

Sir,

In answer to yours of this day I am directed to acquaint you that Lieutenant General Burgoyne has already given directions for making a depot of provisions at St. Johns as soon as it can be done, and one of the Commissary's is to be tomorrow at Chambly to whom you may apply to expedite that service.

Major General Phillips has sent an order for the assembling the Country people with their Tools, for the purposes for which you require them, and it might be proper for you to repeat the order if you find it necessary; the only Expedient in the present circumstances of the Artillery.

The General approves much of the precautions you are taking in regard to the Rebels.

By order of His Excellency
(signed) E. Foy, D.A.G.

To Brigadier General Fraser.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, October 31st, 1776.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Admiralty-Office, July 30. By Letters received from Captain Douglas, of his Majesty's Ship *Isis*, dated Quebec the 26th and 27th of last Month, it appears, that immediately after raising the Siege of Quebec, of which he gave an Account in his Letters of the 8th and 15th of May, every proper measure was taken to facilitate the farther Operations against the Rebels, by sending down the River all the Pilots which could be procured, to bring up the Transports that were daily expected with General Burgoyne from England and Ireland; and, that no time might be lost on their Arrival, and he provided Pilots for the upper River, and placed Frigates and armed Vessels in proper Stations to assist and escort them; and also, lest the Transports should be prevented by contrary Winds from sailing up the River, he had stationed Vessels with Provisions at Places for the use of the Troops, if they should be obliged to disembark and march by Land. By these Dispositions, all the Transports with troops, which had Pilots on board, proceeded up the River without stopping Quebec, and arrived at Three Rivers time enough to defeat the Rebels, and afterwards drive them from St. John's, and all their Posts below Lake Champlain. Captain Douglas in the same Letter says, that the prudent and spirited behaviour of Captain Harvey, of the *Martin* Sloop, cannot be too much commended; that the Zeal, Vigour, and Unanimity of his Majesty's Servants on both Elements was scarcely equalled on any other occasion within his Remembrance. He also writes, that he was, in Concert with General Carleton, considering upon a proper Establishment for armed Vessels to be employed on the Lakes Champlain and Ontario, and in contriving the most expeditious means of getting them, with other Craft on the said Lakes, in order to the better accelerating the Passage of the Army; and that Captain Harvey, of the *Martin*, was returning to Sorrel, in order to examine into the Means of floating between Camels (as is practised in Russia and Holland) through the Rapids of Chambly into Lake Champlain, the six armed Vessels, one of which was already arrived from England, and the others hourly expected.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 12. p. 82.

Quebec, 7th July, 1776.

My Lord,

I take the liberty of inclosing under your Lordship's cover some Letters from the German Officers in the King's Service here to their Friends in Europe.

By the last Accounts from above General Carleton was at Chambly. He is taking every Measure and exerting his best endeavours to get a Naval Force upon the Lake, which must be accomplished before the Pursuit of the Rebels can be renewed.

The Tartar with the Ships under her Convoy arrived yesterday. Pilots were immediately put on board the *Boreas* and *Hanley*, loaded with Naval Stores, much wanted, and they pushed on, but as the winds, at this time of year, mostly blow down the River, I much fear their Passage upwards will prove very tedious.

I have the Honor, &c.

H. T. Cramahé.

Lord George Germain, One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 7th July 1776.

Lieut.-Governor Cramahé.

R/ 12th August.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12, p. 102.

Chambly 8th July, 1776.

My Lord,

The day after His Majesty's Troops took possession of Montreal, and the Communication with the upper Country thereby become open. Sir John Johnson and about two hundred followers arrived there from the province of New York. He represents to me that there are considerable numbers of people in the part of the country

he comes from, who remain steadily attached to His Majesty's Government, and who would take up arms in its defence had they sufficient protection; on which account, in the mean time, They suffer all the miseries that the persecuting Spirit of the Rebels is able to inflict upon them.

In consequence of this representation, and taking it for granted that the King's pleasure is, not only to furnish all his good and Loyal Subjects, with the means of defending themselves against rapin and violence, but further to grant them all possible assistance; I have therefore given Sir John Johnson a Commission to raise on that Frontier of this province a Battalion of men (to be called The King's Royal Regiment of New York) of equal numbers with the other His Majesty's marching Regiments serving in America, and I have appointed him Lieutenant Colonel Commandant thereof.

The Operations of the Army against the Rebels must now be suspended for some time. Great difficulties occur in transporting provisions, Artillery Stores &c, over land from Chambly, to St. John's and providing the Boats and armed Vessels necessary for Lake Champlain, We are employing means for transporting some of the latter (of those taken up in the River last year) over land, if we succeed, much time will be saved, and none lost should we fail in the attempt, and we are using every possible diligence to compleat the number of the former.

I am with all due respect,

My Lord

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble Servant
Guy Carleton

P.S. I have just now received an account of the arrival of the Brig Boreas and the Snow Hanley at Quebec, two Vessels having on board Naval Stores.

G.C.

Lord George Germain

Endorsed:— Chamblie 8th July 1776.

Sir Guy Carleton

(No.7.)

R 3rd Sept.

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Chambly, 8th July 1776.

My Lord.

I enclose your Lordship the General returns of the Army serving under my Command. Your Lordship will observe some vacancies which I have delayed filling up from a Number of Volunteers now serving with the Troops only that I might be able to learn a little of their characters, and so endeavour to make choice of the most deserving and fit.

The day after a part of the Troops had taken Possession of Montreal Sir John Johnson, with about two hundred followers joined me from the Province of New York; and upon Representation of this Gentleman, that many others of his Majesty's faithful subjects, suffering in that Country under the Persecution of the Rebels for their loyalty, would willingly take up Arms, if they could get them, and serve in any manner which might best contribute to the success of his Majesty's designs. I thought it might be a measure which would be approved of to encourage this Spirit, as well to draw every Assistance possible from it to His Majesty's Service, as to furnish people so Circumstanced with the means of defending themselves; I have therefore, at the desire of Sir John Johnson Given him an order to raise a Battalion of men on the Frontiers of this Province, of equal numbers with those of his Majesty's other Regiments serving in America, and I have appointed him Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, and called the Corps the King's Royal Regiment of New York.

I am my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant.

Guy Carleton.

Lord Barrington.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12, p. 137.

New York, July 15th, 1776.

Sir,

I have it in charge from Congress to transmit the inclosed Resolutions to you and have the honor to be,

Geo. Washington.

His Excellency,

General Burgoyne.

In Congress, July 10th, 1776.

The Committee to whom the Cartel between Brigadier General Arnold and Captain Forster and the several Papers thereto relating were committed, having had the same under their consideration and made diligent inquiry into the Facts, have agreed to the following Report:

They find that a Party of three hundred and ninety Continental Troops under the commander of Col. Bedel was posted at the Cedars, about forty-three miles above Montreal. That they had there formed some works of Defence, the greater part of them picquetted Lines, the rest a Breast Work, with two field pieces mounted.

That on Wednesday, the 15th of May, Col. Bedel received Intelligence that a Party of the Enemy, consisting of about six hundred, Regulars, Canadians, and Indians, were on the way to attack his Post and were within nine Miles of it, that Col. Bedel thereon set out himself for Montreal to procure a Reinforcement whereupon the Command at the Cedars devolved on Major Butterfield.

That on Thursday a Reinforcement under the Command of Major Sherburne, marched from Montreal for the Cedars, While a larger Detachment should be getting ready to proceed thither with Brigadier General Arnold.

That on Friday the 19th the Enemy under the Command of Captain Forster invested the Post at the Cedars and for two days kept up a loose, scattering fire—that Major Butterfield proposed from the very first to surrender the Post, and refused repeated solicitations from his officers and men to permit them to Sally out on the Enemy.

That on Sunday afternoon, a Flag being sent in by the Enemy Major Butterfield agreed to surrender the Fort and Garrison to Capt. Forster, capitulating with him, (whether verbally or in writing does not appear), that the Garrison should not be put into the hands of the Savages, and that their Baggage should not be plundered.

That at the time of the surrender, the enemy consisted of about forty Regulars, one hundred Canadians and five hundred Savages, and had no Cannon; the Garrison had sustained no injury from the fire, but the having one man wounded, they had twenty Rounds of Cartridges a Man, thirty rounds for one field piece, five for another, half a Barrel of Gunpowder, fifteen pounds of Musket Ball and Provisions sufficient to have lasted them twenty or thirty days. Major Butterfield knew that a Reinforcement was on its way and moreover was so near the main body of the army that he could not doubt of being supported by that.

That immediately on the surrender the Garrison was put into the Custody of the Savages, who plundered them of their Baggage, and even stripped them of their cloaths.

That Major Sherburne having landed on Monday the 20th at Quinze chenes about nine miles from the Cedars and marched on with his Party consisting of One hundred men to within four miles thereof, was there attacked by about five hundred of the Enemy—that he maintained his ground about an hour and then being constrained to retreat, performed the same in good order, receiving and returning a constant fire, for about forty minutes, when the Enemy finding means to post advanced Parties in such a manner as to intercept their further Retreat, they also were made prisoners of war.

That they were immediately put into Custody of the Savages, carried to where Major Butterfield and his Party were, and stripped of their Baggage and wearing Apparel.

That two of them were put to Death that Evening, four or five others at different times afterwards, one of whom was of those who surrendered on Capitulation at the Cedars and was killed on the eighth day after that surrender—that one was first

shot and while retaining life and sensation, was roasted as was related by his Companion, now in possession of the Savages, who himself saw the fact, and that several others being worn down by Famine and Cruelty, were left exposed in an Island, naked and perishing with cold and hunger.

That while Major Sherburne was in Custody of the Enemy, Captain Forster required of him and the other Officers to sign a Cartel, stipulating the exchange of themselves and their men for as many of equal Condition of the British Troops in our possession and further, notwithstanding the Exchange, neither themselves or men should ever again bear Arms against the British Government; and for the Performance of this, four Hostages were to be delivered; which they being under the absolute power of the Enemy, did sign.

That on Sunday, the 20th the Prisoners were carried to Quinze Chenes, when it was discovered that General Arnold was approaching and making dispositions to attack them.

That Captain Forster, having desired Major Sherburne to attend a Flag, which he was about to send to Genl. Arnold for Confirmation of the Cartel, carried him into the Council of the Indians, who told him "that it was a Mercy never before shown in their Wars, that they had put to death so few of the Prisoners, but that he much expect and so inform General Arnold that they should certainly kill every man who should thereafter fall into their hands," that Captain Forster Joined in desiring that this bloody Message should be delivered to General Arnold; and moreover that he should be notified that if he rejected the Cartel and attacked him, every man of the Prisoners would be put to instant death.

That General Arnold was extremely averse from entering into any Agreement, and was at length induced to it by no other motive than that of saving the Prisoners from cruel and inhuman death, threatened in such Terms as left no doubt it was perpetrated, and that he did in the end conclude it after several Flags received from Capt. Forster, and a relinquishment by him of the unequal Article, restraining our Soldiers from again bearing Arms.

That the Prisoners so stipulated to be given up to the Enemy were not in the possession of Genl. Arnold nor under his direction but were at that time distributed thro' various parts of the Continent, under the orders of this House.

That four Hostages were accordingly delivered to Capt. Forster, who were immediately Plundered and stripped by the Savages; and on his part were delivered one Major, four Captains, sixteen Subalterns and three hundred and fifty-five Privates, as specified in a Certificate of Capt. James Osgood and others, of whom no specification by their names or Numbers, has yet been transmitted, that he retained twelve Canadians, alledging in his Justification express Orders so to do; and that living in a Military Government, they were to be considered in a Worse light than Deserters from His Majesty's Armies — these he carried away in Irons but afterwards released; that he permitted the Indians to carry into their Countries several others Natives of the United States for purposes unknown.

That during the time of their Captivity not half Food was allowed the Prisoners — they were continually insulted, buffeted and ill treated by the Savages, and when the first Parties of them were carried off from shore to be delivered to General Arnold, Balls of mud were fired and at the last Parties, Musket Balls.

Whereupon the Congress came to the following Resolutions —

Resolved,

That all Acts contrary to good Faith, the laws of Nature, or the Customs of Civilized Nations, done by the Officers and Soldiers of His Britannic Majesty or by Foreigners or Savages taken into his Service, are to be considered as done by his Orders unless Indemnification be made, in Cases which admit of Indemnification, and in all other cases unless immediate and effective measures be taken by him or his Officers for bringing to condign punishment the Authors, Abettors, and Perpetrators of the Act,

Resolved,

That the Plundering of the Baggage of the Garrison at the Cedars, stripping them of their Cloathes and delivering them into the hands of the Savages was a Breach of the Capitulation on the part of the Enemy for which Indemnification ought to be demanded.

Resolved,

That the Murder of the Prisoners of War was a gross and inhuman Violation of the Laws of Nature and Nations — that condign punishment should be inflicted on the Authors, Abettors, and Perpetrators of the same, and that for this purpose. it be required that they be delivered into our hands.

Resolved,

That the Agreement entered into by Genl Arnold was a mere Sponson on his part, he not being invested with Powers for the disposal of Prisoners not in his possession nor under his direction—and that therefore it is subject to be ratified or annulled at the discretion of this House.

Resolved,

That the shameful surrender of the Post at the Cedars is chargeable to the Commanding Officer—that such other of the Prisoners as were taken there shewed a willingness and desire to fight the Enemy; and that Major Sherburne and the Prisoners taken with him, tho' their disparity of numbers was great, fought the Enemy bravely for a considerable time, and surrendered at last but on an absolute necessity, on which consideration, and on which alone, it is

Resolved,

That previous to the delivery of the Prisoners to be returned on our part the British Commander in Canada be required to deliver into our hands the Authors, Abettors, and Perpetrators of the horrid Murder committed on the Prisoners to suffer such Punishment as their Crime deserves; and also to make Indemnification for the Plunder at the Cedars, taken contrary to the Faith of the Capitulation—and that until such delivery and Indemnification be made, the said Prisoners be not delivered.

Resolved,

That if the Enemy shall commit any further Violences by putting to Death, torturing or otherwise ill treating the Prisoners retained by them or any of the Hostages put into their Hands, recourse be had to retaliation, as the sole means of stopping the Progress of Human Butchery; and that for that purpose, Punishments of the same kind and degree be inflicted on an equal number of the Captives from them in our possession, till they shall be taught due Respect to the violated Rights of Nations.

Resolved,

That a copy of the foregoing Report and Resolutions be transmitted to the Commander in Chief of the Continental Forces to be by him sent to Generals Howe and Burgoyne.

By order of the Congress,
(Signed) John Hancock,
President.

Endorsed:—Copy of the Resolves of the Congress, of 10th July, 1776, inclosed in Mr. Washington's Letter to General Burgoyne of 15th of same month.

In Sir Guy Carleton's, (No. 10), of 10th August, 1776.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, August 29, 1776.

The following authentic Account of the Skirmish at the Cedars, will at once show how grossly the whole of that Transsation is misrepresented in the New-Hampshire Paper of the 15th of June, as published in our last Gazette, and corroborate the truth of those Strictures we then threw out on that most infamous Production.

"Capt. Forster with his light Infantry Company of the 8th Regiment, a few "Canadians and 200 Indians, attack'd and carried an entrenched Post of the Rebels "of 400 Men, with two Pieces of Brass Cannon, at a Place on the main Land, called "the Cedars, eight Leagues above the Town of Montreal, with the loss of one Indian "killed and two wounded.

"The Sachems, acting here as Principals, not knowing what to do with about 500 "Prisoners which they had taken first and last, suffer'd them to depart, first receiving Hostages, and stipulating with them never more to take up Arms against "the King, and that they were to return the 7th and 26th Regiment in lieu."

Such is the Treaty enter'd into by the Party concern'd, and which has been as religiously observed by the Savages as wickedly broke through by the Promoters of this unnatural Rebellion—I say, the Promoters; for the poor, deluded multitude are more the objects of our Pity than of our Vengeance,—To such a height of political Frenzy are our infatuated Countrymen in the refractory Colonys now arrived, that it is become not only an Act of Justice but of Mercy to enforce Submission.

To permit them to gain by one Rebellion is to sow the seeds of another. They have brought themselves into such a Dilemma that Great Britain can enter into no Negotiation, can meet no Compromise. Nations as well as Individuals have a Character, a certain Dignity which they must preserve at the risque of their Existence.

She has already obeyed the dictates of Humanity beyond limits of her Reputation. She has long had reason to complain of American Ingratitude, and she will not bear longer with American Injustice.—Return, therefore, ye intoxicated Dupes of Faction and Sedition, e'er yet it be too late, while yet the Arms of Mercy are extended to you—if not for your own, for the sake of your innocent Posterity—return to your duty and leave your base Betrayers to meet the Punishment so justly due to their complicated Crimes.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, September 12, 1776

The following Orders, issued by his Excellency General Carleton, breathe such a Spirit of Firmness and Magnanimity and at the same time display such noble Sentiments of Humanity towards our deluded Countrymen who have been either bullied or betrayed into the present unnatural Rebellion, that we could not let slip the earliest Opportunity of inserting a Copy of them.

Quebec, August the 4th, 1776.

The Commanding Officers of Corps will take especial Care that every one under their Command be informed, that Letters or Messages from Rebels, Traitors in Arms against the King, Rioters, Disturbers of the Public Peace, Plunderers, Robbers, Assassins, or Murderers, are on no Occasion to be admitted; that should Emissaries from such lawless Men again presume to approach the Army, whether under the Name of Flag of Truce Men or Ambassadors, except when they come to implore the King's Mercy, their Persons shall be immediately seized and committed to close Confinement, in order to be proceeded against the Law directs; Their Papers and Letters for whomsoever, even for the Commander in Chief, are to be delivered to the Provost Martial, that unopen'd and unread they may be burned by the hands of the common Hangman. At the same time the Commander in Chief expects, that neither the Assassination of Brigadier General Gordon, nor the late notorious Breach of faith in resolving not to return the Troops and Canadians taken at Saint John's in exchange for those Rebels who fell into the hands of the Savage at the Cedars and Quinchien, purchased from them at a great Price and restored to their Country on these express Conditions, be imputed to the Provincials at large, but to a few wicked and designing Men, who first deceived, then Step by Step misled the credulous multitude, afterwards usurped an Authority over them, established a despotic Tyranny not to be borne and now, wantonly and foolishly endeavor to provoke the spilling the Blood of our unhappy Countrymen of this Continent, in hopes of covering their own Guilt, or confirming their Tyranny by general destruction of their Country. Let their Crimes pursue those faithless, bloody-minded Men, by those diabolical Machinations so-many of our deluded fellow subjects now totter on the Brink of Destruction.—It belongs to Britons to distinguish themselves not less by their Humanity than their Valour. It belongs to the King's Troops to save the Blood of his infatuated Subjects, whose greatest Fault, perhaps, is having been deceived by such Men to their own Ruin. It belongs to the Crown—'tis the duty of all faithful Servants of the Crown, to rescue from Oppression and restore to Liberty, the happy, free and loyal People of this Continent.

All Prisoners from the Rebellious Provinces who chuse to return home, are to hold themselves in readiness to embark at a short Notice. The Commissary, Mr. Murray, shall visit the Transports destin'd for them, and see that wholesome Provisions, necessary Cloathing with all possible Convenience for their passage be prepared for these unfortunate Men. They are to look on their respective Provinces as their Prison and there remain 'till further enlarged or summoned to appear before the Commander in Chief of this Province or any other Commander in Chief for his Majesty for the time being, which summons they shall obey.

General Howe will regulate their Place of Landing.

Signed E. Foy, Dep. Adjt. General.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12. p. 119.

No. 9.
My Lord,

Quebec, 10th August, 1776.

As soon as all the Measures in our Power had been taken to prepare a Naval Force for the Lakes, and to provide the necessary Bateaus and other craft to transport

Troops, Artillery, Provisions, &c., &c., I returned to this End of the Province for the Purpose of establishing Courts of Justice and to make other Civil Regulations which were indeed much wanted.

Lord George Germain.

I am &c.
Guy Carleton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 12. pp. 135-6.

(No. 10.)
My Lord,

Quebec, 10th August, 1776.

I have from the Beginning been convinced that the men who kindled the Flames of Rebellion in America never entertained a Thought of extinguishing them but were resolved to seek their own safety and gratify their own Ambition in the continuance of the public Confusion and public Calamities; the Resolves of Congress transmitted by Mr. Washington to Lieutenant General Burgoyne, of which your Lordship will herewith receive a copy, as well as of his Letter, seem calculated to hurry on a revengeful War in order to deprive all moderate men in the Colonies of the least Hope or Thought of a Reconciliation.

The Orders I gave out on the 4th instant were intended to counteract that malignant spirit, and without lowering the Dignity of the Crown, to convince all His unhappy Subjects that the King's Mercy and Benevolence were still open to them.

For the above purpose I had prior to these Resolves directed that all the Prisoners should be sent Home. This surprised them not a little, if they fulfil their Engagements they will become good Subjects, if not these can never turn the scale. Valor and good Conduct in Time of Action with Humanity and Friendly Treatment to those who are subdued and at our mercy, may, and this I hope will always prove the Characteristic of the King's Armies.

A List of the Prisoners and a copy of my order of the 4th instant forwarded to Mr. Washington and the only Answer he shall receive from me, are herewith enclosed.

I am, &c.
Guy Carleton.

Lord George Germain.
One of His Majesty's
Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 10th August, 1776.

Sir Guy Carleton,
(No. 10.)
R/ 23d Sept.
(7 Inclosures.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 12, pp. 149-156.

List of prisoners taken in Canada.

Prisoners taken at Three Rivers, 8th and 9th June, 1776.....	236
Prisoners taken at Isle aux Noix.....	8
Prisoners taken at Isle La Motte, 2nd July	30
Prisoners taken at Quebec. Officers 18; privates	369

Series Q. Vol. 12, p. 169.

Recapitulation as near as it can be made of the Rebel Prisoners taken since the commencement of the present Troubles to 10th August, 1776.

	Officers.	Men.
1775.		
September 25th. Long Point.	1	35
Sorel.		2
Decmr. 31st. At Quebec.	36	369
Do. Died in Hospital.	1	64
1776.		
June 8th & 9th. At Trois Rivieres &		
July 2nd Isle a la Motte.	18	256
Fell into the hands of the Savages at the Cedars and delivered up by Agreement	31	443
Canadians taken at the same time		12
Hostages retained.	4	
August 1st. Delivered by the Missassaguas to Captain Forster		11
	91	1192
		91
		1283

Endorsed:—In Sir Guy Carleton's (No. 10),
of 10th August, 1776.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12, pp. 230-2.

Copy of a Letter from Ebenezer Sullivan to General Sullivan, dated Montreal, August 14th 1776.

Dear Brother,

I am allowed by his Excellency, the General, (which is a greater favor than I expected to obtain), to inform you that I am well as are the other Hostages left with me.

I am surprised to hear that instead of Redeeming us according to the Cartel, the Congress have not only refused to do it, but have also demanded to have Captain Forster to be given up to answer for his Conduct in what they are pleased to term the Massacre of the Cedars.

I cannot think that the Congress would ever have thought of such unheard of Proceedings had they not had a wrong Representation of the Matter. Don't think I am under any constraint when I say and call God to witness who must Judge of the truth that not a man living could behave with more humanity than Capt. Forster did after the Surrender of the Party I belonged to and whoever says to the contrary let his Station in Life be what it will, he's an Enemy to Peace and a falacious disturber of mankind.

What reason they can assign for not redeeming us is out of my Power to imagine; for had the affair of the Cedars really been a Massacre why don't they rather redeem their Hostages than leave them in the hands of a merciless people? or do they regard their Troops no longer than while the Heavens render them Victorious. If they say there is some hidden reason in the System of Politics, why we should not be redeemed, I answer it is a hidden reason far beyond the reach of Policy to find out: for consider the number of Prisoners already in the hands of the British Army and also the chance of war which may throw yet greater Numbers into their hands, and will those men rest contented when they find their own people willing to let them remain Prisoners in the hands of what they themselves, (though unjustly) term a merciless people, or will they not, fired with resentment, take Arms to suppress the Power that regards no longer than while their blood is spilling in their service? If this which appears too probable should be the case those men will surely be followed by their friends which must naturally create great Divisions in the Colonies.

Then view Great Britain and her Allies pouring on you and let the most sanguine expectation among them Judge how long the Colonies thus divided can stand the fury of the combat.

If we were in the hands of a Rigorous Power as they have wrongly represented, have they not after so enormous a breach of Faith even colour of Justice, loaded with Chains in some horrid Dungeon, to tell us to languish out our Days under a Sentence passed by our own people.

If you suspect I write this for the sake of getting my own Liberty your suspicion wrongs me; it is not my own Confinement but the breach of a Treaty which even the Savages have ever held sacred that causes me to write.

I am with due resignation to my unexpected fate,

Your most affectionate Brother,

Ebenr. Sullivan.

General Sullivan.

Endorsed:—In Lieut. Govr. Cramahé's of 31st Octr. 1776.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, August 22, 1776.

Saturday last set out from this City for St. John's, His Excellency General CARLETON, attended by his Secretary and his two Aids de Camp.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12, A. pp. 196-8.

(No. 3.)

Sir Guy Carleton.

Whitehall, 22d August, 1776.

Sir,

I have had the honour of laying before the King your letter dated Montreal, 20th June, 1776, wherein you transmit to me the agreeable news of the Repulse of the Rebels at Trois Rivieres and of the precipitate manner in which they had evacuated Canada and I have the satisfaction to inform you that His Majesty much approves of your conduct and that of the officers and Forces under your command.

The zeal manifested by His Majesty's National and Foreign Troops is very commendable and altho' the hasty Retreat of the Enemy deprived them of an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in action I am thoroughly persuaded that the high opinion you entertain of them is well founded and that you will upon no occasion find yourself disappointed in depending upon their Fidelity and Valour.

The very particular and disagreeable situation that you have in your Letter of the 2d of June, described Captain Forster to have been in, made it necessary for him to enter into the agreement concerning his prisoners that you have sent me a copy of, the Reasons he has given for his conduct are solid & shew the humane feelings of a Brave Officer.

It is hoped that the Prisoners you will have been able to take will be the means of procuring the Release of such of His Majesty's officers & Loyal Subjects as are in the disgraceful situation of being prisoners to the Rebels; for altho' it cannot be that you should enter into any agreement or Treaty with Rebels for a regular Cartel for the Exchange of Prisoners yet I doubt not but your own discretion will suggest to you the means of effecting such Exchange without the King's Dignity & Honor being committed or His Majesty's Name used in any Negotiation for that purpose; and I am the more strongly urged to point out to you the Expediency of such a Measure on account of the possible difficulties which may otherwise occur in the case of Foreign Troops serving in North America.

I have had the pleasure of finding Capt. Le Maitre, (who brought your Dispatches), a very intelligent Person and I had a particular satisfaction in recommending him to His Majesty's Favor as an officer of Merit and one for whom you interest yourself.

I am &c.

Geo. Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12. A. pp. 201-3.

Sir Guy Carleton.

(No. 5.)

Whitehall, 22d August 1776.

Sir,

The rapid Success of His Majesty's Arms in driving the Rebels out of Canada, does great Honor to your Conduct and I hope soon to hear that you have been able to pursue them, cross the Lakes and to possess those Posts upon the Frontiers which may effectually secure your Province from any future Insult.

His Majesty in appointing you Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Canada, was pleased to extend your Commission to the Frontiers of His Provinces bordering thereupon, wisely foreseeing that it might be necessary for the completing your Plan of operations that you should march your army beyond the limits of your own Govt. I trust before this Letter reaches you that you will by your Spirit and Activity have cleared the Frontiers of Canada of all the Rebel Forces; and will have taken the proper measures for keeping possession of the Lakes. That Service being performed His Majesty desires me to acquaint you that there still remains another part of your duty to be undertaken which will require all your Abilities & the strictest application; the restoring Peace and the establishing good order & Legal Government in Canada. It is an object of the greatest importance to this Country; the difficulties attending it are immense; but His Majesty depends upon your zeal and upon your Experience for carrying it into Execution. The rewarding those who have forsaken their Allegiance will tend to the future safety of your Province by convincing the Inhabitants that the Laws can be executed for the Protection of the Innocent and the punishment of Delinquents. His Majesty ever anxious for the Happiness of His Subjects commands me to inform you that no time should be lost in beginning so important a work and that you do therefore return to Quebec, detaching Lieutenant General Burgoyne or such other officer as you shall think most proper with that part of your Forces which can be spared from the immediate defence of your Province to carry on such operations as shall be most conducive to the Success of the Army acting on the side of New York, and that you direct the officer so detached to communicate with and put himself under the Command of General Howe. You shall order such Artillery as you shall judge necessary to proceed with this Detachment and as a great Quantity of Heavy Cannon and military Stores were sent upon the supposition that Quebec might have been in the hands of the Rebels, you will upon Requisition from General Howe supply him with such Cannon & Stores as may not be wanted for the Protection of Canada.

I cannot finish this Despatch without repeating to you the Confidence which His Majesty places in your Duty, your Zeal, & your Attachment to His Service, and that you cannot more effectually recommend yourself to His Royal Approbation & Favor than by exerting yourself as successfully in your civil Capacity as you have already done in your Military command.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12, A. pp. 205-6.

Sir Guy Carleton.
(No. 7.)

Whitehall, 22d August, 1776.

Sir,

The proofs which many of the Indians have already given of their zeal and fidelity and the manifest Utility which large parties of them must be to the Army leaves me no room to doubt that you will have exerted every means in your power to induce them to a general declaration in our Favor; and the better to enable you to prevail upon them to do so a considerable supply of goods suitable for Presents to them has been provided, the greatest part of which is sent out on board the Lord Shuldham, Armed Victualler, now at Cork on her way to Quebec, & the Remainder will be sent out by one of the Victuallers which are to sail from hence.

.....
Inclosed I send you two intercepted letters of Bendfield & Company at Montreal, which will inform you of their connection with the Rebels and the service which they proposed rendering them if they had been suffered to continue in possession of the Province.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 110.

Chambly 24th August 1776.

Sir,

I am commanded to acquaint you that the Canadian Inhabitants from Sorell, including the same up to Chambly on both sides the river, are during their harvest, or until further orders, to be exempted from all Military services, Corvées or Fatigue; and that in the mean time the boats with provisions or other articles for the army

necessary to be brought up are to be passed by parties of soldiers from each Detachment beginning with that of Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger's to be relieved by the nearest, and this again by the next, and so on to the Fort of Chambly; you are desired to give orders accordingly to your Brigade; and to communicate the purport of this to all your Cantonnements.

I am &c.

To Brigadier General Powell,

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LA GAZETTE DE QUEBEC.

A UNE COUR.

DE SEANCE GENERALE.

DE QUARTIER DE LA PAIX.

Tenue en la Chambre d'audience à Montréal, Mardi le 10 Septembre, 1776.

Présens.	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 0.5em;"> Gabi. Elezd. Taschereau, Edward William Gray, Dufy Desautier, Pierre Panet, Pierre Meziere, Jean Porteous, P. P. Neveu Sevestre, Jacques Finlay, Pierre Fortier. </td> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding-left: 0.5em; vertical-align: middle;">Equiers Commissaires.</td> </tr> </table>	}	Gabi. Elezd. Taschereau, Edward William Gray, Dufy Desautier, Pierre Panet, Pierre Meziere, Jean Porteous, P. P. Neveu Sevestre, Jacques Finlay, Pierre Fortier.	}	Equiers Commissaires.
}	Gabi. Elezd. Taschereau, Edward William Gray, Dufy Desautier, Pierre Panet, Pierre Meziere, Jean Porteous, P. P. Neveu Sevestre, Jacques Finlay, Pierre Fortier.	}	Equiers Commissaires.		

Vu que plusieurs Etrangers sont dernièrement arrives et arrivent journellement dans cette Province dont plusieurs pourroient entretenir des correspondances avec les Rebelles, & corrompre les fidèles Sujets de Sa Majesté dans cette Province; afin d'empêcher de pareil faits à l'avenir, il est ordonné par la Cour, que tous les Etrangers qui sont venus dans cette Province depuis le 17 de Juin dernier, ainsi tous les Etrangers qui pourront y venir par la suite, ayent à comparaitre immédiatement à Montréal devant deux des Commissaires de Sa Majesté qui sont nommés de semaine pour tenir Séance, afin de rendre compte d'eux-même ou de soi-même, & d'être examinés, et que toutes Personnes quelconque qui recevront à l'avenir des Etrangers dans leurs maisons, en fassent immédiatement leur rapport aux deux Commissaires pour la semaine comme il est dit ci-dessus; ou si pareil cas se rencontre dans le voisinage des Trois-Rivières, alors ce sera devant Godfroy de Tonnancour, Ecuyer, un des Commissaires de la Paix de sa Majesté aux Trois Rivières, pour les fins susdites, sous les peines portées par la Loi & le péril qui en résultera, requérant par ces présentes tous les bons et fidèles Sujets de Sa Majesté, de se porter à aider & assister à découvrir tous pareils Etrangers & Personnes inconnues comme il est dit ci-dessus.

Par ordre de la COUR.

J. BURKE, Greffier de la Paix.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 159.

Chambly 17th September, 1776.

Monsieur,

La Seconde division des Troupes allemandes étant arrivée, et l'on espère en route pour joindre l'armée; je suis ordonné de vous prier de donner les ordres nécessaires a tous Capitaines des Milices et autre Officiers dans votre District de preter à ces Troupes toute aide et assistance sur leur marche et de leur fournir les voitures et autres choses dont ils pourront avoir besoin.

Je suis, &c.

Mons: Tonencour.

(Translation)

Chambly, 17th September, 1776.

Sir,

The second division of the German troops having arrived and it is hoped on the way to join the army; I am commanded to request you to give the necessary orders

to all Captains of Militia and other Officers in your Districts to furnish these Troops with every aid and assistance on their march and supply them with carriages and other things of which they may have need.

I am, etc.,

Mons Tonencour.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 180.

Chambly 23 Septembre 1776.

Monsieur,

Je vous prie d'expedier des ordres a tous les Capitaines des Milices de votre district, d'assembler leurs compagnies au plutot possible et de prendre les noms tant des officiers que de miliciens, qui consentent de bonne volonte à marcher pour venir joindre l'armée du Roi; et ceux qui veulent donner ce preuve de leur zele et devoir se tiendront dans leurs differentes paroisses, à partir au premier ordre; en meme tems les dits Capitaines vous enverront les listes que vous me ferez passer en toute diligence.

Je suis, &c.

Monsieur Duffy, Montreal,
Monsieur Tonencour, Trois Rivieres,
Monsieur Voyer, Quebec.

(Translation)

Chambly, 23rd September, 1776.

Sir,

I beg you to forward orders to all Captains of Militia in your district to assemble their companies as soon as possible and take the names of the officers and militiamen who agree voluntarily to march and join the King's army; and those who desire to give this proof of their zeal and duty will hold themselves in readiness in their different parishes to march at the first notice; at the same time the said Captains will send lists to you which you will forward to me without delay.

I am, etc.,

Monsieur Duffy,
Montreal.
Monsieur Tonencour,
Three Rivers.
Monsieur Voyer,
Quebec.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 182.

Monsieur,

Le General ayant appris que vous ne vous portiez pas bien, dont il est fort affligé comme la mauvaise saison avance, et il y aura besoin de votre compagnie quand l'armée marchera, Son Excellence voudroit que vous vous retournassiez chez vous pour retablir votre santé. M. de Boucherville etant nommé pour avoir le commandement de la compagnie pendant votre absence; sans cependant faire tort à vous, ainsi vous annoncerez M. de Boucherville comme tel; et s'il y a quelques autres officiers, ou des soldats, qui se trouvent malades et incapables de soutenir la fatigue de la campagne. le General sera bien aise que vous les envoyassiez chez eux.

Je suis, &c.

à M. de Beaujeu.

(Translation)

Chambly, 24th September, 1776.

Sir,

The General having learned that you are not well, at which he is much grieved as the bad season is approaching, and he will need your company when the army marches, His Excellency desires that you should return home to regain your health, M. de Boucherville being appointed to take command of the company during your

absence; without, however, doing any injury to you, you will announce M. de Boucherville as such; and if there are any other officers or soldiers who are sick and unfit to endure the fatigue of the campaign, the General will be glad if you will send them home.

I am, etc.

M. de Beaujeu.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 192.

Chambli 28e de Septembre, 1776.

Monsieur,

Je suis commandé de vous faire dire que tous les Volontaires de la Ville de Montreal, Louisbourg et tout l'Isle Perot vaudreuil et cedre se tiendront pret pour se rendre lundi prochain, avec leurs equipages, à St Jean, ou ils s'adresseront à M. le Major St George du Pré. Vous donnerez des ordres au capitaines de la Milice de la Prairie pour leur fournir les charettes necessaires pour les equipages.

Je suis, &c.

Monsieur du Fie

Colonel des Milices.

(Translation)

Chambli, 28th September, 1776.

Sir,

I am commanded to inform you that all Volunteers from the Town of Montreal, Louisbourg, and the whole of the Isle of Perot, Vaudreuil and the Cedars should hold themselves in readiness to proceed next Monday with their baggage to St. Jean, where they will report themselves to Major St. George Du Pré. You will give orders to the Captains of Militia at La Prairie to furnish the necessary waggons for the baggage.

I am, etc.,

Monsieur Du Fie,

Colonel of Militia.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

SERIES Q, VOL. 12, pp.188—192.

Chambli, 28th Sept. 1767.

My Lord,

I have received your Lordship's letter of the 21st of June and cannot but think myself highly honoured by the notice His Majesty is pleased to take of my Services for which I shall always remain very thankful.

Your Lordship having expressed a regret that I neither specified the actual force of the Rebels, nor communicated the Intelligence I received, nor the conjectures I formed relative to their intentions, Also that my "Silence as to my own intended operations and the present disposition of the Canadians was much to be lamented, because the ignorance in which I left you concerning these matters rendered it impossible for you to convey to me for the present any further Instructions," I must beg leave to observe that I could have had but one great object in view when I wrote the letter your Lordship alludes to, the Expulsion of the Rebels from this Province in the most rapid manner possible, which was happily executed long before I could profit by any Instructions your Lordship might think necessary to favour me with.

The next operation of importance was to establish a naval Force on Lake Champlain, to command the navigation of that Lake, and render the Passage for the Troops in Batteaux secure in order to pursue the Rebels into their own Provinces; neither in this could your Lordship have afforded me any assistance, had I required it in that letter, to say the truth I flattered myself you not only knew this was the next step to be taken, but that a number of flat bottomed Boats and materials prepared and ready to be joined together with all their apparatus for rigging, arming, &c., would have been sent me from England early in the Spring, the expediency of which measure I clearly pointed out to Mr. Pringle when he received my letters at Quebec the latter end

of November last. The advanced season of the year then required his immediate departure and the distracted state of affairs scarcely permitted the leisure to sit down to report their situation in writing, but I pressed that officer to urge this business from me to the Secretary of State for this Department to let his Lordship know that nothing else could enable me, or whoever might command the army in this Province to act with that vigour this unhappy war requires to bring it to a speedy conclusion.

Mr. Pringle on his return, not only informed me he had executed my Commission with great zeal and had diligently attended and importuned the different offices that were concerned in this business; but he seemed persuaded that every thing would have been sent out that was necessary to give an immediate superiority on the Lake.

Only ten flat bottomed boats and materials for Building fourteen boats to carry one gun each in their bow, have arrived here, the rest I suppose are either fallen into the hands of the Rebels, or the almost continued westerley winds we have had this summer still retard their arrival.

The works which we have therefore had to carry on have necessarily been very great, they are however now, near brought to a conclusion, owing to the unwearied diligence of Major General Phillips, who has had the Superintendance and direction of the whole, and to the great assistance afforded by Captain Douglas, Captain Pringle Lieuts Dacres and Shanks, and other officers of the Navy; their Sailors also with the Masters and seamen of the Transports, who have been employed, and all the Artificers have testified great zeal in their Different occupations.

Captain Pringle is to command our little fleet, Lt. Dacres and Lt. Shanks are each to have an armed Vessel and Lieut. Scot, who arrived late, has desired to go as a Volunteer, tho' an older Lieut.

The Rebels have at the entrance of the Lake a considerable naval Force; and I expect our Fleet will soon sail with hopes of success should they come to action; I enclose a state of the strength of each—Unfortunately the season is so far advanced that I dare not flatter myself we shall be able to do more this summer than to draw off their attention and keep back part of their Force from General Howe, who, I doubt not, is exerting himself to the southward tho' I have heard nothing from him since he left Halifax.

They tell me the Rebels have fortified crown point and have left there a garrison of eight hundred men, also that they have taken measures to assemble nine or ten Thousand at Tyconderoga.

As to my opinion of the canadians, I think there is nothing to fear from them while we are in a state of prosperity, and nothing to hope for when in distress; I speak of the People at large; there among them who are guided by sentiments of honour but the multitude is influenced only by hopes of gain or fear of punishment.

I have given my opinion so amply on the affairs of Canada, how much the Canadians may be depended upon and under what circumstances they may be useful in former letters, which lie in your Lordship's office, that I must beg leave to refer you to them; particularly to one marked secret, I think it was wrote in 1769 to the Earl of Hillsborough; also to copies of my Letters to General Gage in February. 1775—and early in 1767, in which and indeed in all my political letters I had a war of this sort constantly in view as your Lordship may perceive upon perusal, and I have not now the least reason to change my opinion of these matters.

The second division of the Brunswick Troops is arrived, except about half the Regiment of Specht in the Vriesland Transport. They are on their March and I expect their last division will arrive at St. Johns about the middle of October.

I am &c.

Guy Carleton.

Lord George Germain.

Endorsed:- Chambli, 28th Sepr. 1776

Sr. Guy Carleton.

Rec'd 15 Novr. 1776 by Capt. Lord of the 18th Regt.

(1 Inclosure.)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 12, p. 193.

State of the Naval Force at and near St. John's.			
Commanded by.	Built in Canada.	No. Guns.	Pounders.
Captain Pringle, Commodore.			
Lieutenant Shank.	The Inflexible, ship.	18.	12.
Lieutenant Stark	The Maria, schooner.	14.	6.
Lieutenant Dacres	The Carleton, schooner.	12.	6.
Major Williams.	The Thunderer, ketch.	16.	vizt. 6 6 12.
Artillery.			4 Howitzers.
Mr. Longcraft.	The Gondola taken from the Rebels, dogger.	6.	9.
	12 Gun Boats		
	500 Flat bottom boats.		
	120 do. in other parts of the Province.		
	Received from England.		
	14 Gun Boats.		
	10 Flat bottom boats.		
	25 Long Boats taken from the Transports.		

Series Q, Vol. 12, p. 194.

Naval Force of the Rebels on Lake Champlain.		No. Guns.	Pounders.
	Two sloops, each.	12.	6 & 9.
	Three Schooners.	8.	4.
	Two others of Inferior Force.		
	Besides Seven or Eight Row Gallies with Heavy Cannon.		

Endorsed:—State of the Naval Force at or near St. John's and Naval Force of the Rebels on Lake Champlain.

In Sr. G. Carleton's Letter of 28th Sepr. 1776.

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Impetieux Plymouth, Jan. 26th 1802.

My Dear Friend,

I was not sorry to find by your Letter yesterday, that you had by the service of your friends begged to be one of the 2 Commissioners to retire from Active duty. I trust your long and faithful Services will be rewarded, in a manner satisfactory to yourself, and in some degree Commensurate to your Merits.

I shall feel myself ashamed to offer an opinion upon the unceasing Meritorious Conduct, I was often a witness to, during 2 years that I had the happiness to serve under your immediate direction, although belonging to another ship. I believe a more arduous situation, or a Service so replete with difficulty and so complicated in its Nature, never before or since fell to the lot of a Sea Officer, that it was conducted throughout with Honor to the Country, and to the satisfaction of both departments can be testified by the whole Army and Navy.

The share I had under you, drew forth your commendations, and by your Influence was followed by reward; And when I reflect with no higher rank than a Lieut. that you Commanded near 2000 Seamen, spread over a track of Lakes and Rivers for 1000 Miles, Constructed Ships, Built Radeaux and Boats, Capable of feeding and transporting an Army from Quebec to Albany, I am only surprised that it was executed at all. I saw you lay the keel of a 20 Gun Ship, and I saw you in the most officer like manner bring her into Action against a very superior force on the Thirtieth day after the keel was laid. I could not forget it for I was at the Sheer Head, getting in the Mizzen Mast, when the Fore Guys broke, and the Sheers and the Mast fell over the Stern by which I got a Ducking. The two Booms for bridges were two Cables long, the Cable inclosed in Logs trenailed and woolded together; they were towed over the Lakes and 3 men could walk abreast upon them. The bridges across Hudson's River, were formed by Batteaux moored against the Stream,

Completed in one night, and Capable of Bearing all the Artillery, Baggage and Cavalry—a Tête-de Pont, thrown up by the Sailors, repelled the Enemy next morning. In short my Dear Friend, I must include the whole in one sentence, you enjoyed the Respect and Esteem of every Man there.

I owe to you all I know at present on such Subjects, and to the latest hour of my Life you will enjoy my Esteem and Affection.

Ever Yours,

(Signed.) Ed. Pellew.

Admiral John Schank.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol.39, p. 195.

Ile-aux-Noix 4 Octe. 1776.

Monsieur

Son Excellence le General me charge de vous dire qu'il vous est infiniment obligé de la peine que vous avez pris à l'Egard des Compagnies de Votre Milice; avoit voulu seulement savoir leur disposition, ce n'étoit pas qu'il avoit besoin de leur assistance; les Troupes qu'il a sous ses ordres souffriront aussi bien pour apprendre leur devoir aux mauvais sujets de cette Province, s'il étoit à leur traiter de la vigueur qu'ils meritent, que pour repousser les miserables Rebelles des autres.

La mauvaise Saison nous empeche de les poursuivre cette année-ci, ainsi l'armée rentrera bientôt en quartier d'hiver—Trois Rivières est destiné pour celui du General Almand, et vous ferez bien d'avertir les habitants de votre District, qu'ils se preparent à recevoir ce corps de Troupes, et qu'ils ne s'attendent pas a etre traité du meme menagement que s'ils avoient temoigné le zele et le Devoir qui est du à leur Roi.

Je suis, &c.

Monsieur Tonencour.

(Translation)

Ile-aux-Noix, 4 Octe. 1776.

Sir:

His Excellency the General directs me to inform you that he is extremely obliged for the trouble you have taken with Respect to the Companies of Your Militia; he only wished to know their disposition, it was not because he had any need of their assistance; the Troops which he has under his command are quite sufficient to teach their duty to the bad subjects in this Province, if he was compelled to treat them with the severity which they deserve, as well as to repel the wretched Rebels from the others.

The bad Season prevents us from pursuing them this year, consequently, the army will soon return to winter quarter. Three Rivers is allotted for those of the German General, and you will do well to warn the inhabitants of your District, that they should make preparations to receive this body of Troops, and that they need not expect to be treated with the same consideration as if they had displayed the zeal and Duty which is due to their King, I am, etc.

Monsieur Tonencour.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 201.

Off Point au Fer
6th Oct. 1776.

Sir,

Mr. Langlade being on his return to Michillimakinac to pass by your post I recommend him to your notice as a man I have had reason to be very much satisfied with and who from his Influence amongst the Indians of that district may be of very much use to His Majesty's affairs I have authorized him to bring down 200 of them early next spring.

I am just now upon the point of proceeding upon the Lake with our armed Vessels and boats in order to clear that place of the Rebels who are upon it with

a considerable naval force I fear the season is too far advanced for anything further this year I should be glad you gave directions that all which can be spared of the 8th Regiment and all the Indians of your neighbourhood be prepared to take the field early in the spring.

I beg to have all the Intelligence you procure from time to time.

I am &c.

To Lieut.-Col.: Caldwell:

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From Sir Guy Carleton to Captain De Peyster.

Off Point au Fer, 6th Octr. 1776.

Sir:

I think it necessary to acquaint you that I have been very much satisfied with the conduct of Mr. Langlade, but quite the contrary with that of Anis (Ainsse?) & Gauthier who have shown nothing but deceit and have been attentive only to their own concerns, and personal interest. I have commissioned Langlade to bring me down 200 chosen Indians in the Spring, in which I beg you to give him every assistance in your power and to dispatch him as early as possible—I send you two medals and a Gorget for chiefs whom Mr. Langlade will inform you of. I am just going with the armed Vessels and boats to endeavour to clear the Lake of the Rebels who are upon it with a considerable naval force; but I do not expect to be able to accomplish more this season.

I am, &c.

To Captain Depeyster.
(At Michilimackinac.)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12, pp. 195-6.

Quebec, 6th Octr. 1776.

My Lord,

I take the opportunity of Captain Lord's embarking for Britain in the Friendship Transport, James Forbes, Master, to send Home seventeen Deserters belonging to Lieutenant Colonel Maclean's Corps of Emigrants, who chose to serve in Africa or elsewhere, rather than be tried by a General Court Martial for that crime, as appears by a Paper they signed to that Purpose, of which a copy is herewith enclosed.

By the last accounts from above General Carleton was at the Isle aux Noix, and most of the Vessels had dropped down to that Place; the last of them was launched the 30th of September, and would be ready for departure the 3rd or 4th instant by which Time, Wind and Weather permitting, the whole was intended to be put in motion.

The Vriesland Transport, the last of the 2d Division of Brunswick Troops, arrived the 4th instant, the armed ship, Howe, a Victualler from Cork, anchored in the Bason this Day, having parted with two others off Bic and another about Cape Rosiers.

I have General Carleton's Directions to transmit copies of the inclosed Address to him and of his Answer that your Lordship may be pleased to lay the same before His Majesty.

I have &c.

H. T. Cramahe.

Lord George Germain,
One of His Majesty's
Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 6th Octr. 1776.

Lt. Govr. Cramahe.

Rec'd. 15 Novr. 1776.

(2 Inclosures.)

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Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to M. de Longueuil.

Monsieur,

J'ai la votre du 6 novembre, avec le rôle de la compagnie de M. de Rouville; vous devez etres assures que je n'oublierai pas les veuves des Canadiens qui sont retenus prisonniers. Je ne doute point du mauvais comportement de beaucoup d'habitants; il

faut espérer qu'avec le temps, on trouvera le moyen de les réduire à la raison, et de leur faire comprendre combien ils agissent contre leurs véritables intérêts. Nous avons été très occupés à cause du départ des vaisseaux, cela va être fini, et sous peu vous recevrez votre commission.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

Guy Carleton.

(Papiers et documents de M. de Beaujeu.)

(Histoire Populaire de Montreal par A. Leblond de Brumath, p. 275 note.)

(Translation)

Sir:

I have received your letter of the 6th November enclosing the roll of M. de Rouville's company; you may rest assured that I will not forget the widows of the Canadians who are detained as prisoners. I have no doubt of the bad conduct of many of the Habitans; we must hope that in time we will find means to bring them back to reason, and make them understand that they are acting against their true interests. We have been very busy on account of the departure of the vessels. This will soon be completed and in a short time you will receive your commission.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

Guy Carleton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 12, pp. 224-5.

No. 13

On board the Maria, off Crown Point.

October 14th, 1776.

My Lord.

The Rebel Fleet upon Lake Champlain has been entirely defeated in two actions the first on the 10th inst. between the Island of Valcour and the main, and the second on the 13th within a few leagues of Crown Point.

We have taken Mr. Waterbury, the second in command, one of their Brigadier Generals, with two vessels and ten others have been burnt and destroyed, only three of fifteen sail, a list of which I transmit, having escaped, for further particulars I refer your Lordship to Lieutenant Dacres who will be the bearer of this letter, and had a share in both actions, particularly the first, where his gallant behaviour in the Carleton schooner, which he commanded, distinguished him so much as to merit great commendation, and I beg to recommend him to your Lordship's notice and favour, at the same time I cannot omit taking notice to your Lordship of the good service done in the first action by the spirited conduct of a number of officers and men of the corps of Artillery who served the gunboats which together with the Carleton sustained for many hours the whole fire of the enemy's Fleet, the rest of our vessels not being able to work up near enough to Join effectually in the engagement.

The Rebels upon the news reaching them of the defeat of their naval Forces set fire to all the buildings and houses in and near Crown Point and retired to Ticonderoga.

The Season is so far advanced that I cannot yet pretend to inform your Lordship whether any thing further can be done this year.

I am &c.

Guy Carleton.

Lord George Germain.

Endorsed:—On Board the Maria off Crown Point.

14th Octr. 1776.

R/23d Novr. By Lieut. Dacres.

List of the Rebel vessels on Lake Champlain before their defeat.

Schooners:—Royal Savage, Mouting 8 6 Prs, 4 4 Prs. went on shore, was set fire to and blew up.

Revenge. 4-6 Prs. Escaped.

A Sloop. 10-4 Prs. Escaped.

Row Gallies:—Congress. 2-18 Prs. in the bow; 2-12 Prs. & 2-2 Prs. in stern, and 4-6 Prs. in sides, Blew up.

Washington. Same Force Taken.

Trimble. (Trumbull?) Do. Escaped.

The Lee, a Cutter, 1-9 Pr. in the bow: 1-12 Pr. in stern and 4-6 Prs. in sides; ran into a bay and not known whether destroyed.
Boston, 1-18 Pr. in bow 2-12 Prs. in sides Sunk.

Gondolas:—Jersey. Do. do. do. Taken.
One name unknown, same force, ran on shore.
Five Do. Do., blown up.

Other Vessels not in Action.

A schooner, 8-4 Prs. sent from their Fleet for Provisions.

A Galley said to be of greater force than those mentioned above. Fitting out at Ticonderoga.

G. C.

Endorsed:—List of Rebel Vessels before their defeat upon Lake Champlain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, pp. 26-7.

Winter Quarters.

For the British Troops as ordered by His Excellency the Commander in Chief, November 1st, 1776.

Head Quarters of the Army.

Montreal.

Royal Artillery.

29th Regiment.

General Hospital.

King's R. Regmt. New York.

La Chine.

La Pointe Claire.

St. Anne.

The Royal Highland Emigrants.

La Chenaye.

Terre Bonne.

Riviere du Chene.

B. General Frasers Corps.

Upon the south of the river St. Lawrence.

La Prairie.

Longueuil.

Boucherville.

Varenes et Isle Boucharet.

Contre Coeur.

Grand St. Ours.

First Brigade Commanded by Brigdr. General Powell.

Left of the Brigade.

31st and 53d Regiments.

Upon the River Sorel.

Chambly.

Beloil.

St. Charles.

St. Denys.

St. Antoine.

St. Ours.

Sorel.

Right of the Brigade.

47th and 9th Regiments.

Upon the River St. Lawrence and

District of Montreal.

Isle Jesus.

Riviere des Prairies.

Saut du Recolets.

St. Genevieve.

St. Laurent.

Second Brigade Commanded by Brigdr. General Hamilton.

Left of the Brigade.

34th and 62d Regiments.

Quebec.

District of Quebec.

Right of Brigade.

21st and 20th Regiments.

Isle aux Noix.

St. John.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 12, pp. 236-7.

No. 15.

Quebec, 17th November, 1776.

My Lord,

In my letter, No. 14, dated at Crown Point, the 22d October, I informed your Lordship the Army must winter in Canada. On the 2d Instant the two Brigades, which had advanced with me, set out on their return and they are now together with the rest of the Troops either in or on their march to their quarters in this Province.

During my stay at Crown Point several parties, some with arms, of the inhabitants of the Province of New York, came into us for refuge, and I have joined them to the Corps commanded by Sir John Johnson, who, after the Campaign, desired leave to go to New York, which I have permitted.

Application was at the same time made to me, on the part of the other Inhabitants of that neighbourhood, praying me to issue a proclamation to offer pardon and Protection to such Persons as having unwarily been drawn into the guilt of Rebellion, was now sensible of their Error and desirous of returning to their duty and of meriting by their future good Behaviour, the King's mercy, but your Lordship having been silent how far I might venture upon Proclamation of that nature I returned no other Answer than that the instances which they had of my Conduct and that of the King's Troops towards them were sufficient for them to Judge of my future intentions, And I have the satisfaction to assure your Lordship that no irregularity was committed among those unhappy Wretches even by the savages.

I have heard nothing from General Howe except by a Letter containing a request to be supplied with Hay and Oats and dated the day before an action is said to have happened upon Long Island, tho' the Vessel which brought it and one of the Commissaries of that army did not sail till twelve days after.

I am &c.

Guy Carleton.

Lord George Germain.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 17th November, 1776.

Sir Guy Carleton.

(No. 15.)

R/17th December.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 13, p. 3.

Memorandum of General Carleton relative to the next Campaign communicated to Genl. Burgoyne to be laid before Government.

A Reinforcement of four thousand Troops exclusive of completing the present Army is necessary for Canada.

It would be desirable to encrease the present Establishment of British Regiments to a hundred per company as part of the desired reinforcement.

With a reinforcement to the above Amount and well composed, a large Corps may be spared to pass Lake Ontario and operate upon the Mohawk River.

Another Corps might possibly be employed to penetrate to Connecticut River.

Six months provisions for at least twenty thousand men at full rations ought to be sent out early in the Spring. The Number of mouths to feed including Savages, Canadians, Artificers, Seaman, &c., upon the Lakes may be reckoned a full third more than the Troops.

Canada will furnish flour sufficiently but the drain of live cattle has been so great the last Campaign that very little can be expected.

A Corps of Boatmen is absolutely necessary for all operations in a Country so much intersected with Lakes and Rivers as that wherein the Canadian Army must Act.

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LA GAZETTE DE QUEBEC.

JEUDI le 19 Decembre 1776.

Messire GUY CARLETON, Chevalier du Bain, Capitaine général et Gouverneur en chef de la Province de QUEBEC, et territoires en dépendants en AMERIQUE, Vice-amiral d'icelle, &c., &c., &c. Général et Commandant en Chef des troupes de sa Majesté dans le dite Province et frontières d'icelle, &c., &c., &c.

Comm'il est indispensablement nécessaire pour le service du Roy, et la commodité du Public, que tous les chemins Royaux, ainsi que ceux qui y communiquent, soient en

Hiver battus et entretenus, ou assés larges pour qu'ils puissent y passer aisément deux voitures de front, sans aucun inconvéniens, j'ordonne à tous les Capitaines et autres officiers de Milice dans toute l'étendue de cette Province, d'obliger et contraindre tous les Habitans et Propriétaires de terres et emplacements de leurs différentes Paroisses, de battre chacun incessamment un chemin de huit pieds de largeur sur la devanture de leurs terres ou sur leurs parts de l'entretenir tout l'Hiver en bon ordre, et de poser des balises de sept à huit pieds de hauteur en têtes de sapin ou des Cèdre, distances de vingt-quatre pieds en vingt-quatre pieds, aux deux côtés du dit chemin; et afin que les chemins d'Hiver soient battus également dans toute leur largeur, les voyageurs seront tenus d'en prendre toujours la droite, soit en venans dans les villes ou en s'en retournant. J'enjoins aussi et recommande rigoureusement à tous et chacun habitans et propriétaires de terres ou emplacements dans la dite Province, d'exécuter les ordres qui leur seront donnés à ce't égard par les Capitaines et autres officiers de de leurs différentes Paroisses, sous peine de désobéissance.

Donné sous mon Seing et le Sceau de mes armes, au Château St. Louis. dans la ville de QUEBEC, ce douzième jour de DECEMBRE dans la dix-septième année du Règne de nôtre Souverain Seigneur, GEORGES Trois, par la Grace de DIEU, Roi de la Grande Bratagne, de France et d'Irlande, Défenseur da la Foy, &c., &c., &c. et de l'année de nôtre Seigneur 1776.

GUY CARLETON.

Par Ordre de son Excellence,
GEO. ALLSOPP.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 315.

Quartier General à Quebec,
20th Decr. 1776.

Monsieur,

Le General vous ayant fait compter une somme d'argent pour distribuer entre tous les Canadiens qui avoit servi la campagne, et Son Excellence venant d'ordonner le payement entier de la Compagnie de Morin, je suis commandé de vous en faire part, afin que si vous avez donné à ces gens de l'argent qu'il soit de compté, ou si non que vous sachiez qu'il ne soit plus necessaire de le faire—lorsque vous avez achevé de distribuer l'argent que vous avez reçu vous devez renvoyer une liste des personnes qui l'ont reçu, les quelles la doivent signer contre leurs noms.

Je suis, &c.

M. St. Geo: Dupré.

(Translation)

Headquarters, Quebec, 20th December 1776.

Sir:

The General having placed in your hands a sum of money to be distributed among all the Canadians who have served during the campaign, and His Excellency having ordered the full payment of Morin's Company, I am directed to inform you of this so that if you have paid these men any money it may be accounted for or if not that you may know that it will no longer be necessary to do so—when you have finished disbursing the money that you have received you will send in a list of the persons who have received it which should be signed by them opposite their names.

I am, etc.,

M. St. Geo. Dupre.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 171, p. 2.

Return of the Officers of the Canadian Companies risen in 1776 by Sir Guy Carleton.

Cpts.	{ Rouville Boucherville Beaubien }	Since appointed Councillor of the Legislative Council. Served in the Defence of Fort St. John & at New York under Genl. Clinton as Capt. and paid as such & promised by Lord Sydney to be on the List as half-pay Capt.
Lieuts.	{ Deschambault Sallabery Destimauville Tonnancourt Cuisy Marcoux DeBonne }	
Ensigns	{ Vassall Basin Gaspé Fleurimont St. Martin La Broquerie Vigneau }	

Genié adjt. to the Three Companies—

Endorsed—Return of the Canadian Officers of the Companies risen in 1776 and Indian Department.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 171, p. 3.

State of the Officers of the Three Canadian Companies for the campaign 1777.

Captain Rouville
Lieut. Sallaberie
" St. Tours, (St. Ours.)
Ensign Vassall
" Bazin
Captain Boucherville
Lieut. Cuisy
" La Fontaine
Ensign De Bonne
" La Broquerie
Captain Morin (Killed)
Lieut. Beaubien
" Marcoux
Ensign Tonancour
" Gaspé
Volonteer Vigneau

N.B. Messieurs Tonancour & Destimauville have been appointed Lieuts. and Messrs. Fleurimont and St. Martin Ensigns and attached to Capt. Rouville's Company since the Campaign.

All the officers of the two last Companies are under convention.

Endorsed:—List of the Canadian Officers appointed in 1777.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, January 2, 1777.

Tuesday last, being the 31st of December, the QUEBEC MILITIA, in Commemoration of the signal Victory obtained over the Rebels Army in their Assault on this City, march'd in Procession to the several Churches, where Sermons were preached suitable to the Occasion.—The principal Gentlemen of both Corps dined with His Excellency, our worthy Governor, to whose Prudence and Perseverance they must ever pay their most grateful Acknowledgements.—In the Evening a most elegant Ball and supper were given by the Militia, at which were present, near 300 Ladies and Gentlemen. An excellent Band of Musick was provided on this glorious Occasion, and the whole Entertainment of the Day was conducted with the greatest Regularity and

Elegance. At half after Six in the Evening his Excellency Sir GUY CARLETON, Lady MARIA and LADY ANN CARLETON, attended by the Generals Redhasel and Speke, &c., entered the Assembly Room, when the Band immediately struck up, GOD SAVE THE KING, accompany'd with a full Chorus. At seven, an Ode written on the Occasion was perform'd after which the Dancing commenc'd. In a Word, the Gentlemen who acted as Managers exerted themselves in such a Manner, that it was universally allowed to be the compleatest Entertainment of the Sort ever known in this Province.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 349.

Quartier General

à Quebec,

6 Feby. 1777.

Messieurs,

Je suis commandé de vous envoyer, pour en avoir votre rapport, une requete avec des Certificatte pour et contre un homme qui sollicite a etre fait capitaine de Milice dans la Paroisse de la Baye St. Antoine.

Je suis &c.

M.M. St. George du Pré, Panet et Gray, Commissaires pour regler la Milice.

(Translation)

Headquarters at Quebec, 6th Feby., 1777.

Gentlemen:

I am directed to send you for your report a petition with certificates for and against a man who asks to be appointed Captain of Militia in the parish of Baye St. Antoine.

I am etc.,

Messrs St. George du Pré, Panet and Gray,
Commissioners for the regulation of the Militia.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 13, p. 29.

Thoughts for conducting the War, from the Side of Canada.

I humbly conceive the operating Army (I mean exclusively of the Troops left for the Security of Canada) ought not to consist of less than eight thousand Regulars Rank and File; the Artillery required in the Memorandms of Genl Carleton; a Corps of watermen; two thousand Canadians including Hatchet Men and other Workmen; and a thousand or more Savages.

J. Burgoyne.

Hartford Street

Feby. 28th 1777.

His Excy. Lord George Germaine

Endorsed:—Thoughts for conducting the War from the side of Canada.

R/ from Lieut. Genl. Burgoyne.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol.13. p. 16.

Memorandum, & Observations, relative to the Service in Canada, submitted to Lord George Germaine.

Observations.

It may be thought that Canadian Militia might supply part of these purposes, & I beg leave to observe it is so intended, the above calculation being made much too low without their assistance. It will be necessary to have chains of Canadian Patroles, & Posts in the woods behind the Regulars, to intercept the communication between the

Enemy, and the ill affected in Canada, to prevent Desertion, to procure Intelligence, & for many other Services that will be obvious for keeping the country quiet. These Services will be supplied by the several Parishes, as their Situations lie respectively to the Objects, & may amount in the whole to five hundred men. Another great Call upon the Canadians will be for Workmen at the Fortifications of Sorell. St. John's, Chamblée & Isle aux Noix. To the latter place it may be expedient to send the disobedient, & refractory, as a punishment, it being a place from which they cannot desert.

To compleat the necessary Works in the course of next summer will probably require two thousand Men.

A still greater call upon the Canadians will be for the transport of all the Provisions, Artillery, Stores, & Baggage from the Repositories to the Water and afterwards at the carrying Places. This Service may at the opening of the Campaign require two thousand Men, besides a very large Proportion of Carts and Horses & will happen at the time of sowing the corn.

It is to be hoped that fifteen hundred, or two thousand men armed may be attached to the Army destined to follow the Enemy. When these numbers are cast up, Canada will be found to contribute to the full what the Country *can* afford. I will venture to assert much more than they *will* afford, if any Diminution is made in the number of Regulars proposed to be left among them. Should there be ground to suppose that France is taking an underhand part in America, or has any future Views towards the recovery of Canada, all the Reasons for having a respectable force there, will derive double Weight: for safe as the Country may be against a second Seduction by the Rebels, it is obvious to the slightest Observation, that many parts of it are liable to be seduced by the French, & it cannot be doubted that there are Emissaries ready for such an Employment.

J. Burgoyne

Endorsed:-relative to the Service in Canada, submitted to Lord George Germaine.
R/from Lient. Genl. Burgoyne.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, pp. 85-6.

No. 13.

Sir Guy Carleton,

Sir,

Whitehall, 26th March, 1777.

I am favoured with your letter, dated Chamblee, July 8th, 1776, wherein you acquaint me with the arrival of Sir John Johnson at Montreal.

The report that you received from him of the distressed situation and loyal disposition of the People in that part of the Country from which he came might well induce you to give orders that a Battalion should be raised on that Frontier of your Province for the relief & Protection of his Majesty's faithful Subjects.

The measure as being founded on Wisdom & Humanity is consequently agreeable to His Majesty—And as the Services of Sir John Johnson have been such as place him high in the King's good Opinion, His Majesty cannot but approve of your having conferred upon him the command of the said Regiment & trusts that Sir John has been successful in his Levies and has before this time formed a Corps fit and ready for service.

With regard to the Corps raised in America by Lieut. Colonel Maclean, mentioned in your Separate letter from Chamblee, of 13th July 1776, I am to inform you that His Majesty has not been pleased to put that Corps upon the Establishment of the rest of the Army—But Colonel MacLean & his officers have shewn such zeal for the Service and are spoken of so advantageously by you that I trust they will receive some mark of His Majesty's Favour.

I am &c.

Geo. Germaine.

Endorsed:—Drat to Sir Guy Carleton. (No. 13.) 26th March, 1777.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13. pp. 73-9

Separate.

General Sir Guy Carleton.

Whitehall, 26th March, 1777.

Sir,

My letter of the 22d of August, 1776, was intrusted to the care of Captain Le Maitre, one of your Aid-de-Camps. After having been three times in the Gulph of St. Lawrence he had the Mortification to find it impossible to make his passage to Quebec, and therefore returned to England with my dispatch, which though it was prevented by that accident from reaching your hands in time I nevertheless think it proper to transmit to you by this the earliest Opportunity.

You will be informed by the contents thereof that as soon as you should have driven the Rebel Forces from the Frontiers of Canada, it was His Majesty's Pleasure that you should return to Quebec and take with you such part of your Army as in your Judgment & Discretion appeared sufficient for the Defence of the Province, That you should detach Lieutenant General Burgoyne or such other Officer as you should think most proper, with the Remainder of the Troops and direct the Officer so detailed to proceed with all possible expedition to join General Howe & to put himself under his command.

Since I wrote that Letter I have had the Mortification to learn that upon your re-passing Lake Champlain a very considerable Number of the Insurgents, finding their presence no longer necessary near Ticonderoga, immediately marched from thence and joined the Rebel Forces in the Provinces of New York and Jersey—That unexpected Reinforcement was more particularly unfortunate for us as it enabled the Rebels to break in, with some degree of Success, upon parts of the Winter Quarters that were taken up by the Army under the Command of Sir Wm. Howe.

Upon these accounts and with a view of quelling the Rebellion as soon as possible, it became highly necessary that the most speedy Junction of the two Armies should be effected and therefore as the Security and good Government of Canada absolutely require your Presence there, It is the King's determination to leave about 3,000 men under your command for the Defence & Duties of that Province and to employ the remainder of your Army upon two Expeditions: The one under the command of Lient. General Burgoyne who is to force his way to Albany and the other under the command of Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, who is to make a Diversion on the Mohawk River.

As this Plan cannot be advantageously executed without the assistance of Canadians and Indians. His Majesty strongly recommends it to your care to furnish both Expeditions with good and sufficient Bodies of those Men. And I am happy in knowing that your influence amongst them is so great that there can be no room to apprehend you will find it difficult to fulfil His Majesty's Expectations.

In order that no time be lost in entering upon these important Undertakings General Burgoyne has received Orders to sail forthwith for Quebec and that the proposed Operations may be maturely considered & afterwards carried on in such a manner as is most likely to be followed by success, he is directed to consult with you upon the Subject and to form and Adjust the Plan as you both shall think most conducive to His Majesty's Service.

I am also to acquaint you that so soon as you shall have fully regulated every thing relative to the Expedition, (and the King relies upon your zeal that you will be as expeditious as the nature of the Business will admit), It is His Majesty's Pleasure that you detain for the Canadian Service.

The 8th Regt, deducting 100 for the Expedition to the Mohawk.....	460
Battalion Companies of the 29th and 31st Regiments	896
Battalion Companies of the 34th, deducting 100 for Expedition to the Mohawk	348
Eleven additional Companies from Great Britain.....	616
Detachments from two Brigades.....	300
Detachments from the German Troops.....	650
Royal Highland Emigrants.....	500

3,770

You will naturally conclude that this Allotment for Canada has not been made without properly weighing the several Duties which are likely to be required. His Majesty has not only considered the several Garrisons and Posts which probably may be necessary for you to take, vizt: Quebec, Chaudiere, the disaffected Parishes of Point Levi, Montreal & Posts between that Town & Oswegatchie, Trois Rivières, St. Johns, Isle aux Noix, La Prairie, Vergere & some other Towns upon the south shore of the St.

Lawrence opposite to the Isle of Montreal, with Posts of Communication to St. Johns, But He hath also reflected that the several Operations which will be carrying on in the different Parts of America must necessarily confine the Attention of the Rebels to the respective Scenes of Action and secure Canada from external Attack, and that the internal quiet which at present prevails is not likely to be interrupted, or if interrupted, will soon be restored by your Influence over the Inhabitants, he therefore trusts that 3,000 men will be quite sufficient to answer every possible Demand.

It is likewise His Majesty's Pleasure that you put under the command of Lieut. Genl. Burgoyne.

The Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the Army (except the 8th Regt.,) and the 24th Regt., as the advanced Corps under the command of Brigadier General Fraser.	1,568
1st Brigade, Battn. Companies of the 9th, 21st & 47th Regts. deducting a Detachment of 50 from each Corps to remain in Canada	1,194
2nd Brigade, Battn. Companies of the 20th, 53d, & 62d Regts., deducting 50 from each Corps as above	1,194
All the German Troops except Hanau Chasseurs and a Detachment of 650. The Artillery except such parts as shall be necessary for the Defence of Canada.	3,217

	<hr/> 7,173

Together with as many Canadians and Indians as may be thought necessary for this Service, and after having furnished him in the fullest and completest manner with Artillery, Stores, Provisions, and every other Article necessary for his Expedition and secured to him every Assistance which it is in your power to afford and procure, you are to give him orders to pass Lake Champlain, and from thence by the most vigorous Exertion of the Force under his Command to proceed with all Expedition to Albany and put himself under the command of Sir William Howe.

From the King's knowledge of the great preparation made by you last year to secure the command of the Lakes, and your Attention to this part of the Service during the Winter, His Majesty is led to expect that every thing will be ready for General Burgoyne passing the Lake by the time you and he shall have adjusted the Plan of the Expedition.

It is the King's further Pleasure that you put under the command of Lieut.-Col. St. Leger.

Detachment from the 8th Regiment.	100
Detachment from the 34th Regt.	100
Sir John Johnson's Regiment of New York.	133
Hanau Chasseurs.	342

675

Together with a sufficient number of Canadians and Indians and after having furnished him with proper Artillery, Stores, Provisions, and every other necessary Article for his Expedition and secured to him every Assistance in your power to afford and procure, you are to give him Orders to proceed forthwith to and down the Mohawk River to Albany and put himself under the command of Sir William Howe.

I shall write to Sir William Howe from hence by the first Packet, But you will nevertheless endeavour to give him the earliest Intelligence of this measure and also direct Lieutenant General Burgoyne and Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger to neglect no Opportunity of doing the same that they may receive Instructions from Sir William Howe. You will at the same time inform them that until they shall have received Orders from Sir William Howe, it is His Majesty's Pleasure that they act as Exigencies may require, and in such manner as they shall judge most proper for making an impression on the Rebels and bringing them to Obedience, but that in so doing they must never lose view of their intended Junctions with Sir William Howe as their principal Objects.

In case Lieutenant General Burgoyne or Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger should happen to die or be rendered by Illness incapable of executing these great Trusts you are to nominate to the respective commands such Officer or Officers as you shall think to be best qualified to supply the place of those whom His Majesty has in His Wisdom at present appointed to conduct those Expeditions.

I am &c.

Geo. Germain.

Endorsed: Draft to General Sir Guy Carleton.

26th March, 1777. Separate.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA.

ANNO DECIMO SEPTIMO GEORGII III. REGIS CHAP. VIII.
an ORDINANCE.

For regulating the Militia of the Province of Quebec, and rendering it of more general utility, towards the preservation and security thereof.

Preamble
Whereas his excellency the captain general and governor in chief of this province is, by virtue of his majesty's commission under the Great Seal of Great-Britain, empowered to levy, arm, muster, command, and employ all persons within the province, and, as occasion shall serve, them to march or transport from one place to another for the purpose of resisting and withstanding of all enemies, pirates, and rebels, both by land and by water; which commission, in the absence of the captain general, the lieutenant governor, or commander in chief, for the time being, is authorized to execute:—And whereas the well ordering and training of the said militia, may hereafter be of great use towards preserving and securing the province from all hostile invaders thereof, be it enacted by the captain general and governor in chief in this province, by and with the advice and consent of the legislative council of the same THAT

Art. I.

All persons from the age of 16 to 60 to serve in the Militia.
All persons, as well in the towns as in the country from the age of sixteen years to sixty, are bound to serve in the militia of that parish, wherein they reside; and from and after publication of the present ordinance, every person (excepting such as are herein after excepted) refusing to serve or neglecting to get himself inrolled under the officers appointed by his excellency the captain general or governor in chief, in the different parishes, shall forfeit five pounds; and upon a second refusal, he shall, over and above a like forfeiture of five pounds for such second refusal, be rendered incapable of keeping by him or bearing any fire-arm whatsoever, under the like penalty of five pounds, and one month's imprisonment, for every time he shall be convicted of having used or kept such fire-arm.

Art. II.

Militia-men misbehaving to be expelled.
Every militia man, whose conduct or behaviour proves unworthy of, or dishonorable to the corps, shall be expelled therefrom, and in like manner rendered incapable of keeping by him, or using any fire-arm, under the penalties mentioned in the foregoing article; and as well those who are expelled therefrom, shall furnish sleighs and other carriages for the king's service, when called upon, in a double proportion to their neighbours of the same parish, doing duty as militia men readily and cheerfully, and for half the price; provided always that, after the expiration of one year, any person, who has committed any of the above recited offences, and suffered the penalties directed by this and the foregoing articles, upon his making submission to the captain of the militia, in the presence of the most reputable inhabitants of the parish, at the church door, on a sunday or some other feast day shall, after report has been made thereof to the colonel of militia of the district, and being approved by the captain general, or in his absence the lieutenant governor, or commander in chief for the time being, be restored to the corps, intitled to the privileges thereof, and act therein, as if no such offence had been committed

Art. III.

Captains of Militia to transmit a list of their officers and men to the inspectors yearly.
The captain or captains of the militia in every parish, shall, twenty days after the publication of the present ordinance, or sooner, if it can be done, transmit to the colonels of militia, or inspectors when such shall be appointed, for the respective districts, an account of the number of officers and militia men fit for service in their respective companies; as also a list of such as may have refused to inroll themselves, or disobeyed the orders of their superior officers; and

hereafter such lists, as well as of any alterations that may have happened within the last twelve-month, are to be transmitted by the captains to the colonels of militia, or inspectors when such shall be appointed by the tenth or fifteenth of March in every year at farthest.

Art. IV.

A militia-man changing his place of residence, to give notice thereof to his commanding officer.

No person belonging to a particular company of militia, shall leave his usual residence, whereby he became subject thereto, without giving due notice to his captain or commanding officer, and of the place where he intends to settle; and every person, so settling in another parish wherein he settles, under a penalty of forty shillings for the first offence, and for the second, the like sum and one month's imprisonment.

Penalty for neglecting to give notice.

Art. V.

The captains to draw out their companies on the last two Sundays in June and two first in July.

Upon the two last sundays in the month of June, and the first two in July, the captains or commanding officers of the Militia, shall draw out their companies in the most convenient place of their respective parishes, in order to inspect their arms, fire at marks, and instruct them in their duties; and such as disobey, and do not appear on such training days, or at such other times as the colonels of militia, inspectors, or other persons authorized to review or exercise them, by special orders from the captain general, or, in his absence, the lieutenant governor, or commander in chief, for the time being, shall direct, are to forfeit ten shillings for every offence, except they shall have first asked or obtained leave of absence, on shewing reasonable cause for the same.

Penalty on every militia-man for non-attendance.

Art. VI.

In the time of war, etc., such number of officers and militia-men to be drawn out and marched, as the governor shall require.

In the time of war, rebellion, or when any other pressing exigency of the state requires it, such number of officers, serjeants, and militia-men, as the governor, lieutenant governor, or commander in chief, for the time being thinks fit to direct, shall be drawn out of the different companies, marched from their respective parishes to such place as they shall be ordered to, and serve tho' still as militia, in conjunction with his Majesty's forces, under the guidance and superintendance of the officers whom the commander in chief shall be pleased to appoint for that purpose; and at the end of the campaign or the service they were ordered upon, shall return to their homes, but not before they had been regularly dismissed from the same; any person refusing to obey such order, absconding, or not repairing to the place he is ordered to, shall incur double the penalties inflicted by the first article of this ordinance; and any one quitting the service, when so embodied, before he is discharged therefrom, shall moreover be expelled the corps, and never allowed to re-enter the same; And any person buying or purchasing arms, ammunition or equipments, delivered out of his Majesty's stores to the militia when embodied, or any ammunition, furnished out of the said stores, for training and exercising the said militia, shall incur a penalty of five pounds for every such offence, to be recovered upon the oath of one credible witness, before any one commissioner of the peace in the district where such offence has been committed.

Penalties for disobedience.

No person to buy any arms, ammunition or equipment from any Militia-man.

Under a penalty of £5.

Art. VII.

All persons holding lands en roture, to furnish carts, etc., for the king's service except those exempted therefrom by this ordinance.

All inhabitants above the age of sixty, and having one servant, as well as all others holding lands en roture, and not exempted therefrom by this ordinance, shall, when ordered by Government, and called upon by the captains of the militia, in rotation, furnish carts, sleighs, or other carriages for the king's service, at such a price per day, as shall be fixed upon by the commander in chief; and any who shall neglect or refuse to furnish the same, or shall desert or quit that service, without being duly discharged therefrom, shall likewise incur the penalties directed by the first article.

Art. VIII.

Captains and officers disobeying their superiors to be deprived of their commissions, etc.

The captains and other officers of militia not paying due obedience to their superiors, or who shall be convicted of having acted with partiality, of exempting some, without being properly authorized so to do, or ordering others out of their turn, out of pique or resentment, shall be deprived of their commissions, and obliged to serve as private militia-men.

Art. IX.

Officers of the militia to take up all deserters, etc.

The captains and other officers of militia, shall take up all deserters, whether soldiers or sailors, all strangers and other persons travelling through their respective parishes, suspected of being emissaries from, conveying intelligence to, or corresponding with the rebellious colonies, all persons spreading false reports to the detriment of government, and persons leaving the province without a pass from the captain general, or, in his absence, the lieutenant governor, or commander in chief, for the time being; and any person, either in town or country, lodging or concealing such deserters, strangers, or suspected persons as above, or aiding and assisting any person leaving the province without a pass, without giving immediate notice thereof to the captains of their respective companies in the country, and if in the towns of Quebec, Montreal, Trois Rivieres, to the colonels or commanding officers, or other officers appointed for that purpose, shall for the first offence, if inhabitants of the towns forfeit ten pounds and be imprisoned one month; if residing in the country, shall forfeit five pounds, and be imprisoned for the same time; and double the sum, and double the time of imprisonment, for the second, and every other subsequent offence of the like nature.

Penalty of lodging or harbouring them.

Art. X

Manner of prosecuting for the penalties.

In all cases where the manner of prosecuting for the penalties inflicted by this ordinance has not been directed; where the fine imposed does not exceed the sum of forty shillings, any one field officer of the militia or inspector when such officer shall be appointed, of the district wherein the offence shall have been committed, being a commissioner of the peace; and where the penalty exceeds the sum of forty shillings, or directs the imprisonment of the offender, any two field officers, or one field officer and inspector, as before, belonging to the district in which the offence shall have been committed, being commissioners of the peace, or any other two commissioners of the peace for that district; is and are hereby authorized, upon information laid before them, to take cognizance of, and hear in a summary manner, all offences committed against the intent and meaning of this ordinance to inflict the penalties, and levy the fines, by warrant under his or their hands and seals, and all monies arising therefrom, to be by him or them transmitted to the receiver-general of the province, and applied, as other public monies, to his majesty's use; subject nevertheless in cases where the penalty is of, or exceeds ten pounds, and where the party offending is to be imprisoned for more than one month, or to be expelled the militia, to an appeal before the governor or in his absence, the lieutenant-governor, or commander in chief, for the time being, and any five members of his majesty's council (the commissioners of the peace who shall have heard the same and given judgment therein only excepted) who are hereby appointed a court of appeals for that purposes, and authorized to hear and finally to determine the same.

Appeal in certain cases to the Governor and council.

Art. XI.

Persons exempted from serving in the Militia, etc.

The members of his Majesty's council, judges, and other officers of civil government, the seigniors, stiled here seigneurs primitifs, the noblesse, so acknowledged under the antient government of the country, half pay or reduced officers, clergy, students of the seminaries of Quebec and Montreal, and persons employed in offices of public utility, are exempted from serving in the militia or furnishing

Proviso.

carriages; PROVIDED ALWAYS that nothing in this ordinance contained, be construed to exempt the seigniors, or noblesse, from rendering such personal services as are agreeable to the antient usage, and to which they are bound by the tenure of their lands. whenever the governor, or in his absence, the lieutenant governor, or commander in chief, for the time being, shall judge to call upon them for the same.

This ordinance to be in force for 2 years.

This ordinance to be in force for two years, and to the end of the session of the legislative council of this province, which shall be held in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine.

GUY CARLETON.

Enacted by the authority aforesaid, and passed in council under the great seal of the province, at the council chamber in the castle of St. Lewis, in the city of Quebec, the twenty-ninth day of March, in the seventeenth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord George the Third, by the grace of God of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven.

By His Excellency's Command,
J. Williams C.L.C.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, pp. 142-6.

Captain Mackay's Report.

Montreal, March 31st, 1777.

20th February, 1777

I set off from Montreal and reached St. Regis on the 22nd, where I and Captain Fraser had a conference with the Indians; in the Council it was proposed that a Party of Indians should go with me to which they consented and fourteen Indians accordingly was to follow me.

24th February, 1777

I set off from St. Regis with Messrs, Lorime, St. Amande, La. Ronde, Graves and fourteen Indians for the route towards Tycon-doroga.

26th February

I Pursued my Route and now the Party was increased to Thirty being joined by some Indians.

I opened my orders the same day and thought it would be more prudent to mention the places only we were going to as I was apprehensive the Indians might have communicated the General's Intentions to some of their People who followed us for some time and then returned back which the Indians were accustomed to do.

March 7th, 1777

Imagining I was near to Ticonderoga I explained my orders in full to the party and the General's intentions and desired they would assist me to execute the orders of the General. The Indians refused to go in a body to examine the different posts, alledging they would certainly be cut off.

March 13th, 1777

Finding the Indians averse to going in a Body I proposed to divide in four different parties; one to go to Ticonderoga, One to Crown Point, one to Skenesborough, and one to Fort George. They agreed to go to three of the Places but objected going to Skenesborough.

This being agreed on, consented by the Indians we seperated, one party, Messrs. La Ronde and King with five Outawaugh Indians with orders to go to Fort George.

March 18th, 1777

Messrs. Branconet and la Bonte with three Indians with orders to go to Crown Point.

March 19th

My Party arrived at Lake George about nine miles from Ticonderoga at twelve o'clock in the day, we intended to wait until night in order to cross over Lake George to take a view of Ticonderoga, about

three o'clock the Indians discovered some men coming towards us with horses—I did every thing that lay in my power to prevent the Indians from taking of them, as it would frustrate us from executing our Father's will, but in spite of every thing I could do or say they would not comply with my orders. I then told them when I perceived that they would not listen to what I wished them to do, that if they promised to go with me to Ticonderoga, I would overlook their taking these men though they had forced me to act in this manner contrary to our Father's instructions. When the Indians went after them I desired Mr. Lorime to see that they did not (use) any cruelties towards them. So soon as the Indians had taken those men they wanted to return home without executing any thing further. During this transaction we discovered a Party coming down Lake George—Being frustrated in accomplishing the General's intentions by the perverseness of the Indians we followed this party to Sabbath Day Point and took the Captain with seventeen men—The Lieutenant and four others being killed by the Indians notwithstanding their solemn promise to me before the attack that they would not hurt any of them, and one other made his escape supposed to be badly wounded. The Indians plundered the prisoners of their cloathing which I purchased of them again in part to cover the Prisoners from the cold.

March 20th, 1777

In the morning we left the Lake in order to return and to repair to the Place or rendezvous for the different Parties I appointed.

March 21st, 1777

Finding Samuel Adams, a Royalist who lives on the Landing place at Lake George not in a condition to follow us, after getting from him every information I suffered him to return being afraid that by his not being able to march the Indians might kill him.

I told Adams that the only thing that could justify me in releasing him was that he should promise to be very particular in his attention to observe the Motions of the (Rebels) and to obtain all the information in his power relating to their numbers, &c, and that he was to embrace the first opportunity to convey it to the Generals in Canada.

March 22d, 1777

We arrived at the place of rendezvous where we met Mr. La Ronde and his party with two prisoners they had taken between Fort George and Fort Anne.—Mr. La Ronde examined the situation of Fort George and the works about it and gives pretty nearly the same account as *Samuel Adams*.

I have examined none of the Prisoners that we brought nor has any of the Party.

30th

We arrived at Montreal with a Captain and twenty-one men-Prisoners.

I must observe that the Indians in prosecuting our route to Tyeonderoga very much retarded us by idling away their time and in not following my orders of march, as a convincing proof of it I must take notice that we performed the same journey in ten days in returning which had taken us Twenty three days in going.

I was informed by Messrs. Lorime and St. Amande that it was firmly the intention of the young men among the Indians to strike a blow upon the Rebels so soon as I had reconnoitred the Post but falling in with these parties first they could not be restrained from executing it/before any thing could be done in relation to the object for which the expedition set out other than from Intelligence.

Montreal, March 31st, 1777.

Saml. Mackay.

Endorsed:—Captain MacKay's Report.

In Sir Guy Carleton's

No. 19, of 20th May, 1777.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 448.

Quartier General Quebec

28 Avril 1777.

Monsieur,

Son Excellence le General a reçu vos deux lettres du 19 et 21 de ce mois, et il me charge de vous repondre qu'il consent à la proposition que vous lui faites à l'égard des Canots que vous voulez envoyer sur la Riviere des Trois Rivieres, et le Passeport necessaire se trouve ci-Inclus.

Le General vient de nommer M. votre fils Enseigne dans une Compagnie Canadienne qui vont se former, Ainsi il peut recevoir peutetre des ordres de Son Capitaine pour s'y rendre, avant que les affaires sur lesquelles vous voulez l'employer puissent s'achever; pour cette raison son nom n'est pas inseré dans le Rapport; en meme tems son Excellence vous permet toujours de l'y ajouter, ou celui d'un autre si vous le jugerez plus convenable, et un blanc est laissé pour cet effet.

Son Excellence vous laisse maitre de faire ce que vous jugerez a propos à l'égard du Capitaine Badeaux dont elle a vu la requete que vous m'avez envoyée.

Je suis &c.

M. Tonencour.

(Translation.)

Headquarters, Quebec, 28th April, 1777.

Sir,

His Excellency the General has received your two letters of the 19th and 21st inst., and he directs me to inform you that he approves of the proposal which you have made with respect to the canoes which you wish to send up the river of Three Rivers, and the necessary passport is enclosed herewith.

The General has appointed your son an Ensign in a Canadian company which is being organized thus he may perhaps receive orders from his Captain to report, before the business in which you wish to employ him can be finished; for this reason his name is not included in the report; at the same time His Excellency will permit you to add it thereto or that of another if you judge it more convenient, and a blank is left for that purpose.

His Excellency will permit you to do whatever you think proper with respect to Captain Badeaux whose request which you have sent me, he has seen.

I am, etc.,

M. Tonencour.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, pp. 173-4.

List of Ships and Boats for Service of Lake Champlain in the year 1777.

Under the command of Major Williams, Commanding the British and Hessian Artillery in Canada.

Thunderer, Heavy 24 Prs.	14
8 inch Howitzers	4
2 Boats Ditto.	2
2 ditto. Light 24 Prs.	2
2 ditto. Medium 12 Prs.	2
1 ditto. Light do.	1
13 ditto. Light 6 Prs.	13
Under the Command of Capt. Lutwidge.	

Inflexible. Heavy 12 Prs.	20
Maria. 6 Prs.	14
Carleton. 6 Prs.	12
Royal Convert. 12 Prs.	7
New Ship. 12 Prs.	20
Washington. 6 Prs.	18
Lee. 6 Prs.	8
Jersey. 6 Prs.	5

N.B.—Each Gun Boat carries one Hundred Rounds of Fixt. Ammunition and the other Vessels carry sixty Rounds Pr. Gun; 20 Fixt. and 40 Round Shott unfixed.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, pp. 96-8.

(No. 18.)

Quebec, 9th May, 1777.

My Lord,

I received by Captain Le Maitre, who arrived here with General Burgoyne on the Apollo the 6th instant, your Lordship's several Dispatches from No. 3 to No. 7 inclusive. Your separate Letter of 26th March last and the others from No. 9 to No. 16, inclusive with the annexed Papers.

Inclosed herewith I now transmit to Your Lordship the Ordinances that have passed in the Session of His Majesty's Council held here this last Winter; these Ordinances have been framed upon the Principle of securing the Dependence of this Province upon Great Britain, of suppressing the Spirit of Licentiousness and Independence that has invaded all the British Colonies upon this Continent and was making, through the Endeavours of a Turbulent Faction here, a most amazing Progress in this Country; and in the Hopes of rendering Canada of use to Great Britain by its Military Strength as well as by its Commerce.

There is no doubt but the Canadians may again be reduced to that state of Deference and Obedience which they formerly paid their ancient government, tho' it necessarily must be the work of some time; until it is finally accomplished it will require a Military Force to support the Civil Authority; the Nobless, Clergy and the greater part of the Bourgeoisie in the course of the present Troubles have given Government every Assistance in their Power and will greatly help in restoring a proper subordination, without which all Regulations are vain; but this depends still more upon your Lordship's Office and the King's confidential Servants as all the efforts of a Provincial Administration for many years must come to nothing.

Some of the British Traders here, having taken up the Idea of a Chamber of Commerce in place of Juries, a Plan was accordingly drawn up, which is herewith enclosed; the Militia Ordinance is to continue only for two years by way of Trial and as an Essay towards training the Canadians to Obedience by Degrees, until we have time to perfect a more solid and permanent system if our present Tranquility continues uninterrupted, we shall be able next session, I hope, to make further Progress in the settlement of this extensive Province.

With these Ordinances your Lordship will receive a Proclamation, prohibiting the Exportation of cattle and livestock for this year and of Corn, Flour and Biscuit until our Victuallers arrive, and we can hear how His Majesty's Forces to the Southward under the Command of Sir William Howe are supplied.

We have no Parchment in the Province or the Ordinances should have been transcribed thereon.

I am, &c.

Guy Carleton.

P.S. Your Lordship will receive a list of the principal Leaders of Sedition here. We have still too many remaining amongst us that have the same Inclination, tho' they at present act with more caution and so much subtilty as to avoid the Punishment they justly deserve.

G. C.

Lord George Germain,
One of His Majesty's
Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 9th May, 1777.

Sir Guy Carleton.

(No. 18.)

R/ 2d July By D. Burchell.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, pp. 105-6.

List of the Principal Persons settled in the Province, who very zealously served the Rebels in the Winter, 1775 and 1776, and fled upon their leaving it, the Place they were settled at and the country they are natives by the Initial Letter of it, as England, Scotland, Ireland, America, & France.

At Quebec.

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| Hector McNeil. | I. has long been settled and married twice in America. |
| John and Aclan Bondfield. | E. John appd. a Comy of Provisions by the Congress; the other supposed to be an Asst. |
| Udney Hay. | S. Acted as D.Q.M. Genl with Rank of Major. |
| John Welles. | E. A sort of Secy to Wooster. |
| Jon. White Swift. | A. |
| J. D. Mercier. | A. |
| Jonas Clark Minot. | A. |
| John Halstead. | A. A comy of Provns. |
| ——— Freeman. | A. Do at Three Rivers. |
| ——— Holton. | A. Conductor of Art. at Trois Rivieres |
| ——— Pelissier. | F. At Montreal. |
| Thomas Walker. | E. Lived many years at Boston. |
| ——— Price. | A. Great Zealots originally |
| ——— Heywood. | Barbers. |
| Edward Antill. | A. Lt.-Col. and Engineer. |
| Moses Hazen. | A. half Pay Lieut of the 44th. Col. of the Rebel Army. |
| Joseph Bindon. | E. |
| Wm. Macarty. | A. |
| Joseph Fory & two Brothers. | Ans. |
| David Salisbury Franks. | A. |
| — Livingston & two Brothers. | Ans. the eldest Lt.-Col., second, Major, and youngest Captain. |
| John Blake. | A. carried Goods down to the Colonies in Winter & did not return; the first known to be a rank Rebel. |
| ——— Blakely. | Quebec, 9th May, 1777.
G. C. |

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, pp. 191 and 203.

No. 5 Copy of a circular letter to Colonels of Militia and Canadian Commissaries of Transport directing them to comply with such requisitions as should be made from Lieutenant General Burgoyne.

Quartier General à Quebec,
12e Mai, 1777.

Circulaire.
Monsieur,

Le Roi ayant commandé qu'un detachement de l'Armée en Canada soit employé sur une expedition sous les Ordres du Lieutenant General Burgoyne, Je suis ordonné à vous signifier le plaisir du commandant en chef que vous obeissiez à toutes les requisitions qui pourront vous être faites de la part du dit Lieutenant General Burgoyne, soit en corvée ou autres choses dependante de votre departement, communiquant néanmoins à son excellence tout ce que regarde en particulier la milice.

Je suis, &c., &c.
E. Foy.

Endorsed:—No. 5.

In Sir G. Carleton's lre
of 26 June, 1777.

A. M. de Tonencour et M. St. George Dupré.

(Translation)

Headquarters, Quebec, 12th May, 1777.

Circular.
Sir,

The King having commanded that a detachement of the army in Canada shall be employed in an expedition under the orders of Lieut.-General Burgoyne, I am ordered to make known to you the pleasure of the Commander in Chief that you should obey

all requisitions made upon you on behalf of the said Lieut.-General Burgoyne, whether as a corvée or other things depending on your Department, communicating nevertheless to His Excellency every matter which particularly concerns the militia.

I am, etc.,
E. Foy.

M. de Tonencour,
M. St. George Dupré.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 473.

Headquarters, Quebec,
12th May, 1777.

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 7th and others of the 8th Instant.

The Cloaths which Captn MacKay mentions as proper to be gotten for the Canadians, are not to be had; in the time of the French they received a blanket, shirt, pair of shoes and pair of leggins which I apprehend they must be contented with now; as they do not chuse the cloathing intended for them, which the company of this district, under Captn Boucherville, seem very well pleased with; however I should have no objection to allow them such as Mr. MacKay proposes, if it could be procured. It will be proper to give them the articles of Blankets, Kettles, firewood, &c. in like manner as the Troops; and endeavours must be made to get the Tents they require made for them at Montreal.

I am etc.

To Major General Phillips.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 481.

Quartier General
Quebec
13 Mai 1777.

Monsieur,

Son Excellence le General ayant formé des compagnies Canadiennes pour servir avec l'armée je suis commandé à vous faire savoir que vous pouvez livrer, selon les ordres du General Burgoyne ou du General Phillips tout ce qui convienne aux dites compagnies des effets du Roi à leur usage dont vous etes chargés.

Je suis &c.

M. Foretier.

(Translation.)

Headquarters, Quebec, 13th May, 1777.

Sir,

His Excellency the General having organized Canadian Companies to serve with the army, I am commanded to inform you that you may issue in pursuance of orders by General Burgoyne or General Phillips any public stores for which you are responsible that may be required for the use of the said companies.

I am, etc.,

M. Foretier.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 480.

Headquarters, Quebec,
13th May, 1777.

Sir,

I am commanded to acquaint you that orders are sent to Mr. Foretier to deliver such of the effects for the use of the Canadians in his charge, as you or General Burgoyne shall command and His Excellency, as you have concerned yourself in this business, wishes that you would conclude it.

Boucherville's Company makes no objection to the cloathing which is in store, and the General supposes the others might easily be made contented with the same, which, as it would be convenient, such as Mr. MacKay demands not being to be had, His Excellency seems most to wish to give them, at the same time that he is perfectly ready to approve any other equipment that can be procured, and you or General Burgoyne should think more eligible.

I am, &c.

To Major General Phillips.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 499.

Quartier General
à Quebec

19 Mai 1777.

Monsieur,

Son Excellence le General me commande de vous faire savoir que devez incessamment vous mettre avec votre compagnie en marche pour vous rendre à Montreal au plutot qu'il se pourra sans fatigué votre monde.

Vous ferez avertir le Capitaine MacKay des que vous arriverez pres de Montreal et vous suivrez les ordres qu'il pourra vous communiquer.

Mr Honore Genier est nommé aide Major pour les trois compagnies Canadiennes.
Je suis &c.

Capitaine Boucherville et
Capitaine Monin.

(Translation.)

Headquarters, Quebec, 19th May, 1777.

Sir,

His Excellency the General directs me to inform you that you are to march with your company to Montreal as speedily as can be done without fatiguing your men.

You will notify Captain MacKay when you arrive near Montreal and you will obey the orders which he may communicate to you.

Mr. Honore Genier is appointed Adjutant for the three Canadian Companies.
I am, etc.,

Captain Boucherville,
Captain Monin.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, p. 108.

My Lord,

Quebec May 14: 1777.

I cannot speak with so so much confidence of the military assistance I am to look for from the Canadians. The only Corps yet instituted, or that I am informed can at present be instituted, are three independent Companies of an hundred men each, officered by Seigneurs of the country who are well chosen, but they have not been able to engage many volunteers. The men are chiefly drafted from the Militia according to a late regulation of the Legislative Council. Those which I have yet seen afford no promise of use in arms—awkward, ignorant, disinclined to the service, spiritless. Various reasons are assigned for this change in the disposition of the natives since the time of the French government. It may partly be owing to a disuse of arms, but I believe principally to the unpopularity of the Seigneurs, & to the poison which the Emissaries of the rebels have thrown into their minds. Should I find the new companies up the country better composed or that the well affected parishes can be prevailed upon to turn out volunteers, tho' but for a short occasion as they did last year, I shall move Sir Guy to exert further measures to augment my numbers.

J. Burgoyne.

His Exy Lord George Germaine
Principal Secretary of State &c., &c., &c.
Endorsed:—Quebec 14th May 1777
Genl. Burgoyne
Rd. 3rd July 77

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 13, p. 211.

Headquarters Quebec
19th May 1777.

Sir,

I am commanded to acquaint you that the companies of Monin and Boucherville are ordered to march with all possible expedition to Montreal there to receive further orders from you who are to follow such directions and commands respecting the three Canadian companies as shall be given you by Lieutenant General Burgoyne.

Mr. Honore Genier is appointed Adjutant to the three companies of Canadians.

I am Sir
&c &c.

(Signed) E. F.

Captain MacKay.

Endorsed:—No. 11. In Sir G. Carleton's lre of 26 June 1777.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 13, p. 111.

Quebec, 20th May, 1777.

My Lord,—Had your Lordship's dispatch of the 22nd August arrived in due time, it might have relieved me from many doubts; I thereby should have learned your wishes were not for my remaining on this side Lake Champlain the remainder of the year, as I at times apprehended. My fears did not arise from your silence on that head, this I imputed to an opinion, pretty general, that any officer entrusted with supreme command, ought, upon the spot, to see what was most expedient to be done, better than a great general at three thousand miles' distance; but considering your Lordship well knew how impossible it was for me to make the least preparations, during the winter; and that agreeable to my desire, your Lordship had been frequently importuned for boats, prepared timber, with other materials necessary for suddenly putting together and equipping a marine force, for the lake service, and its immediate passage; and seeing all those solicitations disregarded by your Lordship; that all the artificers, sent out for this great work, dropped in, few at a time, and mostly late in the season, as if destined only to prepare matters for the following year, I naturally concluded, either that your Lordship had taken your measures with such great wisdom, that the rebels must immediately be compelled to lay down their arms, and implore the King's mercy without our assistance, or that you had suspicions the forces here might become necessary for the defence of the Province, and that your Lordship might not wish I should have the power, least, with an indiscreet ardour, I should push on so as not to be able to return, as might become necessary, for the defence of Canada.

At times I flattered myself our progress had outstript all your hopes, that you judged the aids I had demanded for a marine, could not possibly be employed in '76, and that before '77 all must be over.

These doubts might have been removed by your Lordship's letter No. 5, wherein you tell me you hope soon to hear I have driven the rebels across the lakes, and taken possession of those posts upon the frontiers which may effectually secure this Province from any future insult; but the order for detaching that part of the force which might be spared from the immediate defence of this Province, to carry on such operations as should be most conducive to the success of the army acting on the side of New York, the officer commanding to correspond with, and put himself under the orders of General Howe, this would have embarrassed me exceedingly.

Your Lordship's letter was dated 22nd of August I might have received it early in November.

To set out upon such operations, in that season of the year, and in this climate, under the circumstances that then existed, that detached corps, my Lord, must have perished by hunger or cold, or been cut off by the insurgents, before it could have joined General Howe's army; I say this fully persuaded they would have done everything that ought to be expected from good troops, led by an able officer.

A little reflection on the nature of this climate, will, I hope convince your Lordship. Troops cannot encamp in that advanced season, without perishing from the cold alone; the inhabited country at a great distance;—and should the troops when there, avail themselves of the thinly scattered houses, for protection from the weather, they must have been dispersed so, that not one quarter only, but all might have been cut off, before they could have reassembled for their mutual defence.

Your Lordship perceives I here make no difficulties, even in that country, about transporting of baggage, military stores, provisions and such matters as are not attended to by persons little used to the movements of armies, tho' objects of great importance with officers of service; nor do I suppose an enemy in their way till they arrive in the rebel country, but if an enemy had been found strongly posted, as at Ticonderoga, this with the frost must have multiplied the difficulties, so that I regard it as a particular blessing, that your Lordship's dispatch did not arrive in due time.

Your letter of the 26th March recapitulates these orders, and imputes to my re-passing Lake Champlain, that the rebels were enabled, with some degree of success, to break into the winter quarters of Sir William Howe's army.

If your Lordship means the affair of Trenton, a little military reasoning might prove the rebels required no reinforcement, from any part, to cut off that corps, if unconnected and alone; the force they employed on that occasion clearly demonstrated this. Without my troubling your Lordship with any reasoning upon the matter, a little attention to the strength of General Howe's army, will, I hope convince you that, connected and in a situation to support each other, they might have defended themselves, tho' all the rebels from Ticonderoga had reinforced Mr. Washington's army.

After this severe charge, your Lordship proceeds to tell me, that on these accounts, and in order to quell the rebellion speedily, Lieutenant-General Burgoyne is to have the command of almost this whole army, to attack Ticonderoga, which you consider as one of those posts necessary to possess upon the frontier, in order to secure this Province from future insults; and I am ordered to remain behind at a time your Lordship must know all business of legislation is over till January, and where there is a Lieutenant-Governor, whose experience, abilities, and attachment to the King's service entitle him to no small confidence.

All this is stated in such a manner and so strongly pointed at me by your Lordship, that I shall add a little to convince you, from a parallel instance, more was done last year, on this side, than you had reason to expect, as I already have, I hope, that more was done, than I reason to imagine, till very lately, your Lordship really wished.

Permit me to remind your Lordship of the campaign fifty-nine when General Wolfe was sent with a small army to reduce Quebec. You cannot be a stranger to the difficulties he had to contend with;—a considerable body of regular Troops to oppose him, many Indians, a multitude of excellent and obedient Militia, the whole commanded by an officer of reputation add to all this a climate so severe that unless the place was taken before the cold weather set in, the whole armament must retire, and all begin anew the following campaign.

General Amherst could not but know all this, and your Lordship must allow, seldom are stronger motives to induce a co-operating General to exert his utmost endeavours, than General Amherst had, upon that occasion to urge him to make every effort, in order to draw off part of those great numbers which opposed Mr. Wolfe, and no doubt he did everything in his power.

General Amherst had a very superior army, his situation furnished him with as many artificers, labourers, and materials for building a marine on Lake Champlain as he could wish, with every other assistance that the hearty concurrence of all the English colonies could supply.

He was at liberty to arrange his own Plan, and make his own preparations; amidst all those advantages, from the preceding autumn, to say nothing of those already prepared by his predecessor, General Amherst was free to begin his march, as early in the spring as he thought proper;—met with no enemy to impede his progress, and tho' his arrival on the Canada side in due time, might have been of the most essential use to Mr. Wolfe's army, and the King's service, yet Mr. Amherst did not pass this same Lake Champlain, that critical campaign, tho' the French had but a small Marine Force upon the Lake, and a small Land Force at the Isle-au-Noix; notwithstanding which General Amherst received no censure from the then Minister, who was not, I believe, over indulgent to officers who neglected opportunities to exert themselves for the King's service; nor was an opinion encouraged that the misfortunes, which happened in this neighbourhood the following spring, were occasioned by General Amherst,

because he retired into quarters in November, in place of continuing his operations during the winter; and your Lordship should know such measures are no less impracticable on this side the Lake than on the other.

But I, pent up in this town till May, in a Province most disaffected, and overrun by rebels;—when troops arrived a numerous enemy to expel, who, in their retreat burned and destroyed all that might be of use;—arrived at the end of those navigable waters, not a boat, not a stick to employ; neither materials nor workmen, stores nor covering; trees and axmen, all must be sought for amidst confusion, and the distracted state of an exhausted Province.

In spite of every obstruction a greater marine was built and equipt; a greater marine force was defeated than had ever appeared on that Lake before; two Brigades were taken across, and remained at Crown Point till the 2nd of November, for the sole purpose of drawing off the attention of the Rebels from Mr. Howe, and to facilitate his victories the remainder of the campaign. Nature had then put an end to ours. His winter quarters, I confess, I never thought of covering; it was supposed tis true, that was the army favoured by your Lordship, and in which you put your trust, yet I never could imagine, while an army to the southward found it necessary to finish their campaign, and to go into winter-quarters, Your Lordship could possibly expect Troops so far North should continue their operations, least Mr. Howe should be disturbed during the winter, if that great army near the sea coast, had their quarters insulted, what could Your Lordship expect would be the fate of a small corps, detached into the heart of the rebel country in that season. For these things I am so severely censured by your Lordship, and this first reason assigned why the command of the Troops is taken from me, and given to Lieutenant General Burgoyne, to attack those Posts upon the Frontier, essentially necessary for the security of this Province.

He shall have every assistance in my power, and my most ardent wishes for the prosperity of the King's Arms; 'tis no man's power to slacken this; the Troops and Armament, destined for this expedition, had immediate orders to receive and follow his directions, that he may combine their movements as he thinks proper; the same, so far as concerns Lt.-Col. St. Leger's Expedition, the Hanau Chasseurs excepted; I have no such corps in this army, nor any information concerning it in your dispatch, but it is set down as part of the corps I am to put under his command. At first I thought it might be a mistake, and that the Brunswick Chasseurs were meant. Lt. General Burgoyne says not; that these are to go with him, and that he thinks the Hanau Chasseurs are on their way hither.

All the Indians in the neighbourhood of Niagara and Lake Ontario have orders to joyn Lt. Col. St. Leger; those in the lower part of the Province, and those ordered last year from Michilimackinac are to attend Lt. General Burgoyne. Three hundred Canadian Militia are also to make the campaign, to be disposed of by Lieutenant General Burgoyne, the same I had ordered, while I flattered myself I should have the conduct of the war on the Frontiers of this Province, which Canadians with those necessary for scouring the woods towards the New England Provinces, and a great number which must be employed for the forwarding all things for those Expeditions, is, I think, in the first dawning of good order and obedience, as much as ought, in prudence, to be demanded from this unfortunate Province, more worthy of compassion than blame.

The marine has been greatly improved and augmented, which the impatience of last year's service would not permit. Those on Lake Champlain have been put under Lieutenant General Burgoyne's command, and the greater part of those on Lake Ontario will attend Lt. Col. St. Leger.

Your Lordship's letter No. 14 contains orders for Captain Hamilton, Lt. Gov'r. of Detroit, in consequence of his correspondence directly with your office; these have likewise been forwarded.

Herewith is enclosed an account of all the intelligence worthy your notice. I am only to observe thereon, that the best accounts are mixed with lies, and this frequently from deceit, as well as ignorance.

I am with all due respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble Serv't,
Guy Carleton.

Lord George Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, pp. 156-9.

(No. 20.)

Quebec, 22d May, 1777.

My Lord,

I take the Liberty of observing to your Lordship that among the Troops destined for the Defence of Canada, the Detachments from the Brunswick and British Regiments amounting to 950 men are the sick, infirm, and such as the Regiments usually disburthen themselves of on like occasions, that the additional companies computed at 616, are to recruit the Army and their Officers to return Home before the Winter. The Battalion which has the Guard of the upper Posts drafted of 100 Chosen Men, the three old Battalions in the lower part of Canada, deprived of their Grenadiers and light Infantry and one of them sends a 100 of their best Men besides; Maclean's alone remains untouched.

I think it necessary to remind you of the feeble State Canada will again be left in Hopes your Lordship will recommend the Protection of this Province to General Howe should it once more be threatened by Dangers superior to its real Strength, not but that my own intentions were to have left still fewer Troops behind, had I, as heretofore, been intrusted with discretionary Powers, but in this case tho' I should have gone to Ticonderoga, I should have had my Eye constantly on Canada, and been ready to throw back such Troops, as Events might render necessary, but this now depends on General Howe as formerly on General Gage.

Your Lordship is pleased to compliment me on my Influence with the Canadians and Indians, which you are pleased to think may facilitate the King's Service, and help to confirm them in a proper sense of their Duty. My best Endeavours shall be exerted for that Purpose, perhaps too, no Detriment may accrue from any Opinion or Prejudice in this Country to my Disadvantage; But late experience alone should have convinced me, had I been unconvinced before, how little this might be depended upon, besides since those Proofs, certain Reports have been imported, and in the first ships last year, greatly tending to lessen this Influence. Your Lordship was announced Minister and Distributor of all Favors, it was then rumoured your Lordship's Intentions were to remove me from this command the first opportunity in the mean time that you would render it as Irsome as possible by every kind of slight, Disregard and Censure, Occasion and Events might render plausible; The Removal I thought probable, but expected it would come with candour to myself and safety to Crown, and in this shape it might have taken place without public Evil or private Regret, but the latter system strikes not at me, for I am nothing but immediately at the King's Government; I hope your Lordship will do me the Justice to believe that constitutionally I am not inclined to think it possible that your private Enmity or any other Motive whatever; A Secretary of State should avail himself of the Trust, Confidence, and Power of His Office to insult the Authority of the King, His Master, in a distant Province, not yet quite secure, nor free from the Danger of being severed from the Crown forever, and I may venture to assert that the late Dangers were occasioned merely by Faction which taught Disregard and Disobedience to the Orders of the King's Government in this Province, before they flattered themselves with such powerful Protection.

Incredible as such reports ought to appear to all the World, they gained Ground and the Revivers of these little Cabals, for the former had been quite dispersed and trampled under Foot, being supposed to be under your immediate Protection or that of your Lordship's Confidential Circle, greatly strengthened this strange Notion, so that with subsequent Events and fresh Reports which commonly are the Echoes of what is spread abroad at Home, it is now pretty generally believed the surest way to obtain Favor from your Lordship and support from your selected Friends is to promote this Opposition here, and forward them materials for the same Business at Home.

I thought it right to mention those things to your Lordship that you might precisely know what Dependence ought to be placed on the Troops left under my com-

mand, or my Influence over the People that your Lordship may more accurately Judge how far the Province is or is not secure, should fresh occurrences arise which may again endanger the same.

I am &c.

Guy Carleton.

Lord George Germain,
One of His Majesty's
Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 22d May, 1777.

(No. 20)

R/ 2d July—By Lt. Birchall.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, p. 212.

(Copy)

Montreal May 26th 1777.

Sir,

.....
(Mackay's Company of Canadians lost twenty men by desertion, & Monin's ten the same night. The men being batchelors & without property in their parishes, the penalties of furnishing doubly to the King's Convoys does not affect them, nor in general are they capable of paying fines. The only punishment therefore to which deserters are exposed by the present Ordinance is being turned out of the Militia. It is for your Excellency's judgment to decree some further remedy for this evil, or I fear the next return will be one general Column of non-effectives..)

(When the plan of my expedition was framed, the ideas of Government respecting armed Canadians went to six times the number of those Companies were they compleat & permanent. Without that dependence I have reason to believe the proportion of regulars would have been larger. To remedy in some measure this deficiency I have to propose to your Excellency a Corvée of a thousand men to attend the expedition for a limited time for the purpose of labour and transport. The troops will be saved thereby from the herrassing duties which at the outset of a Campaign your Excellency well knows are productive of disease, and the ranks will be properly full for their service in arms.

It also appears to me that Seven or eight hundred horses may become indispensably necessary for my progress, and I have good assurances that the transport of them to Crown point by land is very practicable. So large a number may not be requisite for operations against Ticonderoga, but I submit to you. Sir, the expediency of having the arrangement so prepared that they may be ready upon a short call. It is with great deference to your Excellency's knowledge of the Country that I mention any particular mode of furnishing these supplies; but I conceive there would be no difficulty of obtaining the horses if your Excellency thought proper to Stipulate a reasonable price for the hire per week with one man to two horses for the care and driving of them and the expence to Government would be much more moderate than purchasing them outright. I have the same confidence that the Corvée of working men above proposed would be palatable to the Country if you thought proper to issue a proclamation limiting the time of their service; and wherever I might be at the expiration of the term I should hold myself indispensably bound to fulfil your intentions therein.

.....
(Signed) J. Burgoyne.

Endorsed: No. 12.

In Sr. G. Carleton's of 26 June 1777.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 13, pp. 164-5.

(No. 23.)

My Lord,

Quebec, 27th May, 1777.

I informed your Lordship that this Army had been joined at Crown Point by parties of the loyal Inhabitants of the adjacent Provinces, who had fled from the

persecution they were suffering in the places of their residence; during the winter their number have increased considerably; a body of near a hundred came here under the conduct of a Mr. Jessop of the province of New York, his brother and several other men of some note in the neighbourhood of Albany. They have all been sent to join Sir John Johnson's Corps but being of a different part of the country, they desired not to be drafted into that Regiment. I have clothed them which they were very much in want of and armed them, and they receive pay as private men, non-commissioned officers and officers, in proportion according to the request of their leader. Several other similar parties have come in and been disposed of in the same manner, and lately a body of near a hundred have come in from the province of New York with one Mr. McDonald, a captain in McLean's Corps who has been in that province all this time without having been able to get out of it before; part of his men are for the corp he belongs to and part are Volunteers for Sir John Johnson's.

I enclose the General returns of the Army 1st May.

Yesterday arrived here the Tartar, Man of War, with several of the last years Victuallers and other ships from New York and Halifax under her convoy. The Canadian Gentlemen taken at St. John's are returned by this opportunity and Colonel McLean is likewise arrived.

I am &c.

Guy Carleton.

Lord George Germain

Endorsed:—Quebec, 27th May, 1777.

Sir Guy Carleton.

(No. 23.)

R/2d July By Lt. Birchall.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 13, p. 222.

Quebec 29th May, 1777.

Sir,

The Desertion you give me Notice of in your Letter of 26th instant does not surprise me, it has been the same here, and was no more than what I expected; if Government laid any great Stress upon assistance from the Canadians, for carrying on the present war, it surely was not upon Information proceeding from me, Experience might have taught them, and it did not require that to convince me, these People had been governed with too loose a Rein for many years, and had imbibed too much of the American spirit of Licentiousness and Independence, administered by a numerous and turbulent Faction here, to be suddenly restored to a proper and desirable Subordination.

Since I received my new Commission and Instructions in Consequence of the Quebec Bill, the course of last winter was the first moment of leisure, the Distraction of the Times afforded Us to attempt bringing Things into Order, the Militia Ordinance is a Trial towards it, and this has not yet had Time to be put in full Force, or operate much Reformation: to accomplish a perfect one will require more Time, Temper, and Management, than most People are aware of, and a greater Degree of Coercion, than our limited Powers permit us to exercise.

The Punishments allotted by the Ordinance are such as we are empowered to inflict. I should not be averse to the making them still more severe, if this could be done without exceeding the Limits of the Authority delegated to Us.

(In the present Situation of the Province, having a vast Number of Men employed in the Fur Trade and Fisheries, and by Way of a Beginning only, which, I think, never can be too gentle, while I expected to conduct the Expedition in Person, a Draft of three hundred Militia was ordered), not so much from an expectation of their performing great Services, well knowing how unwilling they were to engage in the Affair as from a Desire to break them in by degrees; (and this is as much, considering the Numbers destined to watch the several Inlets into the Province, for the transporting Provisions, Stores, &c., as we can Hope to effect.) Ordering more would only tend to increase their Disobedience, and our Difficulties.

(Orders are this day given for each Parish to furnish two able married Men for each Deserter from it, which is only Expedient, I can think of at present,

to supply the Deficiency; I shall order the Horses and Corvées, you require, if upon mature Consideration you think it advisable), but believe you cannot depend upon either, and am Apprehensive it would rather tend to provoke these People still more, nor do I know by what Law they can be compelled to go beyond the Limits of the Province, or we can punish their Disobedience, upon this Subject you may consult Mr Grant our Attorney General, now at Montreal.

(You may be assured however, that as far as in my Power, I shall do every thing that depends on me, to assist you, and the Service you are going upon-).

I am &c.

(Signed)

Guy Carleton.

Endorsed:—No. 16.

In Sr. G. Carleton's lre
of 26. March 1777.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, May 29, 1777.

The last division of the 62d. Regt. marched into Point Levy on Thursday last from the Kamouraska, and early next morning the whole Regiment, under the command of Colonel Anstruther, proceeded up the river St. Lawrence, to join the army at Chambly.

This Regiment, as well as the whole army, have been remarkably healthy during the winter, and went off in high spirits.

On Monday morning last arrived here from New-York and Halifax, his Majesty's Ship Tartar, Capt. Omuney, with several transports under her Convoy.—In the Tartar came Col. Maclean, Col. Campbell, Capt. Dunbar, &c. and also in the other vessel several Canadian Gentlemen and others who had been made prisoners in the year 1775, and about 250 Recruits for the different Regiments in this province.

On Tuesday evening came up the Nottingham Indiaman, a transport, one of the above fleet, in which came passengers Sir John Johnson, his Lady and family, Messrs Southouse, Monk, &c.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, June 5, 1777.

On Thursday His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, attended by his Aides-de-camp, &c., set out for St. John's, in order to expedite the departure of that part of the army which is to cross the Lakes.

On Friday and the following days arrived in the river, the first division of transports and victuallers from Cork, on board of which are part of the additional companies for the British regiments in this province, as also Capt. Jones with a company of artillery.

The same day two companies of the 34th regiment commanded by Capt. Sedgewick set out for Nouvelle Beauce, and one company of said regiment, commanded by Captain Churchill for the Kamouraskas.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 13, pp. 228-9

Montreal, 9th June, 1777.

Sir,

General Burgoyne having made a requisition for a Corvee of Canadians to assist the Troops going upon an Expedition under his command, I beg you will give orders that the utmost diligence be used by the Commissary for the Corvées and all the Officers of Militia, that a body of five hundred be immediately drawn from the district of Quebec for the Service and as soon as they can be assembled, that they proceed without delay under proper leaders to St. Johns, giving me and the Commanding Officer there an Account thereof I desire likewise that Mr. Baby

be directed to send me immediately a state of the numbers of Militia Men contained in the district of Quebec and from thence up to Three Rivers.

.....

P.S. If you find it necessary to send Troops to assist in carrying into execution the order for the Corvee, you may give orders to the whole of the 34th Regiment or such part of it as you shall judge requisite for that purpose.

Mr. Cramahé.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, 522.

Head Quarters Montreal.
10th June, 1777.

Sir,

I am to acquaint you that the Commander in Chief has altered his intentions with regard to the Company of the 29th regiment's moving to Deer Island, and has ordered instead thereof, the Company of the 8th regiment which is at Oswegatchie, except one officer and 20 men to be left there, the officer commanding of which is directed to receive your further orders, and His Excellency thinks you should add to this detachment the Canadians put under your command, and that they should proceed together to the Island in question.

I am &c.

Lt.-Col. St. Leger.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, p. 244.

St. Johns 13th June 1777.

Sir,

The Canadians which are to serve on the expedition going under your command, having been draughted from the Militia of the several parishes, upon promise of being allowed to return to their families, by the first of November being the time they expected the Winter to set in; and all those order'd or to be order'd upon Corvées for different purposes of the Troops which pass the Lakes, consenting to this Service upon the faith of being dismiss'd by the same time I am to request that you will allow both the one and the other to return accordingly unless any of them shall chuse to remain with you of their own free will and Inclination

I am Sir

&c., &c.

(Sign'd) G. C.

Endorsed:—No. 30.

In Sr. G. Carleton's lre
of 26 June 1777.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, p. 245.

St. Johns June 15th 1777.

Sir,

I am sorry to inform your Excellency that the four men of the Canadian companies whose names are enclosed deserted last night with their arms provisions, & every other Article they had.

I trouble your Excellency with the report, thinking that if one or more of these men could apprehended, they would be very proper subjects for an example, & I

should have no scruple in trying them by courtmartial, it is supposed they are gone directly home, and I submit to your Excellency whether a party sent directly to their parishes might not have good effect.

I have the honour to be with great respect,
Your most obedient Humble Servant
J. Burgoyne.

P.S. You will excuse my paper and pen being Just embarking.

Sir Guy Carleton, &c., &c., &c.

Endorsed:—No. 31. In Sr. G. Carleton's lre
of 26th June 1777.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q Vol. 13, p. 246.

(Copy)

Montreal 17th June 1777.

Sir,

I have received your letter, enclosing a list of deserters from the Companies of Canadians under your command, No time has been lost in giving orders for every possible means to be used to apprehend them, and at whatever time they are taken they shall be sent to you to proceed against them as you shall think proper.

I am Sir
&c., &c.
(Signed) G. C.

General Burgoyne.

Endorsed:—No. 32.

In Sr. G. Carleton's lre
of 26th June 1777.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, pp. 250-1.

St. Johns, June 17, 1777.

Sir,

It is with great reluctance I write when I am obliged to give Your Excellency so much Trouble but I am under the necessity of reporting to Your Excellency that I have received reports from the Quarter Master General's Assistants that the Corvees necessary for the Transport of the Army from Chambly to the Portage and from the Portage to this place are most of them run away in such manner that the Transport of Provisions is near stopt, and I am apprehensive unless means be found to forward on this service that the Army under Lieutenant General Burgoyne may shortly want provisions.

I would offer to your Excellency's consideration whether part of Brigadier General Maclean's Corps shou'd not be ordered to the South of the River St. Lawrence and on the parishes on both sides of the River Sorel to enforce such orders for the necessary Corvees required as will enable this service to go on.

I had the Honour to send your Excellency an express this same day, requesting the 29th Regiment to be sent to St. Johns in order that by detachments to St. Therese, the communication and Corvees may be kept on for the Transport of provisions and stores—I have been obliged to order the 62d Regiment to remain behind for some days in hopes the 29th will soon Relieve it.

Major St. George Dupre, Commissary of the Transport of the Army by Corvees can never be of any use remaining in Montreal; I hope your Excellency will have the goodness to order him upon the Communication upon the Sorel and the South of the River St. Lawrence as *Vercheres, Varennes, Boucherville, Longueuil, La Prairie*, in order by his presence and by his activity, he may urge on the different Corvees, without which I must report to be really under apprehensions for the supply of the Troops at Crown Point.

If Brigadier General Maclean was to reside a few days at Chambly, it might perhaps be of use, by giving countenance and protection to the Officers of Militia in the execution of their orders.

I repeat how extremely sorry I am to be obliged to write this which nothing but the real state of the Facts should oblige me to do.

I have &c.
W. Phillips.

His Excy., Genl. Sir Guy Carleton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, p. 254.

Montreal 18th June 1777.
Parole St. Ann & Boston.

.....

The Royal Emigrants will detach a Company to Sorel, for the Like Services, and Brigadier General Maclean will make a tour to the places, on that River, and order such further part of his Regiment to take Post there, as he finds may be necessary for the above purposes or for assisting the Officers of Militia in Executing orders sent to them. Mr. St. George Dupré, Commissary for the Transports will pass over to the South side of the River St. Lawrence and use his utmost Diligence to forward these Services, and to see that the Different Corvées are supplied, demanding the Assistance of the nearest Troops, where it may be necessary, who are to comply with such request as he shall make.

Endorsed:—No. 36.

In Sr. G. Carleton's lre
of 26 June 1777.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 532.

Head Quarters
Montreal
18th June 1777.

Sir,

I am to acquaint you that as you have declined taking the command that was offered you, of a Company of Canadian Militia you are to deliver over to Capt. Rouville the arms, accoutrements and camp equipage received from the King's store, agreeable to the receipt given by you to Mr. Foretier, for the use of that company.

I am, &c.

To Captain Mackay.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 544.

Head Quarters
Montreal
19th June 1777.

Sir,

Captain MacKay having declined the Command of the Company of Canadians detached with you, I have it in command to acquaint you that Captain Rouville is appointed in his room, and you are desired to declare him in orders at his arrival.

I am, &c.

To Lt.-Col. St. Leger.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, p. 284.

Camp upon the river Bouquet
near Lake Champlain June 22—1777.

My Lord,

.....

It is with mortification I must add to these circumstances others of considerable disappointment. The assistance of Canadians beyond the limits of the Province, as I guessed when I wrote last to your Lordship, will be little or nothing. The Companies are mere Cyphers at present & their numbers are daily dwindling by desertion, & the Country yet has not afforded a single working party further than those upon the road & upon the transport directly within the boundaries, notwithstanding pressing encouragements, injunctions & orders have been used, I almost despair of Sir Guy Carleton being able, tho' he endeavours it zealously, to assist me hereafter with any such number as will count in point of dispatch for the service of transports upon the Lake & for clearing roads of communications & other laborious, dilatory, & indispensable works before the place

.....

J. Burgoyne.

His Exy. Lord George Germaine, &c., &c., &c.

Endorsed:—Camp upon the River Bouquet, near Lake Champlain

June 22nd 1777.

Lieut. Genl. Burgoyne—R/3d August.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, pp. 188-90.

No. 24.

Quebec, 26th June 1777.

My Lord,

I acquainted your Lordship in my letter No. 19 that the Troops ordered to be detached from the Army in Canada to serve under Lieutenant General Burgoyne and Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger has been immediately put under their respective command. Lieutenant General Burgoyne proceeded on the service allotted to him by your Lordship about the 17th Inst. having sent on part of his Army some time before and the last of it left St. Johns about the 20th. Major General Phillips serves upon this Expedition; and I have the satisfaction of being able to assure you that all the Troops as well Foreign as National, are in high health and good discipline.

This Army has been joined by the Indians of St. Regis, Sault St. Louis, Lake of the two Mountains and St. Francis, and the Hurons are immediately to follow, the whole of which Indians amount to above five Hundred Warriors; but it is necessary to observe that there is always an uncertainty as to the force of Indians, parties being continually leaving them and returning as their humor leads them.

By accounts from Michilmackinac I learn that all the Western nations are desirous of coming down, and that the difficulty is to prevent the number of them being so great as to cause distress to His Majesty's service; one body consisting of one hundred and twenty are just arrived, (part of those I ordered last year), they will follow General Burgoyne as fast as possible

Having learnt by Intelligence from the frontiers of this province that considerable numbers of loyal inhabitants were waiting for the approach of the army to furnish them with opportunities of escaping from among their rebellious neighbours and that they will take arms, I have made out blank commissions and delivered them to General Burgoyne to form two corps as he shall find occasion, wishing to make up as far as I am able for his want of powers, and that in some degree he may avail himself of a favorable disposition in those people and turn it to public utility immediately, least the favourable moment should be lost in delay.

Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger has likewise begun his movement taking with him the detachment of the 34th and the Royal Regiment of New York, which is

increased to about 300 men, and a company of Canadians; He will be joined by the detachment of the 8th and the Indians of the six nations with the Missassauges as he proceeds, about a hundred of the Hanau Chasseurs have since arrived and they are on their way to join him.

That your Lordship may be more particularly informed of all these matters and that you may see what great care has been taken to avoid all those evils which might naturally follow to the publick from the Chief Command being given to an inferior officer while the King's Commission of Commander in Chief is appointed by your Lordship to act in a subaltern office to that very command and within its own limits I transmit the orders which I have issued on this occasion together with copies of all letters worth your notice which have passed between Lieutenant General Burgoyne, Major General Phillips and me on the subject of the arrangements they have thought proper to propose a list of which papers is herewith enclosed.

With this opportunity your Lordship will receive duplicates of my letters, Nos. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, & 23 and copies of such further letters of intelligence from the upper country as I have received since those last communicated.

I am &c.
Guy Carleton.

Endorsed:—No. 24.
Quebec, 26 June, 1777.
Sir Guy Carleton,
Rd. 3rd August.
(40 Inclosures.)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.
Series Q. Vol. 13, p. 261.

Quebec 26th June 1777.

Sir,

Mr. Jordan being under apprehensions of not being able to find the number of men which he shall want for his horses, has applied to me to order him from the Country, as many as will make up his deficiency; but I saw great impropriety in commanding people for supplying a purpose for which you had made a contract, as I do great inconveniences which must arrive from ordering Corvées one part of which is to be paid while others are not meantime, in order to forward the service which Mr. Jordan has undertaken, as much as I could, I have given permission to employ any part of the corvée ordered for your army to which no particular duty had been assigned by you, which he shall require, to assist in conducting his horses to you.

Two hundred and forty eight men, of five hundred ordered from this district, have already set out for St. Johns, and two hundred and three are now here to set out to day or tomorrow, and forty four have been sent to replace deserters.

I am with great regard, Sir
&c., &c.

(Signed) G. C.

Lieut. Genl. Burgoyne.

Endorsed:—No. 39—In Sr. G. Carleton's Ire of 26th June 1777.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.
Series Q. Vol. 13, pp. 297-300.

(No. 25.)
My Lord

Quebec, 27th June 1777.

I have lately learned that Mr. Rigauville has occasioned another Vacancy, this Gentleman died in his Captivity; agreeable therefore to the Directions of your Lordship's Predecessor in Office and for the Reasons already Mentioned, I must again recommend Monsieur de Longueuil and Mr. Baby; Mr. Dufy being dead, I shall add Mr. Lanaudiere and Mr. Dechambault, Tho' I cannot but perceive a Disposition

in your Lordship to overturn the late Regulations, and the Plan of Conduct which was thought advisable for this Province and which was prepared and rendered practicable with much Trouble and some Expence, yet as your Lordship's Pleasure herein has not been formally notified, I recommend Canadians that as far as in me lies their Proportion in Council formerly approved of may be kept up.

Finding I can no longer be of Use to the King's Service on this Continent, either in a civil or military capacity, under your Lordship's Administration, on the contrary apprehending that I may occasion no small Detriment to it, for all the marks of your Lordship's Displeasure affect not me but the King's Service and the Tranquility of His People, I therefore flatter myself that I shall obtain His Royal Permission to return Home this Fall, the more so that from your first Entrance into Office You began to prepare the minds of all men for this event, wisely foreseeing that under your Lordship's Administration it must certainly come to pass and for my part I do not think it Just that the private Enmity of the King's Servants should add to the Disturbances of His Reign, for these Reasons I shall after my Departure you may adopt Measures tending to promote the Safety and Tranquility of this unfortunate Province, that the Dignity of the Crown may not appear beneath your Lordship's Concern.

I am &c.
Guy Carleton.

Lord George Germain,
One of His Majesty's
Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:-No. 25. Quebec, 27th June, 1777.

Sir Guy Carleton.
Rd. 3rd Augt. 1777.
(2 Inclosures.)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 556.

Head Quarters Quebec
30th June 1777.

Sir,

The detachment from the Regiments gone on the Expedition have been ordered to Montreal designedly to prevent their being dispersed about in the country, where probably no care could be taken of them, and that such as are sick and convalescent might reap the benefit of the Hospital, where they can be lodged and taken care of and 'tis hoped in a short time will be so recovered as to be sufficient for the duty of Montreal, where no more need be done than the strength of men admits of.

A Captain and Subaltern of the day should visit the Hospitals and Quarters of such convalescents as cannot attend parades, at least twice a day, and all parades by which means all irregularities may be prevented.

His Excellency depends upon your Regiment, for the present, to be moved as occasion may require to support the Captains of Militia, and leave the stationing of them as may best suit that purpose, to your discretion, the post at Sorel excepted which must remain constant.

The Commander in Chief approves of your proposition relative to the party of Germans to be sent to l'Assomption, and I dispatch an order to that effect by this post, in which the officers commanding the party will be directed to report to you and follow such further orders as you shall give him.

I am, &c.

To Brigadier Genl. Maclean.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 560.

Quartier General à Quebec
30 Juin 1777.

Monsieur,

Son Excellence le General ayant appris que les Habitants de la Paroisse de l'assomption se prevaillent de l'absence des Troupes pour faire eclater leur esprit

de désobéissance, juge à propos d'y faire marcher un détachement pour les faire rentrer dans leur devoir.

Pour cette raison je suis commandé de vous prier d'ordonner incessamment un détachement de cent hommes des troupes Almandes, sous les ordres d'un capitaine et d'autres officiers et bas-officiers a proportion de se rendre a l'Assomption par la voye la plus expeditif; à leur arrivé l'officier commandant fera assembler le Capitaine et autres officiers des Milices, qu'il informera de l'intention pour laquelle le Commandant en chef, l'y a envoyé, il se fera donner ensuite une liste des Habitants mutins dont il se saisira et les enverra Prisonniers a Montreal avec un rapport au Brigadier General Maclean, et le détachement restera dans cette paroisse, tant qu'il y en aura besoin pour assister les Capitaines de Milices a se faire dument obeir, et à l'exécution de tous les ordres pour le service du Roi, et l'officier commandant obeira a tous les ordres qui pourront lui etre expédiés de la part du Brigadier General Maclean, a qui il fera regulierement son rapport.

Je suis encore commandé a vous prier de me faire scavoir lorsque ce détachement part, en me marquant le nom de l'officier qui le commandera.

I am, Monsieur, &c.

Le Lieutenant Colonel Ehrencrook, ou l'officier commandant le détachement des Troupes Almandes in Canada au Trois Rivieres.

(Translation)

Headquarters, at Quebec, 30th June, 1777.

Sir,

His Excellency the General having learned that the inhabitants of the parish of L'Assomption have taken advantage of the absence of the troops to show their spirit of disobedience considers it advisable to march a detachment there to oblige them to return to their duty.

For this reason I am directed to request you to order a detachment of 100 men from the German troops under the orders of a Captain with other officers and non-commissioned officers in due proportion to proceed to L'Assomption by the shortest route; on their arrival the commanding officer will assemble the Captain and other officers of the militia whom he will inform of the object for which the commander in chief has sent him there. He will prepare afterwards a list of the disobedient inhabitants whom he will arrest and send as prisoners to Montreal with a report to Brig.-General Maclean, and the detachment will remain in that parish as long as it may be necessary to assist the Captains of militia in enforcing obedience and for the execution of all orders for the King's service, and the commanding officer will obey all orders which may be sent on behalf of Brigadier-General Maclean, to whom he will report regularly.

I am further commanded to request you to inform me when this detachment leaves advising me of the name of the officer who will command it.

I am, Sir, etc.,

Lieut.-Colonel Ehrencrook, or officer commanding the detachment of German troops in Canada at Three Rivers.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 13, p. 333.

(No. 29)

Quebec 10th July 1777.

My Lord

With my Letter No. 18, a Copy of the Militia Ordinance was transmitted to Your Lordship, calculated to meet the Manners of this People, and tho' defective in some essential Points, at the time appeared the best, our limited Powers could authorise Us to enact—

That in the Beginning, I might not have the Disobedience of great Numbers to contend with, under many Disadvantages, a small Force in Arms was demanded of the Province for this Season, and agreeable to their former Plan of Service; in Order to reconcile them by Degrees, to what under the French Government was deemed an indispensable duty—

Since the Arrival of Lieutenant General Burgoyne, the Demand was thought insufficient, Encouragement has therefore been given to Volunteers; and this Method I took both to gratify him, and at the same time to avoid, as much as possible, exposing the weakness of Government; St. Luc La Corne, La Naudiere, and some other Canadian Gentlemen, assembled about one hundred and seventy, and joined the western

Indians, under Major Campbell, for those from the interior Parts of the Province had been led by Captain Fraser for the abovementioned Reason, I also preferred his supplying himself with such Horses, as He Judged he might want, by Contract.

At his Request also, as well as in Compliance with your Lordship's Expectations, a Corvée of five hundred Men, to follow his Army out of the Province, was added from this District and I had the Pleasure to find those set off with a better Grace than could be expected: as soon as the Transport for the Supply of his Army is finished, that Number shall be increased, should He judge such an Augmentation necessary, at least, I shall do all in my Power to gratify him in this and all things, which he thinks may forward the King's Service, since the Command is lodged with him. Nevertheless Your Lordship will be pleased to observe, that these services are a considerable Burthen upon the People, and that after the Disuse of them for many years, it is not surprising, they should forget the Duty, to which they were bound by the Tenure of their Lands, and their original Government, Nor is it a Matter of Wonder, that after so many concurring Circumstances to destroy that Obedience, for which they formerly were remarkable, and to encourage all Kind of Disrespect to the King's Authority in this Province, that I should meet with Difficulties in restoring those ancient Usages, without either Laws, Strength in Government, or even Your Lordship's Countenance, as Minister, to assist me; The very Resources of my own Judgment and Discretion, if such I have, Your Lordship has deprived me of, by appointing, in your Pleasure, an Inferior Officer to the Command of this Army on Service, and authorising him to make Demands of good and sufficient Bodies of Men from this Province, as Your Lordship may see an Extract of His Letter of 26th, and my Answer of 29th May, which are herewith inclosed, when neither the State or Temper of the People rendered the Measure advisable for the present, nor should I have Judged it necessary had I continued in the Command, agreeable to the Instructions sent me by your Predecessor; Your Lordship must feel the Force of what I say, and the many Difficulties this Arrangement has laid me under; I speak solely on account of the King's Service; all besides are meer Trifles, which I shall not trouble you with.

The armed Force required, small as it was, suffered great Desertion; two Men for every Deserter, were ordered from their respective Parishes; and I asked the Opinion of the Attorney General, Your Lordship has been pleased to send Us here, in what Courts and by what Laws, these Deserters might be tried and punished, and this I did not for my own, but for Your Lordship's particular satisfaction, and inclose a Copy, that from him you may learn how the case stands, and in Order that you may take such Measure therein, as the Interests of Great Britain require—

I asked for no Lawyer's Opinion in seventy five, and perhaps, *The Public Safety* was the only Law by which my Conduct could be justified; 'Tis true, I had an entire Confidence in the Judgment and Candor of the then Ministers, and to them I left it, without waiting or troubling them for Orders, whether the time did not fully Justify the Measures I took up; But Your Lordship must be sensible, as well as myself, that the times are greatly changed; Common sense will no longer permit the same Rule of Conduct, and fortunately, 'tis no longer necessary; The Province is at present in a state of Peace and Tranquility, Your Lordship has now Leisure to digest, and the Powers to frame proper Laws for the Militia, and those other Services, unknown to the Laws of England, and above the Powers of our Provincial Legislature; with this Advantage, that the Experience of later times demonstrates to your Lordship, what is best to be done for the Interests of Great Britain, more fully than Argument could convince Your Predecessors, before all those Evils were so thoroughly unmasked, and the necessity of those Canadian Arrangements became so apparent—

I am with all due respect My Lord!

Your Lordship's

Most Obedient And

Most Humble Servant

Guy Carleton.

Lord George Germain

One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State

Endorsed:—Quebec 10th July 1777

Sir Guy Carleton

(No. 29)

R/23d Augt

Entd. (3 Inclosures)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 13, p. 338.

Copy of Attorney General Monk's Opinion in regard to the Canadian Militia- 8th July 1777.

I have this day received Your Excellency's Commands from the Lt. Govr. and Request, of my Opinion "Whether the Act of Parliament which subjects Troops raised in America, when joined with British Forces: to the Rules and Articles of War; applies to the Case of the Canadian Companies raised lately; to serve the present Campaign, and whether Deserters from those Companies may not be tried accordingly, or if not, whether they are liable to any Punishment, and what, by any other Act of Parliament or Ordinance for this Province."

I am informed by the Lieut. Governor, *that the Canadian Companies* raised lately, "were Companies drawn out and marched on His Majesty's Service, as part of the Militia for this Province: and under the several Regulations prescribed by an Ordinance made, by your Excellency and the Legislative Council of this Province; respecting the Militia thereof: on the 29th March 1777"-

I am Sir of Opinion that the several Officers Serjeants and Militia Men, of the Canadian Companies, mentioned by your Excellency; are only subject, and liable to the Pains and Penalties, contained and described in the above mentioned Ordinance, for any Neglect or Disobedience of the orders of Your Excellency, and the several Officers Commanding such Companies; as mentioned in the said Ordinance. And that any refusal, Neglect, Disobedience of Orders; or the quitting such Service, is not within, nor can the Offenders be punished under, any Statute of Great Britain referred to by your Excellency "which Subjects Troops raised in America mustered and in Pay" when joined to, and "acting in conjunction with His Majesty's British Forces; to the rules, penalties & punishments, described by the Articles of War"-

I am also of the Opinion Sir, that any Officers, Sergeants, or Militia Men being drawn out of the different Companies, and marched from their respective Parishes, who shall quit and desert, their Duty and Service, as Militia Men, in Conjunction with His Majesty's Forces; before he or they may be discharged therefrom: are liable to the Pains and Penalties mentioned in the sixth Article of the eighth Ordinance, made by your Excellency and the Legislative Council on the 29th of March last.

(Signed)

F. Monk Atty-Genl.
G.C.

Endorsed:-Copy.

Opinion of F. Monk Atty-Genl. of the Province of Quebec concerning the Canadian Militia—8th July 1777.

In Sir Guy Carleton's (No. 29) of 10th July 1777.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 13, p. 370.

Head Quarters at Skenesborough House
July 11th 1777.

Private

My Lord

.....

Your Lordship will have observed that in my publick letter I have made little mention of the Indians, nor indeed were they of any use in the pursuit. When plunder is in their way, which was the case at Ticonderoga, it is impossible to drag them from it. I do all I can to Keep up their terror but in many cases I find they are little more than a name. Under the management of their interpreters & conductors they are indulged, for interested reasons, in all the humours of spoiled children, they grow more unreasonable & importunate upon every new favour: were they left to themselves, enormities too horrid to think of would ensue: guilty

& innocent, women & infants would be a common prey. This is the character from which the Indians of lower Canada, the only nations who have, yet acted, have not departed, except in a few instances & those the first of the Campaign. I am informed the Ottawas & other remote nations who are now within two days of joining me are more warlike & less rapacious. They are besides under the conduct of two of the ablest partizans of the last war—St. Luc, a Canadian Gentleman, & one Langlade, the very man who projected & executed with these very nations the defeat of Genl. Braddock.

J. Burgoyne

Rt. Honble Lord Geo. Germaine &c., &c., &c.

Endorsed:—Head Quarters, Skenesborough House 11th July 1777.

Lieut. Genl. Burgoyne R/23d August By Capt. Gardiner.

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COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS Q. 13, p. 184.

Whitehall, 25th July, 1777.

General Sir Guy Carleton.

Sir,—The very extraordinary manner in which you express yourself in your Dispatches number 19 and 20, upon the measures which His Majesty thought proper to adopt, with regard to the different operations in Canada, must have arisen from your supposing that those measures had been taken up on no better authority than my advice and suggestion.

Affairs of such importance receive the fullest consideration from His Majesty's most confidential servants, and they are then submitted, with their humble opinion, to the King, who, after mature deliberation, gives such commands thereupon as His Majesty judges most proper. The execution of such orders, when they respect America belong to my Department; and if the manner of conveying them to the King's Officers be improper, I stand alone responsible for it. In the instance, however, of my last letter, respecting General Burgoyne's taking the command of the Forces in Canada, at which you have taken so much offence, I had the King's particular Directions for every part of it, after His Majesty had taken into consideration every information which could be furnished from the Secretary's office, and from the report of General Burgoyne; and it remained only for me to put His Majesty's ideas into the form of a dispatch; but I must add that there was not a part of it which I did not think most wisely calculated for the public service.

Since I have had the honour of being in office, His Majesty has uniformly declared His intentions that the two Commanders-in-Chief, which he had appointed by Commission under the Great Seal, for different commands in America, should not interfere with each other, but even if such had not been originally his Majesty's purpose, yet from the time it was judged necessary to appoint only Lord and Sir William Howe His Majesty's Commissioners for restoring Peace, it became impossible to vest you with the command of the Army in which Sir William Howe was to serve. It would ill become my situation to enter into an ill-humoured altercation with you upon various parts of your letters respecting the operations of the last campaign. All I shall say upon the subject is, that every possible exertion was made here to supply you with such a force as we flattered ourselves would have been sufficient, not only for the recovery of the Province of Quebec, but to enable you to assist Sir. Wm. Howe in his operations by sending a part of your army to penetrate as far as Albany, The expectation of such success was not the offspring of idle conjecture, but was founded upon the opinions of many officers who had served in that country; and indeed, if the intelligence we have since received be true, the Rebels intended to have abandoned their Post at Ticonderoga, had you marched your army towards it.

Having now fully informed you of the grounds upon which my former dispatch was formed, in justice to the motives by which my public conduct is directed, I think it proper to assure you, that whatever reports you may have heard of my having any personal dislike to you are without the least foundation. I have at no time received any disobligation from you; but if I had looked upon you as my greatest enemy, I should, in the situation you stood in, have given you every assistance in my power which could have contributed to your honour and success; a contrary conduct would have been repugnant to those principles upon which I shall ever act;

but were I even capable of being influenced by private pique or resentment, my duty to the King, and the interest I must feel in suppressing this rebellion, were such powerful motives for rejecting their dictates upon such an occasion, that you ought to have been convinced your suspicions were ill-grounded and unjust.

I cannot finish this dispatch without expressing my astonishment at your supposition that any consideration could prevail with me to condescend so very far beneath my character as to encourage faction and cabal in your Government. I trust you did not so lightly give credit to intelligence when you were to decide upon measures relating to the public service.

I am, &c.

Geo. Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 619.

Headquarters, Quebec,
22nd July 1777.

Sir,

I have it in command to acquaint you that all times when scoutts go out from your posts, composed of Canadians and Indians, or either, that a proportionable part of the detachment under your command be sent with them, and that reports of all parties that shall go out, and of what they discover or observe be sent to me (as well as to the Commanding officer of your Regiment at the Head Quarters thereof) for the information of the Commander in Chief; but it will not be necessary, unless something very material happens, to send these reports by purpose messengers, only that you take the first opportunity that offers after the return of such parties.

I am, Sir,

&c, &c.

To the Commanding officer at Nouvelle Beauce.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 39, p. 625.

Headquarters, Quebec
24th July 1777.

Sir,

I have received and laid before the General your dispatches of the last post, And I am, in answer, commanded to acquaint you that His Excellency agrees to the allowances, as you report them to be reasonable, for the carrying place belonging to Mr. Longueil, but they are to be considered in the same matter as the other part of the regulations lately consented to by the Commander in Chief, that is, only temporary, and not fixed nor do they on any account give title to the people to imagine them due of course; as the people are bound to perform these and all services to the King holding their land of him upon that tenure only, on which account the impropriety of paying all those demands, but particularly for conducting boats upon the river must strike you, as the people gone out to serve with the army under General Burgoyne would certainly have a preferable right to any others, and yet this is a service which the King has a right to demand of them; and it is the General's pleasure I observe to you that if Mr. Maurer has paid as mentioned by you he has done very wrong and must be reprimanded for it, and directed not to send, for the future, any boats or other things but upon application to you for the men and assistance requisite.

I have to add, with respect to the payment of Transport by the voyage, that it will be necessary for particular orders being issued to those persons who grant certificates, to be attentive that the proper load which you say is 100 weight be carried.

General Phillips must be informed that as he well knows, Mr. St. George is of the greatest use here, and cannot be dispensed with for seeing that the orders for corvées are executed, and assisting the different Transports, the sending him up to that army would do their own affairs more detriment than service; but the General will endeavour to send some proper person for that business and he bids me mention Mr. Dambourgasse to you, whom you may send if you approve of it, and he does

not object to it; as to the employment you have him to exercise at Sorel, His Excellency would rather have preferred your stopping Mr. Duport from obeying orders sent to him in that irregular manner which the General is not able to account for, unless Mr. Duport has been left there as one of the Assistant quarter masters, assigned to the Troops under Lt. Genl. Burgoyne, and left there on purpose to follow with such things as he could collect belonging to that army. At any rate His Excellency desires that Capt. McDougal, commanding officer at Sorel, may be charged with, and receive instructions from time to time concerning every matter of Transports or Convoy passing up or down the Sorel.

Lieutenant Colonel St Leger may be informed that he ought to have seized, and sent down here in irons, those Canadians whom he mentions having held such conversations to, and occasioned the desertion of Captain Rouville's Company.

Two men for each deserter are to be demanded, upon pain of military execution, from the parishes to which the deserters belong, and the Captains of Militia are to be enjoined to find the deserters themselves, and safely conduct them to where you shall direct, in order to their being sent prisoners to the companies from which they have deserted, there to be tried and punished.

I send you back the petition against Mr. Belletre with a request it be referred to him for his answer thereto, in order for its being laid before the Commander in Chief afterwards, unless Mr. Belletre shall think proper to settle the matter.

The General has a notion that some recompence has already been given to De Praby wounded at the affair of Allen, but if you should take the trouble to ascertain the contrary I shall lay the poor man's petition before His Excellency again.

The matter of payment for certain horses which you mention, the General has thought proper to defer the consideration of to another time, as he seems cautious of consenting too highly to what might produce such endless demands.

Having I think answered every particular with which you have charged me for His Excellency's information.

I am, Sir
&c., &c.

To Brigadier General Maclean.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 7. 1777.

On Friday last the first instant, died universally regretted NOEL VOYER, Esq; aged seventy-four years, Colonel of Militia for the district of Quebec. A steady perseverance Fidelity and Zeal for the French service had acquired him the esteem of that government, and his indefatigable diligence at the head of the Canadian Militia during the siege of this place, eminently distinguished him in that of his Britannick Majesty. Animated by his example, the Canadian Militia, which made a great part of the garrison, bore with alacrity and steadiness the fatigues and hard duty they underwent so assiduously and generously in the defence of this city.

On Sunday morning at ten o'clock he was interr'd with pomp in the Cathedral-Church, the Canadian Militia being under arms; and his Excellency the Governor in Chief, accompanied by the Officers of the troops in garrison and those of the British Militia, honour'd the Funeral with his presence.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 14, pp. 18-9.

(No. 32.)

Quebec, the 11th of August, 1777.

My Lord,

Lieutenant General Burgoyne in a letter of the 11th July applied to me that I should garrison Tyconderoga by the Troops from this Province, I found myself obliged to refuse his request in obedience to the orders your Lordship thought advisable to send me whereby you have also taken the conduct of the war entirely out of my hands, even within the strict limits of my commission and (where your Lordship does not direct), you have entrusted it to Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne, to Lieut. Col. St. Leger, and to Captain Hamilton till General Howe shall give them further Instructions.

I have already taken the liberty to hint at some of the Evils the State is exposed to by your Lordship's arrangements, and by that system of Politicks you have hitherto followed, but all this I have only to lament, since your Lordship has deprived me of the power even to attempt a remedy. I have the satisfaction to think that my speedy removal may leave your Lordship free to correct—and some hopes left that after my departure you will correct them, at least in part.

But tho' your Lordship has not left it to my discretion whether such requests should be granted or not yet as the Secretary at War informs me in his letter of the 26th of March that the private men of the additional companies may be turned over to their respective Corps and the Officers sent home before Winter, I avail myself of this, and shall immediately send those of the seven Battalions under Lieut. General Burgoyne's command to strengthen his Army.

I am &c.
Guy Carleton.

Lord George Germain.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 11th Augt, 1777.
Sr. Guy Carleton.
(No. 32.)
Rd. 26th Sepr. 1777.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.
Series Q. Vol. 14, p. 215.

Camp nearly opposite to Saratoga
August 20th 1777.

My Lord

Of the horses furnished by contract in Canada not more than a third part was yet arrived. The delay was not imputable to neglect, but to the natural accidents attending so long and intricate a combination of land and water carriage. Fifty team of Oxen which had been collected in the Country through which I had marched were added to assist the transport; but these resources together were found far inadequate to the purposes of feeding the army, and forming a magazine at the same time. Exceeding heavy rains augmented the impediments. It was often necessary to employ ten or twelve Oxen upon a single batteau. And after the utmost exertions for the fifteen days above stated there were not above four days provisions beforehand, nor above ten batteaux in the Hudson's River.

J. Burgoyne

His Excellency Lord George Germaine &c., &c., &c.,

Endorsed:—Camp nearly opposite to Saratoga 20th August 1777.

Lieut. Genl. Burgoyne
R/ 31st October—By Lieut. Cumming's in the Peggy Transport.
(1 Inclosure)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.
Series Q. Vol. 14, pp. 284-5.

Instructions to Captain Samuel Greaves appointed to command all His Majesty's Vessels upon Lakes Champlain and George.

Having thought it necessary for His Majesty's Service to appoint you to command and superintend the armed Vessels on Lake Champlain and Lake George you will without loss of time proceed to Tyconderoga in order to assist Brigadier Powell or the officer commanding at that post in re-establishing such a naval force upon Lake George as shall be judged sufficient for securing that communication from all insults and you will see that all large vessels at present employed in transporting provisions and stores be forthwith armed and put in such a state as to be able to resist sudden

attempts of the enemy in Canoes or boats, which they may possibly have prepared in Onion River, Otter Creek or some other of the rivers on the east side of the Lake.

And I earnestly do recommend that you cause due vigilance and discipline to be observed throughout all the Vessels under your command and that they be particularly carefull not at any time to approach so near the shore as to be liable to surprise from the land unless where there shall be posts sufficient for their protection. You are to use every means to make yourself as well acquainted as possible with the navigation of the lake and the bogs and Rivers around it and to report to me how and in what manner all the armed Vessels should be disposed of during the Winter, And you are to obey such orders as you shall from time to time receive from Lieutenant General Burgoyne or any other your superior Officer.

Given under my hand at St. Johns this 3d day of October, 1777.

Guy Carleton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 14, p. 288.

Copy of a letter from Brigadier General Powel dated Mount Independence Octor. 5th 1777.

Sir,

.....
 In regard to the Canadians upon Corvée here, there were not quite one hundred remained after the communication was shut; as I had sent one hundred and fifty of them to join the army some days before Mr Dambourge being taken prisoner and no body left who had charge of them, I cannot tell what number were taken prisoners, I should imagine very few, a great many of them having deserted by a dozen at time and a great number were sent to Canada who were sick. There were likewise a great many seen mounted on the 18th of September between Tyconderoga and Crown Point, who I suppose found Batteaux on the Lake, as a great many of the horses were found in the woods.

There are at present only ten of the Canadians upon corvée remaining here, some of which are ill and will be sent back in a day or two.

I have not heard of the Canadians being otherwise treated ill, than by being detained beyond the time they were ordered for, which has been a great detriment to the service, as they never did half a days work afterwards. Were they always dismissed at the time promised they would work with chearfulness and it would be a great means of preventing desertion. And if you will be pleased to send the three hundred required by the Engineer, and without which he says the work cannot be finished, I shall take particular care they shall not be detained a day beyond the time fixed for their return. This I mentioned to the Quarter Master General on his return to Canada, who promised they should be sent immediately.

(Signed) H. Watson Powel

Brigadier General

G. C.

His Excellency Sis Guy Carleton.

Endorsed:—Copy of a letter from Brigadier General Powel to General Sir Guy Carleton dated Mount Independence 5th October 1777.

with Returns.

In Sir G. Carleton's Ire of 24th Octor. 1777.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 14, pp. 384 and 390.

Major Genl. Gates' Answer.

Lieut. Genl. Burgoyne proposal.

7th Article

7th Article

Agreed

All Canadians and Persons belonging to the Establishment in Canada to be permitted to return there—

9th Article

This Capitulation to be finished by two o'clock this day, and the troops march from their Encampments at five and be in readiness to move towards Boston tomorrow Mornng

9th Article

The foregoing articles are to be considered only as Preliminaries for framing a treaty in the course of which, others may arise to be considered by both Parties, for which Purpose it is proposed that two Officers of each Army shall meet and report their deliberations to their respective Generals—

(Signed)

Jno Burgoyne

Camp at Saratoga

October 15th 1777

Endorsed:—No 6

In Lieut. Genl. Burgoyne's of the 20th October.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 14, pp. 270-6.

(No. 42.)

Quebec, 16th October, 1777.

My Lord,

I cannot be ignorant that it belongs to your Lordship's Office to reprimand those Servants of Crown, who in your Department render not as ample Services to the State as their situation enable them to perform. It is the Duty thereof, if I may speak so of an Office I highly respect, It is a Duty not only to reprimand but to move the recall of those who are found guilty of Neglect or from Want of Abilities are found unequal to the Services the King has a right to expect, and these unhappy times require.

It belongs also to that high Office to propose such Measures as in your judgement shall seem best calculated for the public service. On the other Hand, it is an Indulgence I expected to meet standing so severely censured by your Lordship to offer such reasons as might evidently prove the Negligence laid to my Charge by your Lordship, my not sending a Detachment to Albany last Fall agreeable to your Lordship's Expectations was morally impossible.

I at no time complained of a Want of Troops last year, nor advanced this as a Reason why more was not done, I thought more had been done than could have been expected; tis true I gave a Memorandum to Lieutenant General Burgoyne on his return to Europe to apply for a Reinforcement of four thousand men, in order to enable me to give him a suitable command on the Mohawk River, but I often and publicly expressed my satisfaction of the Troops sent last Campaign. After this may I most respectfully take the liberty to ask your Lordship and those Officers in your confidence, how you thought those Troops were to have passed the Lakes on their Rout to Albany in due season had there been no Enemy to dispute their Passage, when instead of those Naval Preparations I requested the Autumn before to my astonishment I learned that even the flat bottomed Boats on board those Transports destined for this River were ordered to be left behind; and this after I had particularly commissioned Mr. Pringle to solicit and urge forward at home those preparations indispensably necessary for the Lakes, and at a time I could not foresee my own Fate, nor in what Hands the King's Forces might be intrusted; but into whatever Hands they might fall, I desired him to affirm in my Name, that if thirty thousand men were sent into Canada the following Spring, without those Naval Preparations the Campaign must end at St. Johns.

Had I been silent on this Head Your Lordship knew there were Lakes and Waters to pass before I could penetrate to Albany, as you expected. Your Lordship knew the Rebels had already a considerable Force thereon, the Resources of the Americans and their Fertility in augmenting that Force, the importance of being Master of Lake Champlain to them and to Us; it therefore was not to be supposed by Your Lordship nor by those Officers in your Confidence who have served in America, nor by any Officer, that the Rebels could neglect those Measures so much within their Power, to preserve the Command of a navigation of so great Importance, nor did they neglect it, nor do I see upon what Ground even had those Naval Preparations

been sent here, it could be taken for granted by your Lordship, or those Officers I must completely defeat the Rebels that Campaign.

Mr. Arnold in his public Letters roundly asserts it impossible I could appear on that Lake in Force for that year, till the Indiscretion of a Prisoner informed him of our strength, and that I was nearly ready to sail; as your Lordship has seen by his copy of his own Letter which I sent you by Lieutenant General Burgoyne with many others taken in the first Days Action in the ship he at first commanded.

After submitting such Proofs as appeared to me unanswerable, it rested with your Lordship to be satisfied therewith or to move such Measures as might in your Judgment become expedient to secure in future from this side Sir William Howe's Winter Quarters, and more speedily to quell this Rebellion.

If I might presume to advance an Opinion the safest way was to remove the Chief Governor and Commander in Chief with whom you was dissatisfied and as your Lordship was convinced the Province and Army abounded with Persons who knew much better the State of His Province, Men of stronger Penetration, sounder Judgment and greater Abilities to conduct this War and whose Information and conduct you would place intire Confidence, there remained no difficulty in finding a Successor more to your Lordship's satisfaction. I then should have stood forth in a private Character and the Authority of Government would not have been destroyed by any further mark of your Displeasure; whereas leaving me with those high Commissions and at the same time making me the Object in the most public Manner of the strongest Disapprobation was a dangerous Lesson in these times.

Your intimate knowledge of the Practice of Men in sacrificing the Interest and Safety of the State to Private Interest Ambition, and to every private Passion, together with your being an intire Stranger to my particular Character afforded you no Reason to hope I should not follow this ruinous Practice and on this side sacrifice the public Service to private Discontent, you therefore should not have left it in my Power.

As I at no time complained that a Force sufficient was not sent last year but that the Means of transporting that Force was held back, whereby much time was lost, neither have I troubled your Lordship with any observations to those Commissions granted to Lord and General Howe, nor with my being restrained from interfering with the latter. Whatever I might have had to say thereon, was of a more private concern and all this you effectually stopped; But I took the liberty to complain, most respectfully I hope, of your Arrangements, Civil and Military, and of that system of Politicks you have hitherto followed, within this Province, and the Frontiers thereof; of your setting the Chief Governor and Commander in Chief aside, or to act the part of a subaltern, while you appointed an inferior Officer of his own Army to attack those Posts upon the Frontier, essentially necessary to the security of this same Province, alledging as a Reason my not having sent a Corps to Albany last year agreeable to your Lordship's Expectations. I complained of this public Slight, Disregard and Insult to the King's Authority in those Parts which compelled me to resign those Commissions which I no longer could hold without detriment to the Power from whence they sprung; it then became a Duty and thus your Lordship with Ease effected what all the King's Enemies could not have brought about.

If I took the liberty to hint at part of those Evils to which the State is exposed, it was not from ill Humour at my being laid aside, at a time I might have flattered myself I should be able to act more to my own satisfaction than heretofore; It did not proceed from Disrespect but from hopes that part of those Evils might have been avoided, and in such Cases, I think I should have been Guilty of a Breach of Trust had I concealed my Opinion, When Orders and Measures pass before my Eyes, which threaten the Public with so much Danger, I am sorry if this has proved disagreeable to your Lordship but I cannot be lukewarm in the King's Service.

If after all this I might still offer an Opinion, which can never concern me more than any other subject, 'tis to suffer those Gentlemen intrusted with Commands to follow the Dictates of their own Sense and Judgment; if they have Abilities, they must upon the Spot see what is most Expedient to be done, if not your Lord-

ship cannot mend matters by positive Orders but by sending Persons better qualified to supersede them, while they recalled.

I am, &c.

Guy Carleton.

Lord George Germain,
One of His Majesty's
Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 16th Octr. 1777.

Sir Guy Carleton.

(No. 42.)

Rd. 2d. Decr. 1777.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 14, p. 310.

Quebec, 19th October, 1777.

Brigadier General Maclean with the 31st Regiment and R. H. Emigts will proceed with all diligence and take post at Chimney point near Crown point in order to keep up the communication with Tyconderoga. He will take with him four field pieces from St. Johns also an assistant Engineer, intrenching Tools and fourteen Days provisions, all will return to their present post before the severe Weather sets in or as soon as Lieut. Genl. Burgoyne's corp has no further Occasion for their Services to which in the mean time they will render all possible assistance. The 29th will occupy their posts during their absence.

G.C.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 14, p. 312.

Copy of a Letter from Brigadier General Powell to General Sir Guy Carleton dated Mount Independence—Octr. 19th 1777—

Sir,

.....
Captain McKay arrived here two days ago with upward of one hundred Voluntiers and Canadians, and there are some other small Parties of Voluntiers arrived since—
.....

Signed H. Watson Powell

Brigr Genl.

His Excellency
Sir Guy Carleton

Endorsed:— Copy of a Letter from Brigr.Genl. Powell to His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton—dated Mount Independence 19th Octr 1777.

In Sr G. Carleton's Ire of 25th Octr 1777. (No. 44)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 15, pp. 201-2.

Quebec, the 20th Oct. 1777.

Sir,

I have this moment received your Letter of the 16th instant, wherein you demand orders from me for your guidance in your present Emergency.

It is impossible that I should give Orders to you, not alone because the Post you are in has been taken out of my command but the distance is too great for my being able to judge of the situation of General Burgoyne or of the exigencies of the place you are at which must depend upon the other, if you were subject to my command, ignorant as I am of the strength or weakness of your post. I should under

all these circumstances think it best for His Majesty's Service to suffer you to act by your own judgment, so you will therefore easily see the greater necessity there is for my leaving you as the case stands to pursue such steps as shall be suggested to you by your own prudence and resolution. I can only recommend to you not to ballance between two opposite measures, whereby you may be disabled from following the one or the other with advantage but that either you resolve with vigour to put the place in such a situation as to be able to make the longest and most resolute defence, or that you prepare in time to abandon with all the Stores, whilst yet your retreat may be certain. Your own sense will tell you that this latter would be most pernicious measure if there be still hopes of General Burgoyne's coming to your Post.

I am &c.
Guy Carleton.

Brigadier General Powell.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 14, pp. 277-8.

(No. 43.)

Quebec, the 24th October, 1777.

My Lord,

I enclose your Lordship copies of a number of letters which I have received from Brigadier General Powel, with two from Brigadier General MacLean and papers inclosed in one of the latter. Those from the 11th October upwards, of both, contain all the intelligence which I have received of the army under General Burgoyne, four letters from Brigadier General Powel, dated the 29th and 30th of September and 5th & 10th of October, I annex to the others as with those I have already transmitted to your Lordship, they make up the whole of what I have received from Tyconderoga.

Upon the first allarm from Tyconderoga I applied to Captain Pearson, senior Officer of the Navy in this River to send for Captain Lutwidge with the Triton, which had just before sailed from here. Captain Lutwidge has since arrived and I have sent him up to St. Johns with 80 seamen to reinforce the armed vessels which have lately been employed by General Burgoyne in transporting provisions and stores.

I am &c.
Guy Carleton.

Lord George Germain.

Endorsed:—Quebec, Octr. 24th, 1777.

Sr. G. Carleton.

(No. 43.)

Rd. 2d Decr. 1777.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 14, pp. 327-9.

Carleton, at Crown Point, the 4 November, 1777.

Sir,

I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency I arrived at Tyconderoga the 1st Inst and yesterday afternoon sailed from thence with all the vessels, the Inflexible, Thunderer, Maria, Carleton and Camel.

The Maria and Thunderer are proceeded on towards St. Johns, the former with Provisions and Sick, the latter with some Ordnance Stores and as many sick as she could contain—about 180 are on board, and it is thought necessary the vessel should be appropriated for their reception after taking in a Tier of shott and Provisions.

The Camel, laden chiefly with Artillery Stores, and the Inflexible with provisions remain here to take in some Brass Guns brought from Lake George to the Portage

yesterday, which I expect down in Batteaux to-day. The danger of the Vessels being stopped by a Northerly wind and frozen up at this advanced Season, induced me to get them out as soon as possible, and I hope now there will be no danger of the whole Naval Armament being safely laid up at St. Johns.

The vessels lately sent with Provisions were directed to land their Cargoes at Point au Fer but as their return in time is now impracticable, I send a Tender with directions for all the Victuallers to take in Provisions from thence to St. Johns and to assist the unloading the large Vessels.

The Carleton is laden with a variety of heavy stores and is also to receive more sick men from the Hospital.

The Lee has taken in Provisions sent hither in Batteaux and will remain here for the Protection of the Troops on the Lake.

A detachment of 30 Seamen with Officers from the Naval Department are left to assist the Embarkation of the Garrison and to conduct the Tender and the Gun Boats, which are to move with the Batteaux. I apprehend they will leave Ticonderoga on the 7th or 8th Inst.

Captain Graves is on board the Inflexible and in much better health than could be expected after the unfortunate circumstance of losing his left arm—the wound he received was from a drunken Soldier and does not appear to have been intentional.

As Brigadier McClean writes to your Excellency at this time from hence, I have only to add that I shall use every possible effort to secure the Vessels before the Frost sets in, giving at the same time every assistance they can afford to troops intended to pass the Lake.

I have &c.

Skeffn. Lutwidge.

His Excellency,
Genl. Sir Guy Carleton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES SERIES. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

B. Vol. 117, p. 1.

Monsieur,

Je passé la saison du printemps & de l'été 1775 a faire les découvertes sur le Lac Champlain et dans les Bois, je fus ordonné le 6 7bre d'aller m'opposer à un débarquement de 600 rebelles avec Capt. Tayse qui par la blessure qu'il reçut au premier feu laissa le Commandement à mon frere et a moy, dés 60 Sauvages avec lesquels nous eumes le plaisir de chasser et faire rembarquer les dits rebelles, nous Eumes un engagement le 13e sous le Commandement de Mrs belestre de longueille & Capt. Strong du 26e regiment ou je me porté avec le peu de Sauvage qui me restoit, du 19 au 20 7bre je fus ordonné par le major preston pour mener le sieur heiseing a Son Excellence & lui donner intelligence du blocus de St. Jean.

Immédiatement je employé a reconnoitre l'ennemie à la prairie & a maintenir les Sauvages dans le Sault St. Louis, Son Excellence m'accorda le 25 9bre de retourner donner des nouvelles à St. Jean ou je reçue apporté des Canons du fort un horrible fusillade qui m'obligea à retrograder, de retour je continué mes services jusqu'au jour de la Rédition de Montréal.

Dans l'hiver je partis le 2e Mars avec Mrs Goddard & Walker, dans le projet de lever les Sauvages - Pour bruler la marine de Carrillon, ni pouvant reussir je me rendis dans le fond du Lac Ontario y levant une partie de Missisagué & diroquois qui me joignoient au nombre de 250 bons hommes qui donna les forces suffisantes pour descendre les rapides - Accompagné de Capt. foster et quelques soldats de sa garnison nous fimes prisonnier le gros Detachement des Rebelles, retranché au Cèdres et repoussames le lendemain aidé par l'arrivée de Monsieur de Montigny et des Canadiens le renfort de quinze chiens, que nous fimes encore Prisonnier.

J'eü l'honneur a faire la Campagne de l'autonne dernière sous les ordres du Capt. Carlton. L'hiver se passa a faire une Campagne avec monsieur McKay d'une Fatigues presque aussy considerable que celle de l'hiver precedent.

J'ay passé cette année sous les ordres du major Campbell et apres avoir fait divers découvertes & reconnoissances de l'ennemi Je fus détaché, avec Capt. Campbell & nos Sauvages, du Sault St. Louis dans un partie de troupe Allemande ou nous eumes le dessous le 16 d'aout, Et en nous repliant toupours avec Capt. Campbell et peu de Sauvages, le gros nous ayant abandonnée. Je rreque le blessure d'une Balle a la jambe droit, apres avoir le renfort de Major de Barner et nous repliames encore par la grande forces de rebelles.

D'après le jugement des chirurgiens qui deciderent que je ne pourois me servir de ma jambe de plusieurs tems, le major Campbell me detacha pour Montreal avec Monsieur son frere.

Aussitot ma convalescence, j'ay servie aupres du general Mclain pour le bien du service, et j'ay porté ses ordres avec succès dans le Village du Sault St. Louis d'ou j'ay fait partir en 7bre un détachement de Sauvage avec un troisieme de mes freres qui arrivoit des pays d'en haut, & qui ont joint le general Burgoyne ou ils ont resté jusqua la veille de la fatale Convention.

J'espere que vous serez assez bon de m'honorer d'une réponse.

Je prie son Excellence de m'employer cette hiver a faire les decouvertes qu'il jugera convenable ordonner, pour savoir sy les rebelles Contruisent, ou non, sur les lacs.

J'ay l'honneur d'etre tres respectueusement

Monsieur

Votre très humble et très obeissant Serviteur

Chevr. Lorimier

Montreal le 1er decembre 1777.

Endorsed:—From Chevalier Lorimier
1st Decem. 1777.

(Translation)

Sir:

I spent the spring and summer of 1775 in scouting on Lake Champlain, and in the woods. I was ordered on the 6th September to oppose a landing of six hundred rebels with Captain Tayse, who in consequence of the wound which he received at the first fire, turned over the Command of sixty Indians to my brother and me, with whom we had the pleasure of drying off and causing the said rebels to re-embark, we had an engagement on the 13th, under the command of Messrs Belestre, de Longeulle and Captain Strong of the 26th regt. in which I took part with a few Indians who remained with me. From the 19th to the 20th September I was ordered by Major Preston to take Mr. Heiseing to His Excellency, and give him intelligence of the blockade of St. Jean.

I was immediately employed in reconnoitering the enemy at La Prairie and keeping the Indians at Sault St. Louis, His Excellency directed me on the 25th November to return to give news at St. Jean, where I received such a terrible bombardment from the cannon of the fort that I was obliged to retire; after my return I continued my services until the date of the Surrender of Montreal.

In the winter I went away on the 2nd of March, with Messrs Goddard and Walker, with the intention of inducing the Indians to burn the shipping at Carillon, not being able to succeed I returned to the foot of Lake Ontario and began raising a body of Missassagas and Iroquois, who joined me to the number of two hundred and fifty good men, which gave me sufficient force to descend the rapids. Accompanied by Captain Foster and some soldiers from his garrison, we captured the large detachment of rebels entrenched at the Cedars, and next day, aided by the arrival of Mr. De Montigny and some Canadians, repelled the reinforcement coming from Quinze Chiens, whom we also made prisoners.

I had the honor of making the campaign of last autumn under the orders of Captain Carleton. The winter was employed in making a campaign with Mr. McKay, nearly as Fatiguing as that of the preceding winter. I have spent this year under the orders of Major Campbell, and after having made several scouting expeditions and reconnaissances of the enemy, I was detached with Captain Campbell and our Indians from the Sault St. Louis in an expedition of German Troops which we made below on the 16th of August, while retreating with Captain Campbell and a few Indians, the main body having deserted us, I received a wound from a bullet in the right leg, after having joined the reinforcement of Major C. Barner, we were still obliged to retire by the great force of the rebels.

In pursuance of the opinion of the surgeons who declared that I could not use my leg for some time, Major Campbell detached me to Montreal with his brother. As soon as I recovered I was employed under General MacLean for the good of the service and I have executed his orders with success in the village of Sault St. Louis, whence I sent off in September a detachment of Indians with a third brother, who had arrived from the Upper Country, and who joined General Burgoyne with whom they remained until the eve of his fatal Convention.

I hope that you will be so good as to honor me with a reply.

I beg His Excellency to employ me this winter in making such scouts as he would judge necessary, in order to know whether the rebels are building ships or not on the lakes.

I have the honor to be, etc.,
Chevr. Lorimier.

Montreal, 1st December, 1777.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 15, p. 2.

I conceive that a Canadian Regiment can be raised to good Effect, only by a royal order, accompanied with an Ordinance, and sent by His Majesty to be passed by the Governor and Council, for the regulation of the Corps and the subjection of it to proper Military discipline, the power of the Governor and Council at present, Extending no farther than to lay small fines, or inflict short imprisonment cannot answer these Ends.

The Canadians tho' not rich, yet being generally in a state of Easy Circumstances, have a strong repugnance to the life of a common Soldier, and very few if any will Embrace it from choice, the Corp therefore, I conceive should be formed of Draughts from the several Companies of Militia of the Province; and, as it must be prudent to humor such prejudices in people as have taken deep root in them, a distinction, tho' it would be only in terms, must be made between their condition and that of professed Soldiers, which purpose would be answered by continuing to them still the title of Militia, the officers only to be Established, the men supplied as before suggested, to serve for a limited time under them, during which, as the Effect of the King's bounty, Pay, &c., to be allowed them giving them to understand that this new Regulation is designed only as an improvement of the old Establishment, for the better defence, principally of the Province, without however Exempting them from marching out of it as occasion shall require, the present Militia being liable to the same, no difficulty could arise on that head, Canada, can certainly, furnish two Battalions according to the present Establishment for Service.

It is, in my opinion greatly essential to His Majesty's interest in Canada that the Gentlemen of that Country be shewn no Jealousy is entertained of them, and the measure of making this new regulation is adopted both to reward such as have already manifested Attachment to the King, and as a proof of His Entire confidence in them all, and the Officers therefore be composed only of Canadians.

The whole Gentry, who have naturally a disposition for Arms, would infallibly be confirmed by this mark of favour, in their obedience to the King and His Government, the principles of which are already generally entertained among that Class, very few Excepted.

The success of this Plan would still depend greatly on the punctuality which should be observed in the Engagements with the men, as to their regular discharge. If therefore one third were discharged at the end of the first year, they would then sooner be reconciled to the Service, one third should be discharged the next year, and the rest at the end of the third year, which afterwards would bring the whole to three years Service, one third being discharged Every year, upon their being replaced with fresh Draughts.

To perfect this Plan it is likewise necessary that the Militia of the Province be kept to a stricter Observance of their duties than by the present limited powers of the Governor, and Legislative Council they can possible be brought to.

Thus the Militia of the Province being subjected to Moderate Service, but strictly and uniformly Kept to it, a regimented well disciplined Corp formed out of it for constant duty, the discharged men of which returning again in the Stock, it is Easy to perceive the advantages which would result in a short time to the Kings Military Service from this Province if there should be occasion for keeping up Troops in America.

Indorsed.

In Capt. Foy's (to W.K.)
of 6th Feby. 1778.

(260)

Quebec, 10th October, 1806.

Monsieur,

Conformément à l'ordre de Son Excellence le Président en date du 18 courant dernier, inséré en la Gazette de Québec, et en soumission aux réglemens faits par les pays maitres généraux des troupes de Sa Majesté, je me fait l'honneur de vous informer.

Que je m'appelle Ignace Gaspé et suis agé de quarante huit ans, que je demeure dans la paroisse et Seigneurie de St. Jean port Joly Comté de Devon dans la province du Bas-Canada, et J'appartenois en 1777 comme Enseigne à une Compagnie Canadienne commandée par le Capitaine Monin, et après sa mort par le Capitaine Beaubien. Je suis en recette de demie paye depuis le 24 décembre 1783.

La susdite Compagnie à fait la campagne en 1777 avec l'armée du général Bourgoyne.

J'ai L'Honneur d'être,
Monsieur,
Votre très humble Serviteur.
I. Gaspé.

H. W. Ryland, Ecuyer.

(Translation)

Quebec, 10th October, 1806

Sir,

In compliance with the order of His Excellency, the president, dated the 18th ult., published in the Quebec Gazette and the regulations issued by the Paymasters General of His Majesty's troops, I have the honor to inform you that my name is Ignace Gaspé and I am forty-eight years of age, that I live in the parish and seigniory of St. Jean Port Joly in the country of Devon in the province of Lower Canada, and that in 1777 I was an Ensign in a Canadian company commanded by Captain Monin and after his death by Captain Beaubien. I have received half pay since the 24th December, 1783.

The aforesaid company served during the campaign in 1777 with the army of General Burgoyne.

I have the honor to be etc.,
I. Gaspé.

H. W. Ryland, Esq.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

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Province de Quebec.

Memoire sur les Milices.

Le Tableau cy devant fourny a son Excellence Le General Carleton qui par son Execution donneroit à La Cour et au General par chaque annee La Connoissance des forces de la Colonie, Exige des observations qui en fixent La solidité d'ou resulte son utilité à l'Etat.

Observations

La Colonie etant composée d'anciens et nouveaux sujets qui tous également partagent Les prerogatifs de sujets Britanniques il faut bien se donner de garde dy donner atteinte. dans cet Etablissement.

L'on pense quil conviendrait que Le Corps de la Milice fut fixé a un nombre divisé par districts sous Le Commandement de divers chefs superieurs commandés par un seul pour la discipline, La police generale et uniforme du Corps.

C'est dans La personne d'un inspecteur general qu'il semble que doit résider Le pouvoir de Commander en chef, en recevant directement du General Les ordres et Le pouvoir de les faire executer dou s'ensuivra L'activité et L'uniformité dans L'execution.

Les Villes etant habitées par des personnes de differentes qualités etats et conditions il seroit difficile dy donner ce Relativement a L'Etablissement des Milices, des idées fixes sans craindre de chocquer indirectement les different etats dans les

personnes de ceux Les Composent ainsi C'est au General a se charger de ce qui Concerne Les Villes et Nous Estimons que Le reglement des Milices ne regarde que La Campagne ou L'Egalité fournit moind'occasions a La jalousie, et au meContentement, il paroîtriot cependant Contraire au droit Commun que chacun ne contribua pas a La deffense au bien et a La prosperité de L'Etat La distinction de La Naissance d'une possession de biens nobles ou de Nogotians est a mon Estime un Titre pour en donner L'Exemple et je disay aussi que je penserois qu'il seroit Bon que Monsieur le General donna ses ordres a Mrs. Les Colonels et Majors des trois villes pour qu'ils ussent ay faires arranger Toutes les Compagnie des Milices dans un Etat qu'il convient et dou il doit y avoir a chaque Compagnies un Capitaine un Lieutenant un Enseigne et deux Sergents il seroit aussi de Convenance que Mrs. les inspecteurs fussent prevenus generalement de tous ce qui a de rapports aux Milices et que Mrs Majors ainsy que toutes autres officiers ne pussent rien faire sans avoir eû les ordres de Mrs. leurs Colonels; il seroit Bon aussi que l'on fit faire quatre fois dans L'été L'Exercice à feu en les faisant tirer au Blanc a Tous Miliciens dans les trois Villes pour leur apprendre a bien Tirer et/ dons Monsieur Le General pensait mettre des prix pour ceux qui auroient Les mieux Tirés a fin de leurs donner de L'Encouragement.

L'on pense que les Habitants de La province doivent etre partagés en deux classes—
La premiere composée du Nombre de Milices qu'il plaira au General de fixer relativement aux Besoins de L'Etat, La seconde Composée de ceux qui n'étant point en Rolles ont etes employés aux Corveés charroyages par Terre et par Eaux et autres ouvrages imprevus.

Milices.

Observations.

L'on sent bien quil faut que cette premiere operation soit suivie par un seul personne.

Comme il faudra que ce Tableau soit renouvelé tous les ans a cause des changements arrivés dans Les Paroisses la premiere operation faite en presence des officiers, ils Le Suivront plus aisement dans La suite.

Ces Commandemens fourniront Les Moyens d'honorer ou de reCompenser Le merite.

Pour donner des Le principe une solidité à cet Etablissement il faudroit que L'Inspecteur General reçu un ordre de Monsieur Le General qui L'autorisat a fair faire autant de Rolles qu'il en soit Besoins relatif et suivant Le tableau qui en a Ete remis au General Carleton et c'est d'apres cette operation et avec Connoissance que le General peut fixer le nombre de Miliciens. On fixera Le tems ou cette operation doit se faire et etre adressée par Les Capitaines de chaque paroisse a L'inspecteur qui Les recevant détaillés enverra un general en abrégé qu'il remettra au General—Le Corps General des Milices sera divisé en trois parties subdivisées en autant de districts ou Commandemens qu'il plaira au general.

Ces Trois corps porteront le Nom des trois Villes

Bon	de Quebec
Bon	de Trois Rivieres
Bon	de Montreal

La Cour de France avoit ordonnée que les Gentilshommes qui ne seroient point employés dans les Troupes le seroient dans les Milices et il fut regler en 1760 par M. de Vaudreuil Gouverneur General que tous les gentilhommes ou Nobles serviroient a ses Côtés lorsque l'arrière Ban Marcheroit.

La Ville de Quebec seule susceptible d'attaque et de deffence fixant le destin de la Colonie exige L'attention des Gouverneurs, ainsi on estime que les Habitans du Bas du fleuve doivent rester chez eux pour y etre Employés au signaux et le service qu'on peut exiger d'eux et pour empecher retarder ou rendre difficile La descente de L'Enemy il

toutes personnes seront sujettes a La Milice a La Tete en qualité d'off'ers ou de simple Milicien il ny aura d'Exemptés que ceux qui par leurs emplois appartenant au public ou qui servant Le Roy encor qui par leur merite ou état meritent de La Distinction L'on pense que l'on pourroit proposer les Emplois de Milices au Nobles ou proprietaires de fiefs demeurant dans les côtes.

Les Miliciens en rolles ne pourront s'absenter de Leurs paroisses ou aller demeurer dans une autres si ce n'est que Leurs pere et mere allassent s'établir autre part, alors ils seroient portes en cette qualité sur le rolle de La paroisse ou il sont venus demeurer pour celle dont ils sortent

en est demeure des Habitans aux environs de Quebec qui peuvent etre employé utilement hors et dans La Ville aux re-tranchement ouvrage en terre charriage et ce tandis que les Milices depuis La paroisse de Neuville di Pointe au tremble nord et sud du fleuve jusqu'au de la de Montreal assemblées en un ou plusieurs Corps peuvent protéger les convois em-pêcher La descente et le Siege de Quebec ou en retarder les progrès de maniere a obliger les Troupes a se rembarquer ainsi le Corps fixe des Milices se retirera des paroisses depuis Neuville jusqua Soulange Nord et Sud. Pour les encourager Mon-sieur le General pourra faire donner altern-ativement dans chaque paroisses un prix en argent ou autrement.

jusqu'a La prochaine revue et il en seroit fait mention dans le rolle des Capitaines aucun Miliciens ne pourra s'engager pour les pays d'en haut sans permission le Marchand qui Laura engagé sans cela sera reprit.

L'Exercice se bornera a faire Tirer les Miliciens au Blanc dans les Temps prescrit par l'ordonnance et ils leur sera pour cet effet de livré de la Poudre et des Balles.

Il seroit Bon que les Miliciens fussent armés d'un fusil son foureua, d'une Bayon-nette Ceinturon et une petite hache chaque Milicien aura soin des ses armes Les rep-resentra a chaque Revue ne s'en servira que pour le Bien du service et les remettra en Bon etat a celui que lui succedera; le Nom de la Paroisse sera empreint en entier ou abrege sur les arms.

-Tel qui aura achetté ou vendu un arme-ment du Roy sera puni comme voleur.

Milices en Campagne.

Monsieur Le General aiant besoin du service des Milices ou de partie donnera ses ordres aux inspecteurs et indiquera le lieu de L'Assemblé ou se trouveront Les Officers superieurs des Milices suivant la force des Paroisses on composera de plusi-eurs, des Compagnies des Soixante hom-mes chacune Commande par un capitaine, un Lieutenant et un Enseign Ces Com-pagnies formeront des Bataillons qui auront a leur Tête les Commandemens des districts et l'on choisira les officiers des maniere que dans chaque Compagnie de 60 hommes soient d'une meme Paroisse les Milices des paroisses les plus voisines Monsieur le General ordonnera pour les Equipemens et les Vivres aux lieux d'assemblée logement pendant la Cam-pagne dont L'Inspecteur et Commissaire seront executer.

Les Milices feront le Service conjoint-ement et sans distinction avec les Troupes de sa Majesté elles seront païées sous le Bon plaisir du General suivant leur grade a la fin de le Campagne du jour de la sortie jusqu'a celui de la rentre dans leurs paroisses.

Ces paiemens se feront sur la revue par l'inspecteur faite a l'entrée et la sortie de la Campagne on leur donnera un equipement des Tentés une Cho-diere par sept. ils auront Drapeau aumonier 50 mains des cherugiens Tam-bours et fifres entretenus par le Roy.

A l'imitation des Transbands.

On se flatte que les officiers de Milices en Campagne ny seront point avilie et qu'ils jouiront des honneurse et des prero-gatifs qui seront dus à leurs rangs.

Les Drapeaux a la fin de la Campagne se porteront chez L'inspecteur.

Attache.

Par l'Inspecteur General.

Vus la Commission a nous adressée par L'autorité de Notre charge nous ordonnons que le pour vû par son Excellence de la Commission de sera reconnu entendu et obeit par tous les officiers et miliciens et habitans de la Paroisse de Seigneurie de en la dite qualite Les miliciens et habitans de la dite Paroisse assemblez.
fait a

Il restera toujours dans chaque paroisse un officier qui y commandera pour Tous le besoins du service a faire par les habitans restés

Il sera donné par Monsieur le General une Commission a chaque officier de Milice lequel ne pourra etre reçu qu'après avoir pris L'attache de L'inspecteur suivant La forme cy joint L'Inspecteur proposera les sujets tirés le plus que l'on pourra de ceux qui auront servi le plus de distinction.

Service dans les Côtes.

Les Miliciens armés conduiront sous les ordres de leurs officiers d'une paroisse a l'autre les personnes arretees par ordre du gouvernement ou de la Justice.

Lorsque le General passera dans une paroisse, La Milice sera sous les armes, les officiers a leur Tête s'il y couche on luy formera une garde Commandée par un Capitaine Lieutenant et Enseigne tirés des diverses Compagnies de cette paroisse.

A fin de prevenir tous mécontentemens il ne sera permis n'y au inspecteurs n'y a autres officiers de milices de donner aucune exemptions de telle qualité soit, cela etant reservé au seul General a moïn qu'il n'ait voulu ordonner autrement.

Les ordres du General, des Inspecteurs des Colonels et Lieutenant Gouverneur et Commandants des districts seront portés par les Miliciens de chaque paroisse.

Pour les revues se feront tous les ans, Les Milices de chaque Paroisse sy assembleront a l'endroit indiqué on y fera les remplacements des Miliciens on y pour vira aux emplois vacans ou les Plaintes en sorte que L'inspecteur puisse faire rendre justice sur tous objets et par honneur les milices de la Paroisse fourniront une Garde de douze hommes, commandée par un officier au logement de L'Inspecteur

Officiers Reformes.

L'Officier reformé jouira des prerogatives suivant dans Telle paroisse qu'il se trouve Ne logera point, ne sera point Commandé pour Corvées, aura L'Exemption d'un domestique pour le servir

S'il le peut il se presentera au revues

Punitions

En 1759 M. le Cher de Levy vouloit que Les Déserteurs Miliciens fussent Comme les Troupes sujets a la peine de mort mais M. Le Mquis de Vaudreuil y opposa et fit voir que ce netoit point du Tout L'Intention de la Cour qui ne considerait Toujours dans les Milices que des hommes libres.

En Campagne les Milices seront sujets a la loy martiale et au reglement du Camp mais jugés et Corrigés par le Corps

Tout milicien qui par malice ou autrement Brisera ses armes, on les lui fera reparer a ses depens et sera encor puni de la prison Tous miliciens qui desobeira

s'il reporte une juste raison sera également puni de la prison il en sera demême de celui qui aura insulté de fait ou de paroles les officiers, il sera conduit par des fuzilliers devant L'Inspecteur si le cas est grave ou devant L'Officier Commandant du district qui en ordonneront qui comprend.

Deuxieme Classe

Si le General se trouvait attaqué de maniere a être obligé d'augmenter le Corps fixé des Milices il le pourra aisement en donnant L'Ordre anx inspecteurs qui en feroit l'operation dans Leurs revus.

Tous le reste des habitans qui seront employés aux Corvées et charriages.

Ces sortes de commandemens demandent beaucoup d'attentions pour eviter les murmures Les mecontentemens et ne rien derober aux Besoins et a la Culture des Terres.

Il paroitra apropos que Le General reglat ces ouvrages qui Considerés comme Corvées dues au Roy ne sont point sujet au paiement d'avie Ceux qu'on doit satisfaire que le prix par homme pour chaque voiage fut enoncé dans L'ordre et qu'il eût un Tel ordre dans les paiemens que l'habitans ny par soupçonner de la fraude pour y parvenir chaque Capitaine de Milices qui recevra un ordre pour Commander des hommes pour Corvées ou voyages avec ses voitures ou par Eau adressera immediatement le Rolle a L'Inspecteur Lequel a la fin de la Campagne recevra du quartier maitre general ou autre les paiemens dûs au miliciens lesquels il remettra sous leurs recepisses aux Capitaine des Milices Le Capitaine des Milices portera a L'Inspecteur ses plaintes contre ceux qui refuseront de Marcher afin qu'il puisse juger du droit Tous possesseurs de terre en Roture sera obligé a Corvée ou Voiage en charette ou Traine a cause de la servitude de sa terre mais s'il est noble ou dans le cas d'Exemption personnelle, il ne pourra être Commandé pour aucune Corvées

On entend par le que le privilegié ne peut entendre son privilege sur ses fermiers pour les terres qui n'habite pas.

Je pense bien que l'on Trouvée a reprimer ou changer dans le present Memoir Diverses chosses mais au moin l'on doit voir ma Bonne Volonté a vouloir me rendre utile pour le Bien etre du Service.

Il seroit Bon que Mrs. les Inspecteurs fussent faire des visites dans le cour de l'année dans les paroisses de la province tant pour connoitre les bons et mauvais Miliciens qui sont incorporé que pour sy faire Connoitre et y juger des differents qui pouroit se rencontre et de tacher de s'y attacher que pouroit se rencontre quelqu'un en qui ils pussent compter pour les prevenir de tous ce qui pouroit separée de contraire au service et a la soumission due a Sa Majesté ainsy qu'il est expliqué par l'ordonnance du 29th Mars 1777 Article 9

Déchambault.

Endorsed Mémoire sur les Milisse de la Province.

(Translation)

Province of Quebec. Memorandum on the Militia.

The schedule herewith submitted to His Excellency General Carleton, when completed will supply the government and the General annually with information

respecting the forces of the colony. Observations are required to explain its usefulness to the state.'

Observations.

The colony being composed of old and new subjects who all participate equally in the privileges of British subjects care must be taken to provide for this in this establishment.

It is considered that the strength of the militia should be fixed at a certain number divided by districts under the command of certain superior officers commanded by one of them responsible for the discipline, the general and uniform administration of the corps.

It would seem that the authority of commander in Chief should be vested in an Inspector General who would receive his orders and the power of executing them directly from the General, which would insure energy and uniformity in their execution.

The inhabitants of the towns being of different classes and conditions in life, it will be difficult to lay down hard and fast proposals respecting the establishment of the militia in them without danger of offending the different classes in the person of individuals composing them, consequently the regulation of this matter as regards the towns is left to the General and we consider only the regulations of the militia in the country where equality furnishes less cause for jealousy and discontent, it would appear, however, contrary to common justice that any one should not contribute to the public defence and the prosperity of the state. The distinction of birth and the possession of property as nobles or merchants is in my opinion a title to set the example and I would say also that I think it would be well if the general would give his orders to the Colonels and Majors of the three towns for them to organize all the companies of militia in a proper manner so as to have in each company a Captain, a Lieutenant, an Ensign and two Sergeants; it would also be desirable that the inspecting officers should be generally informed of everything that relates to the militia and that the Majors and all other officers should take no action without having had orders from their Colonels; it would also be advisable that all the militia in the three towns should be exercised four times during the summer in firing at targets to teach them to shoot well and the General might offer prizes for the best markmen so as to encourage them.

It is considered that the inhabitants of the province should be divided into two classes;

The first to be composed of such number of militiamen as the General is pleased to establish in proportion to the necessities of the country, the second to be composed of those who not being enrolled have been employed in corvées for transport by land and by water and other unforeseen services.

Militia.

Observations.

It seems proper that this first organization should be conducted by a single individual.

As it is necessary that this schedule should be revised every year on account of changes in the parishes, the first enrolment should be made in the presence of officers leaving with them an example they would be able to follow it more easily afterwards.

The command of these will furnish means of honoring or rewarding merit.

In order to give coherence to this establishment from the beginning, it will be necessary that the Inspector General should receive an Order from the General authorizing him to make as many rolls as are necessary in accordance with the schedule forwarded to General Carleton, and after this has been done and upon this information the General can establish the number of militiamen. He will fix the time when this will be done and they will be sent by the captains of each parish to the inspector who on receiving these details will make a general summary which he will forward to the General. The whole body of militiamen will be divided into three parts which will be

The French government had ordered that gentlemen who were not employed in the army should be employed in the militia and M. de Vaudreuil, the Governor General gave orders in 1760 that all gentlemen or nobles should serve in the militia of their parishes whenever there was a levy en masse.

The town of Quebec being liable to attack and the fate of the colony being dependent upon its defence requires the attention of the Governor, therefore it is considered that the inhabitants on the river below should remain at home to be employed in making signals and such service as may be required of them to prevent delay or obstruct the progress of the enemy; the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Quebec may be employed usefully without and within the town in constructing entrenchments and in the transport of stores, etc., while the militia from the parishes of Neuville and Pointe aux Trembles on the north and south bank of the river as far as Montreal assembled in one or several bodies might protect convoys, oppose the progress of the enemy and the siege of Quebec or delay it in such a way as to oblige the enemy to re-embark, thus the organized body of militia would be drawn from the parishes between Neuville and Soulanges north and south of the river.

subdivided into as many districts or commands as the General thinks proper.

These three corps will have the names of the three towns.

Quebec.

Three Rivers.

Montreal.

Every one will be liable to militia service, either as an officer or as a private militiaman. The only exemptions will be in the case of persons employed in the public service or who deserve this distinction through merit or their state of health.

It is considered that employment in the militia should be offered to the noblesse or proprietors of lands residing in the parishes.

The enrolled militiamen will not be permitted to absent themselves from their parishes or change their residence to another unless their parents also remove when they will be carried on the roll of the parish to which they have removed instead of that from which they have come until the next revision, and it will be noted upon the roll. No militiaman will be permitted to engage himself for service in the upper country unless the trader who has engaged him shall have obtained the necessary permit.

The training of militiamen will be limited to firing at targets at such times as are prescribed by the Ordinance, and for this purpose they will be supplied with powder and ball.

Militiamen should be armed with a musket and case with a bayonet, belt and hatchet. Every militiaman will be responsible for the care of his arms. He will present them for inspection at every review, he will use them only for the public service, and will hand them over in a good condition to the man who will take his place; the name of the parish or an abbreviation of it will be stamped upon these arms.

Any one buying or selling public arms will be punished as a thief.

Rural Militia.

Whenever the General shall require the service of the militia or any part thereof, he will give his orders to the inspecting officers and name the place of assembly where the superior officers of militia will meet according to the population of the parishes, companies may be formed of sixty men each commanded by a Captain, a Lieutenant and an Ensign. These companies will form battalions which will have at their head the Commanding Officers of districts and the officers will be selected in such a manner that in each company of sixty men they will be from

It is expected that the officers of the rural militia will not be degraded and that they will enjoy the honors and privileges due to their rank.

In imitation of the Trainbands.

The colors at the end of the campaign will be returned to the inspecting officers.

Certificate.

By the Inspector General.

In virtue of the commission addressed to us by the authority of our office we order that..... commissioned by His Excellency as..... shall be recognized and obeyed by all officers and militiamen and inhabitants of the parish of..... seignury of in the said rank.

The militiamen and inhabitants of said parish assembled.

Done at.

Services in the Parishes.

Armed militiamen under the orders of their officers will escort from one parish to another all persons arrested by the order of the government or of the department of Justice.

When the General passes through a parish the militia will turn out under arms with their officers at their head, if he remains there over night they will supply a guard commanded by a Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign furnished from the different companies of the parish.

The orders of the General, Inspecting Officers, Colonels, Lieutenant-Governor and Commandants of districts will be forwarded by the militiamen of each parish.

Reviews will be held every year for which the militia of each parish will assemble at the place named when casualties will be replaced and complaints heard so that the inspecting officer may do justice in all matters and the militia of

the same parish or the militia of neighbouring parishes may be united in one company. The General will order the supply of provisions and carriages at the points of assembly as well as quarters during the campaign to be carried into execution by the inspecting and Commissary officers.

The militia will do duty with His Majesty's regular troops jointly and without discrimination. They will be paid at the pleasure of the General according to their rank at the end of the Campaign from the day they were called out to the date of their return to their parishes. These payments will be subject to revision by the Inspector at the beginning and the end of the Campaign they will be supplied with tents and a kettle for every seven men.

They will be supplied with colors and a chaplain for every 50 men, a surgeon, drums and fifes maintained by the King.

One officer will remain in each parish who will take command for such services as may be required from the remaining inhabitants.

The General shall give a commission to each officer of the militia which will only be issued after having received the certificate of the inspector in the attached form. The inspector will propose persons selected from those who have served with the most distinction.

To avoid any discontent neither inspecting officers or any other officers of the militia will be permitted to grant any exemption of any kind. This will be done by the authority of the General only unless he should order otherwise.

the parish will furnish a guard of honor of twelve men commanded by an officer at the quarters of the inspector.

Retired Officers.

A retired officer will enjoy the following privileges; in the parish where he resides, he will not be liable for furnishing billets or ordered upon a *corvée* and one domestic servant will be exempted from duty to wait upon him.

If possible, he will be present at reviews.

Penalties.

In 1759, the Chevalier de Levy wished to make deserters from the militia liable to punishment by death as in the regulars, but the Marquis de Vaudreuil opposed it and declared it was not the intention of the court who always regarded the militia as being free men.

While on active service militiamen will be subject to military law and camp regulations but tried and punished by their own corps.

Every militiaman who wilfully or otherwise injures his arms will be liable to have them repaired at his own expense and may be also punished by imprisonment. Every militiaman guilty of disobedience without sufficient reason will be liable to be punished by imprisonment, likewise, if he uses insulting language to his officers, he will be brought under escort before the inspecting officer, and if the offence is serious before the commanding officer of the district, who will make the decision.

Second Class.

If the General is threatened with attack in such a manner as to be obliged to increase the establishment of the militia he may easily do so by giving orders to the inspecting officers who will arrange it at their inspections.

The remainder of the inhabitants may be employed on *corvée* and the service of transport.

These services require much care to obviate complaints and discontent and avoid taking the inhabitants from the necessary cultivation of the soil. The General should regulate these duties which being considered as a *corvée* due to the king are not to receive payment. In the case of those which are to be paid the wages for each man for each journey should be laid down in the order which should be sent to each Captain of Militia to prevent the inhabitants from suspecting fraud on the part of the officer receiving an order to command men upon *corvée* with their carriages or by water who will immediately forward the roll to the inspecting officer who at the end of the campaign who will receive from the Quarter-Master-General, or otherwise the sums due to the militiamen which he will forward to the captains of militia taking their receipts. The captains of militia will lay before the inspecting officer their complaints against men who refused to

General State of the Canadian Militia, 26th June 1778.

	OFFICERS PRESENT								Serjeant Majors	Serjeants of Company	EFFECTIVES		
	COMMISSION						STAFF				Present fit for Duty	Total	
	Colonels	Lt.-Colonels	Majors	1st Captains	2d Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns	Adjutants					Qr. Master
City of Quebec	1	1	1	8	8	8	10	4	..	2	17	800	860
District of Quebec	..	..	..	54	51	..	8	..	..	..	177	6768	7058
Montreal	1	..	1	9	6	7	6	1	..	..	17	511	559
District of Montreal	..	..	..	87	..	83	74	9	..	..	294	6189	6736
District of Three Rivers	1	..	..	23	..	23	14	..	..	..	59	1865	1985
Detroit	..	..	1	6	..	15	5	1	..	..	15	473	516
Total	3	1	3	187	65	136	117	15	..	2	579	16606	17714

N.B. A Company of Volunteers at Detroit consisting of One Capt. 3 Serjts. 3 Corpls. & 39 privates not included in the above.

Return of the Number of Heads of Families and others at Post Vincennes, Paspibiac &c.

	Heads of Families	No. of Males above 15 years	No. of Males under 15 years	Number of Servants	Number of Slaves	Total
At St. Vincennes	120	103	93	..	14	330
At Paspibiac	28	8	13	..	..	49
At Gaspée	23	35	18	..	..	76
At Piercée and Malbay	40	..	..	464	..	504
At Bonaventure	28	15	38	..	..	81
At Do. Island	4	..	..	..	..	4
At Tracadiquea in Chaleur Bay	28	19	..	..	..	47
Total	271	180	162	464	14	1091

N.B. The above is incorrect as may be naturally supposed & falls short in numbers by the absence of those employed below at the Fisheries, upon the Fur Trade in the Upper Country, or are otherwise occupied, and those that keep back from a distaste of the Service.

Indorsed:—General State of the British & Canadian Militia with a Return of the Posts St. Vincennes, Paspibiac, &c., 26th June, 1778.
In Sir Guy Carleton's (No. 47) of 10th June 1778.

as did also the British Militia on the Friday following, and were reviewed by their respective Field-officers. Both corps made a most respectable appearance, and expressed their strongest sentiments of Loyalty to their most gracious Sovereign, and affection for the General and the other officers under whose Command they served during the late siege. Before they were dismiss'd they unanimously agreed on every occasion to risque their Lives and Fortunes in the service of His Majesty, should their infatuated fellow-subjects again dare to molest the peace of this Province.

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State of Militia Men refusing Obedience to the Laws and the respective Officers together with the Proceeding thereupon of the Commissioners of the Peace, viz:—

Dates	Militia Men's Names.	of what Company.	of what Parish.	Fines.	Proceeding upon the hearing of Defendants.
1778.					
March 12th.	Bonavanture Baudin.	Albert Dupuy	St. Philipe	£ 5.0.0.	Paid.
	Louis Thoulouse.	Do.	Do.	5.0.0.	Do.
	Louis Jollivet.	Do.	Do.	5.0.0.	Do.
March 13th.	Charles Chartier.	Capt. Lachapelle's.	Pointe aux Trembles.	Censured	Dismissed.
	Jean Bte. Bazinet.	Capt. Lachapelle's.	Pointe aux Trembles.	5.0.0.	Paid.
	Antoine Ville-neuve.	Do.	Do.	5.0.0.	Do.
	Louis Germain	Capt. Rapin	St. Leonard.	5.0.0.	Do.
	Pierre Bourguignon.	Capt. Lachapelle's	Pointe aux Trembles.	5.0.0.	Discharged by Order of the Governor.
	Laurent Archambault.	Ignace Souigny.	Long Pointe.	5.0.0.	Paid.
	Jean Bte. Galipeau.	Do.	Long Pointe.	10.0.0.	Convicted of Disobedience of the 6th Article of the Militia Ordinance
March 18th.	Pierre, Généreux.	Capt. Pellan	Berthier.	5.0.0.	
	Charles Boucher fils.	Do.	Do.	5.0.0.	
	Francois Houle	Do.	Do.	5.0.0.	
	Joseph Cochon	Capt. Roch's	Do.	5.0.0.	
	Ant. Guinand of Militia.	Capt. Vadenay's	St. Cuthbert.	5.0.0.	Dismissed for want of Evidence.
	Michel Lepine	Do.	St. Cuthbert.	5.0.0.	
	Francois Bélisle.	Do.	Do.	5.0.0.	
	Charles Branconnier.	Capt. Roch's.	Berthier.	5.0.0.	
March 19th.	Francois LaNoix.	Capt. Joinville.	Isle Dupas.	5.0.0.	
	Louis LaFortune	Louis Desjardins.	La Noray.	5.0.0.	Remitted for further Evidence.
	Louis Bonin.	Do.	Do.	5.0.0.	
	André Lavigne	Capt. Paul Etier.	St. Geneviève.	5.0.0.	Paid.
	Jacques Loison.	Do.	Do.	5.0.0.	Paid.
	Fran. Lalonde.	Do.	Do.	5.0.0.	Recommended to Govern. in Consid. of his Father.
	Madelaide La- plante.	Capt. Etier.	Do.	5.0.0.	

Dates.	Militia Men's Names.	of what Company.	of what Parish.	Fines.	Proceeding upon the hearing of Defendants.
March 20th.	Joseph Duchesne. Pierre Payet.	Capt. Roy. Capt. Olivier.	St. Lawrence. Berthier.	5.0.0.	Dismissed for want of Evidence.
March 31st.	Pierre Boisvin. Henry Poisrier.	Capt. Petri- moul's. Capt. Boileau.	St. Thérèse. Chambly.	5.0.0. 5.0.0.	
April 2nd.	Jacques Bernard. Pierre Bouchard.	Capt. Etier. Do.	St. Eustache Do.	5.0.0. 5.0.0.	

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, March 26, 1778.

On Friday last his Excellency Sir GUY CARLETON return'd to this City from a Tour to St John's, Isle aux Noix, &c. &c. where he had been to review the Troops stationed at those Forts. His Excellency expressed great satisfaction at the Disposition and Diligence which prevailed in general, through the whole Army especially at St. John's and the Isle aux Noix.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 213, Page 15.

RETURN OF OFFICERS OF THE FIRST BATTALION OF HIS MAJESTY'S REGIMENT OF ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANTS.

Isle aux Noix, 15th April, 1778.

Rank	Names.	Former rank in the Army.
Lieut.-Col.	Allan MacLean	Lieutenant-Colonel.
Major.	Donald McDonald	
Captain.	William Dunbar	Captain late 78th Regt.
"	John Nairne.	
"	Alexander Fraser.	Lieut. late 78th Regt.
"	George McDougall.	Lieut. late 60th Regt.
"	Malcolm Fraser.	Lieut. late 8th Regt.
"	Daniel Robertson	Lieut. 42nd Regt.
"	George Laws.	
Lieutenant.	Neil McLean (Prisoner)	Lieut. 7th Regt.
"	John MacLean.	Ensign late 114th Regt.
"	Alexander Firtelier.	
"	Lachlan McLean.	
"	Fran. Damburgess. (Prisoner)	Ensign, Nov. 21st, 1775.
"	David Cairns	Ensign, 1st June, 1775.
"	Don. McKinnon.	Ensign, 20th Nov., 1775.
"	Ronald McDonald.	Ensign, 14th June, 1775.
"	John McDonell.	Ensign, 14th June, 1774.
"	Alexander Stratton. (prisoner)	
"	Hector McLean.	
Ensign.	Ronald McDonald.	
"	Archibald Grant.	
"	David Smith.	
"	George Daine.	
"	Archibald McDonald.	
"	William Wood.	
"	John Pringle.	
"	Hector McLean (prisoner)	

Rank.	Names.	Former rank in the Army.
Chaplain	John Bethune (prisoner)	
Adjutant	Ronald McDonald.	
Q'r-Master	Lachlan McLean.	
Surgeon	James Davidson.	
Surgs. Mate	James Walker.	

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, June, 4th, 1778.

The so much talked of Northern expedition against Canada is knock'd up; the Marquis de Fyate and Mr. Conway were to be the commanders and were promised by the Congress an army of 5000 men with their own regiments; but on their arrival at the Lakes, half the number could not be mustered, and the project, of course, was laid aside; however the rebels have taken post at Ticonderoga, and intend to throw up fortifications at that place.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 15, p. 38.

(No. 47)

My Lord,

Quebec 10th June, 1778.

.....

Lake Champlain was frozen over Early, and the Ice very fine, a third of the Militia of the District of Three Rivers, under Tonnancour, and a third of the Militia of the District of Montreal, under Longueuil and Lanaudiere, were on the Point of Marching, when I received undoubted Intelligence, that the Enterprise of the Rebels, against this Province, was laid aside for the present; Most of the disaffected Parishes seemed greatly changed for the better but Mascouche de Terrebonne rather worse, they have since declared themselves very Penitent, as some few others, who, in the different Parishes, were disobedient to orders.

.....

I am with all due Respect
My Lord, &c., &c.
•
Guy Carleton.

Lord Geo. Germain, &c., &c., &c.

Indorsed:—Quebec 10th June, 1778.

Sir Guy Carleton (No. 47.)

Dupt. Orig. recd.

R. 13. Sept.

(23 inclosures.)

ADDENDA.

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ADMIRALTY PAPERS, SECRETARY, IN LETTERS. VOL. 4359.

List of His Majesty's Fleet on Lake Champlain, 1776

Ships.	Guns.	Pounders.	Commanders.
Ship, Inflexible.	18	12	Lieut. Schank.
Schooner, Maria.	14	6	Lieut. Starke.
Schooner Carleton.	12	6	Lieut. Dacres.
Radeau Thunderer.	} 6	24	
	} 6	12	Lieut. Scott.
Gondola Loyal Convert.	} 2	Howitzers.	
	7	9	Lieut. Longcroft.

Twenty Gun Boats each having a Brass Field piece from 24 to 9 Pounders, some with Howitzers.

Four long Boats with each a Carriage Gun, serving as armed Tenders.

Twenty four long Boats with Provisions.

List of the Seamen detached from His Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the River St. Lawrence to serve on Lake Champlain.

From the Isis.	100	Treasury Armed Brig.	90
Blonde.	70	Fell	} Armed vessels. 30
Triton.	60	Charlotte.	} 9
Garland	30	Volunteers	} 9
Magdalene		Do from the Transports.	} 214
Brunswick	} 18		
Gaspé		Total	<u>670</u>

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MILITARY DESPATCHES, VOL. 318, pp. 9-10.

Chambly the 26th of August, 1776

My Lord,

Lieutenant Colonel Gordon of the 29th Regiment and one of the Brigadier Generals in this army, as he was riding alone along the road between La Prairie and St. Johns was fired at and mortally wounded by a man who had concealed himself behind some trees and bushes and we have since discovered is a Connecticut man of the name of Whitcom, a lieutenant in the Rebel Army that had sculked about the Cantonments for a considerable time with the design of assassinating any single officer he might chance to see passing for the sake of getting a gold watch and a sword as has been declared by one of his accomplices who has been taken.

This unfortunate accident having occasioned a vacancy in the 29th Regiment I have appointed Major Thomas Carleton to it which I hope will be approved of.

I am &c.

Guy Carleton.

Lord Barrington.

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MILITARY DESPATCHES, VOL. M. 318, pp. 269.

Quebec the 21st May, 1777.

My Lord,

.....
 Your Lordship has desired me to furnish you with such facts respecting the

loss of Chamblee and St. Johns as may seem to throw light upon those transactions, in answer to which I can only inform Your Lordship that I have nothing to charge the garrison of either place. Officers may be unfortunate in the service they are employed on and still be irreproachable. As to private anecdotes, if there be any, none have come to my knowledge, perhaps owing to the necessity I found myself under of rigourously cutting off all communication between the part of the country which remained in my possession from that which the rebels overrun in order to prevent the effects of their poisonous insinuations spreading among the few people who remained steady to His Majesty's interest.

I am &c.

Guy Carleton.

Lord Barrington.

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MILITARY DESPACHES, VOL. M. 318, pp. 86-7.

Quebec, 21st November, 1778.

My Lord,

Anthony Monin who succeeds to the Ensigny of the 8th Regiment is son to Captain Monin, who was killed on the 19th September, 1777, exerting himself at the head of a Company of Canadians, an Officer who upon former service had also behaved with great credit. I understand Lieutenant General Burgoyne had engaged to procure this young man a pair of Colours which the times not putting in his power to accomplish had left a numerous family in very great distress.

These circumstances have guided me in this appointment and I flatter myself Your Lordship will think the promotion well bestowed.

I am &c.

Guy Carleton.

Lord Barrington.

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A HISTORY

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Organization, Development and Services of the Military and
Naval Forces of Canada From the Peace of Paris
in 1763 to the Present Time.

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

EDITED BY

THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE
GENERAL STAFF.

VOLUME III.

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The War of the American Revolution.

The Province of Quebec under the Administration of
Governor Frederic Haldimand, 1778-1784.

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EDITOR'S NOTE.

The narrative in this volume, as in the preceding volumes of this publication, is based upon contemporary records and will not be found to conflict with them in any material point. As the principal documents thus utilized are printed verbatim herewith, footnotes, indicating sources for each particular statement, seem superfluous. In printing these documents care has been taken to reproduce the eccentricities of capitalization, punctuation and spelling found in the originals.

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security for religion, laws and property—prevented rebellion.—The present no time for innovations or for curtailing liberty—the Province surrounded by enemies and infested with spies, p. 175.

206. **Quebec, 25 October 1780.** Haldimand to Lord G. Germain. Reports the capture of Forts Anne and George by Major Carleton who is returned to Crown Point—tales of Indian cruelty unfounded—list of killed and wounded enclosed—Mohawk Indians co-operate with Sir John Johnson on the Mohawk River—Canadian Indians returned from Connecticut river—destroyed barns, mills and cattle—prisoners taken without loss—Johnson's success on the Mohawk river—settlements destroyed—defeated rebels, p. 179.
207. **Quebec, 25 October 1780.** Haldimand to Lord G. Germain. Enclosing documents captured from Mr. Laurens and others—evidence shows that the rebels seriously contemplate an invasion in the Spring—behaviour of the inhabitants promises little for their assistance in military operations—formation of additional Canadian companies to be attempted—this effort delayed by scarcity of provisions and price of flour—difficulties attending defence of the Province—successes in Carolina have probably checked the rebels in any formidable operations against Niagara and Detroit—these places greatly improved for defence—armaments on Lakes Erie and Ontario sufficient to hold enemy in check—rebels' plans against Oswego the most promising—a post to be established there if the supply of provisions permits of it—a tolerable garrison at Sorel will secure Montreal and St. John—exertions made to strengthen Quebec—shortage of provisions—a years reserve necessary in the upper posts as interference with transport would involve surrender of the garrisons—to provide reserve depletes other posts—harvest good—required stores for artillery and engineers not arrived—Quebec in particular short of gun-powder—re-inforcements received only half of those asked—Clinton's inability to spare men—garrisons necessary for posts render action in the field impossible—requests a further re-inforcement of two or three thousand men with provisions for twelve months—also ordnance and engineer stores for 1780, and present demands made for 1781—should troops prove unnecessary to be re-embarked for the Colonies or where else required—attitude of the Canadians such as to cause fear of revolt should French troops enter the Province—reports to the contrary based on insufficient information and should be disregarded—scheme of offensive operations—no serious attack in force can be made in hostile territory intersected with woods and strong passes as all artillery and provisions must be conveyed—posts near Albany can not be taken or supplied except by the Hudson River—Albany thus occupied would enable Haldimand to give support to, or receive it from Clinton.—Fort Stanwix might be invested from Canada but a considerable force would be required—troops in Canada can only be transported to another theatre of war by sea—operations on the enemy's frontier and raids, with provision for a rapid retreat, the best method of attack—successes of Sir John Johnson and Major Carleton support this policy—difficulty of transporting provisions to upper posts lessened by erection of new store houses at Coteau-du-lac and the completion of a canal.—labours in 1780 increased by a fire at St. John—barrack and other buildings burned—powder magazine blown up—repairs barely made when violent rain storm breaks down earth parapet, p. 180.
208. **25 October 1780.** Document captured with Mr. Laurens. Extract of the report of a committee appointed to prepare a letter of credence to His Most Christian Majesty, taken with Mr. Laurens and forwarded by Governor Edwards to His Excellency General Haldimand. Plans of attack on Quebec:—
- (1) Assembly of a force at Fort Pitt in May for an attack on Detroit and to destroy the towns of unfriendly Indian tribes.
 - (2) Assembly of forces at, or near, Wyoming in the early Spring for an attack on Niagara.
 - (3) Assembly of forces at, or near, Oswego early in the spring for an attack on Niagara and to destroy the Seneca and other towns of unfriendly Indians.
 - (4) Assembly of forces at, or near, Oswego to build vessels for the navigation of Lake Ontario and to alarm the Indian country.
 - (5) Assembly of forces on the upper Connecticut river for an attack by way of the river St. Francis.—The success of the foregoing operations involves a further campaign against the city of Quebec—expenses would be ruinous—nothing can be attempted against Halifax—most prudent course confined to

- raids by cavalry, light infantry etc.—If reduction of Halifax and Quebec (city) are essential, it must be attempted—importance of Canada to France summarized—appeal to France for assistance naval and military—Franklin instructed to consult La Fayette, p. 182.
209. (Undated). Proclamation signed La Fayette and addressed to the inhabitants of Canada.—Announces intention of France to send land and sea forces to aid the Americans to effect the independence of Canada which will join the thirteen independent States and choose its own constitution—religion, privileges and manners of clergy, noblesse, and people to be restored—profanation, scorn and insult of a foreign master no longer to be feared—invading armies will find resources of Canada at their disposal—succour given to British will be considered as an act of hostility, p. 184.
210. Newport, Rhode Island, 30 August 1780. Reply of Comte de Rochambeau to deputies of the Indians—The King of France sends gifts—he learned with grief that some Nations had attacked his allies the United States—hopes that they will now take part with him against the English, p. 186.
211. Quebec, 26 October 1780. Haldimand to Sir H. Clinton. Acknowledges receipt of various papers—no signs of store and victualling ships—alarms on the frontiers to aid Clinton—Forts Anne and George destroyed, p. 186.
212. Quebec, 2 November 1780. R. B. Lernout (for Haldimand) to Major Carleton. Sending Captain Le Maistre to Carleton for joint operations—to investigate Du Calvet's store of provisions intended to assist rebels, p. 186.
213. Quebec, (Nov. 1780?) Extracts from a letter unaddressed and unsigned—Trade Fleet sailed 31 May—only eighteen arrived—another fleet to follow—rebel paper reports large ship sunk—possibly the "True Briton" bearing needed stores—Mohawk river scout reports Oneidas have seized Mohawk harvests for the use of the rebels, p. 187.
214. Quebec, 3 November 1780. Haldimand to Governor Hughes. Acknowledges receipt of rebel plan of attack—possession of such documents will serve to convince those at a distance of the utility of many measures which have been taken—success of British arms in the south will cause greater rebel activity against the north, p. 187.
215. Quebec, 6 November 1780. Haldimand to Major Carleton. Every effort to be made to collect evidence against Du Calvet and Pillon, p. 188.
216. Quebec, 15 November 1780. Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton. Operations on the frontiers successful—rebel reports concerning Sir John Johnson's skirmishes opposed to the truth—enemy's loss by destruction of their crops—advice received of contemplated attack on Carleton Island—loss of new vessel on Lake Ontario and loss of lives affects wellbeing of the service—requests Clinton to return all exchanged prisoners—two vessels arrived—report separation from the fall fleet by a gale—non-arrival of the latter serious—provisions scarce—withdrawal of stores from advanced posts may become necessary—fatal effect on Indians and recruiting—enquiries as to a letter addressed to Washington, p. 188.
217. 16 November 1780. Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton. General Arnold's previous experience as a rebel in the Province should enable him to give information concerning persons suspected of holding communication with the rebels—Haldimand forwards names of suspected persons for Arnold's examination and requests his report on them, p. 189.
218. Quebec, 28 November 1780. Haldimand to Lord G. Germain. Situation in the Province—invasion intended early in the summer—rebel failures in the south will force them to increased activity—probably against Canada—Indians, previously loyal to Britain, being attached to the French—difficulties of defending an extensive Province vulnerable to attack in many directions—effect of the loss of Carleton Island—Niagara and Detroit would fall—invasion by Hazen's road would involve loss of Montreal—retention of Isle aux Noix, St. Johns and Sorel would not offset these misfortunes—necessity for re-inforcements of British troops—Oswego is to be established and, after garrisoning Quebec, a force in the field is to be available—first necessity to secure the provisions in the country—fixing of prices of wheat and flour not now likely to be of benefit—non-arrival of second provision fleet has caused re-inforcements to be turned back and depletion of stores at Montreal and Sorel—inhabitants to thresh grain for easy removal in the event of invasion—little reliance to be placed on the militia

—intercourse between rebels and Canadians—the noblesse likely to behave well—severe measures to be taken if necessary—foy and homage not to be further delayed—payment of quints not to be enforced, p. 190.

219. **Montreal, 28 December 1780.** Allan Maclean to Captain Mathews. Acknowledges orders respecting Cardinal—difficulties concerning the appointment of a captain and lieutenant of militia, p. 191.
220. **New York, 9 November 1780.** Sir Henry Clinton to Haldimand (in cypher). Intelligence received of an attempt against Canada—French troops to form the bulk of the invading forces—learns that inhabitants of Canada are combining to assist French—suggests that Haldimand seizes all superfluous provisions from the inhabitants, p. 191.
221. **Quebec, 3 January 1781.** Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton (in cypher). Acknowledges receipt of information relative to invasion—want of provisions the chief difficulty—cannot form magazines or recruit new forces—aware of hostile combinations in Canada—unable to discover the leaders—suspects the clergy—hopes for an attack on Rhode Island by Clinton should invasion of Canada take place, p. 192.
222. **Quebec, 5 January 1781.** Mr. Cramahé to Haldimand. Disapproves of Haldimand's intention to compel the inhabitants to thresh their wheat—calculated to alarm them and give the enemies of Government an advantage—suggests method of procedure should proclamation be made—officers of militia to issue orders in their own localities—the best method to employ agents to purchase wheat—when purchased to order it threshed—does not believe invasion in winter practicable—attempted seizure of wheat would lead to concealment or destruction of stores—thinks Martial Law should be proclaimed in the event of invasion—could be done without consulting the Council, p. 192.
223. **(Unsigned and undated)** Haldimand to Mr. Cramahé. Acknowledges receipt of letter advancing reasons against compulsory threshing of wheat—Cramahé's methods too slow for the emergency—inhabitants advised by enemy and engrossers not to sell wheat—proclamation would follow precedent set in Great Britain—alarming the people cannot be avoided, movements of troops will do that—reluctant to proclaim Martial Law—believes that the attitude of the people will render it unnecessary—vigorous and unanimous action by officers of Government the best example—Cramahé requested to give assistance in this direction, p. 193.
224. **Quebec, 18 January 1781.** The "Quebec Gazette." Proclamation by Haldimand.—Ordering the immediate threshing of grain—captains and officers of militia to see the proclamation carried into effect and to take an account of the cattle and grain in possession of all persons, p. 193.
225. **Quebec, 18 janvier 1781.** "La Gazette de Quebec." Proclamation par son Excellence Frederic Haldimand. (French version of Document No. 224.), p. 194.
226. **15 January 1781.** R. Mathews to Captain Twiss. Instructions relating to the threshing of grain—examination of store houses at Sorel and Chambly—report required, p. 195.
227. **Quebec, 20 January 1781.** Ordinance of the Executive Council for further continuing an Ordinance for regulating the militia of the province of Quebec, p. 195.
228. **Montreal, 15 February 1781.** Loyal Address of the British Inhabitants of Montreal to Haldimand and His Excellency's reply thereto.—**Montreal 29 January 1781.** Loyal Address of the Citizens of Montreal to Haldimand and His Excellency's reply thereto.—**Quebec, 6 February.** Loyal Address of the Gentlemen, Merchants and Traders inhabitants of Quebec to Haldimand and His Excellency's reply thereto.—**Quebec (undated)** The Loyal Address of the Principal Citizens of the city of Quebec to Haldimand and His Excellency's reply thereto, p. 196.
229. **Quebec, 7 February 1781.** Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton. Everything quiet—scouts watching routes into the Province—no word from Halifax—reports concerning affairs in the south should be counteracted by a report from Clinton—again requests information from Arnold concerning suspected persons in Canada, p. 198.
230. **Quebec, 14 February 1781.** The "Quebec Gazette." Advertisement extending the time set for rendering fealty and homage, p. 199.
231. **Quebec, 15 Fevrier 1781.** (French version of Document No 230.), p. 199.

232. **Sorel, 26 February 1781.** William Twiss to Haldimand. Reports his impression that many dread the approach of the French and rebels and that few, or none, wish for it—Haldimand's proclamation has reduced price of corn and has had other good effects, p. 199.
233. **Quebec, 28 February 1781.** Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton. Everything quiet—preparations for defence have made little stir—assured that invasion is a failure—cannon sent to Fort Stanwix—dissensions in rebel ranks—Vermont people seek to deceive both Congress and Royal army—little hope of winning their adhesion, p. 200.
234. **(Undated).** Memorandum from Captain Twiss to Haldimand. Suggests that orders relating to the repairing of bridges etc., be sent to the captains of militia at Kamouraska and River du Loup, p. 200.
235. **Quebec, 7 March 1781.** R. B. Lernoult, Adjutant General, to Captain Hay or officer commanding at Ange Gardienne. Authorizing the confinement in the guard of Joseph Jacob Le Jeune and Nicola le Tarte, p. 201.
236. **Quebec, 29 March 1781.** Extract from The "Quebec Gazette." Report on the activities of rebel raiders at St. Joseph's and their subsequent capture at Petit Fort, p. 201.
237. **Quebec, 9 April 1781.** R. B. Lernoult, Adjutant General, to Brig-General Maclean. Desires his assistance in enforcing obedience to the militia at La Chine, p. 201.*
238. **Whitehall, 4 May 1781.** Lord G. Germain to Haldimand. Information received that the French Court has endeavoured to dissuade Congress from attacking Canada until they have driven the British from the thirteen provinces—suggests that Haldimand sends a large force to Vermont to encourage that province to declare for Britain, cut off supplies to Washington, and sever communications between Albany and the Mohawk river, p. 201.
239. **Quebec, 10 May 1781.** The "Quebec Gazette." Entertainment to Haldimand commemorating the raising of the siege of Quebec 1775-6, p. 202.
240. **Quebec, 14 June 1781.** Haldimand to Lord G. Germain. Precaution taken against invasion, p. 202.
241. **Quebec, 6 July 1781.** Haldimand to Lord G. Germain. Discovery and apprehension of persons carrying letters—impossible to trace the combination to men of higher rank—Du Calvet, a Montreal merchant, in custody in this connection—proclamation (enclosed) issued with concurrence of the Council—proved to be efficacious—Bishop issued circular letter to the clergy in furtherance of proclamation—loyal addresses received from Quebec and Montreal—their effect good, p. 202.
242. **Quebec, 8 July 1781.** Haldimand to Lord G. Germain. Particulars of negotiations with Vermont—lack of good faith by the Vermont people—negotiations used to cause jealousy on the part of Congress and to enforce compliance with the Vermont terms—the Vermonters inveterate rebels, and if united with Congress would be formidable enemies—well provided and better soldiers than the Continental troops—their geographical position very strong—any attack on them from Canada must be in great force—truce made with them by Major Carleton discontinued by Haldimand—still hopeful of gaining their support—no pains or money to be spared in this effort—Clinton suspicious of the Vermonters—their extension of territory and jurisdiction—Robinson's letters to Ethan Allan surrendered to Congress—the effect favourable to union with Great Britain, p. 203.
243. **Albany, 15 July 1781.** Ph. Schuyler to General Washington. French fleets to attack Quebec—augmentation of land forces urged—demonstration against New York desirable—troops marching overland should reach St. Lawrence soon after the arrival of the fleet and army at Quebec, p. 204.
244. **New York, 23 July 1781,** Sir H. Clinton to Haldimand. Re-union with Vermont desirable but suspicious of the Vermont people—officers and men returning to Canada from New York with victuallers delayed there—information of provisions for Haldimand received—no news from home regarding Canada—the intentions of the French Court in that direction—information from Arnold promised—application for return of Knyphausen's men, p. 205.
245. **Whitehall, 26 July 1781.** Lord G. Germain to Haldimand. Intelligence of rebels' intentions relieves all fear of invasion of Canada—requests a demonstration in

- force upon the frontiers—will influence the Vermont people—affairs of the rebels in a desperate condition—increased support from France their main hope—French fleet to proceed to West Indies—Sir George Rodney to follow it, p. 206.
246. **Whitehall, 31 July 1781.** William Knox (for Lord G. Germain) to Haldimand—French Court has refused to send further troops to America—all French troops to join Washington on North River—not to move until the fleet quits Rhode Island for Boston—Washington's suggestions as to movement of French troops refused—no attack on New York pending arrival of a French fleet from the West Indies—Clinton to be heavily re-inforced—no attempt against Canada, p. 206.
247. **Undated (probably July 1781).** Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton (in cypher). Rebel troops are ordered to Peekskill to join French—supposed for an attack on New York—General Schuyler ordered boats to be built hurriedly—frontiers to be guarded—all Tories near frontiers ordered to move east and are plundered—requests Clinton's opinion on the situation and what aid he expects from Canada—situation with regard to provisions alarming—living from hand to mouth in expectation of the fleet—plague of caterpillars has destroyed nearly all hay and a great part of the grain—papers concerning Major Rogers, p. 207.
248. **2 August 1781.** Haldimand to Sir H. Clinton, (in cypher). Desirability of getting a definite declaration from the people of Vermont—their delays for the purpose of strengthening their position—have formed magazines, raised a number of men and will be an important ally or formidable enemy—Ethan Allen has quitted their service. Ira Allen is commissioner to Congress—this change intended to avoid the test of discovery—a letter from Schuyler to Washington intercepted—attack on Quebec and a demonstration against New York agreed upon, p. 207.
249. **Quebec, 2 August 1781.** Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton. Lack of provisions crippling defensive or offensive measures—temporary relief from a cargo received by a merchant—no word of the fleet—privateers cruising in the gulf—all victuals not likely to escape their vigilance—little grain left in the country and this sold at high prices—present crops injured by caterpillars—inhabitants selling and killing cattle, p. 208.
250. **New York, 2 August 1781.** Sir Henry Clinton to Haldimand. General Reidesel sailed to Canada with a number of officers and men for Haldimand's army—request for return of Knyphausen's troops—French and rebels awaiting reinforcements from West Indies to attack New York—diversion on the frontiers by Haldimand and favourable decision by Vermont of great consequence—forces opposed to Clinton about eleven thousand strong, p. 208.
251. **Quebec, August 1781.** Haldimand to Lt. Governor Hughes. Some of the trade fleet arrived—merchantmen taken by hostile ships in the gulf and at sea—British frigates capture rebel privateers, p. 209.
252. **Quebec, 3 September 1781.** Haldimand to Dr. Smyth. Vermont assembly to meet 1st October—detachment in force to take post at Crown Point—strong parties to be on the Mohawk river and frontier of Pennsylvania—hopes of a favourable effect on Vermont—fleets arrived safely with troops and General Reidesel—Knyphausen's troops to be returned, p. 209.
253. **Quebec, 29 September 1781.** Haldimand to General Robertson. Permission to send grain to New York granted—the price, however, prohibitive—price likely to drop owing to heavy harvests and receipt of provisions from Britain—offers to purchase supply—negotiations to be kept secret to prevent rise in prices—payment in Treasury bills or some other means to overcome shortage in specie, p. 209.
254. **Quebec, 29 September 1781.** Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton. Consideration of General Reidesel's suggestions for an expedition from Canada against Fort Pitt—the impracticability of such an undertaking—information to the contrary emanates from ill advised and uninformed people—such an expedition impossible in the winter—all waters necessary for transport closed by ice—risks of detaching all British troops from Canada—subsistence of troops moved to a distant field—the utmost exertions necessary to furnish supplies to rangers in the upper country—the garrison of Niagara more than once on the verge of evacuation owing to shortage of provisions—consumption of provisions at the posts prodigious, owing to the demands of Indians driven from their habitations—late arrival of provision fleet makes it doubtful if supplies can be forwarded—details of transportation necessary for suggested expedition—Fort Pitt not to be easily captured nor surprised—the Ohio people, despite their professions of loyalty,

not to be depended upon—friendly Indians indifferent—many Indians hostile—past experience teaches that Indians pledged to render assistance do not fulfil their obligations.—Unless the expedition were so vital as to justify the abandonment of all other measures in Canada it would be impolitic to undertake it—failure would have fatal consequences—news of Brant's operations on the Ohio—hopes of Indians meeting with Clark's main body—expected to consist of Virginians and Kentucky men—war in Canada entirely defensive except for raids—attack on the enemy by the Six Nations at German Flats, p. 210.

255. **Quebec, 1 October 1781.** Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton. Agents have returned from conference with representative of Vermont—suspicions of the Vermont people almost entirely removed—prejudice of the people and the influence of Congress are too powerful to admit of a sudden change in their desires—Haldimand asked to issue a proclamation confirming to Vermont the lately assumed territory and other privileges—advisability of proclamation carefully weighed—decision to issue it arrived at—to precede detachment detailed for operations on frontier—reports received that the rebels have abandoned their intention against New York—no measures against Vermont by troops at Crown Point—hostile appearance will be avoided—hopes that the result will facilitate the adhesion of Vermont to Britain, p. 212.
256. **3 October 1781.** Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton (in cypher). Asks prompt ratification of proclamation to people of Vermont—success of negotiations depending thereon, p. 213.
257. **St. Johns, 14 October 1781.** Haldimand to Colonel St. Leger. Instructions concerning operations against the district about Lake George and upper Lake Champlain—afterwards taking post at Crown Point—no hostilities to be offered there unless attacked—Vermont people to be watched carefully and not trusted too far, p. 213.
258. **Quebec, 23 October 1781.** Haldimand to Lord G. Germain. Reports on improved defences of Quebec, p. 213.
259. **Quebec, 23 October 1781.** Haldimand to Lord G. Germain acknowledging receipt of information concerning the intention of the French Court and suggestion that Haldimand assist Clinton, p. 214.
260. **31 October 1781.** James Robertson to Haldimand announces Clinton's effort to assist Cornwallis and the surrender of the latter—this event will defeat all efforts to win over Vermont, p. 214.
261. **12 November 1781.** Postscriptum to a letter from Sir Henry Clinton to Haldimand. Arnold reports that Du Calvet and others were friends to the rebels, p. 214.
262. **14 November 1781.** Sir Henry Clinton to Haldimand. Anxiety for the state of affairs in the Chesapeake on which the conduct of Vermont will turn—St. Leger's forces have rendered all possible aid—the Vermonters appear to be conciliated—large enemy forces drawn to Albany, p. 214.
263. **Quebec, 23 November 1781.** Haldimand to Lord G. Germain. Effect of the French alliance on Canadians and particularly the clergy—recent successes and vigilance have combined to keep them from open rebellion—news of the superiority of the French fleet and rumour of Cornwallis's surrender has revived open sympathy with the rebels—invasion by French soldiers will cause a demonstration in their favour—any attempt to arm the inhabitants for defence would be fatal in the circumstances—reluctance to serve exemplified by the seamen on lakes—rebel magazines established on the frontiers whose inhabitants will be easily prevailed on to assist Congress in invading Canada—Vermont may be forced to take a leading part to allay the suspicions raised by their recent conduct—the fidelity of the Five Nations will be severely tested—Haldimand's best troops engaged in guarding the upper posts—the Germans mainly invalids or untrained recruits—total field force could not exceed two thousand five hundred men of doubtful loyalty—re-inforcements and command of the gulf of St. Lawrence necessary—provisions arrived too late to allow of fortifying Oswego—plans of attack set out in Laurens' papers likely to be revived—difficulties attending defence—posts only victualled until spring—failure to forward further supplies will render defence impossible—expectation of a revolution rife among the Canadian gentlemen—Lotbinière's letter to his son confirming this, p. 215.

264. **Quebec, 30 January 1782.** Haldimand to the Officer Commanding His Majesty's troops at Penobscot. Requests information upon affairs on the coast and in the West Indies, p. 216.
265. **Belmont, 7 February 1782.** Henry Caldwell to Haldimand. Asks that the Militia Laws be repealed—civil business to cease—and all men to be put under arms in defence of the Province, p. 216.
266. **New York, 22 February 1782.** Sir Henry Clinton to Haldimand. Information received from Chief Justice of New York of intended invasion of Canada—Schuyler reported to have said that La Fayette had gone to France to propose the project—intelligence received that General Clark intends operations against Detroit by way of the Ohio and Wabache—Detroit reported to be weakly garrisoned—asserted that an invasion of Canada is contemplated by allied forces—Canada to be given to France if the invasion is successful, p. 217.
267. **Quebec, 5 March 1782.** Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton. Canadians in expectation of a revolution—correspondence with the French certain but difficult to discover—reported that the Pope has absolved the Canadians from their oath of allegiance to England on returning to that of France—Congress reported to have offered pardon to all Americans who acknowledge and support the independence of the States—these reports have their effect, p. 218.
268. **Michilimackinac, 9 March 1782.** Lt.-Governor Patrick Sinclair to Haldimand. Reports that a party of Canadians and Indians were equipped by the traders, p. 218.
269. **Whitehall, 22 April 1782.** The Earl of Shelburne to Haldimand. Intelligence of French armament preparing at Brest for America—its real destination doubtful—British squadron cruising off Quebec to prevent the enemy putting to sea—confidence in Haldimand's ability to repel invasion—Sir Guy Carleton to enter Canada with his forces if necessary—preparation for a siege of Quebec recommended—swift vessels to watch the entrance to the St. Lawrence—news of an enemy fleet to be given at once to New York—a signal system to be installed along the river and to the posts in the country—naval forces on the lakes sufficient guard in the summer—Indians require special attention—Haldimand's policy regarding them in connection with Vermont approved—copies of the address of the House of Commons to the King (with the King's reply and two Resolutions) enclosed—the King's servants bound to avoid all offensive arts against the revolted Colonies—Haldimand's proclamation to the Vermont people opposed to these Resolutions—his confidence in Vermont not sufficient to justify it—steps to be taken to attach Vermont to the British interest—claims of possession and cultivation to be granted in preference to those obtained by fraudulent means—American prisoners of war detained in Great Britain and Ireland to be returned for exchange—this policy to be carried out in Canada.—The consequences of Sir Guy Carleton's coming to Canada—Haldimand granted leave of absence from the Province—to retain his Commissions and their emoluments, p. 219.
270. **Halifax, 25 April 1782.** A. S. Hamond to Haldimand. Something intended against Canada this year—its form depends on French support in the St. Lawrence, p. 220.
271. **Montreal, 28 April 1782.** Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton (in cypher). Germain's conflicting views on the latitude allowed in negotiating with Vermont—the difficulty of escaping censure or of acting with any prospect of success—ignorance of plan of ensuing campaign—terms offered to Vermont people before the surrender of Cornwallis would now be ridiculous—this apparent from their concessions to Congress and their relinquishment of jurisdiction—coercion alone can now determine the actions of the Vermonters—appearance of British troops on their frontier without action will confirm their opinion of our inability to enforce our authority—on conviction that no attack by the river is intended the greatest possible force will be sent to the frontiers—impossibility of penetrating far into hostile country in face of the militia—lack of provisions—purchased wheat which cannot be ground for some time—Clark's operations against Detroit—two companies of Butler's rangers sent to re-inforce that place—these taken from Oswego where a post is intended and preparations have been made for establishing it—rebel newspapers contain full accounts of Haldimand's

- negotiations with Vermont—proof of confidence betrayed—requests that the reclaiming of Vermont be assisted by Clinton—a further effort to be made in May—the character of the Vermont emissary not flattering to hopes of success—early break up of the ice, p. 220.
272. **St. Francis, 16 June 1782.** Luc Schmid to Haldimand. Party returned and reports destruction of blockhouse on Hazen's road—made prisoners of people leaving Montreal, a captain and two lieutenants—a prisoner from Cohos reports General Carleton at New York with ten thousand men—other troops cut off—soldiers threatening to disarm if their situation did not improve—an army of cowboys moving towards Albany, p. 222.
273. **(Undated).** Felix O'Hara to Haldimand. Activities of American privateers—one landing at Percé captured all the craft—spiked the twelve pounder gun—other guns carried off—proceeded up the bay destroying everything—took O'Hara prisoner—charged with being rich—treated with disrespect—privateers now at anchor—Government House at Percé not demolished but plundered, p. 223.
274. **Quebec, 28 June 1782.** Haldimand to Sir Richard Hughes. Protection of the gulf and river—purchase of a twenty-six gun vessel—capture of a rebel privateer, p. 223.
275. **Quebec, 17 July 1782.** Haldimand to the Earl of Shelburne. Acknowledges information concerning French armament—every possible precaution has been taken against invasion—instructions regarding intelligence of hostile fleet given to New York and to the navy in the gulf and river—success in the West Indies and the lateness of the season leaves little to apprehend this year—prisoners of war being collected and will be sent to the colonies for exchange—strict conformity with the system pointed to in the address to the King, His answer and the two Resolutions will be observed—acknowledges the King's permission to return to England—gratitude for royal appreciation of his character as an officer—declines to place himself under an officer junior in rank—state of health an added reason for leaving Canada—will communicate with Sir Guy Carleton who may come, or send an officer, to take over the Canadian command, p. 223.
276. **Whitehall, 31 July 1782.** T. Townshend to Haldimand. Previous alarming accounts of the state of Canada removed by Haldimand's letter of 5th June—His Majesty pleased with the establishment of a post at Oswego—preparations against an attack on Detroit give promise of success—Lord Rodney's successes in the West Indies and his superior naval force removes apprehensions of invasion by sea from the West Indies—precautions to be continued against any other fleet—His Majesty's high opinion of Haldimand's merit and service—nothing but his own desire the reason for his withdrawal from Canada, p. 224.
277. **Quebec, 17 August 1782.** Haldimand to the Earl of Shelburne. Preparation for leaving Canada. Brigadier-General Powell to be assistant to Sir Guy Carleton—Brigadier-General Maclean to replace Powell in the upper country—Major-General de Reidesel to command the German troops—the carrying out of these plans dependent on commands from home—intelligence from Sir Guy Carleton—the invasion of the province, etc., p. 225.
278. **Return of the Militia of the Settlement of Detroit, Aug. 1st 1782,** p. 226.
279. **Quebec, 17 August 1782.** Haldimand to the Earl of Shelburne. Nothing new transpired in the province—no communication from Sir Guy Carleton—reports and newspapers state that Congress will listen to nothing short of complete independence and are resolved to continue the war—hostilities on the part of Canada are stopped—a large rebel scout sent by New York to range between Lakes George and Champlain—no hostile effort being made against it—Washington with a cavalry escort lately visited Albany and the frontier posts—this excursion probably the outcome of a report that a detachment was to be sent in favour of Vermont or against Albany—no troops sent to work at Isle aux Noix for fear of causing alarm, p. 226.
280. **Quebec, 23 September 1782.** L. Genevay to Mr. Daniel Cramer. Application for exemption from lodging of troops and from corvées refused—the Captains of Militia the proper channel for such requests, p. 227.
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A HISTORY

OF THE

Organization, Development and Services of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada from the Peace of Paris in 1763, to the Present Time.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GENERAL HALDIMAND, 1778-1780.

On vacating his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Three Rivers, in 1765, Haldimand had returned to England where he remained until he was appointed to command the troops in West Florida, in succession to his brother officer and countryman, General Bouquet, who had died shortly after his arrival in that province. Haldimand held this command for six years, when he was directed to relieve General Gage at New York, as commander-in-chief in North America, during his absence in England. On his arrival there early in 1773, he found the province much disturbed by the agitation against ministerial measures, which had spread from the other colonies. A few months later, the governor called upon him to supply troops for the suppression of riots in the county of Charlotte. This request he resolutely refused to comply with until all resources of the civil authority had failed.

"It appears to me of a dangerous tendency," he wrote to Governor Tryon on this occasion, "to employ Regular Troops where there are militia Laws and where the Civil Magistrate can at any time call upon its trained inhabitants to aid and assist them in the performance of their office, and the execution of the Laws in force against Rioting, and for the protection of the lives and property of His Majesty's Subjects. That the idea of a few lawless Vagabonds can prevail in such a government as that of New York, as to oblige its governor to have recourse to the Regular troops to suppress them, appears to me to carry with it such reflection of weakness as I am afraid would be attended with bad consequences, and render the authority of the Civil Magistrates, when not supported by troops, contemptible to the inhabitants."

His decision on this subject was referred to the Colonial Secretary and he was distinctly informed in reply, that military assistance was not to be given in case of riot until the civil authority had been found unable to restore order. At a later date his correspondence on the subject with the governor was fully approved.

In the summer of 1774, however, he was instructed that troops should be sent to Boston to maintain order in case of further disturbances. On receiving these orders, he frankly stated his doubts of the expediency of this measure, and reported that he would delay the movement of the troops until he received positive instructions from General Gage, who had been directed to return to America and resume command. Gage established his headquarters at Boston, while Haldimand still remained in command of the troops at New York. In September, 1774, Gage directed him to join him with two regiments from New York and Philadelphia, at the same time bringing other troops from Canada to increase his force at that place. On his return from England, Gage had been appointed governor of Massachusetts. He was instructed to enforce the recent acts of parliament relating to that province, by the employment of troops, if necessary. The political contest steadily became more bitter. Hostilities seemed inevitable. In the event of Gage becoming incapacitated, command of the troops, would naturally devolve on Haldimand as the next senior officer. For reasons of policy it was considered that in the case of an actual rebellion, the military command should be in the hands of an officer of British birth, and he was consequently recalled and granted special leave of absence.

Lord Dartmouth's letter on this subject is dated 15th April, 1775, four days before the first collision at Lexington. Haldimand, however, remained on the staff at Boston for some months afterwards, probably waiting for a passage to England. On his arrival in London, he was informed that he had been appointed Inspector-General of the troops

in the West Indies. He was subsequently promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General in the army, with the temporary rank of General in America. The next year was spent by him in travelling and visiting relatives on the continent. In the summer of 1777, he was offered, and accepted, the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of the fortress of Quebec. This created an awkward situation as the salary attached to that post had been drawn by Carleton since his appointment as governor of the province, and also by his predecessor, General Murray, during his tenure of that office. When these facts became known to Haldimand, he promptly renounced the appointment and requested that his commission should be cancelled, in terms described by Lord Barrington as "the handsomest letter any man could write." His appointment to succeed Carleton as governor-in-chief soon followed.

On his return to Canada he had nearly completed his 59th year. His military service had been long and varied. Born at Yverdon in the Swiss Canton of Neuchatel on 11th August, 1718, he entered the Sardinian army at the age of fifteen. After a few years service he transferred to the Prussian army and served during the first Silesian campaign. In after years he frequently referred with pride to Frederick the Great as his master in the art of war. At some later date he obtained a commission in a regiment of Swiss Guards in the service of Holland. Finally, in 1764, he was appointed to the command of a battalion of the Royal American Regiment, or 60th, then being formed for special duty in North America. Nearly all the original officers of this corps were of Swiss or German birth. Thenceforth, his employment had been nearly continuous in North America for a period of twenty years.

Before leaving London he had asked that the troops in Canada should be reinforced sufficiently to protect it against any attempt by the French to reconquer the province, which he considered probable. He requested that his military authority should be unlimited, and that he should be granted discretionary powers to decide whether his operations should be confined to the defensive. He desired instructions as to his conduct with respect to the inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces, if they should request assistance in the event of a French alliance, and urged that his authority in respect to the military posts on the lakes and his relations with the superintendent of Indian Affairs should be more strictly defined. He further inquired whether the Habeas Corpus Act was in force in Canada, as in that case he anticipated considerable embarrassment on the arrest of persons suspected of being spies or agents of the enemy.

In reply, Lord George Germain stated that a reinforcement of 1,200 regular troops would be supplied, and that in addition to these he would be authorized to raise a corps of Canadians not exceeding 1,000 men, to be formed by drafts from the militia, or called out on *corvée*, for a limited period, and relieved from time to time. This force was considered quite large enough to defend the province and possibly make a diversion on the frontier of the neighbouring colonies to assist operations conducted from the Atlantic coast. Formal instructions on other matters were delivered to him at the same time.

Official courtesy detained him at Quebec until after the departure of Sir Guy Carleton, with whom his relations appear to have been most friendly. This time was diligently employed in obtaining information and preparing a report upon the state of the province.

The fortifications of the town of Quebec, he reported, were "entirely rotten," and all the other forts and military posts in "a very defenceless state." With the exception of the clergy, the noblesse, and some of the wealthier citizens of the towns, he believed that the Canadians could not be relied upon for the defence of the country, particularly in the case of a war with France and the evacuation of the other colonies by the British regular troops, which at this time seems to have been anticipated. The posts on the Great Lakes were much exposed to an attack, and if they were taken the fur trade must necessarily be lost, consequently he argued that the Indians must be kept in good humour at any cost, "for if they do us no good they may do us much harm." Seven hundred warriors, with their families, had arrived at Montreal, who, he suggested, might be employed in making incursions upon the frontiers of New York in the event that this was considered expedient, but he had so far restrained them from hostilities, fearing an unfavourable effect on the negotiations then in progress for the conciliation of the colonists.

Among the British residents, he was informed, there were still many who favoured the rebels, and were tireless in their efforts to seduce the Canadians. He warmly endorsed the proposal to raise a body of one thousand men from the militia, to be employed on all expeditions in conjunction with British troops and thus utilize their skill in woodcraft and the management of boats. The construction of a citadel at Quebec must be postponed, as it would be a work of years. He stated his intention of fortifying at once all main routes of approach into the province and of strengthening the forts on the lakes. The provincial navy, he reported, was in an efficient state, but

the most careful attention must be paid to its maintenance, as the safety of those posts depended upon it.

He had learned, with considerable apprehension, that Sir Henry Clinton had evacuated Philadelphia and retired overland to New York. It seemed improbable that the negotiations for peace would be successful.

The lack of reliable information, either from Europe or the seat of war, gave him great anxiety. Previous to his arrival no ships had come from Great Britain for nine or ten months, and the only news from the outer world had been gleaned from colonial newspapers, or brought in by tramp-ships, casually arriving from the West Indies or foreign ports. Intelligence obtained from scouting parties, refugees, or deserters was seldom found to be trustworthy.

One of his first steps, accordingly, was to buy a small privateer, taken in the river below, where she had captured several small ships and plundered the government trading posts. This swift-sailing schooner he intended to employ in carrying despatches between Quebec and Halifax, for which duty she was at once fitted out, and appropriately named the "Mercury." He requested that the Commander-in-Chief on the Atlantic coast should be instructed to forward all useful intelligence to Halifax to be transmitted to him, and likewise proposed that similar vessels should be employed as packets between England and Halifax, sailing at intervals of a month or six weeks, while navigation was open, for the same purpose.

Sir John Johnson had been ordered to obtain one hundred volunteers from the loyalists under his command, to be engaged in scouting near Lake Champlain, as their knowledge of the country would enable them to do this efficiently.

A return of the troops in Canada was enclosed, showing a total strength of 6,700 of all ranks and arms. Deducting from this, the garrisons stationed at the upper posts and other forts, with ten per cent for possible casualties, Haldimand estimated that about four thousand effective men might be assembled for operations in the field on a sudden emergency. Reports soon reached him that Moses Hazen, accompanied by a Canadian, formerly a resident of St. Francis, and four Indians, had been seen in that neighbourhood, apparently engaged in reconnoitring a road into the province. This convinced him that an invasion of the province by that route was certainly meditated. A party had accordingly been sent in that direction, with instructions to destroy the harvest in the settlements on the Connecticut river, nearest the frontier, and capture Hazen's party, if possible.

Early in August Haldimand visited Montreal and inspected the fortifications on the Richelieu river. An engineer officer, accompanied by a strong detachment of troops and some artificers, was sent to the foot of Lake Ontario to select a suitable place for a military post, commanding a safe harbour for shipping as a depot for supplies. The officers in charge had instructions to construct a fort and barracks and build several gunboats. After examining the site of the former French fort at Cataragui, they selected an island in the river St. Lawrence, about twelve miles below the lake, then known as Deer Island, to which they gave the name of Carleton. Here they found a suitable site for the proposed fortifications, overlooking a convenient harbour for the class of vessels then employed on the lake, and commenced the work of construction. This new post was completed before winter and given the name of Fort Haldimand.

Regarding the water route by Lake Champlain, as the main way of approach for an invasion of the province, great efforts were made to strengthen the posts on the Richelieu. At Isle aux Noix, the former French works were reduced in size to adapt them for defence by a smaller force. At St. Jean a new redoubt was built on the high ground on the west, which overlooked the other fortifications. These were still in a ruinous condition from the effects of the siege, and scarcely capable of resisting any serious attack. Chambly consisted of a fortified barracks utterly incapable of defence against artillery and commanded by high ground within easy musket range.

Sorel was finally selected by the governor as the most eligible station for the main body of his troops and principal magazine, for its situation at the junction of the Richelieu and the St. Lawrence rivers commanded both rivers and ships of the largest size could approach the wharves with ease. The construction of redoubts, barracks and storehouses at that place was immediately begun and all surplus stores withdrawn from Montreal and other posts in the vicinity. From this place troops could be moved by water with the utmost facility to any part of the province, and guard the route along the river St. François, as well as those already mentioned. This latter avenue of invasion was considered to be particularly dangerous, as the settlements in the revolting colonies approached those of the Canadians much nearer than in any other part of the province, and the Indians living there were known to be corresponding with the enemy. The inhabitants of Sorel were praised by Haldimand as being "remarkable for their courage and resolution and have distinguished themselves very much by their attachment to Government, even at the time the Rebels were masters

of that country." He recommended that they should be rewarded "by some public mark of favour," such as the remission of their quit rents, and advised the purchase of the seigniorie for the purpose of obtaining the necessary site for fortification and wood for construction. Canadian officers were employed to reconnoitre the upper part of the St. François river and discover the secret paths by which the enemy's scouts entered that part of the province. They were directed to select a suitable site for a military post, as high up the stream as was considered safe, to cut off dangerous intercourse with the inhabitants.

A company of regular troops, and a detachment of Loyalists were despatched to the most remote settlement on the Chaudière at Sartigan, where a stockade and blockhouse were built to command that route of approach.

Two of the largest ships of the provincial navy were kept constantly cruising on Lake Champlain, as far as Crown Point, and observing parties were sent in that direction whenever any suspicious movement was reported. Many refugee families came in from the neighbouring provinces, having been driven from their homes and their property confiscated, under a special law of Congress. The construction of huts or houses for lodging these people became expedient to avoid quartering them among the inhabitants. This was done in the parish of Machiche. Much of the work upon fortifications and buildings was performed by the regular troops, but requisitions were made upon the captains of militia in the neighbouring parishes to furnish carpenters, caulkers, sawyers, and other skilled workmen, who were required to provide their own tools and promised a reasonable rate of pay for their services. Unskilled labourers were ordered to work upon corvée, and only received rations. Horses and harness were likewise obtained by requisition for drawing timber. As the demands for labour for these purposes and for the transportation of supplies by corvée became very burdensome on the adjacent parishes, an additional number of men was requisitioned from the district of Three Rivers, to relieve them. All demands for men by corvée appear to have been equalized with care in proportion to the population; particular men skilled in special trades were, however, occasionally commanded by name to work for wages.

Soon after his arrival at Sorel, Haldimand learned the successful result of an expedition from Fort Niagara against the frontier forts on the Susquehanna river in Pennsylvania. Advancing with his small body of rangers and a larger number of Indians, Colonel Butler entered the settlements at Wyoming. Two small forts surrendered without resistance. A superior force of continental troops and local militia that marched out to attack him was quickly routed, and in the merciless pursuit that followed, more than three hundred were killed and only five prisoners taken. The entire settlement, which contained several mills and upwards of one thousand houses and other buildings, was ruthlessly laid waste; the standing crops were burned and great herds of cattle and horses driven off or killed. Many of Butler's men had been harshly expelled from this settlement and their property destroyed. They were undoubtedly actuated by a fierce desire for revenge, which it was difficult to restrain within proper limits. The survivors of the defeated force, who took refuge in the remaining forts, then offered to surrender and terms of capitulation were arranged, by which it was agreed that all forts should be entirely demolished and none of the inhabitants should again bear arms. Butler reported that "in the destruction of the settlement, not a single person was hurt except such as were in arms, to these, in truth, the Indians gave no quarter." Small parties were detached to destroy neighbouring settlements and the adjacent counties were deserted by most of their inhabitants. This campaign of devastation was deliberately sanctioned with the object of securing the posts on the lakes from an attack, and preventing the main Continental army from obtaining necessary supplies from these settlements. Every party sent out was given strict orders to burn and destroy everything that it could. "If we can prevent the enemy getting in their grain," Butler remarked in his instructions, "their general army, already much distressed, must disperse and their country fall an easy prey."

A few weeks later, however, Haldimand learned that the settlements on the Illinois and Mississippi rivers had been occupied by parties of rebels from Virginia, who threatened an advance against Detroit. About the same time he was informed that the fishing posts on the Bay of Chaleurs and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, had been pillaged and practically destroyed by American privateers. Several small vessels had been taken by them and the people employed in the fisheries declared that they must abandon them, if not protected by ships of war.

A powerful French fleet commanded by Comte d'Estaing had sailed from Toulon for America on the 12th of April. Its destination had been suspected, and a British fleet held in readiness to observe its motions. This fleet, when in pursuit, encountered a heavy gale and was dispersed. The small North American squadron was quite unequal to meet the French fleet but had luckily entered the harbour of New York just before

its arrival. After reconnoitering Chesapeake and Delaware bays the French fleet came to anchor off Sandy Hook on the 11th of July. A few days later a watering party sent on shore upon Long Island was surprised and some prisoners taken. From them information was obtained that war with England had been proclaimed on board the fleet in mid-ocean on the 20th of June, the same day that it was to be announced in France. Several prizes had been taken by them afterwards. This information was immediately sent to Quebec by water, where it was received by Lieut.-Governor Cramahé and by him transmitted to Haldimand at Sorel.

By these events, the difficulties of his situation were enormously increased. That the Canadians were strongly attached to France by ties of origin, language and religion, could scarcely be doubted, and seemed but natural. The appearance of a French fleet in the St. Lawrence with only a small body of troops on board might be followed with the most serious results. Strengthening the defences of Quebec then became a subject of the highest importance. News of the declaration of war had been already spread widely among the inhabitants. Letters of trifling importance were intercepted from some Canadian officers of Hazen's regiment to their relatives. Captain Malcolm Fraser, when at Kamouraska had arrested an Indian, with letters containing an account of the treaty between France and the English colonies, which he had been instructed to deliver to the curés of Kamouraska and St. Rocque. It was accordingly surmised that they were considered willing agents for spreading this news among the inhabitants. "The Priests in the District of Quebec were almost to a man, zealous and sincere in the cause of government, whilst the Americans alone were concerned in the War," an officer of trust reported, "but now that there is a war with France, Bigotry and Ignorance of the Rights of Civil Society with some, and the attachment to their Native Country with others, may make a difference; the Curate of Kamouraska, which may be considered as a frontier parish, is in the first case and ye Curate of St. Rocque in ye latter."

Some officers and men of the militia, who had been made prisoners at Bennington or at Lake George, having made their escape, reported that Hazen had succeeded in persuading twenty-six of their comrades to enlist in his regiment at Albany during the previous winter. Lieut.-Governor Cramahé, who had been consulted respecting the proposed embodiment of a part of the militia, advised that this should be deferred until the end of the year, when the men employed in the fur trade above and the fisheries below, would have returned to their homes; many of these, who were considered as the best men in the service, could then probably be enlisted. At the same time, he recommended, that the inspectors of militia should be directed to inspect the men thus embodied, and that when the troops were placed in winter quarters, they should be distributed in such a way as to enforce obedience to the orders of the government, a point which he said required particular attention, as more than one-third of the persons commanded on *corvée* from parishes in the vicinity of Quebec, for service as boatmen, had failed to report.

Haldimand remained at Sorel until late in October, supervising the intrenchments and making final arrangements for winter quarters for the troops. A blockhouse was built and a small garrison quartered at Yamaska for the protection of that settlement, for which the captains of militia were required to furnish workmen. Major Christopher Carleton, who commanded the garrison at Isle aux Noix, received orders to conduct an expedition against the settlements on Lake Champlain. He was instructed to bring off as prisoners all persons who had taken the oath of allegiance to Congress, and destroy the provisions, forage and cattle which he found collected there. In case he could surprise or attack with success any of the military posts in that quarter he was instructed to do so. The further the frontier settlements could be pushed back the less would be the danger of an invasion from that direction.

On returning to Quebec, Haldimand strongly urged upon the senior naval officer, who was about to sail for England with the autumn convoy of merchant ships, that one of his largest vessels should be left behind for the winter, for the protection of shipping in the river from privateers, fearing also that some portion of the French fleet might ascend the river early in the spring to co-operate with an invasion by land, before any naval assistance could arrive from Great Britain. This officer, who was Captain Richard Pearson, afterwards distinguished for his stubborn fight in the "Serapis," against a squadron under John Paul Jones, considered that his rigid instructions from the Admiralty left him no alternative but to refuse; a decision described by Haldimand as an "error, which may be followed by the most fatal consequences to the province." Soon afterwards an intercepted letter was brought in, addressed to his wife, then residing in the parish of St. Anne du Sud, below Quebec, by Captain Clement Gosselin, one of Hazen's officers. The writer, who was still lurking somewhere in the province, stated that a force for its invasion would advance to co-operate with a French fleet early in the spring. This was followed by the discovery of a printed proclamation.

from the Comte d'Estaing, addressed in the name of his king, to all former French subjects in North America, inviting them to join his forces or those of the United Colonies.

Before long evidence was not wanting to show that these efforts of the enemy had been attended with some success. Their spies and scouting parties were harboured in remote settlements, moved freely about from place to place, and their movements were not reported until long after their departure.

On the first of November, shortly after the ships of war had sailed with their convoy, the distressing intelligence was received that an American privateer had burned or destroyed the buildings, boats and nets of all the fishing posts on the north shore, and in Labrador, with the exception of one belonging to a Canadian, whom they informed that his property was spared because no British subject had any interest in it and had posted a notice to that effect. These losses, combined with those they had suffered before, caused great discontent among the merchants concerned, and Haldimand appealed at once to the Admiralty for the necessary protection, and suggested to the Governor of Nova Scotia that the construction of batteries at the narrowest part of the Gut of Canso might prevent these privateers from lurking there, as they had been accustomed to do.

Carleton's expedition was entirely successful as far as the destruction of the settlements was concerned. All of these, on both sides of Lake Champlain, from the provincial boundary to the vicinity of Ticonderoga, as well as those upon Otter Creek, were entirely destroyed, with supplies estimated as being sufficient for twelve thousand men for four months. A blockhouse and another fortified building at Otter Creek were burned and some arms taken. Between thirty and forty prisoners were brought off, with many cattle. A copy of an agreement was found in possession of the inhabitants, undertaking to support the Congress, which was construed as a sufficient reason for the destruction of their property and their detention as prisoners of war.

Late in 1776 Captain Henry Hamilton had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit. He was instructed to conciliate the Indians and retain their friendship. Subsequently, he was directed to employ them to distress the frontier settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and encourage the loyal inhabitants to join him with a promise of a grant of two hundred acres of land to each recruit. Early in 1778 Hamilton received reliable information that Fort Pitt was weakly garrisoned, and that many of the settlers were desirous of coming to Detroit to avoid the hostility of the Indians. He proposed an expedition against that place. Carleton had replied that as the conduct of the war had been taken out of his hands he could give no orders, but would refer the letter to his successor. Haldimand distinctly stated that nothing could be gained by the temporary occupation of Fort Pitt, but the destruction of any magazines and provisions was highly desirable. He strongly recommended his favourite policy of the expulsion of the frontier settlers. Hamilton had requested arms for his militia. He was informed that all firearms in his possession must be repaired, as none could be sent him. He was advised to support Colonel Butler's operations with Indians from Detroit. The method of accomplishing this was left entirely to his own discretion. In a later letter he was requested to supply information respecting the fort, its garrison and the adjacent settlements. Hamilton was an industrious and rather prolix correspondent. Long letters came from him at very short intervals. On learning the loss of the military post at Vincennes, he at once began to organize an expedition for its recovery. His preparations were carried on with great energy. Councils were held with the Indians to secure their co-operation; a company of rangers was enlisted, volunteers were enrolled from the inhabitants, boats and stores were prepared and a detachment of militia was sent forward to improve the portages. Several strong scouting parties of Indians, led by Canadian officers, were despatched to obtain information. When all these arrangements were completed Hamilton sent a letter to the governor, informing him of his intention of leaving Detroit in command of this force early in October. Before his departure he received a report that an expedition was being organized for the attack of Detroit, and a demand had been made upon the Indians for its unmolested passage through their country. This information did not deter him from the execution of his project, although his entire force, including a very small detachment of the 8th Regiment and some Indians, did not exceed two hundred of all ranks. The great distance to be travelled and uncertainty of the good-will of the Indians along the route made this a very perilous undertaking. Haldimand was inclined to dissent, but the distance and season of the year made it impossible for him to countermand the movement in time, and he merely remarked that its success must depend entirely upon the judgment and ability of the commanding officer.

Early in the following January written instructions were issued to the captains of militia for their guidance in allotting quarters for troops on the march, or when billeted in their parishes. The number of carriages to be provided, the loads they were to carry,

and the rates of pay were fixed; the number of soldiers to be quartered in each house, the bedding to be supplied for men and furniture for officers were carefully specified. Quarters were not to be changed without the knowledge of the captains of militia, who were made responsible for the assistance of the troops.

The Legislative Council was convened and the governor recommended the renewal of the ordinance for the regulation of the militia. This was opposed by Lieut.-Colonel Caldwell, who desired to have it amended in a more stringent form. His motion to consider it, article by article, was defeated by a majority of thirteen to three, while another to continue the ordinance for two years was subsequently passed. Had a discussion taken place, Haldimand remarked that "it might have been spun to a considerable length, at so critical a Juncture, of manifest disservice to the King's Affairs, and to the National Interests."

Alarming reports of a contemplated invasion arrived from time to time from the frontier. One account circulated at Montreal, stated that twenty thousand men were assembling at Albany under the command of La Fayette. When this news reached General Powell, who was in command at St. Jean, he asked for instructions as to the course of action to be pursued, in case the enemy should succeed in passing the forts on the Richelieu and advance directly upon Montreal. Later intelligence was received of a body of troops assembling at Skenesborough, but little reliable information could be obtained of their numbers or intentions. The ice on Lake Champlain broke up suddenly at the end of February, and as all supplies in that vicinity had been destroyed, little fear was then entertained of any formidable movement.

Another invasion of Canada, had, in fact, been under the consideration of Congress for some time. Washington was required to report upon a plan submitted to that body. He stated that the large naval force on the lakes constituted an almost insurmountable obstacle to any attempt to enter the province by the usual routes of communication. He suggested that magazines might be formed in the upper settlements on the Connecticut river, with a view to an advance by St. François. General Bayley, commanding at Co-os, and Colonel Hazen, were directed to obtain information. Bayley was required to report on the strength of the troops in Canada, how they were distributed, the condition of the military posts, and whether any reinforcements had arrived during the summer, or were soon expected; whether the crops had been plentiful and what was the price of grain; whether any force of Canadians had been raised, and if so, were they volunteers or drafted men; whether the inhabitants had been disarmed and by what authority. He was further instructed to ascertain the feeling of the people upon American politics and the opinions of the clergy in particular; and to report whether the Canadians generally were inclined to join the United States and whether the Canadian Indians were favourably disposed.

Two months later, on the 11th November, 1778, Washington wrote at great length to the president of Congress, formulating his objections. The plan was too extensive and beyond their abilities, and also too complex. If the proposed expedition against Detroit was well conducted, that place might be taken without much difficulty. Niagara was, however, described as one of the strongest fortresses in America and could only be reduced by a regular siege or starvation. The obstacles to an advance by the river St. François were very serious, as the troops employed must march for one hundred and fifty miles from Co-os, much of the distance through an uninhabited and desolate country, accompanied by a great train of wagons. The employment of five thousand militia had been proposed for the expeditions against Detroit and Niagara. He considered that militia might be employed against Detroit, but for the siege of Niagara the very best troops would be needed. If the naval force on Lake Ontario was overcome and the garrison cut off from its supplies, that fort must necessarily surrender. He strongly opposed a proposal for stationing five thousand troops on the Connecticut and Mohawk rivers, as they would exhaust the local supplies.

In a private letter, addressed to Henry Laurens, the president of Congress, he disclosed his main objection, which he had considered inexpedient even to mention in his official letter.

"I have one objection to it, untouched in my public letter, which is in my estimation insurmountable and alarms all my feelings for the true and permanent interests of my country. This is the introduction of a large body of French troops into Canada, and putting them in possession of the capital of that province, attached to them by all the ties of blood, habits, manners, religion and former connexion of government. I fear this would be too great a temptation to be resisted by any power, actuated by the common maxims of national policy. Let us realize for a moment the striking advantages France would derive from the possession of Canada—the acquisition of an extensive territory, abounding in supplies for the use of her islands, the opening of a vast source of the most beneficial commerce with the Indian nations, which she might then mono-

polize, the having ports of her own on this continent independent of the precarious goodwill of an ally, the engrossing of the whole trade of Newfoundland whenever she pleased, the finest nursery of seamen in the world, the security afforded to her islands, and finally the facility of awing and controlling these States, the natural and formidable rival of every maritime power in Europe. Canada would be a solid acquisition to France on all these accounts and because of the numerous inhabitants subject to her by inclination who would aid her in preserving it under her power against every other But it is a maxim founded on the universal experience of mankind that no nation is to be trusted farther than it is bound by its interest and no present statesman or politician will venture to depart from it."

Laurens replied, entirely assenting, and adding "Hence your Excellency will perceive what were my feelings when the propositions for subduing Canada by aid of a French fleet and army were broached to me. I demurred exceedingly to the Marquis's scheme and expressed some doubts of the concurrence of Congress. This was going as far as I dared consistently with my advice and considering him as a gentleman of equal honour and veracity, I trusted the issue of his application to the sagacity of Congress."

The committee of Congress concurred, generally, with Washington's opinion, and agreed that Niagara could scarcely be taken without obtaining the command of Lake Ontario, but declared that that post was of such importance to the United States as to justify every practicable effort to gain possession of it. They accordingly recommended that he should be instructed to make preparations at an early date for an attack upon that place, and "also to carry on such further operations to northward as time and circumstances shall point out hereafter."

Before this decision was made known to him, Washington had ordered magazines of provisions to be formed at Albany and on the upper part of the Connecticut river and set the saw mills at Fort Anne at work preparing timber. Troops were gradually assembled at advanced stations, but it does not appear that he entertained any real intention of attempting a serious invasion. At the end of May, following, he remarked in a confidential letter, addressed to Landon Carter: "The accounts which you had received of the accession of Canada to the Union were premature. It is a measure much to be wished, and I believe would not be displeasing to the body of that people, but while Carleton remains among them with three or four thousand regular troops they dare not avow their sentiments (if really favourable), without strong support. Your ideas of its importance to our political union coincide exactly with mine. If that country is not with us it will, from its proximity to the eastern states, its intercourse and connexion with the numerous tribes of Western Indians, its communication with them by water and other local advantages, be at least a troublesome, if not a dangerous, neighbour to us, and ought at all events to be in the same interest and politics of the other states."

Early in March, 1779, Haldimand received the disquieting information that two large ships of war and five hundred boats were under construction at Saratoga or Stillwater, on the Hudson river. Many sleighs had been engaged daily in forming magazines at Fort Edward. A large force of the enemy was reported to be marching towards Co-os. Later accounts confirmed these statements and described the boats as being too large for the navigation of the Mohawk river and the waterways leading to Oswego.

Communication overland had been established with Halifax. Letters were conveyed to and fro by way of Lake Temiscouata and the St. John river by Canadian officers belonging to the Indian department. Despatches for Sir Henry Clinton at New York and for the ministry in England were also forwarded by this route.

A ship with a small body of officers and soldiers belonging to the regiments in the province, taken prisoners under Burgoyne's expedition, and afterwards exchanged, had been driven into Halifax by stormy weather the previous autumn. An urgent request was then made that these troops should be forwarded to Quebec as soon as navigation opened.

Two Canadian companies, commanded by Captains Beaubien and Boucherville, had suffered severely in Burgoyne's campaign. Most of the surviving officers and men had been made prisoners under the convention of Saratoga. These companies were consequently disbanded; the officers of another, commanded by Captain de Rouville were retained and employed on various duties. Steps were taken to re-enroll the militia, but no effort was made to embody any portion of it, owing to the want of supplies and suitable quarters.

As soon as the weather became favourable, the work upon the military posts near the frontier was resumed. Increased vigilance was imposed upon the lookout parties posted in the remote settlements on the St. François and Yamaska rivers. The presence of spies and returned refugees was soon reported. Efforts to discover and arrest them were unsuccessful.

About the middle of April, the governor was informed of the disastrous result of Hamilton's expedition to Vincennes. Ascending the Miami river, and thence crossing the difficult carrying place to the headwaters of a tributary of the Wabash, he proceeded with difficulty towards his objective. Vincennes was approached on the 16th of December and a proclamation in French forwarded for distribution among the Canadian inhabitants, offering pardon to those who would join him and threatening punishment to others. He was fortunate in the capture of a scouting party sent out from the fort to obtain intelligence of his movements and advanced within a few miles of the town before he was discovered. Many of the French Canadians then joined him. The fort was surrounded and easily taken with its entire garrison, mainly composed of Virginians. The local militia were enrolled, took the oath of allegiance, and were placed under arms. The militia from Detroit, and most of the regular troops, were then allowed to return. Hamilton remained in command and made some effort to strengthen the fortifications. One small party of volunteers was sent forward to Kaskaskia on the Illinois river, where they nearly succeeded in capturing Colonel George Rogers Clarke, commander of the enemy's force. They returned, bringing with them some French prisoners and a quantity of flour. Another party of volunteers was sent to communicate with the Cherokee Indians far to the southward, with a letter to an officer at Natchez, who was directed to intercept supplies passing towards New Orleans and another to the Spanish Governor of the latter place, asking him to prohibit the sale of gun powder and arms to the enemy. A scouting party was sent to visit the falls of the Ohio, and watch the movements of the enemy in that direction. A *corvée* of the inhabitants was organized to bring forward provisions from the Miami. Thus matters seemed to be going well until February 22nd, when the fort was suddenly invested by a very superior force, under Colonel George Rogers Clarke, whose approach, with the connivance of some of the inhabitants, had been undiscovered. Many of the local militia immediately deserted. Nearly the whole of the Indians had gone away on various expeditions or returned to their villages. With the few men who remained, successful defence of the fort was clearly out of the question, and Hamilton capitulated on the best terms he could obtain. He was afterwards falsely accused of purchasing scalps from the Indians and treated with extreme severity, together with two of his French Canadian officers, Dejean and La Mothe. That Hamilton had liberally rewarded Indian war parties on their return from their expeditions, bearing with them the bloody trophies of their success, and purchased their prisoners from them, is undoubtedly true. On the arrival of these three officers in Virginia, the governing council decided to begin the work of retaliation upon them, put them in irons, confined them in the dungeon of the public gaol, prohibited the use of pen, ink or paper, and excluded them from conversation with any one except their jailer.

It seemed more than likely that his easy success at Vincennes would encourage Clarke, who had the reputation of being an enterprising leader, to advance against Detroit. That post was weakly garrisoned, and not in a satisfactory state of defence. Instructions had indeed been issued to the commandants at all the western stations to strengthen their fortifications, but little had been accomplished, owing to the weakness of the garrisons. Efforts had been made to provide them with a stock of provisions for several months in advance, with small success, owing to the difficulties of transportation. Hamilton's unfortunate expedition and the large number of Indians resorting to these forts, who had to be fed during the winter, had emptied their magazines and made an immediate replenishment of the greatest importance. This was undertaken as soon as Lake Ontario became navigable and small detachments of regular troops were sent forward from Oswegatchie and Carleton Island, where they were replaced by a portion of the Royal Regiment of New York. Count d'Estaing's proclamation, and copies of a letter from the Marquis de la Fayette addressed to the Indians of Canada and the Six Nations, had been distributed among them, with considerable effect, as several of their chiefs openly declared their intention of remaining neutral and others even appeared inclined to become actively hostile.

As long as his naval force on Lake Champlain preserved a decided superiority, Haldimand had little fear of any invasion from that direction, but he thought it possible that small bodies of the enemy might stealthily make their way into the province and incite an insurrection, as he had discovered a very pronounced change of opinion everywhere since the declaration of war by France. Besides d'Estaing's proclamation, other papers of a similar nature had been circulated among the inhabitants and all efforts to discover the persons concerned in their distribution had failed. The best means of defending the province, he stated, would be to form a number of encampments in suitable positions to command the country and prevent an invading force from obtaining provisions. The force at his disposal was, however, clearly insufficient to carry into effect such a plan, particularly as he was obliged to station most of his British troops in the advanced posts, so that he could not assemble more than a thousand effective men for operations in the field. The Royal Highland Emigrants

were composed of men of all nations, and he characterized Sir John Johnson's regiment as "though a useful Corps with the Ax, not altogether to be depended upon with the Firelock." The German troops largely consisted of men unfit for active service, who had been left behind by Burgoyne. With the exception of two weak battalions, they were considered unsuitable for active service, and from being scattered in billets among the inhabitants, had become lax in discipline and disposed to desert. An urgent demand for reinforcements and a further supply of arms was accordingly made upon the ministry. Should these arrive Haldimand announced his intention of undertaking the embodiment of one or more battalions of militia. If he succeeded in this he intended to disarm the disaffected parishes, a measure which must, in his opinion, be executed with great prudence and supported by a strong force.

Immediately after receiving information of Haldimand's arrival in Canada (25th August, 1779), Sir Henry Clinton had written to him from New York, announcing his intention of sending him a reinforcement of two thousand men in the autumn if the French fleet, then on the coast, did not prevent it, and this promise was renewed in a later letter. He was prevented from carrying it out by the failure of the British squadron to return to that place until the season was too far advanced. Early in February, 1779, Clinton received information that boats were being built at Stillwater and that two of the principal inhabitants of Canada, in the name of many others, had invited the enemy to undertake an invasion of that province. He made great efforts to forward this information to Haldimand by despatching messengers overland to Canada from New York, through the hostile lines, and others to Halifax. One of his letters, dated the 24th February, and apparently sent overland, was received at Quebec on the 27th of April; while another, dated on the 12th February, and sent by way of Halifax, was not delivered until the 6th of June. On the 15th of March, Clinton wrote that he had learned that the carpenters employed in building ships and boats had been recalled and concluded that the expedition intended against Canada had been abandoned for the time being. This letter was received by Haldimand on the 7th of May. On May 26 Haldimand made a definite application to Clinton for reinforcements, remarking that he hoped they were already on their way. The reports that he had then received from the Mohawk River, Albany and the Kennebec, although differing in some particulars, agreed in the statement that boats were being built and troops assembling at all those places, and that some of them were French. He did not think that their numbers were large and those reported to be French were probably vagabonds enlisted in the country, or, perhaps, Americans in French uniforms. Still, he considered it expedient to be as much on his guard as if they were the best troops from Europe, for the inhabitants fully expected that a French fleet would soon appear in the St. Lawrence. A brief note from Clinton received on the 31st of May warned him that an attack upon Detroit was intended, to be covered by a feint up the Susquehanna, in the direction of Niagara. Orders were instantly given for the movement of a reinforcement of regular troops from Niagara to Detroit, which, however, consisted of only one hundred men.

After the opening of navigation in the St. Lawrence many weeks elapsed without the arrival from England of a single ship of any description. The troops in Canada were, to a great extent, dependent for their provisions upon supplies sent out to them. It would be extremely dangerous to delay forwarding the necessary provisions to the upper posts until the arrival of the store ships expected, owing to the short season for transportation. Consequently, he was obliged to empty his magazines below for that purpose or face the alternative of being compelled to abandon some of these distant posts during the next winter. The prolonged delay in the arrival of the provision ships filled him with dismay. Reports were spread, and widely believed among the people, that a French fleet would appear first. In a letter to Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated the 7th of June, Haldimand stated "that the Canadian Inhabitants, both above and below, have become adherents to the united Cause of France and the Americans," and that the Indians had grown lukewarm and might join the enemy.

"It shall be my study," he wrote, "to counteract the present Temper and Disposition of the Canadians with all the Prudence and mildness the critical situation of the Province requires, but should the Rebels attempt to penetrate amongst us in Force, the Martial Law shall be proclaimed. Small parties have already been in the Province and have remained several Days unperceived, & hitherto when notice has been given of them, it has always been too late to apprehend them."

The day before this letter was written M. Poirier, the curé of St. Ours, brought to Colonel St. Leger, then commanding the troops at Sorel, a printed copy of d'Estaing's manifesto, which had been found by him attached to his church door. Other copies had been posted at the same time at the churches in the neighbouring parishes of St. Denis and St. Antoine. The persons employed in posting these proclamations were not

discovered, although it was suspected that they must be well known to many of the inhabitants.

In a secret letter addressed to Lord George Germain, on June 18th, Haldimand again referred to the intelligence which he had received of preparations for an invasion of the province from various directions, and added:—

“I have daily the mortification of discovering that the disaffected People receive earlier intelligence of the State of affairs in all Quarters than I can possibly obtain, which has been the means of persuading all Ranks of men that the French Fleet will come up the St. Lawrence in the course of this summer, and this story has been propagated with so much Art, and yet so universally, that there is scarcely a Rebel or Canadian or Indian but believes it and I fear most even expect it with pleasure, which is but too visible amongst the Canadians from their uncommon anxiety about the arrival of vessels, from hence I apprehend that any considerable Misfortune happening to us just now would raise the whole country in arms against us and this opinion is not founded upon distant & precarious Intelligence but on a precise knowledge of the General Disposition of the Inhabitants.”

He further stated that the salt provisions remaining on hand would be barely sufficient to supply his troops until the 15th of the following month, and that the prolonged delay in the arrival of store ships confirmed the people in their belief that the French navy had a decided superiority at sea. American privateers were busy once more in the gulf and had taken at least one vessel bound for Quebec from Newfoundland. The only ship at his command to oppose them and protect the fishing posts was a small sloop carrying ten guns. Several officers had arrived overland from Halifax, bringing letters, but could give him no hope of any reinforcements, as even the small detachment which had wintered there, was detained for want of a convoy. The lack of provisions had become most alarming, and he had been obliged to delay despatching his letters, owing to the presence of the privateers, until the arrival of a small ship from South America had induced him to hope that his mail boat might sail with safety for Halifax.

Another letter of the same date was addressed to the first Lord of the Admiralty, urging protection for the fishing settlements on the lower St. Lawrence and the gulf, as a few days before an American privateer had actually attempted to enter the harbour of Tadoussac, only forty leagues below Quebec.

Haldimand was a diligent correspondent and maintained constant personal communication by letter with the officers commanding all the posts near the frontier, and the residents in the Indian villages. They were particularly enjoined to intercept all spies and prevent them from communicating with their friends in the settlements, who were reported to be collecting information for them and harbouring them in their houses or meeting them in the woods by night. Some of the rebels, he said, disguised themselves as Canadians and others as Indians. All suspected persons, found lurking in the woods, must be arrested and detained until they could give satisfactory accounts of themselves. Strong scouting parties of Indians accompanied by a few regular soldiers and Canadians were frequently sent out from St. Francis and Yamaska to explore the paths along those rivers leading to the frontier and even beyond. These were usually led by trusted Canadian officers, several of whom, like Fleurimont and Schmid, had served with credit under de Rigauville in the expedition against Pontiac. One of these parties actually advanced as far as Cohos and returned with two prisoners.

A deputation of chiefs from the Five Nations arrived at Montreal with a message from their people, inquiring with undisguised indignation why the promise made to them by General Carleton two years before to establish a garrison at Oswego as a means of keeping up communication with them and furnishing supplies, had not been carried into effect. “Shall we at last be listened to,” they concluded, “or are you afraid of the people of your own colour, and wish to conciliate them”? This was a most embarrassing request, as Haldimand was still unable to comply with it, partly from lack of troops, but mainly from want of the necessary provisions.

On July 12, ten ships of the long expected provision fleet arrived, having sailed from Cork on April 30. They brought no information whether any troops would arrive from England, but it was reported that the customary “trade” fleet would sail for Canada very late in the summer. The arrival of these ships at once lowered the price of grain and had a very good effect on the inhabitants generally, by confuting the reports of French supremacy on the Atlantic.

Haldimand then decided to send a mixed force up Lake Champlain and a body of Indians towards Oswego, to alarm the country and prevent the farmers from gathering their harvest. His fears of an insurrection were removed unless French troops were landed in the province, and he reported that the inhabitants had been very useful in transporting stores and were tolerably obedient. The trade fleet from England did not arrive until the 19th of August. No troops were on board except a single company of

German light infantry, but despatches stated that some German recruits would be sent in the fall, whom he surmised would be "picked up on the High-Ways and probably be worse than those already here, who are entirely useless for this kind of war and rather a Burden than an Increase of Strength." He was also informed by Lord George Germain that the French proposed to send a squadron up the river to incite a revolt among the Canadians which might take place that autumn. However, Haldimand announced his intention of increasing the size and number of his raiding parties on the frontier, to destroy the crops and indirectly create a diversion in favour of Clinton's operations. With the exception of those forming the escort for this fleet, no ships of war arrived for the protection of the navigation of the gulf, until the autumn, when the "Hind," a small frigate, carrying twenty-four guns, was sent out from England to clear the coast of privateers and remain during the winter. Lord Sandwich, first Lord of the Admiralty, plaintively explained that "in truth, we have had so much upon our hands at home and calls from all parts of this extensive Empire for naval support that we find ourselves unequal to supplying what may be expected from us and many important services must be postponed in order to allow of our attending to those that are the most pressing . . . Your surprise will cease when you know we are in daily expectation of an invasion from France and are at the eve of an action for the Sovereignty of the Sea against the Combined Fleets of France and Spain."

In September, 1778, Captain William Caldwell of Butler's Rangers, with about two hundred men of that corps and as many Indians had laid waste the flourishing settlement of the German Flats, destroying all the grain and buildings and driving off the cattle. The inhabitants took refuge in the forts garrisoned by a continental regiment, which were not attacked by him. Two months later, Walter Butler, with the same force, marched upon Cherry Valley, where magazines were being formed and cattle collected. Part of the garrison, including several officers of the continental regiment, was cut off and the settlement ruthlessly destroyed. A number of women and children were unfortunately killed by the Indians in spite of Butler's efforts to restrain them.

The complaints of the inhabitants on the frontier for protection became so urgent that Congress at length decided to invade the Indian country with an overwhelming force and possibly besiege Fort Niagara. The troops for this purpose were put in motion from Wyoming early in May, 1779, and consisted of 3,500 veteran soldiers from the eastern States, besides 500 boatmen and pack-horse drivers. Another division of 2,000 men ascended the Mohawk river, in the boats constructed at Stillwater, to the head of navigation and thence marched through the woods to the headwaters of the Tioga river, which they descended in boats or on rafts to its junction with the Susquehanna. A third force of 500 men assembled at Fort Pitt, with orders to ascend the Alleghany and destroy the Seneca villages along the river. General Sullivan, who was selected for the command, was a singular example of a class of clever, pushing, self-reliant men of humble origin, who had come to the front during the revolution. Beginning life as a stable boy, he had become in succession, a hostler, a tavern keeper, a lawyer, a member of the assembly, a delegate to congress, and finally a major-general in the continental army.

"The immediate objects," Washington informed him, "are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements, and the capture of as many prisoners, of every age and sex, as possible. It will be essential to ruin their crops now in the ground and prevent them planting more. Parties should be detached to lay waste all the settlements around, with instructions to do it in the most effectual manner, that the country be not merely overrun, but destroyed.

"After you have very thoroughly completed the destruction of their settlements, if the Indians should show a disposition for peace I would have you encourage it, on condition that they will give some decisive evidence of their sincerity by delivering up some of the principal instigators of their past hostility into our hands; Butler, Brant, the most mischievous of the Tories that have joined them, or any others they may have in their power that we are interested to get in ours. They may possibly be engaged by address, secrecy, and stratagem, to surprise the garrison at Niagara and the shipping upon the lakes, and put them in our possession."

Sullivan's movements were conducted with remarkable caution and forethought. His men were carefully trained for fighting in the woods and a number of Oneida Indians, under the direction of their missionary, Samuel Kirkland, were engaged as scouts and guides. Blockhouses and stockaded forts were built at suitable points a few miles apart along the line of communication. The daily marches were short and protected by strong advanced, flank, and rear guards. His encampments were carefully fortified with stout breastworks of logs. To oppose his advance, Butler was unable to assemble more than 300 rangers and about the same number of Indians. On August 27 he was driven from a strong position he had occupied near Chemung. Although his loss was small, he abandoned all hope of a successful resistance and retired slowly

to the Seneca villages on the Genesee river and thence to Niagara. That place seemed to be so much in danger that Haldimand determined to send a considerable force to its assistance, under the command of Sir John Johnson. This consisted of the whole of his own regiment and one company of regular troops, with all the warriors from the Indian villages in Canada who could be assembled at such short notice. At Carleton Island, Johnson embarked with 350 soldiers and 300 Indians with the intention of landing at Sodus Bay, but was driven by a gale to Niagara. He was joined by Butler and descended the lake as far as Oswego with the purpose of attacking the Oneida village, and afterwards striking at Sullivan's line of communication. Having destroyed the principal Indian villages with their cornfields, Sullivan rapidly retired to Wyoming and eventually into winter quarters. Johnson returned to Montreal without having accomplished anything, except, perhaps, hastening Sullivan's retirement.

Few of the Indians had been killed or taken prisoners, but owing to the destruction of their villages and cornfields, several thousands of them removed to the vicinity of Niagara, where they became a burden upon the magazines of that place. Haldimand was so much disconcerted by these events that he gravely warned Lord George Germain that if it was intended to preserve the "upper country and fur trade" a force of a thousand or fifteen hundred men, with the necessary supplies of provisions, must be employed for that purpose alone, as soon as Lake Ontario became navigable next spring. He again laid stress on the advantage which might be derived from forming agricultural settlements in the vicinity of Detroit and Niagara for the purpose of raising grain and cattle for the supply of those posts. These settlements, he said, would soon amply repay any expenditure made upon them.

The inroads of the rangers and Indians upon the frontier had been the chief cause of the punishment inflicted upon the Indians. The severity shown by Sullivan in his invasion had in turn only increased their exasperation and desire for revenge.

Information of the intrigues of French agents among the Indians was received about the same time from several quarters. The captain of the sloop "Viper," while cruising in the gulf for the protection of the fisheries, learned that the Mic-Mac Indians had committed depredations upon the inhabitants on the south shore. He landed at Miramichi, held a council with them and appointed a new chief. Twelve of them had been decoyed on board on his approach by hoisting French colours, and as they wore silk stockings and were dressed like Frenchmen, he carried them off as prisoners to Quebec. They were subsequently sent to Halifax for disposal by the governor of Nova Scotia, with whom they had made a treaty the year before. Haldimand observed that "it was very visible from their behavior what effect Count D'Estaing's Manifesto and the French Alliance have had on all the ignorant People of every Denomination in this River and Gulf, and the unguarded state by water, in which we have been left last Fall & in the Spring, confirm them in the Belief everything went wrong with us in every part of the World, nor has it been possible to undeceive them."

The movements of a noted negro half-breed, named Joseph Louis, until lately domiciled in the Indian village at St. François, were watched with much suspicion, as he was suspected of being the principal agent employed in conducting correspondence with the enemy. No criminating evidence could be secured against him except for assisting deserters and prisoners to escape. This man had actually been rewarded by Congress with a commission as an officer in their service, although this was not known at the time.

Printed copies of d'Estaing's proclamation certified by Gerard, the French envoy at Philadelphia, had been circulated among the Canadians and Indians on the rivers Illinois and Miamis, with considerable effect. A number of Canadians, headed by a man named Linctot, had actually joined Clarke at Kaskaskias and assisted him in organizing an expedition against Detroit. His intention of advancing to the rapids of the Miamis river before the end of the summer was announced, but for some unknown reason he had failed to execute it.

Some natives of France, residing in the province, displayed "a Petulance characteristic of the Nation" and three of them were arrested in consequence, although Haldimand admitted that it would be difficult to obtain sufficient evidence to convict them of any offence. He took advantage of a quarrel between the bishop and a priest who had shown a considerable leaning towards France to send the latter to England, where he recommended that he should be detained and not permitted to return home until peace was concluded. The enemy's privateers continued their depredations in the gulf with the result that the fisheries were almost annihilated and the people employed in them obliged to retire into the interior. As a remedy, Haldimand again proposed that a large ship of war should be stationed at Bic, a heavy frigate in the gulf, and another on the north shore, to be assisted by such small vessels as he was able to arm for that service, and suggested that the departure of the fall fleet should be postponed for a month.

As it had been reported that about two hundred Canadians, who had accompanied the enemy in their retreat or joined them since, had enlisted in Hazen's corps and were employed in cutting a road from the Connecticut river to Mississquoi bay, on Lake Champlain, he suggested that an offer of pardon should be made to them, provided they returned to Canada before a certain date. This, he stated, "might have a good effect upon the Body of the People and furnish us with the means of obtaining more certain information of the Favourers of Rebellion, within this Province, whose Cabals and Intrigues are extremely prejudicial to the Royal Cause."

In a secret and confidential despatch, addressed to Lord George Germain, on September 14, 1779, Haldimand gave a decidedly gloomy view of the situation. The full measure of Sullivan's success against the Six Nations was not yet known to him, but he considered it probable that the Indians might be forced to accept such terms as were imposed upon them. He anticipated the loss of the upper country and fur trade and the invasion of the province by Lake Champlain, the river St. François and Yamaska. The projected fortifications at the various military posts were still unfinished and the construction of a citadel at Quebec must be the labour of years. The most effective part of his force consisted of three battalions of British regular troops, numbering about 1,200 men and the Royal Highland Emigrants who had acquired a fair degree of discipline. The German troops were unreliable and of little value for operations in that country, except on garrison duty. If it was "seriously intended" to preserve the province, a considerable additional force must be sent out as early as possible in the following spring, which should not consist of German troops or of recruits. A company or two of artificers would be most useful for the construction of fortifications. An ample supply of provisions was necessary and should be despatched not later than the first of April with adequate quantities of ammunition, military and naval stores and presents for the Indians. The altered disposition of the inhabitants caused him serious apprehensions. "The Clergy," he remarked, "who in general behaved so well in 1775, since the French Alliance with the Rebel Colonies, are cooled very much to the British interests; that those amongst them, who are natives of France should lean to that side, is not after all so surprising, but that the Canadian Priests, who have already reaped so much advantage by the change and have a chance of still greater, having ever been kept under by the French Government, is extraordinary and can only be accounted for in this way, that they are for the most part taken out of the lowest class of People, they are fully as ignorant and as void of principle as those from whom they originate."

"Though the Seigneurs and better sort of Citizens have been enabled to participate in the Favours of Government, some of them beyond what they had a Right to expect, they are not, a few excepted, so grateful as we had reason to expect, few of them indeed have sagacity enough to see into the Consequences of the French Alliance and that should the Province fall, the Canadians must become the most miserable People on Earth, and be Slaves to the Americans, while they can never vie with or enjoy but a very small share of their commerce."

"Some of the Canadian Habitans might have been brought in time to act with vigor to against the American rebels but should a French Ship or two make their appearance 'Bougainville,' or any other French Officers known to them, come up with 4 or 500 French or other men clothed in white, they most probably would take their part, and appear in arms against us; many of them inquired of an officer of a Man of War who came by Land from Bic whether Mons. La Mothe Piquet was not expected up."

"Too many of the old subjects in the Province have imbibed American ideas and assisted in poisoning the minds of the Canadians too much to expect they will exert their endeavours to undeceive them or contribute much to the salvation of it, whenever the Trade of the upper Country is lost this lower part, and got into the hands of the Southern Colonies, their conduct in this will answer to a kind reception."

To supply the place of the priests who had died, he strongly advised that efforts should be made to obtain clergy to replace them from the Duchy of Savoy, whose character and political opinions might be previously ascertained through the Sardinian ambassador. This step he thought "might tend to excite laudable emulation amongst the Canadians and engage them to exert their best endeavours to deserve the favour of the Government."

Instructions had been received to recruit twenty additional men for each company of the battalion of Royal Highland Emigrants, that corps having been placed on the establishment of the army as the 84th Regiment. In addition to the ordinary bounty, each recruit was offered two hundred acres of land for himself, fifty for his wife and fifty for each child, in any province of North America he might select as his residence after the termination of the war. Recruiting, however, even on these favourable terms, was not brisk, and Maclean was eventually forced to send recruiting parties to Nova Scotia and Newfoundland to obtain men. A considerable number of refugee loyalists

continued to join Sir John Johnson's corps and Butler's Rangers, both of which were nearly completed at the end of the year.

In June, 1779, Brigadier-General Francis Maclean had been instructed by Sir Henry Clinton to detach a part of the garrison at Halifax to occupy a position in Penobscot Bay, where he landed and began to build a fort. A month later he learned that an expedition was being equipped at Boston for the purpose of attacking him, and sent a message overland to Quebec, asking that a diversion should be made in his favour. The small number of troops at his disposal and the scarcity of provisions prevented Haldimand from doing this, but he ordered a strong party, headed by M. Launière, an active officer of the Indian Department, to advance in that direction by the Chaudière and Kennebec rivers, with instructions to alarm the settlements and intercept couriers. In the latter respect, Launière was exceptionally fortunate, as he captured a lieutenant colonel and a captain of the Continental army, the latter being a Frenchman, carrying letters of considerable importance from the officer commanding at Machias to Congress.

Sir Henry Clinton had also requested a diversion on the northern frontier of New York to assist his operations, which Haldimand undertook to accomplish by sending out scouting parties in stronger force than he had previously intended. One of these was instructed to march towards Hazen's road and attack his working parties, the other was sent in the direction of Fort Edward. Neither of them accomplished any service of consequence beyond gaining information and taking a few prisoners. A reinforcement was again earnestly solicited from Clinton to oppose the threatened invasion and protect the Indian country. Without such a reinforcement, no important operation could be attempted. "If I send 1,500 or 2,000 men to protect the upper Country," Haldimand wrote on November 1, "I leave this Province defenceless, exposed not only to foreign Invasion, but to a Revolt of the Canadians,—and if to prevent this Evil I keep the small Force I have together, the upper Posts & of course the Indians must inevitably fall. The German Troops which compose my Force, three British regiments excepted, are in every Respect unfit for the Service on which I have to employ them—they are inactive, indolent and helpless & so addicted to desertion that I dare not trust them in any of the Frontier Posts, so that in fact they are more an Incumbrance when there is a scarcity of Provisions than an additional Strength."

A few days later he received letters from Halifax, informing him that 2,000 men had actually embarked at New York for Quebec, and officers with pilots were sent down the river to meet them and assist in landing and quartering the troops in the parishes below Quebec, if the weather should prevent the ships from ascending the river. The squadron of transports conveying these troops was dispersed by a severe storm, some of them returned to New York, one was driven into the island of St. Jean, (Prince Edward Island), with part of a German regiment; others were blown out to sea. Information of this disaster was not received until the following January. All hopes of receiving any reinforcements before May or June accordingly vanished.

During the summer the fortifications on Isle aux Noix and at St. Jean had been so much strengthened that they were considered in a state to resist any attack not preceded by regular siege operations. A new fort had been commenced at Detroit and that at Niagara was repaired. A ship of two hundred tons, to carry fourteen guns, was launched at Carleton Island and the fortifications there were enlarged. Large storehouses for provisions were built on that island and at Coteau du Lac, to facilitate early transport in the spring. The navigation of the river for bateaux at the rapids between Montreal and Oswegatchie had likewise been improved by the construction of a canal. Barracks for 1,200 men, with commodious storehouses, were built at Sorel, although the fortifications there had not been entirely completed from scarcity of labour. Barracks were constructed at La Chenaye and Pointe du Lac on Lake St. Peter.

Haldimand again strongly urged the purchase of the seigneurie of Sorel, and suggested that a site for a town should be surveyed and lots leased at a moderate ground rent. The value of land at that place, he said, was daily increasing, and in a few years the Government might be obliged to pay more for a small portion of it than would then purchase the entire seigneurie. Plans had been prepared for temporary fortifications and timber bomb-proofs enclosing Cape Diamond at Quebec, which would be undertaken next year. The organization of a company of artificers would be attempted during the winter.

Desertions had become so numerous from the German troops that an official notice to the inhabitants of the province was published in a Quebec Gazette on December 2, warning them against assisting or harbouring such deserters, and calling upon them to co-operate in arresting all vagabonds and fugitives, referring particularly to recent atrocious murders perpetrated near Three Rivers as an instance of the danger incurred from sheltering such persons.

Prolonged dry weather in the summer and autumn had caused a total failure of the crops, and as there had been scarcely any rain for six months the inhabitants at a

distance from the rivers were greatly distressed for want of water. The flour mills at Terrebonne and the Sault aux Recollets were unable to run for three months, until the river began to rise in December. The people were compelled to resort to every substitute that they could think of to supply the want of bread. "Wheat has been by that means preserved," Haldimand wrote on January 28, 1780, "so that I hope, altho' they cannot fail to suffer much that their situation will be less deplorable than was at first expected."

By that time he had recovered his spirits and reported that all military posts in the upper country were in a respectable state of defence, although not sufficiently garrisoned, and if he was enabled to occupy Oswego by the arrival of adequate reinforcements with the necessary quantity of provisions, he believed that the Five Nations would give stronger proofs than ever before of their attachment. His correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton was henceforth carried on in cypher, as he remarked that "every track & channel of conveyance is now so watched that it is next to impossible for a messenger to get through."

He received a letter from the governor of Nova Scotia, informing him that war had been declared by Spain, and a Spanish ship, having been captured by a privateer from New York, a copy of a treaty signed by Congress with France and Spain had been discovered among the letters on board. By one of the articles of this treaty it was reported that the Congress had agreed to hand over to Spain the two Floridas, and to France, Canada and Nova Scotia, by June 20, 1780. It was stated at the same time that the French fleet, commanded by d'Estaing, had actually sailed from the West Indies for Canada, but had been dispersed off the coast of Georgia by a violent gale, which dismasted many of the ships.

On February 14, circular letters were sent out to captains of militia directing them to make an inventory of all wheat in the hands of the inhabitants within the limits of their respective parishes, noting therein the quantity in possession of each individual and the names of all persons who had purchased or contracted for any quantity of it since the harvest, as well as the price paid or promised, and the names of persons attempting to monopolize it. The curés of the parishes were asked to assist in preparing these returns, as many of the officers were illiterate.

In consequence of a request received from Sir Henry Clinton, Haldimand decided to send out a considerable body of Indians under the command of Captain de Launière, to divert attention from his projected operations in the southern states, by scattering them in small parties on the frontier of New England. He was instructed to intercept all deserters going to the enemy or scouts coming from them with their guides and make them prisoners. If the Indians of Nova Scotia should refuse to join him, he was ordered to treat them as enemies and destroy their villages. He was to remind the Indians under his command of the solemn promises they had made to refrain from acts of cruelty and to compel them to keep them. The officer in command at Penobscot was requested to assist him in every way. Owing to the desertion of the greater part of the Indians, de Launière was unable to carry out his instructions to their full extent, but he succeeded in reaching Penobscot and delivering his letters. Intelligence was again received from the Connecticut river that magazines of provisions were being formed and that Hazen, with his regiment, was expected to arrive early in the spring to continue work upon the road leading towards Lake Champlain.

On April 1 a special circular letter was issued to the officers commanding the frontier posts, forbidding them under any circumstances to enter into any terms of capitulation for any post except their own, ordering them to disregard any pretended form of capitulation which might be presented to them as having been accepted by any superior officer, and directing them to defend their posts "with that determined bravery which zealous and experienced officers have always done when they consider that delaying an enemy for a few days may frequently be the means of preserving a whole country under the dominion of its lawful Sovereign."

The two armed brigs "Polly" and "Liberty," belonging to the provincial navy, were fitted out and placed under the command of Captain Young of the frigate "Hind," to cruise for the protection of merchant shipping and fisheries in the lower part of the river and gulf. He was directed to employ them chiefly in searching bays and creeks for privateers, and the schooner "Mercury" was also placed at his disposal as a despatch boat. A British privateer, arriving from England on the 3rd of June, brought despatches, among which was a secret letter from Lord George Germain, stating that the recent naval victories had caused the French to abandon their plan of invading England, and that they had consequently decided to prosecute their military enterprises in America. Haldimand was warned to be on his guard against surprise and defend Quebec until relief could arrive, for which he was to apply to Admiral Arbuthnot and Sir Henry Clinton. He must make the necessary arrangements for conveying information quickly to those officers of the appearance of a hostile fleet and maintain constant communication with the latter by land and water. Captain Young was accordingly

instructed to employ the provincial vessels under his command for this purpose. A privateer carrying twenty-two guns, which had lately arrived from Liverpool, was purchased and sent to join him. This ship was renamed the "Wolfe." He was instructed to destroy all stores and buildings on the island of Bic and take in custody all pilots who might be of any service to the enemy on the appearance of a superior force. He had already been directed to obtain an escort for the transports at the island of St. John for the conveyance of 300 German troops whose speedy arrival was urgently desired.

A few days later, Haldimand learned that an American privateer had entered the harbour at Percée and bombarded the fishing station. This attack was gallantly repelled by the militia of the place under the command of Peter Fraser, the principal proprietor of the fisheries, who had been supplied with two small guns. Lieut. Governor Cox, who had recently arrived there, reported that if the militia were provided with two heavier guns, no privateer would venture to attack that place again; "they are Loyal and Brave and have exerted themselves on every occasion." Haldimand promptly responded to this request by sending a twelve pounder with a supply of ammunition. He suggested that if any privateer should approach in future, the fire of this gun should be reserved until it came very near, when a few well aimed shots might easily disable a ship.

On June 25, a fleet of transports arrived at Quebec, having on board the 44th Regiment, the whole of a German regiment and detachments of several others. Its passage from New York had lasted nearly five weeks. A few days later the German troops from the Island of St. John also arrived, making altogether an addition of thirteen hundred men to his force. As he had not received any information of the provision fleet from England except a letter from the Secretary of State, stating that it would be delayed, he bought several hundred barrels of flour which had fortunately arrived in two merchant ships. This instantly lowered the price of flour and enabled him to purchase a considerable quantity in the province, otherwise he would have been completely without the means of furnishing his troops with bread. As he had then obtained a sufficient supply to last until the arrival of the fleet, he despatched recruiting parties into the neighbouring colonies to enlist men for the completion of several corps of loyalists which had been partly organized during General Burgoyne's campaign and authorized Sir John Johnson to add a second battalion to his regiment. He informed General Knyphausen, who had been left in command at New York by Sir Henry Clinton when he sailed on his expedition to South Carolina, that in case of an attack on that place, he would be able to make a strong diversion in his favour in the vicinity of Crown Point, having already prepared boats on Lake Champlain with that object. To Lord George Germain he wrote; "Many Letters have been circulated amongst the Inhabitants persuading them that an Invasion by the French is certainly intended this Summer, a measure which would appear to be the Interest of that Nation as this Province might be kept without giving Jealousy to the others and in Time upon a Division of States might leave France the ruling Power in America—but I hope the opportunity is lost from their not having made the attempt last Fall and the subsequent Successes of His Majesty's Arms will render it a dangerous undertaking."

He added, however: "I cannot say that I am very apprehensive for the Consequences, particularly as the Motions of the French Fleet are so carefully watched over."

About the middle of March, an officer who had been sent to the settlements on the Mohawk river had returned with information that the loyalists in the vicinity of Johnstown were to be drafted into companies of rangers and all persons who refused to bear arms would be sent away as prisoners and their houses destroyed and property confiscated. Many of them wished a guide to be sent for them in May to conduct them into Canada according to a previous agreement with this officer. Haldimand proposed to send a ship up Lake Champlain to receive them, and asked Sir John Johnson to select suitable persons to act as guides and to send a messenger to warn them of his intention and be prepared. Johnson at once offered to head an expedition for their relief himself, to be composed of volunteers from his own regiment and other loyalist corps, fifty regulars and 100 Indians. Haldimand instantly gave his hearty consent, but remarking that as the success of the undertaking would depend on the most profound secrecy, the intelligence that could be obtained, the route he was to follow and the proper timing of the operation, all these matters must be carefully considered, after which arrangements would be made for collecting the Indians and equipping the troops. As Johnson requested that the detachment employed should be sent up Lake Champlain in ships to the nearest point from which practicable paths led through the woods to his own estates in the valley, it became necessary to postpone the movement until the navigation of the lake was open. Captain Scott, an officer of the 53rd regiment, was

selected as second in command and orders were given for the organization of the expedition for which detachments of thirty chosen men, with a proportionate number of officers and non-commissioned officers, were detailed from each of three regular regiments, with twenty German riflemen and 150 men from the Royal Regiment of New York, besides as many volunteers as could be readily obtained from the other loyalist corps. Letters were addressed by Haldimand to General Maclean, Colonel St. Leger, the various officers commanding the frontier posts, the superintendent of the Indian department and the commandant of the squadron on Lake Champlain, directing them to furnish all necessary assistance for the organization, equipment and movement of this force. Careful written instructions were issued for Sir John's guidance. He was advised not to make his intentions known to any person until after he had left Lake Champlain, and then only to the officers commanding detachments. The utmost rapidity in the execution of his plan and in returning was urged. "Depend upon it," the General wrote, "every Art will be practised to delay you and many fair Promises of reinforcements held out but you must not delay your Retreat so as to allow the Enemy to surround or even to collect any Force about you, and you must be thoroughly sensible of the impracticability of sending you any support from hence."

He was requested to permit all detachments of regular troops to act under their own officers and to recognize Captain Scott as commanding the whole of them, but to attach four or five men from his own regiment or other loyalist corps to each detachment to act as guides in the woods in case of separation. Each party must be provided with axes, as after a few days march some of the men would be so tired as to be unable to keep up. These men should be left behind under an officer and directed to form a breastwork of logs around their camp to await his return. It might even be necessary to establish a second, and possibly a third camp for exhausted men farther on. By this means, reports of his progress might be sent back and the loyalists who joined him ordered to assemble there and directed to drive off cattle for their subsistence and that of the troops. If his main body was forced to retreat by a different route, the tired men could then make their way to these camps and retreat to Lake Champlain. On marching from the lake, he was advised to carry with him as great a quantity of provisions as possible, and deposit a part at such posts. If any of his men attempted to desert, he was directed to send Indians in pursuit and offer a reward for their scalps. "I believe this to be Essential to Your Safety," Haldimand said, "and therefore should be Executed universally, without respect to Corps."

Great care was taken in the selection of the men and Indians to be employed and the latter were ordered to march by a path through the woods from Caughnawaga to Pointe au Fer on Lake Champlain to avoid any danger of drunkenness at intermediate stations. When Johnson asked that each man of his regiment should be furnished with fifty rounds of ammunition, Haldimand promptly replied that he had given orders that the whole detachment should be furnished with as much ammunition as he considered necessary.

"Having experienced the difficulty of preserving ammunition from Injury upon long and irregular marches," he observed, "I intimated to Captain Scott the means I have found most Effectual which was by putting loose Powder into dry Canteens, well Corked and a piece of Bladder or oiled Linen tied over it."

The squadron sailed from St. Jean with these troops on the 3rd of May but its arrival at Crown Point was delayed by contrary winds until the 12th, when Johnson began his march. On the 16th, he wrote from Scaroon Lake, stating that he had made slow progress owing to the sickness of an officer and some of his men. His entire force then amounted to 528 of all ranks and he had discovered no signs of any person in the woods with the exception of the tracks of two men whom he had sent in advance as messengers. He had taken every opportunity of warning the Indians against committing acts of cruelty. On the 21st, he reached the Scotch settlement within five miles of his former residence at Johnson Hall. His force was then divided, the Indians marching to Tribe's Hill near Fort Johnson while the troops advanced through Johnstown to Cognawaga. All mills, houses and buildings of every kind along the lines of march were mercilessly destroyed. Many loyalists immediately joined him while the remainder of the inhabitants fled in terror across the river, removing all boats to prevent pursuit. After forming a junction with the Indians, the movement was continued up the Mohawk as far as the prominent cliff known as "Anthony's Nose," when a halt became absolutely necessary as his men had been marching steadily for twenty-eight hours. As the Indians refused to advance further, he retired to Johnstown after a few hours rest. Only eleven persons had been killed by the Indians, among them three well known officers of the local militia. Twenty-seven prisoners were taken, fourteen of whom were left behind on parole, being considered either too old or too young to accompany the retreating force on foot. Great quantities of flour, Indian corn and

other provisions were burned in the houses and mills. Many cattle were killed and a number of horses brought away. Johnson was joined by 143 loyalists, capable of bearing arms and a number of women and children. About thirty negro slaves, most of them belonging to Johnson himself or other refugee loyalists, were also brought off. They had been confiscated and sold at public auction by order of Congress, after the departure of their former owners. On returning to Johnson Hall, his plate, which had been buried before his flight to Canada, was exhumed and at sundown of the same day he commenced his retreat by the way of the Highland Scotch settlement which had been almost wholly composed of loyal families. There he liberated two of his principal prisoners to protect these people from the retaliation of their enraged neighbours, which they solemnly promised to do and were sternly warned that the remainder of the prisoners would be treated as hostages for the performance of this agreement. The retreat to Lake Champlain was accomplished without molestation, although he was followed by a small scouting party for several days. A body of 800 men, subsequently assembled and marched in pursuit from Johnstown while the governor of the state of New York collected a body of militia to intercept his retreat by another route and another force marched for the same purpose from New Hampshire. These efforts were fruitless and Johnson succeeded in returning to his ships without much loss. He concluded his report by requesting the governor to despatch a flag of truce for the release of the loyalist families left behind, who wished to come to Canada.

The closest personal attention was constantly paid by Haldimand to all matters relating to the defence of the province. A report reached him early in May that a scout from the enemy had been seen at a mill near Chambly. Letters were at once written to the officers commanding at the neighbouring posts, insisting upon the greatest vigilance and activity for its detection.

Success in this, he remarked, would depend largely upon secrecy in its pursuit. He advised that scouts should be sent out privately with instructions to avoid all dwellings except when they expected to find spies concealed in them. They should avoid alarming the inhabitants and would receive ten guineas for every prisoner of that description taken alive, and he suggested that by the assistance of the priests or "Habitants" who were promised a handsome reward, some important discovery might be made. It was ascertained that the party seen was actually composed of loyalists but later information showed that some of the Canadian refugees had certainly entered the province. It was reported that they had gone towards Quebec where they hoped to find a French fleet and carried letters for persons expected to arrive on it. One of these men had informed a person, at whose house he had been concealed for some time, that after his return to the enemy's lines, he would act as guide for a large party in an attack on the post at Yamaska. Early in the preceding winter block-houses and barracks had been built by the militia in the advanced settlements at St. Francis and Yamaska. The blockhouse at St. Francis was garrisoned by a detachment of the 34th Regiment under Lieut. Crofts, and that at Yamaska by a party of loyalists, commanded by Lieut. William Fraser while strong detachments of German troops were quartered in the barracks at both these places. A chain of outposts was then established at short intervals from St. Jean to Yamaska and thence to the Nicolet river, who were directed to communicate with each other by means of patrols every morning and evening. These precautions were expected to prevent the enemy's spies from entering or leaving the province by that route. The blockhouse at Yamaska was armed with a small gun and the garrison reinforced. Several parties of men calling themselves deserters from the enemy and bringing their arms, had come in from time to time, most of whom were permitted to enlist in the provincial navy or loyalist corps and given a reward for their fire arms. A number of deserters from the German troops were captured through the assistance of Canadians who were rewarded for their services. The captains of militia and the inhabitants of the frontier settlements were ordered to report the arrival of all travellers immediately to the commanding officer. It was suspected, however, that some persons living in the parish of St. Charles, east of the Richelieu, were assisting the enemy and acting as guides for their scouting parties. Major Christopher Carleton, the commandant at St. Jean, finally resorted to the expedient of sending out two soldiers with instructions to pass themselves off as deserters and ascertain what assistance they could obtain. These men were hospitably entertained by one Pierre Charland, who had been arrested as a sympathizer with the rebels in 1775. As he could neither read nor write himself, he was induced to affix his mark to a letter addressed to Major John Brown, offering to raise a company of Canadians for the service of Congress under his command. In a postscript it was stated that he could enlist four companies inside of three days with whom he would engage to join him. He supplied the supposed deserters with firearms and provisions and then becoming alarmed that they might be discovered by officers of the militia, insisted on their immediate departure. They had been accompanied and introduced to him by a loyalist scout or spy of dubious reputation named Azariah Pritchard

who unquestionably acted on this occasion as a provocative agent. In his report, Major Carleton remarked that the "Intelligence of those People is exceedingly good. If a Scout goes out they know it directly, & tho' they don't know their precise destination, it puts them on their Guard & being well acquainted with the Geography of the country, are able to guess tolerably near."

As the arrival of a scouting party was soon expected by them, he took measures to intercept the letters which he was informed were usually left at a certain house near the suspected mill.

Haldimand commented upon the fact that Charland was illiterate and would probably deny having ever dictated such a letter. He suggested that men sent out on such a service to pass as deserters should allow their beards to grow and appear very dirty as if they had been hiding for some time in the woods.

Carleton followed up the clue he had obtained by sending Pritchard to Montreal, who discovered that a French surgeon named Pillon had a son in the enemy's service, with whom he was constantly corresponding. He further stated that a considerable number of people in that city were planning to go off secretly to the enemy and that he had seen a list of the names of fifty or sixty persons who had signed an agreement to that effect. Pillon was named as the chief conspirator. Carleton reported that he could easily intercept the party by arranging to furnish a guide and thus discover the route they would take.

He had also been informed that the Canadians still talked confidently of the projected attack on Yamaska and some of them declared that after the 21st of July, they would no longer be bound to obey orders as the twenty-one years for which the capitulation was to continue, would then have expired. If any large party of troops was sent up Lake Champlain, two messengers would immediately be sent off to inform the enemy.

Haldimand suggested that if he could discover where these men were to start from, it would be worth while to make a feint for the purpose of capturing them. He had likewise received intelligence that other Canadians at Isle Jesus, Terrebonne and La Chine were prepared to enlist men to join the enemy if they advanced to Yamaska. He desired that Pillon's party should be intercepted by a sufficient number of chosen men to ensure that none of them would escape. This must be prevented "in all events." At a later date, Carleton had reported that a man was soon going off with letters who would probably be accompanied by three or four others. The whole party should be surprised and carried off to some remote place so that their capture would not become known or it would discover his whole scheme. Haldimand advised that this should be done by marching them off into some very secluded place in the woods where a sufficient guard should be posted over them with strict orders to keep them tied securely and at night both their hands and feet made fast. "When seized," he wrote, "they must be separated for some time until they are minutely searched & Examined, which will require infinite Cleverness & attention, and as more is to be apprehended from the verbal messages these people may be charged with than the Letters they bear, it will not be amiss after they are separated to threaten them with immediate execution, for which the Non-commissioned Officers or person you employ will have Ropes prepared." Writing materials must be in readiness to avoid mistakes in names or details admitted by them which might be afterwards denied.

On July 30, Major Carleton wrote that Pillon was only waiting for the return from Quebec of Pierre Du Calvet, a confederate who had gone there to obtain letters, and if possible a plan of the new fortifications. He had directed his own agent to allow himself to be discovered as if by accident, by some loyalists, which had alarmed Pillon so much that he insisted upon this man going away at once, giving him a copy of a French song, with information respecting the troops in the province and other matters, written with milk between the lines which could be rendered legible by exposing it to heat. This had been delivered to Carleton, treated by him in the manner described and then forwarded to the governor. Du Calvet was already suspected of treason as among the papers found at Holland House after its evacuation by the enemy in 1776, a receipt signed by him, for pay as an ensign in Hazen's regiment, had been discovered. He was still engaged in business as a merchant in Montreal but had acquired a small seigneury with a grist and flour mill at the River David, in the vicinity of Yamaska.

Haldimand was quite prepared to believe that Du Calvet was guilty but he advised that great caution should be observed in making arrests as "Despatches on these Occasions are always prepared to be destroyed or thrown away," and the prisoners taken must be stripped quite naked so that the strictest search could be made.

Two weeks later a French Canadian employed as a messenger by Pillon, who had been furnished with a guide through the agency of Pritchard, was arrested in the woods by a party from the garrison of St. Jean. Some incriminating papers were found in his possession and others were given up by the guide. He was examined in the manner

prescribed by Haldimand and after being threatened with death, a confession was extorted which implicated Pillon, Pritchard, Du Calvet and another French merchant named Hamel residing near Chambly. The latter was subsequently arrested and also confessed some knowledge of the plot. These prisoners were then confined on a ship on Lake Champlain to keep them out of the way of their confederates. Nearly a month afterwards, other letters, one of which was signed by both Pillon and Du Calvet, which were to have been carried by Charland, were intercepted by Pritchard. General Maclean who was then in command at Montreal but had little previous knowledge of this affair, was ordered to arrest Pillon with as much secrecy as possible, seize and seal up his papers, prevent him from communicating with any person and send him to Quebec in charge of an officer. When this had been done, Maclean and Carleton decided that Du Calvet should also be arrested at once and Captain George Lawe was despatched in search of him. This officer met Du Calvet at Three Rivers where he was instantly taken into custody but without the precautions which Haldimand had so distinctly directed. He considered the arrest premature as sufficient evidence against Du Calvet had not yet been obtained. After Pillon and Du Calvet had been under detention for about a month, Major Carleton and the governor's military secretary, Le Maistre, were directed to investigate the matter and take every means of collecting evidence against the prisoners. On being shown the letters, Pillon admitted that several of them were in his handwriting and that three were signed with his christian name. One of these, addressed to Washington, La Fayette, Brown, and Hazen, alleged that three-fourths of the inhabitants of the province were in favour of the Americans, offered his services and requested that blank commissions should be sent him; another, addressed to Congress, asked for a commission for his son; a third, to his son, referred to the other letters and stated that he would soon be ready to start off with two hundred men. A fourth, directed to the Marquis de la Fayette, asked for assistance, recommended that commissions as captains should be sent for certain Canadians and stated that he was prepared to join Washington's army on its advance. Pillon then clumsily tried to exculpate himself by a statement that these letters had been written at the request of an American officer whose name was unknown to him, but whom he pretended to describe. The examination of Charland and others had also incriminated Pillon and to a lesser degree, Du Calvet. It was further ascertained that the latter had collected a considerable quantity of flour and grain at his mills and storehouses with the intention. it was suspected, of supplying the invading force on its arrival. After reading this evidence, Haldimand decided that it would not be expedient to bring the prisoners to trial but that they should be detained in custody until further investigation could be made. They were confined on board ships in the St. Lawrence until the beginning of 1783, when they were released by the instruction of the minister, who however, approved of their detention as having been entirely justified at the time. Du Calvet afterwards went to London with the intention of prosecuting the governor for wrongful imprisonment. He received legal advice and was supplied with money for this purpose, by Francis Maséres, late Attorney-General for the province of Quebec, but eventually quarrelled with him, and forfeited his support. He returned to Canada, and perished at sea on his passage from New York to London. His suit against Haldimand consequently was dismissed without a trial.

The discovery of this conspiracy, combined with corroborative information from other sources caused the governor considerable uneasiness. Some further arrests had been made, not exceeding a dozen in all. They were people of little influence but it was considered necessary to detain them in confinement.

A letter in cypher from Clinton, dated on the 3rd of May, reporting the preparation of a large fleet at Brest, intended for operations in North American Waters, was received on the 3rd of July. This was followed some weeks later by a similar letter from Admiral Arbuthnot who added that it was supposed that this expedition was not designed against Canada. If it was, he would take the necessary steps to protect the province with his fleet. A secret letter in cypher from Clinton, dated July 6, was not received until September 5. Clinton then reported that the French fleet of seven ships of the line had actually sailed about May 3, taking under convoy twenty or more transports conveying upwards of five thousand troops and that their destination was presumed to be Canada. He conjectured that this fleet would touch at Rhode Island and a division of French troops under La Fayette, would advance by the Connecticut river and the frontier post known as No. 4, and invade Canada by way of St. Jean, while the remainder would be transported in the fleet into the river St. Lawrence. In his reply, Haldimand remarked that he did not think that the attempt would be made by sea so late in the year, and that he proposed sending a strong body of troops and Indians under the command of Sir John Johnson to make a raid upon the settlements of the Mohawk river, for the purpose of destroying the crops and assisting the escape of loyalists to

complete the corps he was then recruiting. He would also despatch another force about the same time to make a demonstration on the frontier by way of Lake George, to favour any offensive operation Clinton had in contemplation. In a previous letter dated the 13th of August, he had remarked that it was known that d'Estaing had intended to make an attack on Nova Scotia or Quebec, and stated, "I am convinced it was expected by the Canadians who in general & even some of the best of Them could not help discovering their Expectations & afterwards a disappointment on their not being fulfilled. Two ships of the Line would have effected their Purpose & if it should be pursued in the Spring & any misfortune happen to prevent supplies arriving before it is undertaken, this Province is lost".

Clinton had then opened negotiations with Ethan Allen and his associates in Vermont, who had quarrelled fiercely with the Congress. Haldimand was asked to make enquiries on the subject and reported that no reliance could be placed in Allen. "His character is well known," he wrote. "and his Followers or dependents are a Collection of the most abandoned Wretches that ever lived, to be bound by no Laws or Ties." If Allen was able to collect and arm a considerable force he did not consider that it would be safe to allow him to enter Canada as he might seize a favourable opportunity in conjunction with the French fleet to take possession of the province. Allen had not yet made any overtures to him, but if he did, he would encourage them with due caution.

Another letter from Clinton, dated on the 14th of August, was received on the 9th of September. He reported the arrival of the French fleet at Rhode Island on the 12th of July and stated that it did not seem probable that any attempt would be made on Canada that year, but that the enemy's efforts would be directed against New York. Haldimand replied that the detachments he was sending out would receive orders to remain as long as possible upon the frontier, where they would alarm the inhabitants and weaken any force assembling to attack New York. This was all the assistance he could render at that time. From the preparations previously made for the invasion of the province he thought it likely that the attempt would be made during the coming winter and was taking proper measures to repel it.

On September 9, Clinton wrote that an additional force, consisting of four ships of the line, with a considerable body of troops, was soon expected to arrive from France. This information had stimulated recruiting for Washington's army and although his operations seemed still directed against the city of New York, it was highly probable that the enemy would invade Canada by way of No. 4 and the lakes early in the spring. This letter was not received until the middle of October, and about the same time a letter arrived from Admiral Edwards, commanding the squadron stationed at Newfoundland, containing information that one of his cruisers had taken a ship, having as a passenger Mr. Laurens, formerly president of the American Congress, in whose possession were found many documents which he considered of the highest importance to the governors of Canada, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Copies of some of them were enclosed. Among these was the report of a committee of Congress appointed to draft a letter of credence for Mr. Laurens to present to the King of France. It contained a comprehensive plan for an invasion of Canada. Three thousand men from Virginia and Pennsylvania were to assemble at Fort Pitt, from whom 1,500 were to be selected and held in readiness to march on May 1 for the attack of Detroit and the destruction of villages occupied by hostile Indians in that vicinity. One hundred light horsemen were to be added to this force. Another body of 500 men would be stationed, during the winter, at Wyoming for the protection of the frontiers of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Two thousand men would assemble from those states early in the spring, half of whom would be selected to unite with the force at Wyoming and march on June 1 to invade the country of the Senecas, and threaten Niagara. In addition to the garrison already stationed at Fort Stanwix, 1,500 men would be quartered on the Mohawk river and preparations made for the construction of large vessels on Lake Ontario early in the spring. Five thousand men from the militia of New York and the western portions of Connecticut and Massachusetts would then be called out, from whom 2,500 would be selected. This force would march from Fort Stanwix about the middle of May to Oswego, where they would build a fort and be employed in collecting materials for the construction of a squadron on Lake Ontario and in making raids toward Niagara to alarm the Indians and facilitate operations against that place. A force consisting of 500 regulars and 1,000 militia would march from Schenectady to co-operate with that advancing from Wyoming against Niagara and be reinforced with 100 mounted men and all the friendly Indians who could be assembled. This expedition was intended to destroy all the villages of the hostile Indians they could reach. The continental regiments already stationed at the various posts on the upper part of the Connecticut river were to be recruited during the winter to a strength of five thousand of all ranks, and make every necessary preparation for the invasion of Canada by way of the St. Francois.

This movement was to be kept profoundly secret. On arriving on the St. Lawrence, a fort would be built at the mouth of the St. François and subsequent operations would be directed against Montreal, St. Jean, and other posts on the Richelieu. If these succeeded reinforcements would advance by way of lake Champlain. A strong detachment, with as many Canadians as could be induced to join it, would then take possession of Cataragui, establish a post near the foot of lake Ontario, and after leaving a garrison there advance against Niagara. If all these operations were successful, another campaign would still be necessary to take the fortress of Quebec. In that event the American troops must be quartered in Canada during the following winter. The task of supplying them with provisions and clothing would be embarrassing, if not impracticable, and the expense would be ruinous. The garrison of Quebec would have time to receive reinforcements and no attempt could be made upon Halifax. Consequently, assistance was required from France to take both these places. It was accordingly proposed that a force of four or five thousand French troops should sail from Brest in the beginning of May under an escort of four ships of the line and four frigates. The purpose of this expedition was to be publicly announced, but the clothing and stores provided should be such as were adapted for service in the West Indies. If this expedition should arrive at Quebec before the end of June it was anticipated that the place would be found quite defenceless and easily taken. Leaving a garrison there the smaller vessels would ascend the river to Montreal to assist in the capture of that place. Spare arms should be provided for such Canadians as could be induced to join this force and the nobles and clergy ought to be immediately assembled by the commanding general, "who should, if possible, be well acquainted with the manners both of France and of the United States." The conquest of Canada might then be completed by the end of July or middle of August, when the squadron could proceed to the attack of Halifax, for which purpose a considerable force of American regular troops could readily be organized in conjunction with many militiamen from the states of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, to arrive there early in September. If that place was taken by the beginning or middle of October, the troops employed might then either proceed against Newfoundland or remain in garrison until next spring, when the conquest of that island could be undertaken. If Halifax was not taken, the squadron and troops would still have time for a winter campaign in the West Indies. This report was addressed to Benjamin Franklin, who had succeeded Silas Deane as the envoy of the United States in France. He was instructed to present it to the French ministry and consult the Marquis de la Fayette in respect to any objections which might be raised. The French ministers should be referred to him for advice, as he had "made it his particular study to gain information on those important points."

Clinton had also transmitted a copy of a proclamation, addressed to the inhabitants of Canada, written by La Fayette before the arrival of the French fleet, which it was intended to distribute if the invasion of that province took place. They were urged to shake off the yoke of the common enemy and join the thirteen independent states. The speedy arrival of a land and sea force from France, capable of accomplishing this, was announced. The Count de Rochambeau, commanding the French army in America, would publish a more explicit invitation to them to join the United States. The authenticity of these documents could not be doubted.

Several copies of a printed report of a speech from de Rochambeau to a delegation of Indians who had visited him at Newport had been intercepted in the possession of agents employed to distribute them in Canada.

"Even had I no other Evidence of their Intentions," Haldimand wrote, "the general Disposition & Behaviour of the Inhabitants, make it beyond a doubt to a nice Observer that we have little to expect from their assistance in Military Operations & that they have learned to consider the arrival of the Fleet as an Event that will certainly happen, and that it is Equally sure their Efforts to reconquer the Province will be successful. I am, nevertheless determined this Winter to attempt the Formation of several Canadian Companies, which I shall do by degrees placing them under such Officers as appear to me most likely to serve us, nor would I have delayed the attempt so long, but from the Exhausted State of our Provinces & the astonishing Price Flour sold at in the Province."

In the course of the summer, a small new fort had been finished at Niagara and the other works considerably strengthened and as the garrison was composed of some of his best troops and well provided with artillery, Haldimand was confident that it would make a stubborn resistance. The squadron of the provincial marine on Lake Ontario, consisting of three ships, each carrying sixteen guns, and two smaller vessels would make it difficult for the enemy to gain command on that lake. The enemy's proposal to establish a fort at Oswego and build ships there caused him more apprehension than any other part of their plan, from the effect that it might have upon the Six Nations. He was more strongly convinced than ever

before, of the necessity of occupying that place, before they could reach it and announced his intention of seizing it early in the spring unless he was prevented from doing so by the want of provisions. A strong garrison at Sorel would enable him to attack any force advancing by the river St. François or maintain his position there and protect Montreal and St. Jean, while in the last extremity it could retreat either to Quebec or St. Jean as circumstances might direct. Vigorous efforts had been made to strengthen Quebec. The construction of several detached redoubts upon Cape Diamond had been commenced and although delayed for want of skilled workmen, considerable progress had been made.

When he wrote on October 29, to Lord George Germain, not a single ship of the fleet, which he had been notified would sail in August, had yet arrived. His anxiety, with respect to a sufficient stock of provisions, was extreme. It would be necessary to keep a year's supply in store at the posts upon the lakes, otherwise any prolonged interruption of transportation would place the garrisons entirely at the mercy of the enemy. The quantity available for the troops in the inhabited part of the province was consequently much reduced; still the last harvest had been plentiful and if the declaration of martial law became necessary, he was satisfied he could easily collect a considerable supply of grain. The stores required for the artillery and engineers from England had not arrived and all the forts in the province were poorly provided in that respect. The supply of gunpowder at Quebec, in particular, was inadequate. He again urgently requested that two or three thousand British troops should be sent out early in the spring, as well as the companies of artificers he had formerly applied for. It was absolutely necessary, he stated, that these troops should bring with them provisions for a year and the supplies of ordnance and engineer stores demanded by him for the current and coming year. If it was found on their arrival that they were not required in Canada, they could be re-embarked and proceed to some other destination in North America, or even to the West Indies.

"Could I persuade myself," he remarked, "that in Case of an Attack the Canadians would stand neuter, I think I could defend this Province with a less Force—but when I see the Common People influenced by their old Prejudice & all Ranks so totally blind to their true Interests, as not to wish a long Continuance of their present happy Government, I am led to believe that the Appearance of our Enemy would be followed by the Revolt of a great part of the Province, who like the other Colonies might not stop until They had involved themselves in all their miseries—these are the Considerations joined to the Importance which I know the Trade of this Country is of to Great Britain, and the amazing Sums it at this moment is indebted to the Merchants, which make me so strenuous in my demands & in my Exertions for its Safety."

Offensive operations from Canada, on any large scale were scarcely practicable, owing to the great difficulties of transport and supply. No military post at or near Albany could be taken or maintained except by the navigation of the Hudson river. If, however, such a post could be occupied from New York, he would be able to co-operate with troops from Canada. "They must always move," he said, "totally unprovided with Artillery, Provisions or Baggage, every man from the Commanding Officer must Carry his own Knapsack." Fort Stanwix might be attacked from Canada by a great effort but the difficulty experienced in supplying his distant outposts had convinced him that the force required for that purpose might be employed more usefully elsewhere. The store-houses built at Coteau-du-Lac had facilitated the transport of stores up the lakes and a canal with three locks had been completed there, by which loaded boats were enabled to avoid the rapids. An accidental fire in the barracks at St. Jean had destroyed those buildings as well as a powder magazine containing some ammunition, and several gun platforms. After this damage was repaired, a heavy and long continued rain caused a large part of the earthen parapet to slide into the ditch, which was replaced with great labour. The new fort at Detroit had also been damaged in the same manner by a deluge of rain, and was repaired with extreme difficulty.

The great scarcity of provisions and the high prices demanded by dealers for wheat and flour had induced the governor to propose that the Legislative Council should enact an ordinance, fixing the price of both these articles. An opinion was obtained from the Attorney General, declaring that this measure was not within the power of the governor in council. He furnished precedents, however, from the statutes of Great Britain, for the taxing and rating of wheat and compelling sales on delivery. Such an ordinance fixing a fair price for grain would have enabled Haldimand to purchase a large quantity of wheat which had been accumulated at different places on various pretexts or had been hoarded by the inhabitants in the vicinity of the Richelieu river, it was strongly suspected, with the intention of supplying an invading force on its arrival. He intended to collect it at Sorel where storehouses had already been built

to receive it, with the intention of supplying the other garrisons, or as a last resort to destroy it. The council, however, by a small majority, refused to pass the proposed ordinance as some of the members were interested in dealing in wheat, and others opposed it on the pretext that it might create discontent among the inhabitants. Cramahé, Dunn, Finlay and Allsopp, all high government officials, voted against it, much to Haldimand's exasperation. All the French Canadian members, with the exception of two, one of whom was a dealer in wheat, and the other suspected of being influenced by improper motives, voted for the measure. The inhabitants generally, Haldimand declared, would have welcomed it as a measure justified by circumstances and fully within the power of the government. The poorer class, in particular, strongly desired it in the expectation that it would relieve their distress, as nine-tenths of them were obliged to purchase flour for the support of their families.

The recruiting parties sent out in the spring had not been generally successful, but during the summer, scarcely a week passed without the arrival of considerable parties of loyalists at the frontier posts. The first battalion of the Royal Regiment of New York was accordingly completed to its establishment and more than a hundred men obtained for the second.

With the object of assisting Sir Henry Clinton and destroying the supplies which might be obtained from the harvest for the forces acting against him and to enable the loyalists to escape, Haldimand organized two raiding forces to consist of about 600 men each, besides Indians. One of these composed of selected men from the Royal Regiment of New York and Butler's Rangers and the regular troops stationed at Carleton Island and Niagara, was assembled by water at Oswego, under the command of Sir John Johnson on October 1. Its march began next day, the artillery and baggage being transported in boats as far as Onondaga Falls. Scouts sent in advance brought in several prisoners who stated that an attack was expected from the direction of Niagara but that the garrisons of the settlements had no suspicion of their actual approach. On October 17, the advanced guard came in sight of the fort at the head of Schoharie Creek. This was invested and two light guns brought up to begin the attack. It was soon discovered that their fire would make no impression upon its stout palisades and the garrison deliberately fired upon an officer sent to summon it to surrender. The destruction of the buildings along the creek then began and the advance was continued without opposition until they reached the Mohawk river. A detachment was sent to destroy the settlement near Fort Hunter on the other side of the creek. When this was accomplished the whole force moved swiftly up the Mohawk, laying the country waste on both sides until midnight, when they halted at the narrow pass at "Anthony's Nose". By this time they were quite overcome with fatigue, after twenty-four hours of continuous exertion. A few hours rest had become absolutely necessary. In the course of the night two men who had deserted from the garrison of Fort Stanwix in the spring and joined Johnson's corps, again deserted and informed Lieut.-Colonel John Brown, commanding at Stone Arabia, of the weakness of the detachment on that side of the river. He promptly decided to attack it at daybreak with 360 men in the hope of overwhelming it before a reinforcement could arrive. Before he could do this, Johnson had crossed the river with nearly his whole force, leaving only a few men on the other side, and had begun his advance toward Stone Arabia, screened by a dense fog. A few horsemen were seen reconnoitring, who quickly disappeared. Brown's force was then discovered in position behind a log fence with a narrow lane and an open field in front. A few Indians began the attack but were easily repelled. Detachments of the rangers and regular troops advanced to their support and a brisk interchange of fire began. While the attention of the enemy was thus occupied by a frontal attack, the main body of the Indians made a wide circuit through the woods to turn their right flank and the rangers made a similar movement around their left. When these operations were well under way, Johnson fiercely charged their position with the regular troops and carried it, driving the opposing force in great disorder through the woods. Colonel Brown was killed with nearly a hundred of his men, according to Johnson's report, while his own loss amounted only to four killed and the same number wounded. Papers found in Brown's pockets revealed the fact that General Van Rensselaer with 600 men and three guns had advanced to Fort Hunter the night before, and firing had not actually ceased when his advanced guard appeared on the opposite bank of the river. His force by that time had increased to about 1,500, including two regular regiments and nearly a hundred Oneida Indians. He was accompanied by the governor of the state in person. When they became aware of Brown's disastrous defeat, they halted in dismay and Johnson continued his march to Stone Arabia burning every building and field of grain in sight. Three miles further on the road was blocked by a strong stockade which forced him to march around it through the

fields and when he reached the ford of the river near Fort Hendricks, he was obliged to make a second detour to avoid fire from several fortified houses. Regaining the high road at sunset, he found that Van Rensselaer had outmarched him and crossed the river. His whole force was already strongly posted in houses and among orchards in front, to oppose his further progress. Sending a strong party to seize a hill commanding the road, Johnson attacked the enemy with the remainder of his force and easily drove them from their first position. They reformed under the guns of the fort, and the Indians under Johnson's orders, observing that they were greatly outnumbered, were seized by a sudden panic and dashed across the ford in great confusion. Encouraged by their hasty flight the Americans advanced under cover of the trees and fences in the growing darkness and began a very hot fire at short range. Part of Johnson's force gave way and was pursued by the enemy with loud shouts. A single discharge of grape-shot from his guns, and well aimed volley of musketry from his infantry drove them back with heavy loss and ended the action. Van Rensselaer's force was so much disheartened by this final repulse that he retreated three miles and permitted Johnson to pass the ford without molestation. In the darkness, some of his men lost their way and did not rejoin the main body until the second day after, when about forty were still reported missing. The retreat was continued with the utmost speed possible in their exhausted condition, until they reached the Oneida village. Here they were again favoured by fortune for a man was captured who stated that he belonged to a party of sixty, despatched from Fort Stanwix, to destroy their boats. He had fallen ill that morning and had been left behind. A strong detachment of the most active men was instantly sent in pursuit, with orders to march day and night until they overtook the enemy. This service was so successfully executed that only two of the enemy's party escaped; fifty-two prisoners were taken and some others killed. Six mounted rangers were then despatched to intercept two Indians who had been sent off by the enemy to search for their boats. To their great relief these were found unharmed and on October 25, the main body came up and embarked. They arrived at Oswego next day. Including Indians, Johnson reported the loss of nine men killed, two wounded and fifty-two missing, of whom several also were wounded. About half of the missing men afterwards returned by a different route. He reported the destruction of thirteen grist mills, several saw mills, a thousand houses, and as many barns containing 600,000 bushels of grain, during the three days of havoc on Schoharie Creek and the Mohawk river. The severity of the loss and significance of this raid were frankly admitted by Washington in a letter to the President of Congress, dated on the 7th November.

"The destruction of the grain upon the Western frontier of New York," he said "is likely to be attended with the most alarming consequences, in respect to the formation of magazines upon the North river. We had prospects of forming a very considerable magazine of flour in that quarter previous to the late incursion. The settlement of Schoharie alone would have delivered eighty thousand bushels of grain, but that fine district is now totally destroyed. I should view this calamity with less concern did I see the least prospect of obtaining the necessary supplies of flour from the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, previous to the interruption of transportation by frost and bad weather."

The other force commanded by Major Christopher Carleton was composed of detachments of selected men from the regular regiments and loyalist corps quartered in the Montreal district, with 100 Indians from Caughnawaga and the lake of Two Mountains. It concentrated at Isle aux Noix and was conveyed to Crown Point in several vessels of the squadron on Lake Champlain. Advancing rapidly with the utmost secrecy, Fort Anne was surrounded and surrendered on the first summons with its garrison of seventy men. Moving forward next morning in the direction of Fort George, the greater part of the garrison of that post was surprised on its march to the relief of Fort Anne. Four officers and twenty-three privates were killed and a dozen taken prisoners. The remainder of the garrison immediately surrendered. Both these forts were destroyed with the mills, dwelling houses, barns and other buildings in the vicinity, in accordance with Haldimand's settled policy of effecting the complete devastation of all frontier settlements which might serve as an advanced base for an invasion of the province. Carleton then returned to Crown Point, where he had been directed to remain as long as the weather would permit the squadron to navigate the lake, for the purpose of attracting the attention of the enemy's force in that quarter. He brought off with him three small cannon and 120 prisoners.

Another party of one hundred men of the loyalist corps and Mohawk Indians, who had crossed the lake with him, marched in the direction of the Mohawk river with the intention of co-operating with Sir John Johnson but was soon compelled to retire by a superior force.

Two hundred Canadian Indians, who had responded to the call for their services but were not required on Carleton's expedition, were sent under Lieutenant Houghton of the 53rd Regiment, to the Connecticut river where they destroyed many barns filled with grain and killed a number of cattle.

Early in the summer, an expedition from Detroit had been despatched under the command of Captain Bird of the 8th regiment against the frontier settlements in Kentucky. It consisted of a small detachment of the 8th, with some volunteers from the local militia and several hundred Indians. Ascending the Miami river in boats, Bird crossed the portage to the Great Miami and made his way down that stream to the Ohio. Several small forts and fortified houses were taken without much resistance and the adjacent settlements destroyed. Nearly four hundred prisoners were brought off, many of them being women and children. A number of the young men enlisted in a company of Butler's Rangers which had then been sent to Detroit. Nearly all the others were settled upon Crown lands at their own request and soon added considerably to the resources of the settlement at that place. As the Indian villages near the Ohio river were soon afterwards menaced by an attack in retaliation, the company of the Rangers and a company of Canadian volunteers commanded by Captain Chabert were despatched from Detroit to their assistance. They arrived too late, as several of the Indian villages, with adjacent cornfields, were destroyed by an invading force which retired before it could be overtaken. A blockhouse was built near the Miami portage for the protection of the Indians which was garrisoned by the Rangers. Later in the autumn a small force of the enemy, headed by Colonel La Balme, formerly an officer in the French cavalry, advanced to the Indian villages on the Miami river with the apparent intention of taking Detroit by surprise. It was attacked and routed by the Indians. La Balme and most of his men were killed and a few prisoners taken with important papers.

Another small raiding party advancing from Cahokia, under command of a French halfbreed named Hamelin, plundered the trading post at St. Joseph in the absence of the Indians at their hunting grounds. It was pursued by a small band commanded by Lieut. Dagniau De Quindre of the Indian Department, who overtook it at Petit Fort on the Chicago trail. All but three of the marauders were killed or taken.

The commandant at Mackinac formed militia companies at St. Joseph, Green Bay, and Sault Ste. Marie, for the defence of those trading posts. He organized and despatched an expedition against the Spanish settlements on the Mississippi, composed of Indians accompanied by a few Canadian officers and volunteers. This force reached its destination at Pencour but failed to accomplish the entire destruction of that settlement owing to the defection of the Indians. It probably prevented the Spaniards from undertaking an expedition against Detroit.

These raids, combined with the retaliatory attacks of the Americans on the Indian villages, added to the security of the frontier posts by widening the extensive stretch of uninhabited country lying between them and the enemy's frontier.

At the same time, however, they increased the embarrassments of the governor, with respect to provisions, by causing a great influx of Indians who had to be both fed and clothed.

During the summer, active measures were taken by the governor for the formation of military settlements, both at Detroit and Niagara, for the purpose of supplying the garrisons at those places with provisions and enabling the refugee loyalists to support their families until the restoration of peace might permit them to return to their homes. They were granted farms, without rent, on the crown lands in the vicinity, which would be cleared at the expense of the government and remain the property of the crown, attached to the forts. They were allowed a reasonable quantity of provisions for a year after taking possession of these lands; seed, ploughs and other implements for farming were furnished without any charge. The commanding officers were directed to supply assistance with men and horses as far as lay in their power. All such settlers were informed that the produce of their farms, over and above their own consumption, was not to be exported but must be sold to the commanding officer for the use of the troops and not to traders or travellers. Some progress in clearing and breaking land was made at Carleton Island and surveys were begun at Niagara and Detroit. Seed grain, harness and farming implements were forwarded to those places for the establishment of these settlements.

The departure of the annual trade fleet for Quebec had been delayed until the 31st of May. It consisted of forty-two vessels. This fleet was dispersed in its passage and many of the ships were taken by American privateers; one of them, loaded with valuable naval and ordnance stores was sunk in action. Only eighteen arrived at Quebec, among them, fortunately, were four loaded with provisions. Six others that had sailed later subsequently arrived; one was wrecked in the straits of Belle Isle.

The frigate "Hind," accompanied by the provincial armed vessels, was actively engaged in the protection of commerce in the gulf. Three privateers were captured by this squadron and sent into Quebec. The largest of the provincial vessels, the "Wolfe," was afterwards wrecked by running aground on the island of St. Peter, in a thick fog, during a gale, and the "Hind" narrowly escaped.

A similar disaster occurred on Lake Ontario. A fine new vessel carrying sixteen guns was totally lost with all her crew and the passengers on board, including Lieut.-Colonel Bolton, the commandant at Niagara, with two other officers and thirty soldiers. The loss of this vessel with so many officers, seamen and soldiers was severely felt, particularly as it materially interfered with the transport of provisions for the distant military posts on the lakes.

By the middle of November, only two small vessels belonging to the autumn fleet had arrived, which had indeed been separated from it by a gale of wind seven weeks previous and could give no account of the remainder. Winter had then set in and the prospect of any other arrivals practically vanished. It was subsequently ascertained that the remaining ships belonging to this fleet which had survived the storm, had been driven into Halifax where they remained until the following summer waiting for an escort. In consequence of this disappointment, Haldimand was obliged to bring down to Quebec provisions from his magazines at Montreal and Sorel, where they had been deposited for the purpose of being forwarded to the posts on the lakes as early in the spring as the river became navigable. He was also compelled to discontinue recruiting as he had no means of supplying a larger force. His plan of establishing a new post at Oswego must also be abandoned or deferred until supplies were received.

Had the ordinance for fixing the price of wheat and flour been passed, he might have filled his magazines by purchases in the province, but owing to the high prices then demanded, he considered it scarcely practicable. He decided, however, to supply the troops as far as possible with fresh provisions to save the quantity in store, and thereby, as far as possible, prevent an invading force from receiving supplies after its arrival in the province, particularly in the parishes below Quebec. With respect to those in the vicinity of Sorel, where an invasion was most apprehended, he considered it necessary to adopt more drastic measures by issuing a proclamation ordering the inhabitants to thresh their own grain by a certain date, so that, on the approach of the enemy it might be quickly conveyed with their cattle to the intrenched camp at Sorel, to be placed under the protection of the troops and the militia of the country, who would be ordered to assemble there.

"Though at the same time," he remarked in a letter to Lord George Germain, "I must acknowledge to Your Lordship, I have no confidence in being able to collect many of the latter. I am certain there is frequent intercourse by letter or message between the French or Rebel Generals in Rhode Island and some of the Priests & Jesuits, assisted by some disaffected old subjects whom with all my industry, I could not discover and tho' the Noblesse will probably behave well, I make no doubt there are many Inhabitants, in each Parish, who would swerve from their Allegiance upon the Approach of a French Army. Severity and rigor will be necessary and in Proportion my Conduct has hitherto been mild & forbearing, it will be the reverse if I find that no other means can preserve the Province."

He had been informed that preparations were being made for an attack upon Carleton Island. If that post was taken Niagara and Detroit must be evacuated, as they were not supplied with provisions to last longer than the beginning of the spring. Their loss would infallibly be followed by the defection of the Six Nations and western Indians, whose incursions on the frontier, he asserted, had prevented some thousands of their best fighting men from joining the forces maintained by Congress in the field.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR HALDIMAND, 1781-1784.

On the 29th of December, 1780, Haldimand received a letter in cypher from Sir Henry Clinton, dated at New York, on the 9th of November. This informed him that an invasion of Canada was probably contemplated as soon as the winter set in and made further naval operations on the Atlantic coast inadvisable. It was believed that a division of French troops, commanded by Count de Rochambeau, would form the principal part of this expedition. Clinton had also been informed that a conspiracy existed among the inhabitants of Canada to join the invaders on their arrival. From the difficulty of transport this invading force would probably be obliged to depend upon the country for supplies of flour and other provisions. He accordingly recommended the expediency of removing from the possession of the inhabitants, all supplies of grain and provisions except such quantities as might be necessary for the support of their families. This information confirmed the governor in his former determination to publish a proclamation, ordering the inhabitants to thresh their wheat. This proposal was strongly opposed by Lieutenant Governor Cramahé, in a lengthy memorandum declaring it to be "equally improper and impolitick," as tending "to alarm the People, encourage Cabals, and give time to Enemies of Government for distressing it effectually." As an alternative, he proposed that agents who were not directly in the service of the government should be employed to purchase wheat upon commission, after which it could be threshed and stored. If, however, the Governor was still determined to order the grain to be threshed, he advised that this should be done under the direction of the militia officers. When positive intelligence of a movement to invade the province was received, he advised the proclamation of Martial Law which might be done without consulting the Executive Council. Haldimand curtly replied to this memorandum that the method of purchase proposed would be too slow to meet the existing emergency, as the inhabitants never sold their wheat before the month of March and they had already been advised, by agents of the enemy, and the engrossers, to hold it back. In view of the intelligence he had received, it would be unpardonable negligence on his part, to lose time in taking the necessary measures to deprive an invading enemy of the means of subsistence. By issuing such a proclamation he would merely follow the example of the Privy Council in England, when an invasion of Great Britain was threatened. It would be impossible to avoid alarming the people to a certain extent, as the change of quarters of the troops for the purpose of assembling a sufficient force in the district of Montreal to resist an invasion, would create some excitement among them. He felt the greatest reluctance to proclaim Martial Law and at all events this would not be expedient until the country was actually invaded, and then it would be too late to direct the people to thresh their grain. Unanimity in the council and on the part of the officers in the government was necessary, and the Lieutenant-Governor was requested to give him every assistance in advancing measures which he considered imperative. The Executive Council was promptly assembled and gave its assent to the proposal. The proclamation was dated the 15th of January and published in the Quebec Gazette three days later. It declared that the safety of the property of the inhabitants and the defence of the province required that all grain, cattle and provisions which might assist an invasion of the country, should be deposited in places of safety, under the protection of the troops. The inhabitants were ordered to thresh all their grain at once and hold it in readiness for transportation to such places. The captains and other officers of the militia were commanded to carry the proclamation into effect and take an exact account of the number of cattle and the quantity of grain and flour in the possession of the inhabitants, in their respective parishes. In the districts of Quebec, Three Rivers and that part of the district of Montreal on the north side of the St. Lawrence, they were required to make their returns to the colonels of militia, and in the district of Montreal on the south side of the St. Lawrence, to the officer commanding the troops stationed at Sorel. An engineer officer was directed on the same day to inspect the storehouses at Chambly and Sorel and make the necessary preparations for receiving grain at those places.

The bishop of Quebec gave practical evidence of his loyalty on this occasion by sending out a circular letter to his clergy, requiring their assistance. The principal British and French inhabitants of the towns of Quebec and Montreal presented loyal addresses to the governor, expressing their concurrence in the measures that he had

taken for the defence of the country. Although he considered these addresses were of no particular importance, yet as the inhabitants of the towns, to a great extent, influenced the opinion of traders in the country who had frequently, in the past, assisted in spreading disaffection, the governor sanctioned their publication with his replies in the *Quebec Gazette*, in both French and English.

Captain Twiss of the Engineers, who had visited the frontier posts in the Montreal district, reported that many of the inhabitants appeared to dread the approach of an invading force and that few or none of them desired it. He asserted that the proclamation had been the means of reducing the price of wheat and had been followed by other good effects, without any bad results.

At the end of February, Haldimand was able to inform Clinton that all necessary preparations had been quietly made to repel the enemy, and that the intended invasion had apparently been abandoned, owing to the fact that the Congress had been unable to raise the necessary force.

La Fayette indeed had not ceased to advocate the reconquest of Canada with unremitting ardour, and his plans had received considerable support in Congress. The correspondence of the French envoys in America, with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, throws some light on this subject. On September 24, 1778, Gerard wrote to M. de Vergennes that proposals had been made to him for combined operations next year against Halifax, Quebec and Newfoundland, and that the Americans were willing to cede Newfoundland to France after assisting in its conquest. Reporting the proceedings of several conferences between La Fayette and a Committee of Congress, he remarked that the acquisition and retention of Newfoundland, with the fisheries, would depend, as far as the United States was concerned, on the conquest of Halifax and Quebec. In that event, the French would be conceded all their demands with respect to settlements and fishing rights in Newfoundland. The co-operation of a French force in the invasion of Canada was strongly desired. On November 3, he wrote that the United States had actually decided to undertake a campaign against Canada, and in his letter dated December 19, he enclosed a copy of d'Estaing's proclamation to the Canadians. Vergennes did not approve. On October 26, he wrote to Gerard that the French Government considered it advisable to leave Canada, and perhaps Nova Scotia, in the hands of the English. If it was considered necessary to secure further territory for the United States in that part of North America it would be preferable to give them Nova Scotia. A month later he declared that the court of Spain favoured leaving both Canada and Nova Scotia in possession of the English. In a letter dated December 25, 1778, Vergennes again positively declared that both France and Spain would maintain the English in possession of both those provinces. The invasion of Newfoundland must depend on circumstances. About that time Gerard had repeated interviews with Washington and the president of Congress. Washington had stated that any campaign against Canada would be impracticable, unless New York was previously evacuated by the English garrison. He inquired what compensation the king of France would expect for his assistance in that undertaking. Gerard could give no information on that point but discreetly replied, that the compensation asked would undoubtedly be in conformity with the letter and spirit of the treaty of alliance. Ten days later he reported that Washington had induced the Congress to abandon the proposed expedition against Canada. Some weeks afterwards he remarked that the conquest of Canada could only be the last fruits of a successful war. Committees had then been appointed to draft instructions for the envoy to be sent by Congress to Europe, and one of the principal subjects of discussion was the acquisition of Nova Scotia, but, he observed, that in fixing the boundaries of the independent territories they would probably be willing to abandon their claims to both provinces. In July, 1779, Gerard reported that since Washington had opposed the expedition against Canada so firmly, no other person had ventured to raise the question. Moderate views must prevail. The demands of the northern states for the annexation of the British provinces must be relinquished. In the summer of 1779, Gerard was replaced by Luzerne, who reported that soon after his arrival at Boston, he had an interview with several members of the executive council of Massachusetts, who brought with them a Canadian and some papers relating to a proposed invasion of Canada. This Canadian, whose name was not stated, but who had been recommended by General Gates, asserted that the inhabitants of Canada, generally, wished to overthrow the British government if they could obtain sufficient assistance. The habitants, he said, were being deprived of their cattle and grain and the money they received in payment was of little value. The gentry had been favoured by the government, and he admitted that they were well disposed toward it. The clergy were discreetly quiet but secretly desired their liberty, and the Canadian people, as a body, wanted to be independent and annexed to the United States. The

Indians were loyal. The number of troops in Canada did not exceed 4,000 men, and a French force of 3,000 by ascending the St. Lawrence in their squadron, could easily take Quebec. An American general, who was present, described how their forces could co-operate with effect. Lucerne was greatly impressed by this plan but foresaw considerable obstacles from the weather and the difficulty of communication. The people of New England strongly desired the annexation or independence of both Canada and Nova Scotia. If they had to make a choice, they would prefer to obtain Nova Scotia, owing to the importance of its fisheries and the difficulty the English would have in retaining Canada after losing that province.

In the face of much discouragement from various quarters, La Fayette still nursed extravagant visions of the subjugation of all the remaining British colonies in America. Writing to d'Estaing shortly after his arrival in America, he said, "I cannot think of anything but the happiness of being again with you, of Halifax surrendering, St. Augustine being taken, the English Islands in flames and every one confessing that nothing can resist the French". In the summer of 1779, he returned to France chiefly for the purpose of urging that a larger force should be sent to the assistance of the revolting colonies. Before his departure he had declared openly that Canada could never be conquered by American forces alone, but that a Frenchman of high birth, and distinction, at the head of 4,000 of his countrymen, speaking in the name of the French monarch, could easily bring about a revolution in that country. On landing at Havre in July, he wrote at great length to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, giving his views on the situation in America. An attack upon Halifax was strongly urged by him to be made in June, 1780, in which he asserted that the Americans would heartily co-operate. Reliable men could be found at Boston and other New England ports, who would obtain all the necessary intelligence and supply pilots. Many of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia were disaffected, he averred. When he was last at Boston, he had met a leading man from that province, a member of the executive council, who had come secretly to confer with General Gates and had assured him of the good will of many of the inhabitants. The troops composing the division he had formerly commanded would gladly serve in such an expedition, particularly as they had all been recruited in New England and were disinclined to cross the Hudson river. Gates himself, who possessed much influence in New England and was well acquainted with Halifax, had frequently proposed a joint expedition against that place. All the necessary siege artillery could be obtained at Boston.

The enemy, he added, had some suspicion of this design but believed that the expedition would be directed against Canada. Movements of the militia in the northern states would lead them to suppose that a junction was contemplated at Sorel or on the river St. François, when the French fleet ascended the St. Lawrence. "The idea of a revolution in Canada," he concluded, "must seem delightful to every good Frenchman, and if political conditions condemn it, you must admit, Sir, that it is contrary to our natural instincts. The advantages and the disadvantages of this project require a careful discussion, into which I will not enter here."

The minister, however, resolutely declined to approve of the proposed expedition against Canada, chiefly through fear of exciting the jealousy or suspicion of his American allies. After his return to Philadelphia, in May, 1780, La Fayette again wrote to Vergennes that measures had been taken to gain information of the actual condition of Halifax and the new British fort at Penobscot. These places would become the eventual objectives of Washington's force, but it was necessary before attempting their attack that he should be relieved from all apprehension of an offensive by General Clinton from New York. If no orders were sent in the autumn for the French troops to proceed to the West Indies, or be actively employed elsewhere, they could undertake the conquest of Canada, of which Washington had told him he still entertained hopes. Thus he believed he could clearly forecast his intention of undertaking a winter campaign.

Soon after he was instructed by Washington to prepare an address to the Canadians. Arnold was ordered to have 500 copies of this address printed with the greatest secrecy at Peekskill. On the last day of July, 1780, La Fayette convened, at Newport, Rhode Island, a meeting of pilots who were conversant with the navigation of the Bay of Fundy and Gulf of St. Lawrence, as a preliminary to the intended expedition.

The defection of General Arnold, the mutinous conduct of many continental troops, and the general discontent of the population in the Northern states, taken in conjunction with the presence of a strong British garrison and naval squadron at New York, prevented the execution of this ambitious plan.

The ordinance for the regulation of the militia, which would expire in March, was renewed by the executive council at its annual meeting in January. In the course of the winter, negotiations were opened with the governor of Vermont for a general exchange of prisoners of war. This was considered a favourable opportunity for dis-

cussing terms of reconciliation. During a meeting held at Isle aux Noix in May, between Captain Justus Sherwood, acting as agent for General Haldimand and Colonel Ira Allen, a brother of the well known Ethan Allen, representing the people of Vermont, Sherwood kept a careful journal of what occurred and from his narrative, Haldimand made an official report to the colonial office.

"I am apprehensive," he wrote, "the Flag was sent merely to cause a jealousy on the part of Congress and to intimidate that Assembly into a Compliance with a Union upon the Independent Terms they contend for, from a belief Vermont is in a Treaty with us. This opinion is strengthened from a persuasion that whatever they profess, they are in their Hearts inveterate Rebels and, if once united with Congress, would be very formidable Enemies, having been from their early contests with their neighbouring Provinces continually in Arms. They are in every respect better provided than the Continental Troops and in their principles more determined. These considerations with the impossibility of acting from this Province except in great Force owing to their inhabiting that part of the Country bordering on the Lakes Champlain and George, Hudson & Connecticut Rivers, ready to a man to turn out on the first alarm, with Provisions upon their Backs, and possessed of a strong Country where they can Attack and Harrass an Enemy in the most advantageous situations, have always made me anxious to prevent the Union they seem so bent upon accomplishing."

Suspicion of their intentions had also been excited by a statement addressed on behalf of the people of Vermont to Congress, in which credit was taken for securing the frontiers of the other revolted provinces by including them in a truce, hastily accepted by Major Carleton, during his expedition in the previous autumn. This had been immediately terminated by Haldimand, when it came to his knowledge. A letter subsequently received from Sir Henry Clinton, showed that he was likewise losing confidence in the professions of the Vermont people.

On May 4, 1781, Lord George Germain wrote a secret letter to Governor Haldimand, in which he stated that he had received "certain Information that the French Court had given Orders to M. de Lucerne, to dissuade the Congress from making an attack on Canada until they had driven the King's troops out of the Thirteen Provinces." Consequently he would be more at liberty to co-operate with Clinton and he was advised to despatch a considerable force to the frontier of Vermont to encourage the inhabitants to make a declaration in favor of the royal Government and cut off all communications between Albany and the Mohawk river, and thus prevent supplies from reaching Washington's army. This letter did not reach Haldimand until late in July, when he had received similar information from other quarters. About the same time he received, from an anonymous source, what purported to be an intercepted letter written by Schuyler at Albany, on the 15th of July, and addressed to Washington, in which he congratulated him on the assurances he had received, that a detachment from the French fleet in the West Indies, would soon join the squadron at Rhode Island for an attack upon Quebec, but regretting that a larger force of troops would not accompany it. He recommended an increase of the troops destined for this expedition and concurred in a proposal that a strong demonstration of an attack upon New York should be made to divert attention from it.

In making its contents known to Clinton, Haldimand remarked that "this Letter appears to have been conveyed to me by design to prevent a Diversion in your favour, where I conceive the Blow is Levelled." He also stated that the Vermont people were busy forming magazines, had raised a considerable number of men, "and in a few months will be an important ally or a formidable enemy to either side; from the whole tenor of their Conduct I cannot think they will adopt ours." The fleet with provisions from England had not yet arrived, and his situation in that respect had become extremely alarming. The troops were literally living from hand to mouth in the meantime, and the province was threatened with a famine owing to a plague of caterpillars which had destroyed nearly all the hay and much of the grain. A cargo of provisions which arrived from Cork consigned to a local merchant was promptly purchased and gave temporary relief. Five or six large enemy privateers were, cruising in the gulf and caused great apprehensions for the safety of the provision ships. The quantity of grain remaining from the previous year was very small, and held at an extravagant price. The hay crop was so greatly damaged that the inhabitants were selling off or killing their cattle. This was an advantage for the time being, but its bad consequences would necessarily be felt in the following year. Eventually, late in August, the two fleets from England and Ireland arrived with a large supply and a squadron of transports came from New York bringing a considerable force of German troops, commanded by Major General de Riedesel, who had been recently exchanged.

As the fortifications at Quebec and the other military posts in the province had by that time been greatly strengthened, the arrival of this reinforcement went far to relieve the governor of his apprehensions of an invasion. A secret letter from Mr. Knox,

private secretary at the Colonial Office, dated the 31st July, received in September, informed Haldimand that reliable and precise information had been obtained of the enemy's plans. The French Ministry, he said, had absolutely refused to send any more troops to America, but those already there had been placed under Washington's command and directed to join his army on the Hudson river, above New York. No attempt on that place would be made until the French fleet from the West Indies arrived at Rhode Island, and before that could occur, it was anticipated that Sir Henry Clinton would receive a strong reinforcement from Europe. This intelligence must convince him that no attack would be made upon Canada and leave him free to assist Clinton by operations on the frontier. A letter from Clinton, received about the same time, likewise urged this diversion as he feared an immediate attack. Riedesel, in fact, presented a proposal for accomplishing such a diversion by sending a force by way of Fort Pitt to co-operate with a movement of the southern army up the Potomac and Susquehanna rivers during the winter. This was summarily rejected by Haldimand as impracticable since navigation of the lakes would close in November and the difficulty of supplying such a distant expedition, as well as the danger incurred by the dispersion of his small force, would be greatly enhanced.

Advanced posts from Isle aux Noix were established at Pointe au Fer and on Hero Island in Lake Champlain where blockhouses were built and small garrisons maintained.

As the legislative assembly of the state of Vermont was expected to meet on the first of October, Haldimand decided to send a strong detachment of troops about that time to occupy Crown Point, and alarm the frontier of New York. Raiding parties from Carleton Island and Niagara, were also ordered to appear simultaneously upon the Mohawk river, and the frontier of Pennsylvania. As the prospect of a plentiful crop of grain, in spite of the ravages of caterpillars, steadily improved and it seemed probable that the price of wheat would fall in consequence, he offered to purchase a large quantity for the supply of the garrison and inhabitants of New York.

The report of his agents from Vermont, after long conferences with influential persons in that state, about the end of September, had, to a great extent, removed his doubts of the good faith of Allen and his confederates but at the same time he felt satisfied that prejudice against Great Britain, in the minds of a large majority of the people, combined with the influence of Congress, would be too powerful to admit of a favourable result by negotiation alone. At the request of the Allens, a proclamation was drafted, offering to Vermont the terms they desired but it was never published. Colonel St. Leger was placed in command of the force destined to create a diversion which consisted of all the troops and loyalists who could be spared from the garrisons of St. Jean and Isle aux Noix, as well as three companies of light infantry, stationed at an advanced post at Pointe au Fer on Lake Champlain. After occupying Crown Point, St. Leger was instructed to make such a detachment as he considered sufficient to advance toward the frontier of New York, for the purpose of causing an alarm. He was to refrain from any hostile demonstration against Vermont, carefully watching all movements of troops in that state, and not trusting their friendly professions too far. Trucks were provided for conveying his boats from one lake to the other. He was directed to remain at Crown Point as long as the season would permit. The appearance of this force at first seemed to have the desired effect. The inhabitants of Vermont continued to make friendly declarations and a large body of troops was assembled at Albany for the protection of that place. Information which he had received from his agents in the city of New York, represented, however, that the British force at Yorktown in Virginia, under Lord Cornwallis, was in a most critical situation. The future attitude of Vermont, he was convinced, would depend on the result of military operations in the south. "If unfortunate," he wrote, "she will be our most dangerous Enemy, otherwise Affairs are in a good train."

In a letter marked "most secret," dated November 23, 1781, Haldimand carefully reviewed the whole situation. He still apprehended an invasion. Owing to the large number of invalids among the troops left behind by General Burgoyne, and recruits "Totally Ignorant of Military Discipline," among those who had since arrived, he said that he would not be able to assemble, in that event, more than 2,500 men fit to keep the field for two months. Many of the German troops, he feared, would seize the first opportunity of deserting. The lateness of the arrival of the store ships, with provisions, had prevented him from occupying Oswego, while the number of workmen at his disposal, would scarcely be sufficient to build a fort of the necessary strength at that place. Consequently his efforts had been mainly restricted to strengthening the fortifications at Quebec. Small magazines had been formed by the enemy at several places on their frontier which could be quickly filled from the neighbouring settlements. "Inhabitants on the Frontiers of Canada have from their Infancy, been accustomed to Live in the

Woods," he wrote, "and if the Situation of Affairs to the Southward is as bad as it is represented, it will not be difficult for Congress to Engage them, partly from Enthusiasm, Resentment of Recent Injuries, and love of plunder, to join a Kind of a Crusade in order to subdue this Country." He believed that in this case the people of Vermont would be forced to join in the expedition. From the information he had received, and the movements of the enemy during the summer, he suspected that the plan of attack found among Mr. Laurens's papers, would be carried into execution the next summer. The effect of the French alliance upon the Canadians, generally, and particularly among the clergy was most noticeable.

"The Successes," he remarked, "tho' fluctuating, which we have had, joined to the vigilant Attention which I have had to their Conduct, have hitherto kept them, if not within the limits of their Duty, at least within those of Decency, but since the News of the Superiority of the French Fleets & a report which is whispered of Lord Cornwallis's Surrender, It is with great grief that I see their attachment to France concealed under a Zeal for the Preservation of their Religion & will on the first favourable occasion engage them in the interest of the Rebels. and it is with still greater Regret that I see many of His Majesty's ancient subjects declaring their attachment to the Cause of the Rebels as openly as their own Safety will permit and their expectation that the Independence of America must soon be acknowledged—Your Lordship may be assured that if ever the Rebels shall invade the Frontiers of this Province, accompanied by a few hundred French soldiers, a great number of Canadians will take up arms in their Favour, and that by far the greatest part of them will serve them as Guides and furnish them with Provisions and every other assistance in their Power. My observations have so confirmed me in this Belief that so far from wishing to Arm them in defence of the Province, I am apprehensive that Attempt might in my weak state be attended with dangerous Consequences. But I must Act in this when necessary, as Circumstances shall require. Their backwardness to serve is manifested in their Seamen, some of whom from necessity I am obliged to employ on the Upper Lakes, where notwithstanding they Receive very high Wages, they serve with the utmost Reluctance and will on no account remain above two years."

At the same time he anticipated that every effort would be used to induce the Indians, and particularly the Five Nations, to turn against him, by persuading them that as he was no longer able to give them protection, their only means of safety would be to join the enemy.

A letter written to his son by a Mr. Lotbinière who had joined the enemy and was then in Philadelphia, had been intercepted. In it he announced his expectation of seeing him next year when he would be in a position to settle their mutual affairs to his satisfaction, and advised him to remain quietly in the country where he would be in greater safety than in any town.

Several letters from this gentleman, addressed to M. de Vergennes, containing plans for the invasion of Canada, are preserved in the records of the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

The garrisons of the upper posts had been reinforced. By the greatest exertions they had been furnished with provisions sufficient to last until the next spring. Unless a further supply was received early in the year, before an invasion took place, it would be scarcely possible to maintain them.

Reinforcements from England were also requested and it would be necessary to maintain command of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or the province would be cut off from its base of supplies.

The proposed expedition against Detroit had been postponed but not abandoned by the enemy. Washington himself had declared that the "reduction of Detroit is the only means of giving peace and security to our western frontier." Colonel George Rogers Clarke had offered to organize a volunteer force with that object if Congress would provide him with the necessary artillery and stores. His request was not only granted, but the commandant at Fort Pitt was directed to detach a company of artillery and as large a party of regular infantry as he could spare to accompany him. Rumours of his intentions soon reached Detroit. In March, 1781, a small party commanded by Captain Matthew Elliott made an incursion into Kentucky where a small magazine of provisions was destroyed. On his return he reported that the inhabitants were engaged day and night in removing all their portable property into one of the large forts where they hoped it would be safe during their absence on this expedition. Several of the leading chiefs of the Six Nations, with Joseph Brant, were sent to attend a council of the Indians convened at Detroit in the following month to encourage the western tribes. While it was being held, a force from Fort Pitt made a raid into the Indian country and destroyed one of their principal villages. The Indians were then directed to concentrate at Sandusky and a company of Rangers was sent to that place

to build and garrison a fort for their protection. Colonel Brodhead who commanded the expedition from Fort Pitt had liberated some of his prisoners, telling them that he would soon advance against Sandusky, at the head of a thousand men and that Colonel Clarke had gone down the Ohio with as large a force. These numbers were presumed to be purposely exaggerated, but it was known that a fort had already been established at the falls of the Ohio and garrisoned by about two hundred regular soldiers. The militia of Kentucky was estimated to amount to 1,100 men, all well armed and experienced in warfare in the woods. From among them a considerable force could easily be recruited. Clarke's first base of operations was established at Wheeling on the Ohio river. His movements were closely watched by Indian scouts. Early in August they reported that his preparations seemed to be nearly complete. The company of rangers at Sandusky accompanied by several hundred Indians, at once began its toilsome march overland in the hope of intercepting him on his way down the river to the mouth of the Great Miamis by which route he was expected to approach Detroit. The advanced guard, conducted by Joseph Brant and some officers of the Indian department, arrived barely in time to cut off the rear division of fourteen boats, manned by one hundred men commanded by Colonel Lochry, lieutenant of Westmoreland county in Pennsylvania. The whole of this party, consisting of 101 persons, was killed or taken prisoners. The victorious force then floated down the river in the captured boats with the intention of attacking the fort at the falls. The Indians, however, satisfied with their partial success, soon began to disperse. When they arrived within thirty miles of their objective it was found that only two hundred remained. Their scouts, who had been sent ahead to reconnoitre Clarke's position, returned with some prisoners who stated that he had already abandoned his intention of attacking Detroit. A party of the Indians crossed the river into Kentucky and advanced against the fort named in honour of the famous Daniel Boone. A body of horsemen was routed with considerable loss. Next day, a larger force, commanded by Colonel Floyd, the lieutenant of the county, advanced to the scene of action to bury the dead. It was drawn into an ambush and many including Floyd and several of the principal officers were killed or taken. Active operations in the western country then terminated but the rangers remained with the Indians until all danger of an attack seemed at an end.

In September, Haldimand proposed to Brig.-General Powell, who had taken command at Niagara, that another raid in force should be made upon the Mohawk valley on much the same lines as the year before. After consulting with Colonels Butler and Guy Johnson, Powell advised that the troops intended for this expedition should be assembled at Oswego and advance by way of Oneida lake against Duanesboro and the settlements on the lower part of the Mohawk river, which had hitherto escaped injury. This plan was approved and orders were issued for its execution. A body of 205 officers and men, and a hundred Indians from Niagara was joined at Oswego by Major Ross, with a party of 207 of all ranks from Carleton Island. Ross took command of the combined force and began his march on the 10th of October. Two weeks later, after a very fatiguing march amid rain and snow, he reached the Mohawk river near Fort Hunter. A few prisoners were taken, but the settlements were hastily deserted on his approach. Arriving at Duanesboro at break of day, on the 25th of October, the destruction of that prosperous settlement extending for seven miles along the river, was immediately commenced. Before noon, Ross's advanced guard had approached within twelve miles of Schenectady and all buildings within reach, including three mills and a large public magazine, were in flames. Prisoners informed him that superior forces were already assembling at three different points to oppose him or cut off his retreat. After a short halt to rest his men, he began his retirement through the woods by the most direct route to Carleton Island instead of attempting to return to the place where he had left his boats. Finding that he was closely pursued by a much superior force, he decided to halt and fight, in a good position. In the action that followed, he succeeded in beating off the enemy with considerable loss, capturing the only gun they had. This enabled him to continue his retreat until he reached a ford over Canada Creek, where he was again overtaken. The passage of this stream was gallantly covered by Captain Walter Butler with a small party of the corps of rangers. Butler himself was killed by a random shot at the end of the skirmish and it is related that the inhabitants of the Mohawk valley rejoiced more at the news of his death than they did on learning the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, which became known to them about the same time. For many years afterwards, the place where he fell was locally known as Butler's Ford. Ross's further retreat was then most difficult as the weather became very stormy, his men had little food, and many had lost their blankets and overcoats. He was forced to march along a narrow Indian trail and cross several streams which were only made passable by the construction of rafts, yet he succeeded in overcoming all obstacles and arrived at Carleton Island with the loss of only twenty-four of all ranks, of whom

nearly two-thirds were missing. He even brought off with him a number of prisoners. Those of his men who were so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the enemy were shown scant mercy at the hands of their exasperated captors.

During the summer, Butler's corps of rangers had been augmented by the arrival of recruits from the border to ten complete companies. Many loyalists had also joined the second battalion of Sir John Johnson's regiment, Jessup's corps and a battalion of rangers forming at St. Jean, under command of Major James Rogers, a brother of the famous partisan leader in the last French war.

The bridges, over the principal streams flowing into the St. Lawrence on the Royal Road along its northern bank from Quebec to Montreal, were repaired or rebuilt by *corvée* labour under the supervision of an officer of the Royal Engineers to facilitate concentration of the troops.

In the following winter, Lieut. Launière was again sent to Penobscot to obtain information, and the officer commanding at that place was requested to forward by a special messenger any important intelligence which might affect the safety of the province.

Early in February, 1782, a proclamation was again published with the assent of the Legislative Council, requiring the inhabitants to thresh their grain and make the necessary preparations for its transportation to places of safety under the protection of the troops.

Lieut.-Colonel Henry Caldwell, who had strongly dissented from the enactment of the militia ordinance on account of its inefficiency, took this opportunity to submit a written memorandum on the subject, as only the governor's declared opposition had deterred him from making a motion to amend it in the council. "We experienced in 1775," he wrote, "the bad consequences that attended such delays, almost the total loss of the province nor can we suppose now that should the enemy get a footing in the province without taking prudent precautions beforehand that the Canadians would arm readier in our favour than formerly, and who can say that the province will not be invaded next summer? Your Excellency's military knowledge will enable you to judge how far vigorous and decided measures may be deemed expedient, but for my part should the state of public affairs be found to be in as bad a way as lately represented instead of repealing old laws and making new ones I should be happy to see all civil business cease, your Excellency assume your military character only and the whole province become soldiers."

As the existing ordinance would not expire until the following year, no action was taken.

Scouts returning from the frontier reported that preparations were being made at Albany and its vicinity which indicated an intention to invade the province in accordance with the plan taken in the possession of Mr. Laurens. The suspicious conduct of some of the Canadians convinced the governor that they expected some such attempt and although his efforts to obtain evidence against them were unsuccessful, he felt certain that a correspondence with the French commanders was carried on. In a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, dated March 5, 1782, and sent overland by way of Halifax, he urged him to continue his efforts to obtain reliable information on this subject and remarked that "a Report now prevails amongst them that the Pope has issued a Bull Absolving them from their Oath of Allegiance to the British on returning to that of France, it is likewise said that the Congress have issued a Proclamation declaring pardon to all Americans who having been induced to join the King's Army will acknowledge and support the Independence of the States. Whether these Reports are true or not, they have their Effects."

Clinton had already been informed that an invasion was under consideration and freely discussed by the enemy.

It was reported that La Fayette had again gone to France to advocate such a project, and that the Congress was only waiting his return to come to a decision. Information was also received that magazines of provisions had been formed at the falls of the Ohio and that Clarke would begin his advance against Detroit early in the spring, in command of two Virginian regiments and about one thousand French and Spaniards. The route he proposed to follow would be down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash, up that river and across country to his destination.

Clinton's letter containing this important intelligence, although dated February 22, and sent overland by the shortest practicable route, was not received by Haldimand until the 6th of April. A subsequent letter, dated March 10, urged him to make a demonstration in force on the frontier of Vermont for the purpose of influencing the negotiations which were still in progress with the inhabitants of that state and coercing them into neutrality. Under the existing circumstances this advice seemed to him a counsel of despair, but he agreed to undertake the movement with as large a force as could be detached, as soon as it was reasonably certain that no attack would be made

upon Quebec by the River St. Lawrence. This operation could not be possibly commenced before the middle of June from the want of flour, as the wheat he had purchased could not be ground before that time. He informed Clinton that three thousand men had been assembled to oppose the advance of Colonel St. Leger the previous autumn and an equal number held in readiness to cut off his retreat if he had invaded that state. The large number of militia that could be rapidly assembled made any offensive movement very dangerous. In consequence of the information he had received respecting the expedition projected against Detroit, two companies of Butler's Rangers were ordered to reinforce the garrison of that place. Major Ross, who was in command at Carleton Island, had been instructed to establish a fort at Oswego, which he succeeded in accomplishing without opposition. It then became necessary to weaken the garrison of the new post to reinforce that of Detroit.

Haldimand visited Montreal to supervise these arrangements, but returned immediately to Quebec, as the ice in the river had broken up earlier than usual and the arrival of vessels was expected. A despatch was soon afterwards received from Lord Shelburne, who had succeeded Lord George Germain as secretary of state for war on the change of ministry, which informed Haldimand that reliable information had reached him that a fleet of transports was preparing to sail from Brest for North America with about six thousand soldiers under a strong convoy of ships of war. Its destination was reported to be Quebec, but this was considered doubtful. It was watched by a strong British squadron and Sir Guy Carleton, who had been appointed to succeed Clinton in command at New York, had been instructed to proceed to Canada himself in the event of the expedition being directed against that province. Haldimand was advised to station three small swift sailing vessels to watch the entrance to the river with orders for two of them to sail for New York when the enemy's fleet appeared, and convey that information to the admiral commanding on that station while the other returned to Quebec. He was also instructed to establish signal posts along the river for rapid transmission of intelligence. He was further directed to prevent the Indians from making any inroads upon the revolted provinces. An address from the House of Commons to the King, with his reply and two resolutions which had been adopted by the House, were enclosed to convince him that the ministry was not only instructed to avoid all offensive measures, but any act that had the least appearance of an intention to subdue the rebellion by force. The negotiations with Vermont were to be continued and efforts made to conciliate them by conceding their claims to all territory occupied and cultivated by them. Prisoners of war in Canada were to be collected and sent to Boston or some other convenient port for exchange. In the event of Sir Guy Carleton arriving in Canada to take command, Haldimand was granted leave of absence and authorized to return to England.

Before the new policy of conciliation could be made known and carried into effect, hard fighting had occurred in the Indian country. Early in the spring a strong force of frontiersmen from the vicinity of Fort Pitt had surrounded a village, solely inhabited by Indians who had been converted to Christianity by the Moravian missionaries. They had taken no active part in the war, but were accused of sheltering hostile parties. Their captors soon decided to kill all their prisoners. Ninety-six persons, of whom nearly two-thirds were women and children, were brutally beaten to death and their bodies burned in the buildings selected as "slaughter-houses." Elated by their easy triumph, the frontiersmen declared their intention of advancing against the Indian camp at Sandusky and repeating their exploit. This information became known at Detroit about the middle of May, and Captain William Caldwell, with his company of Butler's Rangers, was ordered to march to the assistance of the Indians at that place. Shortly after his arrival there he was joined by a small reinforcement of the same corps from Niagara. Scouts who had been sent out to watch the movements of the enemy soon reported that five hundred mounted riflemen, including most of the persons concerned in the late massacre, were approaching. Their movements were closely watched and from writing upon the trees and scraps of paper found scattered about their camps, after they had departed, their intention was avowed to show no mercy to any Indians, irrespective of age or sex. Several officers in the garrison of Fort Pitt accompanied this force as a "party of pleasure." They appeared to be in high spirits and confident of success. Caldwell's command consisted of only seventy rangers and about two hundred Indian warriors. At noon, on the King's birthday, June 4, 1782, he learned that the enemy were only a few miles distant and advanced to meet them at the junction of two trails so that he could protect either of the Indian villages from an attack. The action soon became brisk. Caldwell himself was badly wounded and obliged to leave the field. Both parties lay on the ground during the night after darkness put an end to the fighting. Next morning the rangers and Indians renewed the attack under the command of Lieut. John Turney, and during the day were reinforced by another body of Indians. This enabled them to surround their opponents and at night-fall a strong chain of sentries was posted all around

their camp to prevent their escape. About midnight a vigorous rush was made against the weakest part of the line, which was successful, and the greater part of the frontiersmen broke through on horseback. They were closely pursued with the fierce energy inspired by insatiable hatred. This chase continued for many days, and the last man that fell beneath the tomahawk of the Indians was struck down on the very banks of the Ohio. It was supposed that 250 of the fugitives were killed or perished in the woods. Colonel Crawford, their unfortunate leader, and a few other officers were reserved for a worse fate. They were horribly tortured to death in spite of the remonstrances of Simon Girty, the only officer of the Indian department who was present. In consequence of this ferocious act of retaliation, the commandant at Detroit promptly threatened to withdraw the rangers from co-operation with the Indians in case they repeated their offence.

On recovering from his wounds, Caldwell marched to the Ohio river which he crossed on August 15, and invested Bryant's Station, the principal fort in Kentucky. Finding that he could not take it without artillery, he destroyed the settlement outside its walls and retired to a ford on the Licking river, known as the "Blue Licks," where he awaited pursuit. On the morning of August 18, his scouts announced that 200 of the enemy were swiftly approaching on horseback. An ambush was formed beyond the ford. The Kentuckians dismounted and crossed the river on foot, advancing heedlessly into the trap laid for their reception. They were instantly thrown into disorder by repeated deadly volleys at close range from the rangers and Indians lying concealed in the long grass, who then rushed forward and drove them headlong across the river. Only a few prisoners were taken. About 150 men, including the principal leaders and the flower of the youth of the Kentucky settlements were killed in this affair or in the pursuit.

A large scouting party despatched from St. François to reconnoitre the road, under construction through the woods by Hazen's corps, found that the nearest blockhouse had been burned. Advancing still further, another was discovered which was also destroyed and a few prisoners were taken. Work upon the road had apparently been abandoned.

Writing to Lord Shelburne on August 17, Haldimand reported that all offensive operations on the frontier had been discontinued in compliance with his orders. A body of the enemy's rangers had recently appeared on the frontier of New York between Lakes George and Champlain with the evident intention of preventing any communication by that route with the inhabitants of Vermont, but had not been molested. He had learned that Washington had visited Albany and the frontier posts attended by a large escort of cavalry. This he surmised was due to a rumour that a force was being organized in Canada for the invasion of New York or Vermont. This visit had induced him to abstain from sending troops to Isle aux Noix, to work upon the fortifications, to avoid exciting alarm. At the end of October, all the troops were withdrawn into winter quarters in the various towns and parishes.

During the summer the activity of American privateers in the gulf and entrance of the river St. Lawrence had again become distressing. A party from one of these ships landed at Percé where they dismantled the battery, plundered the houses, and burned the fishing boats. In consequence of these depredations, Haldimand purchased a ship mounting twenty-six guns which he manned and ordered to join the frigates cruising in the gulf to protect commerce.

The Governor was greatly hurt by his contemplated supersession by Carleton, who was his junior in rank and service, and to avoid this, he urged that he should be granted leave of absence before it actually took place.

Carleton had informed him that negotiations for peace were well under way and that it seemed probable that the demand of the Congress for complete independence would be conceded.

At the meeting of the Legislative Council, the republication of the proclamation for threshing grain was sanctioned and the ordinance for regulating the militia renewed for two years.

In February, 1783, a daring and well planned effort was made to capture the post at Oswego by surprise. Colonel Marinus Willett, with six hundred men, advanced rapidly in sleighs from Saratoga against that place and approached within two miles without being discovered. His guides then went astray and a deserter who left his force surrendered to an outlying picket of the garrison. When the absence of this man was reported to him, Willett instantly abandoned his design and commenced a hurried retreat. Some of his men were frozen to death, some drowned, and many others disabled by frost. No other offensive operation was undertaken on either side before the conclusion of peace.

Early in the year, orders were received to send home all the German troops remaining in Canada. They were accordingly embarked in the beginning of August. Instruc-

tions to disband the first battalion of the 84th Regiment, (the Royal Highland Emigrants), and the loyalist corps, and make grants of land for their settlement, although dated the 8th of August, were not received until the 17th of November, having been detained for three weeks at Halifax. It was accordingly impossible to carry them into effect immediately without causing considerable hardship and the final disbandment was postponed until the 24th of December. Fifty-three companies of loyalists were then discharged, numbering nearly three thousand of all ranks, most of whom, with their families, became permanent settlers.

The importance of improving the overland communication between Quebec and Halifax had been frequently brought to the Governor's attention. He finally directed the militia companies of Ste Anne, Rivière Ouelle, and Kamouraska to work upon the portage leading to Lake Temiscouata under their own officers and make a road practicable for loaded horses. This work was executed in a satisfactory manner under the direction of the Grand Voyer for the district of Quebec, whose report has been preserved. The Governor of Nova Scotia co-operated by the establishment of post houses along the St. John River.

Caldwell, Lanaudière and other seigneurs endeavoured to induce loyalists to settle upon their lands by the offer of favourable terms, and measures were taken early in the following spring to establish the disbanded troops entitled to free grants of land in townships which had been surveyed for their reception, at the Bay of Chaleurs, Cataragui and Niagara. They were supplied with provisions and furnished transportation to the locality selected by them.

In the autumn a number of loyalists who had selected the island of Cape Breton as their place of settlement were conveyed to their destination in ships chartered for that purpose.

A general census of the population and enrollment of the militia was completed during the year. The total number of inhabitants was reported to be 112,511 of whom 304 were slaves. The strength of the militia in the town and district of Quebec was found to be 10,863, having in their possession 3,575 muskets; the number of militia in the town and district of Three Rivers was reported as 2,893, having 1,291 muskets; the militia of the town and district of Montreal numbered 14,493 armed with 5,963 muskets. The total number of enrolled militia in the entire province was accordingly shown by this return to be 28,249, having in their possession 10,834 muskets.

Soon after the publication of the terms of peace, the Congress took steps to obtain possession of the western military posts in the territory within the limits of the United States. Major-General Steuben was instructed by Washington to proceed to Canada for this purpose. On his arrival on the frontier, he wrote Haldimand proposing that he should be permitted to visit Quebec, but, as the governor suspected that he would seize this opportunity to make himself acquainted with the state of the fortifications, he declined to consent and informed Steuben that he would meet him at Sorel. He then stated very politely that he must decline to comply with his request until definite orders for the cession of these posts were received from England. Later a similar application was received from the governor of the state of New York for the evacuation of Oswego and Niagara and another from the governor of Vermont for the delivery of two small posts on Lake Champlain, which he asserted were situated within the territory claimed by that state.

By the disbandment of the 84th regiment and the loyalist corps, the troops remaining in Canada were reduced to less than two thousand of all ranks, a number barely sufficient for the performance of garrison duty at their respective stations. The marked dissatisfaction of the Indians at the terms of the treaty by which they considered that their interests had been sacrificed, caused great uneasiness. The greater part of the Six Nations, residing in the state of New York eventually removed in consequence to large tracts of land set apart for their reception in that part of the province which subsequently became known as Upper Canada. Information of the conclusion of the "definite treaty" of peace was not received at Quebec until September 18, and not until nearly two months later did Haldimand take advantage of the leave of absence granted him to return to England. He embarked at Quebec on the "Atalanta" man of war, on Tuesday, November 16, 1784.

The firmness and vigilance of his administration had undoubtedly maintained internal order and prevented the invasion of the province during a very critical period.

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ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

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(1)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS. Series Q, Vol. 12, p. 212.

In obedience to His Excellency's orders, I immediately on my arrival here (which was on the 9th of November last), directed the putting in repair His Majesty's Vessels lying here. As soon as severity of the Season would permit, they were ordered to their Stations, being fitted for the purposes of transporting Stores and Provisions, and also for defence. As soon as the Frost would allow, the repairs of the Fort were undertaken, which went on but slowly, as the Garrison consisted only of two companies of the King's (or 8th Regiment). Had the country people been employed as Labourers, they must have had provision from the King's stores, and the communication from Montreal being cut off by the Rebels, it could not be spared. The Savages who resorted hither in great numbers in the Spring, consumed a large quantity, and the Militia employed to reinforce the crews of the Vessels, increased the consumption. At this present time there are not two barrels of Pork in the King's Stores, but one of the Vessels loaded with Provisions, is in the River of Detroit, and is expected to arrive to-morrow.

Endorsed: Detroit 29th August & 2nd September, 1776 Govr. and Superintendent Hamilton to the Earl of Dartmouth R. 18th Novr.

(2)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B, Vol. 50, pp. 1-3.

Whitehall, 19th Sept. 1777.

Sir,

The King having been graciously pleased to appoint you Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec and also Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in that Province and upon the Frontiers of the Provinces bordering thereupon, You will receive herewith His Majesty's Commission under the great seal appointing you to the former of those Offices together with a Copy of the Instructions given to your Predecessor which it is the King's pleasure you should make use of for your guidance in your Administration until you receive others from His Majesty particularly addressed to yourself and for your fuller information you will also receive Copies of such parts of my correspondence with General Carleton as respect the State of the Province or contain any Instructions upon points the execution of which has not been decided upon or completed.

The Accounts I have received of the State of the Province are so imperfect and contradictory that I cannot venture to form any judgment of what steps it will be proper to take for restoring the King's Authority & giving Efficacy to His Majesty's Government. I shall therefore defer receiving His Majesty's pleasure for transmitting you any particular orders until I shall receive from you such information as I can confide in, which I hope you will be able to collect in the course of the Winter and that I shall receive it early in the Spring.

I have to add that His Majesty having committed to you this important Command and thereby given the strongest proof of his reliance in your Abilities & Attachment to His Majesty's service, I think it altogether unnecessary to urge you to exert your very best endeavours in the execution of this most important Trust as I am fully convinced you will want no further motive to incite you to a most zealous discharge of your Duty than the earnest desire you must be possessed with of justifying the confidence the King reposes in you and rendering yourself still more an object of His Majesty's Royal Favor.

Captain Sutton of His Majesty's ship, the "Huzzar", having received orders to carry you to Quebec and is now ready to sail from Spithead, I am to signify to you His Majesty's pleasure that you without delay proceed to Portsmouth & embark on board His Majesty's said ship and I beg you will accept my best wishes for your happy voyage & safe arrival in your Government.

Lieut. Genl. Haldimand.
&c. &c. &c.

I am, Sir, &c.
Geo. Germain.

(3)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 15, pp. 9-12.

As it can scarcely be doubted that Canada will be the principal object of the designs of the French as well as of the Rebels I must express my hopes that the Army now in that Country be reinforced to a number that shall enable me to provide against all events and I submit it to His Majesty whether it would not be most advantageous to His Service that the Military Powers of the Commander in Chief in Canada be entirely unlimited. That the General be left to Judge from the Forces he shall have under him and other circumstances whether his operations must be confined to the defensive or may be extended to undertakings against any of the Neighbouring Colonies, if no accommodation takes place and if this should be approved, whether such discretionary power should be conveyed to him by the King's express orders.

It is likewise worthy to be considered whether he should not be Instructed if he finds himself able to penetrate the Enemy's Country how to conduct himself towards and what terms to offer to such part thereof as might eventually shew a disposition to return under the King's Government and tho' the case is but barely possible, yet to be prepared for it even if he is to remain in this Government, it might be proper that he should be authorized to receive applications that may be made to him from any of the neighbouring Provinces for support or assistance if the French Alliance or any other causes shall produce a disunion among them as it is most probable in such circumstances the Province of New Hampshire, where there is reported to be a great number of faithful subjects, would apply to Canada, many families having already retired there, I conceive it might be detrimental to the King's Service if the Governor should find himself unable to favor such a disposition for want of Authority when all things else concurred.

If Government should think proper that a Citadel be at Quebec and the other necessary Posts in the Province and upon the Lakes should be fortified, His Majesty's orders, I conceive should be signified thereupon to the Commander in Chief leaving it to his discretion to Judge of the expediency of such works as well as of the necessity of keeping up or Augmenting the Naval Force upon the Lakes after he shall be arrived in the Province, furnishing Him however, immediately with the proper Powers for defraying the expenses which will attend them.

As Civil Governor it will be difficult for him I conceive to carry on the Service of the Government unless the disposal of all Places and the nomination to the Council be left to his recommendation.

It is doubted whether the Post of Niagara be properly within the limits of Canada and therefore whether the Authority of the Commander in Chief extends to it.—It would appear necessary that that Post as well as all the others upon the Lakes be under His Command and that the Lieutenant Governors & other Commanding Officers of them should be entirely subordinate to the Governor General as if these were allowed to correspond immediately with Government at Home, it might be productive of uncertainty and some confusion in carrying on the King's Service. The Authority which the Superintendent of the Indians pretends to might occasionally produce some inconveniency it being necessary that the Governor of Canada as circumstanced at present should have a controlling power over all the concerns of the King with the Indians. Mr. Guy Johnson alledges that this power resides entirely in him.

It would be very proper for the Commander in Chief to be well informed before his departure whether the habeas corpus Act can have force in Canada, for under that Idea the present Chief Justice, (as I learn), takes upon himself to oppose commitment of persons on suspicion of their being Spys or Rebel Agents by the Governor or Military Officers, it would seem that power is necessary to be entrusted to the Governor for many reasons in the present conjuncture, but if he exercises it, he runs a risk of raising a dispute under the uncertainty whether the Act extends to Canada. Mr. Livius contends that the Criminal Law of England being introduced into Canada, the Habeas Corpus Act as part of it must necessarily obtain there. Many of the Lawyers, I understand the Attorney General in particular, were of a different opinion, therefore unless the point be ascertained the Governor may be subjected to great inconveniences in the Execution of his duty in the present situation of the Country from having his authority in so material a matter checked by an inferior Officer of the Crown.

Fred. Haldimand.

(4)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 43, pp. 28-31.

No. 4.

Whitehall,
16th April, 1778.

Sir,

His Majesty's Instructions, which will be delivered to you herewith, contain such directions as His Majesty has judged necessary to give you for your Guidance in the Administration of Quebec, and it is His Majesty's Pleasure that as soon as may be after your arrival in your Government you do give your diligence to the carrying into Execution the several orders therein contained. The security & defence of the Province must however be the Primary object of your attention and His Majesty relies upon your zeal & Ability for employing the force put under your Command and exerting every other means in your Power for repelling any attack from without or checking any turbulent disposition within that very valuable & important possession committed to your care will be preserved entire to His Majesty and His Faithful subjects therein continued in the enjoyment of the Blessings of security & tranquility. The troops already in Canada are stated to exceed 5,000 and it is intended to send thither a Corps of the Prince of Anhalt Zerbst's consisting of about six hundred, which with the recruits forwarded for the Brunswick and Hanau Troops will make an addition of near 12 hundred men. This Force, it is supposed, will be fully sufficient to defend the Province in its present state from any attack which may be made upon it from the rebellious Provinces, but as it is intended that you should be in a condition to make a Diversion upon their Frontiers if the war continues and to second the operations which may be judged necessary to be carried on from the Coast of the Atlantick, it is His Majesty's pleasure that if upon a mature consideration of all circumstances you shall think it expedient, you do grant Commissions to such of the King's antient & new subjects as you shall think proper to command a Corps of Canadians not exceeding one thousand men, the private men of such Corps to be taken by Draughts from the Militia or by way of Corvée to serve a limited Time and to be renewed by other Draughts in succession, or in such manner as you shall judge to be best for the service and most agreeable to the inhabitants, the officers so long as the Corps subsists are to receive pay and private men during the term of service are respectively to receive pay, cloathing and all other advantages which are allowed to the Battalion of Royal Emigrants serving in Canada or any other Provincial Corps. Some military works are also to be erected in the Province for its greater security and the Board of Ordnance here rec'd orders to prepare Plans & Estimates for that Purpose and so soon as I receive them, I shall lay them before the King and lose no time in transmitting to you His Majesty's Instructions for carrying such of them into execution as shall be approved. I am further to acquaint you that it is His Majesty's Pleasure you should be particularly attentive to what passes in the rebellious Provinces on your Frontiers and to discover any designs that may be entertained of making an attack upon Canada and in such case you will immediately acquaint Sir Henry Clinton with the intelligence you receive in order that he may send such reinforcements as may be necessary to enable you to repel such an attack and it will be very proper that you take every opportunity of corresponding with Sir Henry Clinton and giving such information as you may think of importance & useful for His Majesty's service.

I am, Sir, &c.

Geo. Germain.

To Governor Haldimand.

(5)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 144, p. 65.

Niagara, 10th May, 1778.

Colonel Bolton's Oppinion in Regard to the Naval Department. (Viz.)

The snow Haldimand.

The snow Senica.

The sloop Caldwell and one more of the same Burthen very usefull for Lake Ontario; the Latter may be Dispenced with.

The Schooner Gage.

The Ottawa when built.

} for Lake Erie

The Schooner Hope. } From Fort Slossar to Fort Erie.
 The schooner Faith }
 The schooner Dunmore for Lake Huron.
 The sloop Felicity not wanted in the service.
 The sloop Angelica not worthy of Repairs.
 The sloop Welcome the property of Mr. John Askin.
 The sloop Arch Angle Do. of Messrs. Barth & Son, Lake Michigan, usefull by
 Report of Major De Peyster.
 The Wyndott, Paoquet, Burthing, 30 Tons, when Launched to be employed from
 Detroit to Fort Erie on Lake Huron, Ordered to be built by Govr. Hamilton.

(6)

June 30th, 1778.

A PROCLAMATION.

By His Excellency Frederick Haldimand Esquire, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of Quebec and the Territories depending thereon, in America. Vice Admiral of the same. General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in the said Province and the Frontiers thereof, &c. &c.

WHEREAS His Majesty by his Letters Patent dated at St. James's the day of in the year of His Majesty's Reign, hath been graciously Pleased to Commission and appoint me His Captain General Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Province of Quebec and the Territories thereon Depending; in the Place and Stead of Sir Guy Carleton Knight of the most Honorable order of the Bath late Governor and Commander in Chief of the said Province.

AND WHEREAS I have Caused the said Letters Patent of His Majesty so granted to me as aforesaid, to be openly and Publicly Read and Published, at the Castle of St. Louis in the City of Quebec in this Province; And in Virtue of the several Powers, Directions, and Commands, therein granted and Expressed I have taken upon me the exercise and due Execution of the same.

AND HAVE therefore thought fit to issue this Proclamation notifying the said Letters Patent and Commission of His Majesty so to me granted and the Publication of the same. And I Do hereby COMMAND and REQUIRE, that all and Every the Officers of this His Majesty's Government of Quebec and all other Persons whom it may Concern Do henceforth take NOTICE and govern themselves accordingly.

Given under my Hand and Seal at arms at the Castle of St. Louis in the City of Quebec in Council this Thirtieth day of June in the Eighteenth year of His Majesty's Reign.

FRED HALDIMAND.

By his Excellency's Command.

GEO. POWNALL.

Sec.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

(7)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, July 2, 1778.

On Friday night last his Majesty's frigate the Montreal, STAIR DOUGLAS, Esq; Commander, arrived here, having on board his Excellency General HALDIMAND and his Suite, and on Saturday at noon his Excellency landed. On this occasion the streets of the landing-place to the Chateau were lin'd by the British and Canadian Militia and the troops of the Garrison. On leaving the frigate the General was saluted by the Ships in the river, and on his landing by the Garrison. On his arrival at the Chateau he was met by the Members of the Legislative Council, and by them conducted into the Council Chamber, when his Commission was read and the usual oaths administered to him.

On Sunday evening last arrived here his Majesty's Ship Romney of 50 guns, Capt. Montague.

(8)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 80, p. 17.

Quebec 16th July 1778.

Sir,

General Haldimand desirous of having constant scouts towards, Lake Champlain, and being certain no people can so well answer the purpose, he requires as those whose knowledge of the Country, ensures in a great measure the end proposed, has recourse to you for the Service of one hundred Volunteers from the different parties attached to your Corps, Officers in proportion to be under the command of Captain Peters, and to set out from hence, on the 21st Inst. in batteaux which shall be provided for their conveyance.

I am &c.

Sir John Johnson

(9)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 15, pp. 162-6.

Quebec, 25th July, 1778.

No. 1.

My Lord,

I had the Honor of acquainting Your Lordship by a former one of the 30th of June of my arrival here late at night of the 26th, landing the next Day and being immediately with the usual ceremonies put into possession of the Government and Command of the Forces agreeable to His Majesty's Commission.

Sir Guy Carleton has been ever since busily employed in delivering over the necessary papers and furnishing me with every information in His Power respecting the Military State and Civil Government of the Province which I have found him execute very readily and with great Chearfulness.

It is impossible for me at present to give Your Lordship an Accurate Account of Matters here for which I beg leave to refer you and His Majesty's Confidential Servants to my Predecessor, whose experience and long Residence in the Province enable him to give them full satisfaction upon that Head, all I could at present Attempt would be an imperfect Sketch of my Ideas upon certain general points; at my Return from Montreal where I propose going immediately after the General's departure and towards the Fall I trust I shall be able to execute that Business with a greater degree of Precision.

The Want here of Intelligence for a long Continuance of Time, principally from Europe and the Scene of War, might prove highly disadvantageous to the King's Service in this part of the World, till the arrival of the Fleet there had been no accounts from Great Britain for nine or ten months except but what were conveyed by Rebel Newspapers, or those brought in by stragling vessels dropping in from foreign Ports or the West Indies. I am assured that the Intelligence brought in by scouting Parties, Royalists or Deserters, has hitherto in General proved far wide of the Truth, and no Wonder, considering the Lies circulated through every Part of America, a Vessel or two from Halifax have arrived this season, and we are still ignorant of the real state of affairs to the Southward.

This determined me to purchase a small Rebel Privateer that came within forty Leagues of the Town, taken by the Triton, after having made four Prizes and plundered on the King's Posts in the River, and as she goes exceedingly well, I design her for an Advice Boat between this Place and Halifax, for which service she is now preparing, this may however prove of little avail except the Commander in Chief upon the Sea Coasts be directed to forward there for my information from time to time Accounts of the Movements upon that side and the Intelligence He procures of the Rebel Designs as that may help to Measures the King's Service requires me to take upon this, and the Vessels employed in this Business will still be cruising against the Enemy.

Your Lordship must be the best judge of the Mode of Conveying more frequent Intelligence from Europe to this Province; were some of the unemployed Packets or other light Vessels, well armed to sail at the Interval of a month or six weeks from each other, while the navigation is open, it might prove of singular advantage to the

King's Service, it would be very agreeable and Beneficial to the Trading Interest both at Home and abroad.

I have the Honor to be, &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

Lord George Germain,
One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

(10)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.
Series Q, Vol. 15, pp.

Quebec, 28th July, 1778.

No. 2.

My Lord,

Yesterday I received by Express from Brigadier General Powell, Accounts of the Evacuation of Philadelphia and our Army's retreating through the Jerseys to the sea side, of the Commissioners' Arrival and little appearance of their Negotiation ending successfully, this indeed comes through Rebel papers, and therefore not absolutely to be relied upon; but what most nearly concerns us and we have it from those who can be safely confided in, a Mr. Moses Hazen, well known in this Province and who acquired some Reputation in the late War, with a Canadian settled at St. François and four Indians is come from Albany to make a Road that way which leaves very little doubt they mean an Invasion of the Province; a Party having been already sent that way to destroy the Harvest, orders are sent after them to hasten their March, could they lay hold of these Gentry the capture might prove of great advantage.

It is to be remarked that this Traversy has been three times in the Parish where this Family resides and never caught, tho' a Watch was set for that purpose, which shows how much the Habitans are infected, two Persons from this Province are mentioned to me, as having conveyed Intelligence to the Rebels, they are two of three that had been pointed out to me as devoted to the American Cause.

I have the honor to be &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

Lord George Germain,
One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

(11)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.
Series Q, Vol. 15, pp. 169-176.

Sketch of the Military State of the Province of Québec.

This extensive Province by which alone as far as we know, Great Britain can seize fast hold of America is in its present condition quite open to the Insults and Ravages of the Colonies in actual Rebellion, Settlements have been pushed up to the very Frontiers of it by their Neighbours, the Woods on every side are cleared or clearing, they can easily communicate with Canada by means of several Rivers and Lakes, the sources whereof take their rise in this Province or theirs, their waters flowing into both, the Upper Posts may be easily cut off by Oswego River below or by Fort Pitt and the back Settlements of Virginia above. Roads have already been marked by the Rebels to the inhabited Parts of the Province and they have a tolerable Waggon Road within twenty or five and twenty Leagues Distance from the Habitations, the Rebels have explored every part of the Country and know it well, if a Pacification does not take place and the King's Forces are withdrawn from the Southward, the Rebels most undoubtedly before this Country can be put into a Posture of Defence will bring all the Force they can collect against it; should the Posts above be cut off what will become of the Fur Trade and how long may we expect to keep possession of the Lower and cultivated Part, if this goes America will most probably be lost to Great Britain for ever.

The Fortifications of Quebec are entirely rotten, all the Forts and Posts above are by my information in a very defenceless State.

The Clergy, the Noblesse and some part of the Bourgeoise in the Towns excepted, the Canadians are not to be depended upon especially if a French War breaks out and they see the King's Forces withdrawn from the Southern Parts of the Continent.

Tho' the Expence be very considerable the numerous Tribes of Savages dispersed throughout this extensive Provinces or upon the Borders of it, must be kept in good Humour, cost what it will, for if they do us no good they may do us much Harm, and the Rebels are leaving no stone unturned to gain them assisted by the French and Spaniards, may they not chance to succeed.

At this very time Seven hundred Savages with their Families are at Montreal; if the King's Forces are coming up the Hudson's River those might be let loose to destroy the Country, my best Endeavours at present are used to restrain them, least the contrary measure should check the Negotiation, if in a Train of succeeding; that our several operations ought to correspond with each other, it would be highly necessary to have a communication by Sea since we can have none by land.

By all accounts we still have among us many Favourers of Rebellion who are indefatigable in their Endeavours to poison the minds of the Canadians, and to swerve them from their Duty and Allegiance, Some natives of the Colonies and too many old subjects are said to incline that way.

Should the Rebels undertake a Winter Expedition against this Province, they have many advantages over us, the Germans are heavy Troops, unused to Snow Shoes to handling the Axe and the Hatchet, only fit for Garrison Duty, the English Troops have only been two Winters in the Country and therefore cannot be so expert as the Americans, these are trained to the Woods from their Infancy, know well how to shelter themselves from the cold and are excellent Marks Men.

Great difficulties attend the Lodging of the Troops, for the want of Barracks, if necessary they must be cantoned, the Soldiers use themselves to the Canadian Stoves and are in consequence less fit to act abroad.

For the foregoing Reasons it appears absolutely requisite for the Preservation and Security of the Province that a very considerable Body of Troops in addition to those already here be sent to take fast Hold of the Country, and repel the attacks of the Enemies, they will at the same time contain the Canadians, may work a powerfull change upon them, and may in time render these of singular advantage and Assistance to the British Interests in America; the seeds of Jealousy and Dissention between the Colonies have long been sown, they are ripe for breaking out whenever they have Peace at Home and from hence it will be easy whenever these internal commotions break out, to make the most of them.

The levying and drafting out of the Militia of the Province a Body of one thousand men officered entirely by Canadians may be of great advantage besides rendering them useful to the Interests of Great Britain; the restoring the Noblesse of the Province to the Influence they once possessed over the People and the Savages, the keeping up a proper distinction between the Ranks of men, tending to restore Obedience and Subordination, a firm establishment whereof may prove the Means of securing the internal Tranquility of the Province and the Dependence upon the Parent State, Objects that require the most serious Attention, when employed a proportion always to accompany the British Corps, by which means the latter may avail themselves of the superior knowledge of the former either as to getting through the Woods in Summer or Winter, or the management of the Oar or the Paddles in Bateaux or Canoes, as necessary for the Soldier to be well versed in, in these extensive communications, as the use of his Firelock; this mixture will create emulation without exciting National Jealousy and bring about that Union and Harmony, the effectuating whereof is so desirable for the advantage of both.

As the strengthening of Quebec so as to render it defensible or the erecting of a Citadel require Years, the commencing whereof in our present circumstances might only serve to intimidate the People, and no ways answer immediate Exigencies, my first care shall be to fortify as strongly as possible the Avenues into the Province, for this purpose the works at St. Johns are to be put into the best state of Defence they can admit and a work erected upon a Ground that commands it. I intend taking possession of Cataragui, that if in Force we may early next year repossess ourselves of Oswego. The Forts at Niagara and Detroit must be put as soon as possible into a Posture of Defence, and if our numbers allow it, it will be necessary to take Post at Presqu'Isle on Lake Erie; a Fort to command the River St Francois is much wanted but we cannot spare Troops to cover the erecting a sufficient work so near the Frontier; the Rebels are said to intend something of the kind, a Party has been sent to reconnoitre the Spot and see if there is any Foundation for the Report.

The Navy upon the Lakes are by the last Accounts in very good order, and put upon an exceeding proper Footing, an unremitting attention must be paid to keeping them up to see that they are well officered and well manned for upon securing the Navigation of the Lakes as well as of the Portages, the safety and preservation of the upper posts much very much depend. I write to Lord Sandwich upon this subject and inclose Your Lordship a Copy of the Letter.

I was sometime in Doubt whether to transmit the above Sketches, considering how imperfect they are, however, upon consideration they might lead Your Lordship and His Majesty's other Confidential Servants to come to some Resolution upon Points that require an immediate Determination, I thought it best to submit them in their present state.

Fred Haldimand.

Quebec, 25th July, 1778.

P.S. By the inclosed Return, which may not, however, be extremely exact, Your Lordship will nearly see what Troops may be assembled together upon any sudden Emergency.

Indorsed: In Governor Haldimand's of the 28th July. (No. 2)

Return of the Troops in Canada, shewing what number may be assembled to act upon any sudden Emergency, taken from the monthly return of July.

In what Parts.	Lt.-Cols.	Majors.	Capts.	Lts.	Sgts.	Drs.	Rank&F
Total strength in the Province. Deduct for sick, prisoners and absentees.	7	7	61	162	391	157	5,915
	7	7	61	162	391	157	5,317
Deduct for Troops now at ye upper Posts.	1	1	7	30	49	32	751
	6	6	54	132	342	125	4,566
To be left in Quebec, Montreal, Chambly, St. Johns, Isle aux Noix, and what may be expedient to leave for security of ye Camp.	1	2	10	20	40	16	1,000
Numbers that may be assembled	5	4	44	112	302	109	3,566

F. H.

Indorsed:

In Governor Haldimand's of the 28th July.

RETURN OF ALL VESSELS ON LAKES GEORGE, CHAMPLAIN, ONTARIO, ERIE, HURON AND MICHIGAN, ETC., FROM THE YEAR 1759 UNTIL THIS DATE, EXCEPTING THOSE EMPLOYED AT PRESENT ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN, QUEBEC, 30TH JULY, 1778.

(12)

Vessels names.	On what Lake.	Place built at.	What year.	Number of guns.	French & when Taken.	Remarks.
Sloop.	Lake George.	Fort George.	1755.	6.		Layd up and Decayed.
Brig, Duke of Cumberland.	Lake Champlain.	Tienderogo.	1759.	20.		Ditto
Sloop Biscowen.	Ditto	Ditto.	1759.	16.		Ditto
Sloop Brochete.	Ditto	St. Johns		6.	Taken in 1759.	In Service till Decayed.
Sloop Lochegeon.	Ditto	Ditto.		6.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Sloop Masquinonge.	Ditto	Ditto.		6.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Schooner, Vigilant.	Ditto	Ditto.		6.	Taken in 1760.	Layd up and Decayed.
Sloop, Waggon	Ditto	Ditto.		6.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Row galley, Grand Diable.	Ditto	Ditto.		1.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Row galley, Petit Diable.	Ditto	Ditto.		1	Ditto.	Ditto.
Sloop, Betsey.	Ditto	Ditto.		6	Ditto.	Ditto.
Snow, Mohawk.	Lake Ontario.	Niagara.	1759 & 60.	16.		Taken by the Rebels.
Sloop, Onedago.	Ditto.	Oswego.	1760.	15.		Cast away in 1764.
Sloop, Missagago.	Ditto.	Ditto.	1760.	8.		Ditto in 1765.
Schooner, Murray.	Ditto.	Ditto.	1760.	8.		Layd up and Decayed.
Snow, Johnston.	Ditto.	Oswegatchie.		12.	Taken in 1760.	Cast away in 1764.
Schooner.	Ditto.	Ditto.		12.	Ditto.	Ditto in 1761.
Schooner, Brunswick.	Ditto.	Ditto.		6.	Ditto.	In Service till Decayed.
Snow, Haldimand.	Ditto.	Oswegatchie.	1765.	10.		Ditto.
Snow, Seneca.	Ditto.	Ditto.	1771.	18.		Still in Service.
Sloop, Charity.	Ditto.	Ditto.	1777.	18.		Ditto.
Sloop, Caldwell.	Ditto.	Niagara.	1770.	6	swivels.	Cast away in 1777.
Sloop.	Lake Erie.	Ditto.	1774.	2.		Still in Service.
Schooner, Victory.	Ditto.	Navy Island.	1763.	8.		Cast away in 1764.
Schooner, Boston.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Do.	6.		Layd up and burned by accident.
Schooner, Gladwin.	Ditto.	Ditto.	1764.	8.		Ditto.
Sloop, Charlotte.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.	10.		In Service till Decayed.
Schooner, Gage.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.	16.		Ditto.
Schooner, Dunmore.	Detroit.	Detroit.	1773.	12.		Still in Service.
Schooner, Hope.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.	6.		Ditto.
Sloop Chippawa.	Ditto.	Pine River.	1771.	4	swivels.	Cast away, Novr. 1775.
Sloop Angelica.	Ditto.	Detroit.	1769.	4	Ditto.	Ditto.
Schooner Faith.	Ditto.	Ditto.	1771.	4	Ditto.	Ditto.
Sloop Felicity.	Ditto.	Ditto.	1774.	4	Ditto.	Ditto.
Sloop Adventure.	Ditto.	Ditto.	1775.	4	Ditto.	Ditto.
Sloop Welcome.	Ditto.	Ditto.	1776.	4	Ditto.	Ditto.
Sloop Archangel.	Lake Huron.	Miclimackinac.	1777.	4	Ditto.	Ditto.
Sloop, Wymdott	Lake Michigan.	Detroit.	1774.			Ditto.
Pacquet.	Ditto.	Ditto.				On the Stocks.
Snow Ottawa.	Ditto.	Ditto.				"
Total, 40 sail.						(Well layd, stem and stern posts Raised.)

(13)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS

Series B, Vol. 62, pp. 49-50.

Quebec, the 4th August, 1778.

Sir Hy. Clinton or
the Commander in Chief
of His Majesty's Forces
upon the Coast
of the Atlantic.

Sir,

I take the opportunity of a vessel I dispatch to Halifax for Intelligence to acquaint you of my being appointed to the command of this Province and the Troops therein. I need not inform that the object of my military Powers can extend for the present Campaign only to defensive operations, the small number of Troops sufficiently pointing that out to your observation. I am, however, obliged in order to conform to the Disposition of the Savages, whose ardour it might be impolitic to check too much, to permit some excursions of these People towards the Rebel Country on our Frontier. —The Five Nations under Major Butler, who has a Corps of Rangers raised for serving with the Indians, have met with some success at Wyoming, the particulars of which I herewith enclose you.

As it cannot but be beneficial to the King's Service that the different Commanders in Chief of His Majesty's Forces employed in America, should mutually inform each other of what passes as often as possible, I have fitted up and armed an Advice Boat to be employed as long as the Navigation is open in keeping up a communication between this and Halifax, and when the winter sets in I hope to fall on other expedients to accomplish the same and I am induced therefore to hope that you will communicate with me as frequently as you can by that Channel as well as by any other which may occasionally occur, which I shall also on my part at all times seize, being desirous of convincing you of my earnestness to concur with you in all things for the good of the King's Service & of the satisfaction with which I should receive if any thing in my Power to undertake on this side should contribute to the success of the operations carrying on under your command on the other.

I am &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

(14)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, August 6, 1778.

Last Thursday afternoon sailed for England his Majesty's Ship Montreal, commanded by Stair Douglas, Esq; having on board Lieutenant-general Sir GUY CARLETON, Knight of the Bath, and late Governor of this Province, over which he has presided since the 27th of September, 1766. He left the Castle of St. Lewis about one o'clock, (Lady MARIA and the Children having gone on board the preceding evening) and was accompanied to the water-side by his Excellency the Governor, his Honor the Lieutenant governor, the Judges, and most of the principal Gentlemen both civil and military as well British as Canadian; the troops in garrison with the British and Canadian Militia, under arms, lined the streets on both sides from the Castle to the place of embarkation. After Sir GUY, his Excellency General HALDIMAND and several other Gentlemen who went on board with him, had got into Capt. Pierson's barge which carried him to the frigate, just as she pushed off he got up and took an indiscriminate Farewell of the multitude on the beach, with an air of humanity and politeness peculiar to him and which seem'd to indicate regret. A Royal salute was then fired from the ramparts, and, as soon as he got on board, from the vessels. His departure is sincerely regretted by many. His Excellency the Governor and several Gentlemen who accompanied him as far as Patrick's-hole and dined with him on board, returned in the evening.

Several transports and merchant vessels sailed under convoy of the Frigate, on board of which went passengers PETER LIVIUS, Esq; L.L.D. with his family; brigadier general MACLEAN, Colonel commandant of the Royal Highland Emigrants, the Rev. Messrs. Munro, Baily and M'Kenna; William Gordon, Esq; Mr. Lizot, merchant, with his family; Mr. Gregory Grant, merchant, Capt. David Alexander Grant of the Royal Americans, with a number of military Gentlemen, &c.

Early this morning his Excellency General HALDIMAND set out for Montreal, St. John's, &c.

(15)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 117. p. 24.

St. François le 13 Aout 1778.

Monsieur,—Je viens de recevoir avis que le nommé Traversi, habitans de cette paroisse avoit été vu icy ce matin a La pointe du jour; J'ai écrit a l'instant a Yamaska pour envoyer un detachement apres lui; je dois moi-meme partir ce soir, et visiter les environs ou il pouroit se retirer sil n'étoit pas parti; une fille a qui il a parlé ma dit l'avoir vu prendre Le chemin de Yamaska et qu'il étoit armé de trois pistolets et d'un sabre, il paroît par ce que l'on ma dit qu'il est penché dans la province par la riviere Chambly; j'avois bien quelques soupçons depuis quelques temps parceque le nommé Joseph Louis un des plus grands adherants des rebelles en cette province manque depuis quelque jours; j'ai fait jusqu'a present les recherches qui ont été dans mon pouvoir pour decouvrir quelque chose mais fort inutilement jusqu'a ce jour qu'il me soit permis de représenter à Votre Excellence que si les habitans de cette paroisse Logoit des soldats il seroit plus difficile aux etrangers d'y pourvoir avoir allé j'ai pris la liberté de joindre icy cette observation parceque je l'avois deja faite a Mr. le General Carleton et qu'il m'avoit fait esperer dy remedier; dailleur Votre Excellence est informé que cette paroisse est tres faible; et qu'il y a peu de bons sujets sur lesquelles on puisse compter, parmi meme ceux-cy il regne une certaine timidité qu'il n'est pas aisé de dissiper, et je supplie votre Excellence de croire que je ferez mon possible en tout ce qui dependra de moi; et destre pesuade du tres profond respect avec lequel je suis

de votre Excellence le tres humble obeissant serviteur
hertel de Rouville fils

Endorsed M. de Rouville 78
St. françois du 13 Aout
rec. le 15 8.

(Translation.)

Sir:

St. Francis, 13th Aug. 1778.

I have received information that one Traversi, an inhabitant of this parish had been seen here this morning at break of day; I wrote at once to Yamaska to send a party after him; I intend to go myself this evening to visit the localities where he might withdraw, if he has not gone away; a girl to whom he spoke has told me that she saw him take the road to Yamaska and that he was armed with three pistols and a sword; it would appear by what they have told me that he has come into the province by the river Chambly; I have had suspicions for some time, as one Joseph Louis, one of the principal adherents of the Rebels in this province, has been missing for several days; I have made all the enquiries so far that have been in my power to discover something but without result until now. May I represent to Your Excellency, that if soldiers were quartered among the inhabitants of this parish, it would be more difficult for strangers to come in. I have taken the liberty of adding this observation here, because I had already made it to General Carleton and he had hoped to remedy it; besides your Excellency is informed that this parish is very weak and that there are few good subjects on whom he can rely, and even among them there is a certain degree of timidity which is not easy to remove, and I beg your Excellency to believe that I will do everything in my power and I am,

etc.,

Hertel de Rouville, Jr.

(16)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 149, pp. 3-5.

Sir,

I wish my Ability could keep pace with my inclination to comply effectually with your Excellency's request with respect to a mutual correspondence so very necessary at this juncture but the season is approaching with hasty strides that will prevent all communication by water and I know of no other practical method but addressing your Dispatches to Captain Studholme who commands at Fort Howe at the mouth of St. John's River opposite Annapolis—it is tedious because on the 24th December past I had occasion to write to Sir Guy Carleton upon the Subject of a Priest which He did not receive until the 3rd February following but the Messenger

informed me that the general He could perform the journey in about a Month from Annapolis, bad as this conveyance is it is the most direct Road and if while I remain here any thing comes to my knowledge worth communicating you may depend upon my doing my Utmost to send you the earliest Intelligence.

But since here I have remained totally ignorant of what passes to the Southward so that I despair of being useful on that head.

Yesterday arrived here from Glasgow the Duke of Hamilton's Duke of Argyle's and 70th Regiments amounting in the whole to 2,200 effective men Commanded by Major General McLean, Colonel Bruce and Captain Campbell which has relieved us from Apprehension of a Visit from Monsieur Destaing who Anchored off the mouth of the Delaware but Lord Howe and the Army having just left it He proceeded after them and Anchored on the 11th of July without Sandy Hook and remained there until the 22d the wind being easterly He weighed and manoeuvred his Fleet as if he intended to Attack Lord Howe who was at Anchor within but the Disposition by Land and Sea was such that after many indications of his being in earnest He tacked about 3 in the afternoon and stood to the Southward and was followed by a Frigate until he passed Cape Henlopen.

Admiral Byron with 13 sail of the Line and a Frigate is on his way to this part of the World in quest of him but unfortunately He is not Arrived.

This is the whole I can say as to News, but to return to the Subject of our correspondence, while the Gulf is Navigable Totamagouche is the most convenient for you and your messenger may proceed to Cobequid through Onslow, from thence pursue his route Land or Water up the Shupenachadie.

I shall also be very much obliged if you will be pleased to inform Mr. Cramahe that the Priest who was directed to come hither at the request of the Indians has never made his Appearance which makes me Apprehensive that the late Conduct of the French Court has affected the principles of the Clergy so that it is become necessary to engage your Indians to acquaint those on the St. John's River and the Bay of Chaleur that if they do not behave peaceably they will take steps to oblige them.

I wish you every Felicity in your Government and am with Esteem, Sir, your most obedient &c.

Mt. Arbuthnot.

Halifax, August 15th, 1778.

Endorsed:

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Lt. Governor Arbuthnot
of the 15th of August
received the 15 of Sepr at St. Johns.

(17)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 80, p. 33.

Montreal 20th August 1778.

Sir,
I have been favoured with your letter of 17th inst. enclosing the Returns of yours and other corps. His Excellency wishes the different parties who have applied for cloathing would endeavour to make what they have now serve during this fine season, when measures will be taken to supply those who are in want, all the knowledge I have concerning your corps, is that they are intended to move upwards, but in what particular district I know not, you shall have the earliest information of their movement, and where to be Stationed whenever the Generals intentions are divulged.

I am &c.

(Signed) F. L. M.

Sr. John Johnson.

(18)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 171, p. 6.

Circulaire à Mrs les Capitaines officiers & Miliciens de la paroisse de pour etre Lus par un dimanche à la porte de l'Eglise.

Messieurs—

Comme il pourroit arriver que quelques mal intentionnés Continuant dans leur inique dessein de Soustraire les habitans à leurs justes devoirs en vers le Roy et La

Legitime autorité de ses representans courussent les Paroisses pour y semer des Bruits faux seditieux et tendant à la désobeissance, il est de mon devoir Messieurs de vous rapeller l'ordonnance du 29e Mars 1777 emanée du général en Conseil par Laquelle à L'article 9e il est ordonné que Tous officiers de Milice arreteront tous Vagabonds ou Voyageurs soupçonnés pouvoir etre des Espions Emissaires ou fauteurs des Rebelles afin quy tenant La main Tels Espions puissent etre punis suivant La Rigueur de la ditte ordonnance ou de Telle autre maniere qu'il plaira a son Excellence et vous y etes d'autant plus obligés que par les Employes dont vous etes honores, le gouvernement se reposant sur votre fidelité vous confie nonseulement L'Execution de ses ordonnances mais encore attend de votre zele que vous vous opposerez a tout ce qui est generalement contraire au service et a la Soumission due à Sa Majesté.

Les chemins publiques meritent encore Messieurs votre attention particuliere puisque le service du Roy et la commodité publique y son interessé et dont vous avez eu a cet egard une ordonnance que le vous prie de ne point negliger—je vous recomande aussi d'avoir soin d'avertir tous ceux qui ont des caleches et charettes de les mettre en Etat de service des que le service l'exigera.

Notre illustre Monarque ayant trouvé appropos de retirer de ce pays Son Excellence le General Carleton dont les Bontés meritent tous nos Regards nous a envoyé pour le remplacer Son Excellence le general Haldimand d'une grande Experience sagesse capacité et dont les merites sont generalement connus et nous pouvons etre assurés qu'il aura pour nous les mêmes Bontés que son predecesseur vous assurant qu'il est dans les desseins de vous rendre la justice en tous ce que vous pourés Luy représenter etre juste, je vous invite en consequence a chercher à meriter ses Bontés, en vous portant de cour a Luy prouver votre zele en tous ce qui vous sera commandé pour la service du Roy ainsy que de Contrevenir a ses ordres.

Je puis vous assurer Messieurs ainsy qu'a tous ceux qui sont sous vos ordres que tant que je seray maintenu dans L'Employ d'inspecteur des Milices dans toute la province de Quebec et pour les differents districts d'icelle dont je suis honoré j'emploieray mon pouvoir à les faire jouir de toutes les graces dont le Gouvernement voudra bien récompenser leur fidelité et à leur faire rendre generalement et en particulier la justice qui Lui sera due vous assurant que je n'exige d'autre Connaissance que la Soumission aux ordres qui seront donnés pour le Bien du Service du Roy.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre Messieurs,
Votres tres humb. Serviteur
Déchambault.

Ce 21 aoust 1778.

Endorsed. Lettre Circulaire par M. Dechambault Inspecteur des Milices du District de Montreal aux Capitaines et autres officiers de Milice de son District du 21 aoust 1778.

(Translation.)

Circular to the Captains, Officers and militiamen of the parish of to be read on Sunday at the church door.

Gentlemen: As it may occur that certain ill disposed persons, continuing in their wicked design to seduce the inhabitants from their proper duty towards the king, and the legitimate authority of his representatives, may go through the parishes and spread false and seditious reports tending to insubordination, it is my duty, gentlemen, to remind you of the ordinance of the 29th of March, 1777, issued by the General in Council, by the ninth article of which all officers of the militia are commanded to arrest all vagabonds or travellers, suspected of being spies, emissaries or agents of the rebels in order that such spies being taken into custody may be punished according to the terms of said ordinance, or in any such other manner as may please His Excellency, and you are furthermore required to do this by the appointments with which you are honoured, the Government trusting in your fidelity, confides to you not only the execution of its ordinances, but likewise expects from your zeal that you should oppose everything which is in general, contrary to the service and obedience due to His Majesty.

The public roads also, gentlemen, require your particular attention since the king's service and public convenience are concerned therein and respecting which you have received an ordinance which I beg you not to neglect—I likewise request you to take care to warn all persons possessing carriages and waggons to put them in a serviceable condition for use when required.

Our illustrious Monarch, having found it expedient to recall from this country His Excellency General Carleton, whose goodness deserves our entire respect, has despatched His Excellency General Haldimand, to replace him, an officer of great experience, wisdom and ability, and whose merits are generally known and we may be certain

that he will show us the same kindness as his predecessor, assuring you that he intends to do justice to all according to their deserts. I write you in consequence, to endeavour to deserve his favour by showing your zeal in obeying all orders for the king's service.

I can assure you, gentlemen, as well as all who are under your orders, that as long as I hold the appointment of inspector of militia for the whole province of Quebec, and the different districts composing it, with which I am honoured, I shall exert my authority to enable them to enjoy all the favours with which Government should reward their fidelity and to render justice due them in general and in particular, assuring you that I desire nothing further than obedience to the orders which will be given for the good of the king's service.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen, Your very obedient servant,

Deschambault.

21 August, 1778.

Endorsed: Circular letter from M. Deschambault, Inspector of Militia for the district of Montreal, to the Captains and other officers of militia in his district, dated 21st August, 1778.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 19-20.

New York, August 25, 1778.

Sir,—I had the honour of receiving Your Excellency's letter of the 5th of last month by a small vessel which arrived here on the 1st instant and at the same time one without date informing me of your arrival at Quebec.

Although you do not seem to express a wish for a reinforcement to be sent from hence I may probably detach 2,000 Men for that purpose if the French Fleet which is at present on the Coast does not oblige me to defer it till the season is too far advanced.

Colonel Johnson goes to Canada by this convenience in order to make such dispositions in the Indian Department as you may be pleased to direct.

.....

I have the honour to be, etc.,

H. Clinton.

His Excellency General Haldimand.

Endorsed:

From

General Sir Henry Clinton,

New York, 25th August.

Received. 26th November

(20)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 22, p. 139.

GENERAL REPORT OF THE MILITIA AND OF THE COMPANY OF VOLUNTEERS DETROIT.
30TH AUGUST. 1778.

Distribution.	Major.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Adjutant.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Soldiers.
Present for Service.....	1	6	18	1	15	4	423
Absent with permission.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	60
Total of the Militia.....	1	6	18	1	15	4	483
Company of Volunteers.							
Present.....	—	—	—	—	3	3	31
Absent with permission at Montreal.....	—	1	—	—	—	—	5
Deserter, 22nd November, 1777.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Total of Volunteers.....	—	1	—	—	3	3	37
Total of volunteers and Militia.....	1	7	18	1	18	7	520

William Lamothe Captain absent with permission

Henry Hamilton,
Lieut. Govr. and Lieutenant.

Endorsed:—General Report of the Militia and Volunteers of Detroit, 30th August 1778.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 122, p. 205.

The Spaniards are weak and hated, the French frivolous and without leaders, the Rebels brave and enterprising but wanting resources; the Indians can receive their supplies only from us.

The French at Detroit have set a very good example & the arrival of the reinforcement of 80 men from Niagara has produced a very good effect.

Major Hay and the other officers of the Militia whom he has named and whose commissions he sent more than a year ago have not yet been confirmed at Quebec.

These gentlemen of the Detachment will serve under the grade given them, Lieut. Duvernet of the artillery will be of the party and will make remarks in the same manner as the Lieutenant Govr. The list of these officers will be sent in the letter dated the 23rd.

He has reassembled the Indians and told them that his hands were tied by my orders and that he was no longer a simple village leader and all these preparations showed to them that he was going to war, he perceived that an attempt had been made to disgust the Indians, and seeing that two Lieutenants of Militia appeared not to be marching willingly he deprived them of their rank and put them on the roll of the corvees; the one is Irish and the other French.

He made the Militia take the oath, &c., and gave a fete to the Indians.

Endorsed:—Remarks on some letters of Lieut.-Govr. Hamilton, in 1778.

(22)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 95, p. 29.

Quebec, 31st August, 1778.

Sir,

.....
 The Harvest is pretty nearly over but the Habitants must plough this Fall. By next post I shall endeavour to lay before Your Excellency my Ideas concerning the Companies you wish to raise.

H. T. Cramahé.

His Excellency,
 General Haldimand.

(23)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 171, p. 11.

Memorandum relative to the Militia, etc., during the Summer Circuit 1778.

The Island of Orleans.

In case as it was under ye French Government, it would be thought Expedient to divide the district of Quebec into several lesser districts over which an Officer of Militia presided as Colonel or Major, Joseph Coté Captain of Militia at St. Peters, is a man of approved fidelity and capacity; a small salary of 5 or 600 livres to each of these Majors might be well bestowed; It would be a Compensation to them for their Trouble and would create an Emulation among the Captains of Militia to do their Duty with Zeal so as to procure a Promotion which would be both honourable and profitable. The Expense would not be great and as Government has bestowed large sums on the noblesse, a small gratification of the Lower Class of Canadian might be of great advantage in Conciliating their affections likewise. At St. Famille Jacques Perrault is old and infirm, has thrown up his Commission ye Lieut. Pierre de Blois who does ye Duty is recommended to be Capt. Elisha Brown to be Lieut. and Etienne Gigon to be Ensign.

On the North Shore.

Michel Huot of Ange Gardien might be appointed Major to preside over Chateau Riché, St. Anne & Joachim.

(On the South Shore beginning from Kamouraska)

This is a strong point and it is well affected, there are 260 men fit to carry arms in it in case ye Plan for Majors should be adopted, Alexis Dionne who has already been mentioned to your Excellency and whose case is well known to ye Lt. Gov. and Mr. Dun, is fit to command over it & Riviere Ouelle, & as Kamouraska used to have 2 Companies it is hoped Alexis Dionne will be appointed to one of them.

St. Annes'

Capt. Laurier was taken prisoner at M. Beaujou's affairs & suffered a long captivity in N. England he might preside over St. Anne's and St. Roc.

L'Islette.

The Capt. Baptiste Couillard behaved well in 1775 and might preside over St. Jean and L'Islette.

St. François.

The Capt. Michel Blais distinguished himself much and suffered much in the King's Service, might preside over Cape Ignace, St. Thomas, St. Francois & Bertheir.

I did not find any officer of Militia in St. Valiers St. Michel or St. Charles whom I could recommend to command Joseph Royé is a good meaning man but extremely ignorant & passionate.

Beaumont.

Mr. Roy who is Captain and partly Seigneur is worthy of Trust. From Point Levi upwards to St. Pierre les Becquets I saw none whom I could recommend. N. B. Germain Dionne and the 2 Gosselins who were very active and carried arms for the Rebels in ye year 1775 went from St. Anne thro' the Woods to N. England about the Latter end of March last, and have by means of Savages sent news but of no consequence to their wives. Capt. Fraser of ye Emigrants when at Kamouraska took from a savage two Letters containing account of ye Rebel Treaty with France which the Savage was desired to give to the Curates of Kamouraska and St. Roc a proof that the Rebels thought them well disposed to disperse their contents amongst the Canadians. The Priests in the District of Quebec were almost to a man zealous and sincere in the cause of government whilst Americans alone were concerned in the War, but now that there is a war wh France Bigotry and Ignorance of the Rights of Civil Society wh some, and the attachment to their native Country wh others may make a difference; The Curate of Kamouraska, which may be considered as a frontier parish, is in the first case, and ye Curate of St. Rocque in ye latter—

Sept 2d 1778.

Endorsed—Memorandum relative to the Militia.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 62, p. 162.

Au Capitaine des Milice ou officier commandant la Paroisse de

Le Service du Roy requérant un certain nombre d'harnais pour tirer une quantité de pièces de bois de construction destinés à bâtir des hangars & autres Batiments pour l'usage des Troupes. Il vous est ordonné par ces Presentes de faire commander Harnois complet à deux chevaux & un Travail a Saumier chaque, de votre paroisse, pour se Rendre à Sorel Dimanche au Soir prochain 13e du courant, lesquels vous ferez relever par Pareil nombre chaque Dimanche ensuivant jusqu'a ce qu'ils soient contremandés, lesquels seront payés un prix raisonnable pour leur travail — Il sera necessaire d'envoyer un sergent de Milice pour les Livrer à des personnes nommé pour les recevoir —

Donné au Quartier General à Sorel ce 11^e Sep^r 1778—signé F. H.

P.S. Liste des Paroisses à qui l'ordre cy dessus a été envoyé, & le nombre d'harnois.

	Maska - - - - -	5	Contrecoeur - - - - -	3
	Grand St Ours - - - - -	3	Verchères - - - - -	6
le 17 Sept.	L'Isle Dupas - - - - -	6	Isle St Ignace - - - - -	4 po. le 18 Inst.
le 6 Oct.	Contrecoeur à l'avenir - - - - -	4	Verchères - - - - -	7
le 7 ^e do	à la Baye du fevre - - - - -	5.		

(Translation.)

To the Captain of Militia or Officer Commanding Parish of

The King's service requiring a certain number of sets of harness to draw a quantity of timber intended for constructing sheds and other buildings for the use of the troops. You are ordered by these presents to command sets of harness, complete for two horses and a truck for each, from your parish, to report at Sorel on Sunday evening next, the 13th inst, whom you will cause to be relieved by the same number every Sunday following until further orders. They will be paid reasonable wages for their labour. It will be necessary to send a sergeant of the militia to turn them over to the persons named to receive them, given at headquarters at Sorel, this eleventh September, 1778.

(Sgd.) F. H.

P.S. List of the parishes to which the above order has been sent, and a number of sets of harness.

	Maska—5	7th do	A la Baye du fevre 5
	Grand St. Ours—3		Contrecoeur 3
17 Sept.	L'Isle Dupas—6		Vercheres 6
6th Oct.	Contrecoeur à l'avenir 4	Isle St. Ignace 4 (for the	
	Grand St. Ours—5	Vercheres 7	18 Inst.)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 62, p. 142.

Au Capitaine de Milice ou officier commandant la Paroisse de—

Son Excellence le Commandant en chef, ayant dessein de faire construire des angars, & d'autres Batiments pour l'utilité du Service du Roy à Sorrel; Il vous est ordonné par ces presentes de faire commander, & d'envoyer incontinent à Sorrel dix bons hommes de votre Paroisse, qui soyent au fait decarrir du Bois de Construction & de Scieurs de Long. Vous leur ferez emporter avec eux le nombre de Scies & de Hâches qu'ils auront besoin, lesquels etant gens de metier seront payés au prix Raisonnable pour leurs ouvrages respectifs. Il sera aussi nécessaire de les envoyer sous la conduite d'un officier ou Sergent de Milice, lequel les Livrera à la Personne nommée pour les Recevoir —

Fait au Quartier General à Sorrel ce 8 Sep^r 1778.

Par son Excellence — (Signé) E. Foy.

Noms des Paroisses à qui l'ordre cy-dessus a été envoyé le 8 Sep^r:

Point du Lac	- - - - -	10 hommes	Berthier	- - - - -	10 p. Paroisse
Machiche	- - - - -	10 do	La Norray	- - - - -	10 hommes
Riv. du Loup	- - - - -	10 do	La Valterie	- - - - -	10 do
Masquinongé	} - - - - -	10 do	La Baye	- - - - -	10 do
& Lormier			St. Francois	- - - - -	10 do

(Translation.)

To the Captain of Militia or Officer Commanding Parish of

His Excellency, the commander in chief, desiring to construct sheds and other buildings for the King's service at Sorel, you are ordered by these presents to command and send immediately to Sorel, ten good men from your parish, who are skilful in squaring and sawing timber. You will cause them to bring with them the necessary number of saws and axes, skilled workmen will be paid a reasonable rate for their respective trades. It will likewise be necessary to send them under the orders of an officer or sergeant of militia who will hand them over to the person named to receive them.

Done at the headquarters at Sorel, this 8th September, 1778.

By His Excellency. (Sgd. E. Foy)

Names of the parishes to which the above order has been sent, the 8th September.

Point du Lac	10 men	Berthier	10 p. parish	
Machiche	10 "	La Norray		-10 men.
Riv. du Loup	10 "	La Valterie		-10 men.
Masquinongé	) 10 men.	La Baye		-10 men.
& Lormier		St. Francois		-10 men.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 21.

New York, Sept. 9th, 1778.

Sir,

The French Fleet which for a time co-operated with the Rebels in their Attempt to reduce Rhode Island is since got into Boston but as Lord Howe is not yet returned, I fear the Season will be too far advanced to make it possible to send you the Reinforcement I intended, but of this I am the less Anxious, as you have not made a Requisition for any Troops and I presume are not in want of them—particularly as I understand the Regiment of Anhalt Zerbst, 500 Brunswick Recruits, &c., amounting to near 1,700 men may have joined you by this time.

I find that Halifax has been lately strengthened with near 2,000 men from Europe

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. Clinton.

His Excellency General Haldimand.

Endorsed:—

From 1778.
Genl Sir Henry Clinton.
New York, Sept 9th.

(27)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 95, pp. 38-41.

Quebec, 10th Sepr, 1778.

Sir,

Both Allison and Mr. Ireland reported as I understand from the Express sloop come in from New York that a Party from D'Estaing's squadron landed in Long Island to water, were surprised and taken, it was from them Intelligence has been procured of War's having been proclaimed on board the 20th June, on which day they said it was to be declared in France, agreeable thereto they had taken two armed Ships commanded by Lieuts.—several Victuallers and Transports, this is rather more than Protection of Trade.

Captain Allison has Directions to be ready to go to sea and I hope his Vessel will be so by Saturday; we have got him a new suit of Sails out of some Canvas in Store and may procure him two better Guns out of the new purchased Sloop, he complains much of his Swivels, he might be furnished with a Letter of Marque or if there is not time for that, an alteration made in his Commission to prevent any Prize that fell into his Hands being seized by the men of War.

The General Directions about the Force shall be observed, and persons employed to pick up Seamen, they are, however, scarcely to be got, Merchant men giving extravagant wages, the Transports are weakly manned, Captain Hervey has taken one out of each and they intend protesting against him.

My Idea with regard to the Militia was if the Exigencies of the Service would admit of it, to let the matter remain till Decr.—by that time the Engagés from the Upper Country and the Fisheries from below will be returned, the best men can be got, tho' I think not to distress too much these two Branches of Trade, they should compose only one half or a third of the Body, the People at Home would not be distressed by complaints from Candidates or Pretenders to Preferement in the Corps. Neither at that time could Intelligence be so early or so immediately conveyed to our Neighbours of the effect this Service had upon the People and would at least afford a couple of months to form and bring them into order. At settling Winter Quarters care might be taken to dispose the Troops in such a manner as to secure obedience to the orders of Govt, a point requiring Attention, of 36 men ordered from the four Parishes below Montmagny to man six Batteau demanded by Captain Gamble for yesterday, no less than fourteen were wanting.

Should after all, the General Judge it expedient to call out the three intended Companies an order might be made out to their respective Colonels apportioning the quotas of the Companies & appointing a Rendezvous for them, if an Inspector was ordered to receive & examine, Longueuil for the Dist. of Montreal and Lanaudière for that of Quebec, might execute the Duty Accompanied by a Discreet prudent Officer to moderate their vivacity, attended by a strong guard to command respect and obedience, perhaps not altogether an improper precaution.

I am, &c.

Captain Foy.

H. T. Cramahé.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 62, p. 156.

Aux Capitaines des Milices des Paroisses contigues a la Riv. du Loup.

Y ayant un nombre de familles refugiées dans la Province pour lesquelles il est nécessaire de leur procurer un azile, & afin de soulager les habitants j'ai jugé à propos de charger M. Gagy Conseilleur du Conseil Législatif de cette Province de leur faire faire des huttes ou Barraques a celle fins de les mettre a L'abri contre les Rigueurs de L'hyver c'est pourquoi vous etes ordonné par ces presentes de fournir toute l'assistance qui sera en votre pouvoir, tant en homme qu'autrement afin d'accellerer & complter lesdits ouvrages à la Requisition que pourra vous en faire ledit Monsieur Gagy.

Donné à Sorel ce 11^e Sep^r 1778

(Signé) F. H.

(Translation.)

To Captains of the Militia of the Parishes adjacent to Riviere du Loup.

There being a number of refugee families in the province, for whom it is necessary to obtain lodgings and to relieve the inhabitants, I have thought proper to direct M. Gagy, a member of the Legislative Council of this province, to build huts or barracks for them for the purpose of sheltering them from the severity of the winter. This is why you are ordered by these presents to supply all the assistance in your power as well in men as otherwise, to hasten and finish the said work in accordance with the requisitions which will be made upon you by the said Mr. Gagy.

Given at Sorel, this 11th September, 1778.

(Sgd.) F. H.

(29.)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 62, p. 169.

A Monsieur de Tonnancour Colonel des Milices, aux Trois-Rivieres —

Sorel, ce 14^e Sept. 1778.

Monsieur,

Les habitants des Paroisses de ce Voisinage étant toutes occupées pour le service du Roy vous aurez la Bonté d'ordonner 80 hommes des environs des 3 Rivieres (en exceptant la P^{te} du Lac du Côté du nord et la Baye du févre du côté du sud) pour venir prendre des Batteaux qu'ils conduisent a Ste Anne, ou ils seront relevés par un semblable nombre d'hommes, qui les conduiront jusqu'à Quebec, le Porteur de cette Lettre conducteur des Batteaux prendra les hommes sous sa direction —

Je demeure très parfaitement

Monsr &c. (signé) F. H.

(Translation.)

To Mr. de Tonnancour, Colonel of Militia, at Three Rivers.

Sorel, this 14th Sept. 1778.

Sir:

The inhabitants of the parishes in this neighbourhood, all being employed in the King's service, you will have the goodness to order eighty men from the neighbourhood of Three Rivers (excepting Pointe du Lac on the north shore and Baye de Fevre on the south shore) to come for batteaux which they will take to Ste. Anne, where they will be relieved by the same number of men who will take them to Quebec. The bearer of this letter, who is the conductor of the batteaux will take these men under his charge.

I am, very truly,

(Sgd.) F. H.

(30)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 62, p. 226a.

Au Capitaine de Milice
ou officier Commandant
la paroisse de Varenne.

Il vous est ordonné aussitot la presente reçue d'envoyer ici à Sorele les nommés Baptiste le Bon et Louis le Bon, Calphats, qui sont de votre Paroisse avec leur outils à Calfiter, pour travailler à la reparation des Batteaux du Roy, lesquels seront payés un prix raisonnable pour leur travail—

Donné au Quartier Général à Sorel ler Oct. 1778.

Par son Excellence

(Signé) E.F.

(Translation.)

To the Captain of Militia or
Officer Commanding the Parish
of Varenne.

As soon as you receive the present letter you are ordered to send here to Sorel, Baptiste le Bon and Louis le Bon, Caulkers belonging to your parish with their caulking tools to work on the repair of the King's batteaux, who will be paid reasonable wages for their labour.

Given at headquarters at Sorel, 1st October, 1778 by His Excellency.

(Sgd.) E. F.

(31)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 95, pp. 45-6.

Quebec, 17th Sepr. 1778.

Sir,

.....
.....
Capt. Lutwidge had but four Days Provisions when he arrived, he talks of going down in a few days as soon as refitted and Provisions are got on board. Captain Pearson intended returning to Gaspé by the 20th Instant, it is to be doubted whether either of these Gentlemen wish to remain here the Winter and it is worth considering in time whether you might not be at a great loss for them in case of an early Attack in the Spring.

Captain Ross has made a Tour here from the Beauce, he seems to think a Log House constructed within the Piqueted Fort at the Beauce might lodge about 25 men, and be made very defensible, few Savages have come down this year, they are supposed to be on the new England side, and this makes them apprehend if the Party lies too scattered, some of them may be carried off, this Gentleman is of opinion this Log House would not cost above Forty or Fifty Pounds at most.

.....
.....
I have the honor to be, &c.

H. T. Cramahé.

His Excellency,
General Haldimand.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 133, p. 3.

17th Sepr. 1778.

To His Excellency General Haldimand.

.....
.....
Batiste Pinard, Lt. of Militia, Parish of Nicolet, Three Rivers.
Francois Crevier, Ensign do. St. Francois.

Michel Cartier, do.
 Nicholas Landrie, do.
 Basil White, David Belliveau, Acadians. Becquencour.
 Arrived at St. Johns, 17th Sept. 1778.

The first four were Volunteers, with Mons. Delamaudière and taken prisoners at Bennington, were sent from thence to Boston, Albany and Hertford, from whence they deserted the 3rd August, having been released from Prison on condition of working with the Inhabitants.

The two last were employed as Batteau men and taken prisoners at the Portage of Lake George, from whence they were sent to No. 4, Portsmouth, Boston, Albany & Hertford. They were employed by the Rebels at all the above places as Interpreters and issuers of Provisions to the other Prisoners & made their escape from Hertford the first Instant.

.....
 Colonel Hazen prevailed upon twenty-six of the Canadian Prisoners to enlist into his Regiment at Albany last Winter.
 (From Brig. General H. Watson Powell St. Jean.)

Endorsed:

Intelligence brought by Canadians, received at Sorell, 18th Sept. 1778.

(33)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 62, p. 193.

Aux Capitaines des Milices des 5 Compagnies de Berthier & les deux du Chicot.
 Aussitot la presente Reque, vous ferés commander deux bons scieurs de Long de vos Compagnies respectives pour se rendre à Sorel jeudy matin prochain 24e du Courant, où etant rendu, ordre sera donné pour que tous les autres de vos Paroissiens travaillant actuellement ne soyent renvoyer chez Eux, le service en ayant besoin aillieurs—
 Donné au Quartier General à Sorel ce 22e Septembre 1778.

Par son Excellence

(Signé) E. Foy.

(Translation.)

To the Captains of the Militia of the Five Companies at Berthier, and two at Chicot. As soon as you receive the present letter, you will command two good long sawyers from your respective companies to report at Sorel on Tuesday morning next, the 24th inst., where, having reported, orders will be given that all others of your parishioners not actually employed may return to their homes, their services being no longer required.

Given at headquarters at Sorel, this 22nd September, 1778.

By His Excellency,

(Sgd.) E. Foy,

(34)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 62, p. 182.

Aux different Capitaines des Milices depuis Ste. Anne jusqu'a Quebec.

Un nombre de Batteaux descendant a Quebec pour le service du Roi, il vous est ordonné par ces presentes de fournir au porteur Soixante & Quinze hommes des Paroisses les plus circonvoisines pour Conduire les dits Batteaux jusqu'a la P^{te} au Tremble la ou ils seront relevés par un pareil nombre qui les rendront à Quebec —

Donné au Quartier General à Sorel ce 18e Septembre 1778.

Par Son Excellence

(Translation)

To the several captains of militia from Ste. Anne to Quebec.

A number of batteaux going down to Quebec for the King's service, you are ordered by these presents to supply to the bearer seventy-five men from the nearest neighbouring parishes, to conduct the said batteaux as far as Pointe au Tremble, where they will be relieved by the same number who will take them to Quebec.

Given at headquarters, at Sorel, this 18th September, 1778, by His Excellency.

(35)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. SERIES B. 170. HALDIMAND PAPERS. p. 2.

Monsieur,

J'ay l'honneur d'informer Votre Exéclence qu'étant allées à mes moulins du lac; le nommées Joseph Como farinier me parla en se Gret et me dit que Joseph Dessin habitans négociants de S^{te} francois etoit venus au moulin faire moudre du bled et quetant seul a causer avec luy dans la nuit il luy avoit dit qu'un nommée Traversy natif de St. francois et habitans dudit Lieux ou est sa femme et ses enfans, que cet homme qui setoit retirée avec les Rebelles lorsqu'ils ont pris la fuite etoit Venù il y a quelque jours de boston et que cet homme etoit avec deux bostonnois qui s'étoit retiré dans le pais brulé qui est dans le fond du bay St Antoine et avoit séjourné ché un de ses parens etably dans le pais brulé que ce traversy avoit repeitoit que Monsieur le comte destin etoit arrivé en nouvelle engleterre, qu'il avoit monté la delaoiare, qu'il avoit fait une dessente sur la longue isle et qu'il setoit batu avec l'armée Roial, que l'armée Roial avoit perdu cinq mil hommes, mais que le conte destin avoit pris seises vaisseaux de transports et qu'il s'étoit retiré a boston, que les Rebelles viendrais en party par St. Francois et qu'ils travailleroient à des chemins et qu'il pensoit qu'ils pouvoient estre à St. Francois ou à la S^{te} Nicolette que Monsieur Cotte l'air avec ses sauvages faisoit un Carnage terrible on puisse y croire et que l'on l'avoit assuree qu'il avoit fait détruire cinq mille familles qu'il en étoit peine; j'ay penceé que je devais en informer votre excellence; elle voudra bien me permettre de luy dire que notre pauvre petite ville est aux abois et qu'il n'est pas possible aux pauvres citoiens de soutenir ayant jusqu'à 20 et 22 soldats a loger pendant que les Casernes sont vides depuis quatre mois.

J'ay l'honneur d'estre avec un très profond respect

Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

G. de Tonnancour

Endorsed: M. Tonnancour 1778 du 22^e 7^{bre} rec. le 24
Trois Rivieres le 22 7^{bre} 1778.

(Translation)

Sir:

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency, that having gone to my mills at the lake, one Joseph Como, a miller, after greeting me, told me that Joseph Dessin, a merchant residing at St. Francis had come to the mill to have some wheat ground and remaining alone to chat with him during the night, he told him that one Traversy, a native of St. Francis, and domiciled at the said place, where his wife and children still are, having gone away with the Rebels when they took to flight, had come back some days ago from Boston, accompanied by two Bostonians who had gone into the burned country at the bottom of the Bay of St. Anthony, where they were staying with a relative of his living there, that this Traversy had related that the Count D'Estaing had arrived in New England, that he had ascended the Delaware, that he had made a descent on Long Island and had an engagement with the Royal Army, that the Royal Army had lost five thousand men, but that Count D'Estaing had taken sixteen transport vessels, and that he had retired to Boston, that the Rebels would send a party by way of St. Francis, and that they were working at roads which he thought would lead to St. Francis and Ste. Nicolette, that Mr. Cotte L'Air, (Butler?), with his Indians, had made a terrible slaughter. They believed and assured him that he had destroyed five thousand families, that he was much grieved thereby; I thought that I ought to inform Your Excellency of this; you will permit me to say that our poor little village is in distress and that it is not possible for the poor people to find means of living, having from twenty to twenty-two soldiers billeted upon them for four months since the barracks have been unoccupied.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

G. Tonnancour,

Three Rivers, the 27th September, 1778.

(36)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 95, pp. 49-50.

Quebec, 24th Sepr. 1778.

Sir,

.....

One William Astwick with Another man in an open Chaloupe, come up from the Streights of Belleisle, gives an account of the Minerva, an American Privateer, carrying twenty nine Ponders, having taken seven English Vessels at Temple and Sandwich Bays & Cape Charles, destroyed their Fisheries and carried off all that was valuable, the concerned applied to Admiral Montague, who sent the Surprise to their Assistance, but the Privateer went off four days before her arrival.—this Astwick was one of the Masters of these Vessels and came up to charter one to go down for the remaining Fish and Stores there, luckily none of the posts occupied by People from this Province have been touched.

The Polly Brig loaded with Provisions sailed this morning for Sorel, the Mary will go in a day or two and is to take up Two Hundred Beds for the Seamen upon Lake Champlain, each of these Vessels has nine Hands on board including the Master. La Force is endeavouring to make up Canadian Crews to navigate these Vessels if you take their Hands. He tells me it will be difficult, as I did not authorize him to give more than Forty Shillings wages per month and those employed in the River Craft receive ten or eleven Dollars.

I am &c.
H. T. Cramahé.

His Excellency,
General Haldimand.

(37)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 62, p. 221.

à Sorel ce 29 Sepr 1778.

Monsieur,

Le Service exigeant un nombre d'ouvriers pour completer le plus promptement possible les Batiments destinés au Logement des Troupes à Sorel, Son Excellence Monsieur le General vous prie de donner vos ordres pour commander des charpentiers & scieurs des Paroisses cy-bas nommées pour se rendre ici le plus promptement possible, où ils donneront 15 jours de travail chacun, pour lequel ils seront payés un prix raisonnable, "Savoir", les Scieurs un Ecu par cent pied, & les charpentiers 48 sols par jour & les Vivres, apres Quoi ils seront renvoyés ches eux

charpentiers scieurs

De la Paroisse du Cap de la Magdelaine	4	4
“ Champlain	4	4
“ Bastiant	4	6
“ St. Pierre le béquet	4	4
“ Bécancour	4	4
“ Nicolet	4	4

à la Paroisse de la Pointe du Lacq donnera les dix hommes cy-après nommés excepté qu'il n'y en aye quelqu'un d'employé au chantier sous les ordres de Mons. Guky, en quel cas elle les fera remplacer par d'autres. Leur Nom sont—Charles Brousset, Landroche Camiront, Joseph Boisclair, Jean Boisclair, Ignace Boisclair, François Dubec, François Frichette, Maurice Courmoneau, Maurice Janvier & Alexis la Plandry. Tous les charpentiers apporteront leur Hâches avec Eux.

Je suis &c (Signé) F. H.

Mons. de Tonancour
Colonel des Milices
aux Trois Rivières

(Translation)

Sorel this 29th September, 1778

Sir:

The service requiring a number of workmen to finish as quickly as possible the buildings intended for quarters of troops at Sorel, His Excellency the General begs you to give orders to direct the carpenters and sawyers from the parishes mentioned below to report here as quickly as possible to perform fifteen days labor, each, for which they will be paid a reasonable rate., to wit, the sawyers one crown per hundred feet and the carpenters forty-eight sols per day and rations, after which they will be returned to their homes.

	carpenters,	sawyers,
From the parish of Cap de la Magdelaine	4	4
“ Champlain	4	4
“ Baticant	4	6
“ St. Pierre le Bequet	4	4
“ Becancour	4	4
“ Nicolet	4	4

and the parish of Pointe du Lac will send the ten men named hereinafter, excepting any of them employed at the timber yard, under the orders of Mr. Gugy, in which case they will be replaced by others. Their names are: Charles Brousset, Landroche Camiront, Joseph Boisclair, Jean Boisclair, Ignace Boisclair, Francois Dubec, Francois Frichette, Maurice Courmoneau, Maurice Janvier & Alexis la Plandry. All the carpenters will bring their axes with them.

I am, etc.,

(Sgd). F. H.

Mr. de Tonançour, Colonel of Militia at Three Rivers.

(38)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 62, p. 228.

Aux Capitaines de Milice	}	Sorel
de Ste Yacinte et des		1er Octobre
Campagnes Contigues Messieurs,		1778

Ayant dessein d'Etablir un Poste sur la Riviere Yamaska pour la sureté des Habitants de cette Frontiere j'envoye M. le Capitne Brehm mon aide de camp afin de marquer le Terrain convenable, & comme il faut que cet ouvrage soye fini avant L'hyver Messrs les Capitaines des Milices de Ste hyacinte et des campagnes circonvoisines auront à ordonner sans perte de tems le nombre d'hommes dont M. le Capitaine Brehm croira avoir besoin pour la construction de cet ouvrage, les charpentiers & les scieurs seront payés a raison de deux shillings par jour & les autres serviront par corvées.

Votre obeisst Servtr

(Signé) F. H.

(Translation)

To the Captains of Militia
of Ste. Yacinte and adjacent
country.

Sorel, 1st October, 1778.

Gentlemen:

Having an intention of Establishing a Post on the River Yamaska for the safety of the inhabitants of this Frontier, I send Captain Brehm, my Aide-de-Camp to select a suitable location, and as it is necessary that this work should be completed before winter, the captains of militia of St. Hyacinthe and the neighbouring country will order without loss of time the number of men whom Captain Brehm will consider necessary for the construction of this work. The carpenters and sawyers will be paid at the rate of two shillings a day and the others will serve by corvées.

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) F. H.

(39)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS

Series B, Vol. 95, pp. 53-6.

Quebec, 1st Octr. 1778.

Sir,

Our Printer has some Penchant to the popular cause and when he gets a cup too much, which is not seldom, his zeal increases. I have cautioned him two or three times since your Departure and shall untill you can find a proper Person to inspect his Press, desire him to lay before me whatever he intends to publish.

Inclosed you have a Copy of a Memorial Lt. Govr. Cox shewed me. He says the People at the Fisheries will come up if some armed Vessel is not stationed down below. The St. Peter Brig is expected up for she is almost out of Provisions, would you think well, when victualled, to have her return to the station and remain the Winter.

As we have had much bad weather it is to be hoped we shall now have it fair for some time, and that moment should be seized for transporting any Provisions wanted for the Beauce if you mean to station Troops upon the south shore, and in my Humble opinion you want some there to insure obedience to any orders you may think proper to issue, it would be right to form a Magazine for their supply, if deferred any time it may prove difficult if not impossible to transport them.

I am, &c.

H. T. Cramahé.

His Excellency,
General Haldimand.

(40)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 80, p. 57.

Camp at Sorel 11th October 1778.

Sir,

Lieut. Crawford of Sir John Johnson's Corps having heretofore served with the Indians and deemed capable to discharge such duty, the General desires he may be placed upon your list in the department till further orders, Sir. John Johnson has received instructions from His Excellency to apply to you, for a party of five or six Indians from St. Regis, which you will please comply with on his demand.

I am, &c.

(Signed) F. L. M.

Lt. Col. Campbell

(41)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. , pp. 25-30.

Camp at Sorel, 12th Octr. 1778.

Lord Geo. Germain.

My Lord,—I received by the Pallas Frigate Your Lordship's Despatches No. 7, dated 15th of May, Enclosing copies of your letter to Lord Townshend on the subject of erecting a Citadel at Quebec, His Lordship's answer and the report of the Board of Ordnance, & No. 8, dated 19th of the same month, enclosing an order of His Majesty in Council, of the 10th, disallowing an Ordinance passed by the Governor and Legislative Council concerning the Distribution of the Estates & effects of Persons leaving the Province without paying their Debts.

In obedience to the commands of Your Lordship I shall not fail to take the proper steps for erecting a Citadel at Quebec in such situation as assisted by the Engineers

I shall judge is most advantageous, the Plans and Estimates of which shall be transmitted as soon as they can be made out and properly considered, but I think it in the meantime necessary to inform Your Lordship the indispensable work carrying on for the security of the Frontiers which I considered to be the most immediately requisite, furnish more Employment than with the Troops under my command can possibly be executed this year and therefore leave me no means of doing more towards those intended for Quebec than to arrange the plans for carrying them on & to make myself acquainted how the necessary supply of materials is to be procured for beginning in the Spring, when even then an advancement for the above reasons, can be expected to be but very feeble unless Your Lordship shall think from a consideration of the importance of the object to strengthen my Hands by some reinforcement of Troops fit for this purpose.

I have the Honor to be, &c.,
Fred Haldimand.

(42)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 54, pp. 25-30.

Camp at Sorel, 14th Octr. 1778.

Lord George Germain.

My Lord,—I left Quebec immediately after the Departure of Sir Guy Carleton & I have been occupied ever since as the Business which demanded my first application of my care in putting the Frontiers in the best state of Defence which the time and resources of my situation admit.

I sent Mr. Twiss of the Engineers with Captain Aubrey, & Three Companies remaining of the 47th Regiment in Canada, a detachment from Sir John Johnson's Corps together with a Body of Artificers to establish a Post at the entrance of Lake Ontario to serve the purpose of a safe place for the Traders to send their goods, which go from Montreal in Boats, till the King's vessels now the only Craft allowed to navigate the Lakes can be spared from the more urgent services to transport them to Niagara, a secure Harbour for these Vessels and a Defence against the enterprises of the Rebels upon this Province by that great avenue into it. I also sent up with this party Lieut. Shanks of the Navy, who has been employed upon Lake Champlain and is the Commissioner of the Dockyards for the benefit of his judgment with regard to the best place for the Harbour and with orders to construct as soon as possible for that lake a number of Gun Boats, which are so useful in many respects.—I sent him also for the Inspection Arrangement of the King's Vessels there.

The Place pitched upon by these Gentlemen, after having carefully examined Cataragui, is an Island about 12 miles below the entrance of Lake Ontario, having Grande Isle on one side, from which it is divided by a Channel of somewhat less than a mile and the South Continent on the other side at a distance of one mile and a quarter from it.

This Island had gone for some time by the name of Deer Id., having been mistaken for that called by the French Isle aux Chevreuils, which is found to be higher up; and the name of Carleton Island is now given to this in question. Very favourable ground for fortifying, commanding a commodious & safe Harbor, which this Island possesses on the upper end of it looking towards the Lake induced the gentlemen sent on this service to fix upon this spot, where a Fort is begun and Barracks are building for the Troops and the place will be in a tolerable state of defence and Habitation by the winter, a Plan of which shall be transmitted to Your Lordship as soon as possible.

We are at the same time busily employed at the Works at Fortifying the Is. the Isle aux Noix and St. Johns on the communication with aux Noix & St. Johns. Lake Champlain, and the situation of Sorel on the river of that name at its conflux with the St. Lawrence, where ships of Burden can approach without difficulty, being very favorable for our Magazines, we are engaged in erecting the necessary Store Houses and the Barracks to lodge a Body of Troops to cover them and to remain in readiness for all emergencies. While these works have been carrying on two of the armed vessels have been kept constantly cruising upon the Lake up to Crown Point and I have employed observing parties wherever any thing was to be apprehended. Many families and the Wives and Children of the Loyalists already with the Army have come into this Province, having been driven from their places of residence, after having had all their Property seized by Law of the Rebels for that express purpose. The Distress of those poor People is so great

that I take for granted the expence which must be incurred by relieving them will be judged unavoidable and be approved.

The smallness of the Company of Artillerymen here & the difficulty of getting them from home has induced me to form of the remnant of the Company of Hanau another Company of sixty men, completed from that part of the Hanau Regt. left in Canada & I shall increase this Company by the same means as I find occasion shall require it.

At the departure of Lieut.-Colonel Maclean the Command of his Battalion fell to a Captain Nairne, a very old Officer and who distinguished himself very much at the siege of Quebec on which Rank of Major to Captains Nairne & Hughes. Account and to prevent the mortification to him of being commanded occasionally by Majors of Provincials I have given him Provincial Rank of Major until further orders. I have done the same to Captain Hughes of the 53rd Regt., who has by a Commission from Sir William Howe, succeeded Lord Balcarres in that Regiment but which Promotion has been referred to the Secretary of War.

The Indians from the Upper Country which I have already informed Your Lordship I found here at my arrival, being composed more of their Old Chiefs, Women & Children than of Warriors & from Countries, some of them extremely remote, I have dismissed with Presents, as is expected by them and every care to engage their Attachment to His Majesty's interest & retained Forty of their young men who they agreed to leave with us.

I have the Honour to be &c.,
Fred Haldimand.

Lord George Germain,
One of His Majesty's
Principal Secretaries of State.

(43)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 50, pp. 30-46.

Camp at Sorel, 15th Octr. 1778.

Lord George Germain.
(Separate.)

My Lord,

I have in another letter given a general Account of the Business in which I have been engaged since my arrival, but I have reserved as I thought it would be most agreeable to Your Lordship, the more particular information necessary to lay before you for a separate letter. All the Accounts which I have received from the Rebel Colonies agree that the Reduction of Canada is looked upon there as so essentially requisite to them before they can consider themselves secure, that it has been declared to the People by the Congress, as I make no doubt Your Lordship has seen, that they are not to expect Peace until they have accomplished this indispensable work. Hazen & a famous Canadian Rebel named Traversier, who I informed your Lordship in my letter of the 28th of July, I had received intelligence were come towards this Province, have been in St. Francois, and I am sorry to say returned in spite of the assiduity & vigilance of several Persons who were employed there to look out for them. These men have left word with their Friends who are but too numerous there, and who take care to spread the mischief imparted to them, that they will certainly return in a short time in Force. Some People in this Province, who were taken by Privateers on their passage with the Fleet last Spring & just lately back by Land, report that it was the language of the Country wherever they passed, that an Army would soon make its appearance in Canada.

The capital approach to this Province being by Lake Champlain, it is to be wished that we could accomplish the erecting of such solid and respectable Works as are requisite for its Defence, but all we can hope to effect this year is at the Isle aux Noix to contract the old French works, so as to adapt them better to the small number of men, which I can spare for them, at St. Johns to complete a temporary outwork to possess a rising ground on the West side & near the Fort so-called, being nothing more than a line of Pickets with a Banquette within & an inconsiderable Ditch without, covering the Barracks and Store Houses erected between the two old Earth Redoubts upon the River which are miserable works & in very bad condition, the whole which

with the ships which they are meant to cover in Winter when they must be laid up, can be expected in their present state only to frustrate the sly & desultory attempts, but will be by no means capable of resisting any Formidable & supported attack of an enemy. Plans of these works shall also be sent to your Lordship.

Chamblay is only a Fortified Barracks, affords even no shelter against cannon & is entirely surrounded by high ground within small musket shot.

I judged it unsafe in our present defensive Plan to have any stores so high up as Any of the Places above mentioned or at Montreal & have withdrawn them therefore except such as were required there to this Post, where I shall be able this year to erect some Temporary Redoubts to lodge but a part of the Body of Troops, I mean to station there, where the convenience of communicating so easily with all parts of the Province by water carriage gives it a singular advantage for advancing or retreating & where it is absolutely necessary to have as considerable a Corps as possible as it covers both the avenues of Lake Champlain & that of St. Francois which has been very much used by the Rebels, their settlements approaching much nearer those of the Canadians on that part than on any other of the Colony & this communication is the more dangerous to us as there is a Tribe of the Domiciled Indians upon that River that are lately become very ungovernable & it is feared attached to the Rebels. It is my intention therefore if time & circumstances favor me, to make Sorel a place of Strength with Permanent Works as the importance of it deserves. The Seigneurie of this Place is vested in Merchants residing in England & the Inhabitants of it, people remarkable for their courage and resolution, have distinguished themselves very much by their attachment to Government, even at the time the Rebels were masters of that Country, on which account I think it would serve the King's interest to bestow some Public mark of favor upon them, such as remitting the Quit rents which they pay for their lands to their Seigneur & the Seigneurie about to be sold & the Purchase would not exceed £3,000, having been offered for that sum I submit to Your Lordship whether it would not be best to give orders to treat immediately with the Proprietors, Messrs. Greenwood & Wigginson Merchants in London, both for enabling me to effect the purpose above mentioned and for securing to Government at a reasonable rate the lands whereon the works will be situated & a great quantity of wood which the Seigneurie furnishes fit for building and other uses thereof upon a spot which nature makes so important, as that it becomes highly indispensable to avail ourselves in the best manner possible of such a situation & therefore if Your Lordship does not, by the means I here propose prevent it, the Prices for what Government shall have occasion to occupy of the land & to take of the Wood will be infinitely enhanced and many other obstacles will be opposed to the completion of the Design.

I employ all methods to become acquainted with the intricate & secret Paths by which I find the Rebel Emissaries still gain access into the Parishes on the St. Francois & others on the south shore where they have obtained but too much interest both with the Canadians & Indians.—I have now some Canadian Officers of Trust exploring that River and I mean to establish a Post as high up as will be prudent as soon as I shall find the best place upon it for interrupting their dangerous intercourse & I am in hopes of breaking it off, provided we have time given us, but we have too many works on hand to be able to proceed so rapidly as the case seems to require, particularly as by the necessary disposition of the Troops to keep the Parishes in order, the Germans become entirely useless in these respects.

I have a detachment of Loyalists and a company of the 34th Regt upon the Chaudière at the upper part of the settlements in which we have a Picketed Fort and are building a Block House.

The Company of the 8th Regt. which was at Oswegatchie where I have for the present placed a Detachment of Thirty men from the Troops here for keeping up the communication & for scouting that Country as well as a Detachment from the same Regiment which had been sent from Niagara to protect the Merchandise forwarded from here to the Island, where I have reported to Your Lordship a Fort is now building, has been sent to join their Regiment, part at Niagara and part, in consequence of the irruption of the Rebels into the Illinois, I thought proper to order to Detroit. The Difficulty of subsisting Troops in that part of the World, where nothing is to be procured but what is sent them with so great labor & expense, puts it out of my power to send any greater reinforcement this year to the upper Posts, which the future interest of Great Britain not less than the present concerns of this Province would require to be in a much more respectable state and condition.

I informed Your Lordship in my letter of the 28th July that I had sent a Party to destroy the Harvest in the Rebel settlement nearest to our Frontiers, owing to a disagreement between the Indians and the Loyalist Compy composing the Party before they came near the spot where they were to act, they returned without fully answering the purposes intended, having only destroyed some barns and a couple of Mills on the lower part

of the Onion River, which, however, has obliged the people to abandon those parts and the Detachment suffered no loss. I mean still to prosecute this design as there are some settlements upon the Borders of Lake Champlain, Otter Creek and about Tyconderoga and Crown Point that may furnish many conveniences and necessaries which would facilitate the approach of an Enemy. I propose to send a respectable Party which will be covered by some of the ships or Gun Boats and that it shall be as late as possible in going out as the Damage it may then do to the Enemy will be irreparable this season. The showing ourselves still on that side may probably have the effect of keeping up the difficulty which the Rebel Government is not without finding in enforcing obedience (an effect which is but too sensibly felt by us here), even from the insinuations of a few Agents of Rebellion, and the appearance of Invasion from where perhaps they do not expect, may break or retard the measures of those People for carrying it to where they intend it.

I have informed Your Lordship in another letter of several Families from the Neighbouring Provinces having come into this for Protection and Relief; to diminish the expense of lodging them about the Country among the Inhabitants & to avoid Inconveniences which might possibly result from too general a communication of these People that I have found come here under pretences and the Canadians, I have ordered, Houses to be built for their Women & Children & some old and sick men on a spot in the Parish of Machiche where they will be separated and by themselves. Considering the inconveniences and even the accidents to which the Troops dispersed all about the Country among the Inhabitants in their Winter Quarters are liable to, I have begun to establish Temporary Barracks in some of the Parishes by fitting up vacant houses which have been found therein where they can be lodged in Bodies and contiguous and I shall as far as possible adopt for all Parishes in which it is necessary to have Troops the same plan and where houses as above are not to be found, build them for the purpose, which I judge equally requisite for the Preservation of Discipline among the Troops, for making them respected by the Inhabitants for better enforcing the obedience of the ordinances and for compliance with orders which the conjuncture of the Times may make necessary to issue to them and for the expeditious assembling of the others upon such emergencies. Lest, however, the expense attending these Regulations should alarm you, I think it right to acquaint Your Lordship that by cutting the Logs of which these buildings are constructed from the Lands upon which the Crown has rights & by their being executed in part by the People, it will be confined to a very moderate sum, considering the number of Houses required and their utility when completed.

I have done nothing yet about Canadians, waiting for the time when the men who are employed in the Trade to the Country above and the Fisheries below, and who are the most Robust and active of the young men, shall return, which is late in the Fall, when I intend to Embody Three Comps., beginning with these few and extending the Levy as I shall see it likely to succeed and that His Majesty's Service would be benefited by it. We have received some assistance from the Country by Corvée, without which the Transport of Provisions between Montreal and Carleton Island for the Upper Posts would be impracticable, but in the present Disposition of the People I have judged it highly requisite to observe the utmost caution not to make Demands that from exciting murmurs might lead them to a Declaration of sentiments which the French Alliance with the Rebels has undoubtedly raised in a number of those who in regard to the Rebellion were unquestionably attached to Government and renewed in the others the symptoms of which change in the Canadians is everywhere manifest and the more dangerous as multitudes of them are but too sensible of our inability with the Troops we have in an entire open Country to control them if any fortuitous circumstances should invite their resolutions as their inclinations are but too much already. I cannot, therefore conclude this subject without hazarding my opinion to Your Lordship that this Province cannot be preserved should the Rebels exert the efforts against it which it is evidently not less their inclination to attempt than it is their interest to prosecute at all rates to success, without a much Superior Body of Troops than is at this time here. Such a Body of Troops as besides sufficient Garrisons for all our Posts would afford Eight Thousand men to take the Field, which commanding the resources of the Country would push on the different Posts necessary to possess to a speedy completion when we might expect to draw from the Country itself such assistance from the consequent obedience of the inhabitants as would repay these extraordinary exertions to procure it.

.....
 It will be absolutely requisite to occupy and establish a Post at Oswego or somewhere in that neighbourhood, otherwise we must expect to lose entirely the remaining faithful part of the Five Nations Indians, they have already repeatedly demanded that

Government should take that step in favor of them in order that their Families might have a secure place of retreat while their Warriors were employed upon expeditions against the Rebels and I am of opinion that it is impossible consistent with His Majesty's interests to reject their solicitations although it must occasion a further heavy expense of Provisions and other Articles which they will expect to be supplied with and while the Transport must cost very large sums.

I have in this letter communicated to Your Lordship very much at length an account of the measures I am pursuing and those I think most immediately necessary to pursue for the Defence and Security of the Province entrusted to my care, in doing of which I have unavoidably fallen into prolixity which I pray Your Lordship to excuse and to impute to the earnest desire I am actuated by of making my zeal for His Majesty's Service manifest & of meriting Your Lordship's approbation of my conduct.

I have the Honor &c.
Fred Haldimand.

(44)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 132, pp. 3-4.

Instructions.

L'objet principal de l'Expedition dont le Major Carleton est chargé doit être de détruire toutes les subsistances, Fourrages & Bestiaux que les Rebelles peuvent avoir assemblés sur les bords du Lac Champlain, d'emmener prisonnier tous les habitants qui y sont établies & ont prêté serment de fidélité au Congrès en renvoyant leurs femmes & leurs Enfants dans les Colonies, avec défense de revenir dans les endroits la. Il fera détruire tous les Bateaux qu'il pourra découvrir; de même que tous les Moulins à scie & à Farine qui peuvent avoir été bati dans ces endroits la & si par les Intelligences que le Major pourra procurer il croit pouvoir surprendre ou attaquer avec succès le Fort Edward ou le party de Major Whitkom. (porté sur Otter Creek). Il l'entreprendre & pour cet effet Il prendra deux Royals qui sont déjà préparé à St. Jean avec la quantité de Bombes chargés qu'il croira nécessaire & deux Canoniers avec des Mantelets.

Le Major prendra avec lui autant de Munitions & de Provisions qu'il jugera à propos et disposera des Vaisseaux, gun boats et bateaux sur le Lac de la manière qu'il croira convenable suivant l'ordre que j'ai adressé au Capitaine Chambers me referant au reste a conversations que j'a eue avec lui & quoy que nous ayons fixé le nombre d'hommes dont le detachment doit être composé le Major a ma permission de l'augmenter ou de la diminuer suivant qu'il le jugera a propos pour asseurer de succes de son entreprisse.

Sorel, le 17 Octobre, 1778.

Fred. Haldimand.

à M. le Major Carleton, comandt le 29e Regmt en quartier a l'Isle aux Noix.

(Translation)

Instructions.

The principal object of the expedition under Major Carleton will be to destroy all provisions, forage and cattle which the rebels may have collected on the shores of Lake Champlain, to bring off as prisoners, all inhabitants who are settled there and have taken the oath of allegiance to the congress, sending back their wives and children to the colonies, forbidding them to return. He will destroy all the boats that he can find, as well as all saw and flour mills, which may have been built in these places, and if by any intelligence which the Major can procure, he believes he can surprise or attack, with success, Fort Edward or Major Whitkom's party (in advance on Otter Creek), he will undertake it and for this purpose he will take two Royals which are already prepared at St. Jean; with such quantity of loaded shells as he will consider necessary, and two gunners with mantelets.

The Major will take with him as great a quantity of munitions and provisions as he deems proper and make such disposition of the vessels, gun boats, bateaux on the lake as he considers suitable, according to the orders which I have addressed to Captain Chambers, and otherwise referring to conversations I have had with him, and although we have settled the number of men of which the detachment ought to be composed, the

Major has my permission to increase or diminish it as he deems proper to make sure of a success of his enterprize.

Sorel, 17th Oct, 1778. Fred Haldimand to Major Carleton, comdg., the 29th regt. quartered at Isle aux Noix.

(44A)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 62, p. 279.

Lt.Col.Carleton.

Sorel le 19e October 1778.

Monsieur,

J'ai devant moy vos trois lettres du 12e & deux du 15 courant.

Je ne puis point consentir que le Major Nairne engage les trois hommes du 62e Regt. non plus que John Hertel, ils resteront au prevost jusqu'a nouvelle ordre.

J'ecris au Lt.Col.Campbell au sujet du Lieut.Browne du 31e Regt. que le destine à passer l'hiver à L'isle aux Noix.

Outre les Bois que vous avez fait preparer à Quebec pour 100 Batteaux, vous aurez la Bonté d'en faire preparer à Montreal pour 150 autres Batteaux ordinaire outre les 12 grands Batteaux que j'avois ordonné precedemment.

J'espere que le Transport de provision pour les Lacqs tire à sa fin & que nous pourrons donner quelque repos aux Canadiens.

Je pars demain pour Quebec où il vous plaira de m'adresser vos Lettres.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre &c.

(Translation)

Lt.Col. Carleton.

Sorel, the 19th October, 1778.

Sir:—

I have before me your three letters of the 12th and two of the 15th inst.

I cannot consent that Major Nairne should enlist the three men of the 62nd regiment nor John Hertel. They will remain in custody until further orders.

I am writing to Lieut.-Colonel Campbell respecting Lieut. Browne of the 31st regiment, whom he intends to remain for the winter at Isle aux Noix. In addition to the timber which you have prepared at Quebec for one hundred batteaux, you will have the goodness to prepare enough at Montreal for one hundred and fifty other ordinary batteaux besides the twelve large batteaux which I ordered previously. I hope that the transportation of provisions for the lakes is drawing to an end and that we will be able to give some rest to the Canadians.

I leave tomorrow for Quebec, where you will please address your letters to me.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(45)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 54, pp. 46-54.

Quebec, 24th Octr. 1778.

Lord Geo. Germain.

My Lord,

Your Lordship will receive by this opportunity several letters which I intended to have sent by the "Brilliant" but that ship not having sailed till so very little time before the day fixed for the Departure of the Man of War with the Trade, I judged it best for the safety of my Dispatches to detain them all to go by this conveyance and I am just come down from Sorel for a few days on that account.

Having had every reason to believe that the Rebels are intent upon the design of invading this Province, as I have in other letters intimated to Your Lordship, I wrote a letter, a Copy of which I enclose, to Captain Pearson, the senior Officer of the King's Ships in the River St. Lawrence, requesting that his ship the "Garland," the "Triton," and the "Viper" might winter in Quebec, some time after I was informed by Capt. Pearson that he had received an order from the Lords of the Admiralty for his ship together with the "Triton" to convoy the Trade of the Province to England, the Departure of which is by a Rule always fixed for the 25th of October. The "Brilliant," an old Frigate of Thirty-six Guns manned with a Hundred men being here at the time

as also the "Andrew," another Armed Ordnance Transport & several other Transports carrying Guns, I proposed to Captain Pearson that as these vessels with one Man of War were considered to be a sufficient Convoy for the Trade, he should take them under his command & leave the other Man of War with the "Viper," sloop at Quebec, but my proposition had no effect, and accordingly the two Men of War sail to-morrow with the Trade leaving only the "Viper," a small sloop, for the security of the River St. Lawrence against a swarm of Privateers, who are able to infest it till very late in the Fall & to enter it again very early in the Spring, as we have seen thro' the course of this year notwithstanding the Men of War. We have had to the great Prejudice of the Trade of the Province & the almost entire ruin of the Fisheries in the Gulf. I enclose Your Lordship copies of other letters which I wrote to Captain Pearson on this occasion explaining more fully my reasons for urging this point as also copies of his letters to me which show the reasons for the part which he has taken, upon which I think it necessary to observe to Your Lordship that the opinion which he maintains that there can be no occasion for ships wintering at Quebec is an error which may be followed by the most fatal consequences to the Province. Your Lordship well knows the great benefit which was derived from the Men of War which happened to winter here when the Rebels attacked Quebec and we are by no means at this time in a state to be able to dispense upon similar occasions with the like assistance without feeling greatly the want of their Guns & men. Besides which the city of Quebec is liable to the insults of Privateers which such vessels as the "Viper" instead of preventing is calculated rather to encourage the Rebels to attempt in hopes of making also a prize of her, as well as spread universal alarm through the Province & in such times as these, no one can foresee, tho' he may justly apprehend the end to which such casualty might lead. The French alliance with the Rebels makes it more than probable, if any of their Ships of War should winter at Boston, that knowing our situation they may risk two or three ships up the St. Lawrence early in the Spring to favor an attempt made by the Rebels on the other side, in expectation of effecting this purpose before any Ships arrive to us from Great Britain. Your Lordship may be assured, however that I shall use every means in my Power to have some Force early in the Spring upon the River but the remaining of these Men of War in question would have kept us here in tranquility on that head, which otherwise every Enemy of Government among us will be able to suggest Places to his Friends on the other side of disturbing.

I cannot therefore but hope that Your Lordship will extend your care of us in this Particular as early as it can be possible.

I have received Advice from Lieut. Governor Hamilton that he was to set out about the 1st of this month with a Company of Rangers he has had on Foot for some time, some of the Canadian Militia of his District, and a few soldiers of the 8th Regiment, which Lieut. Colonel Bolton has furnished him and all the Indians he could collect, upon an expedition, the object of which is to dislodge the Rebels that have possessed themselves of the Illinois and unless it could be effected the Trade of that Country is entirely cut off.

I have the honor to be, &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

(46)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 16, pt. 1, p. 297.

Déclaration adressée Nom du Roi à tous les Anciens François de l'Amérique Septentrionale.

Je Soussigne autorisé par Sa Majesté, et revetu par lla, du plus beau des Titres; de celui qui efface tous les autres; chargé au nom du Père de la Patrie et du Protecteur bienfaisant de ses Sujets, d'offrir un appui à ceux qui étoient nés pour goûter les douceurs de Son Gouvernement; à tous ses Compatriotes de L'Amérique Septentrionale.

Vous êtes nés François, vous n'avez pû cesser de l'être, une Guerre qui ne nous avoit été annoncée que par l'Enlèvement de presque tous nos Matelots, et dont nos Ennemis communs n'ont dû les principaux succès qu'aux courages, au talent, et au nombre des Braves Américiens qui les combattent aujourd'hui, vous la arraché, ce qui est le plus

cher à tous les hommes, jusqu'au nom de votre patrie; vous forcer à porter malgré vous des mains parricides contre elle, seroit le comble des malheurs, vous en êtes menacés, une nouvelle Guerre doit vous faire redouter qu'on ne vous oblige à subir cette loi le plus révoltante de l'esclavage. Cette Guerre à commencé comme la précédente, par les dépradations de la partie la plus intéressante de notre commerce. Les prisons de l'Amérique contiennent depuis trop longtems un grand nombre de François infortunés, vous entendez leurs gemissemens. Cette Guerre a été déclarée par le message du mois de Mars dernier, par l'Acte le plus authentique de la Souveraineté Angloise, annonçant à tous les Ordres de l'Etat, que commencer sans cependant interdire le même droit à personne, s'étoit l'offenser; que le lui dire avec franchise, s'étoit la braver, qu'elle s'en vengeroit, et qu'elle se reservoit de le faire, quand elle le pourroit à son avantage, et de surprendre alors plus légalement que dans la dernière Guerre; car elle déclaroit en avoir le droit, la volonté le pouvoir, en demandoit les moyens.

Malheur à ceLuy qui me déRengera Car Sa vie ne sera pas Longue.

Le fleau de la Guerre actuelle ainsi proclamée, a été restraint retardé, autant qu'il a été possible par un Monarque dont les vœus pacifiques et desintéressés ne réclament des marques de votre ancien attachement que pour votre bonheur; contraint de repousser la force par la force, des hostilités multipliées par des répressailles qu'il a enfin ordonné; si la nécessité porte ses armes ou celles de ses alliés dans un pays qui lui est toujours cher, vous n'aurez point à craindre les Embrasemens ni les devastation; & si la reconnaissance, si la vue d'un Pavillon toujours révéé par ceux qui l'ont suivi rappelle sous les drapeaux de la France, ou des Etats unis, des Indiens qui nous aimoient, & qui étoient comblés des présens de celui qu'ils appeloient aussi leur Pere; jamais, non jamais, ils n'employeront contre vous leurs trop cruelles coutumes de faire la Guerre; ils y renonceroient, ou ils cesse d'être nos amis.

Ce ne sera point par des Menaces faites à nos compatriotes que nous tacherons d'éviter de les combattre: ce ne sera point non plus par des injures proférées contre une grande & brave nation que nous savons respecter & que nous espérons de vaincre, que cette déclaration sera affaiblie.

Je ne dirai point en qualité de Gentilhomme François à ceux d'entre vous qui le sont nés comme moi, qu'il n'es qu'une auguste maison dans l'univers, sous laquelle le François puisse être heureux & servir avec délices, parceque son chef & ceux qui lui tiennent le plus près par les liens du sang se sont plû depuis une longue suite de Monarques, dans tous les tems, & se plaisent plus que jamais aujourd'hui à porter ce même titre que Henri IV regardoit comme le premier des siens. Je ne ferai point regretter ces qualifications, Ces marques, ces décorations, trésors précieux, à une façon de penser commune à nous tous & actuellement fermés, par notre malheur commun pour des François Américains qui savoient si bien s'en rendre dignes. Leur zele, j'ose l'espérer & le promettre, les fera réprendre bientôt sur eux: ils le mériteront lorsqu'ils oseront devenir les amis de nos alliés.

Je ne demanderai point aux compagnons d'armes de M. le Marquis de Levy; à ceux qui ont partagé sa gloire, qui ont admiré ses talens son tact Militaire, qui ont chéri sa cordialité & sa franchise, caractere principal de notre noblesse, s'il est d'autres noms chez d'autres peuples auprès desquels ils aiment mieux voir placer les leurs. Les Canadiens qui ont vû tomber pour leur deffense le brave Monsieur de Montcalm, pourroient-ils être les ennemis de ses neveux, combattre contre leurs anciens chefs & s'armer contre leurs parens & à leurs nom seul, les armes leurs tomberoient des mains.

Je n'observerai point aux Ministres des autels que leurs efforts évangéliques auront besoin d'une protection particulière de la providence, pour que l'exemple ne diminue point la croyance; pour que l'intérêt temporel ne l'emporte pas; pour que les ménagemens politiques des Souverains, que la force leur a donné, ne s'affoiblissent point à proportion de ce qu'ils auront moins à craindre, qu'il est nécessaire pour la Religion que ceux qui la prêchent forment un corps dans l'Etat, & qu'il n'y auroit point de Corps plus considéré ni qui eût plus de pouvoir de faire le bien que celui des Prêtres du Canada prenant part au Gouvernement; parceque leur conduite respectable leur a mérité la confiance du peuple.

Je ne ferai point remarquer à ce peuple, à tous mes Compatriotes en général, qu'une vaste Monarchie ayant la même Religion, les mêmes mœurs, la même Langue, où l'on trouve des parens, des anciens amis, & des freres, est une source intarissable de Commerce, & de Richesse, plus faciles à acquérir, par une réunion avec des voisins puissans; & plus sûres qu'avec des Etrangers d'un autre hémisphère, chez qui tout est dissemblable, qui tôt ou tard, Souverains jaloux & despotes, les traiteroient comme des vaincus, & plus mal sans doute que leurs ci-devant compatriotes qui les avoient fait vaincre. Je ne ferai point sentir à tout un peuple, car tout un peuple quand il acquere le droit de penser & d'agir, connoit son intérêt; que se lier avec les Etats Unis c'est s'assurer son bonheur; mais declarerai comme je le déclare formellement au nom de

Sa Majesté qui n'y a autorisé & qui m'a ordonné de le faire, que tous ses anciens sujets de l'Amérique Septentrionale qui ne reconnoîtront plus la Suprématie de l'Angleterre peuvent compter sur sa protection, & sur son appui.

Fait à bord du Vaisseau de Sa Majesté le Languedoc en Rade de Boston ce vingt huit Octobre mil sept cent soixante dix-huit.

Bigrel de Grandclos, Secrétaire nommé par le Roi, à la suite de l'Escadre commandée par M. le Comte d'Estaing.

A Bord du Languedoc, de l'Imprimerie de F. P. Demange, Imprimeur du Roi & de l'Escadre.

Indorsed—In Genl. Haldimand
(Secret) of 18th June 1779.

(Translation)

A Declaration Addressed in the Name of the King to all the Former French Subjects in North America.

I, the undersigned, authorized by His Majesty, and invested thereby with the noblest of Titles; of that, which obliterates all others instructed in the name of the Father of our Country, and the benevolent protector of his subjects to offer assistance to those who were born to enjoy the goodness of his government; to all his countrymen in North America.

You were born French, you have never ceased to be French, a War which was only made known to us by the Capture of nearly all our Sailors and the principal successes in which our common Enemies owe only to the courage, the talent and the numbers of the brave Americans who are fighting with them to-day, has torn from you what is dearest to all men, even the name of your country; to force you against your will to raise parricidal hands against her, would be the summit of misfortunes, you are menaced with it. A new war ought to make you fear that they may oblige you to submit to this most revolting law of slavery. This War has commenced like the former one, by depredations upon the most important part of our commerce. The prisons of America have contained for a long time a great number of unfortunate Frenchmen, you hear their groans. This war has been declared by the message of the month of March last, by the most authentic act of English Sovereignty, and making known to all the Orders of the state, that to carry on trade without however forbidding the same right to any one would be an offence; that to speak with freedom was a challenge, which she would punish and that she would preserve the right of doing what was most to her advantage and of accordingly surprising us more legally than in the last war, for she declared she had the right, the will, the power, and asked for the means. Woe to any one who opposes me for his life will not be long.

The scourge of actual war thus proclaimed has been restrained and delayed as much as possible by a Monarch, whose peaceful and disinterested views now claim proofs of your old attachment, only for your happiness; constrained to repel force by force, and multiply hostilities by reprisals which he has at length ordered; if necessity should carry his arms or those of his allies into a country which is always dear to him, you will have no reason to fear conflagrations or devastations; and if gratitude, if the sight of a Flag always revered by those who have followed it should recall under the banners of France or of the United States, the Indians who love us and who were loaded with presents by him, whom they also call their Father; never, no, never, will they employ against you their too cruel customs of making war; they will renounce them, or they will cease to be our friends.

It will not be by Threats made to our countrymen that we will endeavour to avoid fighting them; nor will it be by insults offered to a great and brave nation which we know how to respect and hope to conquer, that this declaration will be weakened. I will not say in the character of a French gentleman to those among you who were born like me, that there is only one illustrious house in the world under whom a Frenchman can be happy and serve with delight because his chief and those who are closest connected with him by ties of blood have taken pleasure under a long line of monarchs in all past time and now take greater pleasure than ever in hearing the same title which Henry IV considered as the first of his. It will not make you regret these rewards, these medals, these decorations, precious treasures in a way common to us all and actually prohibited by our common misfortune to American Frenchmen who know so well how to deserve them. Their zeal, I dare hope and promise them, will soon cause their recovery; they will deserve them when they dare to become the friends of our allies.

I will not ask the companions in arms of the Marquis de Levy; those who have shared his glory; who have admired his talents, his military tact, who have enjoyed

his cordiality and his frankness, a chief characteristic of our nobility, if there are other names among other peoples, near which they would be better pleased to see theirs inscribed. Can Canadians who have seen the brave M. de Montcalm fall in their defence ever become enemies of his nephews, fight against their old leaders and take arms against their relatives? At their names alone their arms would fall from their hands.

I will not remark to ministers of the Gospel that their evangelical efforts will require a special protection of providence, that the example does not diminish faith, that the temporal interest may not carry them away, that the political expedients of the sovereigns whom force has given them may not be weakened in proportion as they have less to fear, that it is necessary for Religion that those who preach it should form a body in the State and that there should be nobody in it of greater consideration nor that has more power to do good than that of the Priests of Canada taking part in the Government because their honorable conduct deserves the confidence of the people.

I will not observe to this people, to all my countrymen in general, that a great Monarchy, having the same Religion, the same manners, the same Language, where they find relatives, old friends and brothers, is an inexhaustible fountain of Commerce, and of wealth, easier to acquire by a union with powerful neighbours; and surer than with strangers in another hemisphere, with whom everything is foreign, who sooner or later, jealous and despotic Rulers, will treat them as conquered people and worse, without doubt, than their former countrymen who have enabled them to conquer. I will not make a whole people feel, for when a whole people, when it has acquired the right to think and to act knows its own interest; that to connect itself with the United States is to make sure its happiness; but I will declare, as I declared it formally in the name of His Majesty, who has authorized me, and who has ordered me to do it, that all his old subjects in North America, who will no longer recognize the supremacy of England, may rely on his protection and his support.

Done on board His Majesty's ship, the Languedoc, in Boston Harbor, this 28th October one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight.

d'Estaing.

Bigrel de Grandclos, Secretary appointed by the King to the Squadron, commanded by M. Count d'Estaing.

on board the Languedoc, printed by F. B. Demange, printer to the King and the Squadron.

(47)

TRANSLATED FROM A COPY OF THE LETTER IN THE CANADIAN ARCHIVES,

HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 176, p. 7.

de Lobinier

the 29 October 1778.

Dear Wife

I write you these lines to let you know of my news which is very good I pray the Lord that the present finds you in the same state. You will assure mamma (mament) of my very humble Respect as well as my grand father and my grand mother and all our uncles and aunt, you will say to my mother that she must not be disturbed about my father he is well he is in the Regiment with Colonel Hazen he is very well he did not come with us he did not feel capable of making so long a voyage and besides, for a man of his age that would be too fatiguing he is coming very slowly with the body of the army that should go to Canada Henry Deplicis is with us he is well and Antoine Chrétien also, and the son of Chamam de Kamourasqua will you let his father know of his news he is well as well as the Bishop de la Rivière Ouel he is well also for the news I can assure you with truth that there are no more English nor Royal troops in New England they fled like Thieves, Monsieur Le Comte d'Estin high admiral of France is with us with 12,000 men of troops, he has taken from the English, 22 war vessels 13 of 64 pieces of cannon and 14 of 56 pieces and 13 frigates loaded with munitions and provisions (provision de bouche) Monsieur Le Comte d'Estin, Mon Seigneur Le Duc de Chartres are at Boston with their fleets in order to enter Canada in the early spring and Monsieur le Marquis de Lafaguet (Lafayette) Monsieur le Marquis de La Rouari and Mon Seigneur Le Baron de Belle-feuille who is chevalier de Malte and Le Cordon bleu and quantity of other small top knots (fontaguet) de Croix de St. Louis which is good for nothing with Their troops because the number is too great, do not worry yourself because we have taken the shortest road our great general Washington

wished formerly to chase all these people but at present as there is no longer anything which bothers us here we work for Canada. The army is en route but I cannot tell you exactly the time we will enter there, it is certain that we will be there soon that is sure all is ready for the passage of the (La langue de terre) Tongue of Land, I have some hope of seeing you this winter with all our friends who will accompany us to the misfortune of many.

Your faithful husband
Clément Gosselin, Capt.

do not fail to tell the news to cousin Augustin Bergner, Pierre Ayot is no longer in the army no one knows where he is no one has had knowledge of him, Joseph Carcé likewise and it is a lie all that which he reported to us last autumn he had invented it he spoke to no one. The Major de Bois pays you many compliments he is now colonel, I hope in 18 days from now to drink a bottle of wine with my father to your health.

Endorsed;—To Madame Clément Gosselin living at Ste. Anne du Sud below Québec.

(48)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 171, p. 16.

Monsieur et Cher General—

Comme vous m'avez fait l'honneur de me dire en passant par Longueuil qu'en vous en revenant vous me feriez celui d'arrêter au Chateau ce qui fait que je vous y ai toujours attendu et comme par mon Employ je dois veiller à tous ce qui peut être utile au bien & à l'exécution du service due Roy dans les milices j'avois dressé Le memoire que j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser cy joint pour avoir celui de vous le remettre en passant Esperant avoir l'honneur d'en Conferer avec vous, heureux si j'ai le bonheur qu'il puisse avoir votre approbation j'ai l'honneur d'être avec un tres profond Respect

Monsieur et cher General

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur
Dechambault.

a Montréal le 2 novembre 1778.

Endorsed—1779

From M. Dechambault
of 2d November 1778.

(Translation)

Sir and Dear General:

As you have done me the honor of telling me when you passed through Longueuil, that on returning, you would do me that of staying at the Chateau which I have always expected; as through my employment, I should be watchful over everything that may be useful to the good and the execution of the King's service in the militia, I have prepared the memoir which I have the honor to address to you, herewith, in order that you may return it to me when passing. Hoping to have the honor of Conferring on it with you, happy, if I have the good fortune to receive your approbation,

I have the honor to be, etc.,
Deschambault.

At Montreal, 2nd November, 1778.

(49)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 150, p. 1.

Quebec, 11th Novr. 1778.

Sir,

I have only time to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter of the 8th October and to return you many Thanks for the Intelligence conveyed therein and the Newspaper accompanying it.

We have been and are preparing in the best manner we can to give our restless Neighbours the best Reception in our Power should they attempt to return into the Province, which they have been long threatening and I do not doubt they will execute as soon as it is convenient or practicable for them.

When the Snow allows of going through the Woods, I propose trying for a communication with your Capital that way and I doubt not your giving all the Assistance in your Power towards the accomplishing it. You will afford us all the news you have and that is all we can expect, over the Lake we get nothing but Lies.

I wish you good success in all your undertakings.

I am &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

Brigadier General Francis Maclean, Halx.

(50)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 133, p. 40.

Montreal, Nov. 13th, 1778.

Sir,

I last night received a letter from Lieut. Colonel St. Leger covering one from the Captain of Militia at Vercheres, complaining of the disobedience of the Miliciens and praying force to subdue them. Colonel St. Leger likewise represents that this is not the 2d or 3d time the Works have been put to a stand by them and that they are in general Rebels.

As men could not be spared from Sorel I thought it right to desire Lt. Colonel Praetorius would immediately send a Captain and fifty men from the Prince of Brunswick's Regiment to Vercheres where they are to remain till Your Excellency's pleasure is known and to give every assistance to the Captain of Militia which he may require to enforce the Corvees and to send prisoners to Colonel Silvester or Major St. George at Montreal all such as were refractory which I hope will meet with your approbation.

I have the honor to be &c.

H. Watson Powell.

His Excellency,
General Haldimand.

(51)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 54, pp. 303-6.

Quebec, 19th Novr, 1778.

No. 13.

Lord Geo. Germain.

My Lord,

The 1st of this month after the Departure of the Frigates with the Trade of the Province under their Convoy we received the disagreeable account that a Privateer of 22 Guns had burned & destroyed the Houses, utensils, nets, &c. belonging to the Fishing Posts upon the North Coast & that of Labrador within our limits, fitted out & carried on by several of His Majesty's British & Canadian subjects residing at Quebec, except one or two, the property of British they could not reach, & those belonging to a Canadian they studiously endeavoured to caress and gain over to their cause. The Proprietors have thereby not only lost the outfits as well as the Winter's Fishing but most of the establishments that were made for carrying on the same, which had been the work of time, this will lay them under the necessity of beginning these anew & put them to considerable expense before the Business can be executed there as heretofore.

Those losses together with what they have suffered at the Bay of Chaleur & the ships that have been taken this year in the River & Gulf have caused some discontent among the Traders of the Province, and it is more than probable may excite a clamour at Home, upon this subject I have written to the First Lord of the Admiralty an extract of which is enclosed & I should hope with Your Lordship's support such measures will be taken against the opening of navigation in 1779 as may disconcert the Enemy & prevent those evils which have been so severely felt in the course of the present year.

In the present situation of the British Empire the Fisheries upon the north Coast & in the Gulf deserve more than ever to be seriously attended to if properly followed

and encouraged they may supply great help & assistance to other Branches of its Commerce Actually in sufferance.

The enclosed Papers exhibit the cunning of the Americans in Actual Rebellion & how much they try to intice the People of this Province in their Proposed Independence, some of those who came up assure me a Placard had been left at one of the Canadian Posts giving among other Reasons for not burning them, that no British subject had an Interest therein—great care must be taken here to prevent that kind of spirit from bursting out & Administration at Home cannot be too much on their guard against the Artful Insinulators of it.

I did not mention to Lord Sandwich an idea now occurring to me that Redoubts thrown up in the narrowest part of the Gut of Canso with a few good men under able Officers to guard them might be the best means to prevent the Rebels taking shelter & force them throwing themselves more in the way of our Cruizers, this naturally regards the Province of Nova Scotia and the officers having the care of the King's affairs there, but I am confident the measure would prove of Public and general utility.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Fred Haldimand.

(52)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 80, p. 89.

Quebec ce 19eme Novembre 1778.

Monss^r

La Major Grey ayant represent a Son Excellence que sa famille est dans le cas de souffrir beaucoup cette Hyver, manque de bois, que malgré toutes ses recherches il n'a pas put parvenir a en faire provision. Le General pour les oter de cet embarras, et soulager leur detresse, vous recommande de leur faire fournir le bois dont ils aurons besoin à un prix raisonnable.

Je suis &c (Signé) F. L. M.

D:A:G:.

Aux Capitaine
de Milice de
la Valterie.

(Translation)

Quebec, this 19th Nov. 1778.

Sir:

Major Grey having informed His Excellency that his family is in danger of suffering greatly this winter for want of wood, which notwithstanding all his efforts, he has not been able to obtain, the General, to remove this difficulty and relieve their distress, requests you to cause the wood which they require, to be furnished at a reasonable price.

I am, etc.,

(Sgd.) F. L. M.,

D. A. G.

To the Captain of Militia
at La Valterie.

(53)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

SERIES B. VOL. 54, pp. 61-3.

No. 15.

Lord Geo. Germain.

Quebec, 21st Novr. 1778.

My Lord,

Since my letter of the 24th Octr. I have received further advice from Lieut. Governor Hamilton of the preparation he was making for the expedition I have already informed Your Lordship he had resolved to undertake against the Rebels who had possessed themselves of the Illinois and his last letter, dated the 7th of October acquaints me of his having received Intelligence that the Rebels joined by Canadians of the Illinois & countenanced by the Spaniards of the Mississippi were advancing in considerable Force to attack Detroit.

I transmit Your Lordship a Copy of this letter of Mr. Hamilton's for more particular Information also a Copy of a return of his Rangers and of the Militia that have turned out volunteers to accompany him. You will see by his letter what Indians he has collected and that he has a small detachment of the 8th Regiment, making altogether about Two Hundred men to go out with him upon his expedition, which Your Lordship will observe he still intends to prosecute notwithstanding the further advice he has received, which makes me think he does not give credit to it or otherwise I cannot conceive that with the inconsiderable number of men he has under him any thing material can be effected; the distance at all times makes it difficult but the season now makes it impossible for me to interfere in this matter the entire management of which must depend therefore upon the judgment & discretion of Lieut.-Governor Hamilton.

I send Your Lordship enclosed a state of the Provisions which remain at this time and the quantity daily expended from both which Your Lordship will perceive the necessity of receiving further supplies very early, this is likewise extremely necessary to avail ourselves of the first of the Season for Transport to the Upper Country.

I just learn the return of the Party which I have in a former letter informed Your Lordship I should send out to examine the Shores of Lake Champlain, as far as the Enemy's Frontier & to destroy whatever they should find likely to facilitate the enterprises of the Rebels on that side, the Principal Avenue into this Province.

The Party suffered no loss whatever & executed with great success the purport of their expedition. Major Carleton, the Officer who commanded, informs me in his report, "I can venture to assure Your Excellency that we have completely destroyed Four months Provisions for Twelve Thousand men." The Rebels have long since drove off and destroyed the Plantations of every Friend of Government that had been settled any where within their reach, the People left by them on the near side of that Lake could be no other than their Emissaries, the more dangerous to us as the Rebels affected to call them their Enemies in hopes of deceiving us, while they were making their mischievous uses of them & their settlements.

At present there remain no more of these Traitors on either side of Lake Champlain from Near Tyconderoga to Canada, and considerable settlements of them along Otter Creek have been destroyed on this occasion. Among these latter some Stands of Arms & Ammunition were found besides great quantities of Provisions & Forage.

The Indians of this Party brought off some Cattle and killed a great many, & between Thirty & Forty Prisoners were made, one of whom proves to be an Indian Interpreter, Inhabitant of the neighbourhood of Otter Creek, long known in this Country to have been employed by the Rebels for the Bearer of their Impositions to the Indians of Canada and never could be taken until now. I annex the Copy of an Association taken upon these People with their names signed. Those marked are the Prisoners upon this occasion. This paper shows clearly that there was a necessity to rid ourselves of such neighbours.

I have forborne hitherto notwithstanding the reiterated threats of Invasion which we receive from the Rebels and the evident interest they have in carrying their menaces into execution to ask assistance from Sir H. Clinton, being persuaded that as long as he remains in Force on the side of New York, the Rebels cannot undertake any thing of consequence against Canada. But should he be reduced to a Plan merely Defensive, this Country most probably would be attacked.

I take this opportunity of humbly submitting to Your Lordship whether one or more English Officers of a superior Rank to the Foreign Officers upon this service should not be sent over here. I add a list of the Field Officers of this Army where Your Lordship will observe that the three eldest are Germans.

Returns of the Army & of the Upper Posts are likewise enclosed with this Dispatch.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Fred Haldimand

(54)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 16-1, pp. 105-110.

Copie de la Lettre du Marquis de la Fayette aux Sauvages du Canada,
 "Le Marquis de la Fayette General dans les Troupes des Etats Unis de L'Amérique,
 à mes Enfants les Sauvages du Canada.

"Mes Enfants

"C'est Vôtre Pere qui desire vous parler, Et qui vous demande L'écouter avec attention.

“Vous vous Souvenés que vos Peres vous dirent, en quittant le Canada que vous les Reverriez reparoître un Jour où l’autre, quils ne pouvoient vous dire Comment. Mais que Surrement il reviendroient et se Joindroient à vous, pour faire la Guerre à nos Enemis, & les Chasser de votre Pays—Vous navés pas non plus oublié la promesse que vous fites de vous Joindre à Eux, & qu’aussitot ils recommenceroient la Guerre avec les Anglois, hé bien: Mes Enfants, ils vont vous tenir paroles, & c’est à vous à leur tenir celle que vous leurs avéz donné—Les Anglois vous ont toujours environnés de mensonges, comme Si vous étiez dans un Brouillard, & ils vous ont empêchés par leur tromperie de voir ce que tout le monde Voyoit. Mais à present ils ne pourrons plus mentir, & nous viendrons, Si près que vous ne pourrés pas vous empêcher de reconnoître vos Pères.

“Mes Enfants, vous aurés Surement appris toutes les nouvelles de cette Campagne, que nous avons pris Philadelphie, que nous avons battù les Anglois à Monmouth que le Roy votre Pere à Envoyé ici des Vaisseaux qui ont mis en fuite ceux du Roy d’Angleterre, & que nous lui avons pris un grand nombre de Vaisseaux de Fregattes & de toutes sortes de Bâtiments.

“Vous Aurés Surement appris aussi que le Roy votre Pere à fait un Traité d’Alliance avec les Américains, qu’ils se sont remués contre les Anglois, qu’il y a, à Philadelphie, un Ambassadeur de France pour traiter des bonnes affaires avec le Congress.

“Vous savés aussi que Vos Peres voulant prendre les Treizes Etats d’une main, le Canada de L’autre pour les Joindre ensembles contre nos Enemis, & que le Roy à Envoyé une déclaration aux Canadiens pour leur promettre Ses Secours—Mais ja Scu que vous Seriez bien aise de recevoir la Confirmation des nouvelles par moy, & Je vai vous apprendre ce qui S’est passé depuis, ainsi Ecoutés moy bien.

“Il y a Eû, une grande Bataille de Lautre Côté du Grand Lacq, où les Vaisseaux fransais ont Battù tout ce qui restoit de Vaisseaux aux Anglois, & leur Flotte n’ose plus Se montrer de façon que le Grand Lacq est couvert sur les Côtes d’Angleterre de Vaisseaux au Pavillion Blanc. Les Anglois ont tant de peur qu’on prenne leur propre Pays, quils ont Rapellés plus de la Moitié des Troupes quils avoient en Amérique, & on aura bientôt Chassé le Reste, de la Ville où ils sont Enfermés sans oser Sortir. Ainsi mes Enfants, vous vous verrés bientôt arriver en Canada avec le General Washington, le Grand Chef de Guerre des Américains, & nous irons Connoître nos Amis de nos Enemis.—Tout cela est bien different des Mensonges que l’on vous dit. Mais si les Anglois viennent à descendre plus bas, pour venir se faire prendre comme le General Burgoyne dont L’Armée étoit tout près aussi grande que celle du General Haldimand. Ils vous ont toujours assuré que L’Amerique seroit Conquise la prochaine Campagne, ils vous ont dit que le Roy de France ne feroit pas la Guerre au Roy d’Angleterre & vous voyés à present la fausseté de tous leurs Mensonges. Comment voulez vous qu’ils gagnent le Pays des Autres puis quils ne peuvent pas garder le Leurs? Ils S’enfuient comme le General Clinton à fait de Philadelphie, où bien ils seront tous pris comme le General Burgoyne, & ils laisserons leur Amis à la Mercy de leurs Enemis—Mes Enfants, c’est avec Chagrin que J’ai appris que plusieurs d’entre vous Etoient du Party des Anglois, & quils étoient avec les Enemis de leur Pere, mais nous voulons bien excuser ce qui S’est passé, à Cause de L’ignorance où vous Etiéz et des Mensonges qu’on vous avoit fait Croire. Mais à present Si vous Etiéz des Enfants Ingrats, vous n’auriéz plus d’Excuses.

“Considerés mes Enfants Combien il seroit fâcheux, pour vous de frapper Sur quel qu’un de vos Peres. Sur ceux avec qui vous avez Combattù la dernière Guerre, qui vous ont Comblés de bienfaits, & qui viendront vous en apporter de Nouveaux. Il seroit aussi bien fâcheux pour vos Peres d’être obligés de frapper sur leurs enfants lorsquils viendront Exterminer Tous Enemis sans Distinction:—Faites Courir Ma Parole parmy vous, & que Chacun Sâche à quoi S’en tenir. Et puisse prévoir le Sort heureux qui l’attend. Mes Enfants, Ecoutés avec attention ma dernière Parolle. Je vous declare que tous Ceux qui quitteront la Party des Anglois & deviendront leurs ennemis Seront les amis du Roy de France, votre Pere, mais que ceux qui après avoir Entendù les Paroles & les Paroles que Monsieur le comte d’Estaing à dites au nom de Sa Majesté, ceux qui Continuerons avec L’Anglois, ceux là ne serons Jamais Regardés que comme nos Enemis, & quils éprouverons toute la pesanteur de notre bras—Mais nos bons & Fidèles Enfans, retrouvrons En nous toute notre Tendresse et tous les bienfaits qu’un bon Pere Accorde à ses Enfants bien Aimés. Vous Entendrés dire bientôt que Je Suis party pour aller de Lautre Côté du Grand Lacq, Retrouver notre Père Commun.

“Mais vous me verrés Revenir dans peu de tems pour réjoindre nos amis & nos Alliez: J’espère Entendre bientôt que mes Parolles ont passés par vos Oreilles pour

"rester dans votre Coeur, & pouvoir rendre Compte au Roy Votre Pere que nous vouléz
 "tous Etre Ses amis & que vous renoncéz pour Jamais à Ses Ennemis.

Fait à Boston
 le 18e Decembre 1778

(Signé) La Fayette

Indorsed—Copy of the Marquis La Fayette's Letter to the Canada Indians.
 Dated Boston 18th December 1778.

In Genl. Haldimand's (No. 17)
 of 29th May 1779.

(Translation)

COPY OF THE LETTER FROM THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE TO THE INDIANS OF CANADA.

The Marquis de la Fayette, General of the Troops of the United States of America, to my children, the Indians of Canada.

My Children, it is your Father who wishes to speak to you, and who asks you to listen to him with attention.

You Remember that your Fathers told you, on leaving Canada, that you would See them re-appear, one Day or another, that they could not tell you How, But that surely he would return and Join you, to make War upon our Enemies, and Expel them from your Country—You have never forgotten the promise made to Join Them and that they would immediately recommence the War against the English. Well! My Children, they are going to keep their word and it is your business to keep the promise that you have given them—the English have always surrounded you with lies as if you were in a Fog, and they have prevented you by their deceit from seeing what the whole world Sees. But now they can lie no more and we will come So near that you cannot fail to recognize your Fathers.

My Children, you will have Surely learned all the news of this Campaign, that we have taken Philadelphia, that we have beaten the English at Mommouth, that the King, your Father, has Sent here Vessels which have put to flight those of the King of England, and that have taken from him a great number of Frigates and all kinds of Ships.

You will Surely also have learned that the King, your Father, has made a Treaty of Alliance with the Americans, that they are stirring against the English, that there is at Philadelphia a French Ambassador to negotiate with the Congress.

You know also that Year Fathher's wish to take the Thirteen States by one hand and Canada by the other, to unite them together against our Enemies, and that the King has sent a declaration to the Canadians to promise them His Assistance—but I know that you will be pleased to receive the Confirmation of this news by me and I am about to tell you what has taken place since, so listen well to me. There has been a great Battle on the other Side of the Great Lake, in which the French Ships have Beaten all that remain of the English ships, and their Fleet does not dare show itself, so that the Great Lake is covered on the Coasts of England with Ships flying the White Flag. The English are in so much Fear that they will take their own Country, that they have recalled more than half of the troops that they had in America, and the remainder will soon be Driven from the Town where they have been Shut up, without daring to Come out. Thus, my Children, you will soon see us arrive in Canada with General Washington, the Great War Chief of the Americans, and we will Distinguish our Friends from our Enemies.

All this is very different from the Lies which they have told you, but If the English attempt to descend below they will be captured like General Burgoyne, whose army was nearly as large as that of General Haldimand. They have always assured you that America would be Conquered the next Campaign, they have told you that the King of France would not make War on the King of England, but you now see the falseness of all their lies. How can they take the Country of Others since they cannot protect their own? They run away as General Clinton has done from Philadelphia, or they will be taken like General Burgoyne, and they will leave their friends at the mercy of their enemies—My Children, it is with sorrow that I have learned that some of you belonged to the English Party and that they were with their Father's Enemies, but we wish to excuse what is past, on Account of your Ignorance and the lies which they have made you Believe, but now, If you are Ungrateful Children, you will have no further excuse. Think well, my Children, how disagreeable it would be for any of Your Fathers to strike you, for those with whom you have fought in the last war, who have loaded you with favours and who will come to bring you fresh favours. It would also be disagreeable for your Fathers to be obliged to strike their

Children when they come to Exterminate all their Enemies without Distinction;— Spread my speech about amongst you so that Everybody may Know what it contains and may foresee the good Fortune which awaits him. My Children, Listen with attention to my last Words, I declare to you that all Those who will leave the English Party and become their Enemies will become friends of the King of France, your Father, but those who, after having heard my Words and the Words which M. Count d'Estaing has spoken in the name of His Majesty, those who Stay with the English will Always be Considered as our Enemies and will experience the whole weight of our arm—but our good and faithful Children will again find in us all kindness and all the favours that a good Father Grants his well Beloved Children. You will soon hear that I have Gone to the other side of the Great Lake to revisit our Common Father.

But you will see me return in a little while to rejoin our friends and our Allies; I hope to Hear immediately that my words have entered through your Ears, to remain in your Heart, and be able to Inform the King, Your Father, that you all wish to Be His Friends, and that you will renounce His Enemies forever.

Done at Boston the 18th December, 1778.

(Sgd.) La Fayette.

(55)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 144, pp. 140-9.

GENERAL RETURN OF PROVINCE ARMED VESSELS, 1ST JANUARY, 1779.

Name.	Men.	Guns.	Remarks.
Sorel.	10	8.	On a voyage to England.
Mercury.	7	2.	Pacquet.
St. Peter		12.	In want of repairs.
Mary		14.	
Polly.		14.	
Liberty.		14	

64 guns, 56 swivels.

2 Gun Batteaux at Sorel carrying one 6 Pdr each.

GENERAL RETURN OF VESSELS ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN, 1ST JANUARY, 1779.

Name.	How rigged.	Guns.	Remarks.
Royal George	Ship	26.	Built at St. Johns.
Inflexible	Ship.	22.	Taken down from stocks at Quebec, rebuilt at St. Johns.
Maria.	Schooner.	14.	Taken by Martin sloop in St. Lawrence river.
Carleton.	Schooner.	12.	Taken down at Chambly, rebuilt at St. Johns.
Washington.	Brigg.	16.	Taken from the rebels in 1776.
Lee.	Sloop.	8.	Do. Do.
Convert	Hoy	7.	Taken from the Rebels in 1776 at Sillery.
Jersey.	Hoy.	5.	Taken from the Rebels in 1776.
Trumbull.	Galley.	8.	Do. Do.
Liberty.	Schooner.	6.	Do. Do.
Spitfire.	Sloop.	4.	
Spy.	do.	2.	
Lookout.	do.	3.	
Dispatch.	do.	2.	
Diligence.	do.	1.	
Gunboats (12), each carrying one gun.		12.	
Camel.	Hoy.		
Commissary.	do.		
Ration.	do.		
Receipt.	do.		
Delivery.	do.		
Longboats. (16).			
Cutters. (16).			

One 12 oared and one 10 oared barge.

Total guns 152; total swivels 102.

182 men to be distributed as the nature of the services require.

GENERAL RETURN OF VESSELS ON LAKE ONTARIO, 1ST JANUARY, 1779.

Name.	How rigged.	Guns.	Men.
Haldimand.	Snow.	16.	34.
Seneca.	Do.	18.	45.
Caldwell.	Sloop.	2.	9.
Row Galley.	Latteen.	4.	
Gunboats (2).	Lugg.	2.	

GENERAL RETURN OF VESSELS ON LAKES ERIE, HURON, AND MICHIGAN, 1ST JANUARY, 1779.

Name.	Rig.	Guns.	Men.	Remarks.
Gage.	Schooner.	12.	27.	
Dunmore.	Do.	10.	19.	
Hope.	Do.	4.	6.	
Angelica.	Sloop.	—	6.	
Faith.	Schooner.	—	7.	
Felicity.	Do.	—	5.	
Ottawa.	Do.	—	—	On stocks.
Wyandot.	—	—	—	By this time launched

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 129, p. 24.

Montreal, 3rd Jany, 1779.

Sir,

The enclosed Letter and state of the Militia that have been appointed for Corvees at Sorel, I had sent me this morning by Lieut. Colonel St. George. The Account he there gives of the very great Burden that this part of the Country is liable to on account of the Corvees is certainly true, it being certain that they have five to one more to do than the district of Three Rivers and I should really apprehend that the number of 990 Miliciens that are mentioned in the State would be sufficient to answer all the demands for Corvee men at Sorell and I understand that the Parishes mentioned in the State were those allowed by the Qr. Mar. Generall with the approbation of the Commander in Chief for the Corvees at Sorell, it appears, however, that last week a number of them were ordered from Varennes, Verchere, & Contre Coeur, all belonging to the Transport of this District. I shall be glad to have His Excellency's orders upon the contents of Mr. St. George's Letter and State, and I am, Sir,

Allan Maclean.

Captain Mathews.

(57)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 171, p. 17.

Instructions—

For the Captains of Militia, when His Majesty's Forces are upon the March, or go into Quarters in the different Parishes—

1. The Quarters of the Troops will be fixed by the Captains of the Militia for officers and Soldiers, in such a manner as to facilitate the March of the Troops, and the Ease of the Inhabitants.

2. The Quarters, once settled, shall not be changed, without the knowledge of the Captains of Militia.

3. The Carriages of Provisions, Ammunition, and other King's Stores, shall be paid at the rate of seven-pence halfpenny Currency per League in ready Money and that from the Spot where the Loading has been taken in, to the place where it is laid down.

4. When the Troops March, the Officer commanding a Regiment or Battalion, may require two Carriages for himself, two for the Staff, and four for each Company, which shall be paid at the above mentioned Rate; if more are demanded they are to be furnished, on paying for the Surplusage of Carriages, at the Rate of one shilling Currency per League.

5. These Carriages are to carry from four Hundred and fifty to six Hundred weight each, if the state of the Roads allows thereof.

6. When the Troops go into Quarters, the Captains of Militia are to Lodge the Officers as Conveniently as in their Power; the Soldiers two and two, and only one in poor Houses; this being settled, the Number in any one House is not to be changed without the Knowledge of the Captains of Militia.

7. The Officers shall have such a Room as the Habitants can afford, a Bed tho' not the Landlord's, a Table, three Chairs, and Lodging for his Servant; He shall be Warmed, and have the Means of dressing his Victuals; if the Officer has a Room—to himself, Fuel shall be furnished him by the whole of the Habitants, upon the Repartition of it made by the Captains of Militia.

8. The Soldiers shall be intitled in their Quarters to a Bed to two, with a good Paillasse, Blanket, and a pair of Sheets, to be changed every Month, they shall be allowed the Means of dressing their Provisions, and have their Seats at the Landlord's Fire and Light.

9. When the officers Commanding the Troops in the several Quarters shall have Occasion for Carriages, they are to require the same in writing of the Captains of Militia, specifying for what Service they are designed, agreeable to which the same are to be paid for.

10. The Captains of Militia are to assist the Troops in all they can, and shall be responsible for every hindrance, they may occasion to the King's Service.

11. If the King's Forces commit any Disorders, the Captains of Militia are to Carry the Complaints well attested, to the Commanding Officer, and if this Officer does not render them Justice thereupon, they will forward the same to the Commander of the next principal Post.

12. If a Guard is kept in the different Quarters, Fuel shall be furnished them, as above directed, where wanted for the Officers.

13. The Transport of the King's effects shall be from Captain to Captain, but if the Service requires that the Carriages should accompany the Troops, the whole of the Day's March, they shall be paid at the Rate of four Livres, ten Sols, or three and Nine-pence Currency per Day when drawn by two Horses, at the rate of six Livres, or five Shillings Currency.

14. This Regulation shall be in force from the first day of the present year. If there are yet Outstanding any Arrears of the Transport for the last year, they shall be paid at the Rate of sixpence Currency by the League.

15. This Regulation, pasted upon a piece of Board, shall be hung up in the most public place of each Captain of Militia's House, that none may plead Ignorance thereof.

Given under my Hand at Quebec, this 9th of January 1779.

Fred: Haldimand.

(58)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 16, pt. 11, p. 666.

"Gentlemen,

"
"
"

Also the Draught of an Ordinance (which was likewise interpreted in French), for continuing an Ordinance made the twenty ninth day of March in the seventeenth Year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled, "An Ordinance for regulating the Militia of the Province of Quebec, and rendering it of more general utility towards the preservation and Security thereof."—first reading.

Ordered, that it be translated and ingrossed by to-morrow. And

Also the Draught of an Ordinance (which was likewise interpreted in French), for continuing an Ordinance made the twenty-third day of April, in the seventeenth year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled, "An Ordinance to empower the Commissioners of the Peace to regulate the Police in the Towns of Quebec and Montreal for a limited time."—first reading.

Ordered, that, it be translated and ingrossed by to morrow.

Adjourned to to morrow

at 10 o'Clock.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 16, pt. 11, p. 668.

On Friday the 15th day of January, 1779.

At the Council Chamber in the Castle of St. Lewis.

.....
Also the ingrossed Draught of an Ordinance for continuing an Ordinance made the twenty ninth day of March in the seventeenth year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled.

“ An Ordinance for regulating the Militia of the Province of Quebec, and rendering it of more general utility towards the preservation and security thereof.”—second reading. Anr

Also the ingrossed Draught of an Ordinance for continuing an Ordinance made the twenty third day of April, in the seventeenth Year of His Majesty's Reign intituler “ An Ordinance to empower the Commissioners of the Peace to regulate the Police of the Towns of Quebec and Montreal for a limited time ”—second reading.

.....
Adjourned to To Morrow at 11 O'Clock.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 16, pt. 11, p. 660.

.....
The Council afterwards entered upon the Business of an Ordinance, (the Title of which was read yesterday) “ For regulating the Militia of the Province of Quebec and rendering it of more general utility towards the preservation and Security thereof”. which will expire at the end of the present Session;—And a Question having been put by the Hon^{ble} Mr. President whether the said last mentioned Ordinance should be Considered to day? And the Hon^{ble} Lt. Col. Caldwell having moved “ that the consideration thereof should be put off till Saturday next,” The Question was put, whether the said last mentioned Ordinance should be considered to day, or on Saturday next? And passed that it should be considered to day; the Voices being 12 to 6.

The Council having taken into Consideration the said last mentioned Ordinance, a Question was put by the Hon^{ble} Mr. President, “ Whether the said last mentioned Ordinance should be continued for two years longer? And the Hon^{ble} Mr. Allsopp having moved for a Question, Vizt. “ Whether the said last mentioned Ordinance should be read Article by Article, and the sense of every Member taken thereupon.? “ The Question was put which of the two should be first put ”—And passed that the one put by the Hon^{ble} Mr. President should be first put; the Voices being 13 to 3, Exclusive of the Hon^{ble} Mr. President and Mr. Allsopp'.

The said Question put by the Hon^{ble} Mr. President, vizt.

“ Whether the said last mentioned Ordinance should be continued for two Years longer ”? having been then put, It passed in the Affirmative, the Voices being 16 to 2.

Resolved that the Attorney General do prepare an Ordinance for continuing the said last mentioned Ordinance for two years longer accordingly.

.....
Adjourned till to Morrow at 11 o'Clock

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 16, pt. 11, p. 669.

ON FRIDAY the 15th day of January 1779.

At the Council Chamber in the Castle of St. Lewis.

.....
 Read also in English & French the ingrossed Draught of an Ordinance made the twenty ninth day of March in the seventeenth Year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled, "An Ordinance for regulating the Militia of the Province of Quebec, and rendering it of more general Utility towards the preservation and security thereof."—third reading.

Upon the Question being put, "Whether the said last mentioned Ordinance should pass into Law? And the Voices being 17 Ayes and 1 No—

It passed the Council.

.....
 Adjourned to to Morrow at 11 O'Clock.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 16, pt. 11, p. 671.

ON SATURDAY the 16th of January 1779.

At the Council Chamber in the Castle of St. Lewis.

Present.

His Excellency Frederick Haldimand Esqr. Governor.

The Hon^{ble} Hector Theophile Cramahé, Lt. Governor.

Thomas Dunn

James Cuthbert

François Levesque

John Collins

Adam Mabane

George Pownall

George Allsopp

La Corne St. Luc.

J. G. C. De Lery

Conrad Gugy

Picotté de Bellestre

Henry Caldwell

John Drummond

William Grant

Paul Roc St. Ours.

François Baby

Joseph de Longueuil

—Esqrs.

Read in English and French the ingrossed Ordinance (Which passed the Council yesterday) for continuing an Ordinance made the twenty fifth day of February in the seventeenth year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled "An Ordinance to regulate the Proceedings in the Courts of Civil Judicature in the Province of Quebec".

Also the ingrossed Ordinance (which likewise passed the Council yesterday for continuing an Ordinance made the twenty ninth day of March in the seventeenth year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled—

"An Ordinance for regulating the Militia of the Province of Quebec, and rendering it of more general utility towards the preservation and Security thereof."—And

Also the ingrossed Ordinance (which likewise passed the Council yesterday) for continuing An Ordinance made the twenty third day of April in the seventeenth year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled,

“An Ordinance to empower the Commissioners of the Peace to regulate the Police of the Towns of Quebec and Montreal, for a limited time”.

These three ingrossed Ordinances His Excellency the Governor signed and passed under the Great Seal in Council, and Ordered, that they should be entered and filed in the Office, and published in the Quebec Gazette.

Indorsed— 19.Geo: 3^d.

The Journals of the Legislative Council of His Majesty's Province of Quebec during this Session commencing the 11th and ending the 16th January.

1779.

Duplicate.

In Govr. Haldimands' (No. 441)
of 24th Oct. 1779.

(63)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA.

ANNO DECIMO NONO GEORGII III. REGIS.

CHAP 11.

an ORDINANCE.

“For continuing an Ordinance made the twenty-ninth day of” March “in the seventeenth year of his Majesty's Reign,” Intituled, “An Ordinance for regulating the Militia of the Province of Quebec, and rendering it of more general utility towards the preservation and security thereof”.

Be it enacted and Ordained by His Excellency the Governor by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council of the Province of Québec and by the Authority of the same it is hereby ENACTED,

That an Ordinance made in the seventeenth year of His present Majesty's Reign Intituled, “An Ordinance for regulating the Militia of the Province of Quebec, and rendering it of more general utility towards the preservation and security thereof;” and every Article and Clause therein contained, shall be and continue, and the same is hereby continued, to be in force, from the expiration thereof, for the space of two years, and unto the end of the Session of the Legislative Council of this Province, which will be held, according to the Statute in the year of our Lord One thousand, seven hundred and eighty-one.

FRED: HALDIMAND.

Ordained and Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, and passed in Council, under the Great Seal of the Province, at the Council Chamber, in the Castle of St. Lewis, in the City of Quebec, the sixteenth day of January, in the nineteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord One thousand, seven hundred and seventy-nine.

By His Excellency's Command.

A. Davidson, C.L.C.

(64)

LIST OF CAPTAINS OF MILITIA FOR THE SEVERAL PARISHES, QUEBEC DISTRICT.

Captns. Names.	Parishes.	Captns. Names.	Parishes.
Le Sieur Gingrat	St. Augustin	Jacques Jobin	Charlesbourg.
Le Sieur Coste	Village St. Augustin	Raphael Girou	Bourg Royal.
Jacque Garneau	Pointe au Tremble	Paul Rainville	Beauport.
Jacque Délisle	Ecureuils	Michel Huot	Ange Gardien
Pierre Mercure	Cap Santé	Joseph Cazeau	Chateau Richer.
Pierre Groleau	Deschambault	Jean Parry	St. Ferriel.
Joseph Hamelin	Grondines	Augustin Cymare	Ste. Anne.
Louis Gouin	Ste. Anne	Joseph Parry	St. Joachim.
Joseph Bellette	Ste. Genevièvre	Pierre Germain	Ste. Famille.
Jean Trottier	Bastican	Joseph LePage	St. François.
Fra. Crevier Deschenaux	St. François Xavier	Louis Genest	St. Jean.
Joseph Chartier	Champlain	Prisque Plant	St. Pierre.
Joseph LaCroix	Cap La Magdeleine	Jean Bapt. Fortin	Petite Rivière.
		Jean Boily	Baye St. Paul.
		Jean Francis Tremblay	Eboulement.
		Jack Harée	Isle Coudres.
		Louis L'heureux	Jeune Lorette.
		Chas. Norau	Ancienne Lorette.
		Antoine Samson	Ste. Foy.
		Fras. Bourassa	Pointe Levy.
Jean Bapt. Badeaux	Trois Rivières	Joseph Roy	Beaumont.
André Guay	Pointe du Lac	Joseph Royer	St. Charles.
Antoine Le Sieur	Yamachiche	Louis Gosselin	St. Gervais.
Joseph Adam		Jos. Demq. Poliquin	St. Michel.
Antoine Auger	Rivière du Loup	Andre Aubé	St. Valier.
Jean Dejarlais		Pierre Bouchard	Berthier.
François Corbin	Maskinongé	Pasc. Coriveau	St. François. } Rivière du Loup.
Antoine Fleury	L'Ornière	Louis Blait	St. Pierre.
Bégin —	Pointe Levy	Michel Blait	St. Thomas.
Pierre Crépeau	St. Henry	Jacque Thibau	Cap Ignace.
François Verreau	Ste. Marie	Joseph Fournier	Islette.
Alex Cormiray	St. Joseph	J. B. Couillard Depré	St. Jean Port Jolly.
Guirien —	St. François	François Duval	St. Roch.
Louis Coté	St. Antoine	Jean Morin	Ste. Anne.
Antoine Hamel	Ste. Croix	Augustin Lauzier	Rivière Ouelle.
Jean LeClaire	Lotbinière	Tanace Boucher	Kamouraska.
Jacque Beaudet	St. Jean Deschaillion	Alexdr. Roy	Rivière des Caps.
Pierre Roberge	St. Bré. Les Besquets	Alexdr. Dion	Rivière du Loup.
Antoine Poisson	Gentilly	Pierre Pines	Cacona.
Bennemie Bourg	Lac St. Paul	.....	Isle Verte.
Alexis LeBlanc	Rivière Bécancour	.....	Rimousky.
Smid, Pere	Yamaska	.....	.....
J. Bte. Bouillard		.....	.....
Alexis LeBlanc	Becancour	.....	.....
Pierre Brassard	Nicolet	.....	.....

ENDORSED—List of Captains of Militia of the several Parishes, Quebec District.

Messieurs P. Paul Neveu Sévestre Colonel Commandt., St. George Dupré M^{ro} Pierre Guy Capne, Major.

OFFICIERS de la VILLE.

CAPITAINES. 2èmes CAPITAINES. LIEUTENANTS. ENSEIGNES. GARÇONS MAJORS. Comp. des CANNONIERS.

Messieurs.	St. Disier. Jacques Porlier	Pierre Vallé. Jacques LeMoine. (mort.)	Pierre Ville Le Gras. Jacques Hervieux.	Joseph Lemoine. Amable Réaume.	Jean Baptiste Despins. Louis Lahaye.
Morts....	Jacques LeMoine. { Pierre Dérivière Louis Babé. Etienne Oger. Louis LaMare.	Ant. Poudret. Ranlard Cavellier. Lacoste Ainé. Jacques Lacoste. Mocquin. Charles Desevy.	Nic. Réaume. Jos. LaCroix. Alexis Duruisseau. Elie Lacoste. Mocquin. Charles Desevy.	Lacroix le Jeune. Boullanger. J. Parent. Campeau. Giasson	I. Caville. Enseigne.

OFFICIERS des CAMPAGNES.

PAROISSES du NORD.
CAPITAINES. LIEUTENANTS. ENSEIGNES. AIDES MAJORS.

Messieurs.	CAPITAINES. LIEUTENANTS. ENSEIGNES. AIDES MAJORS.			
La Chine.	{ Pierre Despelteau. Ignace Chénier	Vincent Laforge.	Ign. Chénier, (fils)	Paul Payefort.
Pointe Claire.	J. Bte. Chénier.	Joseph Déau.	Lamber Blondeau.	
Ste. Anne.	Ant. Lalondé	Philippe Dépelteau.	Louis Crevier.	
Les Sources.	Dominique L'Etang.	Pre. Charlebois.	Jean Vallois.	
Veaudreuil.	Paul Sabourin.	Hiacte. Ladérouite.	Fra. Cadieux.	
Quinchen.	Joch. Genus.	Jacques Chale.	Ant. Gauthier.	
Soulange.	Albert LeLonde.	Ant. Bissonet.	Gab. LeRoux.	
Isle Perrault.	Michel LeDuc.	Antne. LeDuc.	Réné LeDuc.	
Ste. Geneviève.	Antne. Larivière.	Pre. Payemant.	Jos. Campeault.	
Idem.	Paul Etier.	Hilaire Martin.	Jacques Boileau.	
Rivière Chesne.	Jos. Charbonneau	Pre. Filatros.	Pierre Cayel.	
Idem.	Pre. Paradis.	Etienne Dazé.	Nic. Guindon.	
Isle Jésus St. François.	Jos. Fretier.	Gabriel Hétiér.	Jos. Bitroleau.	
Idem.	Augustin Dazé.	Jochm. Nadon	Chas. Dazé (fils)	
Idem. St. Vincent.	Jos. LaCroix.	Jos. Mercier.	Baptiste Roy.	
Idem. St. Martin.	Chas. Monnet.	Boniface Payet.	Domn. Lafleur.	
Idem.	Jos. Leblanc.	Simon Thibeau.	Guillaume Rossignol.	
Isle Jésus, Ste. Rose.	Jos. Laurin.	Fra. Filatros.	L. Dérochers.	
Terrebonne	Chas. Filiatros.	Jos. Filiatros.	Jos. Desjardins.	
bonne.	Pierre Rabby.	Fras. Séguin.	Toussaint Limoge.	N. Chaumon.
Mascouche LaChenaye.	Pre. Gagnon.	Pre. Valiquette.	Gabl. Cuvillon.	
Lachenaye.	{ Louis Tinus. Pre. Beauchamp.	Pre. LeClaire.	L. Charbonneau.	
L'Assomption.	Félix Joly.	Fra. Dubois	I. Mich. Beauchamp.	
Idem.	Bte. Béllaire.	Bte. Mathieu.	Igce. Crépeaux.	
Idem.	J. Bte. Vainne.	Bon. Marssolet.	Amble. Archambeau.	N. LaRoque
	Ant. Marion.	Jacques Dérosier.	Jos. Latulippe.	

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 133, p. 57.

Sir,

Lieut. Walsh of the 29th Regiment has been up to Cumberland Bay and reports that the Ice is very strong but so exceeding rough except at the sides that it will be impossible for sleds to pass without a road being made. I am informed that a report prevails at Montreal that some Indians are arrived at St. Francois from Albany who give an account that twenty thousand Rebels are assembling there, who are intended to invade this Province under the command of the Marquis de Fayette.— I make no doubt but Your Excellency is very well informed if there is any foundation for such reports and that I shall receive your commands respecting the British Troops and what steps are to be taken should the Enemy leave these Posts behind and proceed immediately to Montreal by the River Chazy.

I have the honor to be &c.
H. Watson Powell.

To His Excellency, General Haldimand.

(66)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 170, p. 14.

Monsieur,

Je viens destre averty que dans la paroisse de Ste Croix, voisine de la paroisse de St. Antoine, il i a un Rebelle qui fus arreté lannée derniere à Jeantilly par un officier de milice par ordre de Son Exelence Carleton qui le conoissoit tres mauvais sujets. Cet homme plus fin que l'officier qui l'avoir arreté lui echapa et depuis ce tems lon ne la pas pu rejoindre il setoit retirée a Sa Kinaw mais depuis quelques tems il est dans la paroisse de Ste Croix et un nommée duquêt sera bien capable d'indiquer l'endroit ou il ce retire aux personnes qu'il plaira à votre Exelence charger de lareter C'est dit on un bien mauvais sujets pardon de mes importunité mais J'ay crû devoir prevenir Votre Exelence de ce qui pourrais estre contre les interets du gouvernement—

J'ay l'honneur d'estre avec un tres profond respect,
Monsieur, Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur
G. de Tonnancour
des Trois Rivieres, le 12 fevrier 1779

Endorsed: From M. Tonnancour 1779
Col. of militia at 3 Rivers of 12th Feb^r rec^d 13th.

(Translation)

Sir:—

I have been warned that in the parish of St. Croix, near the parish of St. Antoine, there is a Rebel who was arrested last year at Jeantilly (Gentilly) by a militia officer under orders from His Excellency, Carleton, who knew him to be a very bad subject. This man, being more cunning than the officer who had arrested him, made his escape and since that time they have not been able to retake him as he had gone off to Sa Kinaw, but he has been for some time in the parish of St. Croix and one, Duquet, will be able to point out the place where he is concealed to such persons as it will please your Excellency to direct to arrest him. He is said to be a very bad subject. Please pardon my officiousness, but I thought it my duty to inform Your Excellency of anything that might be against the interests of the government.

I have the honor to be, etc.,
G. de Tonnancour.

Three Rivers, 12th February, 1779.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 36.

New York, Feby 12th, 1779.

Sir,

I have received information from Major General Tryon that the Rebels are building One Hundred Batteaux and Three Vessels at Still Water, in consequence of which I have dispatched Two Messengers already and have desired him to send some more to you with this information but I do not hear of any other Stir among them to the Northward.

D'Estaing is, I think, past doubt, blocked up in Martinico and the Province of Georgia is ours.

.....
.....
Your most obed't &c.

H. Clinton.

His Excellency, General Haldimand.

Endorsed:—

From

General Sir Henry Clinton,
New York, Feby 12th,
received by Major Holland,
June 6th, 1779.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 38.

New York, Feby 24th, 1779.

Rec'd 27th Apr. 79.

Having rec'd intelligence that the Rebels are building One Hundred Batteaux & Three Vessels at Stillwater which gives me reason to suppose they mean something serious agt your Province, particularly as I understand that two of the principal Inhabitants thereof (in the name of many others) invited the Enemy to attempt an Expedition agt it. I therefore think it necessary to send you information of this that you may be upon your guard. It is said Gates & Arnold, should it be undertaken, are to command the Troops destined for that service.

(unsigned.)

(69)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 54, pp. 77-80.

Quebec, 2nd March, 1779.

No. 16.

Lord Geo. Germain.

My Lord,

Your Lordship has, I hope, long since received my last Dispatches, Nos. 12, 13, 14, & 15, by the sloop "Sorel", Captain Alison, who was prevented by the Ice from getting into River Magdalen to wait there any further letters I might have occasion to send home. I now take the opportunity by way of Halifax of informing Your Lordship that things remain here in much the same situation as they were then. The Rebels continue to threaten invading but the Destruction of the Cattle, Forage, &c. upon Otter Creek and the edge of the Lake last Fall would alone have greatly increased the difficulty of their approach and as Lake Champlain begins to break up I think any attempt that way impracticable for the remainder of the Winter.

The enclosed Copy of Captain Butler's letter to Lieut.Col. Bolton will show Your Lordship what has been done at Cherry Valley. Since the departure of the "Sorel"

I have received letters from Niagara, Detroit, Michilimackinac, and from Lieut. Governor Hamilton on his route to St. Vincennes, tho' none of late Date or affording very new information, what will be the issue of the Lieut. Governor's operations or of the enterprise given out to intended from the Southward, I fear we shall know little about before the Spring. Your Lordship will have probably been informed that the Armed Ship Nancy which sailed from New York the 11th of September & having on board several German and some English officers & soldiers belonging to the Troops in this Province, taken prisoners in 1777 & since exchanged had been obliged by stress of weather to put into Halifax where Brig.Genl Maclean has quartered them for the winter. I write to him by this opportunity & to Lieut. Govr. Hughes to request their sending them here as soon as the Navigation will allow.

As a time of Danger and Difficulty did not offer the most favorable season for introducing new Regulations or reforming those already made, I called together the Legislative Council early in January when there was little likelihood of disturbance from without, and only proposed the renewal of such Ordinances as were expiring & it was necessary to continue for the purpose of keeping the wheels of Government going.

Accordingly the Ordinances for regulating the Militia, for regulating the Proceedings of Courts of Civil Judicature, & for regulating the Police of the Towns of Quebec and Montreal, were revised and declared to be in Force for two years longer, Copies of those Ordinances shall be forwarded by the first safe opportunity after the Navigation is open. Your Lordship will receive herewith Copies of what I said to the Council upon that occasion, of their address and my answer thereto. After this necessary Business was over I permitted the members to return to their respective homes.

Though the Session was not of any long continuance I had occasion to perceive that had a discussion of these matters been minutely entered into as was the desire of some few of the members, it might have been spun out to a considerable length at so critical a Juncture of manifest disservice to the King's Affairs, and to the National Interests.

I should not perhaps have troubled Your Lordship with this hint at present was not a Union of sentiments in that Council of great importance to the Crown of Great Britain & that the choice of subjects to get admittance therein cannot be attended with too much care & circumspection.

I have the honor to be &c.
F. H.

(70)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 149, pp. 32-3.

Quebec, the 2d March, 1779.

Sir,

.....
This last year the Gulph swarmed with small Privateers and some of them had the Impudence to venture far up the River. Against such as then made their appearance in those Parts, I hope we shall be able to collect a sufficient Force but should they send any there of the Stouter kind we must look to the King's Ships stationed in the Ports of the Ocean for Assistance and Protection and as I know not how these are disposed of, I must rely on yours and the Brigadier General's Interference in Behalf of the Interests of the Province as far as is consistent with the other duties of their respective Commands.

We found by experience this last year, these small Privateers having done all the damage they could, took refuge in the Gut of Canso and some times carried their prizes in there; a fortified Post in the narrowest part of the Straight might deprive them of this Retreat and force them throwing themselves more in the way of our Cruizers. Major Holland who has surveyed that Coast is very able to give you further Light upon this subject to inform you how this is practicable, & would answer the end proposed.

I have the honor to be, &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

.....
Lt. Govr. Hughes.
3573-7

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 154, pp. 138-9.

Montreal, March 8th, 1779.

Sir,

I examined the Pointe du Lac as well as the season would admit and it appears to me admirably calculated for the kind of Post Your Excellency wishes to establish there.

At Sorell I was employed in forming a Plan for completing the Sorell Redoubt and also Barracks for the Staff with the Store houses and Bakery agreeable to Your Excellency's instructions on that Head.

I likewise visited the new Post on the River Yamaska and found the Guard very attentive, this Post is at the highest settlement and very near the great road leading from St. Charles, they have an advanced Post of four men at the first Fork which is about Six leagues above the Post.

At La Chenay I have given orders to Captn Johé and the other Captains adjoining the dimensions of the Timber necessary for the proposed Barracks and have also fixed upon their Situation.—I apprehend the Inhabitants will not be very alert in giving their Assistance but the Captains promise the wood shall be brought while the Roads are Good.

I have the Honor to be, &c.

Wm. Twiss.

His Excellency,
Governor Haldimand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. 170, p. 23.

Quebec, ce 7^e mars 1779

Monsieur,

J'ay été informé par le retour de M. Baby des demandes que vous avez faites concernant l'affaire de la Terriere, mais Cramahé vous ecrit de ma part sur son sujet—

Je suis tres sensible Monsieur aux penes que vous vous donnés pour le service du Roi et j'espere que vous le continuerés avec la meme vigilance. Il y a Beaucoup de mauvais sujet surtout du Cotté du Sud, et il seroit bon d'y avoir quelques gens affidés pour veiller sur leur conduite. M. de St. Aulaire peut avoir laissé des Emisaires de ces Cottes la, toutes les Personnes qu'il a fréquenté intimement peuvent ette regardé come suspect.

J'ay reçu par le dernier Courrier la lettre qui contenoit le Billet du jeune Debrine, que j'ay mise avec les autres Papiers.

Je demeure tres parfaitement Monsieur,

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

(Signé) Fred. Haldimand

Mons. Tonnancour—

Endorsed: Copy of Letter from His Excellency General Haldimand to Mr. Tonnancour dated Quebec 11th March 1779.

(Translation)

Quebec, 11th March, 1779.

Sir:

I have been informed, on the return of M. Baby, of the request that you have made relative to the matter of La Terriere, but Cramahe is writing you on my behalf on that subject.

I much appreciate, Sir, the trouble you have taken in the King's service and I hope that you will continue to do this with equal vigilance. There are many bad subjects, particularly on the south shore, and it will be proper to have some trusty people watching their actions. Mr. de St. Aulaire may have left emissaries on that side and all persons with whom he has been intimate, should be considered as under suspicion.

I have received by the last courier the letter containing the note from young Debrine, which I have placed with the other papers.

I remain, etc.,

(Sgd.) Fred. Haldimand,

Monsr Tonnancour

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. 170. p. 24.

Monsieur,

Sur les differends avis que j'ay eû que le nommée Joseph Traversy qui a sa famille a St. François dans le lac St. Pierre et qui est avec les Rebelles, faisais souvent des Voies dans le Gouvernement des Trois Rivieres ou il a de bons amis qui ne laisse ignorer de rien. J'ay pencé qu'il estoit de mon devoir d'en prevenir Votre Excellence comme j'ay fait l'hotonne dernier pendant son séjour a Sorelle; comme il parassoit j'avois plusieurs indices sur le compte des nommées Dessain pere qui a aidé les Bostonnois qui s'estoient sauvé des prisons de quebec l'hotonne dernier qui avoir agi de concert avec le nommée Joseph Loui pour faciliter leurs evasion par la Riviere de St. François ou ils furent Répris, J'ay cru qu'il estoit a propos de faire une enquete pour informer Votre Excellence de tout ce qui s'est passée dans le pays brulé qui forme la profondeur de la Baye de St. Antoine sur le lac St. Pierre ou le dit Joseph Traversy a tenu ses rendezvous avec ses confidans: Comme son Excellence Vera dans l'enquete que j'ay commencée qui n'est pas finy j'ay encore quatre à six personnes des plus scavantes dans l'histoire, des plus en état de donner l'éclaircissement les plus sure mais que je n'ay pas voulu faire paraitre avant de savoir les intentions de Votre Excellence et pour ne pas epouvanter les coupables qui pouvoit desavouer l'enquete que j'ay faite n'estant pas dans le cas de leur estre Repeté, j'ay crû devoir envoyer cette enquete à Votre Excellence et attendre ses ordres à ce sujet, trois bostonnois qui sont trois freres qui ont deserté des prisons de Quebec cet hiver ont monté par le sud jusqu'à Nicolet ou ils aprirent qu'il i avoit des Troupes almendes à l'abée St. Antoine ce qui leurs fait retrouver chemin ils retournerent à la riviere duchesne vis a vis des Grondins et i conclurent le mardy gras et le mercredi de cendre ont party pour se rendre en nouvel engleterre par cette Riviere—pardonnés mon vieux grifonage que Votre Excellence ne pourra peutetre pas dechiffrer, mais je suis seul sens avoir de Grefier j'ay bien de la peine mais je fait tout pour le mieux pour convaincre Votre Excellence de mon zele que ma sousmission aux ordres de Votre Excellence et du profond respect avec lequel j'ay l'honneur destre

Monsieur,

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

3 Rivieres le 12 Mars 1779.

G. de Tonnancour /

Endorsed: From Col: Tonnancour dated 12th received 13th March 1779.

(Translation)

Sir:

From the various reports which I have had that one Joseph Traversy, whose family is at St. Francis on Lake St. Peter, and who is with the Rebels, often makes excursions into the government of Three Rivers where he has good friends who give him information about everything. I think it my duty to warn Your Excellency as I did last autumn while you were at Sorel; as it appeared that I had some trace of one Joseph Dessain, senior, who assisted the Bostonians who escaped from Quebec prison last autumn who had acted in conjunction with one Joseph Louis, to assist them in getting off by the river St. Francis, where they were retaken, I believed it right to make an enquiry for your Excellency's information respecting all that had occurred in the burned country at the bottom of the Bay of St. Anthony on Lake St. Peter, where the said Joseph

Traversy had his rendezvous with h's confederate; as his Excellency will see from the investigation which I had begun, but which is not finished, I have still to examine from four to six persons who know most about this matter and are in a position to give me the most reliable information, but whom I do not wish to bring into it until I learn the intentions of Your Excellency, and not to alarm the guilty persons who might deny the evidence which I have obtained in the event of being required to repeat it. I have thought it my duty to send this evidence to your Excellency and to await your orders on this subject; three Bostonians, who are brothers and who escaped from the prison in Quebec this winter have come up by the South Shore as far as Nicolet where they learned that there were German troops at the bay of St. Antoine which caused them to return to the river Duchesne, opposite Grondines and remaining there on Shrove Tuesday and Ash Wednesday, have gone off to return to New England by this river. please excuse my old scrawl, which perhaps your Excellency cannot decipher, but I am alone without any clerk, I have had much trouble but I do my best to satisfy your Excellency of my zeal and obedience to the orders of Your Excellency and to the profound respect with which I have the honor to be, etc.,

G. de Tonnancour.

Three Rivers, 12th March, 1779.

(75)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, 170. p. 27.

Monsieur,

J'ai reçu Votre Lettre du 12^e. de ce mois, et vous suis très obligé des peines que vous vous êtes donné pour prendre les informations que vous m'avez envoyé au sujet du nommé Traversy, et de ses Correspondans dans le gouvernement des Trois Rivières; Je serois charmé de l'attraper lui même et de procurer des Preuves suffisantes contre ceux qui l'aime et le favorisent dans ses voyages, mais je crois que pour y parvenir il seroit plus sur de laisser assoupir pour le present cette affaire, et de faire cesser des Perquisitions, jusqu'à ce qu'on puisse decouvrir quelque chose de plus certain et de plus assuré la dessus. J'ai aussi a vous remercier de ce que vous avez fait dans l'affaire du Sieur La Terriere qui est arrivé et restera selon toutes les apparences encore quelque tems ici—

Voulant rassembler tout ce qui regarde les Milices de la Province sous un même Point de Vue, et Mons^r. Baby étant à Portée de Travailler sous mes yeux à ce detail, Vous aurez la Bonté de lui adresser tous les Roles, Rapports des officiers et en general tout ce qui recorde celle sous votre command, et par son canal Vous recevrez les ordres que j'aurois à donner à leur sujet—

Endorsed: To Col: Tonnancour 15th Mch. 1779.

(Translation)

Sir:—

I have received your letter of the 12th inst and am very much obliged to you for the trouble which you have taken to gain the information which you have sent me on the subject of Traversy and his confederates in the government of Three Rivers; I would be delighted to lay hold of him and obtain sufficient evidence against those who befriend and assist him in his excursions but I think that to succeed in this it will be best to let the present matter drop and discontinue the investigation until we can discover something more definite about it. I have also to thank you for what you have done in the matter of Mr. La Terrière, who has arrived and will remain here apparently for some time. Wishing to collect all the information respecting the militia of the province under one head and Mr. Baby having been set at work upon this, under my supervision, you will have the goodness to send to him all rolls, reports of officers, and generally everything relating to those under your command and by that channel you will receive the orders which I will give on that subject.

Endorsed: To Colonel Tonnancour,

15th March, 1779

(76)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 41.

New York, March 15th, 1779.

Sir,

I dispatched some Messengers to you near a Month ago to inform you that the Rebels were constructing a number of Batteaux & some vessels at Stillwater.—I am now to acquaint you that I have every reason to believe they have recalled the Artificers who were employed on that Business and that therefore it is to be presumed they have laid aside their intentions of an Expedition to Canada, at least for the present.

faithfully, &c.

H. Clinton.

His Excellency, General Haldimand.

Endorsed:—

Rd 7th (May?)

par du Fou.

(77)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 42.

Things are in the situation we cou'd wish. In Georgia we are successful to the utmost of our Expectations. The Expedition from this Country against Canada, which has been much talked of, will not take place. The Rebels are not equal to the undertaking and if ever they thought of it, it must have been with an eye to co-operation, which is put out of the Question by our having the Superiority at Sea. Count D'Estaing is surely blocked up and the succours he expects from France are followed by a much superior Naval Force from England. The Rebels have accounts of d'Estaing's own Ship being taken. Their Credit is at a very low Ebb and their Counsels much distracted.

John André, Aide de Camp.

15th March.

Endorsed:—

Rec'd 7 May.

(77a)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 141, p. 95.

Monsieur,

Je recoi dans l'instant la lettre qu'il a plu à votre exelence me faire l'honneur de m'écrire le 15 du mois courant. Je ne manqueray pas de executer de point en point ce quelle m'ordonner de faire. j'ai envoie dans chaque paroisse à chaque comandant de compagnie de milice un model pourqu'il puissant etablir chaque le rolle exact de leurs compagnies, quoyque je suis presque seure qu'ils ne le suivrons pas, n'etats pas capable de Rien cela me donne bien d'embaras, en cas sy je pourois les mettre à la Raison je serais contant.

J'ai l'honneur d'être &c.

J. M. de Tonnancour.

de Trois Rivières

le 16 Mars, 1779.

(Translation)

Sir,

I receive this moment the letter which your Excellency has done me the honour to write to me on the 15th of the present month. I will not fail to carry out exactly everything which he orders me to do. I have sent to the Commandant of the Militia Company, in every parish an example by which each may prepare the correct roll of

their companies, although I am nearly sure that they will not follow it, not being capable of anything of the kind, this gives me much trouble; in case I can set them right I shall be content.

I have the honour to be etc,

J. M. Tonnancour.

At Three Rivers,
the 16th Mar. 1779.

(78)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 154, pp. 146-7.

St. Johns, March 19, 1779.

Sir,

.....
 Agreeable to Your Excellency's Instructions I have reported my opinion of the Post at Yamaska unto Brigadier General Powell, which is that a party of 14 men will be quite sufficient for the summer but that such a Party is very necessary because the Indians have been accustomed to go from this River into Mississqui Bay at most seasons and the Post is very near the Cart road leading from St. Charles, besides there are from 50 to 70 Inhabitants who are exceedingly well armed that certainly were by no means Friendly to Government as well as very disobedient to the Captain of Militia—they are already less violent and more obedient and I apprehend the Royalists posted there will very soon be so well acquainted with the Inhabitants as to prevent a Stranger from remaining unnoticed amongst them. I think it might have a very good Effect if the Captain of Militia at St. Hyacinthe, (for so the Parish is called), had Your Excellency's order that all his Militia should on the least alarm or even if called upon by the Commanding Officer, immediately deposit all their Arms and Ammunition with the Guard, leaving it to the choice of every Individual if he chose to remain himself or return to his own House.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Wm. Twiss.

His Excellency,
General Haldimand.

(79)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 43, p. 113.

No. 13.

Whitehall,

10th April, 1779.

Sir,

His Majesty having thought fit to direct that the Corps of Royal Highland Emigrants, consisting of two Battalions should be put on the Establishment and numbered the 84th Regiment, it has been judged proper to augment each of the ten Companies from 50 private men to 70 and that the augmentation should be levied in America, you will therefore be pleased to give the necessary orders and permission to the officers for levying the augmentation accordingly.

I am, Sir, &c.

Geo. Germain.

General Haldimand.

(80)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 161, pp. 24 28.

Whitehall, 16th April, 1779.

Sir Henry Clinton has acquainted me that he has transmitted to you the Information he has collected of their Designs. Their building Battoes at Stillwater indicates a design of entering by the Mohawk River, and perhaps attempting Niagara or Detroit, if they are able to force their way to them, but I confess I am not apprehensive of their being able to effect anything material on that side whilst the Six Nations continue faithful, and the judicious measures you have taken to succour them in case of an attack and the supplies you will be enabled to send them, will, I hope, prevent their being frightened into a neutrality. The great importance of Niagara & Detroit and the Navigation on the Lakes which depends upon them, must, however, always render them Objects of particular Attention and I was very happy to find you had reinforced the Garrisons and given orders for strengthening their Defences, as well as for repairing the Armed Vessels and augmenting their Crews.

.....
 The Cloathing and other necessaries sent for 2,000 Provincials is meant to Enable you to supply the Canadian Corps you are authorized to raise, as well as those already on foot.

Geo: Germain

P. S. Intelligence from France mention an intention to send some Troops, with some Ships of War up the River St. Lawrence this Summer, with a View to promote a Rising among the Canadians and assist an Expedition meditated by the Rebels, and I think proper to acquaint you of it, that you may pay proper Attention to the Safety of Quebec, altho' I cannot say I think they will venture to carry the project into Execution.

Indorsed—

Dra^t to Governor Haldimand

16th April 1779.

(No. 10).

(81)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 47.

received May 31st.

New York, April 21st 1779.

Sir,

I have reason to imagine that the Rebels mean to make an Attack upon Detroit this Spring and I am informed they intend to make a feint on the Susquehanna, in order to draw the attention of Colonel Butler and the Indians from the other quarter.

H. Clinton.

To Col. Butler,
General Haldimand .

(82)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 96. pp. 113-5.

Quebec,

the 30th April, 1779.

No. 10.

Sir /

Having found it necessary for the good of His Majesty's Service to appoint a Commissioner and other Naval Officers to command and Navigate the armed vessels on

Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron and Michigan, you are strictly to observe that whatever orders and instructions you may judge necessary to give relative to the naval Department either Military or Civil are always addressed to the Officer then at your Post and if they are of a permanent nature such as regulations for the winter, etc., these orders and Instructions must be in writing.

In like manner whenever you have occasion for any Materials, Stores or Tools from this Department or wish to employ any artificers or seamen in a different manner from what the Commissioner or Controllor or other Naval officer has directed, Such orders must always be in writing.

It is further my directions that whenever any vessel arrives at your Post the Commander thereof waits upon you to Report his arrival and Receive your Instructions relative to loading or unloading etc. etc. but having these he is to sail the moment the weather will permit him without waiting for particular sailing orders. You have nevertheless full authority to detain any vessel after she is loaded provided you judge it necessary for His Majesty's Service. But you must give a written order for detaining the vessel and I shall consider nothing else a sufficient reason for his having lost a moment's fair wind.

All seamen and artificers employed as such are to be allowed the following ration and no more per man per day viz

1½ lbs of Flour or Biscuit.

1 lb of Beef or 8 ounces Pork.

¼ Pint of Pease.

1 ounce Butter.

1 ounce of o'meal or Rice and in case of any article being deficient such other as you have the supply of must be increased in Proportion.

So soon as any vessel in laid up at your Post for the Winter the officers and men will receive from the Barrack Master the same proportion as the rest of the Garrison but will cut their own wood as usual.

I am, etc,

F. H.

P.S. One of the same as the foregoing wrote to the Commanding officer of Michilimackinac, Detroit, Niagara and Carleton Island and a copy to Captain Schank and to each of the Senior Naval Officers on Lake Ontario & Erie, But at the bottom of the one for Niagara there is the following P.S. viz.

I recommend it to you always to have orders waiting at Fort Erie the arrival of any vessel from Detroit respecting her loading or unloading to prevent the time that must otherwise be lost in going to Niagara.

(83)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. 170. p. 42.

Monsieur,

Jé croirois manquer à mon devoir si je tardais à instruire Vottre Exéclence de ce que je viens d'aprendre dans le moment et sens l'ennuier par un long verbillage je lui vai expliquer l'affaire par le chemin le plus Court; ses jours derniers un soldat alment chasseur du régiment de M. le lieutenant Colonel de barner en Cartier à la bay St. Antoine deserta et se rendit à une maison qui est audessous d'un moulin à farine qui est au troisieme concession de la bay St. Antoine en profondeur—Ce deserteur etant entré dans cette maison pria le maistre de la ditte maison d'avoir pitié d'un pauvre deserteur à quoy le maistre de la maison répondit pauvre garçon estu discret, ouy je le jure dit le deserteur je le suis; hé bien dit le maistre de la maison tu ne pourais meü prendre ta route pour te sauver. trois ou quatre hommes habillés en sauvages venans de nouvelle Angleterre sont passé ici y a quelques jours et sont alés à Quebec en espion porter des lettres; ils ont laissé leur chaudiere et devoient la reprendre en passant je suis seure qu'ils se feront un vray plaisir de tamener avec eux. Ce deserteur, faché d'avoir deserté réfléchy la dessus et Croians avoir trouvée une occasion favorable pour revenir à son Cartier pris la resolution de sen revenir et de faire sa declaration a son officier pour avoir son pardon; esse bien vray je naurois laisser, c'est le lieutenant Colonelle Barner qui est venu luy meme me trouver pour m'en faire son Rapport, j'aurois bien envie d'envoyer un officier et quelque résolu miliciens caché aux environs de cette maison, et je pence que vous ne

blameray pas ma precaution et ce en attendant vos ordres je vais aussi écrire à Monsieur Croof officier anglais à St. Francois afin qu'il envoie belisle et quelques sauvages pour decouvrir ou ses quatre hommes ont pû Cacher leur Canots sur le rives de Riviere de St. françois qui décharge dans la riviere Nicolet, ou aisément on pourrais surprendre ses espion la. je pence que la chose en vaut la peine.

J'ay l'honneur destre avec un tres profond respect

Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

G. de Tonnacour

des Trois Rivieres

le 21 May 1779.

Voicy la deposition du deserteur que Monsieur Barner ma Remis assés tot pour l'envoyer à Votre Exéclence je vien de faire partir un exprest au Capitaine de Nicolet de choisir des hommes seure et un officier bon roialiste pour se rendre sur vis a vis du moulin ou ses 4 sauvages et 3 Canadiens avoient traversée destre bien sur leurs gardes et de ne rien epargner de leurs peines pour tacher d'atramer ses sept hommes j'ai aussy ecris à M. Croof lieutenant du 34 régiment à St. françois de prendre belisle avec des sauvages resolutos pour tacher surprendre ses sept hommes le Courier part à l'instant meme excusé ma précipitation—

Endorsed: From M. Tonnacour

Colonel of Militia at 3 Rivers of the 21st May recevd, 22d., 1779.

(Translation)

Sir:

I think I should fail in my duty if I delayed informing Your Excellency of what I have learned just now, and without wearying you by a long story, I will explain the matter in the shortest way; a few days ago, a German soldier, a rifleman belonging to the regiment commanded by Colonel de Barner, quartered at the Bay of St. Antoine, deserted and went to a house below the flour mill in the third concession in depth, of the Bay of St. Antoine. This deserter, having come into the house, begged the owner of the said house to take pity on a poor deserter, to whom the owner of the house replied, "poor boy, are you trustworthy?" "Yes, I swear it", said the deserter, "I am". "Well", said the owner of the house, "you could not have taken a better road to get off, three or four men disguised as Indians, coming from New England have passed here a few days ago and have gone as spies to Quebec, carrying letters; they have left their kettle and will call for it on their return, I am sure they will have much pleasure in taking you with them". The deserter, sorry at having deserted, and believing he had found a good opportunity to return to his quarters, decided to return and make his statement to an officer to obtain his pardon; whether this is true, I cannot be sure, Lieut. Col. Barner has come to me to make his report. I would like to send an officer and some resolute militiamen to hide near his house and I think that you would not blame me for my precaution and while waiting for your orders, I shall also write to Mr. Crofts, the English officer at St. Francis, so that he can send Bellisle and some Indians to discover where these four men may have hidden their canoes on the banks of the River St. Francis, which flows into the river Nicolet, where they might easily surprise these spies. I think this matter is worth the trouble.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

G. de Tonnacour.

Three Rivers, 21st May, 1779.

Herewith a deposition of the deserter which Mr. Barner has quickly sent me to be forwarded to Your Excellency. I am sending an express to the Captain at Nicolet to select trusty men and a good loyal officer to go to a place opposite the mill, where these four Indians and three Canadians have crossed over, to be on their guard and spare no pains in endeavouring to take these seven men. I have also written to Mr. Crofts, Lieutenant in the 34th regiment at St. Francis, to take Bellisle with resolute Indians to try and surprise these seven men. As the courier is going off this moment, please excuse my haste.

Endorsed: de Tonnacour.

Colonel of Militia at Three Rivers, of the 21st May,
received 22nd, 1779.

(84)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. 170. p. 45.

Monsieur,

Quoyque Vottre Exelence doit etre fatigué de mes Verbilliage, je ne crois pas pouvoir me dispenser de la prevenir qu'il est arrivée jeudy dernier nommé pierre siniguy qui depuis plusieurs années s'est etably sur une terre du lac Champlain a deux lieux au dela du rocher fendû qui s'est faussée lorsque le major Carleton leva les habitans dudu lac Champlain l'hotone dernier, et a été hiverné dans la riviere des Coniti Coux avec un nommé jean baptiste Lamy habitans de la riviere du loup qui avoit été pris par les Rebelles conduisant des chevaux de l'armée du général bourgoyne et qui s'étant echapée etoit venu demeurer ché ce pierre siniguy et ont hivernée ensemble à Coniti Couik d'ou ils doivent etre party ce printemps avec permission des Rebelles pour venir en Canada; ils disent etre venu par St. Jean cela ne me parais pas etre grand chose, mais j'tais charmée d'en prevenir Vottre Exélcence pour n'avoir Rien à me reprocher.

J'ay l'honneur destre avec un tres profond respect,

Monsieur &c

G. de Tonnancour

3 Rivieres le 21 May apres midy 1779

Endorsed: From M. Tonnancour, Colonel of militia at 3 Rivers—

(Translation)

Sir:—

Although Your Excellency may be tired by my prattle, I do not think I ought to neglect to warn you that on Thursday last, one Peter Siniguy, arrived here who has resided for some years on a farm at Lake Champlain, two leagues beyond Split Rock, which was laid waste when Major Carleton carried off the inhabitants from Lake Champlain last autumn, and who has spent the winter on the river Connecticut, with one Jean Baptiste Lamy, a Habitant from the Riviere du Loup, who had been taken by the rebels while in charge of horses for the army commanded by General Burgoyne, and who, having made his escape, came to live with this Peter Siniguy and they have spent the winter together in Connecticut, which they left this spring with the permission of the rebels to come to Canada; they say they came by St. Jean, this does not appear to me to be a very important matter, but I am happy to inform Your Excellency so that you will have no cause to blame me.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

G. de Tonnancour.

Three Rivers, 21st May, afternoon, 1779.

(85)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. 170. p. 46.

Quebec Mai 24th 1779

Monsieur,

Je vous suis tres obligé de l'avis que vous me donnés de l'arrivée de deux hommes qui ont hiverné à la Riviere Conecticut, si on veille sur leur Conduite on decouvrira facilement s'ils ont de mauvaise intentions & allons on pourra les faire arreter; en attendant ils pourront rester tranquilles.

Je ne crois pas qu'on puisse faire aucun fond sur la déposition du Deserteur du Batt: de Barner, voyant qu'il ne pouvoit pas s'échapper il a sans doute inventé cette lhistoire afin d'obtenir sa grace—Vous avez Cependant bien fait Monsieur de donner avis à Monsieur le lieutenant Crofts (le moulin en question est u nen droit fort suspect) mais il ne sera pas necessaire d'y envoyer des officiers de milisse—

Je suis &c—

(Signé) Fred: Haldimand

Monsr Tonnancour—

Endorsed: To M. Tonnancour at 3 Rivers 24th May 1779—

(Translation)

Quebec, 24th May, 1779.

Sir:

I am much obliged to you for the information which you have given me as to the arrival of two men who spent the winter on the river Connecticut, if you watch their actions, you will easily discover whether they are ill-disposed and may then arrest them, in the meantime they may be let alone. I do not think that there is any reliance to be placed in the deposition of the deserter from Barner's battalion, seeing that he would not be able to escape he has undoubtedly invented this story to obtain pardon. You have, however, done well in give information to Lieut. Crofts, (the mill in question is a much suspected place), but it will not be necessary to send officers of militia inere.

I am, etc.,

(Sgd) Fred. Haldimand.

Monsr. Tonnancour.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 16-1, pp. 111-117.

Quebec, 26th May, 1779.

Sir,

I am honoured with Your Excellency's Intelligence of the 24th February and 15th March

I paid great attention last Fall to the Transport of Provisions for the Upper Country in hopes that it would have been in my Power to have taken Post at Oswego early this Spring but the unfortunate expedition against Fort St. Vincennes undertaken by Governor Hamilton without my Orders together with the very great number of Savages who have been fed during the Winter have left the Upper Posts quite Bare and obliged me to begin the Transport very early this Spring and which I am now forwarding with all possible Dispatch in order to enable me, provided I receive a proper Reinforcement, to establish a Post at Oswego during the Summer, this is a project I am extremely anxious about because I know it will be the most essential means of securing the fidelity of the Indians in General whom the Rebels are now very Industrious to gain as you will see by the inclosed Letter from the Marquis de la Fayette, this with Count d'Estaing's Proclamation dated the 28th October, 1778, and other Papers of a similar nature are spread amongst them, and several, even of the Chiefs, are either become neuter or have discovered an Inclination to act against us.

I have Received various Intelligence from Still-Water and Albany about the progress made by the Rebels in building Vessels and Batteaux, the former have long since been laid aside, but a considerable number of the latter are compleat and they are employed in Building more. If they have any serious Intention of attacking the Province I apprehend they will find our Fleet on Lake Champlain as well as the advanced Posts near it very Superior to any force they can bring against them, but my apprehensions are that they may penetrate in very small Bodies into the Heart of the Country where there is a very visible alteration amongst all Ranks of men since the Commencement of Hostilities with France, and I have every reason to believe there are

several sets of men who carry on a Correspondence with the Rebels, thro' whom they have Received copies of Admiral D'Estaing's Declaration, dated at Boston, October 28th, 1778, and a Multiplicity of Papers of the same Tendency, this defection appears the more dangerous as in Spite of all my endeavours I have not yet been able to discover any part of their Correspondence nor obtain such Evidence against the Persons I suspect as might enable me to punish with severity. In such a situation the Province can only be secure by having a Number of Encampments so as to defend the Easiest Passes into the Country and prevent the possibility of our Enemies obtaining any Regular Supply of Provisions, and here I cannot forbear lamenting to Your Excellency, the insufficiency of the Troops now in the Province to execute such a System of Defence and under such circumstances the Regular British Troops, who scarce exceed Sixteen Hundred, (from Lake Ontario downward), fit for Duty I am obliged to divide and subdivide in my advanced Posts, so that on the greatest Emergency I could not assemble more than one thousand effective men.

The Emigrants are composed of men of all Nations and Sir John Johnson's Regiment tho' a useful Corps with the Ax, are not altogether to be Depended on with the Firelock. The German Troops, who are the most numerous, are only the Refuse of those who accompanied General Burgoyne, except the Regiment of Anhalt Zerbst and a part of the Hanau Chasseurs, and even these as well as the others are both by nature and Education Totally unfit for an American War, besides the nature of the Country, they have unavoidably been dispersed in separate and distant Quarters and have in some Degree imbibed the Principles of the Inhabitants, which has of late been conspicuous in repeated and considerable Desertions, even from the most secure Cantonnements in the Province. I have thus been explicit that Your Excellency might Judge of the immediate necessity there is of my Receiving as soon as possible some considerable Reinforcements, and from your Letters in August and September last I am in hopes Two Thousand men are already in their Passage for this Place. It is my Duty to request Your Excellency's particular attention with respect to Provisions and to mention that altho' I have some spare Arms, I do not think the quantity sufficient for the Exigencies that may arise in this Extensive Province, however, I forbear pressing Your Excellency for any Supply of these Articles being totally ignorant of what may be sent from England this Spring, probably you may before you receive this, have information thereof and I am confident you will then Act in every particular as may best promote the Publick Service.

A vessel which left Jamaica the 11th March is the only arrival we have had this season. She brought us no particular Intelligence nor have I any Idea what is coming from Europe. Should I be happy enough to receive any considerable Reinforcement—I shall attempt to form a Battalion or Two of Canadian Militia. If I succeed and find myself well supported, I wish to attempt disarming the disaffected Parishes, had this been done in 1776, I apprehend it would have answered many excellent purposes, the execution of such a Scheme was then easy and without Danger, but I consider it now is very difficult and only to be done with great Caution, and even then not without some risk of hurting the King's Service.

I have the honor to be &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

Sir Henry Clinton.

(87)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 49-57.

Quebec, 26th May, 1779.

Sir.

I have thus been explicit that Your Excellency might judge of the necessity there is of my receiving as soon as possible some considerable Reinforcement and from your Letters in August and September last I am in hopes two thousand men are already on their Passage for this Place. It is my Duty to request your Excellency's particular

Attention with respect to Provisions and likewise to mention that altho' I have some spare Arms, I do not think the quantity sufficient for the Exigencies that may arise in this extensive Province

The Advices I have received from the Mohawk River, from Albany, from the Kenebeck, differ in particulars but they all agree that in each of these situations Bateaux are building and Troops assembling and that a proportion of these Troops are French. I do not believe that their numbers are formidable, and what are reported to be French, I take only to be Vagabonds they have picked up in America, or more probably the Continental Troops in French Uniforms. However, I may dispise such Troops, I shall always endeavour to guard against them as if they were the best in Europe, because they may probably have a great Effect as the Inhabitants persuade themselves a French Fleet will soon shew itself in this River.

I have the honour to be &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

Sir Henry Clinton.

(In the first part of this letter the military situation is described in exactly the same language used in the letter to Lord George Germain of the same date, probably transmitted to New York by the same means of conveyance.)

(88)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 150, p. 7.

Quebec, the 26th May, 1779.

Brigr. General Maclean.

Sir,

I am sorry to open our Correspondence by water for the season with the disagreeable account that Lt. Govr. Hamilton of Detroit, who set out in October last, (without any orders or Instructions from me, or my knowledge of his intention till it was too late to stop him), to recover the Post of St. Vincennes. In less than two months after his arrival there he was with all his Party taken Prisoner by a Colonel Clarke at the Head of some Virginians, who had before taken possession of the Illinois. This is the more unfortunate that a Body of Virginians & Pansylvanians under the command of a Brigadr. MacIntosh penetrated last Fall within three days march of Sandusky where they fortified themselves having brought Artillery for that Purpose. it is Reported they mean this Spring to take Post upon Rivière au Boeuf, which if true, would look as if they intended to cut off Detroit above & below & to deprive Great Britain of all Trade with the Upper Country.

In this situation I find it extremely difficult from the scarcity prevailing here, two Victuallers having missed their passage, to forward such a quantity of salt Provisions as may enable me to push our Reinforcements, tho' we can ill spare them to repel the Attacks of the Rebels upon that Quarter. Repeated advices during the winter informed me of great Preparations carrying on at Albany & Still Water to attack this Province in force during the summer, but I have discovered from more authentick Intelligence that accounts were much exaggerated, however, when I consider the great importance of Canada in the present contest, the Disposition of the Inhabitants & the Compositor of the Troops I have for its defence for the summer, unless a considerable reinforcement arrives soon or the army to the southward is enabled to act with vigor so as to operate a Powerfull Diversion on that side.

The treaty of the Colonies in Rebellion with France & the appearance of one of its Fleets upon the American Coast have operated a very Powerfull Change upon the weak & ignorant People of this Country, where the many adherents to the Cause of Rebellion have spread amongst us D'Estaing's Proclamation, dated Boston, October 28, 1778, & also the Marquis de la Fayette's of the 18th Decemr to the Canadian Savages adds to our difficulties.

I am &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

(89)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 217, pp. 92-3.

June, 1779.

To His Excellency Frederick Haldimand, Esquire, Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec and its dependencies, Vice Admiral of the same, and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in said Province and the Frontiers thereof., &c., &c.

The Humble Petition of the Militia of Piercie.

Sheweth:

That we, Your Excellency's Petitioners, having long expected some of His Majesty's Ships of War upon this Coast, find ourselves again obliged to supplicate Your Excellency to send us some relief to protect us from an Enemy that is daily annoying us. The adjacent Posts have already been pillaged and rob'd of their little provision, cloathes, &c. and we may expect the same treatment if proper protection does not arrive. The timely assistance His Majesty's Ships gave us last summer prevented many injuries which we might have sustained for which we return the most ardent gratitude.

These two days past an American Privateer Brig of fourteen caridge Guns has kept within shot of this Harbour and several others are within the Bay of Chaleurs which keeps us intirely under arms and prevents us from following our Fisherys and hinders all Merchantmen from bringing us our necessary supplies of Salt & provisions. Therefore we humbly pray Your Excellency for such protection as you in your wisdom shall see fit, which in Duty we shall ever be found to pray.

Peter Fraser.
Theophilus Fox.
John Urquhart.
George Geddes.
Geo. Richardson.

(90)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, 170, p. 50.

Monsieur,

J'ay l'honneur d'envoyer à Vottre Exélcence une Lettre que je Recois à l'instant de Monsieur Crofts officier en quartier au vilage de St. francois qui confirme ce que j'ay eu l'honneur de luy marquer dans ma precedente; elle me permetra de luy Repeter que depuis que le Comte de St. Auler a pris poste à becanour il a eù des intelligences de cet endroits avec le riviere Konnectikuk ainsi qu'au pais brulé de la bay St. Antoine qui continue toujours et que M. Jean Vincent et deux jeunes jeans du Village de St. francois sont les conducteurs des Connoissances avec de nouvelle Angleterre; je suis dautant plus mortifié que les Espions ce sont echapés que je seay qu'il etoit tres possible de les prendre si le dettachment eù été un peu plus fort et plus vif a partir nous les tiendrons, que faire il ni a plus de remedes—

J'ay l'honneur destre avec un tres profond respect

Monsieur, Vottre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

G. de Tonnancour,

3 Rivieres le premier Juin 1779

Endorsed: From M. Tonnancour at 3 Rivers enclosing a Letter from M. Crofts of the 29th May Rec-2 Juin.

(Translation)

Sir:—

I have the honor to send Your Excellency herewith a letter which I have this moment received from Mr. Crofts, the officer quartered at the village St. Francis, which confirms what I have had the honor to state in my former letter; you will permit me to repeat that since the Count de St. Auler has taken post at Becanour,

he keeps up constant communication from that place with the River Connecticut and the burned country on the Bay of St. Antoine and that M. Jean Vincent and two young men from the village of St. Francis are the persons who conduct this correspondence with New England; I am the more mortified on account of the escape of these spies since I know that it would have been possible to take them if the detachment had been a little stronger and more prompt in starting we would have taken them, it can't be helped now.

I have the honor to be,

G. de Tonnancour.

Three Rivers, 1st June, 1779.

(91)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 54, pp. 85-91.

Quebec, 7th June, 1779.

Lord George Germain,

My Lord,

On the 29th of May I did myself the Honor of writing a short letter to Your Lordship by Halifax & with it transmitted you a Copy of what I wrote to General Clinton of that date, but from the probability this Dispatch has not yet arrived, I enclose another copy as it contains a general sketch of our present situation, during the Winter the Rebels have constantly threatened invading this Province, and this Spring seem to be taking serious measures for attempting it in every part by which there is a possibility to approach.

I do not wish to alarm Your Lordship with imaginary Dangers & Difficulties but it appears to me of the highest importance to His Majesty's Service that our state should be clearly understood—I shall try to convey to Your Lordship a correct state of our situation.

The enclosed Copies of Lieut. Governor Hamilton's letters as well as those from Michilimackinac, Detroit, & Niagara will show your Lordship the unfortunate end of the expedition undertaken by that Gentleman in the month of October, upon which subject I have already had the honor of writing to your Lordship in my Dispatches of last November, within the interval of a very few days I learned the Account of his arrival at Vincennes & of himself & Party being made prisoners there, small as this check will appear to those in a remote situation, it is natural enough to expect disagreeable consequences may arise, for previous to this, the Canadian inhabitants both above & below were become adherents to the United Cause of France & the Americans and many of the Savages, imagining we are become the weakest side were grown Lukewarm & some even have shewn a Disposition to join the Enemy. So situated it will require great judgment & Temper to preserve the Indians in our interest after so glaring & recent a proof of our want of Strength or want of conduct.

I do not wish to throw any blame on Lieut. Governor Hamilton because he may have had reasons for undertaking his late expedition which I am not acquainted with but at present it is to me astonishing how an Officer of his good character could remain at Vincennes when he knew the impracticability of my supplying him with Provisions or Assistance and after he must have received notice of the Rebels approaching towards Detroit.

The great desire I have to furnish your Lordship with every possible information has induced me to enclose Copies of every Paper I have received respecting Governor Hamilton, & also of those which respect the Savages in the Upper Country and I have only to add on this subject that however I wish to retrench the enormous expenses of the Indian Department my zeal for the Public Service will not allow me to give positive orders concerning it fearing lest it may detach the Indians from our cause & knowing that whenever they do quit us, the valuable Fur Trade will immediately be lost to Great Britain & this Province will notwithstanding require a greater Force than ever to defend it.

Herewith Your Lordship will also receive the present exhausted State of our Provisions. I am obliged to forward the supplies destined for the upper country with all possible Dispatch. If I permit the least delay in this service the Duration of our Transport thither is so short that I should be obliged to weaken if not abandon some of the Upper Posts during the winter & at a time when it is absolutely necessary to reinforce them and yet after all my endeavours, I cannot continue the necessary Transport more than a few weeks longer unless some Provisions arrive, for although

I risk leaving the Lower Country so bare of Provisions as to prevent the possibility of forming sufficient Magazines so as to defend our extensive Frontiers to advantage, yet I dare not expose the Troops stationed here to want, or reduce myself to the necessity of taking Provisions from the Inhabitants who are already disaffected & all the Beef that the Country could conveniently afford has been purchased & delivered to the Troops during the winter.

Permit me therefore to entreat your Lordship's particular Attention to this essential Article, in order that our supplies even this Summer may be very ample for after all my care much Provision is spoiled in the Transport & I apprehend the demand from the upper Posts will be this summer double the last, owing to the great number of Savage Families, who have been driven from their Habitations & obliged to take Protection at the King's Posts, particularly at Niagara, and who consequently must be fed.

It shall be my study to counteract the present Temper and Disposition of the Canadians with all the Prudence and mildness the critical situation of the Province requires, but should the Rebels attempt to penetrate amongst us in Force, the Martial Law shall be proclaimed. Small Parties have already been in the Province & have remained several Days unperceived, & hitherto when notice has been given of them it has always been too late to apprehend them.

Your Lordship will be most likely informed by the present conveyance of my Having refused Licenses to several Indian Traders to go to the Upper Country but the Amazing supply of guns & ammunition they were taking up exclusive of a quantity which still remained undisposed from the importation of last year determined me not to hazard even the possibility of such Articles falling into the Hands of our Enemies.

Those who have speculated upon the Amazing Price of Wheat & Flour in other parts of America, are, I suppose, equally out of humour at the Prohibiting the exportation of these Commodities until the 1st of Jany next which has been done by Public Proclamation.

The Turbulent & seditious Behaviour of a Cabal at Montreal has also laid me under the necessity of confining two Frenchmen there, whose names are Mesplet & Jautard, the former a printer sent here by Congress in 1774, to Publish & Disperse their letters, the latter has been an Attorney & is an unprincipled Adventurer. So soon as their Papers have been examined Your Lordship shall have a circumstantial Account of their affairs, & if this does not in some measure check the Licentious spirit that was beginning to rise, I shall not hesitate to make more examples. I heartily lament that those who misbehaved in 1775 and 1776, were not severely punished, it was easy then, but now difficult, nevertheless my endeavours shall not be wanting, to promote the King's interests, serve the Public and secure the Province, Objects which engross all my Attention and which always have been and ever shall be the sole aim of all my actions.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

(92)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 136, pp. 24-5.

Sir,

The Curate of St. Ours brought me the enclosed Manifesto yesterday, which he found affixed to his Church door.

The influence it cou'd have upon minds already disposed to revolt might be something but I do not conceive so turgid and pompous a declaration calculated to seduce even wavering subjects. As the Detection of the Person who affixed it may be of consequence to His Majesty's Service, I have desired Mr. Porlier conjointly with the Curates of St. Denis and St. Antoine, at whose Churches a similar one has appeared also, to do their utmost to effect a discovery.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Barry St. Leger.

Sorel, June ye 7, 1779.
To General Haldimand.

(93)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 72, p. 17.

Montreal ce 14eme juin 1779.

Monsieur,

J'ai l'honneur d'envoyer a votre Excellence une lettre du Lieut. Croft la quelle j'ai recue hier au matin a St. Denis, comme aussi un placart qui fut affich  a la porte l'Eglise de Paroisse le trois de ce mois, Monsieur Chenier le cur  qui me la remise, m  parois de tous les Prêtres que j  vut dans ma tournée celui sur qui on peut le mieux compter, un Gatien chef de Garnison, et etablit a St. Denis fut observ  a la porte de l'Eglise ce jour la a six heures du matin et qui lisoit l'affiche. Il est parent de Monsieur Gatien cur  de l'obinière, lequel est soupçonné d'avoir des intelligences avec les Rebelles Je tiens de Monsieur Porlier que Monseigneurs a recu des reproches des Eveques de France, par rapport à la conduite qu'il a tenu envers les Americains si cela est vray et quil ait en consequence changé de principe on ne doit point estre surpris si ce changement dans un chef, a opar  dans l'etat eclesiastique les observations que je put faire sur la disposition des habitant me porte a croire que si les rebelles penetrent dans la province sans etre accompagnez, de force Francaise il se trouvera parmi les Canadiens plus de spectateur que d'agents, Le Mapor Nairn a pris son depart ce matin selon les ordres de Votre Excellence, on attend le Capitaine Leak, aujourdhui qui poursuihra sa route a Ste Genevieve

Je l'honneur destre avec le plus profond respect
de votre Excellence le tre obeissant et z l  serviteur

Frans Le Maistre

a son Excellence
General Haldimand
(Translation)

Montreal, this 14th June, 1779.

Sir:

I have the honor to send your Excellency a letter from Lieut. Croft, which I received yesterday morning at St. Denis, as well as a placard which was attached to the church door of the parish on the 3rd of this month. Monsieur Chenier, the cur , who gave it to me, of all the priests whom I have seen in my journey seems to be the one on whom we may most rely. A person named Gatien, residing at St. Denis, was observed at the church door that day at six o'clock, in the morning, reading the attached placard. He is a relative of Monsieur Gatien, cur  of Lotbinière who is suspected of being in communication with the rebels. I learn from Monsieur Porlier that Monseigneur has received rebukes from the Bishops of France with respect to the conduct he has shown towards the Americans. If this is true and that he has in consequence changed his principles, we should not be surprised if this change in a chief has had its effects in the ecclesiastical state. My observations on the disposition of the inhabitants leads me to believe that if the rebels penetrate into the province without being accompanied by a French force they will find among the Canadians more spectators than agents. Major Nairne has taken his departure this morning in pursuance of His Excellency's orders. We expect Captain Leak to-day, who will pursue his way to Ste. Genevieve.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

Francis Le Maistre.

To His Excellency,
General Haldimand.

(94)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 54, pp. 109-114.

Secret.

Quebec, 18th June, 1779.

Lord Geo. Germain.

My Lord,

Since my letter to Your Lordship of Novr. 18th, various Intelligence has been received from the Neighbouring Colonies of the Preparations making there to invade us by Detroit, the Mohawk River, Lake Champlain & St. Francois & I have daily the

mortification of discovering that the disaffected People receive earlier Intelligence of the State of affairs in all Quarters than I can possibly obtain which has been the means of persuading all Ranks of men that a French Fleet will come up the St. Lawrence in the course of this summer, and this story has been propagated with so much Art and yet so universally that there is scarcely a Rebel or Canadian or Indian but believe it & I fear most even expect it with pleasure, which is but too visible amongst the Canadians from their uncommon anxiety about the arrival of vessels, from hence I apprehend that any considerable Misfortune happening to us just now would raise the whole country in arms against us and this opinion is not founded upon distant & precarious Intelligence but on a precise knowledge of the General Disposition of the Inhabitants.

I enclose Your Lordship a Copy of Monsr. D'Estaing's Proclamation which was affixed to the Parish Church at St. Ours and was brought by Monsr. Porlier the Curate to the Commanding Officer at Sorel, at the same time similar Papers was put against several of the Church Doors in the neighbourhood, yet no other has been brought to any Officer of the Government nor any Report lodged of such an irregularity, though probably several of the Inhabitants and certainly most of the Priests and Gentry were acquainted with the Facts. If to these circumstances Your Lordship adds the exhausted state of our salt Provisions which in the lower part of the Province is just sufficient to last to the 15th of July, you must allow that I have great reason to lament that no vessels are arrived, especially as this delay has made many well disposed Persons listen to the artful inventions of designing men who, in propagating their falsehoods, do not fail to bring it as a proof that France has at present a decided superiority over England.

So situated any considerable Detachment of Troops entering any part of the Province in French uniforms might plunge the whole into the greatest misery & confusion. Disagreeable as these facts are they are still aggravated by Intelligence lately received from the Lieut. Governor of Halifax & others that several American Privateers are in the Gulf & that some of them are vessels of Force. We know that they have already taken a vessel coming here from Newfoundland & I have my fears that others of more consequence may share the same fate.

The Posts for Fishing and for Furs established in various places between here and Chaleur Bay have sent me representations of their defenceless state, adding that the Rebels will certainly plunder them if they are left unprotected, had a Frigate or two wintered here we could have assisted them, but having only the "Viper", a small sloop of Ten Guns, they must rely upon such succour as may arrive from the Atlantic.

On the 6th Instant Major Holland, Captain Sinclair, Lieut. Governor of Michilimackinac, & two other Gentlemen arrived from Halifax, having found their way along shore, some times in Boats, some times on foot, & frequently in Danger of being taken by American Privateers, by them I received letters from Sir. H. Clinton, Lieut. Govr. Hughes, & Brig. Genl. Maclean, but find no immediate prospect of obtaining succours from thence, even a few exchanged officers & soldiers, who wintered at Halifax & whom I requested might be sent here early in the Spring are likely to be some weeks longer for want of sufficient Convoy, these Gentlemen also inform me that two Victuallers destined for Quebec, were last Fall sent from the Banks of Newfoundland to Halifax under Convoy of the "Garland", but never arrived nor have I further Intelligence of them.

I cannot conclude without again requesting Your Lordship's attention to the Article of Provisions, the Upper Posts requiring to be supplied with the best English Flour, as none else will keep & Michilimackinac has now very little Pork in store from the condemnations made there of that Article and unless more effectual measures are taken in future for supplying this Province with salt Provisions, it is evident the evacuation of the Upper Posts or some very fatal miscarriage must be the consequence; in my opinion this Province should always have a Twelve Months salt Provisions beforehand.

I have delayed for some days the Departure of my Dispatches from my apprehensions of the American Privateers in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but upon a small vessel arriving this day with molasses from Surinam without seeing an enemy, I have ordered the vessel which carries this to sail immediately & I hope she will arrive safely.

I have the honor to be, &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

(95)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 54, pp. 103-6.

Quebec, June 18th, 1779.

Lord Sandwich.

My Lord,

In my letter to Your Lordship of the 19th of November of last year, I had the honor of stating the Havoc made by the American Privateers upon the Fisheries carried on by His Majesty's Subjects here in the Gulf as well as upon the coast of Labrador and of their insolence in coming up the River & plundering several of the settlements upon it.

This information I hoped would have procured us an early Naval Assistance this Spring but not a single vessel has arrived from any port of Europe & I have Intelligence that several American Privateers are now in the Gulf, they have already taken one vessel coming to us from Newfoundland & I fear others of more consequence may share the same fate, in the mean time they are plundering the remains of several advantageous Fisheries established on these coasts and a few days ago a very Small Privateer attempted to go into Tadousac, which is only 40 leagues below this Town but was prevented by contrary winds.

I endeavoured to avoid receiving these insults by requesting the Senior Officer of His Majesty's Ships to order a Frigate to winter here with the "Viper", their Force strengthened if necessary with any assistance I could have afforded, would have effectually cleared the River, but Captain Pearson did not think himself at liberty to deviate from the orders he had received.

I now wish to represent to Your Lordship that the "Viper", being only a Ten Gun sloop, is unequal to the service of protecting the low settlements on the River, at the same time I wish to express my strong persuasion that Your Lordship will afford us the necessary naval assistance & protection as soon as the Superior exigencies of His Majesty's Service in other quarters will permit.

I am much afraid that some accident has happened the Province sloop "Sorel", commanded by Mr. Alison, which I sent home last Fall with my Dispatches as she has not yet been seen or heard from. the want of Intelligence from thence and the Provision ships arriving so late are a great inconvenience to the King's Service and may prove highly detrimental to it.

Captain Harvey will have informed Your Lordship that Mr. Stiles, master of the "Viper", upon the Disagreeable Duty of Pressing, had the Misfortune of killing a Tailor, for which he has been tried & found guilty of Manslaughter, he has been pardoned and is released.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Fred Haldimand.

(96)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 139, pp. 17-8.

Quebec, the 18th June, 1779.

Lt. Col. St. Leger.

Sir,

Having received certain Information that there are several small Scouts or Parties from the Rebels hovering about our Posts in the Lower part of the Province for the purpose no doubt of procuring Intelligence of arrivals from Europe at this interesting season & what may be undertaken in Consequence of them, I must request of you to use your utmost endeavours by having Parties continually out & every other Possible means you Can think of to intercept these Spies and prevent their communicating with their Emissaries in the Settlements, who Collect every possible Information for them & Receive at their Houses or meet them in the Woods at night. The Rebels disguise themselves, some as Canadians & others as Indians.—All persons of either description found in the skirts of the Woods or going about at night should be detained until they Can give satisfactory Accounts of themselves. The three men you have in Confinement

and suspected of being Spies shall be treated as if it Can appear that they really are so, for which End I beg you will be very particular in your Examination, if there is hopes something may drop from them that will lead to a Discovery of their Intentions.

I am, &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

(97)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. III, p. 93.

PAROLES de Huoayointe Chef depute des Cinqs Nation prononcez devant le Lieut. Colonel Campbell Juin 19^e 1779.

Mon Frere

Nous sommes Envoyez de la part de nos freres les Cinqs Nations, pour Scavoir ce qui peut retarder notre frere le General Haldimand de tenir la promess qu'il nous avoit fait de venir Aussitost la font des glasses a notre Secours, nous nous defendons toujours en L'attendant & nous tiendrons toujours firme mais nous desirons qu'il vienne Bientot & nous Esperons qu'il nous Envoyra Notre fils le Chevalier jonson, le plutot Possible—

Nous demandons que l'on Etablisse un fort a Assweajo pour Entretenir une Communication avec nos freres, & nous donner nos besoin dont nous sommes privez—Notre frere le general Compte sur nos soin a faire Bonne Gard pendant L'Etablissement dun post Aussy important

Nous demandons que lon nous fixe le tempt que nous pourions faire la Junction afin de nous rencontre—

Le General Carleton nous promis ce que nous demandons depuis deux ans Serons nous donc Enfin Escoutté; ou bien il faut que vous Craigner les gens de votre Coulour on que vous vouliez les menages, puis qu'il n'y a que nous Jusque a present a leur faire la guerre ouvert—

(En Jettant le Colier)

(en colere sur la Table)

John Campbell

1779

Indian Speech received from Lt. Col. Campbell 21st June

(Translation)

Speech of the Chief Huoayointe, a deputy from the Five Nations, delivered before Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, June 19, 1779.

Brother,

We are sent from our brothers, the Five Nations, to know what delays our brother, General Haldimand, from keeping the promise which he made us to come to our assistance as soon as the ice went away. We are still defending ourselves while waiting for him and we will always stand firm, but we desire that he should come quickly and we hope that he will send to us our son, Chevalier Johnson, as soon as possible.

We demand that a fort should be established at Assweajo (Oswego) to maintain a communication with our brothers, and give us the supplies of which we are now deprived—our brother, the general, can rely upon us for keeping a good guard during the establishment of such an important post. We demand that the time should be fixed to form a junction so that we can meet. General Carleton promised what we demand two years ago. Shall we then at last be listened to, or are you afraid of people of your own colour or do you wish to conciliate them, since at present, we only make open war upon them.

Throwing the belt of wampum on the table in anger.

John Campbell.

(98)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 135, pp. 64-5.

Quebec the 24th June, 1779.

Brigr. Genl. Powell.

Sir,

.....

As you are acquainted with the Intelligence brought by the Deserters from Hazen & the Loyalists, (which in most particulars correspond with the News Papers & other Accounts received): it would be needless for me to point out to you the necessity of keeping scouts continually out and it would afford me infinite satisfaction if by promise of Reward or any means you can devise it were possible to take hold of that infamous Whitcomb, who you find has address enough to make his way into the inhabited parts of the country when he pleases. I am apprehensive that he will find somewhere or other an opportunity to commit another murder upon some unsuspecting officer—it were well to caution them against putting it in his power.

.....

I am &c.

Fred Haldimand.

(99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 117. p. 122.

De ya Maska, le 24 juin 1779.

Monsieur,

J'ai Recu l'honneur de la Lettre que Monsieur Cramahé m'a ecrie du 17 de votre part son Excellence peu conter sur mon Zele et la fitellitoit pour le servis je aprie que le grand visqueur Monsieur St. Onge avoit beaucoup le banchante pour les francois il ma fait avertir par une personne de bien prander garde a moy que les ennemies deyvoit désanter dans nos Cartier on ma aussi assuré que le pere Germain etoit allé expret alla Bay sur prétece de faire une voeu a St. Antoin pour etre plus a porté pour voir gammelain et de savoir de luy de tout les connoissances qu'il a tout de suit je fait avertir Mons. Croits pour qu'il tache de enpecher ce trois a Rivés de aller alla Bay le pere ne doit rester que neuf jours la et il doit Retourner au Trois Rivieres le pere ne doit poin aller a St. francois que dans le mois de juilliet cé nouvelle pour les francoist ci répent dans tous les Paroisses mais cepantans on a Encore Rien afigé issi jé parlé a notre pere il ma assuré que si on affigé quelque chose a la porte de legis que person aura Connessance que moy, je l'honneur detre a son Excellence avec une profond Respect.

Votre humble et tres obayissant Serviteur

Schmid.

Endorsed 1779

From Capt. Schmid

24th June

Recd. 26th

(Translation)

From ya Maska, 24th June, 1779.

Sir:

I have received the letter which Mr. Cramahé wrote me on the 17th, by your direction. His Excellency may rely on my zeal and fidelity for the service, I learn that the grand Vicar, Mr. St. Onge, has much inclination for the French. I have been warned by a person, to be on my guard as the enemy are about to invade our district and I am also informed that Father Germain had gone expressly to La Baye, under pretence

of performing a vow to St. Anthony, but really to see Gamelin and to get from him all the information he could. I warned Mr. Crofts at once, to endeavour to prevent the Father from going to La Baye where he intended to remain only nine days and then return to Three Rivers, the Father ought not to go to St. Francis until the month of July. This news about the French is repeated in all the parishes, but still, there is nothing posted up here. I have spoken to our curé and he assures me that if anything is posted up on the door of the church, no one will have knowledge of it but me.

I have the honor to be,

etc.,

Schmid.

(100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. WAR OFFICE PAPERS.

Series M, Vol. 328, pp. 30-1.

Dear Sir,

.....
 I have inquired concerning St. German's conduct in the Pulpit and I am certain that Lieutenant Ann Gordon who has lived amongst the Canadians since last War can be depended upon—As to their sentiments, transactions and inclinations, particularly this part of the Country.—He says: That some time before the Rebellion broke out that some People had reported that the Priest had preached a drole sermon which intended to keep the People in mind of former times, but he neither was present nor any of his Family, nor did he think it was worth taking notice what was reported being so trifling in itself but he says that during the time of the Rebels being here Mr. St. German seem'd stiff for Government and was ill treated by the Rebels on that account.

I have the honor to be &c.

James Gray, Major,
 King's Rl Regt N. York.

St. Sulpice,
 24th June, 1779.
 Captain Le Maistre.

(101)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 135, p. 66.

Quebec, 28th June, 1779.

Sir,

Altho' I am satisfied of the vigilance observed at your post & those depending on it I must repeat to you my anxiety in the present situation of affairs for your augmenting if possible, the number of your Scouts & patrolling parties, having received certain information that the Rebels have several small Parties hovering about our Posts in the lower Part of the Province for the purpose of procuring Intelligence at this interesting Season of arrivals from Europe & what may be undertaken in consequence of them which is every Year practiced by them with great success, owing to the assistance they have from their emissaries in the settlements who collect information for them and either receive them in their Houses at night or carry it to them in the Woods. I hope we shall be able in a great measure to prevent them communicating by intercepting the Rebel parties who come disguised, some as Canadians and others as Indians—all persons of either description found in the skirts of the Woods or going about at night should be detained until they give satisfactory accounts of themselves.

I am &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

Brigr. Genl. Powell.

(102)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 135, pp. 67-8.

Quebec, the 1st July, 1779.

Brigr. Genl. Powell,

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 27th past, proposing that two Loyalists should accompany Mr. Devau to the Kenebec, as Devau is so well acquainted at and with the Route to York, I wish to have him employed with Myers, whom I only wait the arrival of the Fleet to dispatch—My intention is that he should take three men with him from St. Johns, (Mr. Fraser, Mr. Devau & Mr. Johns), with whom he will determine upon some hollow tree or particular spot in the most convenient situation in the neighbourhood of Albany or Schenectady wherein to leave their Dispatches—this done Myers will take forward to New York one of the three, (whoever will answer best), the other two to return immediately to St. Johns to wait for further dispatches or to go for those which Mr. Myers or the other will bring from York and deposit in the place appointed, where they will in like manner leave their dispatches for furtherance to York by Mr. Myers.

By this means Intelligence will be conveyed with more expedition & safety than by sending the same men quite through to New York. My reason for employing two together is in case of accidents or sickness to either, the other can proceed with the charge. It would be still better to fix upon two places contiguous to each other, least there should be reasons for abandoning one of them—They should be well provided with Bladders or some thing of the kind to preserve their papers from wet and they should afterwards be well wrapped up in Bark.

.....

I am much pleased with the means you have fallen upon to secure Whitcomb—I think they bid for success—in all Events it is an excellent Channel for Intelligence. I shall cheerfully double the Reward you have offer'd for Whitcomb.

.....

I am &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

(103)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 133, p. 122.

Fort St. Johns, July 2d, 1779.

Sir,

I have received Your Excellency's favor of the 28th ulto. and shall try by all possible means to intercept the Rebel Scouts which frequent the Province but as they often change their rout it will be difficult to take them, our Rangers not being expert in tracking in the Woods. I am informed that most of those which come in hold a correspondence with the Inhabitants of St. Charles who live in the back settlements on the east side of the Sorel. Three of them went not long since as Guides to three deserters. If the Captain of Militia was alert he might certainly take some of them with the assistance of the Brunswickers.

.....

I have the honor to be, &c.

H. Watson Powell.

His Excellency,
General Haldimand.

(104)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 133, p. 124.

Fort St. Johns, July 6, 1779.

Sir,

A few days ago a scouting Party from this Garrison fell in with three Canadians and an Acadian upon the Acadian River about four leagues from hence who asked them if they were Bostonians or King's Men, the Corporal replied that they were Bostonians who were out upon a Scout. The Canadians immediately invited them to eat and described this Garrison to them and told them the number of Vessels and Troops which were here; they likewise told them there was a German deserter in the Bush, whom they would protect until they had an opportunity of sending him over the Lake. The Corporal offering to take care of him they delivered him up to the Party who brought him here. The next day I sent back the Party who brought in the three Canadians and Acadian with three french muskets.

.....

I have the honor to be, &c.

H. Watson Powell.

His Excellency,
General Haldimand.

(105)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 72, p. 49.

Monsieur,

J'ai attendu jusqu'a present, votre Excellence dans nos cantons pour La remercier en persône de ce quelle a bien voulu me marquer, pa la lettre du 10^e juin dernier, qu'elle Instruroit La cour de ma prudence et de mon zele pour le Gouvernement, Si vous avés Monsieur cette attention pour moy, je crois que votre recommandation ne sera pas sterile et qu'elle reveillera nos Indifferents quand ils verront les moindres traits de fidelite reconnue et recompenses je suis avec respect

Monsieur
de votre Excellence

Votre tres humble Et tres Obeist. Serviteur

Porlier,
curé du St. Ours,

P. S. Permettes que je vous represente quil serait necessaire que Mr. les Inspecteurs de la Milice ferent une tournée bien des Officiers Obeissant de leurs autorité
St. Ours 1 g^{bi} 1779

(Translation)

Sir.—

I have awaited until now your Excellency's arrival in our parishes to thank him in person for what he has told me in his letter of the 10th of June last, that he would inform the court of my prudence and my zeal for the Government. If you pay me this attention Sir, I believe that your recommendation will not be fruitless and that it will arouse our careless people when they see that the least proofs of fidelity are recognized and rewarded, I am etc.,

Porlier,
curé of St. Ours,

P. S. Permit me to represent to you that it will be necessary that the inspectors of Militia should make a tour among the Officers obeying their authority.

St. Ours, 1 Aug. 1779.

(106)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 61.

Quebec, July 19th, 1779.

Sir,

I have the Pleasure to inform you that ten large ships with Provisions are arrived safe at Quebec, this Fleet sailed from Cork the 30th April.

I have no other Account of the Merchant Fleet from England than that they were expected to sail very late, nor am I informed what Troops are to come from England immediately to this Province, but as probably your Excellency will know these particulars before this reaches you they will enable you to judge what number of Troops I wish to be put in motion agreeable to my Letter of the 26th and 29th May by which means our movements will ultimately support each other.

The Arrival of these ships has greatly lowered the price of Corn and thereby quieted the Minds of the Inhabitants, so that I may expect to draw great assistance from them whenever the King's Service requires it, and I shall not fail to avail myself of their good Disposition upon every Occasion which may present itself.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

His Excellency,
General Sir Henry Clinton.

(107)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 63-6.

Quebec, July 19th, 1779.

Sir,

I propose in August to send an Expedition up Lake Champlain and some Savages towards Oswego, not that I expect to make any formidable impression, but if I can alarm the Country, interrupt their Harvest, or in any degree favor your Expeditions, it is all the assistance can be given from this Province.

The arrival of the Cork Fleet has had a very good effect amongst the Inhabitants, who were daily more and more persuaded that the first ships which appeared would be French. I am pretty certain that the Canadians will take no part against us until French Troops get amongst them, consequently I think I have little to fear this year, in the mean time they are very useful in our transport and are tolerably obedient.

I repeat to Your Excellency my desire of having a reinforcement of 2,000 men to this Province, who should if possible be all British and if any Men are sent from Europe, I only wish to have their number made equal to 2,000, and I should be happy in having as many of General Burgoyne's army as possible because they are already in some degree acquainted with this Country.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

His Excellency,
General Sir Henry Clinton.

(108)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 67-8.

New York, July 28th, 1779.

Sir,

I have the honor of your Dispatch dated

When I mentioned to you last Autumn the probability of my reinforcing you, the intention arose from a supposition my force this year would not enable me to act in a

the obstacles you mention to their success I think too formidable to be removed by their Efforts & Resources & while their attention is engaged by any of Sir Henry Clinton's operations little is to be apprehended in this Province.

I have the honor to be &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

(111)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 73-6.

Quebec, 29th Augt. 79.

Sir,

The English Fleet arrived ten days ago.—A new raised company of Yagars are the only Troops it has brought.

I expect in the Fall some German Recruits picked up on the High Ways & probably worse than those already here, who are entirely useless for this kind of war and rather a Burden than an Increase of Strength. By a late Letter from Lord George Germain I have received Extracts of his Lordship's Letters to you of the 22d Jany, 30th March, & 1st April, 1779, the Contents of which I shall pay particular Attention to and I shall, as much as I shall be able and it will be in my Power, increase the Number of Parties I have upon the Frontiers to alarm them and destroy their Crops, which will be more easily effected when gathered in the Barns. I am sorry to say it is all the assistance it will be in my Power to give as by advice I have received, an Expedition by the French is intended up this River in order to effect a Revolt amongst the Canadians, which perhaps may take place this Fall and oblige me to keep a part of Troops in the lower parts of this Province.

I have the honor to be, &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

Endorsed:— 1779.
To Sir Henry Clinton,
29th Augt.

(112)

BEATING ORDER FOR 84th REGIMENT.

By His Excellency Frederick Haldimand Genl. & Commander in Chief of the Province of Quebec, &c. &c. &c.

To Brigadier General Maclean, Lieut. Colonel Commandant of the 84th Regiment of Foot or Royal Highland Emigrants.

It being the King's intentions that the Battalion of Royal Highland Emigrants under your command, should be augmented with twenty private men to each company and that this Augmentation should be recruited in North America, you are hereby authorized by Beat of Drum or otherwise to raise so many men as shall be wanted to complete your Corps to this Establishment; and you will have due attention, that the proper instructions be given to the officers you send upon this duty, so that none but men fit for active service be enlisted, as all others will be rejected. And as a due encouragement, Three guineas pr. man and no more will be allowed for every recruit approved of.

Given under my Hand at Quebec, this 30th day of August, 1779.

(Signed) Fred. Haldimand.

To Donald McIntosh, who is employed as
a recruiting Sergt. for the 84th Regiment.

Allan Maclean,
Brig. General.

By His Excellency's Command,

(C.S.) Frans. Le Maistre,
D. A. G.

Endorsed:

Beating order 1779

For 84th Regt,

to recruit 20 Additional men & Company,

(113)

PRINTED HAND BILL.

By ALLAN MACLEAN, Esq.

Brigadier-General and Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of His Majesty's 84th Regiment of Foot.

To all Gentlemen Volunteers and Loyalists willing to serve His Majesty in the 84th Regiment of Foot:

It being his Majesty's Orders that the foresaid 84th Regiment of Foot should be augmented Twenty Men per Company, and that these Men are to be raised in every part of his Majesty's Dominions in North-America; These are to certify to all Gentlemen Volunteers and Loyalists, as are or may be obliged, thro' force or inclination, to leave the Provinces, that upon their entering his Majesty's Service in the said 84th Regiment, as a farther Encouragement, exclusive of the usual Bounty-money allowed to his Majesty's other Regiments of Foot, each man is to have (in any Province of North-America where he may chuse to reside after the Rebellion is ended) for himself Two Hundred Acres of Land, Fifty Acres for his Wife, and Fifty for each Child, free of Quit-rents and all public burthens, the Government paying the Patent Fees, Governor and Surveyor-general's Fees, &c. This Land is to be exclusive of the quantity they shall be entitled to as Officers and Soldiers serving in North America agreeable to the Act of Parliament after the last Peace.

These are Conditions which no other Regiment Regular or Provincial in the King's Service have in their Power to grant, and they are only to be engaged during the Continuance of the present Rebellion, or untill they can return & enjoy their different respective possessions.

It is, therefore, evident that Men serving in this Regiment, serve upon much more advantageous terms than they can do in any of the Provincial Corps now raising in North-America, since their time of Service is equally the same, the Advantage is superior, exclusive of the very great Honor they have in wearing the King's Uniform.

Allan Maclean,

Brigadier-General in Canada.

(114)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. 170. p. 66.

Monsieur,

Votre Exelence voudra bien me permettre de luy Représenter que le General Carleton son prédécesseur avoit exempté de toutes Corvées les miliciens qui avoient passé le lac Champlain avec l'armée royal; nayant reçu aucuns ordres contraires de votre exelence j'ignore si on doit les faire commandées pour des Corvées actuelles—

Il y a aussy un jeune milicien de la Compagnie de Beaucour qui fut detachés au mois d'avril dernier aisy que dans toutes les autres Compagnies de ce Gouvernement pour ce tenir prest à marcher au premier ordre, lequel s'est moqué de l'ordre qu'il avoit Reçu de son Capitaine et furtivement decampa et ala à Montréal et s'engagea pour le grand portage au pais d'en haut dont il est de retour depuis quelques jours faisant bien le fier dans sa paroisse, Ce qui donne tres mauvais exemple au autres qui sont dettachés; mais quand je le ferais mettre à la garde cela ne le punirais pas comme il le merite nous n'avons n'y prisons ni Cachots icy et nous sommes sens reponce, Votre Exelence me permettra d'attendre ses ordres sur ce sujet—

J'ay l'honneur detre avec un tres profond respect

Monsieur

Vottr tres humble

et tres obeissant Serviteur

G. de Tonnancour

3 Rivieres le 31 Aout 1779

Endorsed: From M. Tonnancour
Col: of Militia at 3 Rivers
31st August recd. 1 Sept. 1779.

(Translation)

Sir:—

Your Excellency will permit me to represent that your predecessor, General Carleton, had exempted from all corvees the militiamen who had crossed Lake Champlain with the Royal Army; not having received any orders to the contrary from Your Excellency, I do not know whether they should be placed on duty for corvees now. There is likewise a young militiaman belonging to the company of Becancour which was detached in the month of April last, as well as all the other companies in this government, to be held in readiness to march on the first order, this man disregarded the order he received from his captain and went away secretly to Montreal and entered into an engagement for the Grand Portage in the Upper Country, from whence he returned some days ago, boasting of what he had done in his parish. This is a very bad example for others who were detached; but if I put him under guard, this will not punish him as he deserves. We have neither prisons nor lockups here, and have no alternative. I will await Your Excellency's orders on this subject.

I have the honor to be,
G. de Tonnancour.

Three Rivers, 31st August, 1779.

(115)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 77-80.

Quebec, 4th Sepr. 1779.

Sir,

.....
 The French have continued to circulate printed Copies signed by Monsr. Gerard, of the Count D'Estaing's declaration all through the Illinois and Miamies Countries which have a very bad effect with the French and Indians.

Fred. Haldimand.

To Sir Henry Clinton,

The following certificate was appended to these Proclamations:

Nous, Conrad Alexander Gerard, Ecuyer, Conseiller du Roi, Secretaire du Conseil d'Etat de Sa Majesté, Ministre Plenipotentiaire près les Etats Unis de L'Amerique, Conseil General dans les Ports des dites Etats, et Membre de la Societé Philosophique Americaine.

Declarons que le Manifeste ci-dessus a été publié de l'ordre exprès du Roi de France mon Maitre par le Comte d'Estaing, Vice Amiral de France, commandant d'un Escadre dans L'Amerique Septentrionale afin d'instruire les nations qui conservent de l'attachement pour sa Majesté de la sincerité de son amitié pour les Etats Unis de L'Amerique et de la réalité des secours en vaisseaux et guerriers qu'elle leur fournit afin d'assurer leur bonheur et leur Independence.

Fait en Notre Hotel à Philadelphie,
 le 28 Mai, 1779.
 (Q. 16-2, p. 382.)

(116)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 16, pt. 1, page 332.

No. 22.

Quebec 13th September 1779.

My Lord,

.....
 Monsieur Déchambault, at present receives £200 per annum from Government as Inspector of Militia, but having always Conducted himself with great Propriety, and

both himself and wife, being very old & Infirm, I very gladly Comply with Your Lordship's Directions, to Pay them or the Survivor £200 per annum, by way of Pension, which shall be Charged as Your Lordship directs.

Fred. Haldimand.

Lord George Germain

Indorsed—

Quebec 13th Sept. 1779.

Governor Haldimand

(No. 22)

Rd 28th Octr.

(117)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 54, pp. 135-9.

No. 28.

Quebec, Sepr. 13th, 1779.

Lord Geo. Germain.

My Lord,

I have already had the honor of informing Your Lordship the Alliance of the Rebels with France has produced a great alteration upon the minds of the Canadians, that the native French of whom we have but too many in the Province, particularly exhibited a Petulance, characteristic of the Nation, in consequence of an information against one of these of the name of "La Terrière" for encouraging Desertion to the Rebels, forwarding them Intelligence by that means. He has been confined as are a Printer and Attorney at Montreal, likewise French, for endeavouring to stir up the People against the Courts of Justice & the Magistrates, whether it will be possible to bring any sufficient Proof to condemn them upon I have my Doubts. The times certainly justify the securing their Persons & preventing them from sowing that Strife & Discord they wished to propagate. How to dispose of these or of four others coming down from Detroit in much the same Predicament I have not fully determined, the Intelligence received before the departurè of the Fall Fleet will probably decide me on that head.

Several of the Clergy well disposed towards Government at the Commencement of the present Troubles, particularly those amongst them who are natives of France have lately showed a leaning towards their Countrymen. Mr. De La Valinière, no ways deficient in Wit or Parts has made himself very busy upon the occasion, & as he had fallen out with the Seminary of Montreal, as well as with the Bishop, I have taken advantage of that circumstance to procure the consent of the latter for sending him home, which I intend doing by the October Fleet, if upon his arrival he could be placed in some part of the Country & not suffered to return to France till the Disturbances are at an end, I believe it would be the most prudent method of dealing with him, though it must necessarily be attended with some expence.

We have here Seven Rebel officers & about one Hundred of their men, Prisoners, without a convenient Gaol or Place to secure them in, whenever enlarged they desert or turn spies upon all our motions, in which they are certain to be aided or assisted by the too numerous Favorers of Rebellion within the Province. That this is the case is sufficiently evinced by some of those here having made their escape three times. If I cannot dispose of them amongst our outward Bound ships I shall be under the necessity of sending them to Britain by the October Fleet.

Before I conclude this long letter I think it a Duty incumbent on me to observe to Your Lordship that for want of a Naval Force, Rebel Privateers, very considerable in point of strength have this Spring pushed up the River St. Lawrence, plundered both shores, the Gulf and Labrador Coast, & destroyed the Fisheries in every part with-

in that extent, so that these are almost totally annihilated & the People engaged therein every where retiring into the interior parts of the Country.

We are most exposed to these predatory incursions of the Rebels in the Spring & Fall & should the Province be left as bare the next as it has been the present year, there is no knowing where the mischief will stop, if repeated it will put an end to every attempt to carrying on the Fisheries in those parts.

Your Lordship will please observe the "Defiance" of 64 Guns this year came up as high as Bic, the "Guadeloupe" reached this about the middle of August & both are sailed.

Since last Fall till within a very few days our naval strength here consisted in a Ten Gun sloop belonging to His Majesty & a small Provincial Armed schooner of Four, the latter fit enough to attend larger ships to seek for and find out their Prey but too weak of itself to do execution. In some of my former letters to Your Lordship and the Earl of Sandwich, which indeed may never have reached home, I proposed stationing a ship of Force at Bic, a stout frigate in the Gulf & another upon the Northern Coast to be occasionally attended by such small craft as we could arm & spare for this service & if the London Merchants would agree to the Departure of the Fall Fleet from Bic the 15th of November, a season when the north-west winds generally prevail, it would both answer the purposes of Trade & protect the Lower Parts of the Province at a time when they are most exposed to the Insults of the Enemy.

Upon a Cruise Captain Harvey took the latter end of June into the Gulf he received Information of the Mic-Mac Indians having done much mischief upon the Coast which engaged him to go to Miramichi, where after treating with them and appointing another Chief to quiet the fears of the Inhabitants, and awe the Savages, he brought up twelve of the latter to this Town whom he decoyed on board by showing French Colors, they were in silk stockings & dressed as Frenchmen. I was much embarrassed what to do with them but a vessel offering for Halifax, I sent them to the Governor of Nova Scotia, in which Province their village is situated & with whom they had made a Treaty of Peace last year, to be disposed of as he thought proper, it was very visible from their behaviour what effect Count D'Estaing's Manifesto & the French Alliance have had on all the ignorant People of every Denomination in this River & Gulf and the unguarded state by water in which we have been left last Fall & in Spring confirmed them in the Belief every thing went with us in every part of the World nor has it been possible to undeceive them.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Fred Haldimand.

(118)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 16, pt. 11, p. 376.

No. 30

My Lord!

As there are in the Neighbouring Colonies, mostly Attached to Hazen's Corps, Stationed on the Connecticut River, and Employed in Cutting the Road to Lake Champlain, about two hundred Canadians, who accompanied the Rebels in their Retreat out of the Country, or that have joined them Since, and often find means to procure Intelligence from hence, it will be worth considering, whether an Offer of His Majesty's Most Gracious Pardon to those misguided People, provided they return within a Certain time, might not be a means to detach them from the Rebel Interest, and Restore them to their Allegiance;—This measure might have a good Effect upon the Body of the People, & furnish us with the means of obtaining more certain information of the Favourers of Rebellion within this Province, whose Cabals and Intrigues are extremely prejudicial to the Royal Cause.

But as by my Instructions, I am no ways authorized to Grant such a Pardon, it is humbly Submitted to the Consideration of Administration, whether it would not be right Such a Power was lodged with the Kings' Governor, at least while the Colonies

continued in Rebellion, which after all, it might be depended on, would not be carried into Execution, but upon the fullest conviction, the measure was likely to answer the End Proposed.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest
Respect and Esteem,

My Lord,
Your Lordships'
most Obedient and
Most humble Servant

Fred: Haldimand.

Lord George Germain
Indorsed—

Quebec 13th Sept. 1779
Governor Haldimand
(No. 30)

Rd. 28th Oct.

(119)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

— Series Q, Vol. 16, pt. 11, p. 376.

Quebec, 14th Sepr. 1779.

Secret & Confidential.

Lord Geo. Germain.

My Lord.

In the present state of Affairs I think it my Duty to lay before His Majesty's Confidential Servants for the Royal information my opinion of all matters which may tend to securing this more than ever important Province to the Crown of Great Britain. I shall do it with Freedom & Candour, unbiassed by Passion, Party, or Prejudice, and if any ideas here offered should prove serviceable to His Majesty's interest, my most sanguine purpose will be most fully answered.

The Actual state of the Province is the first point to be alluded to, by recent Intelligence the Rebels are advancing in Force into the Country of the Six Nations, they Fortify Posts at convenient distances as they advance & seem determined to oblige them, who have been hitherto, a few excepted, Staunch Friends to Government, to embrace a Neutrality. Should they be forced to yield upon this occasion and from their weakness, as well as our inability to support them, from the difficulty of pushing up Provisions, be obliged to come into the Terms of the Rebellious Colonies, Niagara, the upper Country & Fur Trade will soon go.

If this body of Rebels, said to be commanded by Sullivan, to have Artillery & a Corps of Sappers & Miners, should lay siege to Niagara and take it, they will most probably soon draw into their interests all the upper Country Indians & presently make use of them to retaliate upon the King's Loyal Subjects the Cruelties they pretend to have been exercised upon themselves, their confining Lieut. Governor Hamilton in irons in a Dungeon, seems to be a preparatory step to such a measure. X

The Rebels are cutting a Road into Mississquoi Bay & will probably invade the Province from above by Lake Champlain, by the River St. Francis and Yamaska, all these avenues and there are others into it, are well known to them, and whichever Route they take, they are sure in finding a number of Friends to assist them.

The Clergy, who in general behaved so well in 1775, since the French Alliance with the Rebel Colonies, are cooled very much to the British interests, that those amongst them, who are natives of France should lean to that side, is not after all so surprising, but that the Canadian Priests, who have already reaped so much advantage by the change and have a chance of still greater, having ever been kept under by the French Government, is extraordinary & can only be accounted for in this way that they are for the most part taken out of the lowest class of People, they are fully as ignorant and as void of principle as those from whom they originate.

Though the Seigneurs and better sort of Citizens have been enabled to participate in the Favors of Government, some of them beyond what they had a Right to expect,

they are not, a few excepted, so grateful as we had reason to expect, few of them indeed have sagacity enough to see into the Consequences of the French Alliance and that should the Province fall, the Canadians must become the most miserable People on Earth, and be Slaves to the Americans, while they can never vie with or enjoy but a very small share of their commerce.

Some of the Canadian Habitans might have been brought in time to act with vigor too against the American Rebels but should a French Ship or two make their appearance, "Bougainville" or any other French Officers known to them, come up with 4 or 500 French or other men clothed in white, they most probably would take their part, and appear in arms against us; many of them inquired of an officer of a Man of War who came by Land from Bic whether Mons. La Mothe Piquet was not expected up.

Too many of the old subjects in the Province have imbibed American ideas & assisted in poisoning the minds of the Canadians too much to expect they will exert their endeavours to undeceive them or contribute much to the salvation of it. Whenever the Trade of the upper Country is lost this lower part, and got into the hands of the Southern Colonies, their conduct in this will answer to a kind reception.

By comparing this Account with the Force that can be brought to oppose the Enemy's Efforts your Lordship will be enabled to Judge which of the Scales is most likely to preponderate.

The vast extent of Country, the number of Posts from Michilimackinac to this place to be defended, the Repairs of the old as well as the new Fortifications are still in an imperfect state, the walls of Quebec are rotten, it will be the work of years to construct a Citadel.

The Cream of the Force in Canada consists of Three English Regiments, stripped of their Grenadiers & Light Infantry and this composes a Corps of about 1,200 men. Major Nairne, a worthy and deserving Officer, has taken pains to discipline the Emigrants, & there are some good Officers amongst them, they are short of the numbers of their former Establishment to which they have never been completed, how the intended addition can be raised, or of what service it will be for some time after it is raised I leave Your Lordship to judge.

The German Troops are ill calculated for any American Service & very uninterested in the event of the War, are little to be depended upon, the Regiment of Anhalt Zerbst the best of them is, after all, but a Regiment of Recruits, very few of these Troops can be employed any where in this Country except on Garrison duty, and even in that way they are helpless in many respects.

So bare are we at present notwithstanding the Supply already received, on account of the large quantity pushed up to feed the Indians collected in the Field, the Reinforcements on the way, and the Families of Indians driven off their ground by the Rebels for their attachment to the King's Interests, & therefore well entitled to the support of Government that I neither have it in my Power to find the numbers I wish, or to collect a Force in any one given Point in case of an attack.

From what is here stated of the Temper & Disposition of the People, Your Lordship will see that if it is seriously intended to Preserve this Province a considerable additional Force must be sent here next Spring as early as possible & such a one as can be depended upon, not consisting of Germans rather likely to add to our Difficulties, or of new Levies, often sickly upon change of Diet and Climate, a Company or two of Artificers, well chosen would be very useful considering the numerous & extensive Works that must be carried on.

An Ample supply of Provisions will be wanted and should be sent out very early, at least by the 1st of April that they may get up before the Easterley winds on this side of the Atlantic have expended their Force,—at the same time every Article of Ammunition, Indian Presents, Naval and other Stores destined for the Province should be sent off.

To supply the Priesthood here, who are dying fast, I have been resolving in my mind from what Country it is best to draw them and believe the Duchy of Savoy, where there is abundance of poor Noblesse, could furnish some whose character & Principles might be very exactly ascertained thro' the Channel of the Sardinian Ambassador, such a measure might tend to excite laudable emulation amongst the Canadians & engage them to exert their best endeavours to deserve the favor of the Government.

From the state of the Province herein exhibited Your Lordship will please to consider whether consistently with the King's service the additional Instructions sent over this Spring ought positively to be attended to and followed, whether every measure of Government ought to be exposed & laid open to that mixture of People which compose our Council & whether it is not more probable that the generality of its members will

rather incline to the particular interests than act upon just & liberal motives for the good of the state in general.

This consideration imposes upon me a new and difficult task & will probably oblige me to take more upon myself than I wish to do but as I have no private views of my own to serve & that my only aim is to be useful to the King and the State, I shall exert myself with Pleasure in the full confidence that my hearty endeavours in a good cause will obtain what it is my utmost ambition to deserve, the Approbation of my Royal Master, His favor, Protection & support.

I have the honor to be &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

(120)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 54, p. 185.

Quebec 25th Sept. 1779.

.....
.....
I have information, which I have reason to think authentic, that the rebel Fleet consisting of several ships from 20 to 30 Guns and many smaller (which has blocked up General McLean at Penobscot) sailed from Boston for the purpose of cruising in the Gulf and mouth of this River & intercept our Victuallers—Should they succeed in this attempt we shall experience the greatest distress for Provisions before the Spring Fleet can possibly arrive. The probability of these misfortunes happening, independent of what Trade suffers every year by the defenseless state of the River, urges me to repeat my wishes to Your Lordship that some means may be fallen upon to prevent them, either by sending out the Newfoundland Fleet early enough to cruise in the above stations to protect the Ships in the Spring, and to remain for the return of the Fall Fleet, or such others as Your Lordship shall think most expedient to effect this important end.

I have the honour to be &c.,

(signed.) Fred. Haldimand.

Lord George Germain.

(121)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 113, pp. 67-68.

Lieut. Colonel Campbell.

Quebec, 30th Sept. 1779.

Sir,

.....
.....
I have it in view to send a Scout to discover how far Mr. Hazen has advanced in the Road it is said he is cutting to Mississquay Bay and I wish it to be of such force as to be able to effect a Stroke which may be more easily done if his party is divided, which is reported to me. For this purpose you will please to inform me how many Indians such as may be depended upon, you will be able to Collect Suddenly, for I would not have their destiny known to them or to any Person whatsoever untill they are marched

I am &c.

(signed.) Fred. Haldimand.

(122)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 150, pp. 32-3.

Quebec, 18th October, 1779.

Sir,

.....

It would have given me infinite pleasure to have been able to have afforded you assistance by making a diversion in your favor but the necessary attention to the advance of the Rebels towards Niagara & Detroit, the scarcity of Provisions & the great distance and almost insurmountable difficulties in the way to you thro' the woods rendered it impossible for me to undertake anything. I however, some time ago sent a Scout of White Men & Indians out by the Chaudière & Kenebec Rivers. I have not heard how far they have penetrated, their Return being prevented by the lowness of the Waters.

I am &c.

Fred Haldimand.

Brig. Genl. Maclean.

(123)

PUBLICS ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 16-2, pp. 616-20.

No. 36.

Quebec, 24th October, 1779.

My Lord,

Immediately after the departure of the first Fleet of Victuallers under Convoy of the Brilliant, I took an opportunity of assembling such of the Members of His Majesty's Council as happened to be in the Town or live near it, and communicated to them His Majesty's Instructions of the 20th March, rescinding the 2d Article of the General Instructions delivered to me at my departure from Great Britain and requiring the King's Governor to summon all the Members of the Council resident at a convenient distance whenever their advice and consent became necessary.

In the present state of things while engaged in a disagreeable contest with the Rebellious Colonies, France and Spain, I can only Lament that all the Members of this Body must be consulted upon every Point of Good Order as well as Civil Policy, when some of them by those to whom they are known, may be reasonably suspected to lean towards those Interests. Thus circumstanced my duty will lay me under the disagreeable necessity of taking upon myself more than I could wish to do in all cases, where that may happen I shall trust to Your Lordship's Candour & Goodness not only yourself to attribute the conduct I shall observe to my zeal & anxiety for the Public Service, but to represent it in that Light to His Majesty. The difficulties of my communicating with Your Lordship at a distance of three thousand miles subjects me to many Inconveniences. Times, local circumstances, the Characters and Peculiar Interests of Individuals which Your Lordship cannot possibly be acquainted with will produce many effects which may make it absolutely necessary to depart from Systems which may have appeared when formed of the most Salutary value.

When the Council assembles for the Purpose of Legislation, the other Instructions which I am required to impart shall be Communicated to them. Two of these upon Consideration of them, appear to me at this Critical Period rather dangerous to get among the People.

The 10th Article holds out a Proposal to alter the Laws of Property, a matter that may prove agreeable to the Old Subjects, who are Members of the Council and that part of the Community in the same Predicament, but would be quite otherwise to the Canadians, who must exceed the others in point of Numbers and may be said to constitute the Society here in General, no People in the World are more bigotted to their Laws and usages and whenever any alteration is intended in these, I submit to Your Lordship, if it would not be advisable to prepare their minds for that Purpose, many and obvious Reasons concur to persuade me that a happier moment than the present is to be wished for undertaking this Business.

The 13th Article of the General Instructions might perhaps produce a ferment it is better to avoid than lay now the foundation of future Pretensions which it is much to be wished could be delayed until a general Pacification, the System the British Interests require Government to follow respecting this Province.

In stating what occurs to me upon the subject at present I do not pretend to resolve the withholding even those Articles from the Council at our meeting. I wish to Pay strict obedience to the most minute order of my Royal Sovereign, a proper attention to his Interests, as well as a most critical, difficult conjuncture require me to act with great circumspection, and where the Service might suffer from a too strict Conformance to such Orders to wait their being reconsidered at Home before they are too hastily proceeded upon.

Influenced by these principles I shall Act upon the present and every future occasion to the best of my Judgement for the Advancement of His Majesty's Interests.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

Lord George Germain.

(124)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 54, pp. 219-224.

Quebec, 24th Octr. 1779.

No. 43.

Lord Geo. Germain.

My Lord.

Enclosed I transmit to Your Lordship a Demand of Artificers & Stores which is made out by Captain Twiss, commanding Engineers as a supply for his Department. Your Lordship will observe that the Demand for Stores for building Barracks is rather considerable but yet they could not be lessened without injury to the Service & the numerous Wooden Barracks & Store Houses now constructing at the same time the execution of such Intrinchments and temporary Bomb Proofs as I propose to form early in the Spring in order to occupy Cape Diamond makes the Artificers mentioned in the Demand absolutely necessary.

During this Summer the attention of the Engineers have been chiefly engaged in strengthening the Post on the Isle aux Noix & of St. Johns & I think they are now in such a state as not to be taken without a regular Siege. A new Fort has also been constructed at Detroit, tho' not yet finished & that at Niagara considerably repaired, neither of which I apprehend can possibly fall without a Siege.

The Naval Force on Lakes Ontario & Erie have also been attended to, & a new ship of about 200 tons, pierced for 14 guns, I hope will be launched next month at Carleton Island where I have considerably improved the Fort built last year, besides constructing very extensive Store Houses for Provisions, the amazing consumption of which amongst the Indians has obliged me to give more attention to this part of the service than was ever before necessary and has induced me to build new Store Houses very near Lake St. Francois, which I know will considerably forward the Spring Transport should the King's Service require particular exertion, the Engineer Department has also been employed in improving the navigation for Batteaux up the Rapids from Montreal to Oswegatchie, an improvement of the utmost consequence in case the upper Posts are so strongly attacked as to require an expeditious reinforcement. Performing these services has deprived me of the means of putting Sorel upon any respectable footing as a Fortress but the commodious Store Houses & Barracks I have constructed there will enable me to keep 1200 men and a very large supply of all sorts of stores at that central situation from whence I can easily strengthen any quarter which may be threatened, besides this I have built a small range of Barracks at La Chenaye & another at Pointe du Lac on Lake St. Peter, by these means I can keep part of the Troops in respectable abodes & having chosen their situation with a view to enclose them with an Intrinchment I think they may prove of great utility in any Danger to which this Country may in future be exposed.

I have made every Public Enquiry respecting the Purchase of the Seigneurie of Sorel but it cannot be done in this Country & I am of the opinion that it would in the end prove a cheap Bargain for Governmt now to pay £5000 for the Seigneurie, afterwards purchase such lots as might interfere with any works the King's Service might make necessary to be constructed there and I also think that if a regular Town

was marked out clear of the Defence of such Works but at the same time commodious for Trade & if all lots for Building there were granted by Government and the Ground Rent together with the rents now paid were to be collected by the Receiver Genl, I apprehend such an arrangement would amply reimburse Government for all expenses and I am persuaded that the longer this Purchase is delayed the higher will be the Demand made by the Proprietors for it is observable numbers are aiming at Possessions on that spot, the great advantages of which are now conspicuous to every body, particularly that of affording a secure wintering place to all vessels who can cross Lake St. Peter where there is 16 feet of water in the spring, 11 or 12 in the Autumn, an advantage not to be found in equal perfection in any part of the St. Lawrence, hence it follows that the value of "Sorel" is daily increasing so that perhaps in a few years Government might be obliged to pay for a small lot more than that at present would purchase the whole Seigneurie and the rents payable thereon.

I cannot minutely inform Your Lordship how far I shall be able to accomplish my wishes about fortifying "Sorel" as I mean to direct most of the working strength I am master of to improve the Defences of Quebec for which purpose I have communicated my ideas to Captain Twiss & he has laid before me Proposals for surrounding Cape Diamond with such Temporary works as can be executed in our present circumstances & consistently with the other exigencies of the Service throughout this extensive Province but it is my duty to point out to Your Lordship that these works are merely Temporary & to be composed only of Common Intrenchments & Timber Bomb Proofs.

I shall do my endeavour this winter to begin the formation of a Company of useful Artificers which the situation of this Province points out as necessary & although I do not expect to complete a Tolerable Company yet I am confident that the Commencement of such a Plan will be of great benefit to the Public.

I have the honor to be &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

(125)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 113, pp. 73-4.

Quebec, 28th Octr. 1779.

Lieut. Colonel Campbell.

Sir,

.....
 I am desirous to fit out two Scouts immediately, one to go towards Lake George and the other to make discoveries of Mr. Hazen's operations and if possible to make a Stroke in that Quarter. I would have them both Strong but at the same time do not wish to send any Indians who are not perfectly inclined to go and determined to fulfill the Purpose of their going.....

They will both be dispatched from Isle aux Noix and I shall write to Major Carleton to have some good woodsmen to accompany each Scout.....

I am &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

(126)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 17-1, pp. 2-5.

Extract of a letter from General Haldimand to Lord George Germain.

No. 50.

Quebec, 1st November, 1779.

"By a letter from Sir John Johnson, dated at Oswego, the 22nd past, I am informed that having arrived too late in the Indian Country to effect any thing against the Rebels in their Retreat from the Destruction of the Indian Villages to Tioga, 300 miles

from Niagara, which they performed with the same Regularity, Expedition and good Order they observed in advancing and being unprovided either with a sufficient Force, Provision or Stores to Attempt the Reduction of that place, he proceeded to Oswego with a Prospect of being able to march against the Oneida Indians, who with a great part of the Tuskaroras from the beginning have been the Chief Support of the Rebel Interest in that Quarter and have with great success intercepted Intelligence and prevented all Intercourse between the Friends of Government and the Upper Posts. In planning this Enterprise he was heartily Seconded by many of the five Nation Indians but from their having been dispersed, the Canada Indians, (who lean greatly to the Rebel Interest, particularly since their Alliance with France), refusing positively to accompany him, the difficulties of marching and conveying the necessary quantity of Provisions at this advanced Season of the year so far into the Enemies Country and having but very imperfect Intelligence of their situation, he found it impossible to carry it into Execution and is now on his return to Carleton island, having sent as many of his Detachment to Niagara as was supposed could be Victualled there during the Winter. As the Operations in that Country must be intirely governed by the Force that can be sent there, it is impossible to say what can be undertaken in the Spring. I have fully represented to Your Lordship how necessary to the Preservation of the Upper Country it will be to push up a Reinforcement as early as possible, and I hope that the arrival of Supplies both of Provisions and Men will enable us to effect it.

The necessity of this Step becomes every day more obvious, for so Indefatigable and determined are the Rebels in their Resolutions to Reduce the Indians to their Terms and deprive us of their Alliance that nothing but being able to cope with them in the Field in the Indian Country can preserve to us the Attachment of that People, which I have the mortification to see every year declining notwithstanding the many thousands expenditure to Retain it.

By the concurring reports of Prisoners it appears that the Rebels had no intention of undertaking any thing material against this Province this year unless a French Fleet arrived, but that Preparations have been making for a vigorous & general attack next Spring in order to co-operate with a French Fleet which has been promised & fully expected at that time. The effect a very few ships will have in Canada I have already said too much upon to trouble Your Lordship with a repetition. From the approach of the Rebels towards Detroit & possessing themselves of the Ohio & Wabash Rivers, together with co-operating Preparations against Niagara, it would appear they are bent upon the reduction of the Upper Posts to secure the Indian Interest & for the benefit of the Fur Trade.

A Scout which in my last letter I acquainted Your Lordship I sent out upon the Frontiers of New England in the hope of alarming the People to render some Serviae to Brigr. Genl McLean after having with the utmost difficulty penetrated to within Ten Leagues of Penobscot, returned a few days ago, bringing Prisoners a Lieut. Colonel Lowder & Captain D'Abadie, (a French Officer), whom they seized on their way from Mackias to Boston, being charged with letters from Colonel Allan, Commanding at Machias and Superintendent of Indians in the Eastern Colonies, to Congress with many other letters of which I have the honor to transmit to Your Lordship some extracts. A ship just sailing for Halifax gives me an opportunity of sending the two Prisoners and those letters which seem most interesting to Lieut. Govr. Hughes in hope they may throw some light upon matters in that Province, which may prove serviceable to the operations of Brigr. Genl McLean. The Rebels in that Quarter, seem much mortified by the loss of their ships at Penobscot, it must no doubt have discouraged them greatly but they are so expert in Building that the Injury will be soon repaired.

Monsr. D'Abadie from his being a Frenchman, possessing good Talents & being much attached to the cause he has embarked in, was a very improper Person to be kept here, I therefore send him to Halifax. Estimating very high advantages we gain over the Rebels may in a Political view have a good effect, but I should be sorry the little excursions of Rangers or Indians so overrated in the Public Papers, were considered of material consequence to the success of the War, while it is to be feared these small strokes, although they alarm & partially distress the People, only serve to exasperate them, & have been the cause of the Rebels making a Campaign in the Indian Country.

I have the honor to be &c

Fred. Haldimand.

(127)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 147, pp. 113-8.

Quebec, Novr. 1st, 1779.

Sir,

.....

.....

All reports from Prisoners concur in saying that nothing material against this Province had been intended this year unless a French Fleet had arrived but in expectation one will appear in the Spring every Preparation had been made for a vigorous & general attack upon its arrival, and should only a very few Ships succeed in making their way into the River, circumstanced as this Province is, there can be little doubt of their success. The Canadians would Revolt, there are some who perhaps would not appear in Arms but in every other Respect would assist the Enemy. The Rebels have opened Roads to Niagara and Detroit and established themselves on both, they have all the winter to collect stores of every kind for an early campaign & will have the assistance of the whole country to convey them by land, as well as now a free Passage by water from Fort Stanwix by Oswego into Lake Ontario, thence to Niagara or into this Province without a Risk of much Injury from our Shipping upon that Lake which can only in a very few Places approach the Shore.—Nothing can be expected from the Indians unless a considerable Force is sent into their Country to support them.—it is impossible they can resist a Force such as this year marched with Impunity through the Heart of their Country & under these circumstances it is vain to imagine we can retain them in our Interest in opposition to the unwearied, determined Resolution of the Rebels to reduce them to their Terms; a Body of men have been employed two Summers opening a Road from New England to Mississque Bay at this end of Lake Champlain by which the Armament upon that Lake is intirely avoided. If I send 1500 or 2000 men to protect the upper Country, I leave this Province defenceless, exposed not only to foreign Invasion but to a Revolt of the Canadians.—& if to prevent this Evil I keep the small Force I have together, the upper Posts & of course the Indians must inevitably fall. The German Troops which compose my Force, three British Regiments excepted, are in every Respect unfit for the Service on which I have to employ them,—they are inactive, indolent, and helpless, & so addicted to desertion that I dare not trust them in any of the Frontier Posts, so that in fact they are more an Incumbrance when there is a scarcity of Provisions than an additional Strength.

.....

.....

I have the honor to be &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

Sir Henry Clinton.

(128)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 132, pp. 3-4.

Quebec, 1st November, 1779.

Sir,

Being desirous to send out a Scout by Fort Edward towards Albany to take Prisoners and destroy whatever Corn, &c. they may be able to effect and likewise one to make discoveries and if possible to strike a stroke against Mr. Hazen, I have directed Lieut. Colonel Campbell to collect Indians sufficient to compose these two Scouts with proper officers to conduct them, and to assemble them at Isle aux Noix for the purpose of arranging and dispatching them from thence. I have therefore to desire you will keep in readiness to accompany each of them eight or ten men such as you think most proper for that Service. A Scout which was sent some time ago towards Mr. Hazen's Road is every day expected, it may bring some useful intelligence for that intended to succeed it, or perhaps such as make it unnecessary to send one that Route, in which case the whole may be sent to Fort Edward, this I shall leave you to determine upon as you shall think best from circumstances and Intelligence you may receive.

By a letter from Sir John Johnson I find He intended to make a stroke against the Onidas but was obliged to abandon his purpose, the Indians of this Country refusing to assist him, and dissuading many of the Five Nations from accompanying him upon that Enterprise. He is, however, of the opinion that the Mohawks and Onondagas will themselves undertake it; if they should, the Scout now going out might co-operate with them and render great Service, and tho' they should not be prevailed upon to act against the Onidas, their alarming the people in the neighbourhood may have a good effect.

You will furnish the Scout with whatever provision they may want and recommending particularly to them to observe humanity.

I am, Sir, &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

To Major Carleton.
at Isle aux Noix.

(129)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 150, pp. 34-5.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Scout which I sent out a long time ago in the hope of rendering some small service to Brigadier General McLean by alarming that neighborhood returned yesterday bringing with them Lieutenant Colonel Lowder and Captain De Badie whom they seized on their way from Machias to Boston with dispatches & Letters from Colonel Allan to Congress & others together with a number of private letters, most of which I transmit to you, many of them seem of little import, but as they are from people in your neighborhood, whose connections they may serve to make you acquainted with, I have sent the greatest part of them, several of them may be serviceable to Brigadier General MacLean to whom I write by this opportunity referring him to you for their contents.

Four Indians were taken with Colonel Lowder & Captain de Badie but were released upon the strongest assurances that they would return to their duty & Loyalty & influence their Nation to quit the Rebel Interest. A Lorette Indian from the Scout accompanied them to their village to know the result of their promises. I send you the names of the Indians.

Being much at a loss for convenient places of confinement & crowded with Prisoners I have determined to send the within mentioned Prisoners to you, having the opportunity of a strong vessel and three of Colonel Rogers' officers to take charge of them.

I am &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

Lieut. Governor Hughes.

(130)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 129-30.

Quebec, 4th November, 1779.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that since I closed my letter to your Excellency, dated the 2nd Instant, I have received letters by Express from Halifax giving me the pleasing Information that a Reinforcement of Two Thousand men had sailed from York for this place. I have not heard of what Troops it is composed or by whom commanded.

In hope by this time they are now in the River's Mouth or near it, I this day send off an Officer of the Navy with Pilots, the Deputy Quarter Master General, and Commissarys to afford every Assistance possible in disembarking and quartering the Troops in the lower Part of the Province which from the lateness of the Season, and uncertainty of a quick Passage up the River I have thought best not only for the Troops but in order that the Transports may immediately proceed to wherever they may be destined, as a long passage to this port would render a departure from it this winter very uncertain.

My former letters to your Excellency, particularly the last will convince you how very acceptable this piece of news must be to me.—I shall wait the arrival of the Troops with the utmost anxiety, it being too common at this advanced season of the year for ships to fail in making their Passage into this River.

I am, Sir, &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

Sir Henry Clinton.

(131)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 149, pp. 101-2.

Government House,

Halifax, 29th November, 1779.

Sir,

.....
 About six weeks ago a Spanish Pacquet under the care of an Officer was brought into New York by a Privateer belonging to that place & by a very clever behavior on the part of the Master of the Vessel, The Mail and other Papers were secured and I am informed that upon an examination of its Contents an Authentic Copy of a Treaty was found that had been lately signed at Paris between the Courts of France and Spain and Franklin, the American Agent on the part of the Congress And by one of the Articles of this Treaty the Congress bind themselves to deliver up by the 20th June, 1780, The Two Floridas into the hands of Spain & the Provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia to the French King.

It has likewise been strongly reported from the Rebel Quarters that the French Fleet under the command of the Count D'Estaing, consisting of Twenty-six of the Line and Fourteen Frigates was actually intended for the attack of this Province and Canada And it is even affirmed that They were seen in the month of September off the Coast of Georgia, where it is still reported they fell in with and took Sir James Wallace in the Experiment but a very violent Gale of wind about the middle of the month having obliged them to cut their Cables & endeavour to get out to Sea, a number of their Ships, (not less than twelve it is said), were dismasted upon that occasion, some of them were thought to be in so bad a state in respect to their Hulls That it is with some appearance of reason apprehended that they may have gone to the Bottom.. . . .

I have the honor to be &c.

Rd. Hughes.

His Excellency,
 Governor Haldimand.

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LA GAZETTE DE QUEBEC.

JEUDI, le 2 Decembre, 1779.

AVIS aux HABITANS de la Campagne.

Tous les SOUVERAINS ont décerné des peines contre les Déserteurs, et des amandes pécuniaires contre les Sujets qui leur ouvrent un Azile et les protègent.

Le SOLDAT qui déserte est digne de punition; il manque à ses engagements d'autant plus Sacrés qu'ils étoient confirmés par la Religion du Serment. Parjure devant Dieu, infidèle à Son R O I, il trompe l'Etat, et fait tort à la Patrie en la privant des Services qu'il étoit dans l'Obligation de lui rendre. Il aggrave son Crime ou par le Vol, en emportant les Armes et l'Uniformé de son Régiment, ou par la perfidie en passant chés l'Enemi et trahissant la Patrie.

SI TEL EST LE CRIME DE LA DESERTION, il est évident que celui qui la favorise est coupable envers L'Etat. Il viole une Loi expresse qui lui défend de donner retraite aux Déserteurs, il autorise le parjure et l'injustice; il est aussi coupable envers le Gouvernement, que le Réceleur l'est envers la Société; et l'on peut appliqué à

l'un comme à l'autre cette règle ou Maxime de Jurisprudence; Celui qui favorise le Crime est Complice du Crime.

CONSIDERE's ce Sujet sous un autre point de vue. Ce n'est pas le Soldat Sobre et Vertueux qui déserte; C'est le lâche, le Paresseux et le Libertin. Quel mal n'en résulte-t-il donc pas pour la Province de favoriser la Désertions d'hommes de ce genre? N'augmente-t-on pas le nombre des perturbateurs du repos public? N'ouvret-pas la porte à la License et au Brigandage? Et ne s'expose-t-on pas au danger d'être insulté ou volé, ou trahi?

Il est également dangereux de donner refuge à des gens sans aveu, à d'hommes errans et qui cherchent des Aziles les plus retirés. L'hospitalité est une vertu; Celui qui l'exerce honore l'humanité, et mérite, l'aprobation et la reconnaissance publique; mais elle doit être dirigée par la prudence (sur tout dans des tems de trouble) autrement on court risque de donner retraite à un Espion, à un Enemi de l'ETAT ET DE LA SOCIETE', et de se trouver impliqué dans quelque affaire malheureuse.

SI QUELQUES HABITANS n'eussent par ignorance ou par foiblesse donné retraite aux fugitifs et autres Gens sans Aveu, peu de Soldats auroient eû la temptation de Désserter, la Sureté publique n'eût pas reçu tant d'atteintes; et peut-être que les innocentes Victimes qui tombèrent sous le fer des Assassins près des Trois-Rivières, jouiroient encore de la Lumière et de la Vie.

IMPRIME's dans votre Mémoire cet Assassinat atroce, et qu'il vous engage à être plus sur vos gardes à l'avenir à l'égard des Errans et fugitifs. Au lieu de leur donner retraite, assistés vous mutuellement pour les saisir, et les transférer devant le Magistrat. Vous ferés votre devoir comme Sujet, comme Citoyens; et vous trouverés dans ce devoir la Sureté publique et Domestique.

(Translation)

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday 2nd December, 1779

NOTICE to the INHABITANTS of the Country.

All SOVEREIGNS have decreed penalties against Deserters and pecuniary fines upon their Subjects who give them an Asylum and protect them.

The SOLDIER who deserts deserves punishment; He breaks his most Sacred engagement which has been confirmed by the solemnity of an Oath. Perjured before God, unfaithful to His King, he deceives the State and wrongs his Country by depriving it of the Services which he was under an obligation to render. He aggravates his crime, either by Theft in carrying away the arms and uniform of his regiment, or by treachery in going over to the Enemy and betraying his Country. If such is the crime of DESERTION it is apparent that any one who favours it is guilty towards the State. He breaks a special Law which prohibits him from giving shelter to Deserters. He sanctions perjury and injustice. He is as guilty towards the government as a Receiver of stolen goods is towards Society and to both may be applied this rule or maxim of jurisprudence; any one who favors Crime is an accomplice in the Crime. LET US CONSIDER this Subject under another point of view. It is not the sober and well-conducted soldier who deserts; it is the coward, the idler and the libertine. What harm may not then result to the province in assisting the desertion of men of this kind? Will it not increase the number of the disturbers of public peace? Will it not open the door to license and brigandage?, and will it not expose you to the danger of being insulted or robbed or betrayed?

It is equally dangerous to harbor strangers and vagabonds who seek shelter in out of the way places. Hospitality is a virtue; he who exercises it does honor to humanity and deserves public approbation and gratitude, but it should be exercised with prudence (particularly in a time of trouble), otherwise one runs the risk of harboring a spy, an enemy of the STATE, and of SOCIETY, and of finding himself involved in some unfortunate affair. If some INHABITANTS had not, through ignorance or through weakness harbored fugitives or other strangers, few soldiers would have had the temptation to desert, public safety would not have received so many attacks; and perhaps the innocent Victims who fell under the steel of the murderers near Three Rivers would still enjoy Life. Let this atrocious murder be IMPRESSED on your Memory and it will impel you to be more on your guard in future, with respect to vagabonds and fugitives. Instead of giving them shelter, assist each other to seize them and bring them before the Magistrate. You will do your duty as Subjects and Citizens; and in this duty you will find public and Domestic safety.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 154, pp. 219-20.

Montreal, Decr. 2, 1779.

Sir,

.....
 La Chenaie. The Barracks here will contain 1 Captain, 2 subs, & 120 privates, they are now very habitable having chimnies and stoves compleat.....

Mons. Johé, Captain of Militia has upon all occasions given every assistance in his Power.

Coteau du Lac. Lieut. Maurer and I were very fortunate in weather in our visits to this Post where there are two small Block houses compleat and a most excellent store house, capable to contain 3,000 Barrels of Provisions, one side of this Post is well Picketted and the other is so covered with an Abbatis as to be secure against an attack of Musquetry.—in its present state this will considerably advance the transport to the upper Country and I am now forming a plan to render the passage of Batteaux more convenient and I hope we shall be able to compleat it during next Summer

.....
 I have the honor to be, &c.

Wm. Twiss.

His Excellency,
 Governor Haldimand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, 170. p. 89.

Monsieur,

Votre Exelence voudra bien permettre au plus zélées et soumis de ses serviteurs de luy adresser une requete de la femme de Joseph traversy qui ce plain du Capitaine de milice de St. francois Comme Je ne conais pas cette femme, et que Je ne veux rien faire qui puisse etre contre l'intention du Gouvernement, de plus je pense que le sieur Schmide qui est aupres de Votre Exelence est plus en etat de luy expliquer sy cette femme a Raison de ce plaindre du Capitaine de sa paroisse; Votre Exelence me permettra aussy de luy représenter qu'il seroit apropos que nous eussions icy deux douzaines de fusils bon et point pezant avec autant de Corne à poudre et sac à plomb et autant de Raquettes pour servir au détachement qui peuvent ce trouver indispensable dans plusieurs Cas pressée avec poudre et balles cela accélèrais le depart de ces sortes de detachements ses munitions serais déposé au major qui serais obligé de les tenir en etat pour les besoins et les Retirerais au retour de chaque dettachment, alors je tiendrai toujours pour huit jours un detachment près à marcher au besoins, le tout sy Votre Exelence jugais apropos pour le bien du service—J'ay l'honneur d'être avec un profond respect Mr.

de votre Exelence

le tres humble et obeissant Serv^t.

G. de Tonnancour.

des trois Rivieres le 16 X^{bre} 1779.

dans l'instant que je ferme ma lettre je recois deux certificats l'un du Capitaine Augé de la premiere compagnie de milice de la riviere du Loup et l'autre du Sr Charles Nauer qui atteste que le nommé lachay Guinard fils est imbecile, et j'espere repondre à Votre Exelence qu'ils accusent vray et que frodulseusement cet imbecile a été incorporé dans le regiment des Emigrands que le pere et la mere de cet imbecile qui ont leur demeure à la riviere du loup sont dans la plus grande affliction et espere tout de la bonté de Votre Exelence pour leur procurer leur enfans.

Endorsed: From M. Tonnancour

16th Dec^r 1779.

(Translation)

Sir:—

Your Excellency will permit the most zealous and obedient of his servants to forward to him a petition from the wife of Joseph Traversy, who makes a complaint against the captain of Militia at St. Francis, as I do not know this woman and wish to do nothing contrary to the policy of government and moreover, I think that Mr. Schmide, who is with Your Excellency will be able to inform you if this woman has any reason to complain of the Captain of her parish. Your Excellency will also permit me to represent that it would be advisable for us to have here two dozen serviceable firelocks with as many powderhorns, bullet bags and snow shoes for the use of a detachment which may be necessary in an urgent case. This will accelerate the departure of these detachments, their munitions will be placed in the hands of the major who will be required to keep them in order for all services, and withdraw them on the return of each detachment, then I will always hold a detachment in readiness to march when required for eight days, if Your Excellency judges it expedient for the good of the service.

I have the honor to be, &c.

G. de Tonnancour.

Three Rivers, 16th Xber, 1779.

Just as I am closing my letter, I have received two certificates, one from Captain Auge of the first militia company at Riviere du Loup and the other from Mr. Charles Nauer, who declares that one, Lachay Guinard, Junior, is an imbecile and I may state to Your Excellency that they complain that this imbecile has been fraudulently enlisted in the regiment of Emigrants, that the father and mother of this imbecile, who live at Riviere du Loup are greatly afflicted and hope everything from the kindness of Your Excellency, to obtain the release of their child.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, December 30, 1779.

EXTRACT of a Letter from Montreal, dated the 20th Inst.

“ Since last Saturday morning we have had a continual fall of Snow here, nor is there yet any likelihood of its ceasing; We have been without rain, except a small shower a few times, for these six months past; so that all the Country from the Great River has been much distress'd for want of water; and that is more surprising, the Mills at Terrebonne and Sault aux Récollets have not had water to turn them these three months past; now the River rises and they grind flour, which was much wanted.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 171, p. 34.

Pour Capitaines.

Boucherville.B.
 Richarville
 Clignancourt
 Dechambault
 Rouville
 Montigni L'ainé —

Pour Lieutenans

Pension-De Cuisy.B.
 La Fontaine.B.
 Beaubien.B.
 St. Ours
 Tonancour
 Destimauville
 Antoine Dupré
 De Bonne.B.

Pour Enseignes

Vassal
 Gaspé.B.
 Chevalier de Tonnancour.B.
 La Broquerie.B.
 Fleurimont
 Bazin
 Vigneau
 Louis Baby
 Chamblis Niverville
 Antoine Niverville.

La Lettre B. marque ceux qui sont de la Convention.

Endorsed—French Officers proposed 22^d Sept. 1779.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 171, pp. 130-132.

Capitaines	1	Monsr. Rouville	
	2	Mons. Boucherville	
	3	Mons. Beaubien	
Lieutenants	4	Messieurs Sallaberry	
	5	— Destimauville	
	6	— —	
	7	— La Fontaine	
	8	— Marcoux	
	9	— St. Ours	
	10	— Tonnancour	
Enseignes	11	— Vassal	
	12	— Bazin	
	13	— Fleurimont	
	14	— St. Martin	
	15	— Bonne	
	16	— La Broquerie	
	17	— Vigneau	
	18	— Gaspey	
Officers	19	— La Morandiere	
à	20	— Montizambert	
demy Solde	21	— Duchenaye	
	22	— Hertel	
*Clignancourt	23	— *Clancour	} Ces 3 Messieurs sont encore employés dans le Département des Sauvages
	24	— La Madelaine	
	25	— Niverville	
	26	— Richerville	
	27	— St. André	
	28	— La Chevrotiere	
	29	— Schmid	
Officers	30	— Duverger	
du	31	— Verneuil Lorimier	
Departem ^t	32	— Chev. Lorimier	
Sauvages	33	— La Motte	
	34	— DeLorme Soumande	
	35	— Bleurie	
	36	— Piedmond	
	37	— Gautier	
	38	— Langlade	
	39	— Pierville	
	40	— G. Tonnancour	
	41	— J. Launiere	
	42	— M. Launiere	
	43	— Launiere	

44	-	Deschambault Père..Inspecteur des Millices.
45	-	Deschambault Fils
46	-	Longueuil.....Inspecteur des Millices & Conseillier.
47	-	La Naudiere.....Maitre des Eaux & Forest & Inspecteur.
48	-	Baby.....Commissaire et Conseillier.
49	-	Tonnancour Père...Commissaire.
50	-	St. George Du Prés..Commissaire
51	-	Bellestre.....Grand Voyer & Conseillier
52	-	De Lery.....Pensionnaire Conseillier
53	-	Rouville Père.....Juge
54	-	Panet, Père.....Juge
55	-	Panet fils
56	-	Cugnet Père.....Secretaire français etc
57	-	Cugnet fils
58	-	Levesque.....Conseillier
59	-	St. Luc La Corne...Conseillier
60	-	St. Our laisé.....Conseillier
61	-	La Bruère.....Pensionnaire
62	-	Magnan.....Adjutant de Ville
63	-	Grenier.....Adjutant de Milice
64	-	Badelar.....Chirurgien de Garnison.
65	-	Montigny L'ainé
66	-	Montigny Cadet
67	-	Lothiniere
68	-	La Potherie
69	-	M. L. Baby
70	-	Antoine Niverville
71	-	Niverville Chambly
72	-	Antoine Dupré
73	-	Normanville
74	-	Beaujeu
75	-	Smith
76	-	Jacques Baby
77	-	Lorillard Couillard
78	-	Michelle Perrouett? (Michel Perrault?)
79	-	Joseph Latontaine
80	-	La Bruere L'ainé
81	-	La Perrière

Endorsed: Liste des Messrs Canadiens

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, January 6, 1780.

Friday last being the anniversary of the memorable 31st of December, the principal Gentlemen of the British Militia gave an elegant Entertainment to his Excellency the Governor and his Suite, at Mr. Menut's.

Mr. John Lees, Junr. an Officer of Militia, entertain'd a numerous Company at Mr. Connolly's in the evening; and, though there was no public Ball, the night was also celebrated by several select companies in town.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 17-1, pp. 92-6.

No. 55.

Quebec, 28th January, 1780.

My Lord,

.....

I am sorry to acquaint Your Lordship that the Two thousand men mentioned in my Letter of the 5th Novr. to have sailed from New York for this Province met with a violent Gale of wind which totally dispersed the Transports and it is supposed obliged

them to return to York. His Majesty's Ship *Cornelia* with one Transport containing above 200 German Troops put into Halifax & soon after sailed for this place, these Ships were seen off Gaspey but disappeared & probably put back to York.

In the Letters I had the honor of writing to Your Lordship by the Frigates *Convert* & *Seaford* I represented to Your Lordship the distress the Province was likely to experience from a want of Flour owing to a failure of the Crop—this Calamity is severely felt but will be in some measure lessened by a fortunate circumstance. The Winter hitherto has been so severe as to stop all the Mills which has reduced the People to every substitute that could be devised to supply the want of Bread and the Wheat has been by that means preserved, so that I hope, altho' they cannot fail to suffer much that their situation will be less deplorable than was at first expected.

.....

The Upper Posts are all at present in a respectable state, tho' not strongly Garrisoned and if there should be a possibility of sending a sufficient Force with the necessary Quantity of Provisions to take Post at Oswego in the Spring, there is no doubt that the Five Nations will give stronger Proofs than ever of their Attachment to us.

A Scout which I had the Honor to acquaint Your Lordship I intended to send out on the Frontiers by Lake George as soon as the Harvest should be gathered in, is returned having executed the Purposes for which they were sent with very little Bloodshed. They have alarmed and driven in many of the Inhabitants in that Quarter and destroyed great Quantities of Corn, Cattle, Sheep, &c., and have brought in nine Prisoners. I purpose continuing these Scouts throughout the Winter in order to distress the Enemy as much as possible. Their Crop has failed likewise, but by having so much the advantage of this Province in Climate, they raise Cattle with greater facility, and are always so well stocked as to prevent their being reduced to absolute want in Times of scarcity.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

The Right Honourable,
Lord George Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 136-41.

Quebec, January 31st, 1780.

Sir.

From Lt. Col. Rogers who arrived here from Penobscot the 18th Inst. I have the Honor to Receive your Excellency's Letter of the 28th July with a duplicate of one dated the 9th of September and one of the same date in Cypher and I take the opportunity of an Express Returning to Halifax, (which I have detained for a long time in hope of hearing from you), to Return your Excellency my thanks for the interesting Detail of Affairs in your Quarter, which you have so obligingly given me.—It is with the most sensible concern that I observe by your Letter the unfortunate Result of your endeavours to assist me by your obliging compliance with my Request of a Reinforcement and I beg leave to assure your Excellency that great as the disappointment must be to me in my present situation What I feel from it is much increased by the knowledge of the inconveniency with which it was attended to you at that time for from my Ideas, having been told by the Minister that you were to be considerably reinforced from Europe & that the Troops from the Islands were to return to you, but if that had not been the case my conduct must inevitably have been the same, consistently with my Ideas of my Duty and the Exigency of the Service which are in no Shape altered since my letter of the 1st November,—an Extract of which I now send you in Cypher least it should not have reached you.—I am sorry to find the difficulty of communicating with you is so great, the Original of your Duplicate enclosing Extracts from General Phillips' Letters & those from the Rebel Papers I have not Received and it is much to be feared that the "several Messengers" said in your Letter to have been sent to me mentioning a very interesting subject have fallen into the Enemy's Hands.—every Track & channel of conveyance is now so watched that it is next to impossible for a Messenger to get through—this makes correspondence by Cypher the more necessary & I shall answer one part of your

Excellency's Letter in that manner.—I shall wait with the utmost anxiety to hear the Event of the very important operation you were going to undertake when you last wrote.—Should it prove Successful it will give a happy Turn to affairs thro'out the Continent and this Province will materially feel the effect.—I am sorry to acquaint your Excellency that very little is to be expected from the Indians in co-operating upon the Frontiers of Virginia, at least from those with whom we have any Intercourse. I mean the western Nations who visit Detroit and that Neighbourhood. Indefatigable pains have been taken & immense sums lavished to secure their affections, yet they are every day declining, particularly since the American Alliance with the french to whom they have an old and very firm attachment, add to this the Misfortune of Mr. Hamilton, the disappointment of Reinforcements promised to them from year to year and the unwearied pains of the Spanish from the Mississipy to debauch them & the advance of the Enemy on all sides into their Country which with all the pains that were taken last year, they never could be brought vigorously to oppose & it is too plain that nothing but the Example & Continual Remonstrances of the Five Nations prevented them abandoning us entirely.—I have, however, the pleasure to acquaint your Excellency that since my last Letter I have had accounts from thence informing me that a Scout conducted by White Men fell in with & totally defeated a Party of the Enemy on their way to fort Pitt from New Orleans where they had been sent to treat with & to collect supplies from the Spanish Governor—they succeeded & were returning with three loaded Batteaux up the Ohio, when they were attacked—the Party consisted of about 60 men commanded by a Colonel David Rogers, who with about 40 were killed upon the spot and a Colonel Campbell with 5 men were taken Prisoners. Some Letters & Papers were found upon them.—I transmit for your Information copies of the most Interesting.—Upon hearing that the Enemy was collecting Troops and calling together the Militia to Reinforce Mr. Washington I sent out a strong Scout towards Albany to Allarm that Frontier and Distress the country, it returned with some scalps & 9 Prisoners & the Officer who commanded reported that he had Destroyed great Quantities of grain, Horses, Cows & Stock of all kinds.—Scouts are continually kept out for the same Purposes. Your Excellency will oblige me by informing me if officers of Corps raised by your Authority as Commander in Chief rank with those of Established Regiments or as Provincials, not having Received Instructions from home or found any here relative to these Matters, I am rather at a Loss how to act.—these Gentlemen consider themselves intitled to rank with the Army, not having been raised by an act of this Province & their Commissions not being signed by the Commander in Chief as Governor of a Province but as the King's Representative, I have hitherto made them do duty as Provincials, as well for the good of the Service as in Justice to Experienced Officers.—but if the contrary has been found necessary in the Southern Army I shall Readily adopt it to avoid a possibility of the service suffering from Jealousy or discontent. I likewise Request to know if such Troops, Particularly Rangers on high Pay, are allowed Contingent Men, Batt & Forage Money.—and if any promise has been made from which they are to expect half Pay.—Lieut. Col. Rogers has been here some time but he has been so circumstanced as not to admit of my having much conversation with him.—he says he has engaged 700 men for his Corps but different Reports oblige me to fear that His is not a very faithful one.

I have the Honor to be &/.

To Sir Henry Clinton.

PS. Since I closed my Letter a Scout which was sent for Intelligence is arrived & has brought news Papers Wherein the Count D'Estaing's Miscarriage at Savannah seems sufficiently confirmed to admit of congratulating your Excellency on that Event, which it is to be hoped will not a little contribute to the success of your operations in Carolina—the Result of which I shall wait with great anxiety to be informed of.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 61, p. 19.

A Quebec le 14 fevrier 1780.

Monsieur,

J'ai eu commandement de Son Excellence, de vous ordonner de sa part de faire un Recensement General du Bled, actuellement dans votre Compagnie, dont vous lui ferez votre Rapport, aussitôt qu'il sera possible, à vous lui Envoyerez la Quantité qui se trouve

chez chacun de Vos Habitants, leurs noms, et les noms de ceux qui en ont acheté ou retenu depuis le commencement de L'Hyver, le prix qui en a été donné ou promis, aussi bien que les noms de ceux qui, à vôtre connoissance, en font le Monopole—Monsieur Votre Curé vous aidera dans cette operation, à Son Excellence espère que les opulens se prêteront volontiers à aider ceux qui se trouvent dans l'indigence—

Je suis véritablement, Monsieur,
Votre Très humble Serviteur

Au Capitaine....
de la Paroisse de....
District de.....

Endorsed Lettre Circulaire aux Cap. des milices concernant le Grain du 14 fev. '80—
not sent—

(Translation)

Quebec, 14th Feb. 1780.

I have it in command from His Excellency, to order you to make a General Census of the Wheat, actually in your Company, of which you will make your Report to him as soon as possible, in which you will state the Quantity in possession of each of your inhabitants, their names, and the names of those who have bought or retained it since the beginning of the Winter, the price they have paid or promised, as well as the names of those who, to your knowledge, have made a monopoly of it—your cure will assist you in this duty and His Excellency hopes that the wealthy will willingly agree to assist those who are in poverty.

I am, Sir, etc.

The Captain of the Parish
of.....
District of

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series M, Vol. 319, p. 414.

Military Dispatches.

Quebec, 18th Feby, 1780.

Sir,

I arrived here the 10th of January last from Penobscot which place I left in September last and came by the way of the River St. Johns through the Woods on Snow Shoes—this Province is very quiet at present—General Haldimand is taking great pains to have all the King's Forts under his Command put in the best state of defence to be prepared against any Invasion meditated by the Enemy—he intends sending out a large party of Indians in March next under the Command of Mr. Launiere, an officer in the Indian Department to drive off a large body of the Rebels who have posted themselves near the head of Connecticut River.

I am now raising by order of His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton two Battns of Rangers for His Majesty's Service. One Battn under the Command of my brother, (Major James Rogers), who remains the ensuing campaign at St. Johns near Lake Champlain to receive recruits the different parties he has out may send in—the other Battn to be mustered at Halifax—both are in great forwardness at present.

I shall do myself the Honor to write you on my Arrival at Halifax for which place I mean to set out soon. And am with much respect &c.

Robert Rogers.

Charles Jenkinson, Esqr.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 160, p. 60.

Quebec, 4th March, 1780.

Sir,

Having lately received an Express from Sir Henry Clinton communicating matters of the most flattering import to His Majesty's Interests, I have thought proper to send out a large Body of Indians under the command of Captain Launière, who will

disperse them in small parties upon the Frontiers of New England and employ them there until he shall find it necessary to collect them for the purpose of co-operating in more extensive views. As this service may call him to your post, I have to request that you will give him or any of his Parties whatever assistance they may stand in need of.

I am &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

To the Officer Commanding the King's Troops.
at Penobscot.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, 117. p. 188.

Instructions pour M. le Capitaine Launière, Commandant un Party de Sauvages allant à la découverte—

Il vous est ordonné de partir de Satigan avec 150 ou 200 Sauvages volontaires des sept villages du Canada, & de vous porter sur les frontieres de la Nouvelle Angleterre afin de procurer des Intelligences—Si dans La Route vous rencontrés des Deserteurs allant du Coté des Rebelles ou des Espions Venant de Leur part, vous ferez tout votre possible pour les arretter mort ou vif, de memes que leurs guides, soit qu'ils soyent des Blancs ou des Sauvages, & vous les enverrez ici Prisonniers avec un des Interprette & un Detachement suffisant de Sauvages des plus affidés—Vous continuerez votre Route aussi loin que vous le jugerez le plus prudent et necessaire pour le service du Roy—

Il vous est expressément recommandé de rappeler aux Sauvages en toute occasion les promesses qu'ils ont faites de ne commettre aucun acte de Cruauté sous quelque prétextes que ce puisse être, et vous porterez tous vos soins pour les obliger a tenir leur Parolle à cet Egard ne doutant nullement que les Sauvages ne nous obeissent punctuellement en tout ce que vous Leur ordonnée de ma part—

Dans le cas que vous feriez rencontre de quelque party Sauvage, de la Nouvelle Ecosse, de la Riviere St. Jean où de leurs Environs vous leur ferez voir la Copie du Traitté qu'ils on faite avec le gouverneur d'Halifax, & vous les Sommerés a tenir leur Parolle en se joignant a vous pour executer le service du Roy pour lequel vous etes envoyé, & en cas qu'ils vous refusent, vous les Regarderés comme Ennemis et detruirés leurs Habitations—du Reste vous traiterés avec humanité & comme Prisonniers de Guerre tous ceux qui pourront Tomber entre vos mains—

Endorsed 1780. Instructions to Mr. Launiere leaving Quebec upon a Scout

4th March—

(Translation)

Instructions for Captain Launière, commanding a party of Indians going on a scout.

You are ordered to leave Satigan with 150 or 200 Indians, volunteers from the seven villages of Canada, and to proceed to the frontiers of New England to obtain intelligence—If on the Way, you meet Deserters going towards the rebels or Spies Coming from Them, you will do everything in your power to take them dead or alive, also their guides, whether they be Whites or Indians, and you will send them here as Prisoners, with one of the interpreters and a sufficient detachment of the most trusty Indians—You will continue your advance as far as you deem prudent and necessary for the King's Service.

You are expressly recommended to remind the Indians on every occasion, of the promises they have made, not to commit any act of Cruelty under any pretext whatever, and you will take every care to oblige them to keep their word in this respect, not doubting that the Indians will obey you strictly in every order that you give Them on my part.

In the event that you meet any party of Indians from Nova Scotia, the River St. Jean, or their vicinity, you will show them the Copy of the Treaty which they have made with the governor of Halifax, and you will require them to keep their word by joining you to perform the service of the King upon which you are sent out, and in case they refuse, you will Treat them as Enemies and destroy their Dwellings, further you will treat with humanity and as Prisoners of War, all those who may Fall into your hands.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 17-2, pp. 70-5.

No. 23.

(Extract)

Whitehall, 17th March, 1780.

"Sir Henry Clinton's operations in the Southern Provinces, of which I hope to send you a pleasing account by the Fleet will, I trust, effectually prevent them sending any Troops towards Detroit or Niagara this Year. Sullivan and Gates, I am informed, have both joined Mr. Washington, and yet his whole Force did not in December, exceed Eight Thousand men, and the Time of Service of above a Third of those expired the first day of the New Year, and it was not expected they would take on again, nor were new Levies to be found as the Paper Currency with which the Troops were paid had entirely lost its value. I do not mean by this account of the situation of the Rebel Affairs to suggest that you ought to abate your attention to the Upper Posts. Their Safety is at all times of the highest concern to this country and should any misfortune happen to them I am convinced that the fidelity of the Canadians and Indians would not long bind them to the British Interest.

The Re-establishment of the Post at Oswego or of one upon some better situated part of that communication is a most important object, and I shall be very happy to hear that you have found means of effecting it this Spring. Tho' I do not wish the lower parts of the Province to be unfurnished with Troops for the Reasons which I have given you in my secret Letters both by this conveyance and the Lizard Letter of Marque.

The provision you have made for Joseph's Sister is approved by the King and your Reasons for withholding the marks of Favour proposed to be conferred on him are acquiesced in, not doubting but that you will take a proper Occasion of rewarding the merit & attachment of so zealous and steady a Friend.

.....
Sir John Johnson's great merit entitles him to particular Attention upon this Occasion and if it should happen that the services upon which he is engaged should prevent him from availing himself of the Encouragement now given to compleat his Corps as soon as others, you will nevertheless preserve to his Corps its Rank & Seniority when its condition shall enable you to report in its favor.
.....

George Germain.

Governor Haldimand.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 22, pp. 66-79.

No. 22.

Whitehall, 17th March, 1780.

Governor Haldimand.

Sir,

.....
The drawing over the Inhabitants of the Country they call Vermont to the British Cause appears a matter of such vast Importance for the safety of Canada & as affording the means of annoying the Northern Revolted Provinces that I think it right to repeat to you the King's wishes that you may be able to Effect it though it should be attended with a considerable expense. Besides giving them assurances of erecting the Country into a separate Province the step you have taken of sending Capt. McAlpin & Messrs Peters & Jessup to raise Corps upon the Frontiers will I hope be the means of opening an Intercourse with the Leaders & of diffusing among the People a knowledge of the King's gracious Intentions towards them, and should those Officers succeed in getting Recruits there, their attachment may operate to bring the greatest part of the Body to declare for His Majesty. That no Encouragement may be wanting to induce them &

others to enlist His Majesty has been graciously pleased to allow me to authorize you to hold out the same advantages to the Corps that have been or may be raised under your Authority as have been promised to those raised upon the Coast of the Atlantic and enclosed I send you Extract of my Letter of the 23rd of January, 1779 to Sir Henry Clinton upon that subject which it is the King's pleasure you should consider as addressed to you & govern yourself accordingly.

Your Commission of Governor of the Province of Quebec does not vest you with Authority to pardon Treason, which is the Crime of the 200 Canadians mentioned in your No. 30 but if you are convinced of the sincerity of their Representations and conceive their Return will be attended with advantage to the King's Service, His Majesty permits you to direct the Attorney General to grant a Nolle Prosequi in behalf of all such as you shall judge deserving of the Royal Clemency and upon Report to me of their Names and Description the proper Instructions for their Pardon will be transmitted to you.

I am &c.
George Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 133, pp. 160-2.

Fort St. Johns, March 17th, 1780.

Sir,

The Road Mr. Hazen was employed upon last summer begins at a Town called Peachham on the Connecticut River 20 miles above Lower Cohoes and takes its course to Middle River 48 ms. of it is finished. Mr. Hazen with his Regiment is expected shortly at Cohoes to finish the Road. Magazines of Provisions have been forming all winter on the River Connecticut for the use of the Regiment which is to be transported to the Blockhouses as soon as the Road is begun upon.

Chr. Carleton.

His Excellency,
General Haldimand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 96-2, pp. 141-2.

Quebec,

April 1st, 1780.

No. 23.

Circular To the Officers
Commanding at Niagara Detroit
& Michilimackinac.

Sir/

From considering how precarious the communication between the Upper Posts will unavoidably become should an enemy penetrate into any part of that country I think it essential for His Majesty's service in that case to make every officer responsible for the particular post he commands and therefore should it happen that your communications are interrupted or any of the Posts invested you have full authority to afford any assistance to the Besieged which you judge will best promote the King's service but you are not on any account or pretence whatever to make any Capitulation

or even to enter into or propose any Terms of convention for any Post except that you have the honor of commanding & should the enemy attempt to deceive you by any false capitulation entered into by any of your superior officers you are entirely to disregard such false Capitulation but to defend yourself with that determined bravery which zealous and experienced officers have always done when they consider that delaying an enemy for a few days may frequently be the means of preserving a whole country under the domination of its lawful sovereign.

I am., etc.,

F. H.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 17-1. pp. 81-4.

Whitehall, 4th April, 1780.

No. 24.

Sir,

Although there is good ground to believe the Enemy have laid aside for this year their purpose of invading these Kingdoms as I told you in my Letter of the 17th Instant, it is not judged proper so early in the spring further to unfurnish Great Britain of its Military Force as such large Embarkations have lately been made for the West Indies. I therefore trust that Sir Henry Clinton will in consequence of my repeatedly informing him of the King's Expectations, have sent you so soon as the navigation is open, the Reinforcements you were last year disappointed of through the lateness of the season, as their early arrival with you may be of the greatest importance, diligence has been used in providing the several articles contained in the demands transmitted in your No. 47, and the whole is now shipped in the Bridgewater Store ship which will sail with this Convoy.

I am &c.

George Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 17-1, pp. 87-8.

No. 25.

Whitehall, 8th April, 1780.

Governor Haldimand.

Sir,

When I closed my Despatches to you which you will receive by this Convoy, I expected that the Store ships & Victuallers would be in Readiness to sail with the Trade but I have the Mortification to find that only four of the Victuallers got to Portsmouth and that the others with the Store ships are still in the River.

In the present circumstances of affairs I do not think it proper to delay the Trade and even these four Victuallers an Hour longer than the Men of War appointed to convoy them can be got ready and as I am assured they will be in Readiness to-morrow, I write you this short Letter to inform you how the disappointment has happened, at the same time to assure you that I shall press with the greatest earnestness the departure of what is to follow and I have no doubt they will all sail with the last of the Newfoundland squadron the end of this month.

I am &c.

George Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 154.

New York, May 2d, 1780.

Sir,

The Pearl Frigate is just arrived from England with Dispatches of the 15th March by which I learn that a large Armament was then fitting out at Brest, consisting of several Ships of the Line and a considerable Body of Land Forces, from different circumstances there is reason to believe that either Halifax, Newfoundland, or Canada is their object, they are expected to sail the end of March or beginning of April.

I take the very first opportunity of communicating this to you & I request that you will send a Person to General Haldimand with this Intelligence.

(signed.) Knyphausen.

Endorsed:—

Gl. Knyphausen
of May the 2d.
Received enclosed in
B. G. McLean's Letter of the
5th May sent express by
Land, arrived at Quebec,
the 9th June at night.

(152)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 155-6.

A frigate is just arrived express from England with dispatches of the 15th March informing that a large armament was to sail from Brest the end of it, it consists of ten or twelve ships of the line and a considerable body of land Forces, their destination either Halifax, Newfoundland or Canada.—Perhaps all three, it is not in my Power at present to send a reinforcement to Canada for want of a convoy, but as soon as I can procure one, I will embark one thousand men for Quebec, which is all that can at present be spared from this Post, in my letter of the 23rd March I mentioned to you that a detachment of my regiment wintered at St. Johns & that I believed you would wish to have it at Quebec. You will probably now be desirous of receiving them as soon as possible.

The Rebels who knew of the French armament before the arrival of the pearl frigate give out that it is bound by concert with Washington to the attack of this Place.

.....

.....

Knyphausen.

Endorsed:—

Copy of General Knyphausen's
Letter in Cypher.
May 4th. Rec'd 3d July, 1780.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 140, pp. 113-4.

Quebec, May 10, 1780.

Sir,

Desirous of assisting by every means in my Power the zeal you have manifested for His Majesty's Service, I have directed that the two Armed Brigs, the Polly & Liberty shall be properly fitted out and put under your Command for the purpose of attending

you during your Cruise for the Protection of the Trade and Posts in the lower Parts of this Province.

As a smaller Vessel than either of the Brigs destined to attend you, may be useful particularly in the Beginning of your Cruize to look into the various Bays and Creeks with which this River abounds, the Armed Schooner Mercury shall attend your Orders but as this little Vessel is upon a variety of occasions indispensably necessary at this Place. I should wish she were not detained longer than a Fortnight or three Weeks. when she will convey to me any Information you may think proper to favor me with

I am &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

Captain Young.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 100, p. 373.

Extract from a letter from Major A. S. DePeyster to Lieut. Colonel Mason Bolton, 8th Regiment, commanding at Fort Niagara dated at Detroit, 16th May, 1780.

"P. S. Mons. Maisonville is a Capt'n of Militia at this Place and the only man of the Canadians who is really serviceable to Government in that line.

"I beg leave to recommend him to your notice."

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 167-9.

New York, 17th May, 1780.

Dear Sir,

On the 3d of May the Pearl man o' war brought the advice from Lord G. Germain that a considerable land and sea force were prepared to sail by the end of March against some of his Majesty's possessions in America and that Canada might be one of their objects.

J. de Vaux was sent off next day with notice from General Knyphausen and myself of this intelligence and the intention of sending the troops was repeated. Circumstances and accidents left few men o' war here, and these so disabled that all Captain Montague's endeavors has not before got the scanty convoy ready to sail.

The rebels grow dissatisfied with their present Government and seem more disposed to return to ours. If Charlestown be taken and no french succours arrive, I think the people and the Troops will desert the Congress, their paper money passes at the rate of seventy to one, people don't care to part with their goods or provisions for such trash nor do they take pains to raise more than for the subsistence of their familys, they are in want and have no hope of relief from a new crop, an insect having destroyed all the wheat.—I conclude from the state of their magazines, temper and weakness that they have no intention of invading Canada this summer, that even if their french allys were to attack you by the river an army from these provinces could not move in force to their assistance. I think a french minister in the interest of france would direct the present force against Canada, he could keep this without giving Jealousy to the provinces and in time a division of States might leave france the ruling power in America. D'Estaing's summons to Genl Prevost to surrender Savannah to the king of France gave a jealousy to the provincials which will convince that nation that they'll lose all the rebels if they appropriate one of these provinces.

But I'm told that Franklyn dictates the french measures, in that case the storm is surely directed against this place, should this happen, you shall have notice by several runners thro' the woods, possibly you might order some movements on the frontiers of this province to divide the Enemy's force.—Should the french force be directed up the St. Lawrence on an early notice from you, we might make some movements that might be advantageous to you.

I ever am, &c.

James Robertson

His Excellency,
General Haldimand.

Endorsed:—

From
Genl Robertson,
17th May, Rec'd 25th June
by the Swift.

A. 1780.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 139, pp. 29-30.

Quebec, 18th May, 1780.

Sir,

Altho' it is probable you have been informed that a Rebel Scout of 8 men has been at the Mill near Chambly & at the Mountain & that you have consequently taken measures to seize upon them, yet the importance of intercepting these Emissaries always employed at this Season to procure Intelligence upon arrivals from Europe, but from Information I have received particularly intended this year, I must recommend to you the most diligent Perseverance in discovering & apprehending these Spies and those with whom they communicate, having wrote to the several Posts from their Situation most likely to succeed in this service, I shall think it unfortunate if some of the Rebels, said to be in the Country do not fall into our Hands the success of this will in a great measure depend upon the Inhabitants being as little Allarmed as possible, the Scouts should therefore be sent out privately with instructions to avoid touching at Habitations except where they expect to succeed as they should be careful of not falling in with & hurting each other. For the Encouragement of the Scouts upon this particular Service they shall receive Ten Guineas for every Prisoner taken alive.

I have likewise hopes that by means of the Priest or some Person you may be able to employ among the Habitans with a Promise of an Handsome Reward some Discovery may be made.

I am, &c.

(Unsigned.)

Lieut. Col.
St. Leger.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 150, pp. 61-3.

Quebec, 28th May, 1780.

Sir,

I leave the enclosed open to shew you the disappointment of my Expectation from a strong Scout I sent with orders to penetrate as far as Penobscot & to assist the commanding officer in whatever he might judge fit to undertake, which if executed Lieut. Colonel Campbell informs Machias might have been reduced. Mr. Launière, who com-

manded, was forsaken by all the Indians except two or three & by dint of perseverance made his way to Penobscot.

.....

I am &c.

Fred Haldimand.

Brigr. General Francis Maclean.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 149, pp. 112-3.

Government House, Halifax.

31st May, 1780.

Sir,

.....

I was much pleased to hear by the Officer who commands this Brigantine that a Reinforcement of upwards of a thousand men are past this Port and on their way to Quebec, so respectable an addition to your Garrison and the happiness of its being under your direction will, I dare say, give the Enemy so much trouble should they attempt an Attack on Quebec as may probably enable a Squadron of the King's Ships (which we have reason to believe are in pursuit of them), sufficient time to bring the French into the same kind of dilemma which happened to the Rebel Fleet at Penobscot.

.....

I have the honor to be, &c.

Rd. Hughes.

General Haldimand

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 136, pp. 54-5.

Sir,

.....

Lieut. Fraser has been directed to extend a chain of small Posts within hearing of musquet shot from one to the other from the Rapids on Yamaska River to a small lake with an Indian name signifying the lake with a great marsh, six leagues distance, the two leagues from thence to St. Johns Major Carleton will occupy in the same manner, by this means with the smallest degree of vigilance, the Parties being ordered to meet each other morning and evening, there will be scarce a Possibility of a Scout entering or returning from the Province by that route unnoticed.

Lieut. Crofts with his Party strengthened by a Volunteer Party of the finest and most loyal young fellows of this parish, who have been sent off with the secrecy recommended, will watch the Portage from the Forks of the St. Francois to the Nicolet River, the usual Track of Spies coming towards Becancour, where I am informed there is more than one Traytor ready to assist them in the execution of the Business they are sent upon.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Barry St. Leger.

Sorel, ye 1st June, 1780.
(To General Haldimand.)

(160)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 140, pp. 120-1.

Quebec, 6th June, 1780.

Sir,

By the Armed Ship Lizard which arrived here the 3rd of this month I Received Intelligence from His Majesty's Secretary of State, which I think proper to Communicate to you, of which the inclosed is an Extract,—from the Confidence which I have in your Zeal for the King's Service I entirely rely upon you for the Execution of the Directions therein given in Case of a Fleet of the Enemy entering into the Gulph of St. Lawrence. The utmost diligence is evidently necessary in giving Intelligence to Admiral Arbuthnot, Sir Henry Clinton and the Governor of Nova Scotia for which purpose you have my full Consent to Dispatch from the Provincial Vessels under your Command such of them as you will think best calculated for Dispatch, reserving nevertheless the Mercury so that I may Receive the Earliest Intelligence of the Approach of an Enemy by her means, which it may be in your Power to Convey to me.—In order to reinforce you I have taken into the Provincial Service a Ship of 22 Guns, which has arrived from Liverpool, & which will sail as I am given to Hope, before the 15th instant at furthest.—The propriety of your Destroying in case of such an Event everything on the Isle of Bicq will Occur to Yourself & I cannot sufficiently Recommend you to take such measures as will secure all the Pilots which can in any Respect be of Service to the Enemy. Captain Schanks tells me the Canceaux will sail for Bicq with Provisions the Latter end of this Week which will likewise facilitate you in taking measures necessary for Securing the Pilots. Before the Receipt of this Letter I hope you have taken steps to procure a Safe Convoy to the Transports at the Island of St. Johns with 300 Hessians who are much wanted here.

I am, &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

Captain Young.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 202, pp. 94-6.

Sir,

.....

 The Privateer had been ten days from Salem, arrived at Percée the 4th June and fired many shot at Mr. Peter Fraser and his people, who returned the Compliment with their two four pounders, the same weight of metal as the Privateer's, if we had two twelves or two nines, no Privateer would dare or Could take any of our Craft from under our Guns. I must beg leave to recommend Mr. Peter Fraser and the Percée Militia to some mark of Your Excellency's favour. They are Loyal & Brave and have exerted themselves on every occasion.

I have the honor to be &c.

Nichs. Cox.

Percee, 8th June, 1780.

We have but Little Ammunition left.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 122, p. 489.

By Clothing & Arming a body of Canadians, and by raising the Indians a second time, to march & oppose the Rebels who threatened Detroit, My design was to harrass Mr. Clark on his way up the Wabash, and to put a body at St. Joseph's sufficient to

oppose Linctot, with his cavalry from the Pey. Few of the Indians proceed further than St. Joseph's, but I am nevertheless persuaded that the noise of their assembling after Mr. Hamilton's defeat, so contrary to rebel expectations, did in a great measure oblige them to retire and, to lay aside their Expedition, especially as they were also informed that the Scioux were to fall upon the Habitations of the Creoles, if they marched with Clark against Detroit.

Endorsed.—A No. 2 1780 From Major De Peyster Detroit 8th June
Reed 28th Copy in Book marked B. No. 3 Page 5.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 133, p. 192.

Fort St. Johns, June the 21st, 1780.

Sir,

I had the Honor of informing Your Excellency that a Rebel Scout was gone down to Quebec. I learnt two days ago that they were Canadians who Deserted to the Rebels some time ago, one is named Gerard, the other Boileau, after picking up what intelligence they could in the neighbourhood of Quebec they were to go down the south shore to meet the Fleet which they expect will be a French one, they have letters for different Persons whom they expect will be on Board. Gerard told the Canadian at whose house he lay concealed that as soon as he could get back to the Colonies he was to Pilot a large Party of Rebs. to Yamaska in order to cut off that Post.

Chr. Carleton.

His Excellency,
General Haldimand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 133, p. 194.

St. Johns, 24th June, 1780.

My Brave Major,

I am impatient to Hear from you and likewise the situation of your Army, all our Friends are well and would be vary glad to See you in our parts, their is not Any of the Fleet aRived as yet I have Found Provision and sent off two of your men who have Departed from Chambly and Provided them with Fierlocks they are two Likely Young men which I make no doubt you will youse well.

Sir if you are a mine that I should enlist a Company of Canadians and will make me a Captain and to send me such Orders as you wish to have Dun I shall Do my best to fulfill the same

I am Sir

your most Humble Servant

I can inlist four Companys in three Days and I shall Point you to meet me.

Peter Charlo his mark X.

Endorsed

Major Brown commanding on the
Frontear american.

(165)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 182-83.

New York, June 26th, 1780.

Sir,

I am this day favored with letters from the Admiralty Board which announce that six Ships of the Line and a body of Four thousand forces are about to sail from Brest to co-operate with the Rebels in this Country.

It is at the same time said that their designs are not against Canada. Should they, however, presume to interrupt your tranquility, Your Excellency may rest assured I shall endeavor to prevent them, and for that purpose endeavor to protect you eventually with all my force.

.....

I have the honor to be &c.
M. Arbuthnot.

His Excellency General Haldimand.

Endorsed:—

From. 1780.

Admiral Arbuthnot.
26th June,
Rec'd 6th Octr.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 202, pp. 97-8.

Quebec, 28th June, 1780.

Sir,

.....

It gives me pleasure to hear that your Militia is so well disposed and have already given you so much satisfaction. I am persuaded your Government of them will be a further Inducement to continue their zeal and Attachment for their King and his Interests.

I send you by this opportunity a Twelve Pounder with Ammunition and as your People from want of knowledge and an anxiety to do well might be apt to overload the Gun, I have directed a proper measure to be sent. Should any more Privateers venture to Percée, it might not be Amiss to reserve the Fire of the Twelve Pounder until they approach very near, which by firing only your four Pounders they might well not be afraid to do, by which means a few Rounds well pointed might disable a Vessel...

.....

I am, &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

Major Cox.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 133, pp. 98-9.

Fort St. John, June the 28th, 1780.

Sir,

I have the Honour to enclose Your Excellency a letter sent by the Canadian at whose House my two young men were concealed. His Name is Piere Charlo Grenie. He lives about two miles from hence on the Laprarie Road. He grew so apprehensive of the Officers of Militia finding them out that he made them set off but fitted them out exceedingly well. I have sent them to Scout Round Mississqui Bay & in the neighbourhood of Point au Fer for 4 weeks to send them out of the Way, at that time they may return & execute any Plan Your Excellency may think proper, had they remained it would have been impossible to conceal them as the Intelligence of those People is exceedingly good. If a Scout goes out they know it directly, & tho' they don't know their precise destination, it puts them on their Guard & being well acquainted with the Geography of the Country are able to guess tolerably near.

The Time being nearly expired when they expect a Scout in I am trying to get a couple of Steady men employed by the Canadians to cut timber near the House of one Madame Contey, (2½ miles from the Mill on the Mountain), as I find the letters are all deposited there that are brought in. Her Son or Nephew, I can't find which, being

a Lieut. in the Rebel Service, she has a servant maid. I mean to set a smart young lad after her by which means I hope to secure the letters.

I have the honor to be, &c.
Chr. Carleton.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, June 29, 1780.

Sunday last arrived here, in about five weeks from New-York, under convoy of the Thames frigate and the Swift and Otter sloops of war, a number of transports, having on board His Majestys 44th regiment, commanded by Capt. Norton, Senior Officer; General Lossberg's regiment and part of General Knyphausen's regiment of Hessians, the former under the command of Col. de Loos; and a number of Brunswickers, all in good health. The frigate left them after they had entered the River, and the sloops came up with them.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 135, pp. 117-8.

Quebec, 3rd July, 1780.

Sir,

I have received your Letters of the 27th & 28th Instant with the News Papers & Grenier's Letter which is of a very serious nature & requires a particular Inquiry into, for if sufficiently proved, he would be a proper object for example. It would appear that one of the Informers has written the Letter from his Diction, but as he can neither read nor write himself, there can be no Doubt he would upon Trial deny every word of it & probably be acquitted in which case the Purpose of apprehending him would be lost & the Canadians become so apprehensive of being deceived, that all endeavours for the Discovery of Spies by that means would be at an end—as soon as you have an opportunity please to inform yourself of every circumstance relative to the writing of that letter & acquaint me thereof. I am sorry the men employed on this business have been obliged to remove but I shall hope for success from your other scheme, men sent on these occasions should let their Beards grow & appear very Dirty as if they had been some time concealed in the woods.

I am &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

Major Carleton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 183.

I have received your dispatches of Novr & January & I have received Information from the Minister of the 3d May. Monsieur Ternay is supposed to have sailed about the 3d May with seven ships of the line & from 20 to 25 Transports &c., having on board five Thousand two hundred land Forces & that their destination is still supposed to be Canada, by Information I have received here the french Armament will assemble at rhode Island a division of which will proceed under the command of the Marquis de Fayette by Connecticut River and No. 4 across the lakes to Saint Johns, the other by the river saint Lawrence.

H. C.
6th July.

Endorsed:—
From Sir. H. Clinton. 1780.
6th July. Rec'd 5th Septr.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 206-8.

Quebec, 11th July, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I am making every Preparation in my Power to guard against an Event of which those letters were to caution me, heartily concurring in your opinion that the Interest of France would make this Province the object of her Attempts which would be facilitated by almost a general Revolt of the Inhabitants.

I have Batteaux ready upon Lake Champlain to make a diversion in your favor should it be necessary, but I have the mortification to add that nothing beyond Crown Point could be expected of me from a scarcity of Provisions to which our additional numbers greatly contributed—had not the arrival of some flour in two Runners from England enabled me to make Purchases of that Article from them and in the Country my stores might have been entirely exhausted—upon the strength of which and the season being at hand when the Victuallers must arrive, if ever, I am now sending out to all Quarters to collect men for the purpose of Re-establishing one or two Battalions formed in 76 of Loyalists, which, with some Companies of Canadians, I shall endeavor to raise, will, I imagine, give me a force sufficient to protect this Province.

Yours &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

Major General Robertson.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 189-91.

Quebec, the 11th July, 1780.

Sir,

Your Reasons sufficiently Justify your not completing the Reinforcement for this Province to the number first intended, and the scarcity of Provisions in it reconciles me to the Disappointment. We have not yet had any Intelligence of the Provision Fleet and should any unfortunate Event retard its arrival very long I shall not only find a difficulty in subsisting the Troops I already have but be prevented adding considerably to my Force by new Levies which I purpose making as soon as I shall be furnished with the means of supporting them.

I am Busied making every Preparation in my Power to resist any attempt that may be meditated against this Province, and altho' its Force and Resources are not such as I could wish yet the safe arrival of the Victuallers would leave me very Little to apprehend for the Consequences.

I have the honour to be &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

Lieut. Genl. Knyphausen.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 17-2, pp. 118-124.

No. 57.

Quebec, July 12th, 1780.

My Lord,

I cannot omit the opportunity of Transports returning to New York to acknowledge the Honor of Your Lordship's Letters of the 2d (No. 22), and 17th of March by the Lizard Armed Vessel tho' I hope Your Lordship will hear from me directly from Quebec before this Letter can be expected to reach you.

I am employing every means in my Power to guard against the attempt Your Lordship's last Letter warned me of.—I have the Honor to be entirely of Your Lordship's opinion in Regard to the little to be apprehended from the efforts of the Rebels distinctly against this Province now that our Successes and their want of Resources have damped their Ardour.—Indeed I never was very apprehensive except for the Indian Country, nor should I have applied to Sir Henry Clinton for a Reinforcement but from apprehensions more alarming to the safety of this Province, which I have had the Honor repeatedly to signify to Your Lordship and which now appear to have been well founded—nor have I the least reason to alter my Sentiments upon that Subject—Many Letters have Been circulated amongst the Inhabitants persuading them that an Invasion by the French is certainly intended this Summer, a measure which would appear to be the Interest of that Nation as this Province might be kept without giving Jealousy to the others and in Time upon a Division of States might leave France the ruling Power in America.—but I hope the opportunity is lost from their not having made the attempt last Fall and the subsequent Successes of His Majesty's Arms will render it a dangerous undertaking.

I am happy I have it in my Power to acquaint Your Lordship that about 1,000 men of the Reinforcement which failed in a Passage last Autumn, arrived here safe the 25th ulto. composed of the Remains of the 44th Regiment and German Troops under the command of Colonel de Loos & so if the blow should be directed against Canada and that our Victuallers arrive before it falls, I cannot say that I am very apprehensive for the Consequences, particularly as the Motions of the French Fleet are so carefully watched over. Captain Young with His Majesty's Ship Hind, another strong ship and three smaller Armed Vessels, is cruising in the Gulph by which means Intelligence may be communicated with dispatch as recommended by Your Lordship.

.....
The Lizard and another ship from Liverpool had fortunately some hundred Barrels of Flour on Board which I purchased—this lowered in some measure the amazing price of Flour, and has enabled me to purchase some in the Country, otherwise I should at present be without that Article, having now enough to last until the Fleet must arrive, I have taken advantage of the reported Success of Sir Henry Clinton to send into the Colonies to collect men in hope of being able to compleat the Corps of Loyalists which were attempted to be formed in 77 and which I mentioned to Your Lordship my intention of doing last Autumn and forming Companies of Canadians—it is fortunate I deferred it, as I could not have supplied them with Provisions. I have likewise given orders for raising a Second Battalion to Sir John Johnson's Corps in which I make no doubt he will be successful.

I have acquainted General Knyphausen that if the expected Blow should be directed against New York, it will be in my Power to make a diversion in his Favor in the neighbourhood of Crown Point, having Bateaux ready upon Lake Champlain.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

The Right Honourable.
Lord George Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 135, p. 120.

Quebec, 13th July, 1780.

Sir,

.....

I have no objection to your answering Grenier's letter and doing in that affair as you see fit, in which I wish you success. I am employing every means in my Power here for the same end. If you should be able to discover with any degree of certainty whence the two Canadians are to set out to give Intelligence of any large Parties that may be sent up the Lake, it would be worth while to make a Feint on purpose to seize them. I have likewise Intelligence that Canadians in the neighbourhood of Isle Jesus, Terre Bonne & La Chine are prepared to engage men to join the Rebels said to intend penetrating by Yamaska.

.....

I am, &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

Major Carleton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 47, p. 10.

Frederick Haldimand, Captain General, and Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec and territories depending thereon, &c. &c. General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in said Province and frontiers thereof, &c. &c. &c.

To Sir John Johnson, Knight & Baronet.

Whereas it appears from the number of men you have already over and above the Establishment of a Regiment, that a second Battalion to it, through your assiduous exertions may speedily be formed and compleated, and as such a Levy at this Juncture can but prove advantageous to His Majesty's Service and induce many loyal subjects from the neighbouring rebellious Colonies to enroll under your command, I do for these reasons and by virtue of the Powers in me vested authorize you by beat of Drum or otherwise forthwith to raise a second Battalion, consisting of Ten Companies, that is to say One Major & Captain, nine Captains more, Twelve Lieuts, eight Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Adjutant, one Quarter Mr., one Surgeon, one Mate, Thirty Serjeants, Thirty Corporals, Twenty-six Drummers or Fifers, and Five hundred and thirty Privates to be paid, clothed & accoutred in the same manner as the First and called the Second Battalion of the Royal Yorkers, to both of which you are hereby appointed Lieut. Colonel Commandant, whereof all Officers & soldiers to them belonging are ordered & directed to obey you as their Lieut. Colonel Commandt. according to the Rules & discipline of War.

Given under my hand and seal at arms at Quebec this 13th day of July, 1780.

Fred. Haldimand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 202, pp. 99-102.

Sir,

My Letter on the 8th June was wrote the day after I landed, so that I had no time to see the Inhabitants & Inquire into their Situation, am sorry to say I find them in great misery owing to want of Bread, some of them not having had any for five or six months and greatly discontented expecting some Provisions to have been purchased and sent them.

I ordered them under Arms and told them they might depend Your Excellency doing every thing in your power to assist them, that they had never been promised provisions and had either been deceived by some person or deceived themselves, explained their duty to them as a Militia and brought them into Good Temper. The day after Captain Tongue left Percée with the schooner Mercury, the Haldiman was chased into a little cove behind Point St. Peter by an American Privateer carrying 26 Guns, nine & twelve pounders, one hundred and forty men, and after a smart firing for some time, was obliged to quit her with an intent to return next morning, but on the appearance of the Wolf, she went off. I sent a Boat with some Volunteers to the assistance of the Haldiman.

The Privateer after the Engagement landed Captain Raking and his people who are now on board the Wolf.

I have received your letter by the Wolf and Your Excellency may depend upon my exerting myself to the utmost to keep the Militia well disposed and to continue their zeal and Attachment for the King and His Interests.

The Gun is landed and I will get her off the Beach as soon as possible, the Enemy will soon hear of it as I am told some People at Point St. Peters give them Intelligence of every Vessel and Craft that Sails up and down the River with their Cargoes, &c..... Every exertion of the Inhabitants has been chiefly owing to Mr. Peter Frazer who on all occasions spared neither himself nor his property, in the latter he has suffered on the King's Account but Makes no demand on Government, if I dare, I would wish to recommend him to Your Excellency's notice.

I have the honor to be, &c.
Nichs. Cox.

Percee,
13th July, 1780.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 20, pp. 40-1.

Chambly, the 18th July, 1780.

Sir,

I sent a Person into Montreal as I told Your Excellency I intended doing—it was very fortunate I did for there seems to be the Head of the Snake. I hope by next Post to be sufficiently Acquainted with all his folds to lay them open to Your Excellency. My Reason for touching on the subject now is to acquaint Your Excellency that these People intending sending off a very large Party the latter end of this week—I got their Departure put off till the 28th or 29th of the month, perhaps when it comes to the Point they want Courage to carry it through but the Person I sent into Montreal certainly saw a List of between 50 & 60 who were engaged—this Party is set on foot by one Dr. Pillion, who has a son with the Rebels. Mr. Hazen & Pillion correspond constantly.—I am told about six weeks ago a Party, 15 in number, agreed to go off but only 5 met agreeable to appointment, those were discouraged by the rest falling off & gave it up for that time. Charlo Grinie (whose letter I had the honor of sending you), does not intend moving with his four companies till the month of September or beginning of October—the Canadians are much discontented at not hearing of Grenade—but still expect him every Day—I shall be glad to have Your Excellency's Commands touching Pillion's Party—if you wish to intercept them, it can easily be done as I can contrive to be the Person who furnishes the Guide by which means we shall know precisely the Road they take.

I have the honor to be &c.
Chr. Carleton.

His Excellency,
General Haldimand.
3573—11½

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 133, pp. 210-11.

Chambly, July the 23rd, 1780.

Sir,

I am sorry it is not in my power to lay before Your Excellency the source of what I had the Honour of mentioning to you in my last, being as yet not sufficiently Master of it. I have discovered a Person who is going off shortly with Letters. I shall take care not to loose sight of that Gentleman, there will go three or four more with him, the whole I suppose must be surpris'd and carried some-where that their capture will not be known, or it would discover all our Plot. I hope I shall know Your Excellency's Pleasure by next Post respecting Pillioug's Party for fear of accidents.

I have the honor to be &c.

Chr. Carleton.

His Excellency,
General Haldimand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 149, pp. 154-5.

Halifax, 24th July, 1780.

Sir,

.....
.....
Sir Henry Clinton in his letter to me which accompanied the inclosed, mentioned that from every Information he had received there is great reason to believe the French Armament now to consist of Seven Ships of the Line and 5,200 Land Forces is destined for Canada and supposed to have sailed about the 3rd of May and that Admiral Arbuthnot will be reinforced in proportion.

It is, however, proper to inform Your Excellency that since his writing that Letter I have certain Accounts that several of our Frigates fell in with the French Armament near the Entrance to the Chesapeak, that they plainly perceived at least ten sail of the Line and about Forty large transports, they were then standing to the Northward, and the General Conjecture was that they were bound to Rhode Island. As it is impossible to foresee what will be their object, we are making every preparations necessary, on a supposition their views may be turned towards this place.....

I have the honor to be &c.

Fras. McLean.

His Excellency,
General Haldimand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 135, pp. 122-3.

Quebec, 24th July, 1780.

Sir,

.....
.....
The Discoveries made by your Emissary at Montreal are very promising. I leave the Direction of that whole affair to your management in which you have hitherto been so successful.

I would by all means have Pillon's party intercepted & by a chosen & sufficient number of men to avoid a Possibility of their escaping which should they refuse to sur-

render, must in all Events be prevented, should this affair go forward the cheque it will Receive, will discourage Grenier from making a like Attempt but I hope not prevent his Intention being detected in such a manner as to bring him & the Principals to Punishment.

I am, &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

Major Carleton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 135, pp. 124-5.

27th July, 1780, Quebec.

Sir,

I hope you will be able to effect your Purpose of seizing the Person who is soon to set out with Letters. Your observation that the capture of that Party must be kept secret is very just. I do not see a possibility of doing it affectually except by marching them directly into some very retired Part in the Woods, where a sufficient Guard must be kept over them with positive orders to keep them tied constantly & during the night both Hands & Feet. Provisions can from time to time be sent to them by a Trusty man or two belonging to the Guard. When seized they must be separated for some time untill they are minutely searched & Examined which will require infinite Cleverness & Attention and as more is to be apprehended from the verbal Messages these People may be charged with than the Letters they bear, it will not be amiss after they are separated to threaten them with immediate execution for which the Non-commissioned Officers or Persons you employ will have Ropes prepared.—they should likewise have Pen, Ink & Paper to prevent mistakes in names or circumstances related to them which might afterwards be denied.

I am &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

Major Carleton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 20, pp. 42-3.

Chambly, July 30th, 1780.

Sir,

The person I had the Honor of reporting to your Excellency is not gone as yet I am informed he now waits Monsr Du Calvet's Return from Quebec, who is gone down to get Letters & if possible a Plan of the New Work. In order to ascertain if the Person I sent to Montreal was Received with the Confidence I wished, I directed him to Let himself be seen, as it were by Accident by some of the Royalists, they were exceedingly distressed at the misfortune & insisted on his setting off directly. the movement was so sudden that Pillion had only time to wrte the enclosed, which Your Excellency will perceive, was interlined & wrote in milk, which by means of fire I brought out as you see. Pillion told the man when he delivered the Paper how it was to be treated.

I have the honor to be &c.
Chr. Carleton.

His Excellency,
General Haldimand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 135, pp. 126-7.

Quebec, 3rd August, 1780.

Sir,

I have Received your letter of the 30th Ultimo, covering the Slip of Paper, procured by means of the man you employ, whose endeavours, I hope will remain undiscovered until their object arrives at maturity, the Person you mention to have set out for this Place, I have some Reason to suspect & I make no doubt his Errand has been faithfully related to you but I hope the fruits of it & other useful discoveries will come to light by the means you have employed—as Dispatches on these Occasions are always prepared to be destroyed or thrown away, the greatest caution will be necessary in seizing the Person or Persons who may be charged with them to prevent or discover any attempt of the kind & they must be stripped naked that the minutest search may be made.

I am &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

Major Carleton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 17-2, pp. 107-111.

Whitehall, 8th Augt. 1780.

No. 26.

Governor Haldimand,

Sir,

We have also reason to believe that Monsieur de Ternai's Destination is for Boston and that the French have relinquished all thoughts of sending a Force into the River St. Lawrence this year. So soon therefore as you receive certain Intelligence of Monsieur de Ternai being in Boston I trust you will send forth considerable Detachments towards the Frontiers of the Rebel Provinces, especially on the side of New York to draw the attention of the Militia of the Northern Provinces to that Quarter and facilitate Sir Henry Clinton's operations and could you by any means induce the Vermont People to put themselves under the King's Protection, it would be a most essential service at this time.

I am &c.

Geo. Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 205, pp. 68-9.

St. Johns, Aug. 13, 1780.

Sir,

About 12 o'clock, thursday, a party of the 29th took a Prisoner, his name Duford from Montreal, who was going into the Colonies. All papers that was found on the Prisoner is in the enclosed pocket Book. The Guide Caleb Carston run away upon the Prisoner being taken and came to me with the other enclosed Papers which he got the day before from the Prisoner. The sergeant of the party had the Prisoner Strip'd and searched very strictly but could not find any more papers.

He also had him tied to a tree and declared he would hang him directly if he did not tell him all about his going off. The Prisoner said his reason was being very much in debt.

I am &c
 Wm. Monsell,
 Capt. 29th Rgt.

Genl Haldimand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 221-4.

Aug. 13th, 1780.

Letter to Sir Henry Clinton in Cypher.

I have taken much pains by Prisoners and intelligent Loyalists to discover if any thing might be effected with Allen and the People of Vermont.—I am assured by all that no dependence can be had in Him—his character is well known and his Followers or dependents are a Collection of the most abandoned Wretches that ever lived, to be bound by no Laws or Ties—Allen formed Connections in this Province when He first invaded it and I make no doubt has emissaries here now—if you can bring Him over & that He proves faithful, it will be a great Event but you have every thing to suspect from his Character—in all events if he should be able to collect and Arm 4,000 men I do not think it would be advisable to trust Him with Them in this Province in its present weak and disaffected Situation, (it being impossible for me to collect in any one Situation half that number to oppose Them), for under a Pretence of joining the King's Troops, he may watch his opportunity and with the assistance of the Canadians or on the appearance of a French Flag, seize upon the Province. His joining your Army or even remaining in Possession of Albany opens Communications between us and effectually secures this Province and the upper country—it is to be feared that your Messenger to Him has fallen into the Enemy's Hands for his Intention of joining our Army is known and was mentioned here in Public by Coll. Rogers who at the same time said that Allen had collected a Force to defend his own State against both King and Congress.

Allen has never made any overtures to me—if he should in Consequence of what has passed between you and Him. You may depend I shall improve Them.—I hear from Halifax that a Spanish Packet has been brought into New York with an authentic copy of a Treaty between the Courts of France and Spain and Franklin in which Congress bind Themselves by 20 of June 80 to hand over the two Floridas to Spain and the Provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia to the French—it had likewise transpired that d'Estaing's Fleet was actually intended for the attack of these last Provinces and I am convinced it was expected by the Canadians who in general & even some of the best of Them could not help discovering their Expectations & afterwards a disappointment on their not being fulfilled. Two Ships of the Line would have effected their Purpose & if it should be pursued in the Spring & any Misfortune happen to prevent Supplies arriving before it is undertaken this Province is lost—at the same time some thing must be done to save the upper Posts and preserve the Indians. If I should not be able from a want of Troops and Provisions to take Post at Oswego, the great key both to them and this Province there is not a chance of keeping the Indians in our Interest. If I should attempt it with an inadequate Force and fail the Event would be the same. Oswego is at present totally defenceless. The Labour will be prodigious and a few Hundreds will answer no purpose but be for a long time open to the Attack of the Enemy, who may collect a Force & in security at Fort Stanwix and convey Themselves from thence in four days, having long made every necessary Preparation of Bateaux &c. in Expectation of having this to do.—I think, however, that the attempt must be made and I have determined to undertake it, provided no immediate danger should threaten this Part of the Province & that I can by any means be furnished with a necessary supply of Provisions.

F. H.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 223.

New York, 14th Augt. 80.

received the 9th Sept.

Monsieur Ternay arrived the 12th ultimo at Rhode Island with seven sail of the line, three Frigates and about five Thousand Troops who are said to be sickly.—there is little probability of their attempting Canada this year, their principal Efforts being directed against this Place.

Endorsed:—

Chiffre.

du ch. Clinton du

14me d'Aout. 80.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 61, p. 46.

Quebec, ce 16e Aoust, 1780.

Monsieur,

Son Excellence Monsieur le General Haldimand vient d'être informé qu'hier à environ une heure du matin il est passé par St. Croix le long de la grève cinq hommes armés se disant Bastonnois dont deux sont françois ou Canadiens—un autre Panis ou sauvage parlant françois—disent avoir descendu par la Rivière St. françois et viennent chercher des nouvelles—ils doivent être actuellement dans la Paroisse de St. Nicholas ou aux environs. Son Excellence m'ordonne de vous dire que vous ayiez à faire toutes les Perquisitions possibles pour tâcher de les decouvrir, et si vous avez besoin de l'assistance des Trupes pour les arrêter de vous adresser a M. le Brigadier de Rauschenplat ou l'officier commandant a la Point Levy lequel a ordres de vous donner toute le secours dont vous avez besoin.

Le Personne qui a donné ces Intelligences est de vos connoissances et il se nomme Joseph Duquet de Ste. Croix, eAt étant à sa pêche lorsque ces gens sont passé et il leur a parlé lui même.

Je suis &c.

L. Genevay.

a Monsieur Launiere.

Endorsed:—

To Mr. Launière, Senr. at Sattigan of 16th August.

(Translation)

Quebec, 16th August, 1780.

Sir:

His Excellency, General Haldimand has been informed that yesterday, about 1 o'clock in the morning, five men passed through St. Croix along the shore who said they were Bostonians, of whom two were French or Canadians—another a Panis or Indian speaking French—they said they had come down the river St. Francis and were looking for news—they should be now in the parish of St. Nicholas or in the neighbourhood. His Excellency orders me to tell you that you should make all possible investigations and endeavour to discover them, and if you need the assistance of troops to arrest them, to make application to Brigadier de Rauschenplatz or on the officer commanding at Point Levis, who has orders to give you all the aid which you require.

The person who has given this information is known to you, and his name is Joseph Duquet of St. Croix, he was fishing when these people passed and spoke with them himself.

I am, etc.,

L. Genevay.

To Mr. Launière.

Endorsed:—

To Mr. Launière, Sr. at Sattigan of 16th August.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 122, p. 537.

Captain Hare with the Rangers & Canadian Volunteers, tho' little can be expected from the latter, are moving to oppose them with all the Indians Mr. McKee can muster. At this instant, accounts from Captain Mompesson, advise that 200 Pirogues with Creoles, are on their way to Michilimakinac to revenge the stroke lately made upon them. I however am inclined to think, that no force from that country will attempt that Post at a season, when they have so strong a Militia and that their Expedition must be against the Indian country only.

Endorsed:—No. 3 Entered 1780 From Major De Peyster 31st August Recd. 27th Sepr. Copy in Book marked B. No. 3 Page 6.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 205, pp. 70-2.

Translation of a Letter signed Boyer, (Pillon's Christian name), addressed to General Washington and the Marquis de La Fayette.

Montreal, 7th Sept. 1780.

Sir,

In the profession of arms compliments should be composed alone of Powder and Cannon. Benevolence, Firmness and Grandeur of Soul should grace its actions. To you therefore it is only necessary to add that with the Friends of Liberty I am entirely devoted to Her Call.

In this Country provisions of Flour and Beef are not wanting. Zeal has opened to you the Route. Three fourths of the Province are in your favour, we only wait for intelligence of your Party whether good or bad without disguise. If your Army is in motion we shall take measures to second you. William Osburn will inform you of my name. I suped with him last night upon a sucking pig, find means to answer this as soon as possible. I have numbers ready to join you upon the march and I shall set off with 35 men, the rest not being equal to such a march, and I shall expect intelligence from you. I recommend to the General Officers the son of a Father who is a true friend to the friends of Liberty. William Osburn will name him to you. It is not for myself only that I speak but also for a great many of our friends.

In future I shall only write on blank paper which may be read by the directions of the Person who will be the bearer of it. I entreat Mr. Washington in particular to believe me to be sincerely the friend of the friends of our friends, his most humble and obedient servant.

(Signed.) Boyer.

The people of Chambly are the same I believe. That in the minds of the people in general among other things when they are desperate that those who are sincere will not change and that there are with you prisons and dungeons.

Sir,

If you will send me four or five War Commissions similar to those given to Ships as Letters of Marque, leaving a blank for the name, it would answer a good purpose here with respect to the movements of our marine nothing will remain to be done but to sign the commissions, to seal them and date them of the day when they shall be delivered. I myself will act under one of them and the others shall be given to true men.

Shewn to Pillon on the 20th day of October and acknowledged by him to be his handwriting.

To Messrs. Washington, Marquis de La Fayette.

J. Brun.
Ezenne.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 205, p. 73.

We, the Subscribers, do hereby certify and acknowledge to have received at the hands of Capt. Wm. Osburn each of us for ourselves, our respective Warrants in order to raise a number of able bodied men for the service of the United States By order of His Excellency General George Washington, which we most faithfully promise to perform at the risque of our lives and fortunes as Witness our Hands this 8th Sepr. 1780.

River Sorell, Cannada.

Louis Nadau.

his

Piere + Charlong.

mark

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 205, p. 291.

(Translation of a paper in Pilon's handwriting.)

Sir,

A person who will render a better account as well of the behaviour of my son as of those with whom he has formed this Plot, and where he was almost day and night at the Biliard Table of a person named La Joye in my absence whilst I was in the country. There is wheat and flour stored in Granaries prepared for the Americans. These are things easy to foresee. Even in Town Mr. Du Calvet has a great quantity in his Granaries and elsewhere.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 227-8.

(The original in Cypher.

Quebec, the 9th September, 1780.

Sir,

Yours of the 6th July was not received until the 5th Instant, the utmost attention shall be had to the caution, tho' I cannot think the lateness of the season will admit of an Attempt against this at least by Sea, I dispatch this to acquaint you that for the Purposes of destroying the crops upon the Mohawk River, favoring the escape of Loyalists to compleat our Provincial Corps & reclaiming or cutting off the Onidas, I have ordered a Detachment of 600 chosen Troops & a large Body of Indians, chiefly from Niagara, under the Command of Sir John Johnson; they will rendezvous at Oswego and penetrate thro' the woods if possible as far as Schenectady—they will march from Oswego the 23rd Instant & strike the River about the 30th. I shall send from this a large Scout to appear at the same time upon the Frontier by way of Lake George & shall be happy if this knowledge can favor any operation you may have in view—Two thirds of our Fleet are missing—the Crop here tolerably good. The Bearer has promised to return with an Answer.

Sir Henry Clinton, Bart.

(196)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 234-5.

Received by Lt. Schieffly
in a small schooner
the 18th Octr.

Sir

New York, Sepr. 9th, 1780

On the 16th of last month I dispatched a Messenger by Land to your Excellency with a Letter in Cypher informing you of the arrival of a french armament of seven Ships of the Line & several frigates with upwards of 5,000 land forces at Rhode Island

on the 12th July and I took occasion at the same time to acquaint you that I thought it was not probable the french and rebels would attempt any thing against Canada this year but that their principal efforts would be directed against this place, a small vessel going to Quebec gives me an opportunity of repeating to you the above Intelligence and of transmitting to your Excellency the copy of a proclamation which I have reason to believe the Marquis de Fayette intended to have published in case their intended Expedition against Canada had taken place.

We have since heard that an additional reinforcement is hourly expected from france of four ships of the line and a considerable body of land forces which being propagated amongst the rebels greatly facilitated Washington's success in compleating and augmenting his army. The operations of the enemy appear to be still intended against this place but it is highly probable they will renew their intentions of attacking Canada by number four and the lakes as early next year as the season will permit, should the second french reinforcement arrive I will endeavour to send you immediate notice of it. In the mean time by the good news from the southward, (which the Papers I send herewith contains), proves true & of which there seems little doubt, I hope Washington in Conjunction with the French already arrived will not be able to attempt any thing serious this season. I shall, however, send you as early Intelligence of their Designs as I may from time to time be able to procure.

Endorsed.

From Sir H. Clinton
in Cypher of 9th Sept.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 238.

Yours of the 14th Augt. I received the 9th Inst. I hope the Parties mentioned which shall hang as long as possible upon the Frontiers, will alarm the Country & weaken the Force that may collect against you—it is all the assistance I can at present offer.

From the Preparations formerly made by the Rebels & Mr. Fayette for invading this Province, it is probable they may renew their attempt in the winter for which I am preparing.

sent off 13th Sept.

Endorsed.

To Sir Henry Clinton of the 13th Sept. in Cypher.

Duplicate sent.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 17-1, pp. 133-9.

Quebec, 17th Sept. 1780.

No. 58.

My Lord,

The 27th Ultimo I had the Honor of writing Your Lordship by a Brig bound to Guernsey, which was unfortunately cast away—the Crew was saved & my letter returned which I suppress, having now the Honor by a vessel going north about to make a second attempt to acknowledge Your Lordship's Dispatch by the Danæ, containing a secret Letter, dated the 8th April, Letters No. 23, 24 & 25, their several contents I shall have the Honor to answer more fully by the first safe opportunity.

Your Lordship will have heard long before this can be received that the Trade Fleet was dispersed at Sea and that many of the Ships are taken, it is, I fear, but too certain that the True Briton is of the number, but this misfortune happened so early I hope it was known time enough to be in part repaired this Season.

There are but fourteen ships of the Trade Fleet arrived and it is now too late to expect that any more of them will appear, the Rebel Papers are crowded with Reports of their being carried in by their Privateers. I am, however, happy to acquaint Your Lordship that the Ocean, Bridgewater, Argo, and Hercules, Victuallers, escaped, and that the Nancy, Isabella, Weir, Sophia, Spring, and Holmton, which sailed after, are safe arrived—the Amphitrite is lost in the Straits of Belleisle. The Convoy Frigates with the Hind and Provincial Armed Vessels are cruizing to protect the Gulph, they

have sent up three Rebel Privateers and it is reported the Newfoundland Fleet have sent Six into St. Johns.

For the better security of the Trade and Posts in the Lower Parts of the Province, I purchased a fine vessel carrying 22 Guns, 6 and 9 pounders, which with two smaller, well fitted out I put under the Command of Captain Young. I have lately had the Mortification to hear that the former (the Wolf) is cast away upon the Island of St. Peters, owing entirely to a thick Fog and tempestuous weather, the Hind very narrowly escaped the same Fate. Her Provisions, Guns, and a great part of her Rigging were saved.

.....
 I have lately received two Expresses from Sir Henry Clinton, (the first by Halifax, above six weeks on the way), advising me that Monsieur de Ternay was expected at Rhode Island and that Canada was still supposed to be his object. His last Dispatch informed me of the French Fleet and Army at Rhode Island and that from the lateness of the Season and other circumstances their views appeared to be changed from this Province against Him.

In order in the mean time to divide the strength that may be brought against Sir Henry Clinton, or to favor any operations his present situation may induce him to carry on, as well as to destroy the Enemy's supplies from the late plentiful Harvests and to give His Majesty's Loyal Subjects an opportunity of retiring to this Province, I have fitted out two Parties of about 600 men each, besides Indians, to penetrate into the Enemy's Country by the Mohawk River and Lake George, the former being chiefly drawn from Niagara, and to Rendezvous at Oswego, is already marched under the Command of Sir John Johnson—the other I shall send across Lake Champlain so as to appear at the same time. I flatter myself these movements will answer the purposes, for which they are intended.

Sir Henry Clinton has not mentioned the arrival of Admiral Graves but Report affirms that he has Blocked up the French at Rhode Island, this will render an Attempt against Canada by water this year impossible, yet from the Preparations formerly made by the Rebels and Monsieur de la Fayette, it is probable they may invade it by Land for I have every day more Reason to be confirmed in the opinion I gave Your Lordship in my Letter of the 14th of last September and I have undoubted Proofs that they have Emissaries continually in the Country but more particularly at present.

I have the honor to be &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

Lord George Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 140, p. 148.

St. Johns, Newdland, 17th Sept. 1780.

Sir,

One of the Ships of my squadron having fallen in with and taken the Mercury Packet on the 3rd Instant with Mr. Laurens, late President of the American Congress, and a great number of Papers on Board, among which there being one of the highest importance to the Governors of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Canada to be acquainted with, I herewith enclose you a Copy of it for your Information.

I have directed a Corps to be raised immediately for the defence of this Island, in consequence of it, and as there are but few men to be procured here for that and His Majesty's Naval Service, together with what I did myself the pleasure to mention in my Letter of the 20th of July last respecting Recruiting Parties I trust you will not send any more of them to this place.

I have the honor to be, &c.

R. Edwards.

His Excellency, General Haldimand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 20, pp. 44-5.

St. Johns, Septr the 24th. 1780.

Sir,

Enclosed are five letters which were intercepted by Mr. Pritchard & sent under cover to me without the precaution of being addressed to you in my absence.

There is a small Slip cut out of one of these Letters, which you will perceive, is signed by Pillon & Du Calvet—that Slip was to have been Concealed in a lead Bullet which was to be thrown away in case of any danger, these letters were to have gone by Captain Charlo.

I really think Pillion will go off as soon as he finds how serious matters are & therefore to prevent it effectually, think he & Du Calvet should be taken up without delay.

You may rely on it if Pillion suspects any danger he will try to get the Commander-in Chief's Dispatches from the Post & sett off with them. I know that is a stroke he has long meditated.

I was obliged to take up Hamel the Day before the Brigdr. arrived being apprehensive of his going off as he had given out he did not intend selling any more goods & had shut up shop.

Some of the Sailors told Hamel of Dufort's being taken but that the Guide escaped with the Letters.

This was communicated by Him to all concerned & the Hopes of the Guide getting safe through seemed their only hope.

Charlo's being taken was known directly tho' every precaution was taken, it threw a very great damp on their Spirits & I am persuaded had made Hamel resolve on setting off. I took him at Chambly on his way to Montreal as he said.

I am &c.

Chr. Carleton

Captain Mathews.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 131, pp. 78-9.

Quebec, 28th September, 1780.

Sir,

Some treasonable Proceedings having come to light of one Pillon, who resides in the suburbs of Quebec at Montreal and practices physic or some branch of that profession you will please to have him immediately seized with every paper whatsoever that can be found in his house in as effectual but as secret a manner as possible in which it will be necessary you employ an active, discreet officer, who will secure him at Day break, one or 2 men will be sufficient to accompany him and the sheriff should follow near him with a party, side arms will be sufficient that as little parade or noise as possible may be made, the sheriff will in presence of the officer search for, seize, and seal up his Papers, taking an Inventory of them, you will afterwards transmit them to me by a safe opportunity. Pillon you will have securely confined in Irons and on no account suffered to have the least intercourse by writing or otherwise with any person whatsoever, and you will send him under the same restrictions to this Place in the first Provision or other convenient vessel in the care of an officer who is to be answerable that he is confined in the hold or some part of the ship where no person can converse with him.

I am &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

My reason for being particular in desiring all the papers to be seized is in order to compare with some intercepted the writing that may be found.

F. H.

Brig. Genl. Maclean.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, October 12, 1780.

At the Meeting of his Majesty's Commissrs. of the Peace this Day at Montreal the Current Prices of the following Articles were ascertained to be as follows Vizt.
Wheat at 7s. 6d. p. Bushel fine flour 25 sh. p. Ct.—Coarse or farine Entire 15 sh. p. Ct. Oats 2 sh. p. B. Pease 4s. 2d. p B. The price of Indian Corn, Beans and Rye

Cannot be ascertained, there not being Any at Market. Ordered that the aforesaid Prices be published in the Quebec Gazette pursuant to the Ordinance of the Province in that Case Made and Provided.

By Order of the Commissrs.
J. BURKE, Cs. Ps.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 17-2, pp. 186-193.

Quebec, Octr. 24th, 1780.

No. 59.

My Lord,

.....
.....
The favourable Footing on which His Majesty has been pleased to put the Provincial Corps in this Province, who take up Arms in Support of His Government, will, I hope, have an happy effect.

I lost no time in promulgating His gracious Intention and it appears to have removed a Jealousy and Langour which promised but little Success in New Levies—the Parties which I had the Honor to acquaint Your Lordship in my Letter of the 12th July, (No. 57), I had sent into the Colonies to raise men, having returned with very few—in the same Letter I informed Your Lordship that orders had been given to Sir John Johnson to form a Second Battalion, which is in great forwardness. I have likewise directed Messrs. Jessup and Peters to compleat their Battalions as at first intended with all Despatch and Recruiting Parties have been some time in the Colonies for that purpose.

I think it Right to acquaint Your Lordship, least more should be expected from those Gentlemen than they can perform, that they are by no means possessed of the Influence and Abilities represented by their Friends at Home, and being generally of the Officers proposed for their Corps (by whose assistance alone they can expect to raise them,) have expressed a disinclination of being under them and they wish to be allowed independent Companies, this I have discouraged in order to support Messrs. Jessup and Peters, who are certainly not without some merit.—These Levies have suffered much by the Death of Major McAlpine, an old and valuable officer, who had been settled for some years in the neighbourhood of Albany, and being generally beloved, had great Influence with the People, I, however, hope that the different Parties sent upon the Frontiers, (as mentioned in the enclosed), will favor the escape of a great number of Loyal Subjects, said to be in those parts in waiting for an opportunity and by that means compleat Sir John Johnson's and the two other Battalions.

.....
.....
Your Lordship's Remark upon the difficulty of the enemy's being supplied with Provisions in this Province, (owing to the failure of the Crop), should they invade it, is very just.—That Event has notwithstanding been provided for, as will more fully appear in a Private Letter of this Date. The Quantity of Wheat kept up by the Inhabitants upon the River Sorel & collected in different Places upon various pretexs, induced me to propose to the Legislative Council to pass an Ordinance establishing a reasonable price for Wheat which would have enabled me to withdraw from the Frontiers and collect it at Sorrell, where proper Stores were built to Receive it, with a view to supply the other Posts or in case of necessity to destroy it, but some of the Members being interested in that Trade and others apprehending it would raise a Com-motion amongst the Canadians, the motion was overruled, but so different were the Sentiments of the People, that they in general expected it as a Measure in the Power of Government to adopt, and heartily wished it from a conviction that the Poor would be relieved. The Canadian Gentlemen in the Council voted for it, two only excepted, one of them in that Trade, the other under improper Influence.

.....
.....
I have the honor to be, &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

The Right Honourable,
Lord George Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 17-1, p. 195.

Quebec, Octr. 25th, 1780.

No. 61.

My Lord,

The more I consider the state of the Clergy in this Country the more I am convinced of the Propriety of the Measures I mentioned in a former Letter of sending into it a number of Priests from such Catholic Countries as have least connection with France.

However sensible I am of the good Conduct of the Clergy in general during the Invasion of the Province in the year 1775, I am well aware that since France was known to take part in the Contest and since the Address of Comte d'Estaing and a Letter of Monsieur de la Fayette to the Canadians and Indians have been circulated in the Province many of the Priests have changed their opinions and in case of another Invasion would, I am afraid, adopt another System of Conduct.

I have the honor to be, &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

The Right Honorable
Lord George Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 17-1, pp. 270-98.

Quebec, October 25th, 1780.

No. 67.

My Lord,

The Minutes of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council with the ordinances which have been passed & to which my Assent has been given are transmitted in the Danæ Frigate, no Safe Opportunity having presented itself during the Course of the Summer.

✕ This Letter will necessarily be a long one. I have now been upwards of Two Years in the Province and in some Respects qualified to give Your Lordship an account of the real state of Persons and things. It may be the means of rendering my Correspondence with Regard to the Civil Affairs of the Province less prolix in future.

I have frequently been much embarrassed and upon many occasions have been entirely prevented from Carrying into execution measures which I have considered as necessary for the safety and Defence of the Province and its Frontiers from the exhausted state of the King's Magazines with Regard to Provisions and from the difficulty as well as the enormous Expense of Supplying the Deficiency in the Province.

✕ It was therefore with Indignation and regret that in March 1779, in Consequence of an Express from Halifax to Messrs. Drummond & Jordan, I saw a successful attempt on their part and that of several Merchants or Traders to ingross the wheat and enhance the Price of Flour. At this time there was not the least shadow of scarcity but in less than a fortnight the Price of Wheat was raised from four shillings or 4/6 per Bushel to six shillings and upwards. I lost no time with the Advice of a Quorum of His Majesty's Council to forbid the Exportation of Provisions and to issue a Proclamation against Ingrossing, forestalling and Regrattung. The Evil was not remedied but the Price of Wheat was by various Artifices, assisted by a bad crop in the District of Quebec, though that in Montreal was tolerable, raised early in the winter to Ten Shillings per Bushel. It could not escape my Observation that the Merchants of the Cotes, who went up and down the Country & who by purchasing small Quantities of Wheat at a very high Price engaged the Inhabitants on the River Chambly and Soriel to keep up the Remainder of their Wheat in hopes of a still greater Price, were under the Influence and supported by the Credit of such Merchants as were most unaffected to Government. Perhaps it is not going too far to suspect some worse motives than the Love of Gain, for a Conduct which rendered every Farmer's House

in the Parishes of that Part of the Country where an Invasion, if attempted during the Winter, must take place, a Magazine of Provisions for the Enemy, who from the difficulty of Transport and other local circumstances could not bring any with them.

The Magistrates of Quebec and Montreal had found it very difficult to oblige the Bakers to continue the Exercise of their Trade and still more to procure Flour for the Daily and immediate Consumption of the Towns.

The Poor suffered much and all Ranks of the People looked up to the meeting of the Legislative Council as the time when some thing essential would be done for the relief of the Poor and to put a stop to the spirit of Ingrossing which had pervaded the Province—I therefore ordered the Legislative Council to assemble on the 27th of January and Recommended the high price of Wheat and Flour, (the first being at that time Ten Shillings per Bushel, the other at Forty Shillings per 100 lbs for the worst of Flour), to their serious consideration.

A Committee, consisting of Messrs. Finlay, Dunn, Cuthbert, Harrison, Alsop, St. Luc, Gury & Baby, was appointed to consider and propose ways and means to reduce the high price of Wheat and Flour. Their Report was that an ordinance should be made to prevent the Exportation of Provisions for a limited Time and that an Address should be presented to me requesting a Renewal of the Proclamation against Ingrossing &c.

This did not appear sufficient to many members of the Council who considered that tho' the Exportation had been prevented last Summer, and that tho' the Proclamation of which the Renewal was requested had been published early in the Summer, the Price of Wheat and Flour had been gradually raised to an exorbitant height not from any real scarcity but from the avarice of Ingrossers.

It was therefore proposed that an Ordinance should be passed or a clause added to that for non-Exportation fixing or rating for a limited Time or until the New Crop could be got in, the Price of Wheat and Flour. This was the more necessary as otherwise there would be a Risk of a great part of the Lands in the District of Quebec remaining unown as the Inhabitants could not afford to give Ten Shillings per Bushel for Seed Wheat.

This gave occasion to much Altercation and great variety of Argument.

The Attorney General was applied to for his Opinion as some Members contended that the Legislative Council had under the Quebec Bill no Authority to levy Taxes or impose Duties, and that fixing the Price of Wheat and Flour was Synonymous to imposing Taxes or Duties, his Opinion coincided with theirs, but as it was couched in a mysterious manner as if it had been founded more upon the words in which the Question was stated than the merit of it, it was proposed to have the sense of the Legislative Council with Regard to the Legality of the Measure and if the Legislature had not the Authority it was in vain to reason on the Expediency of the measure. This proposal so necessary to the discussion of the measure in Question and seeming so essential to the Authority of Government was overruled by one voice. It was then proposed whether the Price of Wheat and Flour should be fixed by Ordinance for a Limited Time and it was Resolved by a Majority of one voice in the Negative. Messrs. Cramahe, Finlay, Dunn, Cuthbert, L'Eveque, Collins, Pownall, Alsop, De Lery, Harrison, & Grant being against fixing the Price, Messrs. Mabane, St. Luc, Bellestre, Fraser, Caldwell, Gury, St. Ours, Longueuil, Baby and Holland being for it.

Not willing to disturb the Proceedings of the Legislative Council, the Gentlemen who wished to fix the Price did not immediately signify any desire to file their reasons of dissent, but at a subsequent meeting when only three of them were present they proposed to have their reasons of dissent inserted in the Minutes as it would be the means of having the opinion of the proper Law Officers in England on the Legality of the measure as it was of much consequence to the Government of the Province that the Question should not be left in any Respect Doubtful. This proposal, tho' Reasonable in itself, was refused, under pretence of form, tho' as yet there is no kind of form established by the Legislative Council for its proceedings. The Paper was filed in the Council Office, it is here annexed as well as the opinion of Mr. Williams, the only Lawyer of any note except the Attorney General and I beg that Your Lordship will lay the Reasons of dissent, the Attorney General's & Mr. Williams' opinions before the proper Law Officers.

However diffident I might be of my own opinion with Regard to the Legality, I could entertain no doubt of the expediency of the measure. It was the only one that could without delay reduce the high Price of Provisions and check the spirit of speculation in the necessaries of Life which is equally prejudicial to the welfare of the People as to the Service of the Province, notwithstanding the other measures which the Legislature adopted and which I will afterwards mention, the exorbitant Price of Wheat and flour continued the same or rather increased till the certain prospect of a new &

Plentiful Crop lowered it a little about the latter end of August but not until I had been under the necessity of to order the Commissary General to purchase corn at a high rate from the Ingrossers, who thus in spite of all my efforts, have profited by the Public Distress.

When it is considered that Great Britain is engaged in an Expensive War and which is carried on at 3,000 miles distance by which the supplies of Provisions &c., are exposed to the dangers of the Sea and powerful Enemies, it becomes the duty of every good Citizen to do every thing in his Power to diminish the Price of Provisions as by that means Government may be enabled to establish and fill the Magazines so as to Obviate the bad consequences which might arise from the Provision Fleet from Europe for New York and the northern parts of America falling into the Hands of the Enemy, or an Enemy's Fleet being first in the River St. Lawrence. This Country is in peculiar circumstances whilst the Rebellion continues in the neighbouring Colonies Little or no Resources can be had from Importation, which is the natural means to Reduce the price of any Commodity besides the Climate absolutely prevents it for seven months of the year, hence occur the great necessity of Government taking Precautions to secure Bread for the People as well as the Army. Humanity as well as Policy Justifies the measure, a few interested Traders would have been dissatisfied and would have endeavoured to have made a Clamour against it in London but in Canada it would instead of a Revolt, which some People affected to fear, have given general satisfaction to the Canadians, who looked for it and stood in need of it & would have given them Confidence in their Government, whereas there are not wanting People to insinuate to them that they could not rationally expect Redress from a Council, one half of which at least was composed of Dealers in Wheat & Meal Mongers.

The Legislative Council having resolved not to fix the price of wheat and flour by Ordinance, were pretty unanimous in preparing and passing one to prevent the Exportation of Provisions for two years, tho' there is nothing repugnant to the Laws of Trade in the Ordinance, yet not to interfere with the Custom House, the Legislative Council required the Naval Officer to take the Bonds &c. tho' that Business could have been done with much more ease to the Merchant at the Custom House.

The Ordinance Received my assent and I hope will next year be productive of good Consequences in keeping low the price of Provisions as I will on my part be careful that the Respective Officers be diligent in putting it in Force.

As many of the Members who were adverse to fixing the price of Wheat and Flour, declared their Readiness to Concur in passing an Ordinance against Ingrossing, Forestalling & Regrattin, in place to the Address to me for the Renewal of the Proclamation, the Heads of an Ordinance were prepared accordingly.

In Consequence of the successful Attempt to ingross the Wheat in the Spring of 1779, which I have already mentioned, to Your Lordship, I had consulted the Attorney General and Received his Opinion in Writing that the Statute of Ed. ye 6th against Ingrossers, Forestallers & Regrators was in Force in this Province In Conformity with that opinion and with the Advice of a Quorum of the Council, I issued a Proclamation declaratory of that Law and of the method of convicting Offenders by the Justices of the Peace in their Quarter Sessions, without the intervention of a Jury, which in this case was the most advisable mode of Prosecution, as the old Subjects who give the Ton on Juries are Traders and few of them have any objection or Scruple to get money whether by Ingrossing, Forestalling or Regrattin.

The Legislative Council made the same Statute the Basis of the Ordinance and extended the Offences of Ingrossing and Forestalling to the Proprietors of Mills and Manufactories of Flour as otherwise a Combination of five or six of these men by buying up a large Quantity of Wheat would have been sufficient to Raise the Price of Flour to whatever sum they pleased. This gave umbrage to Messrs. Cuthbert, L'Eveque, Alsop & Grant, who all have or propose to have dealings in Wheat and Flour. The majority, however, felt the necessity of some thing being done. The Ordinance was Passed and Received my Assent. It was printed and Ready to be published when fortunately it was discovered by Mr. Powell, an Attorney in Montreal, who was employed to defend an Ingrosser against whom a Prosecution had been commenced, that the Statute of Edward the 6th had been repealed.

The Legislative Council, agreeable to that Statute, had inflicted the Penalty of the Pillory, (which as conveying Infamy with it, would have had great effect in deterring Canadians,) upon Persons convicted of that Offence. The Quebec Act restrains the Legislature of the Province from carrying into Execution without His Majesty's previous approbation any Ordinance inflicting severer penalties than Fine or Three months Imprisonment.—I was therefore under the necessity to re-assemble the Legislative

Council to alter that clause of the Ordinance as likewise the Title of it. I cannot suppose that the Attorney General concealed from me or the Legislative Council any Knowledge he may have had of the Statute being repealed, at the same time I must acknowledge to Your Lordship that there have been many things in that Gentleman's Conduct which tend to Destroy that Confidence which I should have in the Person who fills that employment.

As it is my Duty it has been by business to inform myself of the State of the Country and I coincide with the majority of the Legislative Council in considering the Canadians the People of the Country and think that in making Laws and Regulations for the Administration of these Laws Regard is to be paid to the Sentiments and manner of thinking of 60,000 rather than of 2,000, three fourths of whom are Traders and therefore Cannot with propriety be considered as Residents of the Province. In this Point of View the Quebec Act was both Just and Politic, tho' unfortunately for the British Empire it was enacted Ten years too late.

It requires but little penetration to discover that had the system of Government solicited by the old Subjects been adopted in Canada, the Colony would in 1775 have become one of the United States of America, whoever considers the number of old Subjects who in that year corresponded with and joined the Rebels, of those who abandoned the Defence of Quebec, in virtue of Sir Guy Carleton's Proclamation in the fall of the same year, and of the many others who are now the avowed well wishers of the Revolted Colonies, must feel the truth, however national or Religious Prejudices will not allow him to declare it.

On the other hand the Quebec Act alone has prevented the Emissaries of France and the Rebellious Colonies from succeeding in their efforts to withdraw the Canadian Clergy and Noblesse from their allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain. For this Reason amongst many others this is no time for innovations and it cannot be sufficiently inculcated on the part of Government that the Quebec Act is a Sacred Charter granted by the King in Parliament to the Canadians as a Security for their Religion, Laws & Property.

These being my Sentiments Your Lordship will conceive some of the Reasons which prevented me from Communicating the 12th, 13th & 16th Instructions to the Legislative Council.—I have now been upwards of Two Years in the Country, have conversed fully with all kinds of men and have not found that the People were dissatisfied with the Ordinances which Regulate the Proceedings in the Courts of Justice, on the contrary all are Sensible that Debts are recovered easily and with less Procrastination than formerly.

.....

It was with great Regret that I found myself obliged not to communicate the Instructions relating to the security of Personal Liberty. The Citizens in no country ought to be liable to long Imprisonment. Persons accused of Crimes ought certainly to be brought in a limited time to Trial, but in time of a War and Rebellion, it would be impolitic and in the present circumstances of the Province highly dangerous to attempt any innovations of the kind. I have been under the disagreeable necessity of imprisoning several Persons for corresponding with Rebels or assisting them to escape, and have great Reason to suspect many more of being guilty of the same Practices, but have made it a Rule to pretend Ignorance as often as I can and am satisfied against the bad consequences of their Treachery except where their Crime is publicly known and I think it my duty to take notice of them, as a contrary conduct would betray weakness and would encourage others to follow their example, this was the case with Mr. Charles Hay of Quebec and Mr. Cazeau of Montreal.

.....

The Province is surrounded by Enemies from without and as happens in all Civil Wars is infected with Spies & Secret Enemies from within.

.....

I have the honor to be, &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

The Right Honourable,
Lord George Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS

Series Q, Vol. 17, pt. 2, pp. 718-21.

Quebec 25th Oct. 1780

No. 72.

My Lord,

I have the Honor to acquaint Your Lordship that I have just received an Express from Major Carleton who commands one of the detachments mentioned in my Letter to your Lordship of the 17th Ultimo.

The secrecy and dispatch with which this detachment penetrated prevented any opposition of consequence on the Part of the Enemy and on the 10th and 11th Instant the Garrisons of Fort Ann and Fort George surrendered Prisoners of War.

Major Carleton, who has as well as his detachment shewn great zeal and Activity in this affair, having fully answered the purposes for which he was sent is returned to Crown Point Where He is to remain as long as the Season will permit the Vesse's to navigate the Lake, in order to draw the attention of the Enemy.

The reports assiduously published upon all occasions by the Enemy of Cruelties committed by the Indians are notoriously false and propagated merely to exasperate the ignorant and deluded People. In this late Instance Major Carleton informs me they behaved with the greatest moderation and did not strip or in any Respect ill use their Prisoners.

I enclose for Your Lordship's Information a List of the Killed wounded and Prisoners.

A Party of one hundred men and Mohawk Indians crossed Lake Champlain with Major Carleton to cooperate with Sir John Johnson who must be before this time upon the Mohawk River and another Party of 200 Canada Indians under the command of Lieut. Houghton of the 56th Regiment marched at the same time toward the Connecticut River. They are returned having destroyed thirty-two Barns full of grain, two mills and other Buildings and Killed a number of Cattle.

They brought away 32 Prisoners without any Loss altho' pursued by a Superior Force of which it is thought many were Killed.

I every day expect to hear of Sir John Johnson's Success upon the Mohawk River.

I have the Honor, etc.,

F.H.

Lord Geo. Germain,

P.S. 22nd November.

I have kept this Letter open in hopes to give Your Lordship an account of the Party which was sent upon the Mohawk River under the Command of Sir John Johnson.

The Enemy by means of Two Oneida Indians, who deserted from Niagara had Received Information of an Intended attack upon the Mohawk River and had prepared accordingly but this did not prevent his Success tho' it occasioned him to meet with great opposition.

I have just received a Letter from Sir John wherein he acquaints me that he had destroyed the Settlements of Schohary and Stone Arabia and laid waste a great extent of Country. He had several Engagements with the Enemy in which he came off Victorious, in one of them near Stone Arabia he Killed a Colonel Brown, a notorious and Active Rebel with about 700 Officers and men.

The Vessel being under Sail, I have only time to enclose the Return of the Killed, wounded & missing.

I have the pleasure to acquaint Your Lordship from Sir. John's Letter that I have great reason to hope that many of the missing will find their way to Oswego or Niagara, as some Indians and Rangers well acquainted with the woods are with them.

I cannot finish without expressing to your Lordship the perfect satisfaction which I have from the Zeal, Spirit and activity with which Sir John Johnson has conducted this arduous Enterprise.

F.H.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 17, pt. 1, p. 152.

Quebec 25th Oct. 1780.

Private/

My Lord,

Inclosed I transmit to Your Lordship three Papers, (all of which I have received within these few days) No. 1 was taken with Mr. Laurence, & sent to me by Admiral Edwards—No. 2 was forwarded to me by Sir Henry Clinton & No. 3 is one of the many Copies which I have intercepted coming into this Country, by the means of Indians, who, from their Attachment either to the French, or the Rebels, have lately visited Rhode Island—these, together with Letters I have received from Sir Henry Clinton would convince me that the Enemy have serious Thoughts of attacking this Province early in the Spring—Even had I no other Evidence of their Intentions, the general Disposition & Behaviour of the Inhabitants, make it beyond a doubt to a nice Observer that we have little to expect from their assistance in Military Operations, & that they have learned to consider the arrival of the Fleet as an Event that will certainly happen, and that it is Equally sure their Efforts to reconquer the Province will be successful. I am nevertheless determined this Winter to attempt the Formation of several Canadian Companies, which I shall do by degrees placing them under such Officers as appear to me most likely to serve us, nor would I have delayed the attempt so long but from the Exhausted State of our Provisions, & the astonishing Price Flour sold at in the Province.

To Explain fully to Your Lordship where this Province is at present the most exposed, & whence arises the great difficulty of defending it, both with Respect to its Extent & the peculiar manner in which the Houses are situated, viz,—Each House about three Acres from his Neighbour, & no Town, or Villages, together with the Schemes I have formed of opposing the various modes of attack would far exceed the Limits of a Letter, at the same Time, I wish to Convey a few Observations on the Methods proposed by the Enemy for reducing us.

Our Signal Successes in Carolina will probably render the Rebels incapable of undertaking such formidable Expeditions against Detroit & Niagara as are proposed in No. 1. A small new Fort has been constructed at the former, and the works at the latter have been considerably improved, besides both are tolerably well provided with artillery, & the Garrisons, altho' few, composed of the best Troops—I would hope that the Force proposed would meet such Obstacles as they seem not to Expect, and which would render their success Precarious—Nor does the Enemy seem fully apprised of the Difficulties He has to surmount before he renders Himself Master of the Navigation of the Lakes Erie & Ontario. The former is Navigated by Six Armed Vessels which, tho' in general small, cannot but be found of great use. On Lake Ontario we have three Vessels of 16 guns and two smaller ones, besides a new Post which I established in 1778 on an Island in the River St. Lawrence just in the Entrance of Lake Ontario. The Operations proposed by the Enemy at Oswego, are more formidable and much better calculated to ensure them Success than any other Part of their Plan, not only from its favorable Situation for building, but the awe it must create thro'out the whole Six Nation Indians. I have, in former Letters, Expressed to Your Lordship how much I wish to establish a Post there, and the advantages it would afford us. I am now more than ever convinced of its necessity, & early in the Spring I mean to take Possession of it—at least nothing but the Impossibility of supplying the Garrison with Provisions or some unforeseen Change shall Prevent it.

If I am enabled to keep only a tolerable Garrison at Sorrell, it will be at Hand to attack any troops who may attempt to penetrate by the River St. François & in all Events, to maintain their ground, which will effectually secure Montreal, & St. John, while at last they can either retreat to Quebec or St. John, as Exigencies require. No Exertions have been wanting during the Summer to strengthen Quebec, but situated as we are, it was impossible to begin a regular Citadel, we have endeavoured to make the utmost of the strong ground on Cape Diamond, by occupying it with detached Redoubts, and altho' our Progress has been greatly delayed for want of able Miners, & Stone Quarriers, yet I am confident what we have done will be of great use, even should we be attacked in the Spring.

In speaking of difficulties I am sorry to begin with that essential Article of Provisions but as not a Single Ship of the Fleet proposed to sail in Aug. is yet arrived, I am under much embarrassment on that Head—For it is absolutely necessary always to have more than a Twelvemonths in Store, in the Upper Posts; otherwise the least

attack in any Quarter which might delay that Transport, would throw the Garrisons there entirely at the Mercy of the Enemy—And doing this keeps us so Short of Provisions in these Posts, that I have, more than once been alarmed for the Consequences—Happily our late Harvest has been a good one, & therefore should the Kings' Service require the declaration of Martial Law, I have no doubt but I shall easily Collect a tolerable supply of Grain.

The necessary Stores for the Artillery and Engineers which were shipped for this Year are not arrived—this will leave every Post in this Province very bare in these Articles, & Quebec in particular will be ill provided with Gun-Powder—

No actual Service presenting itself for the Troops in the Province, I have hitherto studiously avoided pressing Your Lordship or Sir Henry Clinton for further Reinforcements, notwithstanding I have been disappointed in my Hopes of seeing the Troops of Convention, & have this Summer only received about 1000 Effectives, instead of the 2000 I applied for—however I cannot suppose it for the Kings' Service to be at present sending Detachments from New York to Canada—Sir Henry Clinton has too many Enemies to oppose, & too much precious time is lost in Passages, but I trust Your Lordship will maturely Consider that with my present Force, after leaving Garrisons in the many and distant Posts which this extensive Province obliges me to occupy, I remain unable to detach any Troops against an Enemy who might appear with only a moderate Force, & to permit such an one to take Possession of the Country, & join the Labour of the Inhabitants, to their own Efforts is to lose a great opportunity of increasing the difficulties of the Enemy.

I therefore beg Leave to request in the most Earnest manner, that a Reinforcement of British Troops may be sent here very Early in the Spring to consist of, at least, 2 or 3000 men, & it is absolutely necessary that they bring with them 12 months Provisions, & the demands of Ordnance & Engineers Stores, which were ordered for 1780, together with the Artificers applied for, & also the several Articles which are included in the Demands sent to England by this Conveyance for 1781—At the same Time that I request this large addition of Force, I beg to assure Your Lordship how difficult it is for Government to provide for all its dependencies at this Crisis, nor can any Officer be more averse than I am to keep Troops inactive, I would therefore suggest that such Reinforcement being arrived and the Enemy's design changed, they should re-embark, and if necessary have their number increased from hence, & proceed to the Southern Colonies, or even to the West Indies if the Public Service required it. Could I persuade myself that in Case of an Attack the Canadians would stand neuter, I think I could defend this Province with a less Force—but when I see the Common People influenced by their old Prejudice & all Ranks so totally blind to their true Interests, as not to wish a long Continuance of their present happy Government, I am led to believe that the Appearance of our Enemy would be followed by the Revolt of a great part of the Province, who like the other Colonies might not stop until They had involved themselves in all their miseries—these are the Considerations joined to the Importance which I know the Trade of this Country is of to Great Britain, and the amazing Sums at this moment is indebted to the Merchants, which make me so strenuous in my demands & in my Exertions for its Safety.

I therefore beseech Your Lordship will not attend to any Report which it is possible you may receive from well disposed Persons residing here, who judge of the People merely from their External Appearance, but who from want of Opportunities, are totally ignorant of their real Characters.

Having already Suggested to Your Lordship the Propriety of sending Troops from hence by Sea, in certain Circumstances, I think it my duty briefly to inform Your Lordship what my Ideas are respecting Offensive Operations from hence.

To Attempt any serious attack, or the Establishment of a formidable Post in the midst of an Enemy's Country intersected with Woods, strong Passes &c. thro' which your Artillery, your Provisions &c must be conveyed, is too imaginary an Object even to occupy for a moment Your Lordship's Attention, and I am convinced no Post at, or near Albany can be taken or supplied except by the Navigation of the Hudson River—yet I am persuaded, was it practicable to occupy & support such a Post from New York, it would be scarce possible for the Enemy to prevent me from giving or receiving the assistance of Troops from that Quarter, but they must always move totally unprovided with Artillery, Provisions, or Baggage, & every man, from the Commanding Officer must Carry his own Knapsack—It is true, that with a considerable Force and Great Exertion, Fort Stanwix might be invested from this Province, but when we are distressed about supplying and maintaining our present distant out Posts, I am of opinion the same Force might be employed elsewhere to much greater advantage—these Considerations induced me to conclude that the Troops from hence to be employed elsewhere must be transported by Sea—At the same Time I conceive con-

siderable Detachments from this Province, moving on the Enemy's Frontiers & sometimes even penetrating to a considerable distance, but always so formed as to be ready to make quick movements, may be done with great Security, and are, and will be of great detriment to the Enemy, my Opinion on this Point is supported by the Success of Sir John Johnson last May on the Mohawk River, as well as that of Major Carleton in the taking of Fort Ann and Fort George during the Course of this Month, the Particulars of which are related in my Letter No.....

Having frequently mentioned the difficulty of transporting Provisions to the Upper Posts, I beg to add that we have used our Endeavours to lessen them as much as possible, particularly at Côteau-du-Lac, where new Store Houses are erected, & a very Compleat Canal finished, by which loaded Bateaux Pass thro' three Locks & avoid a most tedious & laborious Passage up a Violent Rapid.

Our Labours this Year have been increased by a Fire which happened at St. John's in May last, amongst some Wooden Barracks which destroyed several Platforms & blew up a temporary Powder Magazine, in which was the Ammunition for four Guns, with four or five Barrels of Powder, and no sooner had we repaired this Damage, than a most violent and continued rain occasioned a considerable Part of the Earth Parapet, which is composed of a loose Clay, to give way, but the whole is now in a fair way of being entirely reinstated—The same bad weather had a similar Effect upon the new Fort at Detroit, which we are also Employed in repairing. I Have the Honor to be, &c.
Fred: Haldimand

Lord George Germain

Endorsed.
Quebec 25th Oct^r. 1780.
Governor Haldimand
(Private)
Recd. 31st Dec^r.
(3. Inclosures)

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INTERCEPTED DOCUMENT CAPTURED WITH Mr. LAURENS.

Extract of the Report of a Committee appointed to prepare a Letter of Credence to His Most Christian Majesty, taken with Mr. Laurence, and forwarded by Governor Edwards to His Excellency General Haldimand.
Plan of an Attack upon Quebec.

1st. that a number of Men be assembled at Fort Pit from Virginia & Pennsylvania amounting to 1500 Rank and File, for which purpose 3000 should be call'd for, & if more than 1500 appear, the worst to be dismissed; to these should be added 100 light Cavalries, one half armed with Lances; the whole should be ready to march the 1st day of June, & for that purpose they should be called together the 1st of May, so as to be in Readiness the 15th, the real & declared Objects of these Corps should be to attack Detroit & to destroy the Towns of those Indians who are inimicable to the United States.

2^{ndly} That 500 men be stationed at, or near Wyoming this winter to cover the Frontiers of Pennsylvania & New Jersey, to be re-inforced by 1000 men from these States early in the Spring, for which purpose 2000 must be called for to appear on the 1st of May, so as to be in Readiness by the 15th these must march on the 1st of June at farthest for Oncoquaga to proceed from thence against Niagara, this is also to be declared.

3^{rdly} That an addition to the Garrison of Fort Schuyler, or Stanwix 1500 be stationed this winter along the Mohawk River & preparations of every kind made to build Vessels of Force on Lake Ontario early next Spring, & to take Post at, or near Oswego, a Reinforcement of 2500 from the Militia of New York & the West Parts of Connecticut & Massachusetts may be added to these Early in the Spring, for which purpose a Demand must be made of 5000; a Party consisting of 500 Regular Troops & 1000 Militia must march from Schnectady, so as to meet those destined to Act against Niagara at Oncoquaga, they should be joined by about 100 light dragoons armed as aforesaid, together with all the Warriors which can be collected from the Friendly Tribes in their March to Niagara—they should destroy the Seneca and other township of Indians who are inimicable.

4^{thly} That 2,500 Men be marched from Fort Schuyler as early as possible after the middle of May to Oswego, & take a Post there or in the Neighbourhood to be defended

by about 500 men, that they be also employed in forwarding the Vessels to be built for securing the Navigation of Lake Ontario, & in making Excursions towards Niagara, so as to keep the Indian Country in Alarm & facilitate the Operations in that Quarter.

5^{thly} That a number of Regiments be stationed along the Upper Posts of Connecticut River to be recruited in the Winter, so as to form a Body of 5000 Regular Troops Rank & File, & every Preparation made to penetrate into Canada by the way of the River St. Francis, the Time of their departure must depend upon Circumstances, & their Object be kept as secret as the nature of the thing will permit—when they arrive at St. Laurence, they must take a good Post at the mouth of St. Francis & turn their Attention immediately to the Reduction of Montreal, St. Johns & the North East End of Lake Champlain—these operations will be facilitated by the several Movements to the Westward drawing the attention of the Enemy to that Quarter, if successful, so as to secure a Passage across the Lake, further Reinforcements may be thrown in, and an additional Retreat secured that way—the next Operation will be in Concert with the troops who are to gain the Navigation of Lake Ontario &c.—This Operation however must be feeble as long as the necessity exists of securing their Rear towards Quebec—such detachment however as can be Spared, perhaps 2000, with as many Canadians as will join them, are to proceed up Cadaroque, and take a Post defensible by about 300 men, at, or near the Mouth of Lake Ontario—They then will join themselves to those Posted as aforesaid at, or near Oswego, & leaving a Garrison at that Post, proceed together to the Party at, or near Niagara, at which Place they ought if possible to arrive by the middle of September, the troops who have marched against Detroit should also, whether successful or not, return to Niagara if that Post is possessed or besieged by the Americans, as a Safe Retreat can by that means be accomplished for the whole in Case of Necessity.

On the supposition that these Operations succeed, still another Campaign must be made to reduce the City of Quebec. The American Troops must continue all Winter in Canada, to supply them with Provisions, Cloathing &c. will be difficult, if not impracticable, the Expences will be ruinous, the Enemy will have time to reinforce, nothing can be attempted against Halifax—Considering these Circumstances, it is perhaps more prudent to make Incursions with Cavalry, Light Infantry and Chasseurs to harrass and alarm the Enemy & thereby prevent them desolating our Frontiers, which seems the object during next campaign.

But if the Reduction of Halifax & Quebec are objects of the highest Importance to the Allies, they must be attempted.

The Importance to France is derived from the following Considerations.

- 1st The Fishery of Newfoundland.
- 2nd The Possession of those two Places necessarily secures to the Party of their Friends, the Island & the Fisheries.
- 3^{rdly} It will strengthen her Allies and guarantee more strongly their Freedom & Independence.

The Importance to America results from the following Considerations.

- 1st The Peace of their Frontiers.
- 2^{ndly} The arrangement of their Finances.
- 3^{rdly} The Accession of two States to the Union.
- 4^{thly} The Protection & Security of their Commerce.
- 5^{thly} That it will enable them to bend their whole Attention & Resources to the Creation of a Marine will at once serve them and Assist their Allies.

Add these Considerations.

- 1st That Great Britain by holding these Places will infest the Coasts of America with small Vessels, to the great Injury of the French, as well as the American Trade.
- 2^d That her Possessions in the West Indies as materially depend on the Possession of Posts to supply them with Bread & Lumber & to refit their Ships, & receive their Sick as well Soldiers as Seamen.

In order then to secure as far as Human Wisdom can provide, the Reduction of those Places, Aid must be obtained from France—Suppose a Body of from 4 to 5000 French Troops sail, from Brest in the beginning of May under Convoy of 4 Ships of the Line & 4 Frigates, their object to be avowed, but their Cloathing Stores &c such as designate them for the West Indies, Each Soldier must have a good Blanket of a large size to be made into a Coat when the weather grows Cold, thick Cloathing for these Troops should be sent in August so as to arrive at such Place as Circumstances may

by that time [Indicate by the beginning of October; these Troops by the End of June might arrive at Quebec, which for the reason already assigned they would, in all Probability, find quite defenceless, possessing themselves of that City, & leaving there the Line of Battle Ships, the Marines and a very small Garrison, with as many of the Canadians as readily can be assembled, for which purpose Spare Arms should be provided, which might be put in Boxes & marked as for the Militia of one of the French Islands—The Frigates and Transports should proceed up the River St. Laurence—If the Americans are already at that Place, the Troops will co-operate for the above mentioned Purposes, if not, a Post must be taken there and Expresses sent off &c.—In the Interim 3 of the Frigates, with 4 of the Smallest Transports should proceed to Montreal, & if possible possess that City, when the Nobles and Clergy shall immediately be called together by the General, who should if possible be well acquainted with the manners both of France & of the United States. The Troops should bring with them very ample Provisions, especially of Salted Flesh, as they will come to a Country exhausted by the British Army.—By the latter end of July, or middle of August, the Reduction of Canada might be so far compleated that the Ships might proceed to the Investiture of Halifax, taking on board large supplies of Flour—A part of the Troops might march and the Sick follow as they recover—A considerable number of American Troops also, might then be spared for that service, which with the Militia of the States of Massachusetts & New Hampshire might proceed to the attack of Halifax, so as to arrive the beginning of Septr., and if that Place should fall by the beginning or middle of Octr., the Troops might either proceed against Newfoundland, or remain in Garrison until the next Spring, at which time that Conquest might be compleated—

If Halifax should not be taken the Squadron & Troops would still be in time to operate against the West Indies.

To the Honble Benjamin Franklin Esqr.

Sir

The above Plan referred to in Your Instruction, You shall lay substantially before the French Minister—You shall consult the Marquis de la Fayette on any difficulties which may arise, & refer the Ministry to Him as He hath made it his particular Study to gain Information on those important Points.

By Order of Congress

Witness

Charles Thomson, Secretary

Indorsed—Extract of the Report of a Committee appointed to prepare a Letter of Credence to His Most Christian Majesty.

No. 1.

In Govr. Haldimands' (Private)
of 25th Octr. 1780.

Copy.

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PROCLAMATION.

(Translation)

The persuasive love which has always animated the Heart of the King for the Inhabitants of Canada, and the desire of withdrawing them from the Dominion of the English, have determined His Majesty to send into one of the American Ports Land and Sea Force capable of effecting this grand Object.

The moment of their Arrival (au point) at the Spot where they should join the Troops of the United States; the General of the two Allied Nations will take care to concert the most speedy measures to fulfil the views of Congress and the King in Effecting (travaillant) the Independency of Canada, and if the French fly with Joy to succour their distressed Brethern, doubt not they will hasten to shake off the Yoke of the Common Enemy—The time is at last arrived when Canada will be set free (rendue a lui meme) and in joining itself to the Thirteen Independent States, will bind again (va reserrer) the Cord of that strict Friendship which unites them for ever to France—By how many motives ought such an Alliance to be dear to the Inhabitants of Canada, to those who feel the Blood of France run in their Veins, and who under the Tyranny of a foreign Government have not ceased to glory in the Name. Admitted to the Confederacy, to which Congress have not ceased to call them, and the Affection of the King again presses to invite them, they will partake all its advantages and begin by choosing a Constitution, that will suit themselves. The Clergy, Noblesse and People—All the orders of the State too long forgotten and neglected, will see their

Religion, Privileges and Manners flourish again—They will find again in their Ally, dear Brethren, to whom they are attached from a Community of Birth, Sentiment and Customs, and will have no more to fear the Profanation, Scorn and Insult of a foreign Master. After so many Proofs of Patriotism & Honor which has always distinguished the Canadians, His Majesty, as well as the Congress of the United States, cannot believe they would do them sufficient Justice, if they employed any other motives to recall them to what they owe to their Countrymen of France, to the Americans and themselves, than the Reasons they will find in their own Hearts, to animate them to Vengeance, to the Love of Liberty, to make them fly under our Colours in Compleating by their Co-Operation the first Condition of the Alliance between France and the United States.

It is with particular Satisfaction that the Marquis de la Fayette, Major General in the Service of the said States of America, Commanding the Kings' Regiment of Dragoons and Commanding in Chief the American Troops designed to co-operate in Canada, with the French Army &c. &c. &c. According to the Power & Instructions which we have to this Effect, declares in the name of the King, and in the name of the Congress of the United States, to whomever it may concern, that in the just War in which His Majesty finds himself engaged, and in Consequence of the Reprisals to which he has been forced, by the Hostilities of Great Britain, he hath been pleased to order an Army by Land and by Sea to co-operate with those of the United States, for the Deliverance of Canada—that in joining with the United States to engage Canada in the Confederacy, and by Consequence in the Alliance, which binds them to France, His Majesty invites the Noblesse and all the Inhabitants to join the Combined Army for this happy Revolution—that His Majesty judging of the affection of the Canadians by the feelings of his own Heart, is intimately persuaded, as well as the Congress of the United States, that the Allied Troops will find in the Country all the Resources and Succours of which (without doing the least wrong to the Interest of the Inhabitants) it is susceptible—that the Canadians will Endeavour to bring back the Ancient Disposition of the Savages & to procure from them all the Intelligence which can contribute to our Success. Though very far from thinking that any French in Canada, are capable of joining to spill the Blood of his own Brethren, the Wisdom of His Majesty and the Congress engage them to forewarn (prevenir) the Canadians, that the least succour given the British Troops in their Preparation of Defence, in augmenting the Difficulties and Dangers of the Allies, should be considered by them as an Act of Hostility.

Mons^r the Count de Rochambeau, Lieutenant General of the King's Army, Grand Cross of the Royal and Military Orders of St. Louis, and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Army (doit) will publish after his arrival, a more particular Invitation to join Canada to the Confederacy of the United States, and we shall be charged to renew with the Canadians, the fraternal Disposition of said States in the Assembly to be called for that Purpose.

The Instructions at present made public, communicate to the Canadians the Design of His Majesty and the Congress of the United States for their deliverance, and to invite them to second our Efforts in breaking themselves, the Fetters under which they groan.

Dated Head Quarters on Connecticut River

(Signed)

La Fayette

By the General's Order

Capitaine Secretary

Indorsed—

Copy

Translation

Proclamation

by the Marquis La Fayette
 inviting the Canadians to Revolt
 Recd. inclosed in Sir H. Clinton's
 Letter the 18th Octr. 1780.

No. 2.

In Govr. Haldimand's (Private)
 of 25th Oct r.1780.

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REPLY OF COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU TO DEPUTIES OF THE INDIANS.

Reponce de Mr. le Comte de Rochambeau Commandant un Corps de Troupes de Sa Majesté très Chrétienne aux Députés des Nations Indiennes venues à New-port

Royal Arms.

Nous, Jean Baptiste—Donatien De Vimeur, C^{te} de Rochambeau Lieutenant-Général des Armées du Roi, Grand' Croix de l'Ordre Royal & Militaire de St. Louis. Gouverneur de Ville franche, en Roussillon, commandant un Corps de Troupes de Sa Majesté très-chrétienne.

Le Roi de France Votre Pere n'a point oublié Ses Enfants, il m'a chargé de presents pour vos Deputés, comme marque de son Souvenir. Il a appris avec douleur que plusieurs Nations trompées par les Artifices des Anglais Ses ennemis avoient attaqué et levé la hache contre Ses bons et fideles alliés, les Etats Unis de l'Amérique—Il me charge de vous declarer qu'il est, l'ami ferme et fidele de tous les amis des Americains et l'ennemi décidé de tous leurs Ennemis. Il espere de Ses Enians, qu'il aime tendrement, qu'ils ne tiendront Jamais, dans cette guerre contre les Anglais, d'autre Parti que celui de leur Pere./.

The King of France Your Father has not forgot his Children, in token of his remembrance, I have gifts from him, for your Deputies, he Learned with grief that some Nations deceived by the English, who are his Enemies, had attacked and lifted up the hatchet against his good and faithful Allies the United States—I am desired by him to tell you that he is the firm and faithful friend of their friends and the sworn enemy of all its foes, he hopes that his Children, whom he loves sincerely will take part with him in this War against the English, and never side but with him who is their father.

le C^{te}. de Rochambeau

Fait à Newport, le 30 Aout 1780.

Given under our hand and seal, the thirtieth of August 1780,
at New port in Rhode Island.

arms

Par Monseigneur

De Sibille

/Indorsed/ No. 3.

in Governor Haldimands' (Private)
of 25th Octr. 1780.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 268.

Quebec, 26th October, 1780.

Yours of the 9th September by Sea is Received with the papers enclosed which I had not before seen, a similar one to the Indians has lately appeared here, which indicates a real design upon this Province.—Not a word of the store & victualling ships expected this fall. I acknowledged your former letters in cypher by two in the same manner over Land, which I fear have miscarried.—I try a new Route now, by which I hope to hear from you.

You will hear of the Alarm upon the Frontiers, I wish it may serve you. Forts Ann & George are Destroyed.

Sir H. Clinton

(in Cypher.)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 135, p. 154.

Quebec, Novr. 2d, 1780.

Sir

I have the Honour to acquaint you by His Excellency's desire that he is well pleased to learn that you are returned & likewise of his having sent Captain Le Maistre with

all the Papers & full directions to enable you jointly to pursue the affairs he is charged with & that it will be very material to discover exactly the Quantity of Provisions Mr. Du Calvet has collected at his Mill or other place with a design of assisting the Rebels or any other matter that may shew the Villany of that man.

I am &c.
R. B. Lernoult.

Major Carleton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 283-5.

Quebec, (Nov. 1780?)

Sir,

.....

The Trade fleet of 42 Ships sailed the 31st of May, it was separated, only 18 (are arrived.—Another Fleet of Victuallers was soon to follow, a Rebel Paper says a large ordnance Ship is sunk in Action, she answers the description of the True Briton with Naval Ordnance & the Stores most wanted here.

.....

A scout from the Mohawk River informs that the Onidas instead of joining their Confederacy in the Royal Interest which they came to Niagara to do, have, in a Body, seized the Mohawks Land, & are protecting the Harvest which is very plentiful, for the use of the Rebels.

.....

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 150, pp. 89-90.

Quebec, Novr. 3rd, 1780.

Sir,

The Express from Halifax arrived here the 31st of Octr. I return you many thanks for your Letters of the 29th & 30th of Septr. I am highly sensible of your kind attention in sending the Plan of an attack upon this Province. I had received from Admiral Edwards such extracts from the dispatches of Congress which Mr. Laurens was carrying to Europe as related to the checque of ye Enemy agst Canada & its Frontiers. Tho' the matter contained in them was not entirely new to me, it was very satisfactory to have the Intelligence collected from different Quarters & various circumstances, authenticated by such undoubted Authority, it will serve to convince People at a distance of the Propriety of many measures useful for the defence of the Province which without some such discovery of the Enemy's intentions would perhaps appear superfluous. The great success that has attended His Majesty's Arms in the Southern parts of America will render ye efforts of France & the Rebel Congress in all probability more vigorous to make themselves masters of the northern parts. They have already taken some steps which point that way. It is therefore incumbent to be prepared for the Event & I hope you will continue your kindness in communicating to me every Intelligence which you may learn of the Enemies Intentions or Preparations during the Course of the Winter.

.....

I am &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

Governor Hughes.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 135, p. 156.

Quebec, 6th November, 1780.

Sir,

Capt. Le Maistre has Instructions to make every possible Inquiry towards a Discovery of Mr. Du Calvet's Transactions—his being in confinement makes it necessary some thing should be done immediately. You will therefore in Conjunction with Capt. Le Maistre use every possible means to collect from the Persons you have had employed every circumstance which can militate against him or Pillion, having brought this matter to such a Length, it were Pity the Pains which have been taken should prove ineffectual.

I am &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

Major Carleton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 147, pp. 272-5.

Quebec, 15th Novr. 1780.

Sir,

I take the Opportunity of a vessel sailing to New York to permit Ensign Drummond of the 44th Regiment, who, I hear, is promoted in the Army under your Excellency's Command to join his Regmt & he will have the Honor to deliver this Letter.

The enclosed are duplicates of notes I dispatched at different Times thro' the woods which perhaps have not reached your Excellency. My Intention of sending out Detachments upon the Frontiers has been successfully executed. Sir John Johnson is returned. He had different skirmishes with the Rebels in which they had above a hundred Officers and men killed, amongst them a Colonel Brown, from the beginning an inveterate & an active Rebel—above 60 are taken Prisoners.—Sir John's Loss was very inconsiderable, some Rangers, who were missing, having made their way to Niagara—I am particular in the Account of this Little Affair from the Rebels having circulated Reports of it very disadvantageous to us which will of course have reached your Excellency.

The Crops at Schohary and the Mohawk River were never known to be so great and as so little had been sent to Market and every grain destroyed for near 50 miles, it is thought that the Enemy's Loss at a moderate computation cannot be less than 600,000 bushels of grain. This with the damage done by the Detachment under Major Carleton and another of above 200 Indians, which marched at the same time for Connecticut River & Destroyed 32 Barns full of grain and a Quantity of Live Stock, will have greatly impoverished those Parts but will probably be an additional motive for the Enemy to attempt the Reduction of this Province for the security of their frontiers.

I have just Received Advice pretty well authenticated that an attack is seriously intended this Winter against Carleton Island in order by cutting off the Communication to Reduce the upper Posts and Indians—by the same Express I have the Misfortune to learn that a fine new vessel carrying 16 Guns is totally lost upon Lake Ontario, either by having overset or blowing up, and all the crew perished with Lieut. Col. Bolton of the King's Regiment, Lieut. Colleton of the Royal Artillery, Lieut. Royce & 30 men of the 34th Regt. Captain Andrews, who commanded the Vessel and the Naval Armament upon that Lake, (a zealous, active & intelligent officer) & 40 seamen.—The Loss of so many Good Officers and Men at this Period and the disappointment of forwarding Provisions for the Vast Consumption of the Posts I shall feel severely and I must Request of your Excellency that if an Exchange of any Officers of the Army in this Province should be effected at New York, you will have the Goodness to order them to join their Regiment by the earliest opportunity—further assistance however necessary it may happen to be I cannot in your present situation expect but must look for it from home.

There are two small vessels arrived, which sailed with the fall Fleet but were separated from it by a Gale of Wind seven weeks ago and give no further account of it, if it does not arrive in a few Days, I shall Despair of seeing it this year as the Winter

seems to be set in.—I need not tell your Excellency the Disappointment this would be to me, not only for the Supplies of Stores for the various Departments but particularly on account of Provisions, a difficulty I have struggled with ever since my arrival in this Province. In order to feed the Troops in this Part of the Province I shall be under the necessity of recalling Provisions from the Magazines at Montreal & Sorel where they are deposited for the purpose of pushing on to the upper Posts immediately after the River is navigable, as their stores are generally exhausted by the first of June.—This scarcity which the Victuallers not arriving must unavoidably occasion may have a very fatal effect with the Indians and frustrate my hopes of increasing my strength by new Levies which I shall not be able to support.

I shall be obliged to your Excellency to inform me if the Letter, I took the Liberty to transmit to you for Genl. Washington, requiring you would forward or suppress it as you might see necessary, was sent.

I have the Honor to be &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

His Excellency General Sir Henry Clinton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 278-80.

16th Novr, 1780.

Sir Henry Clinton,

Sir,

An Idea has just struck me which if improved, I think may be highly advantageous to the King's Service in this Province, in which I have to request Your Excellency's assistance.—Genl Arnold having been frequently in this Province upon Business before the breaking out of the Rebellion had an opportunity of being intimately known to and forming connections with the Inhabitants both French and English, particularly at Montreal.—In his Military Capacity he distinguished himself at the Siege of this Place and in other Parts of this Province by which he acquired the perfect confidence of the disaffected Inhabitants, and of course took the Advantage of retaining them as Emissaries in the Rebel Interest.

I have suspected many Persons to be concerned in this Business which has been a continual source of Inconvenience and disappointment to the service but by the Art and Secrecy of those employed & many of them being under the Influence of Religion, all my efforts to discover them have been ineffectual and tho' I have confined some upon well founded suspicion yet I cannot find Proofs sufficient to justify my making an Example.

Before the French Alliance I suspected the Jesuits and some few of the Clergy—since I am confident that the greatest part of them have entered warmly into the Interest of the Rebellion & it is much to be feared find means to correspond with the Enemy.—there is a person in Custody, one Charles Hay, (brother to Mr. Hay, Quarter Master Genl in the Rebel Service), a Monsr. Du Calvet and a Monsr Cazeau, against whom there are strong presumptive Proofs.—Mr. Arnold must from his Intimacy with the former have a knowledge of his Brother's Transactions with the Enemy—and from the resentment he has discovered at the fate of Major Andre, of which he was the innocent Cause, as well as the change of his Political Ideas manifested in his address to the Public, I should think he will not hesitate candidly to give Your Excellency every Information in his Power, by which a discovery may be made and a stop put to the Intercourse which certainly subsists between this Province and the Principals in Rebellion. If Genl. Arnold should have removed from New York, I entreat Your Excellency will, nevertheless, Transact this Business with Him, the result of which I shall wait for with the utmost Impatience. I enclose a list of the People most suspected here and at Montreal.

I have the Honor to be &c.

In case the service should have called Your Excellency from New York, I shall take the Liberty to direct this Letter eventually to Genl. Robertson.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 57-2, pp. 309-14.

Quebec, 28th Nov., 1780.

Lord George Germain.

My Lord.

As this will be the last opportunity of writing to you by the way of the River St. Lawrence, I embrace it to express myself freely and fully on the situation of this Province. Every day gives me more and more reason to think that an Invasion is intended early in the Summer. The more the affairs of the Enemy are desperate in the Southern Colonies, the more they will find it necessary to use every effort to make themselves Masters of Canada, it is their last resource & if their efforts should succeed, they would soon recover their losses to the Southward. The large Body of Indians which we have employed against them & which has prevented thousands of their best men from joining Washington's Army, would be for them by the Assistance & Intrigues of their French Allies, which I see daily increasing, the Rebels would find resources for the War from this Country, which from a variety of Accidents & circumstances, we have hitherto been unable to procure, was the Defence which I am able to make confined solely to that of Quebec, it would not be so difficult, but My Lord, I have a very extensive Province to secure which from its Local circumstances is vulnerable in many places and what is still worse, if any of these places are Attacked & Carried by the Enemy, the others fall of course from the impossibility of communication, of sending supplies of Provisions to them. Thus, My Lord, if Carleton Island should fall into the Enemy's Hands, Niagara & Detroit would infallibly be lost, for with all the Industry & Attention, which I have employed to that object, I have not been able to furnish these Posts with Provisions for more than the Commencement of next Spring. On the other hand if the Enemy should penetrate into the Province by a road which they have been some time making and which is now greatly advanced from the Cohoes to the Bay of Misissqui, I must have a Body of Troops to oppose their further progress, otherwise Montreal, which is totally indefensible, would fall into their Hands & would be attended with the same fatal consequences to the Upper Posts as the loss of Carleton island.—Your Lordship will observe that this is even upon the supposition that Isle aux Noix, St. Johns & Sorel should be so well garrisoned as that the Enemy should think it imprudent to attempt them. Your Lordship will see the necessity of sending the reinforcement which I mentioned in my former Dispatches & which I hope will consist of British Regiments, if I can be enabled to establish a strong Post at Oswego, of which from want of Provisions, I now despair, & after garrisoning Quebec, have a Body of men sufficient to oppose the Enemy upon their penetrating into the Country, by the Bay of Misissqui or St. Francois, or at least to cover St. Johns, Chambly and Sorel, I hope every attempt on the part of the Enemy will be frustrated. Aware of the danger I shall neglect nothing which I think can be of use to the Service or correspond to the confidence which my Royal Master has put in me. My first care must be to secure the Provisions in the Country, the foreseeing of the present circumstances made me wish so much that the Legislative Council would have fixed the Price of Wheat and Flour by Ordinance, nothing so easily accomplished last year, or so grateful to the People, nine tenths of whom were under the necessity of purchasing Flour for their daily subsistence and would have considered themselves under obligation to the Government which could protect them against Oppression, now the People have enough for their own Families & the measures which would last year have been considered a benefit for the People, would now be attributed solely to my attention to the King's Interest.—From the Disappointment of the Second Provision Fleet, I have been obliged to change my Plan by sending back Troops destined for this District and have been under the necessity of bringing down to Quebec & its neighbourhood Provisions which I had sent to Montreal & Sorel to be ready for Transportation in the Spring to the Upper Countries. I intend to feed the Troops whenever it is possible upon Fresh Provisions, both with a view to save Salt Provisions and as being the manner least hurtful or invidious to prevent an Enemy from meeting with succours upon their arrival in the Province, in the Parishes below Quebec, this, especially if the Commissary General can make an agreement with the Inhabitants to furnish the Soldiers quartered on them with Bread, will be sufficient, but other methods must be taken with the rich & plentiful Parishes on the River Chambly & Sorel & where the Invasion is most likely to take place. I intend with the advice of the Council to issue a Proclamation ordering the Inhabitants to thresh their own Grain by a certain day, so that on the Approach of an Enemy, it & the cattle may be easily conveyed to Sorel to be put

under the protection of the Troops & the Militia of the Country, who will be ordered to rendezvous there. Though at the same time I must acknowledge to Your Lordship I have no confidence in being able to collect many of the latter. I am certain there is frequent intercourse by letter or message between the French or Rebel Generals in Rhode Island and some of the Priests & Jesuits, assisted by some disaffected old subjects whom with all my industry I could not discover. And tho' the Noblesse will probably behave well, I make no doubt there are many Inhabitants, in each Parish, who would swerve from their Allegiance upon the Approach of a French Army. Severity & rigor will be necessary and in Proportion my Conduct has hitherto been mild & forbearing, it will be the reverse if I find that no other means can preserve the Province.—I am too jealously & gratefully devoted to the Service of the King and the British nation to neglect any measure which may in my opinion contribute to the good of the Service, tho' it may expose myself to censure from Persons not acquainted with the circumstances.

I do not intend to renew the Proclamation for delaying the Foy & Homage which will soon expire but will instruct the Deputy Recr. General not to enforce Payment of the Quints due, which from being so long neglected & delayed would distress some of the Seigneurs, tho' the Acts de Foy & Homage may be necessary to impress by Law their ancient usages upon their minds the Allegiance due to their Sovereign.

I have the honor to be, &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 129, pp. 200-1.

Montreal, 28th Decber, 1780.

Sir.

I am favoured with your Letter of the 25th Instant, and shall follow His Excellency, the Commander in Chief's Orders respecting Cardinal.

The Business of the Captain and Lieut. of Militia I know to be a Civil matter and I only transmitted it as coming to me from Lieut. Colonel St. George, who told me at the same time that he had wrote to Mr. Baby on the same subject. Colonel Silvester I believe is a very honest man and meant well but I find that he and Mons. St. George never are of the same opinion and as the Latter is the execute man (and indeed the only usefull man among the Militia Officers in this District) I have managed matters so as to keep Silvester quiete and St. George did all the Business. On the present case Mr. St. George recommended the two men. I have transmitted it to His Excellency, should I now apply to Mr. Silvester its possible he may name People different from those already mentioned by Mr. St. George, who is certainly much Better acquainted with the People than Colonel Silvester.

I have mentioned those particulars for His Excellency's Information and shall say nothing to Colonel Silvester till the return of the Post. I have no Interest in the Question but the Good of the Service.

I have the Honor to be, &
Allan Maclean.

Captain Mathews.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 18, p. 130.

Copy of a Letter (in Cypher) from Sir Henry Clinton to His Excellency General Haldimand, dated New York, 9th November & Received at Quebec the 29th December, 1780.

By Intelligence lately an Attempt against Canada is probably intended as soon as the Winter is so far set in as to render Naval transactions on the Coast improbable, as the French under Rochambault will Compose the Principal Part of the Armament.—I am inclined to credit the Accounts.—I hear of a Combination being formed in Canada by the Inhabitants to join him. As from the difficulty of Carriage the Armament intended against Canada will probably be obliged to trust to the Country for Supplies of Flour and other Provisions I submit to Your Excellency whether it would not be of moment to take from the Inhabitants every Article of that Sort except what may be absolutely requisite for the Support of their Families.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 287-8.

Copy of a Letter in Cypher to Sir Henry Clinton dated Quebec 3rd Jan'y 81 & sent by his return Express.

I have yours of the ninth Novr. acquainting me of the French and Rebels Design under Monsr. Rochambalt.—I shall employ every means in my Power to defeat it.—The greatest difficulty I have to struggle with c'est le want of Provisions.—pas un seul Ship of the last Fleet having arrived, I am prevented forming magazines and raising Canadians as I intended.—Il y a long Tems que je suis convaincu qu'il y a une combination you mention but never have been able to discover the Principals. I must fear qu'elle est soutenue par le Clergy.—the most dangerous agents and the most difficult to discover. Pour raccoursir cette Letter I have directed the Bearer, (who, Major Holland assures me may be trusted,) to tell you verbally the situation of Affairs here, and whatever he shall pick up on his way back, which I request you will let me know as soon as possible.

The only aid I can expect from you will be an attempt upon Rhode Island or a Feint of it, should a large Detachment of French Troops be sent from thence.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 95, pp. 94-9.

Quebec, 5th Jan'y, 1781.

Sir,

Upon consideration of what Your Excellency was pleased to communicate to me verbally the 2d Instant respecting Intelligence received from the Southward the 28th & 29th of last month, and what you proposed to be done in consequence I think it my Duty to observe that an Ordinance passed in Council or a Proclamation from yourself as Commander in Chief of the Forces to the Inhabitants in General to thresh their Wheat appears to me equally improper and impolitick, what end could it answer but to alarm the People, encourage Cabals, and give time to Enemies of Government for distressing it effectually.

If nevertheless Your Excellency is fully bent upon ordering the Grain to be threshed the best way would be to appoint the Officers in whom you can most confide to take certain Districts under their command & to order the Captains as well as other Officers of the Militia within the Districts so allotted to them to obey those Officers & every command they receive from them, these Officers to be instructed on a certain day to order the Habitans through their own Captains and other Officers of the several Parishes within their respective Districts to thresh. However, you will please observe that this is offered as rather a more eligible method than the two before mentioned. I neither advise or recommend the measure in any shape whatever.

The Plain, simple and easy Method of filling your own Magazines and depriving those attached to the American Cause from amassing Provisions for their Friends is to employ honest men not immediately in the service of Government to purchase wheat in the Country with Ready Money upon Commissions at the most moderate price they can procure it, particularly in the parts most accessible to the Enemy, when purchased they will have a right to order it to be threshed & conveyed to the Magazines you chuse to have it deposited in.

This will be more agreeable to the Spirit of the British Government, better adapted to the exigencies of the times and can bring no Distress upon the Inhabitants of the Country whose welfare and Happiness you are bound as well as all the other Servants of the Crown to study and peruse, the difference of a few Thousands to Great Britain at such a time can never enter into any sort of competition with the Weight and Influence, Sound Policy and the National Interest direct to be preserved in this Province, while she retains any footing in America.

The more I think of the Enemy's invading this Province in Winter, the more impracticable it appears to me they can execute it in any degree of Force, but should a Revolt happen within it, they might feed it with small Parties of picked men and some chosen Officers to Head and direct them till the Season proved favourable to pushing forward, would not the threshing of the Grain by whatever Method enforced, which

the Habitans would expect to be followed by Taxation of it already debated in Council and lost by one Voice only, lay a Foundation for something of that sort. I am sure at least it would lead them to conceal or perhaps destroy it, rather than be deprived of their expected Price, for no men in the world are more governed by the love of gain than the Canadian Peasantry.

Whenever you receive certain Intelligence of the Enemy moving to invade the Province it would be right I think to proclaim Martial Law as the best means of keeping the Inhabitants in a due subjection to their Duty, this step might be taken without consulting the Council, in such situations a decisive conduct & vigorous measure are the most likely to be attended with success.

I am, &c.

H. T. Cramahé.

His Excellency,
General Haldimand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 95, pp. 100-1.

Sir,

I have considered your Letter of the 5th of this month and have given Attention to ye Reasons which you urge agst the Proclamation which I proposed to issue with the concurrence of the Council obliging the Inhabitants to thresh their Grain without loss of time.

The Method you propose is too slow in its operation for the present Exigence. The Inhabitants never sell their Wheat till ye month of March and have been already instructed by the Emissaries of the Enemy and the Engrossers to keep it up, after the Intelligence which Sir Henry Clinton has sent and which I have communicated to you, it would be in my opinion an unpardonable negligence to lose time in taking measures which may tend to deprive the Enemy of the means of subsistence. In Issuing the Proclamation we only follow the example given by the King's Council when the Enemy threatened to invade Britain. In Regard to alarming the minds of the People it is in vain to think of preventing it, ye changing the Quarters of ye Troops in order to Assemble a number sufficient to prevent ye Enemy from penetrating to Montreal, it is unavoidable. I have the greatest Reluctance to proclaim Martial Law, any rate it never could be advisable till ye Invasion takes place and then it is too late to advise ye People to thresh their Grain, the only alternative then would be to destroy the Property of the King's subjects, and this it is my Duty to prevent. I flatter myself yt ye King's Council and other his faithful subjects will give me such Assistance as will forever render ye Proclamation of Martial Law unnecessary.

Experience has hitherto shewn in America that it is not an Effective Measure to keep ye People in subjection and obedience. Vigorous and decisive measures, unanimity in ye King's Council & in ye Officers of Government may have that effect and I request from ye Lieut. Governor every assistance in forwarding measures which I think necessary for the King's Service.

(Unsigned and undated.)

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, January 18, 1781.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY
FREDERICK HALDIMAND,

Captain-general and Governor in Chief of his Majesty's Province of QUEBEC, and the Territories depending thereon in AMERICA; Vice-admiral of the same. General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in the said Province and the Frontiers thereof, &c. &c.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS the safety of the property of his Majesty's liege Subjects, and the necessary defence of this province, may speedily require that all Grain, Cattle and Provisions, which might in any degree favor or afford succour to an Invasion in this Province by the King's subjects in Rebellion, should be deposited in Places of Security, for Protection and Defence by the King's Troops under my Command;

Therefore, with the advice of his Majesty's Council, I have published this Proclamation, requiring all his Majesty's faithful subjects, to prepare without Delay for such an Event; by diligently causing their Grain of what kind soever, to be forthwith threshed and prepared, ready to be transported; if needful, to such Places of Security as may be judged proper, for the safety of the same, and the necessary defence of the province.

His Majesty's Subjects will answer at their Peril and Risk the Disobedience of an Injunction requisite and made for the Preservation of their property, and the Security and Defence of the province.

The several Captains and other Officers of Militia are hereby commanded to use all Diligence in causing this Proclamation to be carried into speedy and due Execution; And that without Delay they do severally proceed to take an exact account from all and every his Majesty's Subjects, and who are hereby strictly enjoined to grant the same, in the several Parishes throughout this Province, of the Number of Cattle and the several Kinds thereof. Also of the Quantity of Grain and Flour, which respectively may be in the possession of all and every person and persons in the said Parishes.

The said Captains of Militia are further commanded speedily to make return of their several Proceedings herein; those in the District of QUEBEC to Mr. Dupré, Colonel of Militia; those of Three Rivers to Mr. Tonancourt, Colonel of Militia; those of the District of Montreal on the North side of the River St. Lawrence to Mr. Neveu Sevestre, Colonel of Militia; and those in the said District on the South side of the said River to the Officer commanding his Majesty's Troops at Sorel.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal at Arms in Council, at the Castle of Saint Lewis, this fifteenth day of January One Thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, and in the twenty-first year of His Majesty's Reign.

FRED: HALDIMAND.

By His Excellency's Command,
GEO; POWNALL, Secy.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

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LA GAZETTE DE QUEBEC.

JEUDI, le 18 Janvier, 1781.

PAR SON EXCELLENCE.

FREDERIC HALDIMAND,

Capitaine-général et Gouverneur en Chef de sa Majesté en la Province de QUEBEC et Territoires en dépendans en AMERIQUE; Vice-amiral d'icelle général et Commandant en Chef des Troupes de sa Majesté en la dite Province et Frontières, &c. &c.

PROCLAMATION.

La sureté des propriétés appartenans aux Fidels Sujets de sa Majesté et la défense de cette Province, pouvant exiger que tous les Grains, Bestiaux et Denrées quelconques nécessaires à la vie, qui pourraient favoriser et aider les sujets Rébels de sa Majesté dans l'invasion de cette Province, soient déposés en lieux surs pour être protégés et défendus par les troupes du Roi qui sont sous mes ordres;

A ces causes, de l'avis du Conseil de sa Majesté, je fais publier cette Proclamation, qui ordonne à tous les fidels sujets de sa Majesté, pour se préparer sans délai à un tel événement, pour être diligemment transportés en cas de besoin, dans tels endroits de sureté; qui seront jugés convenable, pour leur conservation et la defense de la Province.

Que les sujets de sa Majesté répondront à leurs risques, et périls et fortunes de la désobéissance qu'ils commettront à cet ordre, sorti et donné pour la conservation de leurs propriétés et pour la sureté et défense de la Province.

Il est ordonné par ces présentes à tous Capitaines et Officiers des Milices de faire dans leurs Paroisses respectives, toutes leurs diligences, afin de mettre incessamment

cette Proclamation en exécution, et de procéder incontinent chacun dans leurs différentes Paroisses, à prendre de tous et chacun sujets de sa Majesté un état exact de la quantité des Grains et Bestiaux et de leurs différentes espèces, comm'aussi de la quantité des Grains et Farines qui seront dans la possession de tous et chacuns particuliers, auxquels il est par ces présentes rigoureusement ordonné de donner tel état.

Il est en outre ordonné aux dits Capitaines des Milices de faire le plutôt possible le rapport de leurs démarches à cet égard; ceux du District de Quebec à Mr. Dupré, Colonel des Milices; ceux des Trois Rivières à Mr. Tonancourt, Colonel des Milices; ceux du district de Montréal du côté du Nord du Fleuve St. Laurent à Mr. Neveu Sevestre Colonel des Milices; et ceux du dit District du côté du Sud du dit Fleuve à l'Officier commandant les troupes de sa Majesté à Sorel.

Donné sous mon Seing et le Sceau de mes Armes en Conseil au Château St. Louis, le quinzisième jour de Janvier mil sept cens quatre vingt un, et dans la vingt-unième année du Règne de sa Majesté.

(Signé) FRED; HALDIMAND.

Par Ordre de Son Excellence,
(Signé) GEO. POWNALL, Secre.

Traduit par Ordre de Son Excellence
F. J. CUGNET. S.F.

VIVE LE ROI.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 154, pp. 285-6.

15th Jany, 1781.

Sir,

.....
I am directed by the General to acquaint you that a Proclamation has this day passed in Council and will be immediately issued, directing that the Inhabitants immediately thresh out their grain with a view to prevent its falling into the Enemy's Hands should an invasion of the Province take place, by forming Magazines for its Security. His Excellency's Intentions and preparations for that Exigency you are sufficiently acquainted with, he therefore desires that on your way from St. Johns you will minutely examine the store houses at Sorell and estimate the quantity of grain they will contain, and what provision can be made for the stores which at present occupy them, and as He purposes as soon as the Roads will permit to have the Prisoners removed from Chambly, and thinks it would be a commodious situation for a Magazine he desires you will make the like observations at that place (without letting it be understood), Report to him your opinion of the advantages and disadvantages which may attend these situations.
.....

I am &c.
R. Mathews.

Captain Twiss.

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ORDINANCE OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Anno vicesimo primo Georgii III Regis.
Chap. II 1.

AN ORDINANCE for further continuing an ordinance made the twenty-ninth day of March in the seventeenth year of His Majesty's Reign intituled "An Ordinance for regulating the Militia" of the province of Quebec, and rendering it of more general Utility "towards the Preservation and Security thereof."

Be it enacted and ordained by his Excellency the Governor by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council of the province of Quebec, and by the Authority

of the same IT IS HEREBY ENACTED That an Ordinance made in the seventeenth year of his Majesty's reign, intituled "An Ordinance for regulating the Militia" of the Province of Quebec, and rendering it of more general utility "towards the preservation and Security thereof" and every Article and Clause therein contained shall be and continue, and the same is hereby further continued from the passing of this present Ordinance, unto the thirtieth Day of April, which will be in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and Eighty three.

FRED. HALDIMAND.

Ordnained and enacted by the Authority aforesaid and passed in council under the public Seal of the province, at the council chamber in the Castle of St. Lewis in the City of Quebec the twentieth day of January in the twenty first Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the faith, and so forth, and in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Eighty One.

By his Excellency's command.

J. Williams, C.L.C.

1 Ordinances, P. of Q. 1780-1781 (Can. Arch.)

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

February 15, 1781.

To His Excellency FREDERICK HALDIMAND, Captain-General and commander in Chief of His Majesty's Province of QUEBEC and the Territories depending thereon in AMERICA, Vice-Admiral of the same. General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in the said Province and Frontiers thereof, &c, &c, &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

We His Majesty's Faithful and Loyal Subjects the British Inhabitants of Montreal, in Town Meeting assembled, beg leave to address your Excellency on your Proclamation in Council.—We thank your Excellency for having made publick the intelligence you have received, that the King's Subjects in Rebellion intend to invade this Province, we shall thereby be more particularly on our Guard, and as it is our duty, so it is our wish to discover their Emissaries, aiders or abettors within the Province. When we consider the Calamities of War and the Oppressions which our fellow Subjects in the neighbouring Colonies are still suffering, under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders, we cannot but acknowledge the blessings of a Constitutional Government, which we have the happiness to enjoy under your Excellency's Administration and attention to our Interests from your unwearied endeavours to protect our Trade. We cannot then forbear to express our detestation of an Attempt which must disturb our Peace, but when we consider your Excellency's constant care to repair and augment the fortifications, when we consider the number of well disciplined troops in the Province we have the most sanguine Expectation that the design of the Enemy will be frustrated. It only rests with us to assure your Excellency of our hearty concurrence with any measure, that tend to the Protection and safety of the Province, and that we cheerfully submit to be regulated in such manner as you may think will best answer that end. Montreal, 29th January, 1781.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S ANSWER.

Quebec, 5th February, 1781.

Gentlemen;—

"I have received your address and return you thanks for the sentiments of Loyalty to the King and of attachment to his Government which are expressed in it. My best endeavours will be exerted to secure to the Inhabitants of this Province the continuance of the blessings of Peace and Industry. It is with great Satisfaction that I consider the Unanimity and Zeal which prevail amongst the Inhabitants of Montreal. They may be assured that whenever their Services becomes necessary, I will be happy in every opportunity to reward such of them as shall distinguish themselves in the Defence of the Province.

Montreal, January 29, 1781.

To his Excellency FREDERICK HALDIMAND, Captain-general and Commander in Chief of the Province of Quebec, and the Territories thereon depending; Vice-Admiral

of the same. General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in the said Province and the Frontiers, &c, &c, &c,

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

We, his Majesty's Faithful and Loyal New Subjects, the Citizens of the town of Montreal, beg leave to address your Excellency on your Proclamation in Council. We thank your Excellency for having made public the intelligence you have received that the Rebels intend to make an attack upon this Province; we shall thereby be more on our guard, and as it is our duty, so it is our wish to discover their emissaries and all who may be inclined to aid or abet them in this country.

When we consider the calamities of war and the oppressions which our fellow-subjects in the neighbouring Provinces are still suffering under the tyranny of their Leaders, we cannot but acknowledge the happiness of a Constitutional Government which we enjoy under your Excellency's administration, and attention to our interests from your endeavours to protect our trade.

Wherefore we detest a design which must disturb the peace of the Province; but when we reflect on your Excellency's constant care to repair and augment the fortifications, and the number of well disciplined Troops now in the country, we have the most sanguine expectation that the attempts of the enemy will be frustrated.

We have only to add our assurances to your Excellency, that we will heartily concur in the measures which may best tend to the security of the country, and that we submit ourselves to be regulated in such manner as your Excellency may think most proper to answer that end.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S ANSWER.

Gentlemen,

"I have received your Address, and I return you Thanks for the sentiments of Loyalty and Attachment you express for his Majesty's Person and Government; and it is with real satisfaction I remark the unanimous zeal of the Inhabitants of Montreal on those objects. On my part I shall continue to use my utmost endeavours to insure the tranquillity of the Province and secure its Inhabitants in the full enjoyment of the fruits of their industry: and if, in order to obtain so desirable an end, I should have occasion for their assistance, I shall make it my duty to reward those who may distinguish themselves in the King's service."

Quebec, 5th February, 1781.

To the Gentlemen, Citizens, &c. of the town of Montreal.

To His Excellency FREDERICK HALDIMAND, Governor and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in the Province of Quebec, and the Frontiers thereof, &c, &c &c.

We His Majesty's faithful and Loyal British subjects, the Gentlemen, Merchants and Traders inhabitants of Quebec, beg leave to assure your Excellency at this Crisis, when the hostile designs of our infatuated and deluded Brethren of the neighbouring Provinces against the Peace of this Colony are in some degree apparent, that we will under your Excellency's directions strenuously exert ourselves to the utmost of our Power, to render abortive every Attempt and frustrate every Intention to disturb the Tranquillity that happily exists throughout every part of this Province.

It is with great pleasure that we acknowledge the Wisdom of your Excellency's late Measures to defeat the Enemy's obtaining any Succours upon our Frontiers, and it is with real satisfaction that we see all the People so cheerfully adopt the Views of your Excellency.

We are convinced that whilst Unanimity subsists amongst the numerous Inhabitants of this Province, there is little to be feared from the Operations of an Enemy acting and held together only by compulsion, and who are forcibly made the Engines of Oppressions to others at the Moment they themselves are most oppress'd.

We consider ourselves peculiarly happy to enjoy under your Excellency's Government the blessings of Peace; at a time when every part of America suffers the terrible Effects of Rebellion and its consequent Calamities. We repose a perfect Confidence in your Excellency's pursuing those means that may best ensure its Continuance and we will with the utmost cheerfulness support your Excellency with our Lives and Fortunes against all His Majesty's Enemies.

Quebec, 6th February, 1781.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S ANSWER.

Quebec, 7th February, 1781.

Gentlemen,

"I return you thanks for this Loyal Address. It is with great satisfaction that I consider the unanimity which prevails amongst His Majesty's Subjects in the different parts of the Province. From their united efforts, the best founded hope may be entertained that the designs of the Rebels against the peace and tranquillity of the Province will be frustrated.

"The exertions which the Citizens of Quebec made on a former occasion in defence of their Liberties and Properties, are to me the strongest assurance that they will cheerfully concur in every measure which can conduce to the safety of the Province and the good of the King's service."

To the Gentlemen, Merchants and Traders, Inhabitants of Quebec.

To His Excellency FREDERICK HALDIMAND, Captain-general and Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec, and the Territories thereon depending in America; Vice-admiral of the same. General and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in the Province and Frontiers, &c. &c. &c.

We, New Subjects, the principal Citizens of the City of Quebec, take the liberty most respectfully to represent to your Excellency, that it is with the greatest Surprise and the Highest Indignation we learn from your Excellency's Proclamation that the enemies of the State are still threatening this Province with an Invasion, and make it share the calamities and miseries of a cruel war, which has for several years past desolated the neighbouring Provinces.

We heartily embrace this opportunity to assure your Excellency, that, always steady in our duty and faithful to the Oath we have taken to his Most Excellent Majesty, we will use our utmost endeavours to oppose their Invasion, which cannot but involve us, as well as the inhabitants of the country, in the most deplorable condition.

We most sincerely thank your Excellency for the judicious precautions you have taken to put this Province in a respectable state of defence, and for the wise purposes of your Proclamation, tending to the preservation of the property of the inhabitants. We conclude by assuring you that, ever zealous and grateful, we will never cease praying for your Excellency's health, prosperity and preservation.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S ANSWER.

Gentlemen,

"I Receive with real satisfaction your assurance of inviolable attachment to the King's service; the unanimous zeal of his Majesty's Ancient and New Subjects can alone insure to us the tranquility and welfare of this Province; and in case our enemies should attempt to disturb it, the conduct of the inhabitants of Quebec in 1775, is to me proof of their fidelity."

Quebec, 11th February, 1781.

To the Gentlemen principal Citizens of the New Subjects of the City of Quebec.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 290-1.

Anxious to hear from you to guard against Accidents I dispatch the Bearer with a Triplicate of my Letter by your last Express. He thinks he can intercept a weekly Courier from Washington to Albany. I wish it may happen on his way to you.—Every thing quiet here.—I have scouts abroad to watch the motion of the Enemy upon Every Route by which they can enter the Province and I have taken Precautions to distress them should an Attempt be made.—Not a word from Halifax.—I begin to fear that my dispatches by the Fleet said to have put in there in Novr. are taken.—We have frequent and false Reports of Affairs to the southward spread here to influence the Ignorant & Indians.—a few lines from Your Excellency upon any material Occurrence would enable me to prevent their Effects.

I hope you rec'd my Letters of the 15th Novr by Ens. Drummond. I requested your endeavours to procure from Mr. Arnold some information of the disaffected subjects in this Province.—his private and public Transactions could not fail to give

him a perfect knowledge of Them.—He may depend upon my not making use of his Name but as he should permit.—I have presumptive Proofs against some of them but none that would justify making an Example nor am I able to procure such with Every Effort in my Power to make.

Quebec, 7th Feby.

Fred. Haldimand.

Endorsed:— 1781
 Sir Henry Clinton.
 Sent by B. Davis.
 the 7th Feby.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, February 15, 1781.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

SECRETARY'S-OFFICE, QUEBEC, 14th February, 1781.

IN CONSIDERATION OF THE BADNESS OF THE SEASON, AND for the greater conveniency of those persons who have not yet been able to give their attendance at the Castle St. Lewis in the City of Quebec, for the purpose of rendering Fealty and Homage, (which they owe to his Majesty agreeable to the Order of his Excellency the Governor and Commander in Chief of this Province, dated the 23th of December last;) I am directed by His Excellency, to signify his Pleasure to the persons concerned, that he does hereby prolong the time for the purposes above-mentioned until the end of May next, before which time His Excellency requires that all persons concerned do give their attendance for that purpose.

GEO. POWNALL, Sec'ry.

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LA GAZETTE DE QUEBEC.

JEUDI, le 15 Fevrier, 1781.

AVERTISSEMENTS.

DU SECRETARIAT, A QUEBEC, LE 14 Fevrier, 1781.

EN CONSIDERATION DE LA MAUVAIS SAISON, ET POUR la plus grande comodité de ceux qui n'ont point encor pû venir au Château St. Louis en la ville de Québec pour rendre et porter la Foi et Homage qu'ils doivent à sa Majesté suivant les ordres de son Excellence le Gouverneur et Commandant en Chef de cette Province, en date du 28 Décembre dernier, Il m'a ordonné d'avertir les particuliers qui y sont intéressés qu'il prolonge par ces présentes le tems mentionné aux dits ordres jusqu'à la fin de Mai prochain; avant lequel tems son Excellence ordonne à tous ceux qui y sont intéressés de venir à cet effet.

(Signé) GEO. POWNALL, Secr.

Traduit par Ordre de son Excellence,
 F. J. CUGNET. S.F.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 154, pp. 122-3.

Sorell, Feby 26, 1781.

Sir,

.....

 The Duties of my Profession so constantly engross my attention that I have no opportunity of becoming sufficiently acquainted with the Private Principles of the Inhabitants to discover whether any material change has taken place in their sentiments respecting Government but in my late tour I thought I perceived that many dread the approach of the French and Rebels and that few or none wished for it.

Your Excellency's Proclamation has certainly been a great means of reducing the Price of Corn and has likewise had other good effects without being attended with any bad consequences at least as far as I am capable of judging.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Wm. Twiss.

His Excellency,
General Haldimand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 292.

Quebec, the 28th Feby, 1781.

in Cypher by Quin. No. 3.

Every thing here quiet.—Necessary Preparations to receive the enemy were made with little stir.—I am now assured that the Invasion has failed solely from the Rebels not having fulfilled their Engagement—they have, however, lately sent some cannon to Fort Stanwix. Dissentions prevail in the Rebel Troops thro'out the Provinces & those at Philadelphia have quitted their Army. I have been put upon my Guard by an Intelligent & staunch friend at Albany against the People of Vermont, (with whom I have been some time in Treaty), who seek to deceive both the Congress & the Royal Army.

I shall spare no Pains to work upon those People & if I succeed I shall not fail to tell you of it, but I have great doubts.

Endorsed:—

Letter in Cypher to Sir Henry Clinton,
of 28th feby.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 154, pp. 334-5.

Captain Twiss begs leave to mention to His Excellency that he thinks it necessary that orders be sent to the Captains of Militia at Kamouraska.

That he give every possible assistance and employ all the best Carpenters in his Parish in order to raise the Arch of the new Bridge before the Ice goes—otherwise this work will cost double Labour and the Inhabitants will be taken from Sowing their Lands to finish the Bridge.

at River du Loup,

That they immediately cut, square, and draw to the spot where the Bridge is proposed to be built, as much Timber as will entirely compleat the two Buttments which are proposed to be executed in July.

Before the snow goes this Parish should be particularly attentive that all the Timber they have already cut and squared in the Woods for this new Bridge should be draw nout of the Woods and laid in heaps so as to be most convenient to be drawn on the first snow next fall, otherwise it is more than probable all this Timber will be burnt during the Summer and the Parish will be burdened with a great additional Labour to replace it.

Endorsed:

Memorandum from Captain Twiss.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 81, p. 142.

Quebec 7th March 1781.

To Capt. Hay
or
Officer Commg at Ange Gardienne.

Sir,

The Captain of Militia at Ange Gardienne, where you command, having made complaint to His Excellency, that Joseph Jacob lejeune, and Nicola le Tarte have treated him with insolence, I am directed to inform you, the General authorizes you to confine them in the Guard, until the Captain of Militia who will deliver this letter requests their Enlargement.

I am &c.

(Signed) R. B. Lernoult
Adjt. General.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, March 29, 1781.

Since the affair of the Miamis Town something similar happened at St. Joseph's. A detachment from the Cahokias consisting of sixteen men only, commanded by a half Indian, named John Batiste Hammelaine, timed it so as to arrive at St. Joseph's with pack horses when the Indians were out on their first hunt, an old chief and his family excepted. They took the traders prisoners and carried off all the goods consisting at least of fifty bales and took the route of Chicagou. Lieutenant Dagneau du Quindre, who was stationed near St. Joseph's, immediately assembled some Indians and pursued them as far as the Petit Fort, a day's journey beyond the River du Chemin, where on the 5th December he summoned them to surrender, and on their refusing to do it, he ordered the Indians to attack them. Without the loss of a man on his side, he killed four, wounded two, and took seven prisoners, the other three escaped in the thick woods; three of the prisoners were brought in here amongst whom is one Brady, A Superintendent of Indian affairs, the rest were taken to Michilimaking. The Rebels having quitted that country, Brady, who says he had no longer desire of remaining in the Rebels service, did not follow them.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 81, p. 147.

Quebec 9th April 1781.

B. G. Maclean

Sir,

The inhabitants of La Chine having refused to submit to the Captain of Militia appointed by Lieutenant Colonel Sevestre His Excellency desires you will give him the necessary assistance should he require it, to enforce due obedience to his orders.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) R. B. Lernoult,
A. G.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 18, pp. 49-50.

Secret.

Whitehall, 4th May, 1781.

Governor Haldimand.

Sir,

The Convoy being detained at Portsmouth by the Tryal of the Captain of the Danæ for Neglect of his Charge last year, I have an Opportunity of Acquainting you

that since my Despatches were sent off I have received certain Information that the French Court have given Orders to M. de Lucerne to dissuade the Congress from making an Attack on Canada until they had driven the King's Troops out of the Thirteen Provinces. As therefore you will have nothing to apprehend for the safety of your own Government, you will have it more in your power to co-operate with Sir Henry Clinton in reducing the Revolting Provinces and it appears to me that the most efficient means you Can employ for that purpose is by sending up to Vermont so considerable a Force as to encourage Ethan Allen and the people of Vermont to declare for His Majesty's Government and cut off all Communication between Albany and the Mohawk River and prevent Washington's Army receiving any Supplies down the Hudson's River.

I am &c.
George Germain.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, May 10, 1781.

Sunday last the 6th Instant being the anniversary of raising the Siege and Blockade of this City by the Rebels in 1775-6, in commemoration of the Event on the Monday following the Officers and other principal Gentlemen of the British Militia gave a most elegant Dinner at Mrs. Fitzgerald's, at which were present his Excellency the Governor with his suite, and the other principal Gentlemen of the Garrison as well Civil as Military. The Company consisted of upwards of a hundred persons, and the Evening concluded with the utmost harmony and decorum.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 18, pp. 87-92.

No. 88.

Quebec, 14th June, 1781.

My Lord,

.....
I embrace the first opportunity to remove any apprehension Your Lordship might have entertained for the Safety of this Province from the designs meditated & intended to have been executed last Winter.—to prevent the success of which I took every precaution my abilities & Resources could effect without alarming the Minds of the People or removing from their Quarters any Part of the Troops; having issued early a Proclamation directing the Inhabitants to thresh out their Corn in order to secure it to Them against whatever might happen & having it in my Power upon the shortest notice to collect the Troops by means of the Inhabitants Sleds.

I have the honor to be, &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

The Right Honorable,
Lord George Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 57-2, pp. 328-33.

Lord George Germain.

Quebec, 6th July, 1781.

My Lord,

.....
On the 29th of last December I received a letter in Cypher from Sir H. Clinton, the copy of which is enclosed. I had last October discovered and apprehended several Persons carrying letters to Congress, Mr. Washington & the Marquis De La Fayette, but though they are confined in separate Prisons, I cannot trace the combination farther than among the Lower Class of Canadians, at the same time a Slip of Paper found among

the letters contained Intelligence written in Milk, which must have been composed by some Person who had more capacity & opportunity to make observations than the Lower class of Canadians generally have. Mr. Du Calvet, a Merchant in Montreal, is in custody on that occasion, the Person who has confessed the writing of the letters says he put Du Calvet's name to one of them at his desire, & he who was apprehended with the letters upon him, declares that he undertook the Journey to the Rebel Colonies at the Instigation of Mr. Du Calvet.

I ordered the Council to Assemble on the 15th of January, & with their concurrence issued the Proclamation which Your Lordship will see among the minutes.

I did not adopt the mode proposed by Sir Henry Clinton of taking the Grain & Provisions into my Possession and of leaving with the Proprietors only a quantity sufficient for the subsistence of their Families. The Proclamation appeared equally efficacious & less alarming. If the Inhabitants complied with the Proclamation the Cattle and Corn upon the Approach of an Enemy might have been transported to places of safety & if they disobeyed it, I would have done my Duty with less regret in destroying all Provisions which could not otherwise have been prevented from falling into the Hands of the Enemy.

The Bishop gave me a proof of his good Disposition in writing a circular letter to the Clergy well adapted to the occasion.

The Inhabitants of the Towns of Quebec & Montreal presented Addresses to me full of sentiments of Loyalty to the King and of Attachment to the Constitutional Government of the Province. These things in themselves are of no great Consequence but as the Inhabitants in the Towns give the Ton to the Traders in the Country, who have but too often been the Instruments of retailing sedition & rebellion to the ignorant Inhabitants, I gave my consent to have the addresses with my answers published in the Quebec Gazette.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 57-2, pp. 333-8.

Quebec, July 8th, 1781.

Lord George Germain.

My Lord,
Most Private.

I take the opportunity of a strong merchant ship to communicate to Your Lordship the circumstances of an affair of which Your Lordship cannot have too early notice. In my letter of the 25th of October, (No. 74), I expressed the Hope of giving Your Lordship further information relative to the affairs of Vermont, but observed that from what had happened I could not draw flattering conclusions. I have now the Honor to acquaint Your Lordship that in November last I received a letter from Mr. Chittenden, (General and Governor of Vermont), proposing an exchange of Prisoners. I thought this a favorable occasion to improve for negotiating a matter of greater importance, and Agree'd to receive a Flag of truce upon the Business proposed, having previously employed proper Persons to signify my wish and Authority to Messrs, Chittenden & Ethan Allen to propose Terms of Reconciliation of Vermont with the Mother Country, which, if they were inclined to accept might be transacted by a Person properly instructed who should come with a Flag apparently to settle a Cartel for the exchange of Prisoners. Altho' this was not expressly Agree'd to, it was so far encouraged as to promise it should be considered of and in all events that a Flag of Truce should be sent as soon as Lake Champlain was frozen, inviolable secrecy was required by them and Agree'd to on both sides.—In the course of the Winter the Flag was dispatched but from bad weather & unavoidable Accidents, was obliged to return and relinquish the Attempt until the Spring.—It arrived at the Isle aux Noix the 8th of May where the same Agent I sent last Fall to Vermont was ready to receive whoever might be entrusted to negotiate with him. Colonel Ira Allen, (Brother of Ethan), was the Person sent with the Flag. My Agent opened to him the real Business which had produced the Interview, showing him the Powers he had to Act and the Proposals made

by me to the People of Vermont and desiring to know if he was authorized to act in their behalf & what Instructions he had brought for that Purpose, he replied that he was not charged with Any that could justify his Concluding any Public Business except the Cartel. My Agent remonstrating upon the Inconsistency of this Conduct after what had passed between them the preceding Autumn, & Acquainting him with my Determination to bring the Affair to an issue, he became more unreserved and affable, having before assumed an obscure & haughty Conduct. As I cannot in fewer words or more perfectly convey to Your Lordship a knowledge of what passed at this Interview than from extracts from a Journal regularly minuted I take the liberty to enclose them together, from all which Your Lordship will be induced to form various conjectures & probably be at a loss to see into the real intentions of that designing People.—I am apprehensive the Flag was sent merely to cause a jealousy on the part of Congress and to intimidate that Assembly into a Compliance with a Union upon the Independent Terms they contend for, from a belief Vermont is in Treaty with us. This opinion is strengthened from a persuasion that whatever they profess, they are in their Hearts inveterate Rebels and, if once united with Congress, would be very formidable Enemies, having been from their early contests with their neighbouring Provinces continually in Arms. They are in every respect better provided than the Continental Troops and in their principles more determined. These considerations with the impossibility of acting from this Province except in great Force owing to their inhabiting that part of the Country bordering on the Lakes Champlain & George, Hudson & Connecticut Rivers, ready to a man to turn out on the first Alarm, with Provisions upon their Backs, and possessed of a strong Country where they Can Attack and Harrass an Enemy in the most advantageous situations, have always made me anxious to prevent the Union they seem so bent upon accomplishing. Another reason for giving in to this idea will appear to Your Lordship in the enclosure No. 7, where the People of Vermont make a merit with Congress, their having secured their Frontiers from our Incursions near a month by including them in a Truce, inconsiderately entered into by Major Carleton upon his excursion to that Country last Autumn, foreseeing that it might be attended with bad consequences I immediately broke it—notwithstanding these circumstances from the sensibility with which Your Lordship will perceive by the latter part of the Journal, Mr. Allen seemed impressed, and the candor of his Professions upon taking leave, I still hope for success, and Your Lordship may depend that neither money nor pains shall on my part be wanting to accomplish it.

A few days ago I received a letter in Cypher from Sir H. Clinton expressing strong suspicions arising from the mysterious Conduct of the People of Vermont, particularly from their extending their Territory and Jurisdiction & their giving up to Congress Colonel Beverley Robinson's letters to Ethan Allen, circumstances although apparently unfavourable to a Union with Great Britain, have a different effect. The Inhabitants of their late acquisition being, as it is reported, Friends of Government. Colonel Ira Allen, when here, represented the necessity of exposing Colonel Robinson's letters to Congress, the Messengers who brought them and the letters having been delivered by the Country People.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 134, pp. 79-81.

Albany, July 15th, 1781.

Sir,

Yesterday I was honored with Your Excellency's favor of the 10th Instant.

I cordially congratulate you on the explicit reassurances you have that a Detachment of Count de Grasse's Fleet will speedily rejoin that under Monsieur de Touche for the attack of Quebec but am (illegible) larger body of Troops had not been ordered from the West Indies, five thousand men with what addition they may receive from the Marines a force inadequate to the reduction of that place, especially as the Troops which will penetrate from Co-os must necessarily be employed in the (illegible) part of Canada. I should therefore advise an augmentation to the force immediately destined for Quebec of at least two thousand five hundred or three thousand men to sail with Mons. de Touche. I am perfectly in sentiment with Your Excellency that every demonstration of an attack upon New York should be given (illegible) Count de Rochambeau with the French Troops should not march from you until the Fleet sails

from Boston. Your Excellency will perceive by the rout enclosed you Monday last what time he may reach Co-os & penetrate from thence to the south bank of the St. Lawrence, he will therefore probably reach that soon after the arrival of the fleet and Army at Quebec. As you left it to my discretion to forward or detain your orders to General Bailey I have thought it most expedient to do the latter, my reasons for it I hope soon to have the pleasure (illegible) to Your Excellency in a (illegible) which I conceive necessary in order to adjust finally what may be further necessary essentially to prosecute the attempt against Canada.

.....

.....

I am &c.

Ph. Schuyler.

His Excellency General Washington

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 321-3.

New York, July 23d, 1781.

Sir,

On the 21st Instant I was honored with your two Letters in Cypher dated the 6th and 21st Ultimo.

Those you mention to have forwarded by Ensigns Drummond and Prentice never reached me nor have I heard of those Gentlemen being taken; I am therefore apprehensive that some worse misfortune may have befallen them.

If a Reunion of Vermont with the Mother Country can be effected it must be productive of happy consequences but I confess my suspicions of those People as well as Your Excellency.

Rear Admiral Graves having ordered a Convoy for Halifax and Quebec, General Reidesel with a number of Officers and men belonging to your Army embrace that Opportunity of going thither, and they will take with them from Halifax the victuallers for Canada that were obliged to Winter there.

Mr. Wise, my Commissary General informs me that two very large victualling Transports were selected at Cork by Captain Sharpe (the Agent, who had the care of our last Fleet from thence), to replace the Cargoes of four smaller of yours which were made use of here; and as they were directed to proceed with the first Ships for Quebec I hope they will have reached you before this and have relieved you from the Distress which you was afraid you would experience from the want of your usual supply reaching you in time.

I have not received the least Intimation from home relative to the Intentions of Government with respect to Your Province, But the enclosed Extract of a Letter which I received lately from the Minister will shew you what those of the Court of France are in regard to Canada.

By the next opportunity I shall send your Excellency such Information as I can procure from General Arnold upon the subject you mention in your Letter of the 6th Ultimo in the meantime I beg leave to refer you to General Reidesel for Information respecting the State of affairs here and have the honor to be, &c.

H. Clinton.

P.S. As His Excellency General Knyphansen is very anxious to have that part of his Regiment which went to Canada returned here, if Your Excellency will be so good as to send them back. I will take care to replace them by an equal number as early as possible.

H. C.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 18, pp. 95-8.

No. 33.

Whitehall, 26th July, 1781.

Governor Haldimand.
Sir,

.....
.....
All the Intelligence we have received of the designs of the Enemy leave Canada out of their Plan and therefore you will have nothing to apprehend for the Safety of the Province. I trust you will appear in considerable Force upon the Frontiers which will be the surest means of giving efficacy to your negotiations with the Vermont People, nothing indeed should be omitted to attach them to His Majesty, and I can assure you that no expense that shall be found necessary for that purpose will be regretted. I am sorry you should have cause to doubt their sincerity but I flatter myself that when they see a Body of Troops sufficient to protect them near at hand, they will readily yield to the force of the weighty arguments you will have it in your power to urge.
.....

.....
The intercepted Letters from Washington and La Fayette, which you will see printed in the Gazette of the 14th Inst. show the state of the Rebel affairs to be almost desperate and that an encrease of the French Land & Sea force is their principal dependence; no considerable addition has yet been made to either from Europe, but our private Intelligence informs us that Mr. de Grasse is to go to the West Indies in August of which Sir George Rodney is apprized and will follow him.
.....

I am &c.
Geo. Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 18, pp. 99-101.

Most Secret.

Whitehall, 31st July, 1781.

Governor Haldimand.
Sir,

Since Lord George Germain's dispatch of the 26th Instant was sent off & his Lordship went into the Country, the most certain & precise Intelligence has been received of the Plan and Intentions of the Enemy and I therefore think it my Duty in his Lordship's absence to dispatch this by Express after the Cerberus to inform you of what has been discovered.

The French Court have absolutely refused to send any more Troops to the Continent, they have put Mr. Rochambeau under Washington's order but with the exception of not making Detachments from his Army In Consequence of a meeting between Washington and the French General and Admiral it has been settled that the French Troops are all in a Body to join Washington on the North River but they are not to move until the Fleet quits Rhode Island & goes to Boston as the Admiral thinks they would be unsafe when the Troops were gone and rejected Washington's proposal of sending a Body of New England Militia to occupy the Fortifications at Newport and protect them, the whole of the Military Stores are to be left at Providence under a Guard of 200 French and 500 Militia are to encamp on Rhode Island, thinking Sir Henry Clinton too weak to make any attempt upon them, in which, however, it is hoped they will be mistaken. It was Washington's request that the whole of the French Troops should have gone by Sea to Virginia but the French Admiral would not venture to convoy them & that project was therefore entirely laid aside. No attempt is to be made upon New York after the French Troops join Washington until de Grasse arrives from the West Indies with his Fleet and long before that can happen, Sir Henry Clin-

ton will have received his Reinforcement of near 6,000 Europeans. This Intelligence, which may be entirely relied on, will fully prove to you that no attempt will be made by France or the Rebels on the side of Canada and leaves you entirely Master of your own operations & to carry on what Enterprises you may judge proper to undertake on the Frontiers of the Revolted Provinces in Co-operation with and support of the Southern Army, and in pursuance of the great Object of the War, the restoration of the Constitution.

I am &c.

Wm. Knox.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, 147, pp. 400-1.

(Undated, probably July, 1781.)

Sir Henry Clinton.

(Cypher)

Tho' it is scarce possible the following Report (just received from an approved Loyalist in Albany) should not have reached Your Excellency yet the extreme difficulty our Messengers find in escaping the Vigilance of the Enemy induces me to mention it.

The Troops upon the Hudson & Mohawk Rivers are ordered immediately to Peekskill where a Body of French Troops are arrived—It is supposed an Attack upon New York is intended—General Schuyler came up in a great Hurry & has ordered 1000 Boats to be got ready by August, the Workmen to be paid in hard cash—The Frontiers to be guarded by the nine months men—a Draft of 800 men to be made from the Militia—All the Tories near the Frontiers are ordered to move to the East side of Hudson's River and are by order plundered at Discretion.

Uninformed as I am of what is passing in any & all Quarters it is impossible to judge from the Above what is the Enemy's real design or to give that Assistance by a well-timed Diversion which I otherwise might—tho' a want of Provisions would render it less Effectual, it would still be in my power to Alarm & to Diminish the Enemy's Force, should the Attack expected be their Object.—I hope this will arrive safe and procure me the pleasure of hearing fully from Your Excellency your opinion of what is likely to happen & if in Your Quarter what you wish done from this to favor you—The cypher is a very Tedious one but impossible to be discovered. We therefore can run no Risk in Communicating our Ideas to each other—Should their Intention be against this Province, I can only say that every measure in my Power to adopt for its defence is in active forwardness—My Situation in regard to Provisions is very alarming, we are now living from Hand to mouth in Expectation of the Fleet. Should any misfortune befall it the Consequences must be very distressing, this Country being threatened by Famine owing to Caterpillars which have destroyed almost all the Hay & a great part of the Grain.

Herein is a Duplicate Concerning Major Rogers to which I request Your Excellency's answer.—I wait for a vessel to send you a Cypher less Tedious and full as Safe.

No. 5.

Endorsed. Sir Henry Clinton in Cypher.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 147, pp. 338-40.

Sir Henry Clinton in Cypher.

This is an extract of a letter I prepared to send together with a full account of all that has passed in the Affair of Vermont by a small schooner which I cannot now permit to sail. I must wait for a more favorable Opportunity and in the mean time acquaint you that it appears to me infinitely more Dangerous to yield to the delays urged by that People than to bring them to a declaration since from the best Information these Delays are only to gain time to strengthen themselves to Act no doubt in co-operation with Congress—They are busy forming Magazines, have raised a considerable number of men, and in a few months will be an important Ally or a formidable Enemy to either side, from the whole Tenor of their Conduct I cannot think they will adopt ours.

To carry on the Deception Ethan has quitted the Service but Ira goes Commissioner to Congress instead of coming here with the Flag—This is to avoid the Test of a Discovery, I think it cannot fail to produce. An intercepted Letter dated Albany, the 15th July from Schuyler to Washington is just sent in by "two unknown." It congratulates him upon the confirmation that a Detachment of Count De Gras's Fleet will join that of Mons. De Touche. for the Attack of Quebec and agreeing with him that every Demonstration for an attack upon New York should be given, That De Rochambeau should not march with the Troops until the Fleet leaves Boston, he is to penetrate by Co-os.

This Letter appears to have been conveyed to me by design to prevent a Diversion in your favor, where I conceive the Blow is Levelled.—I wait in the utmost anxiety to hear from you & in the most painful suspense for Provisions, without which my Efforts must be very ineffectual.

I shall send a Duplicate of this.

No. 6.

Second August, 81.

To Sir Henry Clinton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 383-8.

Quebec, August 2d, 1781.

Private.

Sir,

.....

In regard to Affairs in this Province the Prospect of a want of Provisions is an Alloy to every Pleasure, I should derive from my exertions in defence of the Province or in perfecting measures to act offensively should the Exigencies of the Service demand a diversion in your Favor or any other movement in Force.—I am take now living upon a Cargo which fortunately arrived from Cork to a merchant here about a fortnight ago.—this but a Temporary relief. The Season for westerly winds is set in and we have not heard a word of our expected Fleet.—There are five or six stout Privateers cruizing in the Gulph & there is too much Reason to fear that all our Victuallers, should they get so far safe, cannot escape their vigilance.—there is no great quantity of last year's grain remaining in the Country & that sold at an Extraordinary Price and the present Crop considerably Injured by caterpillars.—The Hay so much so that the Inhabitants are disposing of & killing their cattle.—This is a momentary advantage—but its bad consequences will be severely felt in the Spring.

I have the honor to be, &c.

His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 331-2.

New York, 2nd Augt, 81.

Having wrote to your Excellency on the 20th ultimo by General Reidesel, I have little now to add but to acquaint you that he sailed from hence a few days since for Canada with a considerable number of Officers and men belonging to the Army under your Command. General Knyphansen being anxious to have that Part of his Regiment that was sent to Canada Returned here, I mentioned it in my letter by General Reidesel that if your Excellency would send them back, I would replace them by an Equal number as early as possible—the french and Rebels only wait for a Reinforcement from the West Indies to make an Attack upon this Post which I certainly think they will attempt upon its arrival and it is hourly expected—I need not therefore say of how much consequence a diversion upon the Frontiers of this Province and the Speedy decision of

Vermont in our favor would be.—The force of the Enemy opposed to me in this Quarter is about four thousand french and seven thousand Rebels—the latter do not increase very fast—tho' it is a favorite object, that they now meditate.

H. C.

To His Excy. General Haldimand.

Endorsed, 1781.

From
Sir Henry Clinton,
2nd Augt Rec'd 21st Septr.
Express by Lieut. Hamilton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 150, pp. 97-8.

Quebec, (August, 17817).

Sir,

Some ships of the Trade Fleet under convoy of the Danæ & Pandora are arrived. My dispatches contain nothing very Interesting or that can be new to you. Notwithstanding the Vigilance of the Convoy & of Capt. Young with his Cruizers, several of the Merchant men have been taken in the Gulph & some at Sea by a Ship of the Line, French or Spanish. The Frigates having seen some of their Convoy safe to the Isle of Bic, are returned to the Gulph for the Protection of the rest. Captain Young has sent up three Rebell Privateers but others of Force still remain, which are too strong for the small vessels & too fast sailors for the others.

I am &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

Lieut. Govr. Hughes.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 341.

Quebec, 3d Septr. 81.

Vermont Assembly is to meet the 1st Octr.—I shall send a large Detachment about that time to take Post and remain while the season will permit at Crown Point. Strong Parties will likewise appear upon the Mohawk River and Frontier of Pennsylvania.—I have strong Hopes from the Assurances of those in whose Loyalty and Knowledge I have the greatest confidence that this step will produce a favorable decision in the affairs of Vermont.—if Your Excellency can derive any advantage from it in your present situation it will afford me infinite Pleasure.

The English & Cork Fleets and Troops with Genl. Reidesel are safe arrived. I shall write fully by the Garland.—a duplicate of this will be forwarded over Land. The Garland with Knyphausen's Regmt will sail in a few days.

Endorsed:—

forwarded to Dr. Smyth. 17th Sept.

No. 7.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 364-5.

Quebec, 29th Septr. 1781.

My dear Sir.

Your letter of the 25th July was delivered to me by Mr. Pagan in consideration of which I gave him Permission to send a Cargo of Grain to New York, but I find the Price is still so high as to prevent his availing himself of it.—It is, however the General opinion and indeed, it must happen, as well from the Quantity of Provisions lately arrived from Great Britain, as a plentiful Crop in the Country notwithstanding the

Injury threatened by the Catterpillars that wheat will in the course of the winter Fall to 4/ or 4/6 pr Bushel, should your Province be threatened with scarcity and that 100,000 Bushels or more would be acceptable to you or the Troops, I shall with great Pleasure have it purchased for you, and as you always have a number of Transports some might be sent to receive it early in the spring with a proper Convoy but in that case you must give me immediately notice thro' the woods by means of Sir Henry Clinton's Cypher (what Quantities & of what Quality you will want and say if it would be more convenient to have it in part Flour), that they may be procured in the most favorable Season—particular care must be taken not to breathe this so as it may reach this Country, for should the Merchants find it out, the Price would immediately be kept up. Grain is always a ready money Article with us, and I shall have some difficulty in procuring a sufficiency to make this Purchase, not having received any specie from Home these two years past and very necessary Payments are often retarded on that Account so that if you can by Bills on the Treasury or otherwise devise means by which prompt Payment can be made, it will be very acceptable. I do not mention this matter to Sir Henry Clinton as it relates more to the Inhabitants of your Province than to the military.

I have the honor to be &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

General Robertson.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 381-7.

Sir H. C.

Quebec, 29 Sept. 81.

Since Genl Riedesel's arrival here I have had many conversation with him upon the Subjects communicated to Him by your Excellency for that Purpose, particularly that proposing a diversion from Canada to co-operate by way of Fort Pitt with an expedition from the Southern Army up the Rivers Potomack and Susquehannah. To convey more perfectly to me your Excellency's Ideas and that I might the better digest them Genl. Riedesel has committed them to Paper, of which I have the Honor to transmit herewith a Copy.

Satisfied that your Excellency will do me every Justice which I feel my Zeal for the Service of our Royal Master and the Respect I have for your Excellency's Judgement deserves, I shall not take up your Time with Assurances of my Readiness to concur and second you in every Measure by which the Service might be promoted but proceed to state to your Excellency the Impossibility of executing the design suggested from you by Genl Riedesel circumstanced as we are at present in this country—& here I cannot help lamenting that the Information your Excellency must have had of the Practicability of that great undertaking must have proceeded from Persons totally ignorant of the unavoidable difficulties in its way or influenced by private Interested Views.—Such there is but too great Reason to apprehend are Mr. Grogan and Mr. Connelly. The former long employed in the Indian Department under Sir J. Johnson but from want of Inclination or want of Health has been disqualified to act since the Rebellion. He has since remained in the Enemy's Country and claims vast Possessions in the Neighbourhood of Fort Pit, the latter it is supposed has the same Views, may be a clever man but certainly is not possessed of the Abilities or the Knowledge to judge of any other than the Speculative Part of the undertaking they have recommended, movements so many & general are the obstacles to this that I am at a loss where or which to begin in representing them to your Excellency—for the sake of Method I shall take them in the order they occur from the Plan by Genl Riedesel.

The proposed diversion taking Place in the Winter is inadmissible as it never can be done except by water and the Lakes and Rivers from Montreal upwards cease to be navigable in the month of Novr.

Without suggesting to your Excellency the risks of detaching from the Army in this Province 2,000 men (the whole active foot of the B. Troops) entirely upon the Supposition that the French have laid aside for the present their design against it.—I shall confine myself to the difficulties of conveying & supporting so large a Body of men to so distant a Field where their whole subsistence must accompany them from the King's Stores in this Part of the Province received generally late in the Season from G. Britain.

Your Excellency will more readily conceive this when I acquaint you that it is with the utmost exertions that one Regiment with a Corps of Rangers that occupy the upper Country are furnished from year to year with the necessary supply of Provisions and that the Garrison of Niagara has been more than once since the commencement of the Rebellion within a few days of evacuating it for want of Provisions.—The consumption of Provisions at the Posts, particularly at Niagara is so prodigious owing to the absolute necessity of Victualling the Indians driven from their Habitations & attending upon the Service that with every Measure in the Power of Economy to devise it is scarce possible during the Transport Season to convey a Sufficient Quantity.—in order to accomplish it I have constructed Store Houses about 50 miles above Montreal to which Provisions are slaid in the course of the Winter that the water Transportation be begun the Instant the River becomes navigable which it does at that Place a Fortnight sooner than at Montreal.

The late arrival of the Provision Fleet this year makes it very doubtful whether the necessary supply can be forwarded— & at Niagara there is no Resource.—When it is considered the Provisions with every Store necessary for 12 months for 2,000 men and a supply of the former with Presents for at least that number of Indians, (of which 3/4 are women & children), in addition to the present consumption in the upper Country amounting at alone one season with another to 4,000 R. pr day must be conveyed in Bateaux 200 miles up Rapids intersected by carrying Places to the first Lake from thence to Niagara in Vessels, then over a carrying Place of 7 miles and up a Rapid of 18 to Fort Erie from whence they proceed to Presqu'Isle it will appear to those who have a knowledge of the Route a work of Time.—To take and maintain a Post at Presqu'Isle with a small force drawn from the G/arrisons/ of N/iagara/ & D/etroit/ might be easily accomplished but to proceed into the country depending upon the Indians and Inhabitants of the Ohio would be dangerous & Ineffectual.—Fort Pitt is not to be taken by a coup-de-main nor will the enemy suffer it to be surprised.—it is by the most Authentic Account I have had one of the strongest Places in the country.—We have daily experience that the disposition of the Inhabitants upon the Ohio is by no means so yielding to Government as is represented.—Those retired to that Quarter and Kentuck upon Pretence of separating Themselves from Rebellion are encroaching upon the most valuable Hunting Grounds of the Indians and securing to Themselves rich Settlements. They are always ready to turn out upon our Scouting Parties and never fail doing it when they have Opportunities yet when made Prisoners profess their Loyalty.—There is no dependence even in those Indians who are declared in our favor and there are a number in that country our avowed Enemies.

In all Excursions undertaken by the Troops this war there has not been a single Instance where the Indians have fulfilled their Engagements but influenced by a caprice, a dream, or a desire of protracting the war to obtain Presents, have dispersed and deserted the Troops.—of this there was a striking Instance last Campaign in the very country in Question where a detachment from Detroit if the Indians had gone into the Views of the Officer who commanded, would most probably have defeated Col. Clark & broke up all the Settlements in that Quarter.

It would nevertheless be impossible to succeed in an any attempt in those Countries without the Friendship of the Indians (by which alone we have kept P/ossession/ of it) & there is no doubt they are very useful Attendants of an Army but where success depends upon Enterprise and Perseverance little must be set down to their Credit in the Plan of Operations upon the whole I beg leave to hazard my Opinion to your Excellency that unless so much were to depend upon this Expedition as to abandon to it all other Pursuits offensive and defensive in this Province in order to carry it thro' by dint of Force & Exertion, it would at present be impolitic to undertake it— to attempt it and fail would have a very fatal Effect with Indians and to ensure success it would be the Business of one Season to form the necessary Magazines of Provisions, Bateaux, Stores & Materials and Indian Presents at Niagara, &c. that there might be nothing to do early in the next but to Transport the Troops.

Endorsed:

Sir Hry Clinton,
29th Sept. 81.

Since the above was closed I have received a dispatch from Detroit with an account of a stroke made by Joseph Brant upon the Ohio.—for the Particulars of which I beg leave to refer your Excellency to the enclosed.—Major De Peyster informs me that he is not without hopes that a large Body of Indians detached for that Purpose may yet fall in with Mr. Clark's main Body which it was expected would consist of 1500 men

including a Body from Augusta County in Virginia & a draft from the Settlements /of/ Kentucky. The war in the country is on our Part entirely defensive except by scouting Parties constantly employed to prevent the Encroachments of Settlers or to harrass the Frontiers, which I encourage as much as possible. Some thing similar to this but of less importance happened the 8th Ultimo in the neighbourhood of the German Flats where a party of the 6 Nations attacked about forty of the Enemy, killed 3 Officers & 19 Privates & took 8 Prisoners.

P.S. to 29th Sepr. 81.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, pp. 374-7.

Quebec 1st Octr, 81.

Sir.

The Intelligence for which I have for some days detained the Frigate is at length arrived.

My Agents are returned from their Conference with Ira Allen and Major Fay & I here enclose Continuation of their Proceedings from No. 22 to 33. These & conversations (I am forbid to commit to Paper,) which passed between those Gentn. have almost, if not entirely removed my suspicions of Allen's Party—but I see with much concern that the wished for Revolution very little depends upon their Interest, at least as things are at present circumstanced. The Prejudice of a great Majority of the Populace & the prevailing Influence of Congress are too powerful to admit of a change (within any given Time from one to three years) by negotiation.

The leading men in our Interest advise as a last Resource my Issuing a Proclamation confirming to Vermont the late assumed Territory and other Privileges (contained in a letter marked A) thinking that from the late refusal of these by Congress, the Populace may be inclined to accept of Terms from Government.

This Proclamation they desire may be followed by a force equal to support the friends of Government who wait for an Opportunity to declare themselves and leave those in Opposition—In so Critical a juncture I most sensibly feel the want of Particular Instructions, fearing on one side to let an opportunity escape—which may never be recalled & on the other taking upon myself a decision of such Importance, a Firm disinterested zeal for the King's Service which has hitherto, will in this Instance Guide my Conduct and in Acting for the Best I shall hazard the Consequences with the Generosity of my Royal Master.

How far Ineroachments by Vermont on New York may affect future Politicks I know not—at present I conceive them indiscriminately Engaged in Rebellion, and if by sacrificing a part of one to the interest of the other a Reunion of the most Valuable with the Mother Country Can be effected I think it my Duty to make the attempt.

In this Faith I shall Issue the Proclamation, worded with as much Caution as Consistent with my Hopes of its Success—it is to precede the Detachment and as the Preparations to Receive it cannot be made before the 12th or 14th Instant to which time the meeting of their Assembly is put off the Troops will necessarily not move as soon as mentioned in my other Letter to Your Excellency. Reports brought by my Agents from good Authority respecting the Enemy having laid aside their Intention against N. York makes this delay less painful to me.

Your Ex. will not understand that any offensive measures against Vermont are to be undertaken by the Detachment from Crown Point, on the contrary every appearance of Hostility will be carefully avoided. While Parties will be sent to Distress the other frontiers, it is hoped this Conduct will convince the People of Vermont that it is the Intention of Government to protect them and facilitate the endeavours of the Leading men in our favor to gain the Populace in the course of the Winter to make Preparations for a more Effective Essay in the Spring which if mutually Carried on I should hope might prove successful.

I have the Honor to be, &c.

F. H.

His Excy. General
Sir H. Clinton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 380.

3rd Octr, 81.

Sir. H. C.

No. 9. By the Garland you will receive a voluminous detail of my negotiations with Vermont—I find it necessary to issue a Proclamation promising them all contained in that of the King's Commissioners, and (until I shall receive the King's, or the authority of one of his Commissioners to confirm their late Extensions) to consider them belonging to the Province of V——t, as such to protect them and grant them Privileges—I hope Your Excellency will see the necessity of ratifying these Promises and enable me without Loss of Time to declare the same, as our success with that People seems ultimately to depend on it.
Endorsed. No. 9.

General Sir Henry Clinton.

3rd Octr.

In Cypher.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 134, pp. 153-4.

St. Johns, 14th October, 1781.

Sir,

As soon as the Light Infantry Company and Detachment of the 29th Regiment arrives, you will proceed with them and whatever number of Troops and Royalists that can be spared from the Garrison of St. Johns and Isle aux Noix to Pointe au Fer, where you will also take under your orders the two British Light Companies and Lieut. Colonel Creuzburg's Chasseurs now encamped there, with this command you are to reach with all possible expedition the upper end of Lake Champlain where you will make such a Detachment as you deem adequate for the purpose of penetrating beyond Lake George to cause such terror and dismay on the west as they can—with what remains of your force you will take post at Crown Point, not suffering any hostilities to be committed on that side unless you are attacked, carefully watching the motions of the Vermont state and not trusting too far their friendly disposition. Trucks should be taken from hence to facilitate the conveyance of the number of Batteaux you may think proper to pass upon Lake George.

You are to remain as long as the season will admit unless any event should happen to make it necessary for you to return sooner, transmitting to me from time to time whatever you think necessary for my information.

Col. St. Leger,

Endorsed:

Letter of Instructions to Col. St. Leger, dated, St. Johns, 14th Octr. 1781.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 19, p. 127.

No. 100.

Quebec, 23rd Octr. 1781.

My Lord.

.....
.....
I beg leave in this Letter to remark to Your Lordship that the Chief Part of our Work this Summer has been confined to Quebec and I hope we are so well advanced as to render what is done very useful should we be attacked next year—if not some Attention may be paid to other Parts of our extensive Frontiers.

I have the honor to be, &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

The Right Honorable,
Lord George Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 19, p. 167.

Secret.

Quebec, 23d October, 1781.

My Lord,

I have the Honor to acknowledge the Receipt of your Lordship's Letter, (secret), of the 4th May, communicating Information that the French Court have given Orders to M. de Lucerne to dissuade the Congress from making any Attack upon Canada until they have driven the King's Troops out of the Thirteen Provinces and therefore recommending to me to Co-operate with Sir Henry Clinton by sending a considerable Force to Vermont to encourage that People to declare for His Majesty's Government.—I beg Leave to refer your Lordship to my Letter, (most secret), of this date, for what had been already determined upon in your Lordship's Views and to assure you, my Lord, that no occasion shall be neglected to accomplish them.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

The Right Honourable,
Lord George Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 381.

Sir Henry Clinton with about six thousand men went on board a fleet of 28 sail of the line to try to relieve Lord Cornwallis. He was forced to surrender on the 19th, the very day our fleet sailed, we have not heard from Sir Henry nor of our fleet. Sir Henry and Mr. Digby who is a joint Commissioner on their arrival will consider and answer your letters about Vermont. I will willingly give a very good Estate in that Country and every Provincial interest to fix these People in the interest of the Crown but I doubt this recent event will defeat all your Trouble—general Arnold says pere Floquet is an Inveterate Enemy, Jacob roue no better and indeed the gros of the Boston Leaders little better—he had no Friendly aids from any of the Noblesse.

Ever Yours

James Robertson.

Octr, 31/81.

Rec'd 14th May 82.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 147, p. 386.

.....
.....
P. S. General Arnold says Monsr. du Calvet, pere Floquet, Messrs. Hay, Cord, Freeman and Watts were friends to the Rebels.

Endorsed:—

From A. 1781.
Sir Henry Clinton.
12 Novr. Rec'd 14 May. 82
By D/av/is.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

(B. 147, p. 387.)

No. 8.

My Anxiety for the Fate of affairs in the Chesapeake obliges me to dispatch a Runner to you. On that Event the Conduct of Vermont will turn, if unfortunate, she will be our most dangerous Enemy, otherwise Affairs are in a good train—The Detachment under

Col. St. Leger has had every effect I could expect. The Vermonters appear conciliated and a large Body of the Enemy are drawn from all Quarters to Albany—But these Efforts will prove feeble unattended to the Southward.

Sir H. Clinton

14th Novr.

Sent the 15th by Davis.
No. 8.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series Q, Vol. 19, pp. 268-74.

Most Secret.

Quebec, 23rd November, 1781.

My Lord,

It has always been my study as it is my indispensable Duty to make Your Lordship Acquainted with the true state of men and things in this Province so that Your Lordship may be enabled to take such measures as shall be most Conducive to the Good of the Empire in General as well as to the Safety of this Province in Particular.

In several former Letters I have mentioned to Your Lordship the effect which the French Alliance with the Rebels had made upon the Minds of the Canadians and particularly the Clergy. The Successes, tho' fluctuating, which we have had, joined to the vigilant Attention which I have had to their Conduct, have hitherto kept them, if not within the limits of their Duty, at least within those of Decency, but the News of the Superiority of the French Fleets & a report which is whispered of Lord Cornwallis's Surrender, It is with great grief that I see their Attachment to France concealed under a Zeal for the Preservation of their Religion & will on the first favourable Occasion engage them in the interest of the Rebels, and it is with still greater Regret that I see many of His Majesty's antient Subjects declaring their Attachment to the Cause of the Rebels as openly as their own Safety will permit and their Expectation that the Independence of America must soon be acknowledged.—Your Lordship may be assured that if ever the Rebels shall invade the Frontiers of this Province, accompanied by a few hundred French Soldiers, a great number of Canadians will take up arms in their Favor, and that by far the greatest part of them will serve them as Guides & furnish them with Provisions and every other assistance in their Power. My observations have so confirmed me in this Belief that so far from wishing to Arm them in defence of the Province, I am apprehensive that the Attempt might in my weak state be attended with dangerous Consequences, but I must Act in this when necessary, as Circumstances shall require. Their backwardness to serve is manifested in their Seamen, some of whom from Necessity I am obliged to employ on the Upper Lakes, where notwithstanding they Receive very high Wages, they serve with the utmost Reluctance and will on no account remain above two years. On the other the Rebels have been lately supplied with some Money and a great Quantity of Ammunition & other Warlike Stores. They have already established Magazines in different Places on the Frontiers, inconsiderable as yet, but which from being contiguous to Districts or Townships may be easily augmented. The Inhabitants on the Frontiers of Canada have from their Infancy been accustomed to Live in the Woods, & if the Situation of Affairs to the Southward is as bad as it is represented, it will not be difficult for the Congress to engage them, partly from Enthusiasm, Resentment of Recent Injuries, and Love of Plunder to join a Kind of a Crusade in order to subdue this Country. The People of Vermont, notwithstanding the inclinations which many amongst them have to Shake off the Tyranny of the Congress, may find themselves under the necessity to make great and Zealous exertions against us in order to wipe off the Suspicions which from many circumstances cannot but be entertained against them. The Rebels have every Intelligence which they can wish for, and have Received assurances that the Canada Indians will at least remain neuter, if not join them. Every method will be put in Force to shake the approved Fidelity of the Five Nations, by convincing them that, as we are not able to give them protection, the only means to save themselves is to lose no time in embracing the Party of the Americans.

The Vessel being ready to sail affords me no Time to enter more minutely into the detail of these matters, but what I have mentioned will be sufficient for Your Lordship to form a just Idea of our Situation & danger. This Province is very extensive & is accessible in many Places. The best of the Troops under my Command are necessarily and indispensably employed in guarding the Upper Posts. The greater number of those

I have here are Germans and consist mostly of Invalids whom General Burgoyne left behind him or of Recruits Totally Ignorant of Military Discipline. In case of an Invasion after leaving the necessary Garrisons in the Posts which I cannot abandon, I cannot assemble more than 2,500 men capable of keeping the Field two months, and I have every Reason to fear that many of them would take that Opportunity to desert to the Rebels. This state of things is in no Respect exaggerated, it points out the necessity of a large Reinforcement early in the Spring & of our having the Command of the Gulph of St. Lawrence, as otherwise a French Squadron may deprive this country of every Resource.

The Provisions arrived too late this year to render it possible for me to take possession of Oswego, it would have required more time and workmen than I had to employ to Build a Fort at that Place capable to resist the Force which an enterprising Enemy sensible of Incursions and Devastations which their Country would suffer from it, would not have failed to Employ against it.

From many Observations which I have made and many steps which the Enemy have taken during this Summer there is Reason to apprehend that the Plan of Attack found amongst Laurence's Papers will be renewed and prosecuted early next Spring. The great Distance and Difficulty of communication between our different Posts will create obstacles to our resisting the Attack in every Point and as the Posts are, notwithstanding all my Efforts only Victualled until Spring, in case a Supply of Provisions cannot be forwarded before any Invasion of the Lower Country takes place, it will be almost impossible to do it.

I have for many Months observed in the Canadian Gentlemen an Expectation of a Revolution which was to take place in the Country, and am the more confirmed in this from a letter, dated Paris the 6th of last March (which has fallen into my hands from a Mr. Lotbinière, who after having Received the King's Bounty, in London went over to the Rebels in Philadelphia) wherein He tells his son that He expects to see him in 14 or 15 Months from the date of the Letter and in a situation to settle His Affairs to their mutual satisfaction. In another part of his Letter He desires his son to remain "a la campagne, quelques mouvements qu'il y eut dans la pays pourvu que vous restiez Spectateur absolu de tout sans y prendre la moindre part, en ce cas Je vous crois plus en sureté ou vous êtes qu'en aucune ville." Many Letters are in the same stile and are plain indications of some design against this Province in the which France cannot, now that the Provinces of Virginia & Carolina are recovered, refuse to give assistance to the Congress.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

The Right Honorable,
Lord George Germain.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol 150, p. 121.

Quebec, January 30th, 1782.

Sir,

Being anxious to obtain a knowledge of the true state of Affairs upon the Coast & in the West Indies I have thought fit to send an officer, (Lieut. Launière), to Penobscot by whom I request you will communicate to me whatever circumstances may have reached your Quarters, distinguishing all authentic Intelligence from the Current Reports of the Country, & I must further request that should any Intelligence reach you towards Spring that you think may be useful to the Service to communicate to me you will dispatch a faithful Indian, an officer or some Person of trust, taking necessary Precautions to prevent your despatch falling into the Enemy's hands.—Uncertain of the fate of this, I shall only add that I am, &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

The Officer Commanding His Majesty's Troops at Penobscot.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 171, p. 58.

Sir,

The infirm State I have been in this some time past has been the reason that I have not had the honour of waiting on your Excellency to mention to you my wishes relative to the repeal of the Militia Laws, which I have ever thought not only insufficient to

answer the ends proposed but were prejudicial to the public service, before Your Excellency's arrival in this province (having first mentioned the matter to Sir Guy Carleton) I proposed an ordinance to that Purpose. It was rejected Mr. Cramahé alleging that it was an improper season to think of those matters, when that law last expired I mentioned to your Excellency my wishes to have it new modelled, your not thinking it expedient at that time prevented my moving it in Council satisfied that such a motion for such a law without your approbation would have had a bad rather than a good tendency, the critical situation just now of public affairs leads me to hope that Your Excellency may change your opinion on that head nor can I consistent with the Ideas I have of my duty as a member of the Legislative Council neglect (before the end of the Session) suggesting my Ideas to your Excellency on that subject, as the longer vigorous measures (with respect to the Canadians) are deferr'd the less assistance can be expected from them. We experienced in 1775 the bad consequences that attended such delays, almost the total loss of the province, nor can we suppose now that should the Enemy get a footing in the province without taking prudent precautions beforehand that the Canadians would arm reader in our favour than formerly, and who can say that the province will not be invaded next Summer? our Excellency's Military Knowledge will enable you to judge how far vigorous and decided measures may be deemed expedient, but for my part should the state of publick affairs be found to be in as bad a way as lately represented, instead of repealing old laws and making new ones I should be happy to see all civil business cease, Your Excellency assume your military character only & the whole province become soldiers, if in treating of this matter I have said too much or express'd myself with too great warmth, I flatter myself Your Excellency's Candor will attribute it to the true cause, my zeal for the publick Service to which my principles as well as my interest attach me, Independent of my sincere good wishes for Your Excellency's Honor and Credit founded on the respect I bear to that distinguished and honorable Zeal you have always manifested for the King's Service and that Integrity of heart which marks your character—

I have the Honour to be with the greatest respect

Your Excellency's

Most obedient & most humble Servant

Henry Caldwell.

Belmont 7th Feby. 1782.

Endorsed—Colonel Caldwell 82
of February 7th
recd. do. 8th
Concerning the Militia Laws.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 48, pp. 98-9.

New York, February 22d, 1782.

Sir,

I think it right to send by Express to Your Excellency the following Intelligence which has just been communicated to me by the Honourable William Smith, Chief Justice of New York, exactly as it was given me by him.

"About a fortnight since an Intelligent person from Connecticut suggested that tho' the Rebels talked of an Attack in the Spring on New York, he had strong suspicions of a preparation to invade Canada, and yesterday I learnt by a direct channel that General Schuyler said to one of his Confidants and yet our friend that La Fayette went to France to propose that project and that they were waiting to know the Result."

The following Intelligence has been received since the above by another channel.

"Large Stores of Provisions at the falls of Ohio."

"The Rebel General Clark, a very enterprising man, a Virginian at Kain Tuck, and is to have the command of two State Regiments besides other Troops, with about one thousand French and Spaniards, with these the ensuing Spring he sets off on an expedition against Detroit and its dependencies, his route is down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabache, thence up the same to the head thereof, where we have a carrying place, thence to Detroit. To induce the Rebels to undertake this expedition they have received Accounts that our Garrison is very weak at Detroit, the Information to the Rebels is from Prisoners that have been carried to Detroit, who have returned,

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 19, pp. 257-63.

Most Secret.

Whitehall, 22d April, 1782

Governor Haldimand.

Sir,

Undoubted Intelligence is received that an Armament is now preparing at Brest for America. It is said to be destined against Quebec and is to consist of Six thousand Troops conveyed by a considerable naval Force; it appears to me very doubtful whether their real object be New York, Halifax, or Quebec.

A squadron of His Majesty's Ships is now cruising off Quebec to prevent the Enemy from putting to Sea or to endeavour to intercept them if they do.—I trust they will not be able to elude the Vigilance of so able and experienced an Officer as Vice Admiral Barrington, who has the Command. But if unfortunately the Enemy should escape and their purpose be an Attack on Canada, I have such Confidence in your Zeal and Military Abilities, in the large Body of Troops under Your Command, and in the Strength of the Works you have Constructed for the defence of Quebec at so vast an Expense, that I cannot entertain a doubt of your repelling any force that can be brought against you, and the preservation of Canada is so strongly recommended to Sir Guy Carleton that he has the King's directions to go there himself if he shall find it necessary with such part of the Forces under his Command as he may judge fitting. I must recommend to you to take every precaution and to use the utmost Vigilance to be prepared against an Attack and besides keeping a proper and sufficient Garrison in Quebec to provide whatever may be wanted in case of a siege. You will appoint some light and swift sailing Vessels to watch the Entrance to the River with Orders that upon the Appearance of the Enemy's Fleet two of them should proceed to New York and give Intelligence to the Admiral commanding there and the other to return to you. You will also appoint signals for the more speedy conveyance of Intelligence along the River and to the Posts in the country.

Our great Naval Force upon the Lakes will be a good Guard against an Attack on that side in the summer but as it may be expected that some Attempt may be made by the Congress to co-operate with the French Forces or make a diversion in their favour, those Communications must be carefully attended to.

The Indians in this case will require particular attention. I cannot sufficiently recommend the sound Policy as well as Humanity of your Reasoning upon the Subject of these Savage People in the case of Vermont where you say that you have not sent a single Indian across Lake Champlain, knowing the impossibility of restraining them to Discrimination; chusing rather to risk the Loss of their Services should Vermont attack, than the Danger of exasperating that People by trusting the Indians amongst them.—I must recommend the same Policy to you throughout and on no Account to order or permit any predatory Excursions to be made upon the Frontiers of the Revolted Provinces.

I have the Honor to inclose to you the Address of the House of Commons to the King together with his Answer and two Resolutions. You will see by these that the King's Servants are bound as much as they are not only to avoid all Measures of offensive War but in truth every Act that Carries the Appearance of attempting to reduce the Revolted Colonies to Obedience by Force.

I need not observe to you that the Offer made in your Proclamation published among the Vermontese is totally repugnant to these Resolutions. Nor in Truth after a careful perusal of the many Papers you have transmitted does there appear to me sufficient Ground of Confidence in these People to justify the hazardous Steps which you very properly say "requires much Force and much precaution to avoid Misfortunes similar to that which has already happened."

If you are attacked on that side it becomes Indispensible to engage these hardy People by every possible means to engage in defending your Frontier. In this case no way appears to me so likely to attach them and so consistent with the general system now adopted as that of assuring them of His Majesty's Disposition to prefer Claims arising from Possession and Cultivation to those arising from Grants made without Knowledge and obtained, I apprehend by Collusion & Imposition.

In all events it will be a Service of considerable Importance to gain their Confidence and Affection and make them preserve their Neutrality. But in this and many other Cases, your own Prudence will prove a better Instruction than any I can give you,

and will engage you to seize Advantages which may offer by open and Honourable means avoiding the least Appearance of Insidiousness.

His Majesty has been pleased to give Orders for sending out to America all the American Prisoners of War who are confined in Great Britain and Ireland in order to their being exchanged against an equal number of His Majesty's Troops or seamen and it being intended that the same measure should extend to all His Majesty's Dominions, it is His Majesty's Pleasure that you should send back all the American Prisoners now in Canada, who have been taken in the Service of Congress, in Cartell Vessells or other ways to Boston or such other Port as may be more convenient, to be there delivered to such Persons as shall be appointed to receive them and give the Masters of those Cartels or other Vessels Certificates of such Delivery, which certificates the Masters are to carry to New York and deliver to the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces there, who, I am assured, will receive an equal number of His Majesty's Troops or Seamen in exchange of what shall appear to have been sent, and you will likewise send to Sir Guy Carleton by other Conveyances the Masters' Receipts for the numbers sent on board that in Case they should run away with the Vessells as has some times happened in Europe, he may be able to demand the due Equivalent, which is always allowed here in such Cases.

The possibility of Sir Guy Carleton coming into Canada has induced a consideration of the consequences and as it can only happen from Canada becoming the Seat of the War, the same Reasons which were communicated to you by Lord Dartmouth in the year 1775, for your coming to England will have equal Force at present.

His Majesty, therefore, fully sensible to your Merit and Services and wishing to shew every attention to your Character, has been graciously pleased to grant you Leave of Absence from the Province retaining at the same time your Commissions and all their Emoluments and I have the satisfaction to enclose His Majesty's Royal License for that purpose, which you will make use of if the date of your and Sir Guy Carleton's American Commissions makes it impossible for you consistent with your own Feelings to accomodate the Point of Rank with Sir Guy Carleton.

I am, &c.
Shelburne.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 149, pp. 238-41.

Halifax, April 25th 1782.

Sir,

.....

I am of opinion from what I hear from Boston that some thing is intended against Canada this year, but that it will depend entirely on the French being able to send a Fleet up the River St. Lawrence which I very much doubt. Capt. Inglis will take care to give you the earliest and best Information in his Power.

.....

I have the honor to be, &c.
A. S. Hamond.

Governor Haldimand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 148, pp. 24-9.

Montreal April 23th, 1782.

In Cypher.

Your Excellency's Dispatch of the 22d Feby with an Extract from Lord George Germain, I received the 6th instant and that of the 10th March (Duplicate & Triplicate) the 15th together with Copies of Lord George's to me by the January Packet.

The Latitude for negotiating with Vermont is so differently expressed in His Lordship's Letter to me, of the 26th July and his subsequent Dispatch to Your Excellency, communicated in your letter, that it is difficult to act with any Prospect of Success, on one hand without hazarding Blame and on the other more particularly as His Lordship has not touched upon that material Part of the Subject in his Letter to me and as I am totally uninformed of the Plan of operations for the ensuing Campaign.

To Conduct an Intercourse with the Vermonters, encouraging them to expect that their Interests will be attended to, proved a too general & ineffectual Doctrine before Lord Cornwallis's Misfortune, now it would be a matter of Ridicule, which is sufficiently manifested by their Concessions to Congress and relinquishing their late assumed jurisdiction, (on which our Hopes were founded), notwithstanding the Encouragement I gave them of its being Confirmed. To attempt to Treat with them upon Conditions short of that would be adding to our lost time nor will they even be accepted if not Attended with an apparent Prospect of our Affairs on this Continent taking a prosperous turn. This Crisis is arrived when Coercion alone must decide the Part Vermont will take and that measure should be determined upon from the moment the Troops directed by Lord George Germain to appear upon their Frontier shall take Post and must be carried into Execution as far as possible (after giving them sufficient notice), by laying Waste their Country if they do not accept the Terms offered, Otherwise the bare appearance of the Troops will only Serve to Confirm them in their prevailing and Too Just Idea that we want Abilities to force them to compliance and will enhance their Merit and Influence with Congress.

.....
The Moment I can form any Certain Judgment that this Province is not to be Attacked by the River, &c. Agreeable to La Fayette's Proposal communicated in your Letter I shall not fail appearing with as great a Force as my strength and circumstances will admit of upon the Frontiers for the Purpose expressed in His Lordship's Letter, (for which I have already made preparation but the impossibility of Penetrating far into the Country with so inconsiderable a force as that will be, is too evident to require enlarging upon and our Expectations of Success should be proportioned to that disadvantage.—3,000 Men were assembled and 3,000 more in Readiness to cut off Colonel St. Leger's Retreat last Autumn had he Ventured any length into the Country in which Case they would have infallibly Succeeded. It is not the Number of Troops Mr. Washington can spare from his Army that is to be apprehended, it is the Multitude of Militia and them in Arms ready to turn out at an hour's notice upon the Shew of a single Regt of Continental Troops that will oppose his Attempt, The facility of which has been fatally experienced. This movement cannot be effected before the middle of June not only from the uncertainty of what may happen but from the Want of flour, having laid seven weeks past upon that destined for the Upper Country, which must be replaced from the Purchase of Wheat, I have made to provide against the usual Delays of the provision Fleet and that Wheat cannot be ground before that Period. In consequence of the Information Contained in Your Excellency's of the 22d February concerning the Attempt intended by Clark against Detroit I have sent orders eventually to reinforce that place with two Companies of Butler's Rangers which is all I can at present do for it and these must be drawn from Oswego, where I hope a Post is by this time taken. Preparations having been made for that purpose in the Course of the Winter at Carleton Island from whence a Detachment was to proceed the Moment Lake Ontario became navigable. I have more to hope from the Secrecy with which this was conducted and the Activity of Major Ross than from the Strength of his Detachment which is very inadequate to this necessary undertaking but proportionate to my force and Circumstances.

I with much concern refer Your Excellency to a late Rebel News Paper printed at Fish Kill wherein all that has passed in my Negotiation with Vermont and as communicated to you is related. This proves that our Confidence has somewhere been betrayed & God knows what bad Effects it may have in that Affair particularly if Allen & Fay have been sincere. About two months ago I sent a Messenger to Allen to learn what had passed in Congress relative to Vermont Affairs, the Messenger was taken on his way out, but fortunately destroyed his Dispatch. This has prevented my forming so good a judgment as I might have done of their late Transaction but I have with great difficulty procured two men who are now on that Business. These Obstacles oblige me to request that Your Excellency will not, as you have mentioned in your Letter, confine or Leave entirely dependent to a channel thro' me the interesting Pursuit /of/ reclaiming Vermont, that I shall make every effort in my Power shall be

relied upon, but I am so circumstanced as to require every Aid that can be given. The 20th May I shall send a Field Officer of Provincials as fittest to treat with that People by appointment of a Col. Beadle to confer with him at Havril, (Haverhill), on Connecticut River, he has promised to propose some Matter of Import—the Character I have of him from many Loyalists who knew him, is not flattering to my Hopes, but as something may be discovered by the Interview explanatory of Vermont Affairs I have embraced the offer.

I send off your two first Messengers with This and shall detain the last a few Days in hope of communicating to Your Excellency Some News from Europe, The Ice having broke up much Earlier than usual, arrivals are looked for in a few Days. The Duplicate of your Letter of 22d feby & Genl Robertson's are not Received. The Men have received Ten Guineas each.

Fred. Haldimand.

Sir Henry Clinton.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B 137, Vol. 2, p. 163.

Du Village de St. François le 16 Juin 1782.

Mon General,

Voisy le party de retour a deux heures après midite célon leur Raison quill mon fait il on étoit au chemins de raisin Ront suivant vos ordre et etan la il on trouvée la primiair Blaux hausse brulé ensuite il on avancée il on trouvée un autre mais person détans voiyent céla il on étoit jusqu'a un maison ou il on trouvée cet homme avec sa famille et l'on fait prisonnier pour marquer quille on étoit ou on les a envoyé et en Leur Retour il ont brulé l'autre Blaux hausse.

En montant il on fait trois prisonnier de ceux qui son partie de Montréal que je vous envoie ausi; dont il y a un Capit^e et deux Lietenants il non pas eu de connessence de trois autre ni les prisonniers ne les on veü depui leur depar de Montréal.

le prisonnier de Cohos Raporte pour nouvelle que Son Excellence le General Carleton et a Rivée à Nouvel Yorke avec dix mille hommes et quille y a tout apparence que son a Rivée fra du bien que leur Troupe Etoit tres mal et que l'on Luit avoit ditt que si cela ne allé pas mieux que leurs soldats maiderois les armes pas, et que larmé de Vachetons avoit gannier du coté de halpannié et quatre mil troupes fransoit cette homme paré honnete homme il vous dira tous à vous meme il me la promie comme je ne suis pas bien ou fait de la langue anglois, je donné les quatre portugais au sauvages pour les quatre prisonniers suivant la fascon.

J'ay l'honneur d'être a Son Excellence avec un profond respect

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

Luc Schmid—

Endorsed: From C^t. Militia Schmid to M. G. Riedesel

10th June 1782.

(Translation)

The Village of St. Francis, 16th June, 1782.

General:

The party returned at two o'clock in the afternoon, according to the report they have made me, they went to Hazen's road in pursuance of your orders and on arriving there they found that the first blockhouse had been burned, they afterwards advanced and discovered another, but no one being there they went on to a house where they found this man with his family and made him prisoner to prove that they had been where they were sent, and on their return they burned the other blockhouse.

On their way out they made three prisoners of those people who have gone from Montreal, whom I sent you likewise. These are a captain and two lieutenants, they have no information of the three others, nor of the prisoners not having seen them since they left Montreal.

The prisoner from Cohos states that His Excellency General Carleton has arrived at New York with 10,000 men and that other troops were very badly off and that he had been told that if their situation did not improve, their soldiers would not bear arms and that the army of cowboys had made headway toward Albany and 4,000 French

troops. This man seems to be honest, he will tell all this to yourself, he has promised me, as I am not very well acquainted with the English language. I have given four Portuguese to the Indians for the four prisoners as usual.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

Luc Schmid.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 202, pp. 120-1.

May it please Your Excellency,

I take the earliest opportunity to inform you that we have for some time past been in a Continual Alarm from Two American Privateers, one of which Landed at Percée, Captured all the Craft found there, with whatever they found valuable on shore, spiked up the Twelve Pounder and hove it over the Clift. The other Two four Pounders they carried off. They next proceeded up the Bay, Burned all the Craft they found there, Took me Prisoner on Board And after a long Examination before the most Despicable, Rancorous and unjust Tribunal that ever a poor Culprit appealed to, I was acquitted of the false and groundless accusation of being Rich, and was dealt with accordingly for I was ordered on Shore in a Clamor with every mark of disrespect

After every Act of wanton destruction, (except that of striping and burning Houses), They dropt down with the Tide, came to an Anchor where they still remain and how long we shall be able to say That our Houses are our own, God only knows... ..

Felix O'Hara.

N.B. The Government House at Peiróée is not yet demolished, but is well plundered.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 150, pp. 71-2.

Quebec, 28th June, 1782.

Sir,

.....
Captain Young is stationed with a force sufficient to protect the Gulph & River from the Injury of Privateers and will furnish the means of conveying intelligence expeditiously to you, New York & this place. I have lately made a Purchase of a very fine Vessel carrying Twenty Six Guns, Nine & Six Pounders, which I have sent to reinforce him. He has taken a Privateer, mounting eighteen 4 Pounders & near a hundred men.

.....
I am &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

Sir Richard Hughes.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 20, pp. 163-7.

Quebec, 17th July, 1782.

Most Secret.

My Lord,

I have the Honor to acknowledge the Receipt of Your Lordship's Letter, (most secret) of the 22d April, communicating the Intelligence you had received that an Armament then fitting out at Brest, was said to be intended against Quebec, and

Recommending to me Precautions in consequence thereof for the Defence of this Province. Every internal one in my Power to take have long been in Preparation and are carrying into Execution with the utmost Vigilance, (always cautiously avoiding to alarm the People), in Expectation of the Event. And on Receipt of Your Lordship's Letter I immediately communicated that Part of it respecting sending Intelligence to New York to the Senior Officer of His Majesty's Navy in the Gulph and River, not having proper Vessels myself for that Purpose. There are at present two Frigates cruising in the Gulph and two here, come up for the Recovery of their sick and other Causes.

The late signal success in the West Indies and the season being so far advanced, I should think that whatever might have been the Intention of the Enemy, there is now little to be apprehended from it, at least this year.

In Obedience to His Majesty's Commands upon Receipt of Your Lordship's Letter I immediately set about collecting all the Prisoners of War in this Province for the Purpose of Exchange, which from its great Extent will necessarily take some Time, but none shall be lost in sending them to the Colonies in the most convenient and expeditious manner.

The Address of the House of Commons to the King with the King's Answer and two Resolutions contained in Your Lordship's Letter are received and Your Lordship may rely on my strict observance of the System adopted and pointed to therein.

Having endeavoured to answer to the most satisfactory manner in my Power, the various subjects contained in Your Lordship's Dispatches by His Majesty's Ship Assistance, It now remains for me to acknowledge the Receipt of the King's Permission to return to England, contained in and referred to in the last Paragraph of Your Lordship's Letter, most secret.—In doing which, my Lord, I really want words to express the Gratitude I feel for this most gracious mark of His Majesty's continued Favor and attention to my Character as an Officer.

Inspired with a just sense of this, I with the same devotion to His Royal Will, which has ever actuated my Conduct, most humbly submit to it, and as my first wish has ever been to contribute my humble Services to the Honor and Happiness of a Nation for whom from Inclination and Gratitude I feel so warmly, it would be most painful to me for a single Instant to embarrass or by the Rank I hold, be in the way of the execution of any Measures which shall be thought advantageous to the Good of the Empire for I persuade myself that Your Lordship will feel the impossibility of my subjecting myself to an Officer who in every Rank has been my Junior during a Service on my Part of 43 Years as an Officer, whatever Commission he may at present hold in America, particularly at a Period when Command becomes most honorable.

There is another Motive, My Lord, which makes me submit with less Reluctance, it is my state of Health. The severity of the climate renders the consequences remaining from a Fall I received last year, so stubborn as to require an Hot Bath and other Assistance I cannot have in this Country, but my zeal for the King's Service would in the present moment, have engaged me to risk all Consequences rather than to propose a Remedy which Providence seems to have thrown in my way ere it is too late. The same motive will induce me to remain until the Spring unless Sir Guy Carleton should arrive in the Province this season. I shall by the first opportunity communicate my Intentions to Sir Guy Carleton in case Your Lordship should think fit to send out an Officer or direct him to chuse one from the Southward to take this complicated Command before the Service may spare Him from New York.

I have the honor to be &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

The Right Honorable
The Earl of Shelburne.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 19, pp. 93-5.

Whitehall, 31st July, 1782.

General Haldimand.

Sir,

.....
The alarming Accounts you therein gave of the State of Canada were sufficient to cause great apprehensions for the safety of that Province, but the Impression then made has been totally removed by the receipt of a letter from you of the 5th of last month

by Capt. Robertson of the Surprize Letter of Marque, who arrived in Town the 12th Inst. His Majesty is much pleased at the account you give of the Establishment made at Oswego by the Detachment under Major Ross, of whose Conduct upon that occasion you will signify His Royal Approbation as well as that of the Officers and men employed in the Expedition and I make no doubt but the judicious measures you have taken for opposing the Force intended by the Enemy against Detroit will not be unsuccessful.

The late Successes in the West Indies under the Command of Lord Rodney and the decided Superiority of the Force under his Command removes every sort of apprehension of any Naval Detachment from that part, that Event, however, will not occasion your being less upon your Guard in Case the Enemy from any other Quarter should appear upon your Coast.

The reasons which induced the late Secretary of State to apprise you of the probability of Sir Guy Carleton directing his Course towards Canada, having gained ground, His Majesty presumes that you will in Case that Event should take place, avail yourself of His most gracious Indulgence already signified to you, and I have now only to repeat to you that His Majesty entertains the highest opinion of your Merit and Service, and I have authority to assure you that only which has been already suggested could have induced the Shadow of a wish for you withdrawing yourself from your Government.

I am &c.,
T. Townshend.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 20, pp. 213-5.

Most Secret.

Quebec, 17th August, 1782.

My Lord.

Inclosed I have the Honor to transmit to Your Lordship a duplicate of my Letter, (most secret), of the 17th July, forwarded by the Quebec.

After many and the most mature Considerations of that Part of Your Lordship's Letter of the 22d April, (most secret), respecting myself, and comparing it with Lord Dartmouth's to which it refers me, anxious as I am for the King's Service, I fear my remaining here this winter, (risquing the late arrival of Sir Guy Carleton, when it will be found out of my Power to leave the Province), may tend more to impede than forward it.

I have therefore taken the following Precautions for my going Home in all events providing the Province remains in Tranquility, which must be decided before the Fleet sails.

Major General Clarke's want of experience in the very complicated and uncommon Service of this Country, &c., has induced me to call down Brigadier General Powell, from the Upper Country who has seen every kind of Service thro'out the Province since the Commencement of the War and who will be an able assistant to Him. I shall send up Brigadier General McLean in his room. He has a local knowledge of the Country & is otherwise qualified for that Command.

The German Troops will be perfectly attended to under Major General De Reidesel, who is really zealously and disinterestedly attached to the King's Service.

This, My Lord, is my present Resolution, the Execution of it will depend entirely upon events—the Receipt of Commands from Home, Intelligence from Sir Guy Carleton, the Invasion of the Province, &c., but let what will happen, Your Lordship may rely upon my acting for the Best and from no other motive whatever but what I shall think the Good of the King's Service.

I have the honour to be &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

The Right Honorable
The Earl of Shelburne.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 123, p. 277.

RETURN OF THE MILITIA OF THE SETTLEMENT OF DETROIT, AUG. 1, 1782.

Present.

Companies	Commission.			Rank & File
	Captains.	Lieuts.	Sergeants.	
Cap- tains. {McGregors.....	1	4	4	112
{Maisonvilles.....	1	3	3	88
Montfortons.....	1	2	3	72
Campeaus.....	1	2	3	69
Morans.....	1	2	3	57
Gamelins.....	1	3	3	70
	6	16	19	448

At. S. DE PEYSTER.

Major Kings Regt, Commanding Detroit.

Endorsed:—Return of the Militia of the Settlement of Detroit August 1, 1782.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 20, pp. 199-204.

No. 8.

Quebec, 17th August, 1782.

My Lord,

Anxious to transmit as soon as possible duplicates of the most material Parts of dispatches by the ship Quebec, (which sailed from hence the 17th of July), I embrace the opportunity of a well armed ship, the Venus, to forward them to Your Lordship and to acquaint you that nothing of any moment has occurred in this Province since that time, nor have I received any communication whatever from Sir Guy Carleton.—News Papers and Reports from the Colonies say that Congress are determined not to listen to any Overtures short of Independence and have given orders to prosecute the War.

I have the Honor to inform Your Lordship that Hostilities on our Part are now effectually stoped thro'out this Province.....

A large Scout has lately been sent by the Province of New York to range between the Lakes George and Champlain to prevent all Communication between this Country and the Southward and with Vermont of whom They have become very Jealous. Altho' this scout deprives me of usefull Intelligence and might be easily cut off I shall by no means attempt it.....

I have the honor to be &c.
Fred. Haldimand.

The Right Honorable
The Earl of Shelburne.

I have informed Your Lordship that Mr. Washington had lately unexpectedly visited Albany and the Frontier Posts, escorted by 400 of his best Cavalry.

From the best Intelligence I can procure, (which I have just received), I am persuaded that his Excursion was occasioned by a Report conveyed to the Colonies, (on my forming a Magazine of Provisions for the intended Detachment to Vermont), that an Expedition was on Foot from this Province to favor Vermont or against Albany, in which case he would have raised the Militia and in 48 Hours have collected a numerous Army.—So cautious am I at this Juncture of giving Room for the least Jealousy, that I have defered sending the number of Troops I intended to work at the Isle aux Noix, knowing the Impossibility of keeping secret from the Enemy the most trifling occurrences in this Province, but as the Report dies away I shall forward by degrees the Troops for that Service.

F.H.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 61, p. 114.

Quebec ce 23 Septembre 1782.

Monsieur,

Je suis chargé de la part de Son Excellence Monsieur le General de vous dire qu'il a reçu Votre lettre du 16^e du Courant—Comme la demande que vous faite d'être Exempt de Logement de Troupes et de Corvées est inconsistante et contraire aux Reglements qui ont été fait au sujet le general m'ordonne de vous marquer qu'il ne peut pas vous l'accorder, les Capitaines des Milices des différentes Paroisses du Gouvernement étant le juge de ceux de leurs Paroissiens qui meritent cette Indulgence, c'est par leur canal que pareille applications doivent se faire et s'il la trouve justes, ils en font leur Rapport au Colonel de Milice de leur District.

Je suis Mr

Votre très humble Serviteur

(Signé)

L. Genevay

Mr. Daniel Cramer.

Endorsed Mr. Daniel Cramer 1782
at Varennes of 23^d Sept^r*(Translation)*

Quebec, 23rd September, 1782.

Sir:

I am directed by His Excellency, the General, to say that he has received your letter of the 16th inst.—as the request you make to be exempted from the lodging of troops and from corvées is inconsistent with, and contrary to the regulations which have been made on the subject, the General orders me to inform you that he cannot grant it, the Captains of the Militia of the different Parishes in the Government, being the judge as to which of their Parishioners deserve this Indulgence, it is through that channel that such applications should be made, and if such are found to be just, they will make their report to the colonel of the militia of their district.

I am, Sir, etc.,

L. Genevay.

Mr. Daniel Cramer.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

LOWER CANADA.

Extract from an orderly book of the Royal Regiment of New York, 1st Battalion, namely:—

“Winter Quarters for the Army in Canada.”

By order of his Excellency the Commander in Chief,

21st October, 1782.

Head Quarters of the Army,
Quebec,
Detachment of Royal Artillery,
44th Regiment.
Grenadier Co., 31st Regiment.

- Ange Gardien, Chateau Richer, St. Ann, St.
 Jerriole, St. Joachim,
 Regiment of Prince Fredrick.
-
- Pointe Trembles, Jacques Cartier, Cap-Santé,
 Deschambault, Grondines,
 31st Regiment.
-
- Three Rivers.
 Detachment of one Officer and 25 Men of the
 Regiment of Specht.
-
- St. Thomas, St. Ignace, Islette,
 Regiment of Losberg.
-
- St. Nicholas, St. Antoine, St. Croix.
 Regiment of Hesse Hanault.
-
- Pointe du Lac.
 Detachment of Brunswick Grenadiers.
-
- Machiche Barracks.
 Loyalist Families.
-
- Berthier, Lanoraye, La Valtrie.
 Battalion of Brunswick Grenadiers.
-
- Isle St. Ignace.
 31st Regiment.
-
- River Sorel.
 Sorel.
 Royal Artillery.
 Regiment of Reidesel.
 2 Companies of Regt. of Rhetz.
-
- 2 Loyal Block Houses on the River Yamaska.
 Detachment of Jessup's Rangers.
-
- St. Antoine Beloeil.
 Brunswick Dragoons.
-
- Chambly and St. Johns.
 29th Regiment.
 Roger's Rangers.
-
- Isle Aux Noix aux Fevres.
 53rd Regiment.
-
- Loyal House Block on Dutchman's Point.
 Detachment of Jessup's Rangers.
-
- St. Sulpice, Repentigny, L'Assomption,
 Battalion of Barner.
-
- Terrebonne, Mascouche de Terrebonne, Isle Jesus.
 1st Battalion, Royal Yorkers.
 N.B. The larger families of both Battalions to be
 lodged in the barracks of Lachenaye.
-
- Montreal.
 34th Regiment.
-
- River du Chené Milles-Isles.
 Loyalists of Vercheres.
-

Lachine Barracks and Coteau du Lac.
Detachment of 34th Regiment.

Laprairie, St. Philippe, Chateauguay.
Hanault Chasseurs.

Upper Posts.
8th or King's Regiment,
84th Regiment.
2nd Battalion Royal Yorkers.
Butler's Rangers.

Captain Herkimer's Bateaux-men.
Coteau du Lac,
Oswego.

Henry Hope.

Acting Qr. Mr. Gen.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 20, pp. 343-4.

Quebec, 26th Octr. 1782.

Private.

Sir,

In answer to the last Paragraph of your Letter of the 31st July, I beg leave to refer you to the enclosed Duplicate of a Letter I had the honor to write to Lord Shelburne the 17th of August last.

Upon the Principal which has hitherto actuated my conduct I have, notwithstanding the arrangement I had made for going to England, found it necessary to remain in this Province the Winter, seeing from the apparent obstinacy of the Congress in declining the Overtures for Peace, and from the continued Hostilities of the Enemy in the Upper Country that there is a Probability of an early attempt being made on this Province in the Spring.

I mention this to you, Sir, not from an Intention in any respect to retreat from the Resolution expressed in my Letters of the 17th July and 17th August to Lord Shelburne, my State of Health and awkward Situation here making it every day more necessary for many Reasons that I should avail myself of His Majesty's Gracious Permission to go to Europe but that you may be satisfied neither of these motives shall influence me to risque the King's Service at so critical a Period.

I have the honor to be &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

The Right Honorable
Thomas Townshend.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 21, pp. 1-3.

Quebec, Novr. 10th, 1782.

Private

Sir,

Having finished for this Season my correspondence with the King's Ministers on the Public Affairs relative to my Command, it remains for me to add to my Letters by, His Majesty's Ships Assistance and Surprize on the subject of my particular Situation, that having communicated to Sir Guy Carleton the substance of Lord Shelburnes Letter of the He briefly has acquainted me that it is impossible he can come into this Province this year and wholly unlikely that He ever will.

I have to request, Sir, that you will assure His Majesty that devoted to His Service and influenced by Principles of Attachment and Gratitude for his Goodness I have sacrificed to a Sense of duty those Feelings of which a Soldier can never entirely

divest Himself, at the Idea which the Earl of Shelburne entertained of the Probability after so many years of honorable Service of my voluntarily remaining under the Command of a Junior Officer. My Heart feels too sensibly the Force of His Majesty's Benevolence and Justice not to be assured that such a sacrifice will never be required of me as a duty.

I have been forty-three years an Officer; a stranger to Politics, and to a Language which does not proceed from the Heart—my stipulation is a most painful one, considered as commanding here only until a Junior Officer shall find it necessary or convenient to supercede me, which is at this moment actually the case, the substance of Lord Shelburne's Letter being as well known in this Province as to His Lordship. My attachment to His Majesty's Service and Gratitude to the Nation which has so generously adopted me, can only end with my existence, but after having without any solicitation on my part been called to the Supreme Command in the Northern District of America, I never imagined that the considerations which with propriety influenced the conduct of the King's Minister in 1775, could after four years Service, be revived to my Mortification in the year 1782, when the State of Public Affairs is so materially altered. I therefore, Sir, most earnestly request that you will exert your Good Offices with His Majesty that such measures may be adopted in the course of the winter as will enable me to profit of the Leave of Absence His Majesty has been graciously pleased to give me, and by that means to withdraw myself from a Mortification which has operated as effectually as if the Cause had really taken place.

I have the honor to be &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

The Right Honorable
Thomas Townshend.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA.

Anno Vicesimo tertio Georgii III. REGIS.

CHAP. II. 1.

AN ORDINANCE.

For further continuing an Ordinance made the twenty ninth day of March, in the seventeenth year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled, "An Ordinance for regulating the Militia of the province of QUEBEC and rendering it of more general utility towards the preservation and security thereof."

Be it enacted and Ordained by His Excellency the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council of the province of Quebec, and by the authority of the same it is hereby Enacted, That an Ordinance made in the seventeenth year of his Majesty's Reign, intituled, "An Ordinance for regulating the Militia of the province of Quebec, and rendering it of more general utility towards the preservation and security thereof," and every article and clause therein contained, shall be and continue, and the same is hereby further continued from the passing of this present Ordinance, unto the thirtieth day of April, which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty five.

FRED. HALDIMAND.

Ordained and Enacted by the authority aforesaid, and passed in council under the public seal of the province, at the council chamber in the castle of St. Lewis, in the city of Quebec, the fifth day of February, in the twenty third year of the reign of our sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty three.

By his Excellency's Command.

J. Williams, C.L.C.

Quebec Gazette, 13th February, 1783.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, March 20, 1783.

Extract of a Letter from Albany, dated February 24.

"The party of Continental troops under the command of Colonel Willet who went against Oswego, suffered much on their rout; they had a great many men and horses drowned in Lake Oneida, several men frozen to death, and above 40 sent to the hospital in this place, mostly from having their hands and feet frozen."

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 21, pp. 72-6.

Whitehall, 28th Feby, 1783.

General Haldimand.

Sir,

I cannot reply by this conveyance to all the Dispatches I have received from you in the course of several months, as several of them require the mature Deliberation of His Majesty's Confidential Servants, the Result of which I shall have the honour to communicate to you as soon as possible. At present I shall only trouble you upon the points which seem to demand immediate attention.

The Imprisonment of Hay, Cazeau, Du Calvet and Pillon, was highly expedient at the time when you resolved upon that measure, but the King entertains some doubts whether it be now any longer necessary. It is the earnest wish of His Majesty to establish as far as depends upon him, a perfect re-union and cordiality between British subjects and the People of the United States in North America and therefore he is not unwilling to give the earliest proof of His conciliating Disposition by the Enlargement even of those under His Majesty's own Government, whom the circumstances of the War had rendered it necessary to secure upon Discovery of their traitorous Intercourse with his revolted subjects. Upon this principle His Majesty would command me to signify to you His Pleasure for the Release of the above mentioned persons and of any others you may have imprisoned for the like offences did he not consider that circumstances may exist which would render such an Order improper, and that he can in this as in every other respect, rely perfectly upon the rectitude of your Judgement and Decision. The King therefore adopting your own idea that those persons should not be enlarged except upon a persuasion in the Governor that the circumstance would not be detrimental to the Public Tranquility, leaves it entirely to you to continue them in confinement or to set them at Liberty. Should you think proper to release them, you will endeavour at the same time to make them sensible of His Majesty's most gracious Lenity in thus permitting the pardon of a correspondence which was carried on in the Treasonable Hope of subverting the Government of Quebec and for which they could not have even the common Excuse of real or pretended Grievances.

I am &c.
T. Townshend.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, May, 15. 1783.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

TO THE LOYALISTS, &c.

AS MANY INDUSTRIOUS PERSONS AT THIS TIME MIGHT BE willing to settle and take farms in Canada. CHARLES De LANAUDIERE, Esq; anxious to establish a number of Americans upon his Estates of St. Anns's and De Lanaudiere on the River Masquinongé, will grant the following terms to any person properly recommended, viz.

Ten years free from all rent, after which time they shall pay the accustomed rent of the Country. For four years the wheat for the use of their family shall be ground for nothing; and all boards necessary for their building, &c, shall be sawed gratis at his mill. Both of these Seigneuries are close to the high road, and have grist and saw mills upon them, they may also depend upon every encouragement in Mr. Lanaudière's power with regard to provisions, &c, on their first setting off.
N.B. If any other terms are more agreeable Mr. Lanaudière is ready and willing to make them as convenient to the Settlers as he with propriety can.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, August 7, 1783.

Since our last the German auxiliary troops embarked on board twenty-five transports, and began on Sunday morning to fall down to Bic, where they are to rendezvous, and from thence sail for Europe, under convoy of his Majesty's Ship Pandora, Capt. Inglis; they consist of the following Regiments and Corps, viz.

Troops of Brunswick under the command of Major-general REIDSESEL.
Riedesel's Dragoons, commanded by Major de Bauman.
Prince Frederick's battalion of Grenadiers, by Col. Praetorius.
Riedesel's regiment of Infantry, by Col. de Hille.
Rhetz's ditto, by Major de Louke.
Specht's ditto, by Major Ehrenkrook.

Troops of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel under Major-general de Loos.
Lossberg's regiment, commanded by Major-general de Loos.

Troops of Hesse Hanau, under Col. Lentz.
Company of Artillery, commanded by Major Paeusch.
Corps of Chasseurs, by Col. de Creutzbourg.
First battalion of the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Hanau, by Col. Lentz.

Troops of Anhalt Zerbst, under Col. Raushenblat..
Regiment of Anhalt Zerbst, commanded by Col. Raushenblat..

On Saturday morning last his Majesty's 31st regiment, and Sunday morning following the 44th were reviewed on the Heights of Abraham, by his Excellency GENERAL HALDIMAND; each corps made a fine appearance, and went through their several manoeuvres, evolutions and firing, with such alertness and regularity, as did honor to both men and officers, and gained the General's approbation.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. 130, p. 91.

Dear Sir.

Colonels Neveu Sylvestre & St. George Dupré have lodged a complaint against an inhabitant by the name of Duchêne for having erected a regular wooden battery before his door on which was mounted a swivel for a pound ball and near it a gallows; in mockery of the Loyalists as it is supposed. The part I have taken in my military capacity was to send a file of men to dismantle his works and to direct the fellow himself to bring in his cannon and Gibbet and then deliver him over to messieurs Neveu Sylvestre & St. George to deal with him as Militia Field Officers and Magistrates.

They will report their proceedings to the Governor General.

I have the Honor to be, &c.

Barry St. Leger.

28th August (1783)
Captain Matthews,

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol 45, pp. 113-9.

Whitehall, 8th August, 1783.

Sir,

Since I had the Honor of writing to you on the 10th May to send home all the Foreign Troops serving in Canada, The King's Servants have taken into their consideration the Military arrangements for the Peace Establishment and in consequence of their determination the Secretary at War will signify to you by this opportunity His Majesty's Commands for the reduction of the 1st Battalion of the 84th Regiment and Communicate to you every Information respecting the Regular Military Force to be continued within the Province of Quebec.

The King received much satisfaction on the receipt of your Dispatch intimating your ready acquiescence with His Majesty's wishes that you would continue to conduct His Affairs in Canada until that Province may be in a more settled state and His Majesty cannot too highly applaud your endeavors to quiet the uneasiness of the Inhabitants on account of the Limits assigned by the Provisional Articles of Peace.

I am now to acquaint you that it is His Majesty's Pleasure that the two Battalions of Provincials that have been raised by Sir John Johnson be disbanded and you will forthwith issue the necessary orders for that purpose, signifying to Sir John Johnson and the Officers and men belonging to them that their Services have met with His Majesty's approbation.

The King's Servants have not been unmindful of the Situation and Spirit of His Majesty's faithful Subjects who have taken up arms in defence of His just Rights and the support of His Crown and Dignity in North America, and you will see by the enclosed Vote of the House of Commons that Parliament upon their recommendation are disposed to alleviate the misfortunes to which the War has exposed them and to give them every Relief that the Country, consistent with the present exhausted state of its Finances can possibly afford. It will therefore be very desirable and indeed essentially necessary that you should as soon as you conveniently can, furnish me with a list containing the names of the Officers of those Corps—The Places of their Nativity—Situation previous to their obtaining Commissions in those Corps—length of Service—if they had before been in the Army—Whether they sold out—at what time—with the occasion as well as you can ascertain it—and every other information that you may judge proper for His Majesty's knowledge.

In a separate Dispatch you will receive Instructions for your Government in making grants of Land to the Corps which may be disbanded in Canada, as well as to any of the Loyalists who may have taken refuge within that Province. You will without doubt think it prudent and consistent with sound Policy to establish a principal part of those People in such a situation as may be most likely to serve as a Barrier against any Incursions from the Inhabitants of those Colonies that have revolted from their Allegiance, in which case it may not be amiss to point out to you that the Tract of Land to the Eastward of the River St. Lawrence and bounded on the North and West by the revolted Colonies Appears to be a position well fitted for that purpose. The Bay of Chaleurs which I observe by your Letters you have ordered to be examined, I find upon enquiry is a situation well calculated for forming an advantageous Settlement, particularly for carrying on the Whale and other Fisheries in the Gulph of St. Lawrence and promises fair to be a comfortable asylum for many of the Loyalists who are disposed to pursue that occupation, and may be in time of considerable advantage to this Country. The King therefore approves of establishing some of the Loyalists at the Place, giving to them Grants of Land Agreeable to His Majesty's Instructions. You have without doubt judged wisely in sending Sir John Johnson to Niagara, as his influence with the Indians from the favorable opinion they have always entertained of him and his Family, may at this critical juncture be a means of preventing disagreeable consequences which might otherwise happen. The King at the same time much approves your having sent Major Holland to inspect into the state of the Post at Cataraguay and to survey the north side of the Lake Ontario as well as of your intention of carrying into execution your endeavor to prevail upon the Mohawks to settle to the Northward of that Lake, provided the Country should be found well suited to their convenience. These People are justly entitled to our particular Attention, and it would be far from either generous or just in us after our Cession of their Territories and hunting grounds to forsake them. I am therefore authorized to acquaint you that the King allows you to make those offers to them or to any other Nations of the friendly

Indians who may be desirous of withdrawing themselves from the United States and occupying any Lands which you may grant them in the Province of Quebec. It is to be hoped that from thence they will be able to carry on their Hunting to their former Grounds and return with their Furs and Peltry where the British Trader can meet them in security and being under our protection their Attachment to His Majesty may continue. And this Country may enjoy the Advantages of their Trade. In the Assortment of Presents to be sent out to you for these People you will find a Supply of Tools and Implements for cultivation which it is judged will be useful in the formation of their new settlements in case they avail themselves of the Offers you may make to them. The King intending that the detachment of the Royal Regiment of Artillery to be stationed in Canada during the Peace shall consist of four Companies, I am to acquaint you that orders have been sent to Sir Guy Carleton to dispatch that number of men to Quebec, and it is the King's Command that you do upon their arrival, embark the two Companies already serving there and send the Company belonging to the 1st Battalion to the Island of Dominica and the remaining Company to England in any of the Transports which may be employed in conveying the detachment from New York. I have received your Letters, Nos. 28 & 29, containing an application for Instructions with regard to the conduct you are to pursue in case the State of Vermont should be attacked and you should be called upon for your support or that demands should be made upon you for supplies of Ammunition. As these Letters are dated before you could have received information of the signing of the Provisional Articles of Peace It must now be unnecessary to observe to you that consistent with The Treaty before mentioned no assistance can be given to the Inhabitants of that State to enable them to act against the Americans.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, September 18, 1783.

On Wednesday the 27th ult. Captain SCHANK, previous to his retiring from the command of the navy in Canada, gave an elegant entertainment on board his own ship the inflexible, to the Naval Department, and the garrisons of St. John's and l'Isle aux Noix.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, October 2, 1783.

Friday evening last arrived here, in five weeks from New-York, the Ship Lucretia, Capt. Wilson, having on board two companies of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, commanded by Major Williams and Capt. Abson.

The Charming Polly, with two other companies of the same regiment, under the command of Major Lemoine and Capt. Keith, is hourly expected, having left Sandy Hook two days before Lucretia.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 82, p. 96.

Head Quarters—Quebec

13th Novr. 1783.

Sir,

I am to acquaint you His Excellency has been pleased to nominate Etienne Dechambault Genl. Lieut. in Your Company in the room of Charles Louis de St. Ours the Commission bearing date 22nd May 1783.

I have the honor &c

(Signed) R. B. Lernoult

Adjt. General.

Captain Rouville.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 130, pp. 96.

Montreal, 13th November, 1783.

Sir,

When His Excellency did me the honour to appoint me to the command of the District of Montreal I looked upon myself as responsible to him for the conduct of the Troops, and for the due execution of the different branches of Duty annexed to it, and among them I deemed the most essential point of my attention—The giving the quickest currenry to all his orders and rigidly enjoining and seeing paid the most exact obedience to them.

Seeing things in this light I must own I was not a little astonished the other day to hear from the Captain of Militia at Terre Bonne, that the officer commanding at Duchene had sent him orders to prepare his Parish for the reception of three companies without the least previous communication with me and that a captain and two companies were actually ordered to proceed there. I sent to Captain Jones, requiring an explanation of this insult offered to my command, who informed me that he had received a route enclosed from Major Jessup and that he acted in obedience to his orders and that if he had not been sure that I had received information likewise of this movement he would have communicated to me the receipt of the Route and the directions sent to him—This I deemed an Apology sufficient for the size of the soldiery of officers of this class whose chief merit in arms, it must be allowed lays more in their affection to their King & steady adherence to his cause than in military management.

I think it however a debt I owe the dignity of Command to desire that His Excellency, the Commander in chief may be informed of the proceedings of Major Jessup. least in time to come he may probably not think it necessary to consult me or my orders; whilst I stand as a Cypher, and at the same time answerable for every thing done in this District.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Barry St. Leger.

Major Mathews.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 23, pp. 32-6.

No. 25.

Quebec, November 18th, 1783.

My Lord,

I have had the Honor to receive yesterday by way of Halifax Your Lordship's Letters of the 12th May, 16th & 24th July, 7th & 8th August last. It is to be regretted that the Dispatches were detained at Halifax from the 20th of September to the 10th of October, as from my having received them so late in the Season, it will not be in my Power to give Your Lordship communication of my Sentiments relative to the contents of them as the two only remaining Vessels sail from this Port to-morrow or next day.

The nature of this climate and the advanced season will not permit my carrying into immediate Execution His Majesty's Orders relative to the disbanding the 1st Battalion of the 84th Regiment, the 2nd Battn of Sir John Johnson's, and the Corps of Rangers, commanded by Lieut. Colonel Butler, as the Posts of Oswego, Cataragui and Carleton Island are Garrisoned by the two former and the latter at Niagara, and Detroit, but Your Lordship my depend upon my doing everything in my Power not to lose a moment in executing His Majesty's orders on that Head.

I have the Honor to enclose a List of the Provincial Corps serving under my command.

I have the honor to be &c.

Fred. Haldimand.

The Right Honorable Lord North.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 23, p. 36b.

List of the Provincial Troops in Canada, serving under His Excellency General Frederick Haldimand.

Head Quarters, Quebec.

19th November, 1783.

Corps.	When Raised.	No. of Companies.	When Complete.
1st Battalion Kings' Royal Regiment of New York	19th June, 1779..	10	29th Nov., 1780.
2nd Battalion King's Royal Regiment of New York	21st July, 1780..	10	Never entirely complete.
Lieut. Colonel John Butler's Corps of Rangers	15th Sept., 1777.	10	17th Sept., 1781.
Major Edward Jessup's Corps of Loyal Rangers	12th Nov., 1781.	10	12th Nov., 1781.
Detachment of King's Rangers, commanded by Major Rogers	25th Nov., 1781.	3	25th Nov., 1781.

Number of companies, 43

N.B. The two companies of Canadians employed with General Burgoyne's Army in 1777, were on their return to Canada, Dismissed both Officers and Men.

One company of Canadians employed with the Army against Fort Stanwix under Captain Rouville, on their Return to Canada, the men were Dismissed but the officers, consisting of one Captain, Four Lieutenants and Four Ensigns have been kept on Pay ever since.

Fred. Haldimand.

Endorsed:

In Govr. Haldimand's

No. 25.

of 18th Novr. 1783.

No. 2.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 82, p. 101.

Head Quarters—Quebec

27th Novr. 1783.

Sir,

I have the honor herewith to Enclose the General orders of the 25th Inst with the Paroles & Countersigns for the Month of December next. The orders & Instructions alluded to in these orders are those I had the honor to transmit the 19th inst for your information only. As the Disbanding the Provincial Corps in the lower parts of this Province will take place the 24th of December next, His Excellency has himself wrote to the Officers Commanding them, to prepare Everything for that Event, the orders for those in your District will be transmitted to you.

I have the honor &c

(Signed) R. B. Lennoult

Adj. Genl.

N.B. I have included the orders of this day.
Brigrd Genl. St. Leger

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 82, p. 103.

Quebec, Decr. 15th 1783.

Sir,

I have His Excellency the Commander in Chief's orders to signifie to You, that the Entire Reduction of your Company is to take place on the 24th of December 1783, from which period all Pay and Emoluments are to cease and determine, You will please therefore to communicate these orders to the several Officers thereunto belonging, & acknowledge the Receipt of this official Letter.

I have the honor

R.B.L.—A.G.

Captain Rouville.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 61, p. 169.

Quebec ce 22^e Decembre 1783.

Monsieur,

J'ai ordre de Son Excellence le General en chef de vous informer Monsieur, que par les arrangements fait en conséquence de la Paix, les appointments annexés à L'Employe de Commis Canadien pour les Transports Inspecteur des Milices cesseront au 24^e du Present mois.

J'ai l'honneur d'être Monsieur

Votre très humble et

Trés obeissant Serviteur

(Signé) R. Mathews

Monsieurs	Deschambault	} Inspecteurs des Milices
	Longueuil	
	Lanaudière	
	Baby	} Commie ^e Canadiens pour les Transports
	Tonnancour	
	St. George Duprés	
	Louis drinville,		assistant ditto
	Honoré Grenier,	Assistant des Milices Canadiennes

Endorsed Circular Letter dated 22 Decr. 1783.

(Translation)

Quebec, 22nd December, 1783.

Sir:—

I am ordered by His Excellency, the General in Chief, to inform you, Sir, that by the arrangements made in consequence of the Peace, the appointments attached to the department of the Canadian Commissariat for transport and inspectors of militia, will terminate on the 24th of the present month.

I have the honor to be, etc.

R. Mathews.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 61, p. 174.

A Messieurs les Capitaines des Milices de Ste Anne, Riviere Ouelle & Camouraska—
Mons^r

Etant necessaire pour le Bien public que le Portage qui conduit au Lac Timisquata soit debarassé et rendu praticable pour des chevaux chargés; j'ai jugé à propos d'y faire travailler 150 Hommes choisis, des Compagnies de Milices de Ste Anne, La Riviere Ouelle, et Camouraska, sous la conduite de leurs propres officiers, chaque Compagnie fournissent un nombre d'hommes proportionné à sa Force, les Miliciens se nourriront

aux mêmes, et se Fourniront des Instruments, où outils que leurs officiers jugeront convenables aux Travaux qu'ils devront faire, me réservant de leur donner une Gratification si cet ouvrage est fait aussi solidement que j'ai Lieu de l'esperer, et si quelqu'un des Miliciens venoit à deserter il faudroit que la Compagnie le remplace immédiatement par un nombre double de Travailleurs—

Ayant chargé M. Renaud Voyer des district de Quebec pour la conduite de cet ouvrage il vous est enjoint Monsieur de faire marcher sans délai le nombre des Militiens que votre Compagnie doit fournir au Lieu qu'il assignera, et de lui donner outre ce toute l'assistance dont il pourra avoir besoin pour former cette communication d'une façon aussi solide que la nature du Terrain voudra l'admettre.

Je suis Monsr

Endorsed Lettre Circulaire aux Cap^{ts} des Milices de St. Anne, Riv. Ouelle et Camouraska—.

(Translation)

To the Captains of the Militia of Ste. Anne, Rivière Ouelle, and Camouraska.

Sir:

It being necessary for the public good that the Portage, leading to Lake Temisquata should be opened and made practicable for loaded horses, I have deemed proper to cause one hundred and fifty men, selected from the companies of militia of Ste. Anne, Rivière Ouelle and Camouraska to work upon it under the direction of their own officers, each company will furnish a number of men in proportion to its Strength. The militiamen will subsist themselves and will Furnish such implements or tools which their officers judge necessary for the Work which they are to do, reserving to myself the right of giving them a Gratuity if this work is done as thoroughly as I have Reason to hope, and if any of the militiamen should desert, the company will immediately replace them by double the number of Labourers; having directed M. Renaud overseer of roads for the district of Quebec, to superintend this work, You are directed, sir, to cause the proper number of militiamen from your Company, to march without delay to the Place which he will appoint and will give him, besides this, all the assistance that he may need to complete this work in as thorough a manner as the nature of the ground will permit.

I am, Sir,

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REPORT ON THE PORTAGE AT LAKE TEMISCOUATA.

Rapport du portage du Lac Temiscouata.

Envertu d'un Ordre de Son Excellence le général Haldimand du 29 mars dernier portant ses instructions de faire ouvrir la communication qui conduit au lac Temiscouata et d'employer à cet ouvrage les habitants des parcses voisines par corvée, leur allouant par voie d'encouragement un petit salaire et des vivres, et Son Excellence nous ayant confié la conduite des travaux ainsi que celle des miliciens; nous, Jean Renaud, grand-voyer du district de Quebec, accompagnée de l'Hon. Jean Collins, Ecr. député-arpenteur-général nous sommes expres transportés à la rivière des Caps, en bas de Kamouraska, où, ayant engagé trois guides au fait et connaissant le Portage du dit lac, et commandé un parti de onze hommes, nous avons cherché en descendant le long du fleuve un endroit commode, pour monter les côtes de la mer qui sont partout fort escarpées, et ayant trouvé un endroit qui nous a paru le plus favorable à environ six lieues plus bas que l'église de Kamouraska et près de l'endroit où l'ancien sentier était pratique, nous avons plaqué les dites côtes en les élongeant de long des Caps et nous avons continué de plaquer jusqu'à la rivière du Loup, environ une lieue et demie dans les terres, poursuivant en général la direction du sud-est. Là, laissant M. Collins avec le dit parti et les guides pour poursuivre jusqu'au lac et plaquer le chemin dans les plus beaux endroits possible, suivant toujours la même direction sud-est, nous sommes revenus sur nos pas à la rivière des Caps pour commander les miliciens, savoir: de la compagnie de la rivière des Caps, 21 hommes; de la seconde compagnie de Kamouraska, 21 hommes; de la première compagnie de dite, 41 hommes; de la rivière Ouelle, 51 hommes; de Sainte-Anne, 51 hommes, faisant en tout 185 hommes, pour travailler dix-huit jours. Apres leur avoir livré des vivres, nous les avons mis à l'ouvrage le douze juin, ouvrant le themin et les côtes de douze pieds de large, arrachant les arbres, ôtant les souches, reches, cailloux, abattant les buttes et remplissant les trous. Mais, ayant trouvé des bas-fonds de cédrières et épinettières fort longs et pleins d'eau sans beaucoup d'égout, nous avons été obligé de ponter ces endroits avec des lambourdes hautes de

deux pieds a deux pieds et demi et des pièces de six pieds à travers, et de distance en distance, de quinze pieds.

Ces travaux étaient si pénibles par la longueur des ponts dont l'un en particulier est de dix-huit arpents, et le transport du bois propre pour les faire à bras d'hommes que cette corvée n'a pu pénétrer que jusqu'à la dite rivière du Loup, laquelle a huit perches de large et où nous avons fait deux bons canots de bois pour traverser. M. Collins retourna du lac avec son parti après quatorze jours de marche et travaux, ayant plaqué et chaîné le chemin et posé des poteux chaque demi-lieue marquant la distance qui s'est trouvée de douze lieues et seize arpents, depuis le fleuve Saint-Laurent jusqu'au dit lac Temiscouata.

Ayant d'avance envoyé des commandements aux capitaines des paroisses de Saint-Roch, Saint-Jean et l'Islet, pour fournir chacun 61 hommes, faisant en tout 183 hommes, pour travailler pendant 21 jours, ils arrivèrent au Portage le 29 de juin et leur ayant delivré des vivres le 30, ils furent mis à l'ouvrage et relevèrent le première corvée d'hommes qui fut congédiée.

Nous continuâmes l'ouverture du dit chemin de douze pieds de large faisant des ponts sur les rivières et les ruissaux, particulièrement un pont de 45 pieds d'ouverture et 100 pieds de pavé sur la rivière Verte, a 9 lieues en deca du lac, et un autre pont de 36 pieds d'ouverture et 64 de pavé sur la rivière Saint-François, a 7 lieues du dit lac, et ainsi des autres sur de plus petites rivières et ruisseaux qui sont fort nombreux, ce qui augmenta beaucoup l'ouvrage et la saison étant déjà avancée par rapport aux travaux des habitants, il ne resta plus de temps pour ponter les bas-fonds de la même manière que nous les avons fait jusqu'à la rivière du Loup, mais seulement avec des pièces mises côte à côte sur la longueur du chemin, prévoyant que cette seconde corvée ne pouvait pas pénétrer jusqu'au lac, nous fîmes encore un commandement de 21 hommes de la rivière des Caps, 16 hommes de la seconde compagnie de Kamouraska, 26 hommes de la première compagnie de dite, 31 hommes de la rivière Ouelle, et 31 hommes de Sainte-Anne, en tout 125 hommes pour travailler 16 jours. Ils se rendirent le 4 juillet; ils furent mis à l'ouvrage, les étendant comme les autres par petits partis dans le bois, pour ouvrir le chemin toujours de douze pieds suivant en général les plaqués faites par M. Collins. Le 29 juillet, ayant fini l'ouvrage du dit chemin jusqu'au lac tous les hommes furent congédié et renvoyés chez eux.

Mais pour qu'on pût rouler en voiture sur toute la longueur de ce chemin il restait à faire un endroit près de la rivière Saint-François, appelé la lieue des Roches qui est plein de gros cailloux ou il était nécessaire de miner, et, n'ayant ni mineurs ni outils propres à miner nous en fîmes a notre retour la representation a Son Excellence à qui il a plu d'envoyer un parti de mineurs avec un assistant-ingenieur pour faire sauter ces roches et cailloux, et, par son ordre, nous avons commandé le 13 septembre 24 hommes de la rivière des Caps et Kamouraska pour servir les mineurs et faire cette partie du chemin.

Comme ce chemin conduit sur le travers du pays, il croisé toutes les montagnes qui sont fort fréquentes et quelques-unes très hautes; et alternativement il se trouve des bas-fonds où les eaux séjournent n'y ayant pas beaucoup d'égout et le soleil ne pouvant y pénétrer, à cause des bois touffus, il était donc nécessaire de ponter, mais si jamais cette partie du pays s'établit, ces pontages ou chaussées ne seront plus utiles parce que les terres se débarrassant, l'eau trouvera naturellement son cours et le soleil aidera à les assécher. Nous avons trouvé plusieurs endroits où la terre parait très bonne et propre à être cultivée.

Quebec, le 20 janvier, 1784.

Jean Renaud,

Voyer du district.

(Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, June and September, 1918, Pp. 74-6.)

(Translation)

Report on the Portage at Lake Temiscouata.

In pursuance of an Order from his Excellency General Haldimand of March 29 last conveying his instructions to open the communication leading to Lake Temiscouata and to employ on this work the Inhabitants of the neighbouring parishes by Corvée, allowing them by way of encouragement a small gratuity and provisions, having entrusted us with the supervision of the work as well as that of the Militiamen; we,

Jean Renaud, Grand Voyer of the district of Quebec, accompanied by the Honourable John Collins, Esq., Deputy Surveyor General, went purposely to the Rivière des Caps below Kamouraska where having engaged three guides well acquainted with the Portage of the said Lake and calling out a party of eleven men we endeavoured by passing along the shore of the River to find a convenient place to ascend the neighbouring escarpement, which is every where steep, and having found a spot which seemed to us the most favourable about six leagues below the church at Kamouraska and near the place where there was a old trail, we have surveyed along the said hills passing around the capes, and we have continued to survey as far as Rivière du Loup, about a league and a half inland, following in general a south easterly course. There leaving Mr. Collins with the said party and the guides to go on to the lake and lay out the road in the best course possible, following still the same south easterly direction, we returned to Rivière des Caps to call out the Militia to wit; from the company of Rivière des Caps, 21 men; from the second company of Kamouraska, 21 men; from the first company aforesaid, 41 men; from Rivière Ouelle, 51 men; Sainte-Anne, 51 men, making in all 185 men, to work 18 days. After having given them provisions, we set them to work the twelfth June, opening the road along the shore twelve feet wide, cutting down the trees, taking out stumps, rocks, boulders, levelling down the mounds and filling the hollows. But, having found the bottoms of the cedar and pine swamps very wide and filled with water without much of an outlet, we were obliged to bridge these places with logs from two feet to two and a half feet thick with cross pieces six feet in length in sections fifteen feet long.

This work was so difficult on account of the length of the bridges, of which one in particular was eighteen chains in length, and the wood to build them having to be carried on the shoulders of the men, this corvée was only able to advance as far as the said Rivière du Loup, which is eight rods wide and where we made two good wooden canoes to cross it. Mr. Collins returned from the lake with his party after 14 days marching and working, having laid out and chained the road and planted posts every half league marking the distance which is found to be twelve leagues and sixteen chains from the River St. Lawrence to the said Lake Temiscouata.

Having previously sent Orders to the Captains of the parishes of Saint-Roch, Saint-Jean and l'Islet to supply each 61 men, making in all 183 men, to work 21 days, they arrived in the portage on the 29 of June and having delivered provisions to them on the 30, they were set to work and relieved the first Corvée of men who were discharged.

We continued opening the said road twelve feet wide, building bridges over the rivers and streams, particularly one bridge of a span of 45 feet and 100 feet of roadway of Rivière Verte, nine leagues this side the lake and another bridge of 36 feet span and 64 feet roadway over Rivière Saint-François, seven leagues from said lake and also others over the smaller rivers and streams which are very numerous, this much increased the work and the season being already advanced with reference to the farm work of the inhabitants, no time remained for bridging the bottoms in the same manner which we had done as far as Rivière du Loup but only with logs laid side by side lengthwise on the road, foreseeing that this second Corvée could not advance as far as the lake, we made another call for 21 men from Rivière des Caps sixteen men from the second company of Kamouraska, 26 men from the first company aforesaid, 31 men from Rivière Ouelle and 31 men from Sainte-Anne, in all 125 to work sixteen days. They reported on the 4th July; they were set to work, extending them like the others in small parties in the woods, to open the road still twelve feet wide following in general the survey made by Mr. Collins. The 29th July, having finished work upon the said road as far as the lake all the men were discharged and sent home.

But in order to make the entire length of this road passable for a carriage there still remained a place to be improved near the River Saint-François called the place of rocks which is filled with large boulders where it would be necessary to mine them, and, having neither miners nor tools for mining, we reported this to his Excellency on our return and he was pleased to send a party of miners with an assistant engineer to blow up these rocks and boulders, and, by his Order, we called out on the 13 September twenty-four men from Rivière des Caps and Kamouraska to assist the miners and complete this part of the road.

As this road runs across country, it crosses all the mountains which are very numerous and some of them very high; and alternately it passes over bottoms where the water lies, having not much of an outlet and the sun cannot penetrate on account of the thickets, it was, therefore, necessary to bridge these, but if ever this part of the country is settled, these bridges or causeways will not longer be useful, because when

the country is cleared, the water will naturally find its way and the sun will assist in drying it up. We have found several places where the soil appears very good and suitable for cultivation.

Quebec, the 20 January, 1784.

Jean Renaud,
Voyer of the District.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 1, 1784.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

WHEREAS from the circumstances of the time, there is a probability that many of the Loyalists, who, from principle as well as a laudable attachment to their Sovereign, are obliged to quit their native country, and would now incline to settle in this province;

This is to give notice to all concern'd, especially to those who wish to settle together in the townships, that HENRY CALDWELL, Esq; of Belmont near Quebec, is possess'd of several large tracts of as good lands as any in this province, sufficient to settle some thousand families, which, from every motive, he is inclined to let out in grants forever, on the most reasonable terms. The lands are situated as follows, viz.

CALDWELL MANOR, that large tract of land formerly a Seignorie purchased from Monsr. FOUCAULT, lying opposite to RIVER LACOLLE, from whence it cuts across into MISSISKOU BAY, and comprehends that neck of land, that runs into LAKE CHAMPLAIN, containing in the whole about fifty Thousand acres; The land of a very superior quality, on which there is a great deal of fine Oak timber, with Ash, Beech, Black Birch and Hickory, with large Pine timber and Cedar, and little or no underwood. The river abounding with fish. The greatest part of the land is laid out in lots of 100 acres, 5 in front by 20 in depth, bounded and number'd.

Also about 130,000 acres of land in the Seignorie of LAUZON, at two miles and upwards distance from the great river, opposite and above the town of QUEBEC, lying on the banks of the RIVER CHAUDIERE, and other rivers that fall into the great River ST. LAWRENCE; the lands much superior to those situated on the great river. Col. CALDWELL, wishes and means to give every encouragement to the new settlers, grist mills and saw mills shall be erected in the most convenient situation, and if the number of settlers are sufficient to maintain a Clergyman he will assist in building a Church and procuring a Clergyman of the persuasion of the majority of the inhabitants.

Col. CALDWELL has also about 1500 or 2000 acres of improved land, meadow, arable and pasture, the whole less than 4 miles distant from the town of QUEBEC, which he will let, for any term of years as may be agreed on, on the most reasonable terms.

Application to be made to HENRY CALDWELL, Esq; at BELMONT, and Mr. Jérémiah M'Carthy, Land Surveyor at CALDWELL MANOR, or in his absence to ANDREW BROWN, or GEORGE LINTON, settled on the premises. BELMONT, 24th December, 1783.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, MARCH 4, 1784

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THIS is to give notice that His Excellency the Governor, in order to fulfil His Majesty's gracious Intentions for the Welfare of the Refugée Loyalists and disbanded Troops residing in this Province, has caused such Lands to be examin'd by the Surveyor-general and his Deputies, as He thinks best calculated to establish advantageous Settlements for them. Such, therefore, of the Loyalists and disbanded Troops who are now dispersed thro'out the Province (Sorel excepted) and who wish to have

Concessions of Land from the **POINTE AU BAUDET** (where the last Settlements are) to **Catarqui** and its Vicinity, are required to repair to **La Chine** (where Quarters will be allotted to them) by the 2d. day of April next, and where proper Persons will be appointed to muster them, in order that the quantity of Land that will be wanted may be ascertained, and that **Seigneuries** may be marked out and granted by the Governor and Council according to His Majesty's Orders.

The Loyalists and disbanded Troops who are at present quartered in the upper part of the Province, and who wish to have Lands at the Bay of Chaleurs, will repair to **Sorel** by the 2d. day of April next, where they will be mustered as above-mentioned.

Those who are at present at **Quebec**, and who wish to go to **Chaleurs Bay**, will give in their Names, by the said 2d.-day of April, at my Office.

All Issues of Provisions to the **Refugée Loyalists** and disbanded Troops will cease on the 10th day of April next, except at **Quebec**, **Sorel**, and the Quarters at **La Chine**.

By His Excellency's Command,

R. Mathews.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, March 11, 1784.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN TO THE **DISBANDED CORPS** and **Refugée Loyalists**, that in Consideration of the Inconvenience which might attend moving their Families before the opening of the River. They are not to pay attention to that Part of an Advertisement published in the last **Quebec Gazette**, but are to remain in their present situation, until the River shall become navigable, when **Bateaux** will be in readiness at their respective Quarters, to receive them and their Baggage.

By His EXCELLENCY'S Command.

R. Mathews.

Quebec, 9th March, 1784.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 217, p. 399.

St. Johns, 4th May, 1784.

Hon'd Sir,

We, the humble Petitioners undermentioned, are served His Majesty George the third and second and are now worn out and are not able to settle a new plantation, Humble desires and Hopes His Excellency will take it into consideration and will not allow that they shall suffer, and as we have Familys and not able to support ourselves and Like wise have faithfully served His Majesty this late Rebellion and also have Left our Plantations and Interest in the Colneys on purpose to Shew our Loyalty and if we are not considered off, we and our Famileys must suffer which the humble petitioners begs the favour of an answer to be directed to **John Martin**, Capt. of the British Militia at **St. Johns**.

From, Sir, your most Humble Petitioners, Devote and Humble Servants to Command.

Ralph Spooner.
Francis More.

John Smith.
Saml. Rickinson.
John Smith.

To Major Mathews.
at Quebec.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, MAY 13, 1784.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

The Loyalists and disbanded Troops destined for the Bay of Chaleurs, are hereby informed that the vessels intended for their conveyance cannot be got ready before the 24th instant. The day of their embarkation will be advertised in the Gazette previous to that date.

The Loyalists, &c. destined for Catarauqui will embark at this place on Monday next the 17th instant on board Batteaux which will be delivered to them for that purpose. By His EXCELLENCY's Command.

R. Mathews.

May 12, 1784.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 98, p. 272.

Michlimackinac, 5th Augt. 1874.

Sir.

.....
 Since the report of the Ottawa's intention against this Post, well founded, the Inhabitants have mounted a Guard of Twenty men every night by my desire, and very cheerfully will continue so doing while there are a number of them sufficient for that purpose in the Traders' Village.

I have the Honor to be,
 (Sgd.) Danl. Robertson.

His Excellency General Haldimand.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1784.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, THAT THE VESSELS APPOINTED to convey the Refugeé Loyalists to the Island of Cape Breton, have been ready for their reception these two days past, and will positively sail on Friday the 8th instant. As those Loyalists who have given in their names for that place have had sufficient notice to prepare for their voyage, they are desired to embark immediately, otherwise they will forfeit their passage and all further supply of Provisions in this Province.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1784.

Quebec, November 18.

Last Tuesday his Excellency GENERAL HALDIMAND, Governor and Captain General of the province, embarked on board his Majesty's ship the Atalanta, commanded by Captain Foley. His Excellency was received on the Grand Parade and saluted by the troops under arms. The streets were lined by the troops in garrison and his Excellency was accompanied to the water side by his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, the members of his Majesty's Council for the province, by Brigadier-General St. Leger the Commandant, other officers of the garrison, Judges and others, who bid him an affectionate and respectful adieu; Upon his setting off from the shore his Excellency was saluted by the guns of the garrison, which the Atalanta returned and immediately set sail with a fair wind for England.

John Schank, Esq; Captain in the Royal Navy and late Commissioner of the Marine Department in this province; and Robert Mathews, Esq; Major of the 53d regiment and late Military Secretary to the Commander in Chief, went also in the Atalanta with the Governor.

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THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1784.

Quebec, November 25.

On Thursday last Brigadier-Gen. St. LEGER, Commandant of his Majesty's forces in Canada, embarked on board his Majesty's schooner MERCURY, for Montreal. He was saluted by the guns of the garrison on his leaving the shore, and soon after he had got on board the Mercury set sail with a fair wind.

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Series B. 225-2 p. 423.

TABLEAU DES MILICES CANADIENNES EN LA PROVINCE QUEBEC, DISTRICT DE QUEBEC, EN 1784.

Colonel	Lieut.-Colonel et Adjt. General.	Major	Capt. Aide Major	Capitaine en second Aide Major	Etat-Major Enseigne Aide-Major	Total		
Le Comte Dupre	Francois Baby	Jacques Ferras	Gabl. Taschereaux	Louis Germain	Jean Bte.			
Noms des Paroisses	Captaines	Capitaines en second	Lieutenants	Enseignes	No. de Miliciens Maries	No. de Sergents.	Miliciens Garçons	Total
Ville et Banlieu de Quebec	Laforce Marcoux Berthelot Dumas Frémont Launière	Pommeran Ferrault Dussault Liard Picard Bouchel	Sorindac Duval Turgeon Marchand Dumas Pinguet Pierre Lepage	Bte. Germain Bruneau Dupont Frémont Chevalier Volant	26	37 23 24 24 23 17	767	1,636
Rimouski, St. Germain 3 Pistoles, Reine des Anges Isle Verte St. Jean Bte. Cacouna do. Rivière du Loup, St. Louis do. Isle du Portage do. Kamouraska	Pierre Pinet Alex. Roy Alex Dionne Joseph Boucher St. Roek Jean Maurin Franc. Duval J. Bte. Despre Jh. Fournier	J. Bte. Grandmaison	Joseph Cureux Frans. Dionne Ignace Boucher Bernard Lizotie J. Marie Castonguay Charles Fortin Emanuel Dupre Jean Bernier	Jean Le Belle Alexis Nadeau	30 159 191 133 160 87 139 101	6 5 4 4 4 3 4 4	31 8 14 8 21 13	260
Rivière Ouelle, L'Assomption Lapancardière Ste. Anne St. Roek Port-Joly, St. Jean. Lorette, Notre-Dame Cap. St. Ignace								297 204 260 135 185
Isle aux Grues Isle aux Oyes	St. Antoine				21	1	25	47
Rivière du Sud	St. Pierre Louis Blay		J. Bte. Blay Pre.		102 72	4 3	105 73	213 150
Pte. a la Caille, St Thomas	Jacque Thibaulte		Jacque Nicole	Rene Gagne	191	5	107	306

Berthier, L'Assomption St. Vallier	Pascal Courvaix Andre Arbe Pierre Bouchard Dom'que Poliquin Joseph Roy Frans Bourrassa Etienne Bejin	Francois Menier Pre. Labea German Blondeau J. Bte. Leclair Alexis Mignot Jacques Bejin J. Bte. Bejin	3 3 3 6 3 3 3 3	72	65	142 312 312 296 127 320
St. Charles St. Gervais	Joseph Royer Louis Causselein	Jean Bilodeau J. Bte. Perrault	5 3	180 131	94 31	281 167
La Beauce	Frans Vereau Joseph Poulin Frans. Quirion Louis Bejin	Guillaume Proval Andre Ribson Jean Gagnon J. Bte. Crepaut J. Bte. Demers	5 4 2 2 3	115 84 55 167 95	88 36 25 71 39	180 136 84 244 139
St. Henry	Etienne Frishet	Etienne Lambert	3	104	57	167
St. Nicholas	Louis Côté	Jh. Simon Houle	4	55	46	107
St. Antoine	Ant. Hamel	Fr. Belanger	4	98	52	166
St. Croix	Jean Leclair		4	28	15	46
Lobiniere	Joseph Laliberté		2	45	30	79
St. Jean Dechallion	Joseph Hamelin		2	103	69	151
Grondines	Pierre Grolaer		4	140	42	217
Deschambault	Pierre Mercure		5	82	42	127
Cap-Santé	Jacques Delisle		2	109	76	191
Ecureuls	Jacques Garnaud		4	156	112	278
Pointe-aux-Trembles	Jacques Garnaud (Augt. Gingras		4	165	115	287
St. Augustin	Frans. Cauté Charles Norau Antoine Samson Jacques Jobin		4	52	37	93
Ancienne Lorette	Raphael Giroux		4	281	177	472
St. Foi	Louis Lheureux		2	129	82	218
Charlesbourg	Paul Rainville Michel Huot		5	53	66	123
Beauport	Joseph Caseau Frans. Lessar Joseph Gagnion Joseph Pare		3	61	50	116
	(Ste. Anne Ste. Joachim St. Fereol		2	52	62	118
Côte Beaupré	Jean Bte. Fortin Jean Boily J. Frs. Tremblay Zacharie Harve		2	31	25	58
	Prisque Plante Pierre Lebois Joseph Lepage Louis Ghais Louis Bouleau		1	21	28	51
Petite Rivière			4	141	99	246
Baye St. Paul			1	45	45	93
Eboulements			3	49	48	102
Isle aux-Coudres			3	73	61	140
	(St. Pierre St. Famille		3	65	51	122
Isle—d'Orleans	St. Francois St. Jean St. Laurent	Jos. Gosselin Etienne Ciguère	2	50	19	73
			3	80	42	127
			2	59	57	120
Total Etat-Major	63 en second 7	15	219	6,181	4,312	10,863

DISTRICT DES TROIS RIVIERES.

Només des Paroisses	Capitaines		Lieutenants	Etat Major		Nombre de Militiens Mariés	Nombre de Militiens Garçon	Total
	Colonel Major			Enseignes	Nombre de Sergents			
	Jh Marie Jonnamo	Louis Leproust						
Ville des Trois Rivieres et Forges	Louis Jh. Leproust.		Joachim Lanouette.	Antoine La Guerehe.	5	125	84	216
St. Anne.	Joseph Gouin.		Jean Trépanier.		4	120	80	206
Riviere Baptiscant.	An. Lanouette.		Jh. Alexandre.		5	130	70	211
ChAMPLAIN.	Jh. Charetier.				2			
Cap la Madelaine.	Antoine Ballerive.				2	32	40	77
Point du Lac.	Andre Guay.		Louis Déri.	Joseph Biron.	1	21	26	50
Maehiche.	Joseph Adam.		Joseph Lacerte.	Louis.	3	40	27	71
Riviere du Loup.	Antoine Le Steur.		Pierre Joutan.	Ignace Langlois.	4	201	110	324
Masquinongé.	Antoine Augé.			Augustin Harnois.	3	195	170	312
Lormière.	Jean Defarlais.		Alexis Leclair.		3			
Maska.	Pierre Marchand.		Réné Lussien.		4	55	57	111
Baye St. Antoine.	J. Bte. Brouillard.		Constantin.		3	80	43	128
Nicolet.	Louis Schemid.		Gobl. Gérard.	Francois Torier.	3	136	81	231
	Bte. Lépante, Aide Major		Ant. Dérozier.	Gregoire Guilbaut.	4			
	Frans. Manseau.			Etiene Barbaux.	2	133	69	212
	J. Bte. Lafond.		Jh. Proux.	Jean Bte. Toneault.	3			
	Pierre Brassard.		J. Bte. Boisvert.		4	91	80	178
	(Beloin Bourque.		Pierre Poirier.		2	133	69	212
	Joseph Bourgeois.		Bonay re Bauchaine.		4			
	Antoine Poisson.		Dani. Labissoniere.		2	25	32	71
	Roberge.		Jean Moreau.		3	40	28	78
Total.	23	19	12	71	1,658	1,108	2,893	

Paroisses	Colonel		Etat Major		Major		Aide Major		Total		
	Neven Sevestre	Lieutenants	Lieutenant-Colonel	Enseignes	Jacques Lemoine	Pierre Foretier	Nombre de Miliciens Maries	Nombre de Miliciens Garçons			
Ville et Banlieu de Montreal... Lachine.....	8	8		8	32		747	914	1,721		
Point Clair, les Souries... Ste. Anne..... Ste. Jeanne Isle Verault..... St. Joseph de Soulange..... Pt. Michel, Quimchen..... do, Vaudreuil..... Lac deux Montagnes..... La Longue Pointe.....			(Pierre Depeltau..... Paul Damonchel..... D'mque Lelang..... J. Bte. Cheymiez..... Philippe Depeltau..... Michel Leduc..... Ant. Bissonnet..... Joachim Gemus..... Hyacinthe Ladéroute..... Genace Souigny..... Jacques Fisseau Laramée..... Jh. Jannot..... D'mque Charitier..... J. Bte. Millard..... François Paget..... Ant. Deschamp..... François Bourdon..... André Mondor..... Louis Laporte..... Louis Roy Desjardin..... Pierre Joinville..... (Louis Olivies Vere.....	Jaques Alexandre..... D'mque Ducharme..... Jean Vallois..... Lambert Blondeau..... Paul Robillard..... René Leduc..... Etienne Lantonde..... Ant. Gautier..... Hyacinthe Gautier..... Antoine Dufresne..... Alexis Lebault..... Pre. Archambault..... Louis Blay..... Isidore Jannot..... Michel Jannot..... Joseph Duplessis..... André Bouthillier..... Michel Chevalier..... Poussaint Lamusitte..... Jean Bte. Hervieux..... Jh. Robillard..... Ant. Joinville..... Pre. Cazobon Dos- taller..... Pierre Pelland..... Joseph Rocque.....	4 3 3 3 3 4 4 4 2 2 1 2 3 3 3 4 4 2 5 —	83 135 51 65 105 106 66 31 69 93 118 79 113 74 23 214	92 125 54 45 78 64 16 92	4 3 3 3 4 4 4 2 2 1 2 3 3 4 4 2 5 —	4 3 3 3 4 4 4 2 2 1 2 3 3 4 4 2 5 —	4 3 3 3 4 4 4 2 2 1 2 3 3 4 4 2 5 —	1,721 188 272 111 117 193 140 133 47 171
Pointe au Tremble..... Repentigny..... St. Sulpice..... Lavalterie..... Lanoray..... Isle Dupas-Visitation..... Berthier.....	32	32		32	92		2,175	2,067	4,434		
Porte en lautre part.....	32	32		32	92		2,175	2,067	4,434		

SUIITE DU DISTRICT DE MONTREAL.

Noms des Paroisses	Nombre Officier major	Capitains	Lieutenants	Enseignes	Nombre de Sergents	No. Miliciens Maries	No. Miliciens Garçon	Total
Montant de l'autre part. St. Cuthbert, Berthier.	4	32 Louis Vadnet. Pierre Lepine. Jean Bte. Belair. Jean Vaine. Joseph Archambault. Antoine Manon. Joseph Leblanc. Louis Chapu. (St. Martin Hilaire. An. Clement Lariviere. Pre. Paradis. Joseph Hotiez. Pierre Filétrau. Pierre Baby. Pierre Gamion. (Pierre Baucham. (Louis Tinus. Felix Joly. Pierre Langlois. Ch. Monet. Augustin Dage. Charles Filiatrau. Julien Leblanc. Joseph Laurin. Joseph Sicard. A mble Sicard. J. Bte. Roy. J. Bte. Jerome Lafours. (Jacque Monarque pere. (Jean Bte. Monarque fils.	32 Antoine Vadnet. Frans. Malbout. Jean Bte. Snef. Bona' Marsolet. Denis Archambault. Jasque Derosie. Pierre Dupuis. Pierre Chapu. Jacques Boislaeu. Pre. Payment. Etienne Dosez. Gabriel Hetiez. Pierre Payez. Frans. Seguin. Pierre Valiquet. Francois Dubois. Pierre Lulair. Frans. Mathieus. Jacques Paquet. Boniface Paquet. Joachim Nadon. Jh. Filiatrau. Guillaume Rossignol. Frans. Lalontame. Louis Dagenet. Laurent Dagenet. Guillaume Le laval. Gabriel Crevier. Joseph Demoyer. Paul Desjardins.	32 Antoine Guenard. Aug. Sevigny. Am'ble Archambault. Jh. Desmaret. Jh. Jac. Archambault. Jh. La Tulipe. Jean Bros. Jean Martel. Hyacinthe Brunet. Jh. Campault. Nicolas Guindon. Joseph Biroleau. Jh. Charbonneau. Toussaint Limoge. Gabriel Cuvillion. Jean Bauchamp. Louis Charbonneau. Ignac Crespeur. J. Bte. Bellanges. D' mque Lafeur. Aug. Dagé fils. Jh. Desjardins. J. Bte. Leblanc. Louis Denocher. Joseph Dagenet. Joseph Lapurie. Pierre Dumais. Simon Tarte Recollet.	92	2,175 192	2,067 92	4,434 294
L'Assomption.					3 4			
La Nouvelle Accadie. Riviere Lachigan P. Roch. Isle de Montreal. Ste. Genevieve.					3 4 2 4	86 86 145	56 36 96	145 137 233
Riviere du Chesne.					4	289	158	468
Terrebonne.					4	113	65	185
Mascouche Terrebonne.					4	189	80	276
Mascouche Lachenay. Lachenay.					4	155	94	259
Isle Jesus Pt. Martin.					4	70 69 77 77	74 73 56 73	120 148 137 157
* Sault au Recollet.					4	115	63	185
St-Laurent. Riviere des Prairies.					3 2 5 2 3	100 134	95 128	208 275
Porte en autre part.	4	62	62	60	162	4,653	3,718	8,721

SUITE DU DISTRICT DE MONTREAL, PARTIE DU SUD.

Noms de lautes part	No. d'Officier Etat Major	Capitains	Lieutenants	Enseignes	Nombre de Sergents ¹	No. Miliciens Maries	No. Miliciens Garçons	Total
Montant de laute part.....	4	62	62	60	162	4,653	3,718	8,721
Chateaugay (St. Pierre.....		Vital Pomminville.....	Amable Foucher.....	Pierre Desfond.....		201	102	312
Prairie la (St. Philippe.....		Frans. Cardinal.....	Louis Retourmez.....	Joseph Langedoc.....	6	184	126	319
Madelaine (Nativie.....		Albert Dup.....	Pierre Lefevre.....	Pre. Pinsonneaux.....	10	265	177	455
Longueuil.....		Frans. Hebert.....	Jh. Brousseau.....	Jacques Brousseau.....	7	99	82	191
		Jean Bte. Roussel.....	Pre. Lefevre.....	Louis Biscomet fils.....	5	142	137	287
		Louis Bouthillier.....	Jh. Bouthillier.....	Seraphin André.....	4	165	154	333
		Jean Lavoilette.....	Frans. Surprenant.....	Joseph Varry.....	4			
Boucherville.....		Peter Walburn.....	Ch. Rassicot.....	Joseph Chabot.....	4			
(Ste. Therese.....		Etienne Langedoc.....	Louis Senecal.....	Jaques Lapoint.....	3	213	168	401
		Hyacinthe Derrochers.....	Frans. Derrochers.....	Joseph Dupois.....	4			
		Jean Bte. Martin.....	Charles Lozo.....	Athanas Normandeau.....	2	13	18	36
		Joseph Missy.....	Etienne Martin.....	Louis Lozo.....	3			
Varennes.....		J. Bte. Lebrodeur.....	Alexandre Hebert.....	Joseph Brisset.....	3			
		Jh. Girard.....	Louis Petit.....	Jean Bte. Dumas.....	3	246	168	439
Vercheres.....		Michel Quintal.....	Jh. Amiot.....	Joseph Guintain.....	4			
		Joachim Guyon.....	Jean Pierre Roland.....	Michel Guillet.....	5	223	155	393
Contrecoeur.....		J. Bte. Dussault.....	Antoine Giard.....	Ant. Dulude.....	6			
Grand St. Ours.....		André St. Laurent.....	Michel Lariviere.....	Jean Frs. Duhamel.....	3	54	44	104
Petit St. Ours.....		Frans. Lariviere.....	Frans. Lariviere.....	Philippe St. Laurent.....	2	63	40	108
		Frans. Giard.....	J. Bte. Montmorency.....	Louis Lariviere.....	5	109	92	216
		Ignace Commoey.....	Pierre Cournoyer.....	Frans. Giard.....	4			
Sorel.....		Jean Bte. Cardin.....	Pierre Pelletier.....	Charles Millet.....	4	135	84	232
		Jean Bte. Lincourt.....	Louis Goulet.....	Frans. St. François.....	1			
Riviere (St. Denis.....		Pierre Courtemanche.....	Christophe Marchessau.....	Chs. Berthiaume.....	5	138	107	253
Richelieu (St. Antoine.....		Louis Baudry.....	J. Bte. Lafaitte.....	Joseph Dassigni.....	6	93	119	220
Beloeuil—St. Mathieu.....		Claude Fremiere Foisy.....	André Gatebois.....	Joseph Lemoine.....	5	78	119	206
		Leopold Rémi Bellefleur.....	Ant. Dutau.....	J. Bte. Vachon.....	4	167	109	291
Yamaska St. Hyacinthe.....		Joseph Coiteux.....	Frans. Livernois.....	Jacques Baulac.....	3	106	71	183
St. Olivier.....		Dominique.....	Jean Carry.....	Toussaint Durning.....	4	180	127	314
Baronite de Longueuil.....		Julien Piedallu pere.....	Julien Piedallu fils.....	Jacques Vinulet.....	11	181	164	363
		Frans. Petrimous.....	Joseph Courtemanche.....	Pre. Potevin.....				
Fort Chambly.....		Joubert Sans Regret.....	Jh. Prairie.....	Michel Lamoureux.....	8	50	55	116
Total.....	4	96	96	92	313	7,758	6,134	14,493

RECAPITULATION GENERAL DES MILICES CANADIENNES EN LA PROVINCE DE QUEBEC,
Depuis 15 jusqu'à 60 ans du 24 février 1785.

Districts	Etat Major Nombre d'Officiers	No. Capitaines		Lieutenants	No. de Enseignes	No. de Sergents	Miliciens Maries	No. de Miliciens Garçon	Total
		en Pied	en Second						
Quebec.....	6	63	7	60	15	219	6,181	4,312	10,863
Trois Rivières.....	2	23	..	19	12	17	1,658	1,108	2,893
Montreal.....	4	96	..	96	92	313	7,758	6,134	14,493
Total.....	12	182	7	175	119	608	15,597	11,554	28,249

A Quebec le 4 Juin 1785.

F. BABY, Adjudant gen. des milices.

(312)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B, Vol. 145, p. 120.

Return of His Majesty's Vessels on the undermentioned Lakes.

On what Lake.	Vessels' Names.	How rigged.	Tonnage.
Lake Champlain.	Royal George.	Ship	384.
"	Inflexible.	"	204.
"	Maria.	"	129.
"	Carleton.	"	96.
"	Washington.	"	127.
"	Trumbull.	"	119.
"	Liberty.	"	37.
"	Commissary.	"	—
Lake Ontario.	Limnade.	"	220.
"	Seneca.	"	130.
"	Haldimand.	"	150.
"	Caldwell.	"	37.
"	Mohawk.	"	50.
Lake Erie	Rebecca.	"	136.
"	Gage.	"	114.
"	Dunmore.	"	70.
"	Felicity.	"	45.
"	Wyandott.	"	37.
"	Adventure.	"	18.
"	New Sloop at Mackinac.	"	

January, 1785.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA - ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES DU CANADA

Series 8, Vol. 142, p. 120

Return of His Majesty's Vessels on the International Lakes

On what Lake	Vessel's Name	How used	Tonnage
Lake Champlain	Royal George	Ship	84
"	Indefatigable	"	204
"	Maria	"	123
"	Oriflamme	"	20
"	Washington	"	127
"	Trumbull	"	119
"	Liberty	"	37
"	Commissary	"	207
Lake Ontario	Lynnda	"	139
"	Person	"	139
"	Haldimand	"	139
"	Calwell	"	87
"	Jobart	"	80
Lake Erie	Robeson	"	122
"	Gage	"	114
"	Donner	"	70
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