

SKETCHES
GLENGARRY IN CANADA.

J. A. MAODONELL.

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Canadian
History

On Dec. 31, 1825, at Glengarry, U.
John McDonell of Ardnobie, aged
years. A most worthy and respect-
man. His father and himself emi-
grated to the British Province of New
York, in 1773, from Glengarry, In-
vernesshire, and on the breaking out
of the American War, they both join-
ed the Royal Standard, and came out to
Canada under the protection of Sir
William Johnson. The deceased was
the lineal representative and head,
and was buried in Gaelic, Ceann Teigh, of a
most numerous branch of the family
and followers of McDonell, of Glen-
garry.

SKETCHES

ILLUSTRATING THE

J. H. Macdonnell

SETTLEMENT AND HISTORY OF

GLENGARRY IN CANADA

RELATING PRINCIPALLY TO THE

REVOLUTIONARY WAR OF 1775-83, THE WAR OF 1812-
14 AND THE REBELLION OF 1837-8, AND THE
SERVICES OF THE KING'S ROYAL REGIMENT OF
NEW YORK, THE 84TH OR ROYAL HIGHLAND
EMIGRANT REGIMENT, THE ROYAL CAN-
ADIAN VOLUNTEER REGIMENT OF FOOT,
THE GLENGARRY FENCIBLE OR BRITISH
HIGHLAND REGIMENT, THE GLEN-
GARRY LIGHT INFANTRY REGI-
MENT, AND THE GLENGARRY
MILITIA.

— BY —

J. A. MACDONELL

[OF GREENFIELD].

“ I beg to state that the County of Glengarry has on every occasion been distinguished for good conduct, and will on any emergency turn out more fighting men in proportion to its population than any other in Her Majesty's dominions.”—Extract from a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Carmichael, Particular Service, to Lieutenant-General Sir James Macdonell, K.C.B., K.C.H., commanding Brigade of Guards and second in command of Her Majesty's Forces in Canada, dated December, 1840.

MONTREAL
Wm. FOSTER, BROWN & Co.
1893.

Big

SKETCHES

C. H. Macdonell
ILLUSTRATING THE

EARLY SETTLEMENT AND HISTORY OF

GLENGARRY IN CANADA

RELATING PRINCIPALLY TO THE

REVOLUTIONARY WAR OF 1775-83, THE WAR OF 1812-14 AND THE REBELLION OF 1837-8, AND THE SERVICES OF THE KING'S ROYAL REGIMENT OF NEW YORK, THE 84TH OR ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANT REGIMENT, THE ROYAL CANADIAN VOLUNTEER REGIMENT OF FOOT, THE GLENGARRY FENCIBLE OR BRITISH HIGHLAND REGIMENT, THE GLENGARRY LIGHT INFANTRY REGIMENT, AND THE GLENGARRY MILITIA.

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Entered according to Act of the Parliament of Canada, in the year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety-Three, by John Alexander Macdonell, in the Office of the Minister of Agriculture.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY

SIR HUGH MACDONELL, K.C.M.G., C.B.,

H. M. Envoy to the King of Denmark.

MY DEAR ABERCHALDER,

It was my intention to have dedicated these little sketches relating principally to the military services of the Glengarry people in Canada to your brother, General Sir Alexander Macdonell, K.C.B., Colonel-Commandant of the 2nd Battalion P.C.O. Rifle Brigade, but poor Sir Aleck's recent death rendered it impossible.

His services in the Crimea as A.D.C. to Sir George Brown, when in command of the Light Division, and where he himself afterwards commanded the 2nd Battalion of his distinguished Regiment; in the Indian Mutiny, where he commanded the 3rd Battalion, as well as in the campaign on the Northwest Frontier of India, and in the Expedition against the Mohmund Tribes, which he led, and the distinctions conferred upon him by his Sovereign, proved his merit as a soldier, and maintained the record of what was once known in Scotland as a fighting name.

Your father was (together with his elder brother, who was the Speaker of the first House of Assembly of this Province) one of the two first members for the County of Glengarry when what was previously known as the Upper Country of Canada was erected into a separate Province and Parliamentary Institutions accorded to it. He had been, with his father, his brothers and other kinsmen—all of them holding commissions in the King's Royal Regiment of New York and other Loyalist Corps—one of those who had fought through the Revolutionary War, and who on its termination settled here, a body of men deservedly held in high esteem by following generations of Canadians, known to us in Canada as United Empire Loyalists. Colonel Simcoe, who was nominated Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, appointed him to be the first Adjutant-General of the Militia of Upper Canada; and he was largely instrumental in laying the foundation of the Militia system which still exists. He had served also in command of a Company of the 2nd Battalion of his brother's Regiment, the Royal Canadian Volunteer Regiment of Foot, which for several years (1796-1802) garrisoned the posts of this Province, as did the 1st Battalion of the same

Regiment, under one of the most distinguished of the King's new subjects, Lieutenant-Colonel the Baron de Longueuil, that of Lower Canada during the same period.

His association, therefore, with this Province, and with the County of Glengarry in particular, could scarcely have been more intimate, while the distinction of his after career in the service of his Sovereign, under the patronage of his friend and benefactor H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, was such as to prove a just source of satisfaction to his relatives and friends who remained on this side of the Atlantic.

It affords me pleasure, therefore, to dedicate to one of his sons, whose present position proves that his own career in the Diplomatic Service of the country has not been without merit as it has not been without the recognition of his Sovereign, and to whose assistance I have been much indebted in their preparation, these fragments which relate to matters in which we have a common interest.

I am, my dear Aberchalder,

Faithfully yours,

J. A. MACDONELL.

Glengarry, Canada, August 22nd, 1892.

G. H. Mayhew

SKETCHES OF GLENGARRY.

CHAPTER 1.

GLENGARRY IN SCOTLAND.—RESULT OF THE DISARMING, PROSCRIBING AND OTHER ACTS INTRODUCED INTO THE SCOTTISH LAW.—FORMATION OF HIGHLAND REGIMENTS AND EMIGRATION.—A LARGE NUMBER LEAVE GLENGARRY IN SCOTLAND IN 1773 AT THE INSTIGATION OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON AND SETTLE IN THE MOHAWK VALLEY, IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK.—DEATH OF SIR WILLIAM IN 1774.—HIS SERVICES, INFLUENCE AND CHARACTER.

In much that has of recent years been written on the very interesting subject of the United Empire Loyalist settlement of this Province, the War of 1812, '13, '14, and the Rebellion of 1837-8, there is but little, if any, mention made of the part which the Highlanders of Glengarry took in the American Revolutionary War of 1776-83, and the early settlement of the country at the close of the War, its defence in 1812-14, and the suppression of the rebellion. Others, the York Volunteers in particular, come in for at least their fair share of credit. Their flags are paraded, and their deeds are made to speak again after a lapse of many years, and the inference is given, with painful reiteration, that to them and theirs among the local forces of the country, is the credit chiefly due on these occasions; while, in some instances, individuals who never left their provision shops except to take to the woods when York was a second time surrendered, and poor Dr. Strachan left to negotiate with the Americans, would appear to have become of late great military commanders of those days—the very saviours of their country, in fact, in the hour of its utmost need!

I venture the assertion that the County of Glengarry contained at least as many Loyalist settlers who had fought for the Crown during the first War as any other of the earliest settled counties, and

contributed on both the latter occasions more fighting men for the preservation of the country, its connection with the Mother Land, and the maintenance of our Institutions, than any other part of the Province, and this without wishing to detract in the least from the services of the good burghers of York, or of others, vaunted though they be.

I submit it to the judgment of my readers whether I cannot make that statement good. I shall speak by the record, and shall give my authorities.

It is of importance, first, to consider the circumstances under which the County of Glengarry was originally settled, as the settlers for the most part, previous to the War of 1812, came to Canada under circumstances which redound to their credit as loyal and faithful subjects of the British Crown.

We are now so far removed from the struggles made in Scotland on behalf of the House of Stuart, that we can recall them dispassionately. Practically, that race is extinct. If represented at all, it is in the person of our present gracious Sovereign, who, like her immediate predecessors, has no more loyal subjects than the descendants of the men who fought with such chivalry for those they recognized as Kings by the Right Divine. They were unsuccessful in their efforts, but the history of Great Britain does not contain a more glorious chapter than that which tells of the struggles of the Highland Jacobite Chiefs and Clans, and how they poured out their blood like water for those they called their Kings. The strongest Hanoverian, the staunchest Orangeman, cannot read what notably Sir Walter Scott, the Ettrick Shepherd, Edmonstoun Aytoun, as well as the Scottish ballads, have handed down to us, without admitting—without any abatement of principle—the devotion and heroism of those who risked and lost their all.

Conspicuous among the Jacobites were the people of Glengarry. With other Scottish Cavaliers, they had rallied around Montrose, and “throughout his campaigns were one of the mainsprings which kept up the astonishing movements of the chivalrous enterprise;” (1) they were foremost among the Highland forces under John Grahame of Claverhouse, the Viscount of Dundee, and bore the brunt at Killiecrankie, when that great Leader fell; in greater number than almost any other Highland Clan they joined the Earl of Mar in 1715.

(1) Mac Ian's Sketches; title, “Glengarry.”

On a later occasion their Chief was selected from amongst the Highland Chiefs and Noblemen to be the bearer of an address to Prince Charles Stuart signed with their blood (1) In 1745 their leaders were the most trusted adherents of Prince Charles and their men as brave as the bravest of his soldiers ; they paid the penalty like men of valour as they were, some in death, others in expatriation, and all, from the proud Chief to the humblest of the clansmen, in the devastation of their homes.

“ They stood to the last, and when standing was o’er,
 All sullen and silent they dropped the claymore,
 And yielded, indignant, their necks to the blow,
 Their homes to the flame, and their lands to the foe.”

But the principle of Monarchy was an innate and cardinal article of their faith, and each succeeding generation has never since failed to prove it to the House of Guelph when there ceased to be any question as to the Dynasty.

The result of the Disarming and Proscribing Acts, the Jurisdiction Act, and other alterations adopted into the law of Scotland in consequence of the long series of conflicts which culminated in “ the ’45,” together with the introduction of the system of sheep-farming in the Highlands, for which its people were unfitted, and the abolition of the feudal system of Clanship, which gave way under the absence of many heads of Clans who were exempted from the Act of Indemnity of 1747, and the impoverishment of others, was to force a large number of the Highland people to emigrate, though many thousands, brought up to the trade of arms, availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the genius of Mr. Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, who was then Prime Minister, and entered the military service of the Crown under the liberal plan devised in 1757, when Letters of Service were issued for raising the Highland Regiments. Mr. Fullarton, in his “History of the Highland Clans and Regiments,” quotes from an anonymous writer, who says :—

“ This call to arms was responded to by the Clans, and Battalion on Battalion were raised in the remotest parts of the Highlands among those who a few years before were devoted to, and too long had followed, the Race of Stuart: Frasers, Macdonalds, Camerons, Macleans, Macphersons and others of disaffected names and Clans were enrolled ; their Chiefs and connections obtained commissions, and the clansmen, always ready to follow with eagerness, endeavored who should be first listed.”

(1) Burke's Dormant and Extinct Peerage ; title, “ Lord Macdonell and Aros.”

With what glory to the Nation they acquitted themselves is matter of history. "To them, under the generalship of Wolfe, is largely due the fact that Canada is to-day a possession of the British Crown ; they battled under Hutchinson and Abercrombie, pushed the French at Aboukir, and bore the brunt of the Turkish cavaliers at Rosetta," says Colonel Coffin in his Chronicle of the War of 1812. Indeed, wherever Great Britain had any fighting to do they were on hand to do it, and those were days when Britain needed her bravest and her best. In 1776 the Earl of Chatham was able to utter in Parliament his famous eulogy on the Highland Regiments :—

"I sought for merit wherever it could be found. It is my boast that I was the first Minister who looked for it and found it in the Mountains of the North. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men ; men who left by your jealousy became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the State in the War before last. These men in the last War were brought to combat on your side ; they served with fidelity as they fought with valor, and conquered for you in every quarter of the world."

But at present we have to do with those who emigrated to the Colonies of the Crown in America. Others were left in Glengarry who, as will be seen hereafter, did as other Highlanders, and enrolling themselves under their young Chief, fought as was to be expected when the opportunity was afforded them. The Emigrants had naturally looked for peace, and hoped in the new world to repair the disaster and retrieve the hard fortune of the old, but the time was not far distant when once more they were to fly to arms and across the Atlantic assert the principle of the Monarchy, and, regardless of the Dynasty, fight for George as they had fought for King James ; once more, "for Conscience sake, to leave all aside and still keep true whate'er betide"—even though for a second time they should have, as eventually they were obliged, to leave behind them their homes, which this time they had made for themselves.

It was not long after the last unsuccessful effort had been made in Scotland on behalf of the House of Stuart, that a number of the people of Glengarry and Knoydart, under the leadership of several gentlemen of the Clan, called after the properties of their families in Scotland : Macdonell of Aberchalder, Leek (or Licks, as I see the name is spelt in an old map of Scotland), Collachie and Scotas (or Scothouse)—emigrated to America, settling in what was then called

In 1773 a newspaper informs us that John Guillemin of the name of Macdonell, with his family and 400 Highlanders in Glengarry, Glendonish, Clackathol and Clontarf went to America, having obtained a grant of land in Albany, granted from the Honors of the House of Burgesses (Mainland)

Tryon County in the Mohawk Valley, in the Province of New York, about thirty miles from Albany. The name of the county was, during the Revolutionary War, in 1784, changed to Montgomery, after the American General, who was killed at the siege of Quebec in December, 1775, the former appellation having fallen into disfavor owing to the fact that William Tryon, who had previously been Governor of the Province of New York, then of Carolina and afterwards of New York again, was one of the most prominent and devoted Loyalists. The County, as originally formed, embraced all that part of the present State of New York lying west of a line running north and south nearly through the centre of the present County of Schoharie. It was divided into five districts, which were again subdivided into smaller districts or precincts; the county buildings being at Johnstown, where was the residence of Sir William Johnson. The settlement of these Highlanders in that part took place at the instigation of Sir William, who had acquired a vast property in the vicinity, and who, having learned the Indian language, studied their methods and conciliated their regard by long and fair dealing with them, was possessed of an influence over the Indians, particularly those of the Six Nations such as no other man had ever enjoyed. In the war which terminated in the conquest of Canada from the French, Sir William had taken a most active part, being entrusted with the command of the provincial troops of New York, and at the same time being Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs of that Province. In 1759, he commanded the provincial troops under Brigadier-General Prideaux in the expedition against Niagara, and on the death of the latter, succeeded to the command, eventually taking Niagara, when about 600 men were made prisoners of war. This event broke off the communication which the French intended to establish between Canada and Louisiana. When Amherst embarked at Oswego in June, 1760, to proceed on the expedition to Canada, Johnson brought to him at that place 1,000 Indians of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, which, it is alleged, was the largest number of Indians ever seen in arms at one time in the cause of Britain. For his previous signal services in the cause of the King, His Majesty, on the 27th November, 1755, had been graciously pleased to create him a Baronet of the United Kingdom, and at the same time conferred upon him a large pension. (1)

(1) Morgan's Celebrated Canadians.

From the nature of the pursuits in which Sir William Johnson was engaged, the then unsettled state of the country, and the fact that these Highlanders were, like their countrymen of that and preceding generations, trained to arms from their very infancy, accustomed to hardships and as active as the Indians themselves, it can easily be conceived that they would prove the most desirable class of neighbours and allies to Sir William. He did not, however, long survive. The American historian, Stone, states in his life of Brant :—

“ Sir William Johnson was too observing and sagacious a man not to note the signs of the times ” (the reference, of course, being to the impending revolution). “ He saw the gathering tempest, and it is believed to have given him great uneasiness. His sympathies, according to the testimony of those who knew him, were undoubtedly with the people. He was from the body of the people himself, having been the architect of his own rank and fortunes ; and those who were acquainted with and yet (1832) survive him, represent the struggle in his bosom to have been great between those sympathies and his own straight principles of liberty on the one hand, and his duty to his Sovereign on the other—a Sovereign whom he had served long and faithfully, and who in turn had loaded him with princely benefactions. His domains in the Valley of the Mohawk were extensive ; and his influence through a large number of subordinate officers and a number of tenantry, was correspondingly great. To the Indians, not only of the Six Nations, but those far in the West beyond, who had fallen within the circle of his influence after the conquest of Canada and the subjugation of Pontiac, he had been a father and they looked up to him with veneration. Long association with him and great respect for his character—which for its blunt honesty, frankness and generosity, not altogether void of that rough life incident to a border population, was well calculated to secure the attachment of such people—had also given to his opinions the force of Royal authority among the colonists. The population, aside from the Indians, was chiefly Dutch in the lower part of Mohawk Valley, while in the interesting Vale of the Schoharie and in the upper district of the Mohawk it was composed of the descendants of the German palatinates who had been planted there 50 years before. It was not at that time a very intelligent population ; and the name of Sir William, who had been their friend and companion, in peace, and their leader in war, like that of the King, was a tower of strength. It was very natural, therefore, that their opinions upon the great political questions then agitating the country, should take their complexion for the most part from those entertained by him. Hence, when the storm of civil war commenced, the Loyalists in that Valley were probably more numerous in proportion to the whole number of the population than in almost any other section of the Northern Colonies.

“In connection with the troubles which every man of ordinary sagacity could not but perceive were fermenting, Sir William visited England for the last time in the autumn of 1773, returning in the succeeding spring. He probably came back with his loyal feelings somewhat strengthened. It was not his fortune, however, good or ill, to see the breaking out of the tempest, the near approaches of which he had been watching with an intentness of observation corresponding with the magnitude of his own personal interests, which must necessarily be involved. He died suddenly, at Johnson Hall, about the 24th June, 1774.”

He was succeeded in his title and estates by his son, Sir John Johnson, 2nd Baronet, and in his office of Superintendent General of Indian Affairs by his son-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson, who had long been in office as Assistant Superintendent, he having for his deputy Colonel Daniel Claus, who had likewise married a daughter of Sir William. Sir John Johnson, on his father's death, became Commandant of the Militia of the Province of New York. They derived great aid in the subsequent administration of affairs, especially amongst the Indians, from the celebrated Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), who became Secretary to Colonel Guy Johnson, and who had been much in the service of Sir William during the latter years of his life ; as also from his sister, Mary Brant, who was a woman of singular talent and character, and who was the last wife of Sir William Johnson, though I believe their marriage had taken place according to Indian custom only, and may or may not therefore have been legal. Be that as it may, it was largely instrumental in securing their powerful influence to the side of Britain in the long struggle which then ensued.

CHAPTER 2.

BREAKING OUT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.—THE “COMMITTEE OF SAFETY” AT ALBANY WARNED AGAINST SIR JOHN JOHNSON, AND NOTIFIED THAT THE SCOTCHMEN WERE ARMING.—THE WHIGS “DAILY SCANDALIZED, PROVOKED AND THREATENED” BY THE LOYAL CATHOLIC HIGHLANDERS.—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SIR JOHN AND GOVERNOR TRYON, AND THE LATTER AND LORD GEORGE GERMAINE. — GENERAL SCHUYLER, OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY, INVADES TRYON COUNTY.—NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN HIM AND SIR JOHN AND MR. MACDONELL (COLLACHIE).—SIR JOHN AND THE HIGHLANDERS ESCAPE TO CANADA.—LADY JOHNSON TAKEN PRISONER.—HER LETTER TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

At the time of the arrival and settlement of the Glengarry people in the Mohawk Valley, affairs in America were, then, in a very unsettled condition. In order to meet the military expenditure therein, the British Parliament had a short time previously imposed a stamp duty on all legal documents. This was met with a denial on the part of the discontented colonists of the right of the Imperial Legislature to impose taxes upon them without their consent. The Stamp Act was repealed the year following its enactment, but it was contended that the principle of taxation without representation was maintained by a light duty of three pence per pound which was placed on tea—one fourth of that paid in England at the time—and nominal duties on other articles. On the 16th December, 1773, occurred in Boston Harbour that episode which Mr. Erastus Wiman has lately designated as the “Boston tea party,” when a number of persons disguised as Indians threw into the harbour from the East India vessels some three hundred and forty chests of tea. The port of Boston was thereupon closed, and troops sent to enforce submission.

A “Continental Congress” was then decided upon and convened at Philadelphia in September, 1774, and an effort made to induce the people of Canada, who had but lately passed under British rule,

to join in it by sending representatives. "The Quebec Act" which was then in contemplation, however, and the principles of which were known to the King's New Subjects, fully satisfied the French Canadians, guaranteeing to them as it did their own laws, language and customs, and they tacitly declined to participate in the proposed Congress, although some sons of sedition within the Province endeavoured to stir up their fellow countrymen to hostility against the form of government, and went to the expense of translating, printing and circulating the letter sent to them by the promoters of the Continental Congress. (1)

In April, 1775, occurred the first collision between the armed Colonists and the soldiers of the King, and throughout the Thirteen Colonies measures were taken with a view to procuring their ultimate independence.

On the 18th of May the Provincial Committee of the Palitinate District or State of New York addressed the "Committee of Safety" at Albany, stating that the Johnsons and their powerful allies in the Mohawk District, had succeeded by threats, intimidation and an array of military strength, in preventing any open adoption of a declaration approving of the proceedings of the Continental Congress. Says the Palitinate Committee :—

"This County has for a series of years been ruled by one family, the several branches of which are still strenuous in dissuading the people from coming into Congressional measures, and have, even last week, at a numerous meeting of the Mohawk District, appeared with all their dependents armed, to oppose the people considering of their grievances ; their number being so large and the people unarmed, that they struck terror into most of them, and they dispersed."

Mr. Stone adds that :—

"The Committee further notified their friends in Albany that Sir John Johnson was fortifying the Baronial Hall by planting several swivels around it ; and he had paraded part of the Regiment of Militia which he commanded on the day previous for the purpose of intimidation, as it was conjectured. It was likewise reported that the Scotch Highlanders, settled in large numbers in and about Johnstown, who were Roman Catholics, had armed themselves to the number of 150, ready to aid in the suppression of any popular outbreak in favour of the growing cause of liberty. (2)

During the course of the summer, the tension became stronger.

(1) Sir Guy Carleton to Earl Dartmouth, April 6, 1775.

(2) Volume 1, page 54.

The Dutch or German settlers divided in their allegiance, Mr. Stone stating that the majority of them declared themselves as Whigs, as the American sympathizers were called—the Loyalists being termed by the Revolutionists, Tories. The first shot in the war West of the Hudson was fired when the Loyalist Sheriff of the County arrested a Whig named John Fonda, at whom he fired when he resisted arrest. It was immediately returned by the discharge of a number of firelocks of the rebels at the Sheriff, which, however, were not very deadly, as the only effect was a slight wound in his breast. The doors of the house were broken, and an effort made to seize the Sheriff, when a gun was fired at the hall by Sir John. "This was known to be a signal for his retainers and Scotch partisans to rally to arms, and as they would muster 500 men in a very short time, the Whigs thought it more prudent to disperse." (Stone).

From this out, the relations of the neighbours to each other became more and more strained. The Loyalists threw every impediment in the way of the Committee, and no method of embarrassing them was left untried; they called public meetings themselves, and chose counter-committees, covered the Whig Committees with ridicule, and charged them, most properly, with illegal and tyrannical conduct—the consequence being mutual exasperation between near neighbours, and the reciprocal engendering of hostile feelings between friends, who ranged themselves under opposing banners. These incipient neighborhood quarrels occasioned, in the progress of the contest which ensued, some of the most bitter and bloody conflicts that ever marked the annals of Civil War.

On the 7th September, 1775, the Whig Committee wrote the Provincial Congress in New York, denouncing the conduct of Sir John Johnson, and that of his associates—particularly the Highlanders, who, to the number of 200, were said to be gathered about him, and by whom the Whigs "were daily scandalized, provoked and threatened."

It appears that from the following correspondence in January, 1776, Sir John and the Highlanders took active preliminary steps towards armed resistance to the Congressional authorities:—

GOVERNOR TRYON TO LORD GEORGE GERMAINE.

"On board H.M.S. Duchess of Gordon, }
"New York Harbour, 3rd January, 1776. }

"MY LORD,

"The gentleman who delivered me the enclosed letter from Sir

John Johnson, assured me that by Government complying with its contents Sir John could muster five hundred Indians to support the cause of Government, and that these with a body of regulars might retake the forts. If Sir John had the title of Superintendent of Indian Affairs it would give the greatest weight to His Majesty's Indian affairs, the Indians having the greatest affection for the son of their late benefactor. I wish Your Lordship may think as favourably of Sir John's proposals as I do. &c., &c."

[Enclosure in the above.]

SIR JOHN JOHNSON TO GOVERNOR TRYON.

" SIR,

" I hope the occasion and intention of this letter may plead my excuse for the liberty I take in introducing to Your Excellency the bearer hereof, Mr. Allan Macdonell, who will inform you of many particulars which cannot at this time be safely communicated in writing. The distracted and convulsed state that this unhappy country is now worked up to, and the situation that I am in here, together with the many obligations that our family are under to the best of Sovereigns, induce me to fall upon a plan that may, I hope be of service to the country, the propriety of which I entirely submit to Your Excellency's better judgment, depending on the friendship which you have been pleased to honour me with, for your advice on, and representation to, His Majesty, of what I propose.

" Having consulted with all my friends in this quarter, among whom are many old and good officers, I have come to the resolution of forming a Battalion, and have named all the officers, most of whom have a good deal of interest in their respective neighborhoods, and have seen a great number of men ready to complete the plan. We must, however, not think of stirring until support and supplies of many necessaries to enable us to carry our design into execution are received—of all which Mr. Macdonell will inform Your Excellency.

" I make not the least doubt of the success of this plan should we be supported in time. As to news, I must beg leave to refer you to Mr. Macdonell, who will inform you of everything that has been done in Canada that has come to our knowledge. As I find by the papers you are soon to sail for England, I despair of having the pleasure of paying my respects to you, but most sincerely wish you an agreeable voyage and a happy sight of your family and friends.

" I am, Your Excellency's

" Most obedient, humble servant,

" JOHN JOHNSON."

Doubtless the organization and other preparations indicated in the above letter, some knowledge of which must have transpired, induced Congress in the same month to direct the expedition into

Tryon County of General Schuyler of the Revolutionary Army, the forces under his command numbering some 3,000 men. He addressed a letter to Sir John Johnson from Schenectady, requesting an interview, and pledging his word of honour that he and the officers with him would come and go in safety. Sir John, attended by several of his leading friends among the Scotchmen, and two or three others, met him about sixteen miles from Schenectady. Negotiations were then entered upon in writing between General Schuyler on the one part and Sir John and Mr. Allan Macdonell (Collachie), as representing the Highlanders, on the other. The fourth article of the terms offered by General Schuyler was as follows :

“ That the Scotch inhabitants of the said County shall, without any kind of exception, immediately deliver up all arms in their possession, of what kind soever they may be ; and that they shall each solemnly promise that they will not at any time hereafter, during the continuance of this unhappy contest, take up arms without the permission of the Continental Congress or of their General Officers ; and for the more faithful performance of this article, the General insists that they shall immediately deliver up to him six hostages of his own nomination.”

Sir John having answered the written offer of terms, agreeing to deliver up their arms, but as to the fourth article declining on the part of the Scotch inhabitants to give hostages—no one man having command over another, or power sufficient to deliver such—General Schuyler declared the answer to his terms to be wholly unsatisfactory, and required immediate compliance with his demands in all respects before midnight. Sir John Johnson is alleged by the Americans then to have given his parole of honour not to take up arms against America. General Schuyler was to be at liberty to take away six of the Scotch inhabitants prisoners, without resistance, the others all to surrender their arms ; the six prisoners to be maintained agreeable to their respective ranks ; to be allowed a few days to settle their private affairs, and, being gentlemen, to wear their side arms.

“ Fifth : Neither Sir John Johnson nor the Scotch gentlemen can make any engagement for any other persons than those over whom they may have influence. They give their word and honour that, so far as depends on them, the inhabitants shall give up their arms and enter into the like engagement as the Scotch inhabitants.”

To this General Schuyler agreed, stating that he would take six of the Scotch inhabitants prisoners, since they preferred it to going as hostages, and undertaking on behalf of Congress to pay all defer-

ence due to their rank, they to be confined for the present either at Reading or Lancaster in Pennsylvania. They were eventually sent to the latter place, Mr. Allan Macdonell being one of the prisoners. On the same afternoon Sir John delivered up the arms and ammunition in his possession, Mr. Stone naively remarking that the quantity of both was much smaller than was expected :

“On Saturday, the 20th, General Schuyler paraded his troops at noon to receive the arms of the Highlanders, who to the number of two or three hundred, marched to the front and grounded their arms. These having been secured, the Scotchmen were dismissed with an exhortation to remain peaceable, and with an assurance of protection if they did. (1)

The American authors allege that Sir John Johnson did not observe the compact of neutrality, nor the obligations of his parole, and further that General Schuyler was in receipt of information convincing him that Sir John was secretly instigating the Indians to hostilities. “To prevent such a calamity,” says Mr. Stone, “it was thought advisable to secure the person of Sir John, and once more to quell the rising spirit of disaffection in the neighborhood of Johnstown, especially among the Highlanders,” and in June following the events already narrated, Colonel Dayton, with a part of his regiment then on its way to Canada, was despatched by General Schuyler to prosecute the enterprise. Sir John, however, was warned in time of the proceedings of the enemy, and hastily collecting his friends, made his way to Canada, arriving after nineteen days of severe hardships at Montreal, “having encountered all the sufferings that it seemed possible for man to endure.” Mr. Sparks, in his life of Washington, states that Lady Johnson was removed to Albany, where she was retained, but without any particular result, except the indignity offered to a gentlewoman of high station and in a delicate state of health, as a kind of hostage for the peaceable conduct of her husband.

Lady Johnson was a daughter of the Honourable John Watts, for some time President of the Council of New York, and a first cousin once removed of General Schuyler, to whom she had so deep an aversion, as appears from the following letter of hers addressed to General Washington, apprising him of her being taken prisoner :

“SIR,

“ALBANY, June 16, 1776.

“I take the liberty of complaining to you, as it is from you I

(1) Stone, page 142.

expect redress. I was compelled to leave home, much against my inclination, and am detained here by General Schuyler, who, I am convinced, acts more out of ill nature to Sir John than for any reason that he or I have given him. As I am not allowed to return home, and my situation here made as disagreeable as it can be by repeated threats and messages from General Schuyler too indelicate and cruel to be expected from a gentleman, I should wish to be with my friends at New York, and would prefer my captivity under Your Excellency's protection to being in the power of General Schuyler, who rules with more severity than could be wished by Your Excellency's

"Humble Servant,

"M. JOHNSON.

"To His Excellency General Washington."

Lady Johnson was obliged, however, to remain at Albany for six months longer before she was allowed to proceed to New York.

Sir John and Lady Johnson had been married in New York in 1773. She died at Montreal in 1815.

CHAPTER 3.

FORMATION OF THE KING'S ROYAL REGIMENT OF NEW YORK UNDER SIR JOHN JOHNSON.—IT IS PLACED ON THE ESTABLISHMENT.—A SECOND BATTALION AUTHORIZED.—LIST OF GLENGARRY GENTLEMEN TO WHOM COMMISSIONS WERE GRANTED IN THAT AND OTHER LOYALIST CORPS. — ARREST OF WIVES AND FAMILIES OF THE HIGHLAND LOYALISTS.—RETRIBUTION.—THE VALLEY OF THE MOHAWK RENDERED "A SCENE OF WIDESPREAD, HEART SICKENING AND UNIVERSAL DESOLATION."—BATTLE OF ORISKANY.—DR. MOSES YOUNGLOVE'S ALLEGED "BRUTALITIES." — HIGHLANDERS RESCUE THEIR FAMILIES.—CAPTURE OF EXETER AND FORT WINTERMOOT BY BUTLER'S RANGERS.—AMERICANS ABANDON FORT WYOMING.—HIGHLANDERS MAKE ANOTHER INCURSION INTO THE SCOHARIE SETTLEMENT.

The arrival of Sir John Johnson and his Highland followers in Canada was communicated by the Governor General, Sir Guy Carleton, to Lord George Germaine, then Secretary of State for American and Colonial Affairs, as follows :—

"CHAMBLIE, 8 JULY, 1776.

"MY LORD,

"The day after His Majesty's Troops took possession of Montreal, and the communication with the Upper Country thereby became 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 encouragement ; on which account, in the meantime, 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 rapine 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 other of His Majesty's marching Regiments serving in America, and I have appointed him Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant thereof.

"I am, with all due respect,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's Most Obedient and Most Humble Servant,

"GUY CARLETON.

"Lord George Germaine."

The Deputy Adjutant-General in his letter to Sir John Johnson authorizing the formation of the Regiment, instructed him that the officers of the new Corps were to be divided so as to assist those distressed by the Rebellion,⁽¹⁾ and in order to provide against an abuse then common in the Service, but which it was considered undesirable to transplant, it was intimated "that there were to be no pluralities of officers in the Corps." It was soon placed on an efficient footing, as on the 13th January, 1777, Sir Guy wrote to General Phillips, applauding the spirit of the Royal Regiment of New York, and suggesting arrangements for the care of refugees with the Corps, many of the Loyalists having placed themselves under its protection, of whom in December, 1776, a large contingent had arrived from New York under the Messieurs Jessup, doubtless the same body of men subsequently embodied under Major Jessup, and known as the Loyal Rangers, who, on being disbanded on the close of the war, settled in the vicinity of what is now Brockville. On the 24th March, 1777, Lord George Germaine wrote from Whitehall, London, to Sir Guy Carleton that he had received notice of Sir John Johnson's arrival in Montreal, that the distress and loyalty of the people in that part of the country from which he came justified the raising of a Battalion there, and that the King approved of it and of Sir John Johnson having been placed in command.⁽²⁾ In July, 1780, authority was given to Sir John to raise a second Battalion, which was done with expedition, as on the 28th November General Haldimand wrote Lord George Germaine, highly commending the conduct of Sir John Johnson, and stating that the second Battalion was in a forward state. In the following year, Lord George Germaine announced that the Regiment had been placed on the Establishment

(1) Haldimand Collection, B 39, p. 170.

(2) Ibid, B 38, p. 5.

of the British Army, and referred in complimentary terms to the conduct of Sir John Johnson. It had previously been settled, and Sir Henry Clinton informed, that officers of Provincial Corps were to take rank with British officers of the Regular Army, to receive gratuities for wounds, and to hold permanent rank in America.

This Regiment is commonly referred to by the American writers Sparks, Stone, Sebine and others, as well as by Dr. Canniff, as "The Royal Greens," possibly because their facings may have been of that colour. Sir John Johnson, its Colonel Commandant, was appointed by General Order of 1st October, 1782, Brigadier-General of the King's Provincial Troops, with Captain Scott, 53rd Regiment, as his Major of Brigade (1), a just tribute to himself, and a mark of distinction to the Regiment which he commanded. Many interesting particulars relating to this Regiment will be found in Judge Pringle's most valuable book, "Lunenburg, or the Old Eastern District," pp. 172-83. Many of his relatives, as well as those of his wife, served in the Royal Regiment of New York with honour to themselves and advantage to the Loyal cause.

In this Regiment, Butler's Rangers—which also was largely composed of Loyalists from the Mohawk Valley, and was commanded by Colonel John Butler, who greatly distinguished himself during the War—and the Eighty-Fourth or Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment also then raised, the Highland gentlemen who had emigrated from Glengarry in 1773, and settled, as we have seen, in Tryon County, received commissions and the men enlisted. On the termination of the War and the reduction of these Regiments, returns were made of the officers of these Corps and other Regiments, copies of which are now amongst the Archives at Ottawa, and from them I take the following list of the Scottish officers who had come from Glengarry in Scotland. I think it will be admitted that it is a tolerably fair one. It shows more gentlemen of one name than of all the names of those well known and distinguished families in the early settlement and history of the Province, who afterwards comprised the Family Compact, combined. Should anyone feel disposed to dispute this statement of a historic fact the lists are there to speak for themselves. Many of them eventually settled in Glengarry in Canada

(1) Haldimand Collection, B 43, p. 64.

and gave the name to the County; several of them afterwards representing it when Parliamentary institutions were accorded to the Province. The number of the private soldiers of the same name was in proportion to the officers, as a glance at Lord Dorchester's list will show. The following is a list of Officers, with rank, name, place of nativity, length of service, and remarks, as follows :—

FIRST BATTALION KING'S ROYAL REGIMENT OF NEW YORK.

Rank.	Name.	Place of Nativity	Service	Remarks.
Captain	Alexander Macdonell (Aberchalder)	Scotland	8 years	200 acres of land in fee simple, under Sir John Johnson, at yearly annual rent of £6 per 100.
Captain	Angus Macdonell	Scotland	25 yrs	Ensign in 60th Regt., 8th July, 1760; Lieut. in do. Dec. 27, 1770; sold out on account of bad health, May 22, 1775. Had no lands.
Captain	John Macdonell (Scotas)	Scotland	8 years	Had landed property, 500 acres, purchased and began to improve in April, 1774.
Captain	Archibald Macdonell (Leek)	Scotland	8 years	Merchant; had no lands
Captain Lieut.	Allan Macdonell (Leek)	Scotland	8 years	Held 200 acres in fee simple under Sir John at £6 per 100 acres.
Lieut.	Hugh Macdonell (Aberchalder)	Scotland	7 years	Son of Captain Macdonell.
Ensign	Miles Macdonell (Scotas)	Scotland	3 years	Son of Captain John Macdonell.

SECOND BATTALION KING'S ROYAL REGIMENT OF NEW YORK.

Captain	James Macdonell	Scotland	8 years	Held — acres in fee simple under Sir John at £6 per 100 acres.
Lieut.	Ranald Macdonell (Leek)	Scotland	3 years	Farmer.

CORPS OF BUTLER'S RANGERS, COMMANDED BY LIEUTENANT-
COLONEL JOHN BUTLER.

Rank.	Name.	Place of Nativity	Service	Remarks.
Captain	John Macdonell (Aberchalder)	Inverness-shire, Scotland	9 years	Came to America with his father and other Highland Emigrants in 1773, settled in Tryon County, near Johnstown, in the Province of New York; entered His Majesty's Service as a Subaltern Officer June 14, 1775, in the 84th or Royal Highland Emigrants.
First Lieut.	Alexander Macdonell (Collachie)	Inverness-shire, Scotland	7 years	Came to America with his father and other Highland Emigrants in 1773, settled in Tryon County, near Johnstown, in the Province of New York; entered His Majesty's Service as a Volunteer in the 84th or Royal Highland Emigrants.
Second Lieut.	Chichester Macdonell (Aberchalder)	Inverness-shire, Scotland	6 years	Came to America with his father and other Highland Emigrants in 1773, and settled near Johnstown; entered His Majesty's Service as a Volunteer in the King's Royal Regiment of New York in the year 1778.

EIGHTY-FOURTH OR ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANT REGIMENT.

Captain	Allan Macdonell (Collachie)			Prisoner at Lancaster in Pennsylvania.
Lieut.	Ranald Macdonell		40 yrs	
Lieut.	Arch'd. Macdonell		8 years	

SEVENTY FIRST REGIMENT.

Lieut.	Angus Macdonell			
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In giving the prominence that I do to the above gentlemen of this name, I am far from wishing it to be understood that they and those of their name were the only Highland United Empire Loyalists who settled in the Mohawk Valley and other parts of the United States, and, having fought through the war, on its termination took up their abode in what is now Glengarry. Far from it. The names of those above mentioned are conspicuous and easily distinguished and identified by reason of the fact of their having held commissions, and on that account of more prominence than others of equal merit, and who made equal sacrifices, but who served either as non-commissioned officers or in the ranks, and where names are not, therefore, now distinguishable one from another.

The figures given hereafter will show that while other Scottish Clans were represented among these most deserving men, there were so many more from Glengarry in Scotland than from any other part of it, that it cannot be matter of surprise that among them were many men whose position and other qualifications entitled them to commissions in the Regiments raised. The fact is, that while from other parts there had been individuals who had emigrated before the breaking out of the War, from Glengarry there had come a very considerable portion of the Clan, all at one time, settling in the same place, of the same name and religious and political faith, and at their head many persons of station and education, and all, without a solitary exception, taking up arms in defence of a principle binding upon their consciences, and in defence of which they were bound, if necessary, to die. So large, indeed, was the proportion of the Glengarry people in comparison with others that to that fact is due undoubtedly, the name given to the County. And that alone, if no other reason existed, would constitute a sufficient one for the mention of these names. I have, however, gone most carefully over Lord Dorchester's list and other sources of information, and the only other names of Commissioned Officers that I can find who settled in Glengarry are those of Major Gray, Lieutenants Sutherland and McMartin, of the King's Royal Regiment of New York; the Rev. Mr. Bethune, Chaplain of the Eighty-Fourth Regiment, and Captain Wilkinson, of the Indian Branch of the Service. There were, of course, many commissioned officers of other Scottish names, but they did not settle in Glengarry. Of the Frasers, for instance, there

were four, but all of them settled in the neighborhood of what is now Brockville.

It is also to be understood that of those mentioned above, several settled in Stormont and Dundas, and one in the County of Prince Edward, though the majority of them were identified with Glengarry, and, as I think the sequel will shew, served it and its people with sufficient fidelity and distinction to warrant the tribute paid to their memory by the mention of their name.

Such of the Scotch Loyalists as yet remained in Tryon County shortly afterwards left, Mr. Stone stating that early in the month of May, 1777 :

“The residue of the Roman Catholic Scotch settlers in the neighborhood of Johnstown ran off to Canada, together with some of the Loyalist Germans, all headed by two men named McDonell, who had been permitted by General Schuyler to visit their families. The fact that the wives and families of the absconding Loyalists were holding communication with them and administering to their subsistence on the outskirts of the settlements, had suggested their arrest and removal to a place of safety, to the number of four hundred—a measure that was approved by General Herkimer and his officers.”

Such treatment of women and children, however, was scarcely calculated to placate the Loyalists.

I could not attempt, within the limits I have laid down for my narrative, to enter at any length into the various events of the Revolutionary War, or to narrate at all circumstantially, even, those relating to the engagements in which Sir John Johnson and his Regiment—which, on its disbandment, principally contributed from among its officers and men the first settlers of our County, and has therefore for us the most interest—were engaged. This Regiment, with Butler's Rangers, and the Indians under Brant, harassed time and time again the northern part of New York, and that part of the State west of Albany, especially the Mohawk Valley, as well as Pennsylvania. They were evidently bound to have it out with their former neighbours, whom they regarded not only as traitors to the Sovereign, but doubtless also as the immediate cause of all the misfortunes which had fallen to their lot—the loss of home, severance for years from kindred, imprisonment of friends, and death of others, personal indignities, with hardships, persecution and suffering unspeakable. Mr. Stone declares that :—

“No other section or district of country in the United States, of the like extent, suffered in any comparable degree as much from

the War of the Revolution as did the Mohawk ; for month after month, for seven long years, were its towns and villages, its humbler settlements and isolated habitations, fallen upon by an untiring and relentless enemy, until, at the close of the contest, the appearance of the whole district was that of widespread, heart-sickening and universal desolation. In no other section of the Confederacy were so many campaigns performed, so many battles fought, so many dwellings burnt, or so many murders committed. Those who were left at the return of peace were literally a people 'scattered and peeled.' It was the computation, two years before the close of the War, that one-third of the population had gone over to the enemy ; (1) that one-third had been driven from the country or slain in battle and by private assassinations, and yet among the inhabitants of the other remaining third, in June, 1783, it was stated at a public meeting held at Fort Plain, that there were three hundred widows and two thousand orphan children."

It was the Loyalist soldiers of these Regiments principally who under Colonel St. Leger, fought and won the Battle of Oriskany, on the 6th July, 1777, which was one of the severest, and, for the numbers engaged, one of the most bloody Battles of the Revolution. In his despatch to General Bourgoyne, Colonel St. Leger stated that four hundred of the Americans were killed, amongst whom were almost all the principal leaders of Rebellion in that part of the country, including their Commander, General Herkimer, who was a brave and distinguished Officer, with Colonels Cox, Seeber, Paris and others, while upwards of two hundred of them were taken prisoners. The British loss was also severe, falling principally on Sir John Johnson's and Butler's corps. St. Leger did not state the number of his own killed and wounded. Mr. Stone claims that their loss was as serious as that of the Americans, but the statement does not appear to be borne out by the facts. One of the many Macdonells, a Captain in the Royal Regiment of New York, was killed, and two of his brother officers desperately wounded, and Captains Wilson and Hare, of Butler's Rangers, killed. The Americans allege that the "Indians and Tories" behaved on this occasion with great cruelty to their prisoners, but to show the character of the evidence upon which they base so grave a charge, it is only necessary to give a specimen and to bear in mind that the maker of the affidavit is vouched for by

(1) That is, that they had adhered to the Sovereign. Mr. Stone speaks, of course, as an American. That he was an able historian is unquestionable, but his prejudices are apparent throughout his work, though his facts are doubtless, in the main, correct.

their historians as being "a respectable man, incapable of any designed misstatements of facts!" (1) :—

"Moses Younglove, Surgeon of General Herkimer's Brigade of Militia, deposeth and saith: That being in the Battle of said Militia above Oriskany on the 6th of August last, towards the close of said Battle he surrendered himself a prisoner to a savage, who immediately gave him up to a Sergeant of Sir John Johnson's Regiment; soon after which, a Lieutenant in the Indian Department came up, in company with several other Tories, when said Mr. Grinnis by name, drew his tomahawk at this deponent, and with a deal of persuasion was hardly prevailed on to spare his life. He then plundered him of his watch, buckles, spurs, &c.; and other Tories, following his example, stripped him almost naked with a great many threats, while they were stripping and massacring prisoners on every side. That this deponent, on being brought before Mr. Butler, Sr., who demanded of him what he was fighting for, to which this deponent answered, 'he fought for the liberty that God and nature gave him, and to defend himself and dearest connections from the massacre of savages.' To which Butler replied, 'You are a damned impudent rebel,' and so saying, immediately turned to the savages, encouraging them to kill him, and if they did not, the deponent and the other prisoners should be hanged on a gallows then preparing. That several prisoners were then taken forward toward the enemy's headquarters, with frequent scenes of horror and massacre, in which Tories were active as well as savages; and, in particular, one Davis, formerly known in Tryon County on the Mohawk River; that Lieutenant Singleton, of Sir John Johnson's Regiment, being wounded, entreated the savages to kill the prisoners, which they accordingly did, as nigh as this deponent can judge, six or seven."

"That Isaac Paris, Esq., was also taken the same road, without receiving from them any remarkable insults, except stripping, until some Tories came up, who kicked and abused him; after which the savages, thinking him a notable offender, murdered him barbarously; that those prisoners who were delivered up to the Provost Guards, were kept without victuals for many days, and had neither clothes, blankets, shelter nor fire; while the guards were ordered not to use any violence in protecting the prisoners from the savages, who came every day in large companies with knives, feeling the prisoners, to know who were fattest; that they dragged one of the prisoners out of the guard with the most lamentable cries, tortured him for a long time, and this deponent was informed, by both Tories and Indians, that they ate him, as appears they did another on an island in Lake Ontario, by bones found there nearly pick'd, just after they had crossed the lake with the prisoners; that the prisoners who

(1) Stone, Volume 1, Appendix XXXIII.

were not delivered up were murdered in considerable numbers from day to day round the camp, some of them so high that their shrieks were heard ; that Captain Martin, of the batteaux-men, was delivered to the Indians at Oswego, on the pretence of having kept back some useful intelligence ; that this deponent during his imprisonment, and his fellows, were kept almost starved for provisions, and what they drew were of the worst kind, such as spoilt pork, biscuit full of maggots and mouldy, and no soap allowed, or other method of keeping clean ; and were insulted, struck, &c., without mercy by the guards, without any provocation given ; that this deponent was informed by several Sergeants, orderly on General St. Leger, that twenty dollars were offered in general orders for every American scalp."

There can be little doubt but that on both sides there was much done that cannot be reconciled with the methods of modern warfare, but such apparent falsehoods as those to which this "reputable" Dr. Younglove deposed under oath bear their own refutation on their face. Even as late as the War of 1812, it was a favourite allegation of theirs that our Indians were encouraged to scalp, while it was proved beyond a shadow of a doubt(1) that the first scalp of the War was taken by an American—an Officer at that—who boasted of it in a letter written to his wife which was found in his pocket when he was killed a day or two later. (2)

Even at this very time, General Arnold, (3) then in command of their forces in this district, concluded a proclamation with the ominous assertion that if the Loyalists, "blind to their own interest and safety, obstinately persist in their wicked courses, determined to draw

(1) James, Volume I., 59-62.

(2) This shocking operation was performed by a circular incision being made upon the crown of the head of about three inches or more in diameter, according to the length of the hair. The foot of the operator was then placed on the neck or body of the victim, and the scalp or tuft of skin and hair torn from the skull by strength of arm. In case the hair was so short as not to admit of being grasped by the hand, the artist first with his knife turning up one edge of the circle, applied his teeth to the part, and by that means quite as effectually disengaged the scalp. In order to preserve the interesting relic, it was then stretched and dried upon a small osier hoop. It would be well for the civilization of America had this terrible indignity only have been perpetrated by the savages on their victims, but history records the fact that the brave Tecumseh, distinguished above all Indians for his humanity, was himself scalped after the Battle of the Thames (Moravian Town), in October, 1813, by some of the Kentucky soldiers. The admission, quoted by Mr. James in his "Military Occurrences of the War," is made in "Burdick's Political and Historical Register," page 84: "Some of the Kentuckians disgraced themselves by committing indignities on his (Tecumseh's) dead body. He was scalped and otherwise disfigured." The truth being, as stated by Mr. James, that his body was flayed and the skin cut into strips which were carefully treasured as "trophies" by these inhuman wretches.

(3) The first mention of this name, the most infamous in the annals of America, that I am able to find is in a despatch from Sir Guy Carleton to Lord Dartmouth of 7th June, 1775: "Hazen brings word that Benedict Arnold, a native of Connecticut and a horse jockey, has surprised the detachment at St. John's, seized the King's sloop, batteaux and military stores, and carried them off with the prisoners." The war being over and his treachery accomplished, first to the King, whose subject he was, and then to the Continental Government, which he served but to betray, the following is extracted from Lord Dorchester's List of Names of United Empire Loyalists: "Arnold, General Benedict," "Arnold, Lieutenant Henry," with this emphatic word following their respective names, "Expunged." The soil of Upper Canada was not to be desecrated by such as Benedict Arnold or his son.

on themselves the just vengeance of Heaven and this exasperated country, they must expect no mercy from either," and they certainly received but little from the latter. Our neighbours must explain away Sullivan's devastation of the Seneca and Six Nation country undertaken by the direction of their Commander-in-chief, "to cut off their settlements, destroy their corps, and inflict upon them every other mischief which time and circumstances would permit" (1) before they can accuse the British of being the sole participants in the cruelties which made this War an ever memorable one.

Again in June, 1778, a number of the Loyalists who had gone to Canada with Sir John Johnson performed what Mr. Stone states was a most bold and remarkable exploit, which naturally suggests the enquiry where were the Whigs of Tryon County at the time, and in what were they engaged ?

"The incident to which reference is had was the return of those self-same Loyalists for their families, whom they were permitted to collect together, and with whom they were suffered to depart into the country and active service of the enemy. Nor was this all ; not only was no opposition made to their proceedings, but on their way they actually committed acts of flagrant hostility, destroyed property and took several prisoners. Having completed their arrangements, they moved northward from Fort Hunter, through Fonda's bush, making four prisoners on their way thither, and at Fonda's bush five others. From this place they proceeded across the great marsh to Sir William Johnson's fish-house, on the Sacondaga, capturing a man named Martin on the way, and at the fish-house taking a brave fellow named Solomon Woodworth and four others. They burnt the house and outbuildings of Godfrey Shew at this place, and departed with their prisoners. Embarking on the Sacondaga in light canoes, previously moored at that place for the purpose, they descended twenty-five miles to the Hudson, and thence, by the way of Lakes George and Champlain, proceeded to St. Johns in safety. The day after his capture, Woodworth succeeded in making his escape. At St. Johns, Shew and four others were given to the Indians, by whom they were taken to their village in Canada. They were neither considered nor treated exactly as prisoners of war ; and Shew, with three of his companions, soon afterwards escaped and returned home. From St. Johns the Loyal party proceeded down the St. Lawrence to Quebec, where the prisoners were kept in close confinement about four months. Some of the number died, and the remainder were sent to Halifax, and thence exchanged by the way of Boston. This movement of the Tories back in a body to their deserted homes, and its success, form one of the most extraordinary incidents, though in

(1) Letter of General Washington to Governor Clinton and General Gates, 4th March, 1779.

itself comparatively unimportant, which transpired during the wars of the Mohawk country.”(1)

Shortly after this, another expedition was despatched from Niagara to the Whig settlements in Pennsylvania under Colonel John Butler, who also had with him, in addition to his Rangers, about five hundred Mohawks under Brant. They entered the Valley of Wyoming through a gap of mountains near its northern extremity, took possession of two forts, Exeter and Lackawanna, also known as Fort Wintermoot, the former of which was burnt; Colonel Butler establishing his headquarters in the latter. He was shortly afterwards attacked by the Provincials under a namesake of his own—Colonel Zebulon Butler, and on the 3rd of July a very desperate battle was fought, which resulted in the total defeat of the Whigs, less than sixty out of four hundred of them escaping, amongst the dead being one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Major, ten Captains, six Lieutenants and two Ensigns. Those who survived, with the women and children of the neighbourhood, took refuge in Fort Wyoming. The following day its surrender was demanded, when Zebulon Butler made good his escape with such regular troops as he had with him, his subordinate, Colonel Dennison, entering into articles of capitulation with the British Commander, it being agreed that the Americans, upon being disarmed, the garrison demolished, public stores given up, and the property of “the people called Tories” made good, should be permitted to return peacefully to their farms, their lives and property being preserved. Colonel Butler, however, was unable to restrain his native allies, and scenes were enacted in the Valley almost equalling the outrages perpetrated shortly afterwards on the Indians in the Seneca country by the American forces under General Sullivan. Much fiction has, however, been written with regard to this affair by American writers, and is admitted to be false by Mr. Stone, such for instance as the account of the marching out of a large body of Americans from one of the Forts to hold a parley by agreement, and then being drawn into an ambuscade and all put to death; also that seventy Continental soldiers were butchered after having surrendered, while equally untrue is pronounced to be the story of the burning of houses, barracks and forts filled with women and children. The Poet Campbell, in his mawkish sentimentality entitled “Gertrude of Wyoming,” has had much to say about “the

(1) *Life of Brant*, page 309.

monster Brant" in connection with these events, but then Edmonstoun Aytoun, in the "Execution of Montrose," terms a Chief of the Campbell Clan, in whom they take great pride, "the monster-fiend Argyle." I suppose if Poets were allowed no license we would have no poetry !

At the close of the War, the Mohawk tribe almost to a man, under Brant's leadership, quit their beautiful Valley and retired to Canada with the other Loyalists. Brant was a Christian and a member of the Church of England. In 1786 he built a Church on the Grand River, wherein was placed the first "Church-going bell" that ever tolled in Upper Canada. Shortly before his death he built a commodious dwelling house for himself near Burlington Bay, where he died on the 24th November, 1807, aged sixty-four years and eight months, and after a painful illness borne with true Indian fortitude and Christian patience and resignation. Mr. Stone states that while his manner was reserved, as was customary with his people, nevertheless he was affable though dignified, on all occasions and in all society comporting himself as would be expected in a well-bred gentleman. His great quality was his strong, practical, good sense and deep and ready insight into character. He had a keen sense of humour and was an excellent conversationalist, while in letters he was in advance of some of the Generals against whom he fought and of even still greater military men who have flourished before his day and since. Though not without failings, they were redeemed by high qualities and commanding virtues ; in business relations he was a model of promptitude and integrity ; the purity of his private morals has never been questioned, and his house was the abode of kindness and hospitality. As a warrior he was cautious, sagacious and brave, watching with sleepless vigilance for opportunities of action, and allowing neither dangers nor difficulties to divert him from his well-selected purpose. His constitution was hardy, his capacity of endurance great, his energy untiring, and his firmness indomitable. On the occasion of his visits to Great Britain, he was treated by the Royal Family, the leaders of the Nobility and the Political chiefs with the most distinguished consideration. He had during the Revolutionary War made the personal friendship of several officers of high social station, among others being Earl Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings, who had served in America as Lord Rawdon, who presented him with his miniature, set in gold ; General

Sir Charles Stuart, a younger son of the Earl of Bute, and the Duke of Northumberland, who had as Lord Percy been on terms of intimate friendship with him, and with whom he maintained a correspondence until his death. Many of these letters are given by Mr. Stone in his "Life of Brant," the Duke, himself by the way a warrior of the Mohawk Tribe by adoption, always addressing Brant as "My dear Joseph," and signing himself, "Your affectionate friend and brother, Northumberland Thorighwigeri," in which Indian title he rejoiced, and which had been conferred upon him by Brant himself. The name signified "The Evergreen Brake," a pretty conceit, indicating that a titled house never dies, like the leaves of this peculiar species of brake, in which, when the old leaf falls, the young is in fresh and full existence. Brant, on his part, fully aware of the customs of the great, always addressed His Grace as "My Lord Duke," signing himself, "Your Grace's faithful friend and brother warrior, Jos. Brant, Thayendanega." The Earl of Warwick was another of his friends, and for whom he sat for his picture, as he had done for the Duke of Northumberland.

When presented at Court, he declined to kiss the King's hand, but with equal gallantry and address offered to kiss that of the Queen, which the kind-hearted Monarch took in excellent part. He stood equally well in the graces of the Prince Regent, who took great delight in his company, and by whom he was frequently entertained. It was quite the mode to affect him, and the Carlton House set, Fox, Sheridan and others, taking in this as in much else their cue from "the first gentleman of Europe," lavished attention and civilities on him.

A laughable episode occurred at a fancy dress ball which was given during his stay in London. Brant attended the masquerade, which was got up on a scale of great splendour, and at the suggestion of Lord Moira dressed himself in the costume of his nation, wearing no mask, but painting one-half of his face. His plumes nodded proudly in his cap and his tomahawk glistened at his side, no character in all the brilliant pageant being more picturesque or attracting greater attention. Among others who were present was a Turkish diplomat of high rank, who scrutinized the Chief very closely, and mistaking his rouge et noir complexion for a painted visor, took him by the nose, intending, probably, to remove the

mask and have a look to see who was concealed thereunder! Brant, to carry out the joke, feigned intense indignation, raised his appalling war-whoop, which made the blood of the merry-makers curdle in their veins, flashed his tomahawk around the head of the terrified Turk, who doubtless was a remarkably "sick man" at that particular time, and left the screaming women under the impression that they would be the unwilling witnesses of the scalping of the poor Turk. The joke had been carried far enough, however, and the Mussulman was left in possession of his hair, the matter was explained, and the incident accounted quite the feature of the evening. Mr. Stone states that some of the London papers represented that Brant raised his weapon in serious earnest, having taken the freedom of the Turk for an intentional indignity, but this of course is ridiculous. Readers of Mr. John Galt's work, "The Steamboat," will remember another instance in which Printing House Square was imposed upon in connection with another Chief, not unknown to the Clansmen of Glengarry, when at the Coronation of George IV. a lady's hysterics at seeing a Highlander in full dress almost created a panic, and the "Times," under the heading of "A Mysterious Circumstance," absolutely gave the impression that it was a deep-laid Jacobite scheme for the destruction of the Royal Family.

But to resume.

Later in the summer, one of the Macdonells who had formerly lived in Tryon County, and according to Mr. Stone was a Loyalist Officer "distinguished for his activity," made a sudden irruption into the Schoharie settlements at the head of about three hundred Indians and "Tories," burning houses and killing and making prisoners of such of the male inhabitants as came in their way, the American force in the fortress at Schoharie being afraid to come out.

Colonel Gansevoort, however, with a squadron of Cavalry, arrived to the assistance of his countrymen, and Macdonell and his men, having accomplished the object of their mission, returned to headquarters.

CHAPTER 4.

SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SENACAS AND CAYUGAS.—
 INTENDED CAPTURE OF NIAGARA FRUSTRATED.—SIR JOHN
 JOHNSON AND HIS REGIMENT RETURN TO TRYON COUNTY.—
 BRANT DESTROYS CANAJOHARIE.—STILL ANOTHER INVASION
 INTO THE SCHOHARIE COUNTRY—INVESTMENT OF FORT MIDDLE-
 BERG—AMERICANS FIRE ON A FLAG OF TRUCE.—IMMENSE
 DESTRUCTION OF GRAIN AND OTHER PROPERTY.—CAUGHNA-
 WAGA AND STONE ARABIA LAID IN ASHES.—DEFEAT OF
 AMERICANS AT FORT KEYSER.—HALDIMAND'S APPROBATION OF
 SIR JOHN JOHNSON'S ZEAL.—NEGOTIATIONS FOR RETURN OF
 PRISONERS.—SUFFERINGS OF LOYALIST FAMILIES.—FIGHT AT
 SCHELL'S SETTLEMENT, NEAR FORT DAYTON.—A BRAVE
 DISCIPLE OF MARTIN LUTHER.—AMERICANS VICTORIOUS IN
 TWO ENGAGEMENTS NEAR JOHNSTOWN.—DEATH OF WALTER
 BUTLER.—AWFUL MASSACRE BY AMERICAN MISCREANTS OF
 THE MORAVIAN TRIBE OF NON-COMBATANT INDIANS.—CON-
 CLUSION OF THE WAR.

In the Spring of 1779, it was determined by the Americans that active measures should be taken against the Indians, especially the Senacas and Cayugas, that those tribes should in fact be annihilated, and with this object in view a division of their army from Pennsylvania under General Sullivan, who was in command of the expedition, and another from the north under General Clinton, effected a junction at Newton, the site of the present town of Elmira. Their joint forces amounted to five thousand men. They were there met by a gallant band of five hundred Indians under Brant, with two hundred and fifty British under Colonel John Butler, associated with whom were Sir John and Guy Johnson, Major Walter N. Butler and Captain John Macdonell (Aberchalder). A desperate resistance was made against such tremendous odds, but without present success, yet the ultimate and indeed the principal object of the campaign, which was the capture of Niagara, the headquarters of the British in that region, and the seat of influence and power among the

Indians, was abandoned, and the Americans reaped but little advantage from the expedition except that they scourged a broad extent of country, and laid more towns in ashes than ever had been destroyed on the continent before. Such of the redmen as were not massacred were with their women and children driven from their country, their habitations were left in ruin, their fields laid waste, their orchards uprooted, their altars overthrown, and the tombs of their fathers desecrated—all of which is admitted by the American historians, and was in strict accordance with General Washington's orders, and for which General Sullivan received the thanks of Congress (November 30th, 1779). And yet they complained of the atrocities of the Indians!

Still again, in May, 1780, Sir John Johnson, at the head of five hundred men, composed of some Regular troops, a detachment of his own Regiment, and about two hundred Indians and "Tories," re-visited the scene of their once habitation, a visit highly unpopular to their former neighbours, and the immediate object of which was to recover Sir John's family plate, which had been buried in the cellar of Johnson Hall at the time of his flight in 1776, the place of deposit being confided only to a faithful slave. It was found and distributed among forty of his soldiers, who brought it back to Montreal. After the custom of the day, they destroyed all the buildings, killed the sheep, cattle and a number of obnoxious Whigs, and appropriated all the horses to their own use. Their ranks were recruited by a considerable number of Loyalists, while Sir John also obtained possession of some thirty of his negro slaves. A number of prisoners were also taken and sent to Chambly. We are of course told that "this irruption was one of the most indefensible aggressions upon an unarmed and slumbering people which stain the annals of British arms." It made much difference on which leg the boot was placed; and the Indians in sympathy and alliance with the British were to abstain from all acts of violence, while not only the men of their race, but the women and children as well, were to be massacred in cold blood, their very extermination being the object in view—and the Loyalists were to strike no blow for the Cause they held so dear, and against those who had deprived them of every earthly possession. The following is Sir John Johnson's report of this expedition :

“ST. JOHNS, 3rd June, 1786.

“SIR,

“I have the honour to report to Your Excellency the arrival of the troops and Indians under my command at this place. We arrived at the settlement, within five miles of Johnson Hall, on the 21st of last month, in the evening, previous to which I had made known to the Indians the plan I wished to pursue, and I thought I had little reason to doubt their joining heartily in it, but upon assembling them to obtain their final answer, I was not a little mortified to find them totally averse to it, or even to a division of their body. I therefore found myself under the disagreeable necessity of adopting their plan, which was for them to proceed to Tripe’s Hill, within a mile and a half of Fort Johnson, while the troops under my command were to march by Johnstown to Caghna-waga, where the whole were to join and proceed up the river to the nose, and from thence to Stone Arabia. We accordingly proceeded, and met at the house of Dow Fonda, at Caghawaga, destroying all before us as we marched along. From thence we proceeded to within a mile of the nose, where a halt was found absolutely necessary, the troops and Indians being much fatigued and in want of refreshment, having marched from six in the morning of the 21st till ten in the morning the day following. Some of the Indians and Rangers continued burning and laying waste everything before them, till they got above the nose. Most of the inhabitants fled to the opposite shore with their best effects, securing their boats, which prevented their crossing the river. After the men were sufficiently rested and refreshed, I proposed moving on to Stone Arabia, to which the Indians objected, alleging that the troops, as well as themselves, were too much fatigued to proceed any further, and that the inhabitants were all fled into their forts with their effects, and that there was nothing left but empty houses, which were not worth the trouble of going to burn; indeed, many of them moved off with their plunder, with which they were all loaded, before I knew their intention. I therefore found myself under the necessity of following them. We burned several houses on our return to Johnstown, where we arrived about one o’clock the same day. After providing provisions, etc., we marched back by the same route we came to the Scotch settlement. The number of houses, barns, mills, etc., burnt, amounts to about one hundred and twenty. The Indians, contrary to my expectation, killed only eleven men, among them Colonel Fisher, Captain Fisher, and another brother, of what rank I know not. The prisoners taken amounted to twenty-seven. Fourteen of them I suffered to return, being either too old or too young to march, and I was induced by the earnest desire of the Loyal families left behind to set at liberty two of the principal prisoners we had taken, in order to protect them from the violence of the people, which they most solemnly

promised to do ; and in order to make them pay the utmost attention to their engagements, I assured them that the rest of the prisoners should be detained as hostages for the performance of this promise. I also sent a Captain Veeder back in exchange for Lieutenant Singleton, of my Regiment, which I hope will meet with Your Excellency's approbation. Vast quantities of flour, bread, Indian corn, and other provisions were burnt in the houses and mills, and a great number of arms, cash, etc.; many cattle were killed, and about seventy horses brought off. One hundred and forty-three Loyalists, and a number of women and children; with about thirty blacks (male and female), came off with us. Seventeen of the latter belong to Colonel Claus, Johnson and myself. Some are claimed by white men and Indians, who are endeavouring to dispose of them ; I should therefore be glad to have Your Excellency's directions concerning them. I enclose Your Excellency the only papers I could procure, with sundry letters, which will shew the early intelligence they had of our approach. I must beg leave to refer Your Excellency to Captain Scott for further particulars, and beg you will excuse this imperfect account of our proceedings. I shall transmit exact returns of the Loyalists and Indians from the Mohawk Village, who have come in, by the next post. I beg leave to recommend my cousin, Ensign Johnson, to Your Excellency for the vacancy in the Forty-Seventh, if not pre-engaged, as he was of great service in preventing the Indians from committing many irregularities, which I was very apprehensive of, and he has been promised the first vacancy. I must also beg Your Excellency will be pleased to grant a flag for the relief of the families left in Tryon County who may choose to come into this Province, which is most earnestly wished for by their husbands and parents.

"I have the honour to be, with great respect,

"Your Excellency's

"Most obedient and

"Most humble servant,

"JOHN JOHNSON.

"His Excellency,
General Haldimand."(1) }

Later in that year (August, 1780), Brant with his Indians paid a visit on his own account to the settlements of the Mohawk, destroyed the forts at Canajoharie, and rendered the fairest district of the Valley in a single day a scene of wailing and desolation, sixteen of the inhabitants being killed, fifty-three dwelling houses, as many barns, together with a grist mill, the church and growing crops destroyed, and between fifty and sixty prisoners taken, though it is admitted

(1) Haldimand Papers, Series B, vol. 158, p. 128.

that "no outrages were committed on defenceless women and children other than carrying them into captivity"—a circumstance which Mr. Stone is good enough to attribute to the absence of the wicked "Tories" in this expedition.

In October of the same year another and more extensive expedition was planned and carried out against the unfortunate Whigs of the same district, in retaliation for Sullivan's merciless crusade, under Sir John Johnson, Thayendanegea and a famous Seneca Chieftain, a half-breed named O'Bail, styled by the Indians "Corn Planter"—the force consisting, besides Mohawks, of three Companies of the Royal Regiment of New York, one Company of German Yagers, a Detachment of two hundred of Butler's Rangers, and one Company of Regulars, under the command of Captain Richard Duncan, the son of an opulent gentleman residing previous to the War in the neighborhood of Schenectady, and who was afterwards a well-known pioneer of the County of Dundas, which, if I am not mistaken, he represented in the early Parliaments of Upper Canada, and was also in later life one of the Judges of the Province—for the District of Lunenburg, as the Eastern portion of the Province was first known. Their total number is variously estimated from eight hundred to over fifteen hundred. Sir John's troops were collected at Lachine, whence they ascended the St. Lawrence to Oswego. Thence they crossed the country to the Susquehanna, where they were joined by the Indians and some "Tories." Each soldier and Indian had eighty rounds of cartridges.

The Americans on this occasion, when Sir John had invested the Fort of Middleberg, showed their appreciation of the rules of honourable warfare by firing three different times on British officers bearing flags of truce with a summons to surrender, their reason being, as is alleged, "The savages, and their companions the Tories still more savage than they, had shown no respect to age, sex or condition, and it was not without force that the question was repeated, are we bound to exercise a forbearance totally unreciprocated by the enemy?" "Besides," it was added, "let us show that we will neither take nor give quarter; and the enemy, discovering our desperation, will most likely withdraw." Such conduct as this was likely to meet with reprisals, and it did. The march was continued in the direction of Fort Hunter, at the confluence of the Schoharie-kill with the Mohawk River, in the course of which were

destroyed the buildings and produce of every description. General Washington, in his message to the President of Congress, stated that the destruction of grain was so great as to threaten the most alarming consequences, in respect to the forming of magazines for the public service at the north, and that but for that event the settlement of Schoharie alone would have delivered 80,000 bushels of grain. The houses and barns were burnt, the horses and cattle killed or taken, and not a building known to belong to a Whig was saved; the Whigs, however, in retaliation, immediately after reducing the houses of the Tories to the common lot. Sir John ordered his forces to spare the Church at the Upper Fort, but his mandate was disobeyed. It is alleged that over one hundred of the inhabitants were killed, but this is probably a gross exaggeration. Whatever was left of Caughnawaga at the time of the irruption of Sir John in the spring, and all that had been rebuilt, was destroyed by fire, and both sides of the Mohawk River laid in waste. A Major Fonda, a prominent Whig, was a principal sufferer, his houses and property in the Town of Palatine to the value of sixty thousand dollars being destroyed. At Fort Keyser a battle took place, which resulted in the entire discomforture of the Americans, their leader, Colonel Brown, and some forty-five of his men being killed, the remainder seeking safety in flight, and Stone Arabia was then reduced to the condition of a desert. By this time, however, reinforcements had arrived for the Americans, under the command of General Van Rensselaer, whose forces were in every respect superior to the British. In the engagement which followed, the British Indians did not act with their usual bravery, and though the Regulars and Rangers are admitted to have fought with great spirit, Sir John and his forces were obliged to retire. He succeeded, however, by a very skilful manœuvre, in capturing a strong detachment of the Americans under Captain Vrooman, and made his way to Oswego without further molestation. Sir Frederick Haldimand, writing to Lord George Germaine, stated: "I cannot finish without expressing to Your Lordship the perfect satisfaction which I have for the zeal, spirit and activity with which Sir John Johnson has conducted this arduous enterprise."

About this time some very acrimonious correspondence was taking place between British and American officers, each accusing the other of cruelty to prisoners. Thus, General Watson Powell writes to the American Colonel Van Schaick, in returning some

American prisoners: "The attention which has been shown to Mrs. Campbell and those in her unfortunate circumstances, as well as the good treatment of the prisoners, which it is hoped they will have the candour to acknowledge, is referred to for comparison to those by whose orders or permission His Majesty's subjects have experienced execution, the horrors of a dungeon loaded with irons, and the miseries of want," and he enclosed a list of some families of men belonging to the Eighty-Fourth Regiment whose return was demanded. The list is as follows: John McDonell's family, Donald McGruer's, Duncan McDonell's, John McIntosh's, Duncan McDonell's, Donald McDonald's, Kenneth McDonell's, and John McDonell's father and mother. Colonel Gansevoort replied, denying the accusation which General Powell made in a previous portion of his letter, of a breach of faith on the part of the Americans in regard to the cartel of the Cedars, and denying also that, except in some few cases by way of retaliation for the many cruelties alleged by him to have been perpetrated by the British, any prisoners or Loyalists had been treated with cruelty or indignity. Colonel Gansevoort, however, is upon their own admission, proven to have lied twice in the same letter, and his maxim being, as is stated, "his country, right or wrong"—his denial of cruelty to prisoners is worthless. It is apparent, and perhaps after all but natural, that their wrongs all through the War were magnified to the utmost extent, and in others the most preposterous stories were fabricated, while they carefully conceal, minimize or totally deny well-founded accusations of cruelty to prisoners in their hands, and other offences. Some of their violations of the rules which govern hostile States and Governments are, however, notorious, and are matters of history, as when Congress itself broke the plighted faith of their General (Arnold) in regard to the cartel entered into at the Cedars for the exchange of prisoners. They are unable to deny or explain that breach of national honour, and are obliged to admit that the violation of the stipulations made on that occasion created difficulties in regard to the exchange of prisoners during the whole War, and was frequently a source of embarrassment and mortification to General Washington during its entire continuation.

The Haldimand papers shew the vicissitudes and hardships undergone by the families of many of the officers. In series B, vol. 158, p. 351, appears the following:

“To His Excellency General Haldimand, General and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty’s Forces in Canada and the Frontiers thereof,

“The memorial of John and Alexander Macdonell, Captains in the King’s Royal Regiment of New York, humbly sheweth,

“That your Memorialist, John Macdonell’s, family are at present detained by the rebels in the County of Tryon, within the Province of New York, destitute of every support but such as they may receive from the few friends to Government in said quarters, in which situation they have been since 1777.

“And your Memorialist, Alexander Macdonell, on behalf of his brother, Captain Allan Macdonell, of the Eighty-Fourth Regiment: that the family of his said brother have been detained by the Rebels in and about Albany since the year 1775, and that unless it was for the assistance they have met with from Mr. James Ellice, of Schenectady, merchant, they must have perished.

“Your Memorialists therefore humbly pray Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to take the distressed situation of said families into consideration, and to grant that a flag be sent to demand them in exchange, or otherwise direct towards obtaining their release, as Your Excellency in your wisdom shall see fit, and your Memorialists will ever pray as in duty bound.

“(Signed,)

JOHN MACDONELL,

“ALEXANDER MACDONELL.”

The above memorial is dated 27th July, but the year is not given. It was probably 1779 or 1780.

A petition from a number of the men of the King’s Royal Regiment of New York is as follows:—

To the Honourable Sir John Johnson, Lieutenant-Colonel Commander of the King’s Royal Regiment of New York.

The humble petition of sundry soldiers of said Regiment sheweth,—

That your humble petitioners, whose names are hereunto subscribed, have families in different places of the Counties of Albany and Tyron, who have been and are daily being ill-treated by the enemies of Government.

Therefore we do humbly pray that Your Honour would be pleased to procure permission for them to come to Canada.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

JOHN MCGLENNY,

THOMAS ROSS,

ALEXANDER CAMERON,

FREDERICK GOOSE,

WM. URGHAD,*

ALEX. FERGUSON,

THOMAS TAYLOR,

WILLIAM CAMERON,

GEORGE MURDOFF,

WILLIAM CESSIM,†

* Probably Urquhart.

† Probably Chisholm.

DUNCAN McINTIRE,
 ANDREW MILERROSS,
 DONALD McCARTER,
 ALLEN GRANT,
 HUGH CHISHOLM,
 ANGUS GRANT,
 JOHN McDONALD.

JOHN CHRISTY,
 DANIEL CAMPBELL,
 DONALD ROSS,
 DONALD CHISSEM,†
 RODERICK McDONALD,
 ALEXANDER GRANT,

The names and number of each family intended in the within petition :—

NAME OF FAMILY	CONSISTING OF	No.
1, Duncan McIntyre's	Wife, Sister and Child	3
2, John Christy's	Wife and 3 Children	4
3, George Mordoff's	do 6 do	7
4, Daniel Campbell's	do 5 do	6
5, Andrew Milross'	Wife	1
6, William Urghad's	Wife and 3 Children	4
7, Donald McCarter's	do 3 do	4
8, Donald Ross'	do 1 Child	2
9, Allan Grant's	do 1 do	2
10, William Chissim's	do 1 do	2
11, Donald Chissim's	do 2 Children	3
12, Hugh Chissim's	do 5 do	6
13, Roderick McDonald's	do 4 do	5
14, Angus Grant's	do 5 do	6
15, Alexander Grant's	do 4 do	5
16, Donald Grant's	do 4 do	5
17, John McDonald's	Wife	1
18, John McGlenny's	Wife and 2 Children	3
19, Alexander Ferguson	do 5 do	6
20, Thomas Ross'	do 4 do	5
21, Thomas Taylors'	do 1 Child	2
22, Alexander Cameron's	do 3 Children	4
23, William Cameron's	do 3 do	4
24, Frederick Goose's	do 4 do	5

Endorsed—Memorial from several soldiers of Sir John Johnson's Corps, received 27th July. (The year is not given, it was probably 1779 or 1780.) (1)

In August, 1781, Donald McDonald, one of the Loyalists from Tryon County, who had come to Canada at the head of a small band of sixty-two Indians and Tories, and accompanied by "two notorious traitors named Empie and Kasselmann," as Mr. Stone is good enough to term two prominent German Loyalists, whose

† Probably Chisholm.

(1) Haldimand Papers, Series B, vol. 158, p. 352, as given by Judge Pringle.

descendants now live in the County of Stormont, made a raid upon the settlement at Schell's bush near Fort Dayton. A number of Whigs took refuge in Schell's house, and defended it bravely against several attempts to fire it. McDonald at length procured a crowbar and attempted to force the door, but while thus engaged received a shot in the leg from Schell's musket which placed him hors de combat, and none of his men being sufficiently near, Schell, quick as lightning, opened the door and made him prisoner, making use of the cartridges with which he was amply provided to fire upon his comrades, several of whom were killed and others wounded. Whereupon Mr. Schell, out of compliment to McDonald's religion no doubt, immediately caused to be sung the hymn which was a favourite with Luther during the perils and afflictions of the great Reformer in his controversies with the Pope. While thus engaged, McDonald's forces returned to the fight, and made a desperate attempt to carry the fortress by assault and rescue their leader. Rushing up to the walls, five of them thrust the muzzles of their guns through the loopholes, but had no sooner done so than Mrs. Schell, seizing an axe, by quick and well-directed blows, ruined every musket by bending the barrels. Schell afterwards managed to escape to Dayton. McDonald was so desperately wounded that his men were unable to remove him, so they took Schell's boys as hostages, charging their wounded leader to tell the Americans that if they would be kind to him they would take care of Schell's boys. McDonald was the next day removed to Fort Dayton by Captain Small, where his leg was amputated, but the blood could not be staunched and the brave man died in a few hours. Mr. Stone is authority for the statement that he wore a silver mounted tomahawk, which was taken from him by Schell, that it was marked by thirty scalp notches, "showing that few Indians could have been more industrious than himself in gathering this description of military trophies"—but Mr. Stone is not impartial or thoroughly trustworthy on such subjects. Eleven British were killed and six wounded, and the boys who were returned after the War reported that nine wounded died before they arrived in Canada. Schell was subsequently killed during the War by Indians, one of his sons being killed and another wounded in their efforts to save him. It must be conceded that he fought with pluck and that Martin Luther had every reason to be proud of his disciple.

The last expedition against this neighborhood was destined to be a still more unfortunate one for the British. In October, 1781, a force was organized at Buck's Island, in the St. Lawrence, a few miles below Kingston, consisting of about seven hundred men, composed of twenty-five men of the Eighth Regiment, one hundred of the Thirty-fourth Regiment, one hundred of the Eighty-fourth (Royal Highland Emigrants), thirty-six Highlanders, one hundred and twenty of Sir John Johnson's, forty of Lake's Independents, one hundred and fifty of Butler's Rangers, twelve Yagers, with one hundred and thirty Indians, the whole under the command of Major Ross, who was, I believe, a brother-in-law of Captain John Macdonell of Aberchaldar, having married his sister.

A hard contested battle took place in the neighborhood of Johnstown on the 24th October, the fortune of war varying from time to time, but eventuating in that of the Americans, whose loss was forty killed, the British losing the same number in killed and some fifty prisoners. A day or two later, another engagement occurred, about twenty of the British being killed, amongst whom was the brave Walter Butler, son of Colonel Butler of the Scouts, one of the most enterprising and indefatigable officers, who was shot through the head by an Oneida Indian and promptly scalped. It is necessary to peruse a full narrative of the war properly to appreciate the dauntless courage, activity and endurance of this gallant soldier. The Americans disgraced their nation by refusing burial to his body. "In re-passing the battle ground, the body of Butler was discovered as it had been left, and there, without sepulchre, it was suffered to remain.(1)

This expedition closed the active warlike operations in the north for that year, and the following was a period rather of armed neutrality than active war, while on the 30th November, 1782, provisional Articles of Peace on the basis of a treaty, by which the independence of the United States was acknowledged, were entered into, and the people of the Mohawk Valley were left in peace, though that region of country had been so utterly laid waste that little more was to be accomplished. The Loyalists lost their homes, but the land on which their own dwellings once stood was all that they left to their opponents. The last act of the War is a fitting satire upon the protestations of the Americans of the humane manner in which they

(1) Stone, vol. 2, page 192.

conducted it: the massacre of every man, woman and child belonging to the Moravian Tribe of Indians by a band of some three hundred wretches under the command of a miscreant named Colonel David Williamson. These Indians had been peaceable during the whole War—the tenets of their religious faith, for they were Christians, and their religious principles, which would appear to have been somewhat similar to those of the Quakers, forbidding them to fight. They are described as a humble, devout and exemplary community, simple tillers of the soil of their forefathers. Their brains were battered out, old men and matrons, young men and maidens and children at their mothers' breasts being massacred, two only of the whole settlement escaping, while the American papers of the day applauded it as a very commendable achievement. It was as base, as brutal and as treacherous as the massacre of Glencoe—perhaps worse, if that be possible. Mr. Thomas Campbell might have composed a sequel to his "Gertrude of Wyoming!"

The provisional articles of Peace, signed on the 30th November, 1782, were forwarded by Lord Sydney to General Haldimand on the 14th February, 1783. On the 8th of August following, Lord North wrote to General Haldimand, ordering the disbandment of the two Battalions of the King's Royal Regiment of New York and of the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, the latter replying on the 18th of November that it would be impossible to disband them until the spring. The necessary preliminaries appear, however, to have been carried out during the winter of 1783-4, but the disbanded soldiers received assistance from Government for three years, until they were able to reap some return from the lands allotted to them in Upper Canada.

The Treaty of Versailles, establishing the Peace between Great Britain and the United States, and settling the boundary between Canada and the States, was signed on the 3rd September, 1783.

CHAPTER 5.

SETTLEMENT OF THE DISBANDED SOLDIERS IN GLENGARRY AND ADJACENT COUNTIES OF STORMONT AND DUNDAS.—LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND BATTALIONS OF THE KING'S ROYAL REGIMENT OF NEW YORK.—COLONEL STEWART'S ACCOUNT OF THE ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANT REGIMENT (OLD EIGHTY-FOURTH).—LIST OF OFFICERS.

The Revolutionary War being over, the Highland soldiers of the various Regiments mostly settled in the eastern part of what afterwards became the Province of Upper Canada, and what now constitutes the County of Glengarry, being principally settled by those from Glengarry in Scotland, they called it after the well-loved name of the home of their forefathers; others were allotted land in what now constitute the adjacent Counties of Stormont and Dundas. The officers and men of the First Battalion of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, stationed at the close of the War at Isle aux Noix and Carleton Island, with their wives and children, to the number of one thousand four hundred and sixty-two, settled in a body in the first five townships west of the boundary line of the Province of Quebec, being the present Townships of Lancaster, Charlottenburgh, Cornwall, Osnabruck and Williamsburg; those of the Second Battalion of the King's Royal Regiment of New York going further west to the Bay of Quinte. The following list shows the officers of the First Battalion of Sir John Johnson's Regiment, with length of service, &c.:

RETURN OF THE OFFICERS OF THE LATE FIRST BATTALION, KING'S
ROYAL REGIMENT OF NEW YORK.

Rank.	Names.	Place of Nativity.	Length of Service.	Former Situations and Remarks.
Lt.- Col. Com- 'dnt	Sir John Johnson Bart.	America	8 years	Succeeded his father, the late Sir Wm. Johnson, as a Maj.-Gen. of the Northern Dis. of the Prov. of New York; was in possession of near 200,000 acres of valuable land, lost in consequence of the rebellion.
Maj.	James Gray	Scotland	26 yrs	Ensign in Lord Loudon's Regt., 1745; lieut. and capt. in ye 42nd till after taking the Havannah, at which time he sold out. ⁽¹⁾ Had some landed property, part of which is secured to his son, ye remnant lost in consequence of the rebellion.
Capt	Angus McDonell	Scotland	25 yrs	Ensign in 60th Regt., July 8th, 1760; lieut. in same regt., 27th Dec., 1770. Sold out on account of bad state of health, 22nd May, 1775. Had no lands.
Capt	John Munro	Scotland	8 years	Had considerable landed property lost in consequence of ye Rebellion, and served in last war in America.
Capt	Patrick Daly	Ireland	9 years	Lieut. in the 84th Regt. at the Siege of Quebec, 1775-76.
Capt	Richard Duncan	Scotland	13 yrs	Five years Ensign in the 55th Regiment.
Capt	Sam'l. Anderson	America	8 years	Had landed property, and served in last war in America.
Capt	John McDonell	Scotland	8 years	Had landed property, 500 acres, purchased, and began to improve in April, 1774.
Capt	Alex. McDonell	Scotland	8 years	200 acres of land in fee simple, under Sir John Johnson, Bart., ye annual rent of £6 per 100.

(1) Havannah was taken in 1762. Gray sold out in 1763.

Rank.	Names.	Place of Nativity.	Length of Service.	Former Situations and Remarks.
Capt	Arch. McDonell	Scotland	8 years	Merchant. Had no lands.
Capt -Lt.	Allan McDonell	Scotland	8 years	Held 200 acres of land under Sir John Johnson, at £6 per 100.
Lt.	Mal. McMartin	Scotland	8 years	Held 100 acres of land under Sir John Johnson, at £6.
Lt.	Peter Everett	America	7 years	Had some landed property.
Lt.	John Prentiss	America	9 years	A Volunteer at the Siege of Quebec, 1775-76.
Lt.	Hugh McDonell	Scotland	7 years	Son of Capt. McDonell.
Lt.	John F. Holland	America	5 years	Son of Major Holland, Surveyor-General, Province of Quebec.
Lt.	William Coffin	America	3 years	Son of Mr. Coffin, merchant, late of Boston.
Lt.	Jacob Farrand	America	7 years	Nephew to Major Gray.
Lt.	William Claus	America	7 years	Son of Col. Claus, deputy agent Indian Affairs.
Lt.	Hugh Munro	America	6 years	Son of Capt. John Munro.
Lt.	Joseph Anderson	America	6 years	Son of Capt. Sam'l. Anderson.
Lt.	Thomas Smith	Ireland	4 years	Son of Dr. Smith.
Ens.	John Connolly	Ireland	2 years	Private Gentleman.
Ens.	Jacob Glen	America	3 years	Son of John Glen, Esq., of Schenectady. Had considerable landed property.
Ens.	Miles McDonell	Scotland	3 years	Son of Capt. John McDonell.
Ens.	Eben'r Anderson	America	6 years	Son of Capt. Sam'l. Anderson.
Ens.	Duncan Cameron	Scotland	14 yrs	In service last war preceding this one.
Ens.	John Mann	America	8 years	Private gentleman.
Ens.	Francis McCarthy	Ireland	28 yrs	Formerly sergeant in the 34th Regiment.
Ens.	John Valentine	America	24 yrs	18 years in 55th and 62nd Regiments.
Ch'p lain	John Doty	America	8 years	Formerly minister of the Gospel at Schenectady.
Adjt	James Valentine	Ireland	4 years	Son of Ens. John Valentine.
Q.M	Isaac Mann	America	8 years	Merchant.
Surg	Charles Austin	England	22 yrs	14 years in hospital work.
M'te	James Stewart	Scotland	14 yrs	Surgeon's mate in the 42nd Regt. the war before last.

RETURN OF THE OFFICERS OF THE LATE SECOND BATTALION, KING'S
ROYAL REGIMENT OF NEW YORK.

Rank.	Names.	Place of Nativity.	Length of Service.	Former Situations and Remarks.
Maj.	Robert Leake	England	7 years	Had large landed property, &c., lost in consequence of the rebellion.
Capt	Thos. Gummesell	England	8 years	Formerly merchant in New York.
Capt	Jacob Maurer	Foreigner	28 yrs	Served in ye army in the 60th Regt., from 1756 to 1763, afterwards in the Quarter-Master General's Dept.
Capt	Wm. Morrison	Scotland	8 years	Was lieut., 19th June, 1776, in 1st Batt.; capt., 15th Nov., 1781, in 2nd Batt.
Capt	James McDonell	Scotland	8 years	Held 200 acres of land in fee simple, under Sir John Johnson, at £6 per 100.
Capt	Geo. Singleton	Ireland	8 years	Formerly merchant.
Capt	Wm. Redford	America	8 years	Held lands under Sir John Johnson.
Capt	— Byrns	Ireland	8 years	Held lands under Sir John Johnson.
Capt	— Lepscomb	England	7 years	Midshipman, Royal Navy.
Capt	— McKenzie	Scotland	8 years	Held lands under Sir John Johnson.
Lt.	Patrick Langan	Ireland	7 years	Private gentleman.
Lt.	Walter Sutherland	Scotland	10 yrs	Soldier and non-commissioned officer in 26th Regt.; ensign, 17th Oct., 1779, in 1st Batt.; lieut., Nov., 1781, in 2nd Batt.
Lt.	William McKay	Scotland	15 yrs	7 years volunteer and sergeant in 21st Regt.*
Lt.	Neal Robertson	Scotl and	8 years	Merchant.
Lt.	Henry Young	America	8 years	Farmer.
Lt.	John Howard	Ireland	13 yrs	Farmer; served 6 years last war, from 1755 to 1761, as soldier and non-commissioned officer in 28th Regt.
Lt.	Jeremiah French	America	7 years	Farmer.
Lt.	Phil. P. Lansingh	America	4 years	High Sheriff, Charlot county.
Lt.	Hazelt'n Spencer	America	7 years	Farmer.

Rank.	Names.	Place of Nativity.	Length of Service.	Former Situations and Remarks.
Lt.	Oliver Church	America	7 years	Farmer.
Lt.	William Fraser	Scotland	7 years	Farmer.
Lt.	Christian Wher	Foreign'r	7 years	Farmer.
Ens.	Alex. McKenzie	N. Britain	4 years	Farmer.
Ens.	Ros. McDonell	N. Britain	3 years	Farmer.
Ens.	— Hay	America	3 years	Son of Gov. Hay at Detroit.
Ens.	Samuel McKay	America	3 years	Son of the late Capt. McKay.
Ens.	Timothy Thompson	America	3 years	Private gentleman.
Ens.	John McKay	America	3 years	Son of the late Capt. McKay.
Ens.	— Johnson	Ireland	2 years	Nephew to the late Sir Wm. Johnson, Bart.
Ens.	— Crawford	America	4 years	Son of Capt. Crawford.
Ch'p lain	John Stuart	America	3 years	Missionary for the Mohawk Indians at Fort Hunter.
Adj't	— Fraser	Scotland	10 yrs	7 years soldier and non-com- missioned officer in 34th Regiment.
Q-M	— Dies	America	7 years	Farmer.
Sur.	R. Kerr	Scotland	3 years	Assistant surgeon.

The latter Battalion, as already stated, both officers and men, with some few exceptions, settled principally about Cataraqui, as Kingston was then called, on the Bay of Quinte, in the Counties of Lennox and Prince Edward, where their descendants are now to be found. Each soldier received a certificate as follows, entitling him to land. The descendants of the soldier mentioned still worthily occupy the land so well earned by their ancestor, lot one in the ninth concession of Charlottenburgh :



His Majesty's Provincial Regiment, called the King's Royal Regiment of New York, whereof Sir John Johnson, Knight and Baronet is Lieutenant-Colonel, Commandant.

These are to certify that the Bearer hereof, Donald McDonell, soldier in Capt. Angus McDonell's Company, of the aforesaid Regiment, born in the Parish of Killmoneneoack, in the County of Inverness, aged thirty-five years, has served honestly and faithfully in the said regiment Seven Years; and in consequence of His Majesty's Order for Disbanding the said Regiment, he is hereby discharged, is

entitled, by His Majesty's late Order, to the Portion of Land allotted to each soldier of His Provincial Corps, who wishes to become a Settler in this Province. He having first received all just demands of Pay, Cloathing, &c., from his entry into the said Regiment, to the Date of his Discharge, as appears from his Receipt on the back hereof.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms, at Montreal, this twenty-fourth Day of December, 1783.

JOHN JOHNSON.

I, Donald McDonell, private soldier, do acknowledge that I have received all my Cloathing, Pay, Arrears of Pay, and all Demands whatsoever, from the time of my Inlisting in the Regiment and Company mentioned on the other Side, to this present Day of my Discharge, as witness my Hand this 24th day of December, 1783.

DONALD McDONELL.

Mr. Croil states that each soldier was entitled to one hundred acres on the river front, besides two hundred acres at a distance remote from the River. If married and with a family, or if at any future time he should marry, he was entitled to fifty acres more for his wife and fifty for every child, besides which each son and daughter on coming of age was entitled to a further grant of two hundred acres. This, I believe, is what the men ultimately got, yet the Order in Council of 22nd October, 1788 (although the discharge as given above, the original of which was lent me, would seem to indicate that there had been a previous Order on the subject) recited that on the raising of the Eighty-fourth Regiment (Royal Highland Emigrants) the men were promised that on their being reduced the allotment of land should be as follows: Field Officers, 5,000 acres; Captains, 3,000; Subalterns, 2,000; Non-commissioned Officers, 200; Privates, 50, and referring to the Petitions of Sir John Johnson and Lieutenant-Colonel John Butler, on behalf of the King's Royal Regiment of New York and the late Corps of Rangers, directed that those Regiments should be placed on the same footing as regards land as the Eighty-Fourth.

Although on the termination of the War the original settlers in Glengarry and the adjacent district were, as we have seen, principally

composed of the men of Sir John Johnson's Regiment, yet many families of men who belonged to the 1st Battalion of the old Eighty-fourth or Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment also settled in the County and neighborhood, and an account of the raising and the services of that Battalion may not be out of place. It is given in Colonel (afterwards General) Stewart's "Sketches of the Highlanders of Scotland" which also contains details of the military service of the Highland Regiments. This work of the gallant Stewart of Garth, himself a soldier of high renown, seamed all over with the scars of Egypt and Spain, is most valuable and interesting. It is doubtful if any man except Sir Walter Scott ever did more to gather the fragments which relate to the proud history of Scotland.

When Colonel Stewart submitted them to Sir Walter for his perusal, and asked him to suggest a motto for them, I have somewhere seen it stated that he mentioned these lines from Shakespeare, which were adopted :

'Tis wonderful
That an invisible instinct should frame them
To loyalty unlearned : honour untaught ;
Civility not seen from others ; valour
That wildly grows in them, but yields a crop
As if it had been sowed.

Any one who doubts the entire appropriateness of those lines had better read the book.

The Eighty-Fourth, or Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment (originally embodied in 1775, but not regimented or numbered till 1778), was to consist of two battalions. Lieutenant-Colonel Allan McLean, of the late One Hundred and Fourth Highland Regiment, was appointed Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the first battalion, which was to be raised and embodied from the Highland Emigrants in Canada, and the discharged men of the Forty Second, of Fraser's and of Montgomery's Highlanders who had settled in the country after the Peace of 1763. Captain John Small, formerly of the Forty Second and then of the Twenty First Regiment, was appointed Major-Commandant of the Second Battalion, which was to be

completed in Nova Scotia from Emigrant and discharged Highland soldiers. The establishment of both was Seven Hundred and Fifty men, with officers in proportion. The Commissions were dated the 14th June, 1775.

Officers sent to the back settlements to recruit found the discharged soldiers and emigrants loyal and ready to serve His Majesty. The emigration from the Highlands, previous to this period, had been very limited. With many the change of abode was voluntary, and consequently their minds, neither irritated nor discontented, retained their former attachment to their native country and government. But there was much difficulty in conveying the parties who had enlisted to their respective destinations. One of these detachments, from Carolina, had to force its way through a dangerous and narrow pass, and across a bridge defended by cannon and a strong detachment of the rebels; "but aware that the Americans entertained a dread of the broadsword, from experience of its effects in the last War, with more bravery than prudence, and forgetting that they had only a few swords and fowling pieces used in the settlements, they determined to attack the post sword in hand, and pushed forward to the attack." But they found the enemy too strong and the difficulties insurmountable. They were forced to relinquish the attempt with the loss of Captain Macleod and a number of men killed. Those who escaped made their way by different routes to their destination. Colonel Maclean's Battalion was stationed in Quebec, when Canada was threatened with invasion by the American General, Arnold, at the head of three thousand men. Colonel Maclean, who had been detached up the River St. Lawrence, returned by forced marches, and entered Quebec on the evening of the 13th November, 1776, without being noticed by Arnold. He had previously crossed the river, and on the night of the Fourteenth made a smart attack with a view of getting possession of their out-works, but was repulsed with loss, and forced to retire to Pointe aux Trembles. The fortifications of the city had been greatly neglected, and were now in a ruinous state. The garrison consisted of fifty men of the Fusiliers, three hundred and fifty of Maclean's newly raised Emigrants and about seven hundred Militia and Seamen. General Guy Carlton, the Commander-in-Chief, being occupied with

preparations for the general defence of the Colony, the defence of the town was entrusted to Colonel Maclean, an able and intelligent officer.

Arnold having been reinforced by a body of troops under General Montgomery, determined to attempt the town by assault. On the morning of the 31st December, both Commanders, leading separate points of attack, advanced with great boldness, but were completely repulsed at all points, with the loss of General Montgomery killed and General Arnold wounded. The Highland Emigrants, though so recently embodied, contained a number of old soldiers, who, in this affair did honour to the character of the Corps in which they served.

General Arnold, disappointed in this attempt, established himself on the Heights of Abraham, with the intention of intercepting all supplies, and blockading the town. In this situation he reduced the garrison to great straits, all communication with the country being entirely cut off. This blockade he soon turned into an active siege; he erected batteries and made several attempts to get possession of the Lower Town, but was foiled at every point by the vigilant and intelligent defender, Colonel Maclean. On the approach of spring, Arnold, despairing of success, raised the siege, and evacuated the whole of Canada.

After this service, the Battalion remained in the Province during the War, and was principally employed in small but harassing enterprises. In one of these, Captain D. Robertson, Lieutenant Hector Maclean and Ensign Grant, with the Grenadier Company, marched twenty days through the woods with no other direction than a compass and an Indian guide. The object to be accomplished was to surprise and dislodge the enemy from a small post, which they occupied in the interior. This service was accomplished without loss. By long practice in marching through the woods the men had become very intelligent and serviceable in this kind of warfare.

With every opportunity and much temptation to desert, in consequence of offers of land and other incitements held out by the Americans, it is but justice to the memory of these brave and loyal men to state, on the most unquestionable authority, that not one native Highlander deserted, and only one Highlander was brought to the halberts during the time they were embodied.

RETURN OF OFFICERS OF THE FIRST BATTALION OF HIS MAJESTY'S
REGIMENT OF ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANTS.(1)

ISLE AUX NOIX, 15th April, 1778.

Rank.	Names.	Former Rank in the Army.
Lieut.-Col.	Allan McLean	Lieutenant-Colonel.
Major	Donald McDonald	
Captain	William Dunbar	Capt. late 78th Regt.
"	John Nairne	
"	Alexander Fraser	Lieut. late 78th Regt.
"	George McDougall	Lieut. 60th Regt.
"	Malcolm Fraser	Lieut. late 8th Regt.
"	Daniel Robertson	Lieut. 42nd Regt.
"	George Laws	
Lieutenant	Neil McLean (prisoner)	Lieut. 7th Regt.
"	John McLean	Ensign late 114th Regt.
"	Alexander Firtelier	
"	Lachlan McLean	
"	Fran. Damburgess (prisoner)	Ensign 21 Nov., 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)	
Chaplain	John Bethune (prisoner)	
Adjutant	Ronald McDonald	
Q'r-Master	Lachlan McLean	
Surgeon	James Davidson	
Surg's Mate	James Walker	

The Second Battalion was very quickly embodied in Nova Scotia, and was composed of the same description of men as the first, but with a greater proportion of Highlanders, among whom Major Small was held in high estimation. [He was a native of

(1) Haldimand Collection, B 213, page 15.

Strathardale in Athole. His first Commission was in the Scotch Brigade. In 1747 he obtained an Ensigny in the old Highland Regiment, and served in it till the Peace of 1763, when he was reduced as Captain. He died Major-General and Governor of Guernsey in 1796.] No chief of former days ever more firmly secured the attachment of his Clan, and no chief, certainly, ever deserved it better. With an enthusiastic and even romantic love of his country and countrymen, it seemed as if the principal object of his life had been to serve them and promote their prosperity. Equally brave in leading them in the field, and kind, just and conciliating in quarters, they would have indeed been ungrateful if they had regarded him otherwise than as they did. There was not an instance of desertion in their Battalion. Five Companies remained in Nova Scotia and the neighboring settlements during the War. The other five joined General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis' Armies to the southward. The Flank Companies were in the Battalion of that description. At Eataw Springs the Grenadier Company was in the Battalion, which, as Colonel Alexander Stewart, of the Third Regiment, states in his despatches, drove all before them.

It was not till 1778 that this Regiment was numbered the Eighty-Fourth. The Battalions, which were previously known only as the Royal Highland Emigrants, were now ordered to be augmented to one thousand men each, Sir Henry Clinton being appointed Colonel in Chief and the two Commandants remaining as before. The uniform was the full Highland garb, with purses made of racoons' instead of badgers' skins. The officers wore the broadsword and dirk, and the men a half-basket sword. All those who had been settled in America previously to the War remained and took possession of their lands, but many of the others returned home.

The men of Colonel Maclean's Battalion settled in Canada, and of Colonel Small's in Nova Scotia, where they formed a settlement or township, as it was called, and gave it the name of Douglas.

I am unable to procure a list of officers of this Battalion.

CHAPTER 6.

UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS.—LIST OF SCOTTISH NAMES APPEARING IN LORD DORCHESTER'S LIST. — A "DISTINGUISHED INDIVIDUAL'S" OPINION OF THE HIGHLANDERS OF THAT GENERATION.—MR. CROIL'S DESCRIPTION OF THE SITUATION AND CONDITION OF THE LOYALIST SETTLERS IN THE UNITED COUNTIES.

A reference to the "Old U. E. List," compiled by Government by direction of Lord Dorchester, shows the original United Empire Loyalists in the Province. In many instances, however, instead of the Township being given, it is merely stated that lands were allotted in the Eastern District. My only plan will, therefore, be to insert in the appendix the names of all who appear to have settled in that district, showing the respective Townships when given, and omitting those who are stated to have settled in Townships outside Glengarry.

This list was prepared in pursuance of the Order-in-Council of 9th November, 1789, wherein it was stated that it was His Excellency's desire "to put a Marke of Honour upon the families who had adhered to the unity of the Empire and joined the Royal Standard in America before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783 * * to the end that their posterity may be discriminated from future settlers * * as proper objects by their presevering in the Fidelity and Conduct so honourable to their ancestors for distinguished Benefits and Privileges."

The list is preserved on record in the Crown Lands Department, and it shows that those of the name of the Clan which gave its name to Glengarry outranked in number those of any other individual name in the Province, and that there were more Loyalists of that name than any three English names combined in the whole Province. But though there were more Macdonells from Glengarry in Scotland than any others, there were, as previously stated, representatives of almost every Highland Clan and every Scottish name. A list of the names will prove it, and as the statement has been made by one who professes to speak authoritatively on the subject, and to know whereof

he speaks, and writes that "the Scotch and Irish element in the United Empire Loyalists is too small as compared with the preponderating English and German to be taken into account," I give it, with the number of each name :

Anderson	23	Malcolm	1	McLaren	4 ✓
Andrews	2	Miller	20	McLaughlin	5 ✓
Armstrong	5	Morrison	5	McLean	11 ✓
✓ Bethune	2	✓ Munro	12	McLellan	4 ✓
Bruce	6	✓ Murchison	5	McLeod	4 ✓
✓ Campbell	28	Murray	2	McMartin	3 ✓
✓ Cameron	25	✓ McAlpine	1	McMaster	1 ✓
Carr	} 4	✓ McArthur	10	McMillan	1 ✓
✓ Kerr		✓ McAuley	2	McNabb	3 ✓
✓ Chisholm	13	✓ McBain	4	McNairn	1 ✓
Christie	3	✓ McCallum	1	McNaughton	2 ✓
✓ Clarke	} 8	✓ McCrimmon	1	McNeil	5 ✓
Clark		✓ McDonald	8	McNish	3 ✓
Crawford	4	✓ McDonell	84	McPhee	1 ✓
✓ Cumming	4	✓ McDougall	5	McPherson	6 ✓
Edgar	1	✓ McDuff	1	Ramsay	2
✓ Ferguson	15	✓ McFall	3	Robertson	8 ✓
✓ Fraser	27	✓ McGillis	5	Rose	15
Gordon	2	✓ McGregor	6	Ross	20 ✓
✓ Grant	35	✓ McGruer	4	Scott	4 ✓
✓ Graham	8	✓ McIntyre	7	Stewart	5 ✓
Gray	4	✓ McIntosh	11	Stuart	6 ✓
Gunn	1	✓ McKay	10	Sutherland	8 ✓
✓ Haggart	2	✓ McKenzie	8	Young	20
Livingstone	8				

I quote from the original list. Names were subsequently added, from time to time, by Order in Council, on the special application of those who had omitted to take the precaution in the first instance. The additions would not alter the proportion of the above nomenclature. I am satisfied, however, from facts within my knowledge, that many of the Highlanders never took the trouble of having their names inserted at all, first or last. Thus Bishop Macdonell (who came to Canada over twenty years after the Loyalists had settled here) writing subsequently, states, "I had not been long in the Province when I found that few or none of even those of you who were longest settled in the country had legal tenures of your properties. Aware that if trouble or confusion took place in the Province your properties would become uncertain and precarious, and under this impression I proceeded to the seat of Government, where,

after some months hard and unremitting labour, through the public offices, I procured for the inhabitants of Glengarry and Stormont patent deeds for one hundred and twenty-six thousand acres of land." When they would not trouble about taking out their patents, many of them would not think of having their names inserted on the roll.

The above list is, I submit, a fair representation of those who to-day comprise what the author of the essay referred to, Mr. George Sandfield Macdonald, B.A., of Cornwall, is pleased to designate as the "Keltic" population of the Province of Ontario. For further information on the subject and a comparison of the number of the "Kelts" with the English and Germans amongst the Loyalist settlers of the Eastern District I refer him to Lord Dorchester's list, simply stating that of the three English names most frequently met with, Smith, Jones and Brown, there were, all told, just eighty, or four less than of one Highland Clan, while of the Germans, taking as a criterion all the names to which the prefix "Van" is attached, from Van Allen to Van Vorst, there were but forty-two, exactly half of the number of those from whom the County of Glengarry took its name.

The statement to which I have referred, however, is not the only one in this singular essay, which was read before the Celtic Society of Montreal, which requires explanation and correction. We are gravely informed that the "'Keltic' settlers in Canada of the period spoken of" (the early settlement of Glengarry, 1783-6) "had no mental qualifications to entitle them to take rank with the founders of the American plantations," that "unlike the Puritans of New England, the Catholics of Maryland, the Cavaliers of Virginia, the Huguenots of South Carolina and the followers of William Penn, the compelling force leading to change of country was in contrast to the motives of a higher order, as in those cases," that "long subjection to the despotism of chiefs and landlords had numbed the finer qualities and instincts," and that "even the physique had degenerated under oppression." We are told, too, that an analysis is required of the generations which have succeeded the original settlers, psychological and sociological no less, to grasp the full significance of the lives and actions of those he is pleased to consider "distinguished individuals," and the "people" among whom they deigned to move, which was a very gracious condescension on the part of these distinguished individuals, seeing that "the experience and ideas of the 'people' were confined within the smoke of their own bush

fires." Now, all this may be very fine writing, and display a large amount of culture in one doubtless a typical specimen of the modern distinguished individuals referred to, but it is very grievous rubbish nevertheless, and a most uncalled for and gross calumny on the men who left Scotland and settling in Canada, after fighting through the War, were largely instrumental, not only in preserving it by their prowess, but developing it from the primeval forest to the fruitful land it is to-day. Their descendants will neither credit nor relish the unworthy sneers at the stunted limbs and intellects and ignoble motives of those to whom they have every reason to look back with pride, and who laid the foundations of the homes and Institutions we now enjoy.

This, however, is a digression. The facts are there to speak for themselves, and are themselves a refutation of the theories and allegations of the essayist—as well might he tell us that the men of the same generation who entered the Highland Regiments, and to whom Pitt referred, were feeble and stunted of limb, with their finer qualities numbed and their instincts dwarfed by years of oppression and tyranny of "so-called chieftains."

Glengarry, where they settled, is the most easterly County of what is now the Province of Ontario, "the upper country of Canada," to the south being the River St. Lawrence, on the east the Counties of Soulanges and Vaudreuil in the Province of Quebec, to the north the County of Prescott, and the west that of Stormont. Alexandria, which may be considered the centre of the County, is about mid-way between the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers, and is about equi-distant from the political and commercial capitals of the Dominion—or to be precise, fifty-six miles from Ottawa and fifty-four from Montreal. The United Empire Loyalists of course settled largely in the front of the County, along the banks of the River St. Lawrence, the later emigrants locating themselves in rear of the preceding ones to the north.

Mr. Croil, in his "Sketch of Canadian History," gives an admirable description of the situation and condition of the United Empire Loyalist soldier-settler in the adjacent County of Dundas, equally applicable, of course, to his late comrade in arms in Glengarry. The circumstances of the officers and their families were necessarily somewhat better; as having the pensions of their respective ranks at the date of the reduction of the various corps,

they could rely upon a supply of ready money at certain stated intervals, and though the amount was comparatively small, yet money went far in those primitive days, and their families had but few opportunities of indulging any extravagant tastes they might have acquired from their former circumstances of life. Owing to the number of officers who settled in the Eastern District of the Province they formed among themselves a society quite equal to that of any portion of the Province, while their birth and education enabled them to hold their own with the official circles at York or among the largely mercantile aristocracy of Montreal when occasion arose for them to visit either of those places. Such was their number that a Board of Officers, composed of Colonel John Macdonell (Aberchaldler), of Glengarry, Captain John Macdonell (Scotus), of Cornwall, and the Reverend John Stuart (formerly Chaplain Second Battalion, King's Royal Regiment of New York), of Kingston, was required to administer the necessary oaths to enable them to draw their pensions from time to time.

Mr. Croil states the Proclamation of Peace between Great Britain and the United States of America witnessed at least a partial fulfilment of the prophecy that "men shall beat their swords into plough-shares and their spears into pruning hooks." The brave and loyal subjects, who during the fierce struggle which then culminated had remained faithful to the British Crown, being no longer required to fight their country's battles, were now destined in a very different way to add to their country's greatness. It was determined that liberal grants of land should be freely given to the disbanded soldiers. This was simply characteristic of that principle of high honour and justice which, in every period of its history, has distinguished the British Government. The properties of all who had withstood the Republican Government in the States were of course confiscated, and peace being proclaimed, not only was the soldier's occupation gone, but his farm and all his earthly possessions were forfeited for ever.

Having arrived at Cornwall, or "New Johnstown" as it was then called, in compliment to Sir John and the capital of their former settlement in the fertile Mohawk Valley, the soldiers found the Government Land Agent, and forthwith proceeded to draw by lottery the lands that had been granted to them. The townships in which the different corps were to settle being first arranged, the lots were

numbered on small slips of paper, and placed in a hat, when each soldier in turn drew his own. As there was no opportunity for examining the comparative quality of the lands, so there was little choice in the matter ; but by exercising a spirit of mutual accommodation, it frequently resulted, that old comrades who had stood side by side in the ranks, now sat down side by side, on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

With what feelings of intense interest, mingled even with awe and melancholy, must these settlers have regarded this introduction to their new wilderness home ! How impatient each to view the particular spot where his lot had been cast ! Everywhere save in the neighbourhood of the Longue Sault Rapids the landscape wore an aspect of wild and gloomy solitude : its solemn stillness interrupted only by the deep murmuring of the mighty river as it rolled along its flood to the ocean. On leaving the river, the native grandeur of the woods, tenanted only by the Indian hunter and his scarce more savage prey, must have filled them with amazement. Well might they exclaim, is this our inheritance, our future home ! Are these to be at once our enemies and our associates ! Can it be that these giant denizens of the forest are to succumb to our prowess, and that this vast wilderness is to be converted into fruitful fields !

The first operation of the new settler was to erect a shanty. Each, with his axe on his shoulder, turned out to help the other, and in a short time every one in the little colony was provided with a snug log cabin. All were evidently planned by the same architect, differing only in size, which was regulated by the requirements of the family, the largest not exceeding twenty feet by fifteen feet inside, and of one storey in height. They were built somewhat similar to the modern back-woodman's shanty. Round logs, roughly notched together at the corner, and piled one above another, to the height of seven or eight feet, constituted the walls. Openings for a door, and one small window, designed for four lights of glass seven by nine, were cut out—the spaces between the logs were chinked with small splinters, and carefully plastered outside and inside, with clay for mortar. Smooth straight poles were laid lengthways of the building, on the walls, to serve as supports for the roof. This was composed of stripes of elm bark, four feet in length, by two or three feet in width, in layers, overlapping each other, and fastened to the poles by withs. With a sufficient slope to the back, this formed a roof which

was proof against wind and weather. An ample hearth, made of flat stones, was then laid out, and a fire back of field stone or small boulders, rudely built, was carried up as high as the walls. Above this the chimney was formed of round poles notched together, and plastered with mud. The floor was of the same materials as the walls, only that the logs were split in two, and flattened so as to make a tolerably even surface. As no boards were to be had to make a door until they could be sawn out by the whip saw, a blanket suspended from the inside for some time took its place. By and by, four little panes of glass were stuck into a rough sash, and then the shanty was complete; strangely contrasting with the convenient appliances and comforts of later days. The total absence of furniture of any kind whatever, was not to be named as an inconvenience by those who had lately passed through the severest of hardships. Stern necessity, the mother of invention, soon brought into play the ingenuity of the old soldier, who, in his own rough and ready way, knocked together such tables and benches as were necessary for household use.

As the sons and daughters of the U. E.'s became of age, each repaired to Cornwall, and presented a petition to the Court of Quarter Sessions, setting forth their rights; when, having properly identified themselves, and complied with the necessary forms, the Crown Agent was authorized to grant each of them a deed for two hundred acres of land, the expenses incurred not exceeding in all two dollars. In addition to the land spoken of, the settlers were otherwise provided by Government with everything that their situation rendered necessary—food and clothes for three years, or until they were able to provide these for themselves; besides, seed to sow on their new clearances, and such implements of husbandry as were required. Each received an axe, a hoe and a spade; a plough and one cow were allotted to two families; a whip and cross cut-saw to every fourth family, and even boats were provided for their use, and placed at convenient points of the river. They were of little use to them for a time, as the first year they had no grists to take to mill.

But that nothing might seem to be wanting, on the part of Government, even portable corn mills, consisting of steel plates, turned by hand like a coffee mill, were distributed amongst the settlers. The operation of grinding in this way, was of necessity very slow; it came besides to be considered a menial and degrading employment, and,

as the men were all occupied out of doors, it usually fell to the lot of the women, reminding us forcibly of the Hebrew women of old, similarly occupied, of whom we have the touching allusion in Holy Writ, "Two women shall be grinding at the mill, the one shall be taken and the other left."

In most cases, the settlers repaired to Cornwall each spring and fall, or during the winter, and dragged up on the ice, by the edge of the river, as much as he could draw on a hand sled. Pork was then, as now, the staple article of animal food; and it was usual for the settlers, as soon as they had received their rations, to smoke their bacon, and then hang it up to dry; sometimes it was thus left incautiously suspended outside all night: the result not unfrequently was, that, while the family was asleep, the quarter's store of pork would be unceremoniously carried off by the wolves, then very numerous and troublesome, and in no wise afraid of approaching the shanty of the newly arrived settler. Frequently, too, during the night, would they be awakened by these marauders, or by the discordant sounds of pigs and poultry clustering round the door to escape from their fangs.

There was in former times a deal of valuable timber standing in the Counties. Huge pine trees were cut for ship's masts, measuring from ninety to one hundred and twenty feet in length, and from forty to forty-eight inches in diameter, when dressed for market. One such piece of timber must have weighed from twenty or twenty-five tons. These mast trees were dragged from the woods by from twelve to sixteen pairs of horses. A single tree was sold in Quebec as a bow-sprit for \$200. Of white oak, averaging when dressed from forty-five to sixty-five cubic feet, and of the best Canadian quality, there was abundance; this found a ready market at from 2s. 6d. to 3s. per foot; inferior quality of this timber was converted into stave blocks, and also shipped to Quebec. At a later period, large quantities of elm and ash were sent to market from this County, while beech and maple, then considered worthless, were piled up in log heaps and burned, the ashes being carefully gathered and sold to the merchants, to be made into potash.

There being ample employment on the father's farm, yet uncleared, for all his sons, there was little inducement for these to think of setting up for themselves; as a consequence, the lands the children had drawn were of little value to them in the meantime. U. E.

rights became a staple article of commerce, and were readily bought up by speculators, almost as fast as they came into the hands of the rising generation. A portion of what remained to the farmer or his family was soon sold in payment of taxes, at sheriff's sales, and these lots, too, usually fell into the hands of land jobbers. Many of the lots had never been seen by the parties who drew them, and their comparative value was determined either by their distance from the river, or the pressing necessity of the party holding them. It thus happened that lands in the rear townships, which in a very few years brought from twenty to thirty dollars per acre, were then considered worthless ; and lots even more favourably situated, in respect to locality, were sold, if not for an old song, at least for a new dress, worth perhaps from three to four dollars in cash. We have even been told credibly that two hundred acres of land, upon which now stands a flourishing village in the adjoining County of Dundas, was, in these early days, actually sold for a gallon of rum. The usual price of fair lots was from \$25 to \$30, some even as high as \$50 per 200 acres. At \$30 the price would be fifteen cents per acre. The same lands were even then resold to settlers, as they gradually came in from Britain and the United States, at a price of from \$2 to \$4 per acre, thus yielding a clear profit to the speculator of 1000 per cent. on his investment, a profit in comparison with which, the exorbitant interest of later days sinks into utter insignificance.

The summer months were occupied by the early settlers in burning up the huge logs that had previously been piled together, and in the sooty and laborious work of re-constructing their charred and smouldering remains into fresh heaps ; the surface was then raked clear of chips and other fragments, and in the autumn the wheat was hoed in by hand. During winter every man was in the woods, making timber, or felling the trees to make way for another fallow. The winters were then long, cold and steady, and the fall wheat seldom saw the light of day till the end of April ; the weather then setting in warm, the dormant breaks of wheat early assumed a healthy and luxuriant vegetation. Thistles and burdocks, the natural result of slovenly farming, were unknown, and neither fly nor rust, in these good old days, were there to blight the hopes of the primitive farmer. The virgin soil yielded abundantly her increase ; ere long there was plenty in the land for man and beast, and, with food and raiment, the settler was contented and prosperous.

There was in the character of the early settlers that which commanded the admiration and respect of all who were brought into contact with them. Naturally of a hardy and robust constitution, they were appalled neither by danger nor difficulties, but manfully looked them fair in the face, and surmounted them all. Amiable in their manners, they were frugal, simple and regular in their habits. They were scrupulously honest in their dealings, affectionate in all their social relations, hospitable to strangers, and faithful in the discharge of duty.

While we say this much of the early settler, let us not be understood as wishing to hold them up as paragons of perfection—as examples in all things to their descendants. They had their failings, as well as their virtues, but we must make allowances for the circumstances in which they were placed. They were charged by the early missionaries, and perhaps with some degree of truth, “as woefully addicted to carousing and dancing,” but these were the common and allowed amusements of the times in which they lived. It may, however, be said with truth, that forms of licentiousness and profligacy, which are not uncommon in the present day, would have aroused the indignation of the early settler, and met with reprobation, if not chastisement at their hands. It is true, they were not of those who made broad their phylacteries, or wore of a sad countenance, disfiguring their faces, and for a pretence made long prayers. Inured to a life of hardship and toil,—without the check of a Gospel ministry, and exposed to the blunting influence of the camp, the barrack and the guard room, we must be content to find them but rough examples of Christian life. The scrupulous and distrustful vigilance, however, with which modern professors of every creed eye their fellow men, and require every pecuniary engagement, no matter how trivial, to be recorded in a solemn written obligation, stands out in striking contrast to the practice of the early settlers, among whom all such written agreements were unknown, every man’s word being accounted as good as his bond. Lands were conveyed and payments promised by word of mouth, and verbal agreements were held as sacred as the most binding of modern instruments.

In course of a few years the settlers were enabled to supply themselves with the necessaries of life from the mill and the store, and the roving and dissipated life of the soldier was forgotten, in the staid and sober habits of the hard working farmer. A few of a more

adventurous turn of mind at times would man a boat, and, ascending the river to Oswego, take a circuitous route by lakes and rivers, betimes carrying their boats shoulder high for miles at a stretch, and finally reach the green valley of the Mohawk, dear to them still in memory. Returning, they brought such articles of merchandize with them as they could transport, and, providing themselves with a passport at Carleton Island, they swiftly glided down the river. The following is a copy of such a passport:—

Inward. John Loucks, two men, two women, three children.	}	Permit the boat going from this to pass to Kingston with their provisions, family, clothing, bedding, household furniture and farming utensils, they having cleared out at this post, as appears by their names in the margin. Given under my hand at Fort Ontario, 21st day of May, 1795.
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To whom concerned.

A. McDONELL, P.O. (1)

Having sufficiently trespassed on Mr. Croil's pages, I shall now quote from those of Judge Pringle.(2) The latter is himself a descendant of a United Empire Loyalist family, and has certainly done much towards collecting such records relating to them as are at this late date accessible :

It is unfortunate that no effort was made in the early days of the settlement to preserve records of the services, the labours and the sufferings of the U. E. Loyalists both before and after their coming to Canada.

One can easily understand why such records are so few. For many years after 1784 there were but few who were able to keep a diary, and they, in common with the rest of the settlers, were too busy, too much engaged in the stern work of subduing the forest and making new homes, to have much time for anything but the struggle for existence.

Each U. E. Loyalist had some story to tell of the stirring times through which he had passed. Some of the older men could speak of service in the French war, under Howe, Abercrombie, Wolfe, Amherst or Johnson ; perhaps of the defeat of Braddock, or of the desperate fight at the outworks of Ticonderoga, where Montcalm drove back Abercrombie's troops ; of success at Frontenac or Niagara ; of scaling the Heights at Quebec, and of victory with Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham ; of the long and perilous voyage down the

(1) Croil's "Dundas, or a Sketch of Canadian History," pp. 129-141.

(2) "Lunenburg, or Old Eastern District," p. 29, et seq.

St. Lawrence with Amherst, and of the capitulation of Montreal. There were but few who could not tell of adventures in the Seven Years' War from 1776 to 1783, and of loss of home, property and friends, for the part they took in it; while many could speak from personal experience of cruel wrong and persecution suffered by them as a punishment for their loyalty. No doubt when neighbours met together on a winter evening to chat beside the great fireplace filled with blazing logs, many an hour was passed in the telling of tales of the troubles and adventures they had encountered. These stories have gradually faded and become dim in the recollection of the people; here and there a few facts can be got from some family that has cherished the remembrance of them as an heirloom. A Fraser could tell of the imprisonment and death of a father; a Chisholm of imprisonment, and escape through the good offices of a brother Highlander in the French service; a Dingwall of the escape of a party through the woods, of sufferings from cold and hunger, of killing for food the faithful dog (1) that followed them, and dividing the carcase into scanty morsels; a Ferguson of running the gauntlet, imprisonment, sentence of death, and escape; an Anderson of service under Amherst, of the offer first of a company, then of a battalion, in the Continental Army, as the price of treason, of being imprisoned and sentenced to death, and of escape with his fellow-prisoner to Canada.

It is probable that not a few of the Highlanders could tell of service on one side or the other in the abortive rising under "Bonnie Prince Charlie" in 1745, which, after successful actions at Preston Pans and Falkirk, was quenched in blood on Culloden Muir in 1746. Some, like John McDonell (Scotus), (2) might be able to show a claymore with blade dented by blows on the bayonets of Cumberland's Grenadiers.

(1) One of the party got the dog's tail, which he ate with great relish, declaring it to be the sweetest morsel he ever tasted.

(2) Grandfather of the late Donald Eneas McDonell, at one time Sheriff of the Eastern District and for many years Warden of the Kingston Penitentiary. John Macdonell, who was a Captain in the K. R. R. N. Y., was known as "Spanish John," from the fact of his having been long in the Spanish Service.

CHAPTER 7.

LOYALISTS IN THE UPPER COUNTRY OF CANADA DESIRE A CHANGE IN THE TENURE OF LAND AND SEPARATION FROM THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.—ADDRESS TO LORD DORCHESTER FROM LEADING SETTLERS IN GLENGARRY AND VICINITY.—HIS REPLY.—HE RECOMMENDS ACQUIESCENCE IN REQUEST OF LOYALISTS.—FORMATION OF DISTRICTS OF LUNENBURG, MECKLENBURG, NASSAU AND HESSE BY PROCLAMATION, 24TH JULY, 1788.—PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA ESTABLISHED AND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT ASSIGNED TO ITS PEOPLE, 26TH DECEMBER, 1791.—DIVIDED INTO COUNTIES.—FIRST COMMISSION OF THE PEACE, EASTERN DISTRICT.—EXTRACTS FROM RECORDS OF FIRST COURT OF THE DISTRICT.

Shortly after their settlement in the Upper Country, some among the leaders of the Loyalists took strong exception to the tenure of land in Canada, alleging that it subjected them to the rigorous rules, reservations and restrictions of the French laws and customs, which they found far different from the mild tenures to which they had ever been accustomed, and on behalf of the officers and soldiers of the Provincial Troops and Indian Department, they forwarded in April, 1785, a petition to the King, in which they proposed as a remedy against the hardships indicated that a district from Point au Boudet (the south-east limit of the present County of Glengarry and of the now Province of Ontario) westward should be formed, distinct from the Province of Quebec; that it should be divided into counties, with Cataraqui (now Kingston) for its metropolis, and that the land therein should be held on the same tenure, practically, as existed in England.

The reasons and considerations respecting the proposals are given at length by the petitioners in a very able document. They alleged that they had been born British Subjects, and had ever been accustomed to the government and laws of England; that it was to restore that government and be restored to those laws, for which from husbandmen they became soldiers, animated with the hope that,

even in the most gloomy aspect of public affairs, should they fail in their attempts to recover their former habitations by a restoration of the King's Government, they would still find a refuge in some part of the British Dominions where they might enjoy the blessings to which they had been accustomed, and that they still professed the greatest confidence that through His Majesty's gracious interposition they would be exempt from the burden of the tenures complained of, which, however congenial they might be to men born and bred under them, were nevertheless in the highest degree exceptionable to Englishmen. They cited the case of the settlers in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and asked to be placed in the same relative situation with the inhabitants of those Provinces.

Again, on the return to Canada of Sir Guy Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, who had a second time been appointed Governor-General of Canada, and who was much beloved by his old soldier comrades of the earlier period of the Revolutionary War, (1) addresses were presented to him from the leading settlers in the neighborhood of New Johnstown (Cornwall), Oswegatchie (Oswego and vicinity) and Catarqui (Kingston), in which latter the matter of land tenure was again alluded to.

That from New Johnstown was as follows :—

“To His Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Dorchester, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in British America, &c., &c.

“The address of the subscribers on behalf of themselves and the other inhabitants in the neighbourhood of New Johns Town,

(1) Sir Guy Carleton had been Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Canadas from 1768 to June, 1778, when he was replaced by Sir Frederick Haldimand. He was, on his elevation to the Peerage as Baron Dorchester, re-appointed to his former position and command in October, 1786, and so continued until July, 1796, and thus served longer by far than any other Governor-General since the conquest of Canada. He was the descendant of an ancient family which had lived in Cornwall, England, for centuries previous to the Norman Conquest. He was born about 1725, and entered the army at an early age. He accompanied Wolfe's Expedition to Canada, was present at the first and second battles on the Plains of Abraham; was specially mentioned in despatches by both Townshend and Murray; continued under the command of the latter and became Brigadier-General. To his bravery, activity and self-possession, may largely be attributed the salvation of Canada at the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, when with but 800 men at his disposal he successfully resisted the attacks of the American Generals Arnold, Montgomery and Morgan. Upon Burgoyne being appointed Commander-in-Chief in America, considering himself slighted by the Government, he, in a despatch to Lord George Germaine dated 27th June, 1777, requested his recall, “being fearful that the marks of Your Lordship's displeasure should effect not me but the King's Service and the tranquility of his people, nor thinking it wise that the private enmity of the King's servants should add to the disturbances of his reign.” In 1782 he was appointed to succeed Sir Henry Clinton as Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in America. When elevated to the Peerage in 1786, Parliament voted him a pension of £1,000 per annum during his life, that of his wife and eldest son. It is impossible to estimate the value of his public services to Canada. He married a daughter of the second Earl of Effingham, by whom he left a large family. He died in 1808, aged eighty-three years. His name is commemorated in the metropolitan County of Carleton in Ontario and the County of Dorchester in Quebec.—Morgan's Celebrated Canadians.

comprehending six Townships from Point au Boudet upwards.

“Permit us, my Lord, to congratulate you upon your safe arrival once more into this Province, and to participate in the general joy which this event has occasioned, a joy which can be only equalled by the regret which was felt upon your departure.

“Our warmest thanks are due to Your Lordship for your early attention to our wants. This proof of your regard, with many others, will never be erased from the memory of us or our posterity. We shall teach our children to venerate the name and the memory of the man who at all times and on all occasions has ever distinguished himself as our advocate and our friend.

“We feel the most sensible pleasure on the marks of honour as well as power conferred on Your Lordship by Our Most Gracious Sovereign, who is ever desirous to reward distinguished merit, and we are thankful to Providence for having dictated a choice which of all others is the most approved of by the universal voice of all classes and all denominations of people.

“We cannot omit this opportunity of acknowledging our gratitude to His Majesty for his Royal favour and patronage, and we must request Your Lordship to be so good as to signify to Our Most Gracious Sovereign that this infant settlement, though at a remote distance from the Throne, is nevertheless peopled with subjects animated with sentiments of the warmest zeal and attachment to His Person and Government.

“To conclude, may you My Lord, Lady Dorchester and your family enjoy every pleasure that health, honor and affluence, united to the consciousness of having contributed to the happiness of many, can bestow.

“New Johnstown, 2nd December, 1786.

“JAMES GRAY, Major King’s Royal Regiment of New York.
 RICHARD DUNCAN, Captain late Royal Regiment of New York.
 ALLAN MACDONELL, Captain late Royal Regiment of New York.
 ALEXANDER MACDONELL, Captain late Royal Regiment New York.
 ARCH’D MACDONELL, Captain late Royal Regiment of New York.
 JNO. MACDONELL, Captain late Royal Regiment of New York.
 HUGH MACDONELL, Lieut. late King’s Royal Regiment New York.
 S. ANDERSON, Captain late Royal Regiment of New York.
 MALCOLM McMARTIN, Lieut. late Royal Regiment of New York.
 RICH’D WILKINSON, Lieut. late Six Nations Indian Department.
 PETER EVERITT, Lieut. late Royal Regiment of New York.
 NEIL McLEAN, Lieut. late Eighty-Fourth Regiment.
 J. ANDERSON, Lieut. late Royal Regiment of New York.
 JACOB FARRAND, Lieut. late Royal Regiment of New York.
 WILLIAM FAULKNER, C.P.
 WALTER SUTHERLAND, Lieut. late Royal Regiment of New York.”

His Lordship’s reply to these addresses, directed to Mr. Stephen

Delancy, who had been charged with the presentation of them, was as follows :

“ QUEBEC, 14th December, 1786.

“ SIR,

“ You will communicate to the inhabitants of the Townships of New Johnstown, Oswegatchie and Catarqui, my thanks for their professions of regard for me. You will at the same time assure them that nothing could be more acceptable to me than the sense of gratitude they testify for His Majesty's paternal attention to their situation, and which they so warmly and so dutifully express. Agreeable to their request, the memorials shall be transmitted and laid at the foot of the Throne.

“ I am, with regard,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ DORCHESTER.”

“ Stephen Delancy,
“ Inspector of Loyalists.” }
}

The addresses were transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with the following communication from His Excellency :

“ QUEBEC, 3rd January, 1787.

“ MY LORD,

“ The addresses from the settlements of New Johnstown, Oswegatchie and Catarqui are sent to Your Lordship, as it is requested that their sentiments of gratitude and zeal and attachment to His Majesty may be transmitted.

“ They also express hopes that the same privileges and indulgences which their fellow-sufferers and fellow-subjects enjoy in the other new formed settlements in British America will be extended to them. I asked Mr. Delancy, who presented the addresses, what their general expressions meant. He answered that he thought they regarded the terms on which they were to hold their lands.

“ The conditions of lands held in Canada en roture is in truth much more heavy and disadvantageous than in any other Province in America, but of this I hope to be able to write more fully to Your Lordship in the course of next summer. My answer is also enclosed.

“ Many other addresses have been presented, but as they contained no matter which requires particular notice, I have not transmitted them to Your Lordship.

“ I am, with respect and esteem,

“ Your Lordship's most obedient

“ And most humble servant,

“ DORCHESTER.

“ The Right Honourable }
“ Lord Sydney, }
“ &c., &c.” }

Up to this time, the Province of Quebec was divided into two Districts, viz.: those of Quebec and Montreal, the latter containing the whole of the territory which the Loyalists thus sought to have erected into a separate District, and which now constitutes the great Province of Ontario. Lord Dorchester was as good as his word to the Western Loyalists, and having represented the matter to the Home Government, he, by the King's instructions, on the 24th July, 1788, issued a proclamation whereby four new Districts were formed, that of Lunenburg, extending from the eastern limit of Lancaster northerly to Point Fortune on the Ottawa, and westerly to the mouth of the River Gananoque. It comprehended the Townships of Lancaster, Charlottenburg, Cornwall, Osnabruck, Williamsburg, Matilda, Edwardsburg, Augusta and Elizabethtown, all of them extending northward to the Ottawa River. The other Districts were Mecklenburg, extending from Gananoque to about Belleville, Nassau from the latter place to Long Point on Lake Erie, and Hesse comprising the rest of Canada to the western boundary of the present Province of Ontario. The territorial nomenclature was calculated to inspire the House of Guelph with a lively interest in the welfare of the infant settlement! Previous to the formation of the four new Districts, and while the upper country still formed portion of the District of Montreal, magistrates had been appointed, though the Commission under which they acted cannot now be found nor its date ascertained. Judge Pringle states, however, that it must have been previous to the 29th July, 1786, as there is a commission dated on that day to "Samuel Anderson, of New Johnstown (Cornwall), one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the District of Montreal," authorizing him to administer oaths to certain parties in a matter before the court, and he is of the opinion that the gentlemen who held commissions in the disbanded battalions were generally appointed magistrates. He mentions that there is no record of their having held any Courts of General Sessions of the Peace before the issuing of Lord Dorchester's proclamation, though there are traditions of Magistrates' Courts having been held, and of rough and ready justice being summarily dealt out to offenders.

The same authority, and there is none better, states :

"The first Court in the District of Lunenburgh, of which any record exists, was the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, held at Osnabruck on the 15th day of June, 1789. It is not stated in what

part of Osnabruck the Court met ; the place must have been in the front, probably near what is now known as Dickinson's Landing. The records of the Courts of General Sessions for the District of Lunenburg—afterwards the Eastern District, and now the United Counties of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry—have been very carefully kept ; the books containing the minutes of the proceedings from the 15th of June, 1789, until the present time, are in the office of the Clerk of the Peace at Cornwall. They contain the names of Magistrates, Officers of the Court, Jurors, and parties to cases tried, and not a little information of the olden time that may be of interest to the present generation.

The magistrates who had been appointed before the Province of Upper Canada was formed, continued to act and to hold the Courts of General Quarter Sessions, until Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe issued a new Commission of the Peace for the Eastern District. This Commission, which is now among the records in the office of the Clerk of the Peace at Cornwall, is dated at the Government House, Navy Hall, * on the 10th day of June, 1793. The old magistrates were re-appointed, and some new ones were added to the original number. The names of those in the commission of 1793 are : The Honourable William Osgoode, Chief Justice (1) ; William Dummer Powell, Esquire (2) ; the Honourable Alexander Grant (3) ; the Honourable Peter Russell (4) ; the Honourable James Baby (5) ; Richard Duncan (6), John McDonell (7), John Munro (8), James Gray (9), Edward Jessup (10), Walter Sutherland (11), William Falkner (12), Richard Wilkinson (13), William Byrnes (14), Thomas Swan (15), Jeremiah French (16), Archibald McDonell (17), Allen McDonell (18), William Fraser (19), Peter Drummond (20), Justus Sherwood (21), Ephraim Jones (22), William Buel (23), Thomas Sherwood (24), Alexander McMillan (25), Alexander McDonell (26), Samuel Anderson (27), Joseph Anderson (28), James Stuart (29), Allan Patterson (30), Malcolm McMartin (31), Samuel Wright (32), James Brackenridge (33), Alexander Campbell, of Augusta (34) ; Neil McLean (35), Miles McDonell (36), Vermiel Lorimier (37), Hugh McDonell (38), Alexander Campbell, of Johnstown (39) ; Thomas Fraser (40), Andrew Wilson (41) and Neil Robertson (42)†,

* At Niagara, then the seat of Government.

† I have taken considerable trouble to trace the record of these gentlemen. The first five were ex-officio commissioners. It will be seen that the remainder were almost without exception officers of the disbanded Loyalist Regiments. The personnel of Commission contrasts not

Esquires, who are directed "to enquire the truth most fully, by the oath of good and lawful men of the aforesaid District, of all and all manner of felonies, poisonings, inchantments, sorceries, arts magick, trespasses, forestallings, regratings, ingrossings, and extortions whatsoever, and of all and singular other crimes and offences of which the Justices of the Peace may or ought lawfully to enquire."

On the 26th December, 1791, the division of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada took place, Constitutional Government was granted, and the people, through their representatives, were placed in a position to settle the tenure of their lands and other matters for themselves. Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe issued a Proclamation, dated the 16th day of June, 1792, dividing the Province into Counties, the easternmost of which were then, as now, styled Gengarry, Stormont and Dundas. At the first session of the Legislature of Upper Canada, in 1792, an Act was passed changing the names of the Districts. Under that Act the District of Lunenburg became the Eastern District.

The oldest book of the records of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the District of Lunenburg shows that the first session of that Court began at Osnabruck on the 15th day of June, 1789. The magistrates present were :—

John McDonell,	Justus Sherwood,
Richard Duncan,	Ephriam Jones,
James Gray,	William Falkner,
Thomas Swan,	William Fraser,
Jeremiah French,	Archibald McDonell.

unfavorably, with those of the present day in the Province of Ontario :—1. Chief Justice of Upper Canada. 2. Then Commissioner of Oyer and Terminer of Upper Canada; Chief Justice, 1815. 3, 4 and 5. Members of the Executive and Legislative Council of Upper Canada. 6. Legislative Councillor of Upper Canada; formerly a Captain First Battalion King's Royal Regiment of New York. 7. Formerly a Captain Butler's Corps of Rangers; Speaker First Parliament of Upper Canada and Lieutenant-Colonel Second Battalion Royal Canadian Volunteer Regiment of Foot. 8. Formerly Captain King's Royal Regiment of N.Y., First Battalion. 9. Formerly Major K.R.R.N.Y. 10. Formerly Major Commandant Loyal Rangers. 11. Formerly Lieutenant K.R.R.N.Y. 12. Name on Lord Dorchester's list as U.E.; Corps and rank not stated. 13. Lieutenant Six Nations Indian Department. 14. Captain K.R.R.N.Y. 15. Name on Lord Dorchester's list as U.E.; Corps and rank not stated. 16. Lieutenant K.R.R.N.Y., Second Battalion. 17. Captain K.R.R.N.Y., First Battalion. 18. Captain-Lieutenant K.R.R.N.Y. 19. Captain Loyal Rangers (Jessup's Corps). 20. Captain Loyal Rangers (Jessup's Corps). 21. Captain Loyal Rangers (Jessup's Corps). 22. An Officer of the Commissariat Department. 23. Stated in Lord Dorchester's list to have been Ensign, Royal Rangers; name does not appear in list of officers on reduction of Regiment. 24. Ensign Loyal Rangers (Jessup's Corps). 25. An officer in Delancie's Brigade. 26. Greenfield. 27. Captain K.R.R.N.Y., First Battalion. 28. Lieutenant K.R.R.N.Y., First Battalion. 29. Surgeon's Mate K.R.R.N.Y. 30. Cannot trace this gentleman. 31. Lieut K.R.R.N.Y., 1st Batt. 32. Name on Lord Dorchester's list as U.E.; Corps and rank not stated. 33. Captain Loyal Rangers (Rodger's Corps). 34 and 30. One a Lieutenant Royal Rangers. 35. Lieutenant Eighty-Fourth or Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment. 36. Ensign K.R.R.N.Y., First Battalion. 37. Cannot trace this gentleman. 38. Lieutenant K.R.R.N.Y., First Battalion. 40. Captain Loyal Rangers (Jessup's Corps). 41. Cannot trace this gentleman. 42. Lieutenant K.R.R.N.Y.

It is not stated who the Chairman was. The Grand Jurors empannelled were :—

1 Alexander Campbell (Foreman),	13 Gideon Adams,
2 Peter Drummond,	14 John Dulmage,
3 Thomas Fraser,	15 James Campbell,
4 John McKenzie,	16 Alex'r Campbell,
5 George Stewart,	17 David Brackenridge,
6 John Seymour,	18 Ephriam Curry,
7 Malcolm McMartin,	19 John Jones,
8 Neil McLean,	20 Elijah Bottom,
9 Martin Walter,	21 William Snyder,
10 John Pescod,	22 Daniel Campbell,
11 Ranald McDonell, Jr.,	23 Matthew Howard,
12 Ranald McDonell, Sr.,	24 Thomas Robertson.

The first case was tried on Tuesday, the 16th day of June, 1789. The following is an exact copy of the entry of the proceedings, and I regret that Judge Pringle's researches compel me to chronicle the fact that the defendant was a namesake of my own, candour, however, obliging me to acknowledge that I am not in the very least surprised at the nature of the indiscretion charged against honest Ranald, who I hope got the worth of the money out of the other fellow! A careful examination of subsequent records of the Court of Quarter Sessions might possibly disclose the fact that namesakes of Ranald's have not unfrequently contributed, in the most public-spirited manner, to the public exchequer as the result of similar little controversies with their neighbours, and I have been given to understand that the privilege is now somewhat more expensive than it was a hundred years ago, when Ranald appears to have differed in opinion with Mr.

McKay:

The King, on Pros.,

Alexander McKay,

vs.

Ranald McDonell,

} In Assault and Battery.

Sent up the bill of indictment to the Grand Jury. The Grand Jury return a true bill. The defendant, being arraigned, pleads not guilty. It is ordered, on motion of the prosecution, that the trial come on immediately, by consent of the defendant. The jury empannelled and sworn to try the issue of this traverse were :

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1 William Phillips, | 7 Joseph Loucks, |
| 2 Jacob VanAllen, | 8 Anthony Wallaser, |
| 3 Jacob Weegar, | 9 John Wart, |
| 4 Michael Hains, | 10 Jacob Merkle, |
| 5 David Jaycocks, | 11 Adam Empey, |
| 6 John Coons, | 12 Nicholas Ault. |

Witness for the prosecution, Angus McKay. The jury having heard the evidence, retired to consider their verdict, in charge of Duncan McArthur, bailiff. The jury having returned into court, say, by William Phillips, their foreman, that the defendant is guilty, as laid in the indictment. The court having considered the verdict of the jury, it is ordered that the defendant do pay a fine of one shilling, and that he stand committed till paid.

The following persons were appointed Constables for Glengarry :
Lancaster—Richard Fountain, Benjamin Baker.

Charlottenburg—Finnan McDonell, Charles Ross, Duncan McArthur.

CHAPTER 8.

SERVICES OF SIR JOHN JOHNSON.—200,000 ACRES ABANDONED BY HIM IN THE UNITED STATES.—LORD DORCHESTER RECOMMENDS HIM AS FIRST LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF UPPER CANADA.—POLICY OF HOME GOVERNMENT OPPOSED TO THE APPOINTMENT OF RESIDENTS TO THE GOVERNMENT.—DESPATCH OF THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.—FIRST REFERENCE TO GLENGARRY SETTLEMENT.—COLONEL JOHN MACDONELL (ABERCHALDER).—HE AND HIS BROTHER HUGH MACDONELL ELECTED MEMBERS IN FIRST PARLIAMENT OF UPPER CANADA.—HE IS ELECTED ITS SPEAKER.—LIST OF MEMBERS.—SOME FACTS RELATING TO THEM.—ACTS PASSED AT FIRST SESSION.

Sir John Johnson, who had been so intimately associated with those who became the first settlers of Glengarry, did not altogether sever his connection with them. Portion of the land which was allotted to him in consideration of his signal services to the Crown was situated in the County of Glengarry in the immediate vicinity of what is now known as "Stone House Point." He had, I am told, selected a site for his residence, of which the foundation had been laid, where the house now occupied by Colonel Alexander Fraser is built on the River St. Lawrence, on what is now known as Fraser's Point.(1)

Judge Pringle states that what are locally known as "the Indian Lands," a narrow strip between the western townships of Glengarry and the eastern ones of Stormont, are said to have been intended for Sir John Johnson, and to have been held for the Indians on Sir John's declining to accept of them. This, of course, would have been a very extensive grant—many thousands of acres—yet it must be remembered that, as stated by Mr. Stone, "he voluntarily gave up

(1) Colonel Fraser died since the above was written, June 5th, 1891, much and deservedly respected.

domains in what is now the United States larger and fairer than had ever belonged to a single proprietor in America, William Penn only excepted," and that of all the eminent men among the Loyalists none were at all comparable to him, either as regards the extent of the sacrifices made or the importance of the services rendered throughout the War from its commencement to its close. Two hundred thousand acres of valuable land was what he surrendered.

He also owned a large tract of land in the neighborhood of Williamstown, so named by him after his father, Sir William, and where he built the first mills. As showing the interest which Sir John Johnson took in the County of Glengarry, it may be mentioned that on the 25th of June, 1814, he presented to Neil McLean, then Sheriff of the Eastern District, and his successors in office, twelve acres of land in Williamstown for the purpose of a fair ground for the people of the Counties, being the site of the present Glengarry Agricultural Society grounds. He never, however, permanently resided in Glengarry, the nature of his occupation not permitting of it. He had been appointed at the close of the War Superintendent-General and Inspector-General of the Six Nation Indians, his commission as such being dated March 14th, 1782. He was Colonel-in-Chief of the Six Battalions of Militia of the Eastern Townships, and a member of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada, to which he was summoned 24th January, 1797. He had been knighted by the King in his father's lifetime, at St. James, on the 22nd November, 1765, when but twenty-three years of age. The Rev. Mr. Campbell mentions in his "History of St. Gabriel Church, Montreal," that the Patent of Baronetcy, conferred upon his father, contains a most singular clause, which gives the title of "Knight" to the eldest son in this family on his attaining his majority. Sir John was always, in official documents, designated, after his father's death, as "Knight and Baronet," thus showing that the Knighthood did not merge in the Baronetcy. He owned the Seigniory of Argenteuil, and was for many years a conspicuous figure in Canada. He was born on November 5th, 1742, and died at his residence, St. Mary's, in the County of Rouville, on January 4th, 1830, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, and was buried in the family vault at his seat on the south side of the St. Lawrence, near Montreal. He is described in Jones' "History of New York" as bold, resolute, spirited, brave and active, and his career undoubtedly proved it.

Mr. Morgan states in his "Celebrated Canadians" that Sir John's eldest son, William Johnson, entered the army, became a Colonel in the Service, and was killed at Waterloo. He was succeeded in the Baronetcy by his eldest surviving son, Sir Adam Gordon Johnson, who, dying without issue, was succeeded by the present Baronet, Sir William George Johnson, of Twickenham, England, son of John Johnson, of Point Oliver, Montreal, a younger brother of Sir Gordon, who died before the latter. A niece of Sir John's became Lady Clyde; a grand-daughter married Alexander, Count Balmain, Russian Commissioner at St. Helena, and others of his descendants made distinguished alliances.(1)

Lord Dorchester had on the 15th March, 1790, in a despatch to the Right Honourable William Wyndham Grenville, strongly recommended Sir John as the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada on the ground of his eminent services. The answer of the Secretary of State shows, however, that not only had the appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe been decided upon previous to the receipt of Lord Dorchester's despatch, and that Simcoe had been duly notified of the fact, but it sets out fully and clearly the policy of the British Government then prevailing and ever since pursued in regard to the appointment of residents of the Colonies to the government of the same. No one can question its wisdom, however great may be his appreciation of Sir John's services, which rendered his claim paramount to that of Simcoe or any other individual whomsoever. It was, I believe, the intention to have followed the same wise course in Canada at the time of Confederation in regard to the appointment of the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces, but local circumstances, the short tenure of office, and the comparatively circumscribed nature of their functions and powers, probably led to a different course being adopted with regard to these officers.

The following is the despatch referred to :

(Private and Confidential.)

WHITEHALL, 3rd June, 1790.

MY LORD,—

I think it right to take this mode of mentioning to Your Lordship rather than by an official despatch, that previous to the receipt of Your Lordship's despatch No. 20, I had submitted to His Majesty the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe for the Lieutenant Government of Upper Canada, supposing the proposed division of

(1) Campbell's History of St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church, Montreal.

the Province of Quebec to be carried into effect, and that I had been directed by His Majesty to express to that officer His Majesty's approbation of his appointment.

In making this selection, I had not overlooked the situation and services of Sir John Johnson, but motives of very considerable weight in my opinion induced me to think that the nomination of a person belonging to that Province, and possessing such large property in it, was not desirable, especially in the first formation of the new Government. The disadvantage to His Majesty's Service which might be expected from the effect of local habits, connections and interests appear to me to be more than sufficient to counterbalance those benefits which may be stated as arising from the same circumstances.

I mention this more particularly to Your Lordship because it is uncertain whether, in the event of hostilities with Spain, Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe may not be employed on some different service, and because even in that event I think it right to apprise Your Lordship that great objections would, in my opinion, subsist against naming Sir John Johnson.

I have no positive information how far Sir John Johnson has been induced to look to this object, nor what his probable line of conduct would be in case of disappointment. Your Lordship will, of course, see that it is very material for me to receive confidentially your opinion on this point, on account of the great embarrassment which might be thrown in the way of Government at its first outset in the new Province, if all the members of the Legislative Council were appointed at the recommendation of any person, however distinguished in point of situation or services, who was not cordially and sincerely disposed to co-operation with the King's representative.

I have the honour to be,

With great truth and regard, My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful and
Obedient humble servant,

W. W. GRENVILLE.

The Right Hon'ble Lord Dorchester.

An unpublished MS. diary of Major R. Mathews, of the Fifty-Third Regiment, and Military Secretary to Lord Dorchester, the original of which is to be found in the Education Office, Toronto, contains the first reference I can find to the Loyalist settlement in Glengarry and west. It is a journal of a voyage made by him to Detroit in 1787. Under date of May 3rd of that year, he notes, "General Hope spoke to me upon the situation of affairs at Detroit."

May 4th. Signified to Lord Dorchester my feelings at being absent from my Regiment at a time when the complexion of affairs in the Upper Country appears rather gloomy, and my regret at the

necessity of relinquishing the honour of attending him. His Lord received and approved of my proposal to join my Regiment in the handsomest manner; would not allow of its making any alteration in my situation with him, and said he had business at Detroit, etc., to charge me with, on which he would expect me to return and report to him in the fall, provided the situation of affairs above would permit. I therefore prepared immediately to set off.

On the 17th May he arrived at Coteau du Lac, the next entry under date 18th May being as follows:—

Got on board the bateaux at 4 o'clock, and proceeded to Longueil, the entrance to the lake. Were there obliged to stop owing to a violent head wind, which made the lake impracticable. At 2 o'clock the wind moderated, and we pushed off. Got to Point au Baudet at 6, where one McGee, formerly in Sir John Johnson's Corps has a settlement, on which he has made very rapid progress. Halted about 15 minutes, and proceeded to Point l'Toroniere; arrived there at half after eight o'clock, and on my way passed Lieutenant Sutherland's settlement, situated in a deep bay. We were not near enough to form any judgment of the land, but he seemed to have cleared a good deal. Halted for a few minutes, and was just pushing off for Sir J. Johnson's Point when a violent gust came on, which determined me to put up for the night in an uninhabited house.

May 19th. Set off at 4 o'clock, the wind still high and contrary, weather disagreeably cold. Passed Mr. Falconer's settlement at a distance, and landed at a small house within two miles of Captain Alexander Macdonell's. Walked to his house and breakfasted. The situation here is delightful and the soil very fine. He has cleared a great deal of land, and bids fair for having a fine farm in a short time. We proceed on foot to Mr. Wilkinson's. He is situated close to the river, by a fine creek, where he is erecting a potash and means to build a mill. There are two inconsiderable settlements above this, and then an interval of four miles belonging to St. Regis Indians, the points of which and situation are very favorable for settlement, and from the wood growing the soil must be very rich. The first settlement from this interval is strikingly beautiful, being situated upon an easy, regular slope, facing the south, and defended from the raking east and west winds. A fine island, richly clothed with wood, and some meadow ground before it. I believe it is the property of Major Gray. Got on this evening to the lot of one Nave of Sir John Johnson's Corps. He is married to a very young woman, and has a man who was taken prisoner at Quebec in '75 to assist him on his farm. He is married to a Canadian woman, and these two couples live together in the same house, consisting of a single room, but the neatest and most cleanly I ever saw. Here we lay.

20th. Proceeded at 4 this morning. Still unfortunate in our

wind. Passed the Long Sault about 2 o'clock, and got to Captain Duncan's about six in the evening. Drank tea here with Captain J. Monro and Lieutenant McMartin. Walked from thence about two miles to Thompson's, who was in Sir J. Johnson's Corps. A sensible man, seemingly very industrious, having all materials ready to enlarge his house and much ground cleared. He is married to an old Dutch woman. It rained hard this whole day.

21st. Set off at half after four. Stopped at Captain J. Monro's, two miles from where we lay and breakfasted with him. His having been in England prevented him from building, nor has he yet cleared much. He lives at present in a hut belonging to one of the men. Halted here near two hours, and proceeded to Major Jessup's by 4 in the evening. Walked with him over the front of his lot, which is situated opposite the Fort of Oswegatchie. He has not yet built, but has most of the material collected and has cleared a great deal of land. I think this lot in point of situation, regularity of ground and goodness of it superior to any I have yet seen. The Major came on board and proceeded with us to Captain Sherwood's, about four miles further. He has built a very tolerable house upon his farm lot in New Oswegatchie, some distance from his farm, and has already a potash going forward. We did not find him at home, and after waiting about half an hour in hopes of seeing him we got on board.

Of the Loyalist officers who settled in Glengarry, probably the most conspicuous in the future history of the Province was John Macdonell, then younger of Aberchalder. He shortly became one of the most leading men in Upper Canada. He had served during the whole Revolutionary War, first in the Eighty-Fourth or Royal Highland Emigrants, and for the last five years and ten months in command of a company of Butler's Rangers. His father, Captain Alexander Macdonell, and his brothers, who had also held commissions in the several Loyalist Regiments, likewise settled in the Township of Charlottenburgh (on the regiments being disbanded) on the banks of the River St. Lawrence about six miles east of Cornwall, where they drew a very large tract of land. The ruins of their seat, destroyed many years ago by fire (in 1813), but well known in its day as Glengarry House and renowned for its hospitality, are still to be seen on what is now called "Stone House Point." It was, I understand, the first stone and largest house in Upper Canada.

When writs were issued by Colonel Simcoe for the election of members for the first Parliament of Upper Canada, John Macdonell was, together with his brother, Hugh Macdonell, returned to

represent the County of Glengarry, which extended from the St. Lawrence to the Ottawa River and which had two representatives. The proclamation of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe forming the Province into counties, and allotting the number of representatives was dated 16th July, 1792. Nineteen counties were formed, namely: Glengarry, Stormont, Dundas, Grenville, Leeds, Frontenac, Ontario, Addington, Lennox, Prince Edward, Hastings, Northumberland, Durham, York, Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Kent. Sixteen representatives were to be returned, and for the purpose of representation in the Legislature the following arrangements were made: Glengarry was divided into two ridings each to send a representative; Stormont one member, as also Dundas and Grenville, each; Leeds and Frontenac together were to have a representative; Ontario and Addington together one member; Prince Edward together with the late township of Adolphus, in the county of Lennox, one member; Lennox, except Adolphus, with Hastings and Northumberland together, to elect one member; Durham and York and the first riding of Lincoln were together to have but one member; the second riding of Lincoln one member; the third riding of Lincoln one member; the fourth riding of Lincoln and the county of Norfolk together one member; Suffolk and Essex together one member; Kent, which included all the west, not Indian territories, to the Hudson's Bay, to have two members.

I have had great difficulty in procuring the names of the members of the first Legislature of the Province. It is remarkable how little can be ascertained with regard to these matters, and I believe it is utterly impossible to obtain a correct list of the members and the constituencies for which they sat. The fact is, all the parliamentary records prior to 1813 were destroyed when York was taken by the Americans in April of that year. Copies of such of the journals as were transmitted to England have lately been procured, but do not contain the names of the members of the earlier Legislatures.

Dr. Canniff, in his work "The Settlement of Upper Canada," after giving a list of the Districts into which the Province was first divided for the purposes of representation, mentions the names of the gentlemen who sat in the first House, but in answer to an enquiry he informs me that he is unable to assign their respective constituencies. I fancy, therefore, that it is only from records in the possession of the families of people living in Canada at the time, or from

other private sources, that a list can be compiled, and information thus afforded would, I am sure, be acceptable to all who are interested in the early history of the Province. I will mention such facts as I have been able to gather from books and papers within my reach regarding the gentlemen who composed the first Legislature, in the hope that others will throw further light upon the subject, as it is only by such means that we can arrive at what is of much historic interest, if not of importance.

Dr. Canniff mentions at page 534 that the following were elected members of the first House:

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|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. John Macdonell, Speaker. | 9. Hugh Macdonell. |
| 2. Joshua Booth. | 10. Benjamin Pawling. |
| 3. Mr. Baby. | 11. Nathaniel Pettit. |
| 4. Alexander Campbell. | 12. David William Smith. |
| 5. Philip Dorland. | 13. Hazelton Spencer. |
| 6. Jeremiah French. | 14. Isaac Swazy. |
| 7. Ephraim Jones. | 15. — Young. |
| 8. William Mocomb. | 16. John White. |

Nos. 1 and 9.—The careers of Colonel John Macdonell, the Speaker, and Mr. Hugh Macdonell, his brother, the members for Glengarry, are given in these pages at length.

2. Joshua Booth.—A U. E. Loyalist. His name is entered in Lord Dorchester's List with the note, "S. G. Sergeant," and his residence is there stated to have been Ernest-town. I can find nothing to show the constituency for which he set or any other facts relating to him.

3. Mr. Baby.—It will be observed the Christian name is not given by Dr. Canniff. This name was long, intimately and honourably associated with the County of Essex, and the presumption is that the gentleman referred to was a member of the family of that name resident there before the taking of Quebec by Wolfe, and that he represented "Suffolk" and Essex. I had at first assumed it must have been the Honourable James Baby who was appointed by Colonel Simcoe a member of the first Executive Council of Upper Canada at Kingston, on the 8th July, 1792, and who for many years was Inspector-General of the Province. I make this suggestion under correction, however, as Mr. Morgan states in his "Biographies of Celebrated Canadians," that Mr. James Baby became a member of the Legislative as well as of the Executive Council at that time

(1792), and continued in the regular and efficient discharge of the duties of those eminent stations until his death in 1833, and he could not well have been a member of both branches of the Legislature at the same time.

4. Alexander Campbell.—Mr. Croil in his work, "Dundas, or a Sketch of Canadian History," mentions that Alexander Campbell was the first member for the County of Dundas, and states that "the little that is known of his history presents few inducements to prosecute the enquiry" as to who or what he was, adding, "his character is summed up in this, that he was familiarly known at the time by the unenviable soubriquet of 'Lying Campbell.'" Possibly he may have made pledges to his constituents which he was unable to carry out, and it being the only instance of that kind which our political history affords, his name is handed down to posterity in this unfortunate manner! In Lord Dorchester's list there appears the name of "Alexander Campbell, Esquire," his residence being given as the Eastern District, and it is stated that he was a Lieutenant in the Loyal Rangers. Probably the same person.

5. Philip Dorland.—This gentleman appears to have lived in Adolphustown, and the presumption is that he was elected to represent the County of Prince Edward, to which the Township of Adolphus was attached. Mr. Dorland, being a Quaker, refused to take the oaths, and the House unanimously passed a resolution that he was therefore incompetent to sit and vote in Parliament, whereupon a writ issued for a new election, and Peter Van Alstine was elected in his stead. Mr. Van Alstine also lived in Adolphustown, and was a U. E. Loyalist, as his name appears in Lord Dorchester's list, with the, to me, enigmatic note, "Cuylers, Captain."

6. Jeremiah French.—A U. E. Loyalist, in Lord Dorchester's list his residence being given as the Eastern District. He was a Lieutenant in the King's Royal Regiment of New York (Second Battalion), in which he served nine years. I presume Mr. French represented Grenville.

7. Ephraim Jones.—A U. E. Loyalist who settled in the Township of Augusta, County of Leeds, and was the father of the late Mr. Justice Jonas Jones and grandfather of the late Mr. Ford Jones, M.P., and other well-known gentlemen. Stated in Lord Dorchester's list to have been a Commissary. Mr. Read in "The Lives of the Judges" mentions that after the Revolutionary War Mr. Jones had

charge of the supplies granted by the British Government to the settlers in Upper Canada. Mr. Jones living in the County of Leeds, the presumption would be that he represented that County; but it will be observed that Leeds and Frontenac were then united for purposes of representation, and Dr. Canniff quotes from a despatch of Colonel Simcoe, wherein he states, "it was by good fortune that the temporary residence I made at Kingston created sufficient influence to enable us to bring the Attorney-General White into the House"—from which the inference might be drawn that Mr. White was returned for Frontenac, in which County Kingston is situate, and which was joined to Leeds. Mr. Ephraim Jones' son and grandson most worthily represented the County of Leeds at many different times and until a quite recent period.

8. William Mocomb.—I can find no mention made of this gentleman in any books to which I have access.

10. Benj. Pawling.—A U. E. Loyalist who was Captain-Lieutenant in Butler's Rangers. Lord Dorchester's list states he resided in the Home District. No doubt he was member for one of the ridings of Lincoln, as Butler's Rangers settled in the Niagara District on the Regiment being disbanded.

11. Nathaniel Pettit.—Resided in the Home District; stated in Lord Dorchester's list to have been "an active Loyalist."

12. David William Smith.—Morgan's "Celebrated Canadians" gives an account of this distinguished gentleman. He was a Captain in the Fifth Foot, and was afterwards called to the Bar of Upper Canada, with precedence as Deputy Judge Advocate; was appointed Surveyor-General of Lands, one of the trustees for the Six Nations and a member of the Executive Council; sat in the three first Parliaments, and was Speaker of the second and third Parliaments. For his public services in Canada he was created a Baronet by patent August 30th, 1821. Died at Alnwick, England, 9th May, 1837. Mr. Bain, the Librarian at Toronto, lately procured all the valuable public documents relating to the Province which Mr. Smith took with him on his return to England. Probably Mr. Smith represented Durham and York and the first riding of Lincoln.

13. Hazelton Spencer.—A U. E. Loyalist. I find from a return of the officers of the R. C. V. Regiment that he served eleven months with the Incorporated Loyalists, three years five months and two days as a Volunteer in the King's Royal Regiment of New York, two

years seven months and four days as a Lieutenant in the same Corps, and five years and seven months in the Second Battalion Royal Canadian Volunteer Regiment of Foot. In 1803 he was Lieutenant of the County of Lennox, and was also Colonel of the Lennox Militia Regiment. No doubt he sat for Lennox in the first Parliament.

14. Isaac Swazy (Query, Swayze).—A U. E. Loyalist described in Lord Dorchester's list as "Pilot to the New York Army," residing in the Home District. Mr. Swayze represented one of the ridings of Lincoln. In 1804, when the constituencies were rearranged (not then termed gerrymandered!) the same gentleman and Ralph Clench, Esq., represented the second, third and fourth ridings of Lincoln.

15. — Young.—Several of this name (twenty in all) were U. E. Loyalists, the most prominent being Lieutenant John Young, formerly of the Indian Department, who resided in the Home District, but whether or not he was the gentleman who sat in the House I am unable to state.

16. John White.—The first Attorney-General of the Province who came to Canada in 1792, and was killed in a duel with Mr. Small, Clerk of the Executive Council, January 3rd, 1800. For which constituency he sat I am unable to state, though from Colonel Simcoe's despatch, before referred to, it may possibly have been Leeds and Frontenac. Dr. Scadding, in "Toronto of Old," page 246, quotes the remarks made by the "Oracle" and Niagara "Constellation" regarding Mr. White at the time of his death, both highly eulogistic.

Dr. Ryerson, in his book, "The Loyalists of America and their Times," states that the members of this Assembly have been represented as "plain, home-spun clad farmers and merchants from the plough and the store," and very properly remarks that "the members of our Legislature have always, for the most part, been such from that day to this, but many of the members of the first Parliament of Upper Canada had possessed respectable and some of them luxurious homes, from which they had been exiled by narrow-minded and bitter enemies; they had fought on battle fields for the country whose forests they now burned and felled; their home-spun garments were some of the fruits of their own industry and that of their

wives and daughters," remarks fully borne out by the few facts I have stated regarding these gentlemen, from which it will be seen they were largely composed of officers of the disbanded Regiments of the Revolutionary War. So far as our own County is concerned I can affirm with truth, that in the hundred years which have intervened the County has never been represented by gentlemen whose eminent public services and high station and character surpassed those of our two first members.

Three members of the Legislative Council and five members of the House of Assembly were present when the first Parliament assembled.

The House having met in a camp tent at Newark (now Niagara) on Monday, the 17th September, the first entries made in the Journals (copies of which have lately been procured from England, and are now to be found at the Parliamentary Libraries at Ottawa and Toronto) are as follows :—

"The House having met, all the members were severally sworn in by William Jarvis, Esquire, who acted by special commission from His Excellency."

"The House having proceeded to the election of its Speaker, John Macdonell, Esquire, one of the members for the County of Glengarry, was unanimously elected to be Speaker."

He would appear to have served in that capacity during all that Parliament, and, as far as can be ascertained, during the first Session of the Second Parliament, as on the meeting of the House on the 9th June, 1798, being the second Session of the Second Parliament, it is stated in the Journals that—

"Mr. Speaker addressed the House in the following words, to wit :—

"Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

"As you have done me the honour to call me to the chair of this House, I feel it a duty I owe to the recollection of the services of Colonel Macdonell to move that in order to mark the sense I entertain of his former situation as Speaker, a place be considered appropriated to him during the present Session, being the first next to the chair on the right hand side.

"To which recommendation the House unanimously agreed, and it was ordered accordingly."

Eight Acts were passed at the first Session of the Legislature, the first and most important introducing the English Law in all matters relating to Property and Civil Rights. Chapter II. Established

Trial by Jury. Chapter III. established a Standard for Weights and Measures. Chapter IV. Abolished the Summary Proceedings in the Court of Common Pleas in actions under Ten Pounds Sterling. Chapter V. Related to the Prevention of Accidents by Fire. Chapter VI. Established the Procedure for an Easy and Rapid Recovery of Small Debts. Chapter VII. Regulated the Toll to be taken in Mills ; and Chapter VIII. Provided for the building of a Gaol and Court House in each of the four Districts of the Province, and altered the names of the Districts to the Eastern, Midland, Home and Western Districts respectively.

The first division which can be ascertained took place in the Legislature of this Province on the 20th June of that year. It is probable that divisions had previous taken place, but owing to the loss of so many of the Journals the first I can find is as follows. It is interesting as showing the members of the Second Parliament of the Province :—

“Mr. Speaker read the third time as engrossed the Bill to authorize and allow persons coming into this Province to bring with them their negro slaves.

“Mr. Solicitor-General” (Robert Isaac Dey Grey, who was then Member of the County of Stormont) “moved that the said Bill do not pass, and that the question be thereof put (sic), and the yeas and nays taken down in distinct columns ; whereupon the question was put and the members were as follows :

YEAS.

Colonel Macdonell.
Mr. Beasley.
Mr. Hardison.
Mr. Robinson.
Captain Fraser.
Mr. Jessup.
Mr. Street.
Mr. Jones.

NAYS.

Mr. Solicitor-General.
Mr. Rogers.
Mr. Cornwall.
Captain Wilkinson.

CHAPTER 9.

THE FIRST REGIMENT RAISED IN UPPER CANADA.—THE SECOND BATTALION R. C. V. REGIMENT OF FOOT.—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MACDONELL, M.P. FOR GLENGARRY, PLACED IN COMMAND.—HEADQUARTERS AT FORT GEORGE.—VOLUNTEER THEIR SERVICES TO ANY QUARTER OF THE GLOBE.—THANKS OF DUKE OF KENT.—REDUCTION OF REGIMENT DURING PEACE OF AMIENS.—RETURN OF OFFICERS.—LIST OF OFFICERS FIRST OR LOWER CANADIAN BATTALION.—COLONEL MACDONELL'S MEMORIAL.—STATE OF THE MILITIA.—LIEUTENANTS OF COUNTIES.—COLONEL MACDONELL RECOMMENDS FORMATION OF A CORPS OF HIGHLAND FENCIBLES IN GLENGARRY.—COLONEL BROCK APPROVES OF PROPOSAL AND TRANSMITS RECOMMENDATION TO WAR OFFICE.—DEATH OF COLONEL MACDONELL.

In 1794 a number of Independent Companies were in existence in Upper Canada, which in 1796 were, with others in Lower Canada, embodied in a Regiment of two Battalions, the second Battalion being under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonell, the member for Glengarry. This Regiment was placed on the Permanent Establishment, and was known as the Royal Canadian Volunteer Regiment of Foot. The Second Battalion was the first Corps raised in Upper Canada.(1) The First Battalion was com-

(1) This distinction is not infrequently claimed for the Queen's Rangers, the second Corps of that name, but the contention is as unfounded as much else that emanates from the same source, though it is constantly dinned into our ears on every possible and impossible occasion, and reiterated until it has almost been recognized as a fact. Let me state that when Colonel Simcoe was named Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada he obtained leave to raise a corps of four hundred rank and file. Captain Shank, a meritorious soldier, was appointed senior officer and left Canada to raise the corps in England, which mission being successful, they were equipped as a light infantry corps, and embarked for Canada in April, 1792. Captain Shank received his brevet of Major in 1794, and on Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe leaving Canada he commanded the Regiment until its reduction at the Peace of Amiens in 1802. This Regiment, I believe, was chiefly occupied in the construction of what is now Yonge street, running north some miles from Toronto through the County of York to Lake Simcoe.

manded by Lieutenant-Colonel De Longueuil, with Louis DeSala berry as Major. The Second Battalion garrisoned this Province from 1796 until disbanded in 1802, as did the First Battalion the Province of Lower Canada during the same period.

Colonel Macdonell's headquarters were at Fort George (Niagara) during the period the Regiment was on service. Detachments were stationed at the following places, viz.: Kingston, under Major Spencer; St. Joseph's Island, under Captain Drummond; Amherstburg, under Captain Hector McLean; Fort Erie, under Captain Wilkinson; Fort Chippewa, under Lieutenant William Crawford.

In 1800 a suggestion appears to have been made that it would be of advantage if the Second Battalion, R. C. V., would extend its service to any part of British America, and Colonel Macdonell having submitted the matter to the officers under his command, was enabled to address the following letter to the Officer commanding in Canada:

“FORT GEORGE, February 20, 1800.

“SIR,

“I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th November, with enclosures.

“The suggestion that the services of the Second Battalion Royal Canadian Volunteers might be usefully extended to the different parts of British North America in general was no sooner made known to the five companies forming the garrison in this post, Fort Erie, and Fort Chippewa than they were most cheerfully offered, and generally showed a desire to extend them to any part of His Majesty's dominions.

“The officers (as might be expected from such Loyalists) expressed satisfaction at having an opportunity of testifying their zeal and attachment to their King by tendering their services in any part of the globe to which they might have the honour of being called. I shall have the honour of reporting to you as soon as possible the sentiments of the other four companies at Kingston, Amherstburg, and St. Joseph. I think, however, I can vouch that their zeal to His Majesty's service is not less than the companies I have already mentioned. The example of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Corps is certainly highly meritorious, and would no doubt operate

strongly in exciting an emulation in others ; but I have the vanity to believe that the Second Battalion of Royal Canadian Volunteers would have offered their services even had the other Provincial Corps not shown the example.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ J. MACDONELL.

“ To Lieutenant-General Hunter,

“ Commanding His Majesty's Forces in both Canadas.”

The offer of service which Colonel Macdonell was thus authorized to make on behalf of his Battalion was acknowledged by H. R. H. the Duke of Kent in the following letters :

Extract from letter of the Duke of Kent to Lieutenant-General Hunter, commanding the Forces in the Canadas, through his Aide-de-Camp, Major Gordon :—

“ KENSINGTON PALACE, DECEMBER 15, 1800.

“ With respect to your letter of the 26th of July, containing an enclosure from Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, commanding the Second Battalion Royal Canadian Volunteers, of the four companies of that Corps stationed at Kingston and Amherstburg, to extend their services as Fencibles throughout British America, I am commanded to desire that the thanks of His Royal Highness may be communicated to those four companies for this fresh mark of their zeal for the service and attachment and loyalty to their Sovereign.”

Extract from a letter from the Duke of Kent to Lieutenant-General Hunter :—

“ PAVILLION, Brightelmstone, October 25th, 1800.

“ SIR,

“ I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 12, dated York, July 25, which reached me together with its several enclosures on the 25th ult.

“ Your letter of the 26th of July to Major Gordon enclosing Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell's report that four more companies of the Second Battalion of the Royal Canadian Volunteers had volunteered the extension of their services to the whole of British North America having arrived at the same time, I am enabled to desire you to authorize that officer to express to the officers and men of those companies my thanks in the same manner as he was desired to do to those of the former five.

“ EDWARD.”

Colonel Macdonell was obliged to adhere steadily to his post from the first raising of the Regiment, as appears from a letter addressed by him to the Military Secretary at Quebec dated September 1, 1800:

“Not having it in my power to examine into the state of the Militia of the County of Glengarry, nor of my private affairs since the first raising of the Royal Canadian Volunteers, I take the liberty to request of Lieutenant-General Hunter leave of absence for a few weeks for those purposes.

“Captain McMillan has requested me to apply for leave of absence for him on private affairs in Glengarry, he not having been absent since he first joined.”

This Regiment was, together with many others, and including all the Fencible Regiments in the service, disbanded during the Peace of Amiens in 1802.

The following is the return on the reduction showing the names of the officers of this Battalion, with their respective length and record of service:—

RETURN OF THE OFFICERS OF THE SECOND BATTALION ROYAL CANADIAN VOLUNTEER REGIMENT OF FOOT.

Rank.	Name.	Service.
Lieut.-Col.	John Macdonell	15 years and 4 months; 3 years and 2 months late 84th Regiment; 5 years and 10 months late Butler's Rangers, and 6 years and 4 months Royal C. V.
Major	Hazelton Spencer	12 years and 6 months; 11 months with the incorporated Loyalists; 3 years 5 months and 2 days as Volunteer in K.R.R.N.Y.; 2 years 7 months and 4 days as Lieutenant in said Corps, and 5 years and 7 months in the 2nd Batt. Royal Canadian Volunteers.
Captain	Peter Drummond	
“	Hector McLean	14 years and 5 months; 9 years Lieut. in late 84th Regiment and 5 years and 5 months in R. C. Volunteers.
“	Neil McLean	10 years and 3 months; 6 years Lieut. and Ensign in 84th, and 4 years and 8 months in R. C. V.
“	Miles Macdonell	8 years; 2 years Ensign in K.R.R.N.Y., and 6 years in R.C.V.
“	Richard Wilkinson	13 years; 8 years Lieut. in K.R.R.N.Y. and 4 years and 5 months in R.C.V.

Rank.	Name.	Service.
Captain	Alex. McMillan.	11 years; 7 years in 1st Batt. de Lancia's Brigade, and 6 months as Volunteer in the late 71st, and 4 years in the 2nd Batt. R.C.V.
"	Chassegras de Lery	1 year 9 months.
"	Richard Ferguson	9 years and 5 months; 3 years in King's Rangers as Volunteer and 6 years and 5 months in R.C.V.
Lieut.	William Fraser	
"	Wm. Crawford	8 years and 2 months; 2 years and 9 months as Volunteer and Ensign in K.R.R. N.Y., and 5 years and 5 months in R.C.V.
"	H. de Hortell.	
"	Wm. Johnson.	
"	Ranald McDonnell	32 years and 7 months; 6 years and 6 months in 17th Regt.; 12 years in 60th; 8 years and 4 months in late 84th, and 5 years and 9 months in the 2nd Batt. R.C.V.
"	Angus McDonell	6 years.
"	Thomas Fraser	5 years.
"	P. Taschereau	4 years and 3 months.
"	Pierre Malhoit	3 years and 10 months.
"	J. B. Duchesnay	4 years and 6 months.
Ensign	Pierre Boucherville	4 years and 2 months.
"	William Dean	
"	Peter Grant	3 years and 11 months and 1 day.
"	Geo. Ermatinger	3 years and 11 months.
"	Chas. Laninier	2 years.
"	Jos. Bordwine	3 years and 10 months.
"	Robt. Wolsey	3 years and 4 months.
"	Stephen McKay	3 years and 3 months.
"	Frederick Deane	3 years and 3 months.
"	Jos. Chenique	1 year and 6 months.
Chaplain	Jos. Duval	4 years.
Adjutant	John Crampton	23 years; 7 years and 8 months in the 69th, and 11 years and 10 months in 60th, and 4 years in the 2nd Batt. R.C.V.
"		
Q.-Master	And. Cameron	4 years.
Surgeon	James Davidson	8 years and 6 months; 4 years and 6 months in the late 84th, and 4 years in R.C.V.
As't. Surg.	Cyrus Anderson	6 years; 4 years in 2nd Batt. R.C.V., and 2 years as Volunteer in the 1st Batt. K.R.R.N.Y.

The names of the First (Lower Canadian) Battalion may not be uninteresting. The officers were for the most part representatives of the most distinguished families of the King's new subjects :

FIRST BATTALION R. C. V. REGIMENT OF FOOT.

Lieutenant-Colonel—J. De Longueuil.

Major—Louis De Salaberry.

Captains.

Defaunier Beaubien.

Francois Piedmont.

Pierre Marcoux.

C. S. De Bleury.

Louvigny Montigny.

Francois Vassal.

J. Bte. D'Estimauville.

Richard Ferguson.

Lieutenants.

Daniel Dupre.

Peter Duchoquet.

A. J. Duchesnay.

Joseph De Beaujeu.

C. G. Lanaudiere.

Hipolite Hertelle.

Pierre Bazin.

Henry Hay.

Joseph Bouchette.

Benjamin Jobert.

Ensigns.

Louis Montizambert.

Honore Baille.

Antoine Lanaudiere.

Richard Hay.

Francois Boucher.

Robert Anderson.

Francois Duval.

Denis Alexander.

M. R. de Salaberry.

J. B. Ph. D'Estimauville.

Chaplain—Salter Mountain.

Adjutant—Robert Anderson.

Quarter-Master—Louis Fromenteau.

Surgeon—James Walker.

Mate—Henry Leodel.

Hugh Macdonell, M.P. for Glengarry, and subsequently Consul-General at Algiers, was at one time Senior Captain in the First Battalion R. C. V. It is worthy of note that, judging from the names, the Chaplain of the Upper Canada Battalion was a Catholic priest, while the Reverend Salter Mountain was a Church of England clergyman.

The following memorial was addressed by Colonel Macdonell to the Commander of the Forces in Canada on the reduction of the Regiment :

“ To His Excellency Peter Hunter, Esq., Lieutenant-General commanding His Majesty's Forces in Upper and Lower Canada.

“ The memorial of the Field Officers, Captains and Subalterns of the Second Battalion of His Majesty's Regiment of Royal Canadian Volunteers most respectfully sheweth ;

“That whilst your memorialists view with unfeigned satisfaction the general happiness afforded by the restoration of peace, they cannot on that occasion reflect without emotion upon the particular circumstances of their own situation.

“That a very considerable proportion of your memorialists had the honour to serve His Majesty during the American War, and having at the conclusion of it settled upon and cultivated the lands assigned to them, were beginning to reap some of the fruits of their exertions, and with the assistance of their half-pay to enjoy some degree of ease and comfort when the War broke out; and that the rest of your memorialists are sons to persons of the very same description.

“That as the appearances of things at that time indicated but a short period of service, your memorialists eagerly embraced the opportunity of evincing their grateful attachment to their Sovereign without contemplating any other reward than the appointments of their respective rank, and with no prospects but of soon returning to that life of industry on which their principal dependence was necessarily placed—both for present support and for the means of future provision for their families.

“That the destructive ambition of His Majesty's enemies having, contrary to all expectations, protracted the War to such a length, your memorialists have now remained embodied nearly eight years; the consequence has been that the domestic affairs of your memorialists of the first description have in that long interval of absence and unavoidable neglect been materially impaired, and they will now be obliged (unless His Majesty's gracious favour be extended to them) to return to their homes at a more advanced period in life and with prospects less favourable both for themselves and their families than when the War began. Your memorialists of the latter description are involved in a still more gloomy situation, for having dedicated the flower of their years to a military life, and having passed in His Majesty's service that period of their lives during which they might have embraced other professions, unless some provision be made for them by the munificence of their Sovereign, having no resources of their own, it is painful to foresee the hardships and difficulties which must await them;

“Your memorialists therefore most humbly pray of Your Excellency that you will lay them at His Majesty's feet, beseeching him that he will be graciously pleased to place them upon the half-pay list according to the rank which they at present hold in his service.

“And that His Majesty will also be graciously pleased to extend to the Battalion the same gracious bounty in donations of waste of the Crown which was extended to the Provincial Corps at the end of the American War—a measure which, besides filling the hearts of your memorialists with additional gratitude, would at the same time place at the disposal and within the immediate call of His

Majesty's representatives in this Province a body of loyal disciplined men, attached to the country, and proud of transmitting their own principles and sentiments unimpaired to their posterity, and your memorialists as in duty bound will ever pray.

"J. MACDONELL,

"Lieutenant-Colonel,

"Commanding Second Battalion Royal Canadian Volunteers,
"For himself and on behalf of the officers and men of the Corps.
"Fort George, 24 August, 1802."

It is evident from the statement in the memorial of Mrs. Hugh Macdonell, quoted hereafter, that the prayer of the officers to be placed on half-pay according to their respective rank was not acceded to, but from information gathered in the Crown Lands Office I am led to believe that the men received an allotment of land similar to that granted to the soldiers of the various Loyalist Regiments of the Revolutionary War.

In addition to being a member for the County of Glengarry, Colonel Macdonell occupied a position which existed certainly between the years 1793 and 1808, though I can find no lists of a later date than the latter year, viz., Lieutenant of the County of Glengarry. The Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt who visited General Simcoe at York, in his "Travels through the United States, the Country of the Iroquois and Upper Canada," gives a succinct account of the duties of Lieutenants of Counties and of the militia organization of the Province. He states that the division of the then four existing districts of the Province into counties:

"Is purely military, and relates merely to the enlisting, completing and assembling of the militia. The Counties are about twelve in number."⁽¹⁾ The militia of each county are assembled and commanded by a lieutenant: they must be divided into regiments and companies. They assemble once a year in each county, and are inspected by the captains of the different companies at least twice a year. Every male inhabitant is considered a militia man from the age of sixteen to fifty. He is fined \$4 if he does not enlist at the proper time; and officers, both commissioned and non-commissioned, who do not join their regiments at the time the militia is assembled pay a fine, the former of \$8 and the latter of \$2. An officer who, in case of insurrection or an attack, should not repair to his assigned post, would be punished in a pecuniary penalty of £50, and a petty officer with a fine of £20. A militia man who sells either the whole or a part of his arms, ammunition or accoutrements is fined £5, and in default of payment imprisoned for two months. The Quakers, Bap-

(1) As a fact, however, there were nineteen.

tists and Tunkers pay, in times of peace, twenty shillings a year, and during a war or insurrection five pounds sterling for their exemption from military service. Out of these fines and ransoms, the Adjutant-General of the Militia receives his pay and the remainder is at the Governor's disposal. This is nearly the substance of the first Act of the Legislative body of Upper Canada, passed in 1793."

The following year a further Act was passed relating to the militia, tending to improve and more accurately define the internal form of the Regiments, Battalions and Companies, and to render the assembling of detachments more easy and expeditious. It extended, in time of War, the obligation to bear arms to sixty years, and directed that Quakers and others who were exempt should pay for their immunity up to that age. It obliged the militia to serve on board of ships and vessels, to act as cavalry and to extend their service beyond the Province, on condition, however, that the same men should not be bound to serve more than six months successively. The exemptions from service were confined to the officers of justice and other public functionaries, whose number was very small. The whole militia force was estimated at 9,000 men, and the cost of maintenance was defrayed by the British Government. The expense of civil and military administration, including money and presents to the Indians, was then, for Upper Canada, about £100,000 per annum.

Dr. Canniff states, in his "Settlement of Upper Canada," that "in all the measures introduced by Governor Simcoe and passed into law by Parliament can be discovered a military mind actively at work. The arrangements by which he endeavoured to settle the country, to secure it against invasion, to keep alive a spirit of military ardour, to keep aglow the flame of patriotism, a love for the Mother Country, were eminently judicious and commendable. There is no doubt that the military spirit of Simcoe was pleasing to the old soldier-farmers, and in them he found willing and zealous abettors of his military schemes."(1)

I have lists of Lieutenants of Counties of the years 1803 and 1808. I give that for the year 1803, which is the earliest I am able to find. It is taken from the Upper Canada Almanac of that year, published at York by John Bennet at his printing office, King street :

(1) Page 546.

Glengarry—Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonell.
 Prescott—William Fortune, Esq.
 Stormont—Archibald Macdonell, Esq.
 Dundas—The Honourable Richard Duncan, Esq.
 Grenville—Peter Drummond, Esq.
 Leeds—James Brakenridge, Esq.
 Frontenac—The Hon. Richard Cartwright.
 Lennox—Hazelton Spencer, Esq.
 Addington—William Johnson, Esq.
 Hastings—John Ferguson, Esq.
 Prince Edward—Archibald Macdonell, Esq., of Marysburg.
 Northumberland—Alexander Chisholm, Esq.
 Durham—Robert Baldwin, Esq.
 York—The Honourable D. W. Smith, Esq.
 Lincoln—The Hon. Robert Hamilton, Esq.
 Norfolk—Samuel Ryerse, Esq.
 Oxford—William Claus, Esq.
 Essex—The Honourable Alexander Grant, Esq.
 Kent—The Honourable James Baby, Esq.

It will be observed that several of these gentlemen had previously held commissions in Colonel Macdonell's Regiment. All of them were at the time in command of the militia regiments of their respective counties, except in the case of the Counties of Dundas, Grenville, Leeds and Essex, where the militia regiments were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Allan Macdonell, Colonel William Fraser, Colonel Joel Stone and Lieutenant-Colonel John Asken, respectively.

In 1807 Colonel Macdonell proposed the formation of a Corps of Glengarry Fencibles, and the following correspondence took place between himself and Colonel (afterwards Major-General Sir Isaac) Brock and the War Office :

“ GLENGARRY, January 28, 1807.

‘ SIR,

“ I have the honour to enclose you the proposals for raising a corps of Highland Fencibles in this County, which were submitted to your perusal. The alterations you made are adopted with very few exceptions: should they meet with your approbation, you will be pleased to forward them to the War Office.

“ The permanent pay asked for the Field Officers and Chaplain may be considered unusual, but in this instance it is necessary and expedient for carrying the proposals into effect. The Field Officers must undergo a vast deal of trouble, and their time will be as much occupied as if the Corps were constantly embodied.

“ The County is almost entirely inhabited by Highlanders and

their descendants, naturally brave and loyal as subjects, and firmly attached to the British Constitution and Government, yet from their situation and circumstances, being in general possessed of some landed property and the high run of wages in the County, they are reluctant to quit these advantages to become soldiers. Nothing but a scheme of this nature, headed by gentlemen whom they know and respect, would induce them on any consideration to put themselves under the restraints of military discipline. The Chaplain having served in that capacity in the late Glengarry Fencibles in Great Britain, Ireland and Guernsey, has a claim to the favour of Government. He conducted a number of these people to this country, and having rendered himself useful in many respects to the people at large, has gained so far their confidence that his services in urging and forwarding this matter will be very essential. The adoption and successful issue of the present plan will greatly facilitate any future project of raising troops for a more general and extended nature of service.

“I have the honour to be, sir,

“Your most obedient, humble servant,

“J. MACDONELL,

“Lieutenant of the County of Glengarry.

“Colonel Brock, &c.”

Colonel Brock forwarded Colonel Macdonell's proposal to the War Office with the following letter to the Right Honourable William Windham, then Secretary for War :—

“QUEBEC, February 12, 1807.

“I have the honour to transmit for your consideration a proposal from Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonell, late of the Royal Canadian Volunteers, for raising a Corps among the Scotch settlers in the County of Glengarry, Upper Canada.

“When it is considered that both the Canadas furnish only two hundred militia who are trained to arms, the advantages to be derived from such an establishment must appear very evident.

“The militia force in this Country is very small, and were it possible to collect it in time to oppose any serious attempt upon Quebec, the only tenable post, the number would of itself be insufficient to ensure a vigorous defence.

“This Corps, being stationed on the confines of the Lower Province, would be always immediately and essentially useful in checking any seditious disposition, which the wavering sentiments of a large population in the Montreal District might at any time manifest. In the event of invasion or other emergency, this force could be easily and expeditiously transported by water to Quebec.

“The extent of Country which these settlers occupy would make the permanent establishment of the staff and one surgeon in each

company very advisable. I shall not presume to say how far the claims of the field Officers to the same indulgence are reasonable and expedient.

“In regard to the Rev. Alexander Macdonell, I beg leave to observe that the men, being all Catholics, it may be deemed a prudent measure to appoint him Chaplain. His zeal and attachment to Government was strongly evinced while filling the office of Chaplain to the Glengarry Fencibles during the rebellion in Ireland, and were graciously acknowledged by His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief.

“His influence over the men is deservedly great, and I have every reason to believe that the Corps, by his exertions, would be soon completed, and hereafter become a nursery, from which the army might draw a number of hardy recruits.

“I have, &c.,

“ISAAC BROCK.”

Colonel Macdonell's wise suggestion was not at the time carried into effect, but a few years afterwards, when our relations with the United States had arrived at a crisis, the British Government adopted his plan, and gladly availed itself of the services of the hardy band of Highland Loyalists, who had made their home in Glengarry in Canada, and fortunately, though Colonel John Macdonell was unable to aid his Sovereign and his Country, the patriotic Chaplain (afterwards Bishop) Macdonell with the assistance, as will be seen, of another namesake and clansman, raised and organized the Glengarry Light Infantry Regiment, that ubiquitous Regiment which fought through the War of 1812-14, and caused the name of Glengarry to be respected by those who gloried in the freedom of British institutions, and feared by those who sought to overthrow them. I am unable to state definitely the date of the death of this gallant Officer and meritorious public servant.

I fear that having spent the best portion of his lifetime in the service of the country, his latter years were burdened by ill-health and pecuniary embarrassment. I observe in a letter from his sister, the wife of General Ross, to her brother, Mr. Hugh Macdonell, Consul-General at Algiers, this paragraph: “By a letter from Chichester” (another brother who was then Lieutenant-Colonel of the Eighty-Second Regiment) “who had letters from Canada, I am sorry to find that our brother John's health has been on the decline, and I fear his means also. Chichester has procured him the paymastership of the Tenth Veteran Battalion, which will be something in the meantime. Had he not trusted so much to other people, he

// would not have been under the necessity of accepting of such a trifle. Poor fellow, he thought all the world as honest-hearted as himself." //

He died at Quebec, on his way, I believe, to England, probably to take the appointment indicated above, and was buried under the Catholic Cathedral Church there.

He left one son, Alexander Macdonell, Major in the Lancaster Regiment of Glengarry Highlanders, which served throughout the Rebellion of '37-8, and who died many years ago, when comparatively young, and of whose family one daughter now survives, and still retains in Glengarry a considerable portion of the property, which was granted in return for the stern and unflinching loyalty of her grandfather and his father. It is known as the "Schenectady" property from the fact that Colonel Macdonell had married a lady from that part of the State of New York, a Miss Yates—whose family, unlike that of her husband, had adhered to the revolutionary side.

CHAPTER 10.

CAREER OF HUGH MACDONELL (ABERCHALDER), M.P. FOR FIRST RIDING OF GLENGARRY IN FIRST PARLIAMENT OF UPPER CANADA.—TESTIMONY OF COLONEL MATHEWS, MILITARY SECRETARY TO LORD DORCHESTER, AS TO SERVICES OF HIMSELF AND HIS FAMILY.—FIRST ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF MILITIA UPPER CANADA.—APPOINTED CONSUL-GENERAL AT ALGIERS.—DUKE OF KENT'S TRIBUTE TO HIS MEMORY.—HIS FAMILY.—HIS BROTHER, COLONEL CHICHESTER MACDONELL, ANOTHER U. E. LOYALIST OFFICER.—ALEXANDER MACDONELL (COLLACHIE), M.P. FOR GLENGARRY AND SPEAKER HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, 1804.—HIS SERVICES IN REVOLUTIONARY WAR AND WAR OF 1812.

Another of the Highland Loyalist Officers who settled in Glengarry at the close of the Revolutionary War, represented the County in Parliament, achieved considerable distinction in the Province, and afterwards rose to high position in a far distant part of the world, was Hugh Macdonell, a brother of Colonel John Macdonell of Aberchalder. This gentleman commanded a company in his brother's Regiment (Royal Canadian Volunteers) on its first establishment, and afterwards was transferred to the Second Battalion, and in which he was at one time the Senior Captain. In 1803 he was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Glengarry Militia Regiment, of which his elder brother was Colonel. He was appointed by Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe to be the first Adjutant-General of Militia in Upper Canada, and was the founder of our Militia system. He sat as one of the members for Glengarry in the first Legislature of the Province. On the 18th September, 1792, the day following the opening of the first session, the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne having been adopted, it was "ordered that Mr. Smith and Mr. Hugh Mac-

donell do wait on His Excellency to know when His Excellency will be pleased to receive the House with the said Address."

In the debate on the Dual Language question, in 1890, reported in Hansard, vol. 1, p. 894, Sir John Macdonald quoted an order of the House of 3rd of July, 1793, on a motion made by Mr. Macdonell as follows:—"Ordered that such Acts as have already passed, or may hereafter pass the Legislature of the Province, be translated into the French language for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Western District of this Province and other French settlers who may come to reside within the Province, and that A. Macdonell, Clerk of this House, be employed for this and other purposes."

The meagre records, even where any exist at all, of the proceedings of the earlier Legislatures do not enable us to ascertain what particular part any individual member took in parliamentary life in those days. This gentleman, however, did not remain very long in Parliament or in the Province. Letters in my possession at present show him to have enjoyed the friendship and patronage of the Duke of Kent, and he appears to have merited it.

Of the services of himself and family (Aberchalder) and the clansmen of Glengarry during the Revolutionary War, Colonel Mathews, Military Secretary to Lord Dorchester, who was in a better position to speak authoritatively than any other man, wrote as follows to the Under Secretary of State for War, when Capt. Macdonell, after leaving Canada, laid his claim for continued employment in the service before the British Government:—

"CHELSEA COLLEGE, 23rd June, 1804.

"DEAR SIR,

"Understanding that Captain Hugh Macdonell, late of the Royal Canadian Volunteers, has been particularly recommended to the Earl of Camden, and that he will consequently have the honour to wait upon you, I cannot, with the intimate knowledge I possess of his own and the meritorious services and sufferings of his family, forbear of taking the liberty of troubling you with a few lines, in the hope of interesting you in his favour.

"His father and uncle, respectable men in the Highlands of Scotland, left that country with their families and considerable property, a few years before the Rebellion in America, with a view to establish themselves in that country, having for that purpose carried out a number of their dependents. They obtained a valuable grant of land from Sir John Johnson on the Mohawk River, in the settlement of which they had made considerable progress.

"When the Rebellion broke out they were the first to fly to arms on the part of Government, in which they and their adherents, not less than two hundred men, took a most active and decided lead, leaving their families and property at the mercy of the rebels.

"I was at that time quartered at Niagara, and an eye-witness of the gallant and successful exertions of the Macdonells and their dependents, by which, in a great measure, the Upper Country of Canada was preserved, for on this little body a very fine battalion was soon formed, and afterwards a second.

"Captain Macdonell's father and uncle, at that time advanced in years, had companies in that Corps and in which his elder brother, afterwards an active and distinguished partizan, carried arms. The sons of both families, five or six in number, the moment they could bear arms, followed the bright example of their fathers, and soon became active and useful officers in that and another corps of Rangers, whose strength and services greatly contributed to unite the Indians of the Five Nations in the interest of Government, and thereby decidedly to save the Upper Country of Canada and our Indian trade.

"These Corps were reduced on the peace in 1783, and were settled in Upper Canada on grants of land from Government, where Captain Macdonell's father and uncle died a few years after with a total loss of all their property and the means of assisting their families.

"Captain Macdonell afterwards held a company in the Canadian Volunteers, of which his elder brother, before mentioned, was Colonel; but that also being disbanded, and he not having rank in the army, he is literally left destitute after a service of twenty-six years—for I countersigned his commission as Lieutenant twenty-three years ago. Thus a valuable officer is lost to himself and to the service, whose abilities either in a civil or a military capacity, particularly in Canada, where his knowledge of the French language, the customs and manners of the people, and of the interests of the Indian nation, might be turned to good account, while the services and sufferings of a very deserving officer would be rewarded.

"I have the honour to be, dear sir,

"Your very obedient and humble servant,

"R. MATHEWS.

"Edward Cooke, Esq."

Such statements emanating from one who had so long been on the staff of Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester) constitute high praise indeed, and are indisputable proof of the loyalty and merit of the Glengarry men. Colonel Mathews and that eminent essayist, Mr. George Sandfield Macdonald, do not appear to agree, but I

venture to suggest that the former is probably the better authority of the two as regards the United Empire Loyalists. Psychological and sociological research and disquisition is evidently Mr. George Sandfield Macdonald's forte. He had better follow John Richard Green in that field, and leave the "humble and ignorant" Highlanders alone or confine himself to "individuals of distinction." The descendants of "the people" will preserve the memories and deeds of their own forbears and write their history.

Lord Camden, then Colonial Secretary, writing to Lieutenant-Governor Hunter, under date Downing Street, 2nd August, 1804, states: * * * "A very favourable representation having been made to me by General Simcoe of the merits and services of Captain Hugh Macdonell, who was formerly appointed Adjutant-General of the Militia Forces in Upper Canada, and who appears to have received, up to the 1st June, 1795, only, the pay intended to have been allowed to him, I am to authorize you to issue to him or his agent from the date above specified until your arrival in Canada in 1799, when his services as Adjutant-General appear to have been regularly dispensed with, an allowance at the rate of five shillings per day."

After the close of the Revolutionary War, and previous to the raising of the R. C. V., Mr. Macdonell was Surveyor of the Eastern District of Upper Canada, and surveyed, I believe, the greater portion of it, including the County of Glengarry. After his death, his widow prepared a statement of his services in Canada, from which I take the following extract:—

"* * It was universally known that the settlement of Upper Canada was originally a matter resorted to on the cessation of the hostilities with the United States, consequent on the extensive reduction in the army which took place on that event, the Government granting portions of land proportioned to respective grades—on which occasion Mr. Macdonell was allotted five hundred acres as a reduced Lieutenant on half-pay. Subsequently a more liberal allowance was extended to the officers, by which he became entitled to one thousand five hundred acres more, which grant, from inadvertence, was deferred and finally was never located, although he was Surveyor to the Eastern District of the Province, and in virtue of which the duty of the assignment of land to those entitled devolved upon him.

"The Government under the anxious desire of conciliating the (Lower) Canadian gentry to their rather recent condition of British subjects, authorized Lord Dorchester, the Governor and

Captain-General of the Canadas, to raise a certain force as an expedient. His Lordship committed this service to Mr. Macdonell's elder brother, the officers being selected from half-pay native Canadians. Two Battalions were within a reasonable time embodied, in one of which Mr. Macdonell was Senior Captain. This levy, destined for the service and security of the Canadas and other colonial possessions in British North America, volunteered to extend their services to any quarter where they might be deemed to be most available, and had existed for a period of about eight years, until the measure of the Treaty of Amiens was compassed, when this force, which was always considered to be intended to be permanent, was, to the astonishment of all and indignation of many, included in the reduction of the army which followed that event, without conferring rank, half-pay or any remuneration whatsoever on the unfortunate officers, by which narrow policy and unlucky parsimony, the case that was meant to be propitiated became on the contrary more deeply aggravated.

“Having abandoned the pursuits and occupations that he held previously to joining the lately-reduced Corps, considering them to be incompatible with his new position, he parted with a valuable water mill property to satisfy a considerable claim upon him in consequence of having become security for an individual who failed in his engagements—in short, he parted with whatever property he might have remained possessed of, and determined to move from a country where his lot had been so singularly unprosperous, and with what he considered his incontestable claim for employment, he repaired to London. He was about to be satisfied with a lieutenancy in the Fusiliers when the extreme benignity of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent saved him from the mortification of having again to enter the army in the grade of subaltern by obtaining for him the appointment of Assistant Commissary General within his own government (Gibraltar). He continued in this department till he was, still through the protection of his Royal benefactor, called upon to repair to Algiers.

“I have entered into a tedious detail of matters personal to my late husband solely to establish that his absence from Canada while engaged in the public service ought not surely to be considered prejudicial to any claims he might have pending in that country.

“I might further add, without grounding any pretensions on it, that Mr. Macdonell had a younger brother, Lieut.-Col. Chichester Macdonell, who died in India while in command of the 34th Regiment, who was entitled to an equal grant of land with himself, and which he firmly believed was never located—if any part, certainly not to the extent of the second allotment. Further, to obviate all doubt that might arise respecting the perfect authenticity of my children's claims, I have to state that Mr. Macdonell was a Member for the first Riding of the County of Glengarry of the first House of Assembly of which his elder brother was Speaker and that he was ap-

pointed by General Simcoe, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, to the post of Adjutant-General of the Militia Station, to which from relative circumstances he attached some moment, the number of troops assigned for the service of Upper Canada being necessarily limited."

Captain Hugh Macdonell's subsequent career is so interesting and so well worth recording that I venture shortly to digress with that object.

Colonel Playfair, H. M. Consul-General at Algiers, in his annals of British relations with Algiers, entitled "The Scourge of Christendom," states that Mr. Macdonell began his career in 1778 as an Ensign in the King's Royal Regiment of New York, and that he rose to be Adjutant-General of the Province of Upper Canada; that in 1805 he was appointed Assistant Commissary-General at Gibraltar. In 1810 he with Lord Cochrane, K. B., and Captain Harding, R. E., was sent to Algiers to inspect and report upon La Calle, and in 1811 Mr. Macdonell, under the patronage of the Duke of Kent, was sent as Consul-General to Algiers, where at the hands of the infamous Dey he suffered the greatest hardships and privations the lives of himself and his family being in almost constant jeopardy, and he not infrequently imprisoned. It was necessary for Lord Exmouth, then in command of the Mediterranean fleet, to bombard Algiers in order to procure his release in August, 1816. Having effected his purpose and before resigning his command, Lord Exmouth publicly thanked Mr. Macdonell as follows:—

"I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of offering you my public thanks for the assistance I have received from your activity and intelligence in my late negotiations with the Regency of Algiers, and more especially for the manly firmness you have displayed throughout all the violence and embarassments occasioned by the late discussions, of which it will afford me sincere pleasure to bear testimony to His Majesty's Ministers on my return to England."

The plague, which had broken out in 1817, spread rapidly throughout the country. The Dey continued to send out plague-stricken cruisers against vessels of Prussia and the Hanse Town especially, but they visited those of every other nation and thus spread the contagion all over the Mediterranean. He had a fiendish delight in thus propagating the fell disease, and he even on one occasion attempted the life of Mr. Macdonell by causing a wretch who had it to cast a cloak on the Consul's shoulders. Retribution

however, speedily overtook him, and he died of it himself on March 1, 1818.(1)

His successor, Hussein bin Hassan, took immediate steps to hasten the equipment of Algerine cruisers, but he yielded to the representations of the British Government that they should not be sent forth during the continuance of the plague. The average number of deaths from the plague was fifty daily. It was computed that 16,000 souls had died of it in Algiers, while Constantina, Bona and Blidah were almost depopulated. (2)

Mr. Macdonell continued as Consul at Algiers until 1820, when he was pensioned by the British Government.

Colonel Playfair states of Mr. Macdonell: "For many years he had rendered excellent service to the state. The Duke of Kent always entertained the highest opinion of his character and abilities, and maintained a constant personal correspondence with him." A letter written by Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey contains a most flattering testimony of his worth: "His Royal Highness has always understood from those who have had occasion to be acquainted with his proceedings at Algiers that his conduct has invariably met with the highest approbation of Government for the judgment and firmness he has evinced in the most trying moments, a circumstance peculiarly gratifying to the Duke, who reflects with pleasure upon his being the first who brought him forward."

After Mr. Macdonell's death, his widow (his second wife, who was a daughter of Admiral Ulrich, Danish Consul-General at Algiers) married the Duke de Talleyrand-Perigord, and died at Florence in 1870 at a very advanced age.

Mr. Macdonell's two sons—General Sir Alexander Macdonell, K.C.B., Colonel-Commandant of the Prince Consort's Own Rifle Brigade, and Mr. Hugh Guion Macdonell, C.B., C.M.G., Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy-Extraordinary to the King of Denmark—still survive. It is gratifying to find that the sons of a gentleman who first represented the County of Glengarry in Parliament have risen to the highest preferment in the military and diplomatic services. (3) Hart's Army List gives Sir Alexander Macdonell's distinguished career as follows:—

(1) Playfair, page 284.

(2) Idem.

(3) Sir Alexander Macdonell died since the above was written, at Carshalton, Surrey, England, on the 30th April, 1891. The "London Illustrated News" of May 30th contains his portrait and a sketch of his career.

“Second Lieutenant, 23 June, 1837; Lieutenant, May 11, 1841; Captain, 24 October 1845; Brevet Major, 12 December, 1854; Major, 22 December, 1854; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 17 July, 1855; Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 June, 1857; Colonel, 20 July, 1858; Major-General, 6 March, 1868; Lieutenant-General, 1 October, 1877; General, 1 April, 1882; Colonel-Commandant Rifle Brigade, 24 January, 1886.

“Served with the Rifle Brigade in the Kaffir War of 1846-7 [medal], also throughout the Eastern Campaign of 1854 as Aide-de-Camp to Sir George Brown, and present at the affair of Bulganac, capture of Bakaklava and Battles of Alma and Inkerman. Commanded the 2nd Battalion from May, 1855, to the Fall of Sebastopol, including the defence of the Quarries on 7 June and assaults of the Redan on 18 June and 8 Sept. [medal with three clasps, brevets of Major and Lieutenant-Colonel, C.B., Knight of the Legion of Honour, Sardinian and Turkish medals, and 5th class of the Medjidie]

“Commanded the 3rd Battalion during the Indian Mutiny, including the Skirmish of Secundra, Siege and Capture of Lucknow and subsequent operations [brevet of Colonel. medal with clasp]. Also served in the campaign on the Northwest Frontier of India in 1864 [medal].

“Commanded the Expedition against the Mohmund tribes in 1863-4 [medal with clasp].”

In this Regiment (the Prince Consort's Own Rifle Brigade), in which Sir Alexander Macdonell is now Colonel-Commandant, and of which His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G., is Colonel-in Chief—another officer, a native of this country, and son of a gentleman whose name will ever be held in grateful remembrance by all Canadians, has attained high rank. I refer to Colonel C. W. Robinson, C. B., now Assistant Military Secretary at the Horse Guards. Colonel Robinson is the youngest son of the late Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bart., for many years the eminent Chief-Justice of Upper Canada, and a brother of the Honourable John Beverley Robinson, recently Lieutenant-Governor of this Province. This is not the first time these names have been associated; both gentlemen are descendants of Loyalist officers of the Revolutionary War, Sir Alexander Macdonell, as we have seen, being a son of an officer in the King's Royal Regiment of New York, and Colonel Robinson the grandson of Christopher Robinson, who was an Ensign in the Queen's Rangers in the same War, and both of whom held seats in the earlier Parliaments of Upper Canada.

Again, Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Robinson, at the time a student in the office of Colonel John Macdonell (Greenfield), who was then

Attorney-General of Upper Canada, was a Lieutenant in the York Volunteers, and present with Colonel Macdonell at the Capture of Detroit and the Battle of Queenston Heights, where Sir Isaac Brock and Colonel Macdonell fell, and he was one of the pall-bearers of the latter when the remains of General Brock and his Aide-de-Camp were interred after the dearly-bought victory then achieved. It is a somewhat strange fact that the present Sir Alexander Macdonell should be a first cousin of the then member for Glengarry, Colonel Macdonell, who was killed seventy-seven long years ago, "while gallantly charging up the hill with the hereditary courage of his race," as Sir Isaac Brock's biographer states of him, "Wounded in four places, and with a bullet having passed completely through his body." (1)

Perhaps here I may mention that Mr. John Beverley Robinson, the recent Lieutenant-Governor, was one of those who strongly urged me to attempt the task I have now undertaken, of writing a sketch of the early history of our County on the ground, as he wrote me, that "the history of Glengarry is a proud record of most valuable services rendered to the country in early times, when the men of that County made its name famous in War and Peace."

The youngest son of Mr. Hugh Macdonell, M. P. for Glengarry, Mr. Hugh Guion Macdonell, at the age of 16, also obtained a commission in the same distinguished Regiment as his brother, the Rifle Brigade, and served on the Cape Frontier, where he contracted a severe rheumatic fever, which precluded him from joining his Regiment in the Crimea. He was then obliged to enter the diplomatic service, in which his career has been as follows:—

"Was appointed attache at Florence, February 8, 1854; passed an examination for a paid attacheship, October 27, 1858; was appointed paid attache at Washington, November 23, 1858; at Constantinople, December 13, 1858; fourth paid attache there, December 31, 1859, and third paid attache, November 24, 1869. Was appointed a second secretary, October 1, 1862; was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, August 10, 1865 (but did not proceed thither), and to Copenhagen, July 24, 1866. Was promoted to be Secretary of Legation at Buenos Ayres, April 9, 1869, where he was Acting Charge d'Affaires from December 12, 1869, till December 15, 1872. Was transferred to Madrid, October 26, 1872, where he was Acting Charge d'Affaires from June 26 to October 6, 1873, and from June 24 till September 25, 1874. Was promoted to be Secretary of Embassy at Berlin, January 15, 1875, where he was Acting Charge d'Aff-

(1) Tupper's "Life of Sir Isaac Brock," page 332.

aires from August 4 till September 13, 1875; from June 26 till July 15, 1876; from August 4 till September 4, 1876; from May 31 till July 3, 1877; and from September 26 till November 24, 1877. Was transferred to Rome, May 6, 1878, where he was Acting Charge d'Affaires from July 7 till October 29, 1878; from August 23 till September 27, 1879; from July 19 till October 23, 1880; from April 23 till May 2, 1881; and from July 28 till September 28, 1881. Was promoted to be Charge d'Affaires at Munich, February 23, 1882, and to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Brazil, November 5, 1885. Transferred in the same capacity to the King of Denmark, February 1, 1889."

The daughters of Mr. Hugh Macdonell (the member for Glengarry) were married to Mr. Holstein, who succeeded Admiral Ulrich as Danish Consul-General at Algiers; General Sir Robert Wynyard, Military-Governor of the Cape of Good Hope; General Sir George Brown, who commanded the Light Division in the Crimea War, and was Adjutant-General of the Forces; Captain Buck, Royal Navy; Viscount Aquado; Captain Cumberland, Forty-Second Royal Highlanders; and Don Augusto Conte, late Spanish Ambassador in Vienna. Another daughter was a religieuse of the Order of the Sacred Heart.

A brother of Colonel John Macdonell and Mr. Hugh Macdonell was Lieutenant-Colonel Chichester Macdonell, who also was a Loyalist Officer in the Revolutionary War, having commenced his military career as a Second Lieutenant in Butler's Rangers. He did not remain in Canada on the conclusion of that War, but continued in the service and became successively Lieutenant-Colonel of the Eighty-Second and Thirty-Fourth Regiments of Foot. He served under Sir John Moore at Corunna and died on service in India. After his death, a medal having been struck for Corunna, a gold medal was transmitted to his family by direction of the Prince Regent to be deposited with them "as a token of the respect which His Royal Highness entertained for the memory of that officer." Mr. Hugh Macdonell, the British Minister at Copenhagen, had the kindness and courtesy to send me the original letter from H. R. H. the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief, enclosing his uncle's medal. It is a coincidence that it should be from the same illustrious personage as another in my possession forwarding another gold medal (to my grandfather) for the Capture of Detroit, to be deposited with his family, "as a token of the respect which His Majesty

entertained for the memory of Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonell,⁷⁷ who was killed with Brock at Queenston Heights, and who was a nephew of Colonel Chichester. Still another of their relatives, Sir James Macdonell, Glengarry's brother, "the stalwart and indomitable defender of Hougoumont," "the bravest man in Britain," had another of these hard-earned but glorious tokens of the Sovereign's approbation and their country's gratitude, while Colonel George Macdonell, of the Glengarry Fencibles, another relative and clansman, was awarded one of the two gold medals given for Chateauguay, De Salaberry getting the other.

A sister of the foregoing gentlemen had been married in Scotland to Alexander Macdonell of Greenfield before either of the families came to this country, and was the mother of Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Macdonell of Greenfield, Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonell, and Lieutenant-Colonel Donald Greenfield Macdonell—the two latter of whom both afterwards represented the County of Glengarry in Parliament, and all of whom, together with their father and relatives innumerable, did their fair share of fighting in perilous times not far distant. Another sister was married to Captain (afterwards General) Wilkinson, and a third to Captain (afterwards General) Ross, and brother of Field Marshal Ross.

Still another of the Loyalist officers who represented the County was Alexander Macdonell (Collachie). This gentleman was born at Fort Augustus, in Glengarry, Scotland, in 1762, and was a son of Mr. Allan Macdonell, whose name is appended with that of Sir John Johnson to the various negotiations with the American General Schuyler before hostilities actually took place in the ill-fated Valley of the Mohawk in 1776, and who appears to have been commissioned to speak more particularly on behalf of the Scotch inhabitants of that district. His father was one of the six prisoners taken by General Schuyler on the 19th January of that year, together with two of his nephews, it being previously agreed that "all due deference should be paid to their rank, and that being gentlemen they should be permitted to wear their side arms." They were sent to Lancaster in Pennsylvania, and were detained during the greater portion of the continuance of hostilities. Mr. Alexander Macdonell's mother was a daughter of the Chief of MacNab, and, like most of the Scotch women of that day, made of good stuff. She, too, was eventually taken prisoner, as was Lady Johnson. From her place of

captivity at Schenectady, whither she was taken with her two daughters, she wrote to her son on learning that he had, though too young for a commission, joined her Sovereign's forces as a volunteer, exhorting him to be brave and "never to forget that all the blood in his veins was that of a Highland gentleman"—much the same sentiment as was in Praed's mind when he wrote :

Fight as your fathers fought,
Fall as your fathers fell ;
Thy task is taught ; thy shroud is wrought—
So, Forward and Farewell !

Mrs. Macdonell managed to effect her escape from her place of imprisonment in 1780, and made her way to New York, which was then in possession of the British forces.

An interesting letter of hers, written before she was taken prisoner and when, her husband being prisoner of war, she appears to have been left in charge of the settlement and such of the men as had not already accompanied Sir John Johnson to Canada, is given in a book lately published at Albany, "The Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson" :

"COLLACHIE, 15th March, 1777.

"SIR,

"Some time ago I wrote you a letter much to this purpose concerning the inhabitants of this bush being made prisoners. There was no such thing then in agitation as you were pleased to observe in your letter to me this morning. Mr. Billie Laird came among the people to give them warning to go in to sign and swear. To this they will never consent, being already prisoners of General Schuyler. His Excellency was pleased by your proclamation directing every one of them to return to their farms, and that they should be no more troubled nor molested during the war. To this they agreed, and have not done anything against the country, nor intend to if left alone. If not, they will lose their lives before being taken prisoners again. They begged of me the favour to write to Major Fonda and the gentlemen of the committee to this purpose. They blame neither the one nor the other of you gentlemen, but those ill-natured fellows amongst them that got up an excitement about nothing in order to ingratiate themselves in your favour. They were of very great hurt to your cause since May last, through violence and ignorance. I do not know what the cause would have been to them long ago if not prevented. Only think what daily provocation does ! Jenny joins me in compliments to Mrs. Fonda.

"I am, sir,

"Your humble servant,

"HELEN MACDONELL."

Mr. Alexander Macdonell served as a cadet under Sir John Johnson at the Attack upon Fort Schuyler, the Battle of Oriskany and in most of the severe skirmishes which took place in the Valley of the Mohawk in 1777. In 1778, being then sixteen years of age, he was appointed to an ensigncy in the Second Battalion of the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment (Eighty-Fourth), and was present at the Battle of Monmouth, and served under General Clinton at Philadelphia until that city was evacuated by the British forces, who retired to New York. Mr. Macdonell there received his lieutenancy. He was made the bearer of despatches from Sir Henry Clinton to General Haldimand, commanding in Canada. From New York he proceeded to Rhode Island, thence making his way via Lakes George and Champlain to Canada, principally on foot. Shortly after his arrival, he was transferred to Butler's Rangers, with which he remained on active service until the close of the War, when he was placed on half-pay. When General Simcoe was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada in 1792, he appointed Mr. Macdonell—who had been favourably known to him during his service in the army—Sheriff of the Home District, which included the present Counties of Northumberland, Durham, Ontario, York, Halton, Peel, Simcoe and others. Upon the removal of the seat of Government from Newark to York in 1797, he went to reside in the latter place, and continued to be Sheriff of the Home District until 1805. From 1805 to 1812 Mr. Macdonell acted as agent for Lord Selkirk in superintending his settlement at Baldoon in the Western District. This settlement was formed by Lord Selkirk subsequent to a similar one he had formed in Prince Edward Island for the purpose of benefitting his Highland fellow-countrymen.

Mr. Macdonell represented the County of Glengarry in several of the earlier Parliaments, and in 1804 was elected Speaker of the House of Assembly of the Province.

When war was declared in 1812, he hastened to return to Canada from London, whither he had gone on private affairs, was gazetted Colonel of Militia and appointed Assistant Paymaster-General to the Militia Force.

At the Capture of Niagara by the Americans on May 26, 1813, he was made prisoner of war, and sent to Lancaster in Pennsylvania, where he was detained until the close of the War. It happened, singularly enough, that he was then imprisoned in the same place in

the same town in which his father (who in early life had fought with Prince Charlie at Culloden) had previously been kept prisoner in consequence of his stern loyalty to the British Crown in the Revolutionary War of 1776, so that this family had their fair share of sufferings and hardships.

On the conclusion of the War, and the consequent disbandment of the various Regiments, many of the men entitled to land were settled by the Government on the waste lands of the Crown throughout the Province, and especially in the neighbourhood of Perth, and Mr. Macdonell was appointed Superintendent of the settlement.

The officers of the Department for Settlers in Upper Canada were as follows :—

Superintendent—Alexander Macdonell, Esquire.

Deputy Superintendent—D. McGregor Rogers.

Secretary and Store-keeper—Daniel Duverne.

Officers in charge—Captain Richard Bullock, senior ; Lieutenant Angus Macdonell, Lieutenant McIver.

Surgeon—John Caldwell.

Subsequently in 1816 he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Indian Department, on accepting which, it being an Imperial appointment, he forfeited his half-pay which he had received since the disbandment of Butler's Rangers.

The Honourable Alexander Macdonell was subsequently for many years a member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, and died in Toronto on 14th March, 1842, full of years and the esteem of all good men.

The people of Glengarry can thus point with some degree of pride to the services rendered to, and the sacrifices made for the country by this gentleman, whom their fathers deservedly entrusted with the representation of their franchises when representative government was in its infancy in this Province.

Of his brothers, Angus Macdonell, also of course a Highland Loyalist, was the first Clerk of the Legislative Assembly in 1792, and was one of the earliest barristers of Upper Canada, and Treasurer of the Law Society of Upper Canada from 1801 to 1804. He was Member for Durham, Simcoe and the East Riding of York in the Legislature. He was drowned, with Judon Cochrane, the Solici-

tor-General, Robert Isaac Dey Gray and all other passengers on the vessel "Speedy," on October 7th, 1804.

The youngest brother, James Macdonell, was a Captain in the Forty-Third Light Infantry, who died while on service in the West Indies. He, with others of the Highland Loyalist officers, was honoured with the patronage of the Duke of Kent. Writing to his brother, from Montreal, 5th May, 1795, he states: "I am now just readie to quit this place for Quebec, on my way to the regiment. The number of people His Royal Highness has lately provided for, and his kind expressions to myself, leave me no room to doubt but he will continue his goodness to me."

CHAPTER 11.

THE REVEREND JOHN BETHUNE, FIRST PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER.
 —CHAPLAIN FIRST BATTALION EIGHTY-FOURTH REGIMENT.—
 MINISTER OF ST. GABRIEL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, MONT-
 REAL.—REMOVES TO GLENGARRY.—HIS DEATH IN 1815.—
 HIS SONS.—BISHOP STACHAN'S SCHOOL AT CORNWALL.—
 THE REVEREND RODERICK MACDONELL (LEEK), FIRST CATHO-
 LIC PRIEST.—LETTER FROM LORD SYDNEY, SECRETARY OF
 STATE, TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HAMILTON, INTRODUCING
 HIM.—KNOYDART EMIGRATION TO GLENGARRY, 1786.—
 OTHER EARLY SETTLERS IN THE COUNTY.

Among the first settlers of the County, few names have come down to us of men who in their day were held in greater or more deserved estimation than the Reverend John Bethune, and although the connection which existed between his family and the County has been severed for many years, yet so intimate was the association in early days that any record of those days would be incomplete which did not make some mention, however imperfect, of this learned and worthy divine.

As all relating to Mr. Bethune, who was the first and for many years the only Minister of the Kirk of Scotland, not only in Glengarry but in Upper Canada, must necessarily be of interest to many, I may mention that that gentleman was born in the Isle of Skye in 1751. The family trace their lineage very far back in Scotch and French historical records. The first of the name who left Normandy for the British Isles came to Scotland in the reign of Malcolm III., a contemporary of William the Conqueror, in the eleventh century. Many men famous in Scotch history belonged to this family, among whom may be mentioned Cardinal Beaton (the name is frequently

spelled and pronounced in this way), and Archbishop Bethune of Glasgow.

The Reverend Robert Campbell, in his book, which contains so much that is of interest connected with the early settlement of the country, "History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal," mentions that Mr. Bethune had been Chaplain to the Royal Militia in North Carolina, was taken prisoner and confined in gaol by the Revolutionists. He obtained his release from the hands of the rebels at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War owing to an exchange of prisoners which took place, and made his way to the steadfast Province of Nova Scotia, residing for the time at Halifax, taking almost immediately thereafter an active part in organizing the Eighty-Fourth or Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, [of which an account is given in another place (1)] and in which he was appointed Chaplain to the First Battalion. When that Regiment was disbanded, the United Empire Loyalists and others of the Presbyterian faith in Montreal, naturally rallied around Mr. Bethune when he proposed to organize a Presbyterian congregation there. Nor was the assistance which he received confined to those of his faith alone, Mr. Campbell stating that many Highland Catholics, and some who belonged to the Episcopal Church as well, with characteristic high feeling and national pride, open-handed as they were brave and patient in enduring hardships suffered for conscience sake, generously responded to the appeal of their fellow-countryman, and subscribed according to their means to the building fund of St. Gabriel's Church, of which Mr. Bethune was the founder, and in which he preached to his small but interesting congregation until May 6th, 1787.

Mr. Bethune had however, received the grant of land apportioned to his rank in the army—3,000 acres, the same as a captain—and it being located in Glengarry, and having a growing family to provide for, each of whom, on arriving at age, would also be entitled to an allotment of two hundred acres, removed to Williamstown, then the leading settlement in Glengarry; but though he went to reside upon his property, he did not forget his ministerial vows, but resumed professional work in the new sphere to which Providence had led him. He was a faithful and zealous missionary, and to this

(1) Ante, p. p. 52-56.

day the fruits of his vigour and efficiency remain in the large and prosperous congregations organized by him not only in Williamstown, but in Martintown, Cornwall and Lancaster. He baptized altogether 2,379 persons during his ministry in Glengarry. His wife was a lady of Swiss birth, Veronica Wadden, and together they struggled bravely against poverty and privations manifold incidental to life in the bush, "having little more to live upon than his half-pay as a retired Chaplain," and brought up their large family of six sons and three daughters, instilling into their minds high principles, and imparting to them that culture which, emanating from so many Scottish manses, has led on clergymen's sons to distinction and honour.

His patriotism, of which he had given such striking proof in his youth, grew with his advancing life and helped to deepen in the whole district the loyalty which has ever characterized the men of Glengarry. His name is found second on the list on the loyal address presented to Sir Gordon Drummond, President of the Province of Upper Canada, on the 21st December, 1814, at the conclusion of the Second American War, Mr. Alexander (afterwards the Bishop) Macdonell's name being first. The mention of Bishop Macdonell's name suggested to Mr. Campbell an interesting incident of those days, illustrative of the kindly sentiments which the Gaelic-speaking people of Glengarry, Protestant and Roman Catholic, cherished towards each other. Some dispute had arisen between Mr. Bethune and his parishoners, as still sometimes happens in the best regulated congregations, which they failed to settle by themselves. The happy thought occurred to some one to submit the difficulty in question to Bishop Macdonell, their respected Catholic neighbour at St. Raphaels, and this course was mutually agreed on. After the hearing of parties, the Bishop, who might be expected to give the benefit of the doubt to his Protestant confrere, by way of upholding the principle of authority, not only gave judgment in his favour, but gave the people a good lecture on the duty of respect and obedience which they owed their ecclesiastical superior, which exhortation the congregation received in good part, and the breach between them and their pastor was healed. In addition to this instance of the utter absence of intolerance, I may mention that in cases of emergency the Bishop was often sent for to administer consolation to dying neighbours not of his faith, but who, unable to procure their own minister in time, wanted his prayers, which he could offer up in the beloved Gaelic,

which he spoke as well as English—better indeed, for it was his mother tongue. These evidences of regard and confidence naturally greatly gratified the Bishop, who used to declare that he knew lots of good Protestant prayers. Mr. Campbell mentions as another illustration of the relations subsisting in those days that the Church of the Recollet Fathers in Montreal was placed by the priests at the disposal of the Presbyterians in 1791 until their own church on St. Gabriel's Street was completed, and that they gladly accepted of this hospitality, and their sacraments were administered in it, the Priests "declining to accept of any compensation by way of rent, but were induced to accept as a present from the congregation two hogsheads of Spanish wine and a box of candles, quaintly expressing themselves as being 'quite thankful for the same.'"

Mr. Bethune died on the 23rd September, 1815, deeply regretted by the community among whom he had lived and laboured so long, the Montreal "Gazette" remarking at the time of his death, in a highly eulogistic obituary notice, that he was a man remarkable for the mildness and agreeableness of his manners, but at no time deficient in that spirit which is requisite for the support of a Christian and a gentleman, understanding what was due to the powers that be without losing sight of that respect which was due to himself, while the position held by his family in society proved that as a husband and a father he must be numbered among those who had done their duty well.

A tablet with an inscription commemorative of his excellence in the various relations of life, admirable for the delicacy yet warmth of respect and tenderness of affection which it breathes, was erected to his memory in the Church at Williamstown by his six sons, Angus, Norman, John, James, Alexander and Donald. It is a proper and most excellent tribute to the memory and virtues of a gentleman by those who themselves were gentlemen, and is creditable to both alike.

Among his sons were two who subsequently gained high rank in the English Church, the Very Reverend John Bethune, who became Dean of Montreal, and the Right Reverend Alexander Neil Bethune, D. D., who succeeded the Honourable and Right Reverend John Strachan as second Anglican Bishop of Toronto. It is a strange coincidence that both Bishop Strachan and Bishop Bethune, who

rose to such eminence in the English Church, should both originally have been Presbyterians, and both have begun life in Canada in the immediate vicinity of Glengarry and amongst its people. (1) Mr. Strachan's school in Cornwall was an unequalled seminary in its day. It was a school for Protestants and Catholics alike, where not only were their minds improved and an education given such as enabled those who were fortunate enough to partake of it to achieve in after life the highest positions in the gift of the country, but where were also impressed upon them those sound and loyal principles which actuated the Bishop himself throughout his life, to the great advantage of the country, which benefited by his eminent services not only as a divine but as a patriot whose cloth alone, like his friend and compeer of the Catholic faith, forbade in time of greatest danger his also being a soldier. But if he could not be a soldier his pupils were, and from the Cornwall School there graduated a long list of men who distinguished themselves as much in early life in the War of 1812 as they did afterwards in time of peace at the Bar, on the Bench and in all the learned professions and other walks of life. It is needless to say that such of the families in Glengarry whose means permitted had their sons educated by Mr. Strachan. Mr. A. N. Bethune, amongst others, was a pupil, and afterwards when Mr. Strachan removed to York, as he did, I believe, at the request of General Brock, joined him there as classical tutor, and subsequently studied divinity under him, was admitted to Deacon's orders, and in 1824 ordained Priest by Bishop Mountain at Quebec. He was subsequently appointed Coadjutor to Bishop Strachan in 1867 with right of succession, and died in Toronto in 1879.

At the close of the Revolutionary War, such of the soldiers who were married, and had not already brought their wives and families to Canada, returned to the Mohawk Valley for them.

Great indeed, almost surpassing our conception, were the trials and privations of the women, many of them bearing their children on

(1) Archdeacon John Stuart, D.D., the first Minister of the Church of England in Upper Canada, whom Dr. Strachan succeeded as Archdeacon, was also a Chaplain in a U. E. Loyalist Regiment (2nd Battalion King's Royal Regiment of New York), and, strangely enough, like Bishop Strachan and Bishop Bethune, he too was the son of parents who belonged to the Church of Scotland. I have seen a MS. account of his life written by the Archdeacon himself, in which he states that his entry into the Anglican ministry was resolutely opposed by his father, who was a most strict Presbyterian and most tenacious of his opinions. It was many years before he gave his consent to his son's studying for the English Church. Archdeacon Stuart was the father and grandfather of a number of men who have graced public life and the Bench in the Province of Lower Canada, and whose services have been justly recognized and rewarded by the Crown. The social life of the two Provinces has been dignified and adorned by the several generations of the families of the Stuarts, Bethunes and Strachans.

their backs a good part of the distance, for the men had to carry with them their arms and such of their household goods as they could. They had to endure perils by land and perils by water—in daily risk of death from hostile Indians and wild beasts, and those who had successfully revolted and held these “Tories” as accursed things—their food often being the flesh of horses and dogs, and even the roots of the trees. Little wonder that those who were nurtured by such mothers fought with desperation in 1812, and held in abomination the disseminators of republican and revolutionary doctrines whom four regiments from Glengarry turned out to suppress in 1837-8.

A good story is told of one of the old warriors, who, having seen much service, knew well the country from the neighbourhood of Schenectady, where the families lived, and took charge of one of these parties in their journey through the wilderness to Canada. John Roy—we will call him—lived to a good old age, and was treated with much consideration by all, especially those whom he had led to their homes. As years went on, the number of John’s party naturally increased with his years, and the frequency with which he told to the open-mouthed listeners the perils and hardships of the journey. A very distinguished Scottish officer, who had served in Canada for some years, was returning home, and, passing through Glengarry, spent a few days with Bishop Macdonell, then the priest at St. Raphael’s. He told the Bishop he would like to meet some of the old veterans of the War, so that he might hear their tales and tell his and their friends in Scotland how their kinsfolk in Canada had fought and suffered for the Crown in that far-off land. Amongst others, the Bishop took him to see old John Roy. That was too good an opportunity to be lost, and John told the General in Gaelic the whole story, omitting no details—the number of men, women and children he had brought with him, their perils and their escapes, their hardships borne with heroic devotion; how, when on the verge of starvation, they had boiled their mocassins and eaten them; how they had encountered the enemy, the wild beasts and Indians, beaten all off and landed safely in Glengarry. The General listened with respectful interest, and at the termination, wishing to say something pleasant, observed it was most wonderful. “Mr. Macdonell,” he remarked, “the only instance I know that I can at all compare it to is that of Moses leading the children of Israel

in to the Promised Land." Up jumped old John. "Moses," said he, "compare ME to Moses! Moses be d——! He lost half his army in the Red Sea, and I brought my party through without losing one man!"

I tell the tale as it was told to me. I am not responsible for the accuracy of the charge against Moses.

Immediately after their settlement in Glengarry, those of the Catholic persuasion took steps towards procuring the services of a clergyman of their faith, and one acquainted with their language, many of them knowing no word of English. Representations were therefore made to Mr. Roderick Macdonell, who was a brother of Captains Archibald and Allan Macdonell (Leek), K.R.R.N.Y., and closely related to others of the officers, and known to and respected by the men, to join them in that capacity. He had, I believe, been educated at the Scots' College at Valadolid, in Spain, where or at Douay (1) most of the gentlemen of the name received their education in former days, and had ministered to the people of his native Glengarry previous to his coming to Canada. He therefore placed himself in communication with Lord Sydney, the Secretary of State, who represented the circumstances to the King, the result being that Mr. Roderick Macdonell was sent to Canada with the following letter to Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton:—

LORD SYDNEY TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HAMILTON.(2)

"WHITEHALL, 24 June, 1785.

"SIR,

"Having laid before the King a memorial of Mr. Roderick Macdonell, stating that, at the solicitation of a considerable number of Scots Highlanders and other British subjects of the Roman Catholic persuasion, who, prior to the last war, were inhabitants of the back settlements of the Province of New York, and to whom, in consideration of their loyalty and services, lands have been lately assigned in the higher parts of Canada, he is desirous of joining them in order to serve them in the capacity of a clergyman, in the humble hope that, on his arrival at their settlement, he shall be allowed by Government an annual subsistence for the discharge of that duty, I enclose to you the said memorial, and am to signify to you the King's commands that you do permit Mr. Macdonell to join

(1) Mr. Shaw, in his "History of Moray," states that "the Macdonells of Glengarry, never, that I know, reformed. The gentlemen of that name have their sons educated in the Scotch colleges abroad, especially at Douay, and they return home either avowed or concealed Papists." With all respect to Mr. Shaw, I beg to state that "the gentlemen of that name" never concealed either their religious or political faith. They answer to God for the one and to their fellow men for the other, and are on all occasions prepared to justify either or both, though their religious creed, which has been handed down to them since Christianity was first known in the Highlands of Scotland, is their own affair exclusively.

(2) Canadian Archives, Series Q 24-2, p. 279.

the above mentioned settlers and officiate as their clergyman; and with respect to the allowance to be made to him, I shall take an early opportunity of communicating to you His Majesty's pleasure.

"I am, etc.,

"SYDNEY."

In what part of the County Mr. Roderick was stationed I cannot ascertain. He was for many years stationed at St. Regis, where he died, Missionary Priest to the Indians there. It is possible that place may always have been his headquarters, and the U. E. Loyalist settlers, living as we know along the other side of the St. Lawrence, that he may and probably did officiate on both sides of the River, among the Indians on the one and the Loyalists on the other.

Mr. John McLennan, formerly M.P. for Glengarry, in an account of the early settlement of Glengarry, read before the Celtic Society at Montreal in, I believe, 1885, gives some interesting particulars regarding some of the settlers, which I may be permitted to quote. He mentions that the Grants, McLeans, Murchisons, Roses, Mrs. Bethune (who inherits from the McKays) and others in the Township of Charlottenburgh are all of Loyalist descent.

In addition to the Scotch settlers, there were others, though not many in Glengarry, of English, Irish and German descent. Amongst those who came to Lancaster were William and Ralph Falkner, with their families. They were originally from Lancashire, and appear to have given the name to the Township. Their descendants continue to occupy portions of the land granted them adjoining the Village of Lancaster. Mr. William Falkner had been on the Commission of the Peace in England, and performed the ceremony of marriage during several years, until a clergyman arrived in 1787.

On the east side of the Township, the families of Curry (Irish), Young (Scotch), and Snider and Cline (Schneider and Klein, German) were allotted land. Mr. McLennan suggests that the two latter were probably of the Hessian soldiers of George III., as well as the family of Summers (Sommer) who settled in the front of Charlottenburgh. Mr. Isaac Curry, born in 1798, now occupying the homestead of his family, states to Mr. McLennan that the colony on the east side of Lancaster planted corn and harvested a supply for their first winter, and one of them, Jacob Snider, built a mill. Their wives and children came into Canada by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River. Among the officers who obtained grants of land in Lancaster were Lieutenant (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel)

Sutherland, a Lieutenant K. R. R. N. Y., who appears formerly to have belonged to the Twenty-Sixth Regiment, and Mr. Gunn, who is stated in the U. E. List to have also taken part in the conquest of Canada. A grandson of the latter now occupies a part of the grant near the Village of Lancaster. Mr. Charles Westley, a man of education and good position, who left a valuable property in the State of New York, settled on the property now occupied by his grandson, who worthily bears the same name.

In 1786 Captain John Hay established himself on an arm on the River Raisin, naming the locality "Gleana-feoir" (Glen of Hay). He had come in 1773 from Glenfrae, Huntly, in Aberdeenshire, to Prince Edward Island. When the Revolutionary War broke out, he joined the Eighty-Fourth Regiment, serving until the peace in 1784. He was a Presbyterian, married to a Roman Catholic lady. His son, Mr. John Hay, a well-known veteran of 1812, died not many years since. Another well-known son was the late Very Reverend George Hay, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Kingston, and for many years the highly respected Priest of St. Andrews, County of Stormont.

Having endeavoured to show who constituted the U. E. Loyalist settlers of Glengarry, I shall now attempt to trace as far as possible the other immigrations previous to the War of 1812.

Shortly after the close of the Revolutionary War, in 1786, a large emigration of Highlanders, numbering, I believe, some five hundred souls, took place principally from that part of the Glengarry estates known as Knoydart, under the leadership of the Reverend Alexander Macdonell, who settled with their clansmen and kinsfolk in Glengarry. The following extract, taken from Neilson's "Quebec Gazette," relates to this immigration :

"QUEBEC, 7th September, 1786.

"Arrived ship "McDonald," Captain Robert Stevenson, from Greenock, with emigrants, nearly the whole of a parish in the north of Scotland, who emigrated with their Priest (the Reverend Alexander Macdonell, Scotus), and nineteen cabin passengers, together with five hundred and twenty steerage passengers, to better their case. Up to Catarqui."(1)

This Priest was one of the earliest Catholic priests or missionaries, other than French, in Upper Canada. He was born at Scotus

(1) Which was then the present Kingston. They, of course, remained in Glengarry, as we know, instead of proceeding further west.

House in Knoydart, Glengarry, Scotland, in, I believe, 1750. He was educated in France and ordained priest in Paris in 1778. He was the founder of the Parish of St. Raphaels, the pioneer parish not only of Glengarry, but of all Upper Canada, where he built the first church, known in its day as the "Blue Chapel," and which was succeeded by the present large edifice erected by Bishop Macdonell. He died at Lachine, on his way to Montreal on the 24th May, 1803. Previous to his leaving St. Raphaels for Montreal, where he hoped to obtain medical aid, he addressed the following to the Church Wardens of St. Raphaels :

"GENTLEMEN,

"By virtue of the power invested in me, by the Bishop, as Parish Priest of the Parish of St. Raphael, in the County of Glengarry, I do hereby authorise you to act as formerly in every point in regard as Church Wardens, during my absence, and that as if I was present, and until my return back (if it be God's will), to take charge of said Parish, as formerly, and you are to act, agreeable to late regulations laid down in this Parish, by the Bishop's authority, which established your authority and mine. And as I always and on all occasions, as Church Wardens, never found any of you failing or deficient in any part of your duty, but found you, faithfull, honest and trusty, with the greatest probity and integrity, as well toward the public as myself, I have the strongest assurance of confidence that you'll observe this request, for the benefit of all parties concerned.

"ALEXANDER MACDONELL,

"Priest.

"Glengarry, 19th May, 1803.

"To Angus McDonell, Prin'le. Church Warden ; Donald McDonell, John Kennedy, Malcolm McDougal, Archibald McDonell, Lachlin McKinnon, Donald McDonell, Duncan McDonell, Hugh McDonell, Alexander Fraser, John McDonell and Alexander McDonell."

The next Priest at St. Raphaels (the predecessor of Mr. Alexander, afterwards Bishop, Macdonell) was, as will be seen by the following letter, a Mr. Fitzimmons, an Irish gentleman who came with the following letter from Mr. Roderick Macdonell, the Missionary Priest at St. Regis. It was addressed to "Mr. Angus Macdonell(1), Arch-Syndic of the Parish of St. Raphaels," and is now in my possession :

"To the Churchwarrants at St. Raphael :

"I have to acquaint you that the Revd. Mr. Fitzimmons has

(1) Aogneas Mac Alastair Bhan.

come to this country to serve you as a Pastor, and that he is appointed by the Lord Bishop of Quebec for your Parish of St. Raphael. If Mr. Macdonell arrives this year, it will rest with the Bishop to appoint him or not, in the meantime you are to receive this gentleman as your lawful pastor, and render him every service in your power. You know that no priest can be a pastor in any parish, unless he is appointed by the Bishop, and that it entirely depends on the Bishop to appoint any one he pleases, therefore Mr. Fitsimmons, having been duly appointed by the Bishop of the Diocese, you are bound and obliged to receive him with every mark of esteem and attention in your power. The Bishop will be with you in February, and settle everything respecting your mission.

"I remain,

"Gentlemen,

"Your obedient servant,

"R. MACDONELL.

"St. Regis, 12th September, 1804."

The Priests who have been stationed at St. Raphaels from the establishment of the Parish to the present day are as follows: 1, Mr. Alexander Macdonell (Scotus), who arrived in 1786; 2, the Reverend Mr. Fitzimmons; 3, Mr. Alexander (afterwards Bishop) Macdonell; 4, Mr. Angus (afterwards Vicar-General) Macdonell; 5, Mr. John Macdonald, who was afterwards Priest at Alexandria, and died there in May, 1845; 6, Mr. John Macdonald, shortly mentioned; 7, the Reverend Mr. Masterson; 8, the Rev. Mr. Duffus; 9, the Reverend Mr. Kelly, and 10, the present incumbent, the Reverend Mr. Fitzpatrick.(1)

Amongst the emigrants from Knoydart was one afterwards well known in Glengarry and elsewhere, and whose memory will always be affectionately cherished in the County, the Reverend John Macdonald, invariably known by the old people as "Mhaister Ian." He was then but a child of three years of age. His parents, John Macdonald and Anna McGillis, brought with them two other children, the eldest, Æneas, being seven years of age at the time. He also became a priest, and resided for forty years a Professor in the College of the Gentlemen of the Seminary at Montreal, where he was distinguished for his piety and learning; a perfect French and Gaelic scholar. He was for many years an ecclesiastic only, being ordained Priest in 1832, during the cholera, when priests were urgently required. They were descended from the Macdonalds of Luibhe,

(1) The Rev. Mr. Gaulin (afterwards Bishop of Kingston), and Mr. (afterwards Vicar-General William) Macdonald officiated at St. Raphaels as Parish Priests shortly after Bishop Macdonell was elevated to the Episcopate.

which in Gaelic signifies a bent arm of the sea. Like many another Highland gentleman, "Mhaister Ian" could trace his genealogy back for six hundred years. He was educated at the Petit Séminaire, Montreal, and studied divinity in Quebec, where he was ordained in the year 1814. He was for some years stationed at Perth, then a new settlement, and there, owing to the extent of his parish and the poverty of his parishioners, endured great hardship. He died at Lancaster, in Glengarry, on the 16th March, 1879, in the ninety-seventh year of his age. It would require a Dean Ramsay to do justice to the many excellent stories which are told of this gentleman, distinguished as much for his wit as for his piety.

One of his sisters, Catherine Macdonald, a nun, and known in the Order of her Sisterhood as Sainte Pelagie, came from Montreal with another religieuse to St. Raphaels in 1828, with a view of founding a convent there, but found that the then situation of the Parish and surrounding country would not justify it.

Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Macdonald, of the Castle Tioram Regiment of Highlanders, Prince Edward Island, published, in 1843, a pamphlet, entitled "Sketches of Highlanders," with an account of their early arrival in North America and some of their distinguished military services in the year of 1812. At page 67 of his work he states:—

"The only Chieftains, or heads of families, who came from the Highlands to the Lower Provinces of British America were the Chieftains of Glenaladale and Keppoch. The history of the former I have already referred to. (1) The latter, the last of the chivalrous Chiefs of Keppoch (Major Macdonell), died in 1808 on Prince Edward Island, leaving no other male representative of the family than one young man, a lieutenant in the army, who was killed in Spain. Thus became extinct in a distant colony the representative of a

(1) Colonel Macdonald is not quite correct in stating that Glenaladale was a chieftain. He was the head of one of the most respectable families of Clanranald's Clan, in fact the head of the cadet houses of that distinguished Clan, and as Colonel Macdonald states, was selected in the minority or incapacity of the chief to be "Tanister," which in Gaelic signifies the guardian and the one next in rank to the chief. John Macdonald of Glenaladale, who in 1773 sold his property and brought out a ship load of the Clanranald people to Prince Edward Island, was a highly respected and distinguished man. He with Major (afterwards General) Small, was largely instrumental in raising the 84th (Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment) during the Revolutionary War. The British Government showed their appreciation of his services and character in offering him the Government of Prince Edward Island, which he was obliged to decline owing to the oath at that time required to be taken. He died in 1811. General Small stated of him, in a despatch to the Government: "The activity and unabating zeal of Captain John Macdonald, of Glenaladale, in bringing an excellent company into the field, is his least recommendation, being acknowledged by all who know him to be one of the most accomplished men and best officers of his rank in His Majesty's service."

noble family, which although it had not received a patent of nobility from the hands of the Sovereign, was truly noble for its deeds of valour, its chivalry and its magnanimous patriotism. They disdained to hold their lands by paper or parchment tenure, bonds or charters, because their swords, they said, would alway protect their estates against foreign aggression or internal commotion. The Keppoch of the eventful year of 1745 maintained the glory and martial spirit of his ancestors ;(1) but after that period the influence and name of the family began to decline, and their once powerful swords lost their sway. The family was obliged to surrender their estates, not having the necessary documents to prove their title to them. Many very respectable families emigrated from the Highlands of Scotland to Upper Canada, most of them branches of the Glengarry Clan, such as the Macdonells of Greenfield, the Macdonells of Ardnabee, &c., &c., and the Macdonells of Inch, who are of the Keppoch family; Macnab of Macnab, the Chief of that Clan; Macdonald of Garenish who is by many considered the next heir to the Highland estates of the ancient family of Morar. Although all these gentlemen are now in comfortable circumstances, they are not altogether forgetful of the land they left; but are full of loyalty and affectionate attachment to old England, as their military feats of the War of 1812 and their devotion to the British cause in the Canadian Rebellion amply prove."

Mr. Macdonell of Greenfield, who emigrated in 1792, brought with him, I believe, a number of the people of his clan. He had been married in Scotland to a sister of Colonel John Macdonell (Aberchalder), who in that year was elected Speaker of our first House of Assembly, being one of the members for Glengarry.

Regarding this gentleman, Mr. Mackenzie, in his "History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles," page 529, quotes from Mrs. Grant, of Laggan, a well known Scottish authoress:—

"A few lingering instances of the old superior Highland dress continued to be seen as late as the end of last century, one of its latest examples being afforded by Macdonell of Greenfield, "Ceann Tighe" of a cadet house of the Glengarry family, who in the latter part of the last century was celebrated for his handsome person, his courtly address, his exploits as a deer-stalker, and general character as a model of the Highland gentleman living in his time. He is

(1) His Clan, with Glengarry's, and all others of the name, had taken umbrage at not being placed on the right wing of the army at Culloden, and, allowing their pride to dominate their patriotism, hesitated to attack. It was in vain that gallant Keppoch charged with a few of his near relatives, while his clan, a thing before unheard of, remained stationary. The Chief was near the front of the enemy, and was exclaiming, with feelings which cannot be appreciated, "My God! have the children of my tribe forsaken me!" at this instant, he received several shots, which closed his earthly account, leaving him only time to advise his favourite nephew to shift for himself.—Sir Walter Scott, "Tales of a Grandfather."

described by several of the old people by whom he was remembered, as dressed invariably in the Highland garb—a short round “cota goirid,” a bonnet plumed with a tuft of ostrich feathers, belted plaid worn over the trews. The house of Greenfield stood on a beautiful romantic situation, near the head of Loch Garry, on a green knoll, since occupied by the hunting lodge, built by the late Glengarry for deer-stalking of Sliabh-garbh.”

Mr. Macdonell settled in the Township of Charlottenburgh, calling his place, as did all Highland gentlemen, by the name of his property in Scotland. He commanded the 2nd Battalion Glengarry Militia in 1812, and died in 1819. His sons were men of mark in their generation. The eldest, Hugh, died while being educated at the Scots College of Valadolid, in Spain. Angus was a partner in the Northwest Company, and was murdered there in one of the many conflicts which took place in the Northwest Territories between his Company and Lord Selkirk's. His murderer was brought down and placed on trial at Montreal and acquitted, but was never seen after leaving the Court House. Duncan Macdonell of Greenfield commanded a Company at the taking of Ogdensburg and Capture of Fort Covington in 1813, and served also in 1837-8. On his retirement from the Militia as late as 1857, it was declared in General Orders of the 3rd September of that year :—

“His Excellency the Administrator of the Government and Commander-in-Chief cannot permit Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Macdonell of Greenfield to retire from the command of this Battalion (Second Glengarry, Lancaster Regiment) without recording the sense he entertains of the value of his long and faithful services in the Militia of this Province dating from the last War.”

The same gazette contained the appointment of his only son to the command of the Regiment, and that gentleman, Archibald John Macdonell, retaining it until his death in 1864, it afforded probably the only instance of a command of a Regiment of Canadian Militia being continuously retained by three generations of one family for upwards of half a century, each of them having been out on active service with the Regiment.⁽¹⁾ Colonel Duncan Macdonell was by profession a land surveyor, and at the time of his death Registrar of the County. The two younger sons of Mr. Alexander Macdonell of Greenfield—Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonell and Lieut.-Colonel

(1) The last named gentleman was a lad of fifteen years of age, attending Dr. Urquhart's school at Cornwall when the Regiment was ordered to Lower Canada in 1838. He ran away from school, and proceeding on foot to Lower Canada, joined the Regiment and served in the ranks with several of his cousins of about the same age.

Donald Greenfield Macdonell, Deputy Adjutant-General of Militia of Upper Canada—both represented Glengarry, and I may have occasion to refer to them hereafter when dealing with the War of 1812-14, in which both took an active part and the former died.

As stated by Mr. McLennan, the County, becoming noted as a Scottish Colony, attracted immigrants as they arrived from time to time from all parts of Scotland. Several families of Macphersons from Badenoch settled in Lancaster, among them Mr. Murdoch Macpherson, who lived to the age of 107 years, and whose place is worthily occupied by a grandson.

Mr. McLennan is of opinion that the first settlement was made in Lochiel in 1796, probably by some of the Cameron men, who were from Lochiel's Country in Scotland, but I am informed by Mr. John McLeod, Surveyor (brother of Mr. Alexander McLeod, the Surveyor, who died some years ago at the advanced age of ninety-two years) that in 1793 his father, Captain Alexander McLeod, of the family of Moale, chartered a vessel and brought with him from Glenelg, in Scotland, about forty families of McLeods, McGillivrays, McCuaigs and McIntoshes—his own father, also Alexander McLeod, being among the number. They arrived in Glengarry early in 1794, and proceeded out to the north part of the County, and settled in the neighborhood of Kirkhill, where their descendants still reside. Mr. Alexander McLeod was a Captain of Militia in the War of 1812 in the Regiment commanded by Alexander Macdonell of Greenfield, with whom he was closely related. Each of these families received a grant of two hundred acres from the Crown. The Township, or at any rate a considerable portion of it, was first surveyed by Hugh Macdonell (Aberchaldler), one of the two first members for the County, and afterwards, the Consul-General at Algiers, whose career has been previously noticed. The field notes of his surveys were amongst the papers lately procured by Mr. Bain, the indefatigable Public Librarian of Toronto, which were taken by the former Surveyor-General Smith to England when he retired from Canada.

CHAPTER 12.

RAISING OF THE GLENGARRY FENCIBLE OR BRITISH HIGHLAND REGIMENT IN SCOTLAND.—INCIDENTS PREVIOUS THERETO.—MR. ALEXANDER (AFTERWARDS BISHOP) MACDONELL ACCOMPANIES A NUMBER OF THE HIGHLANDERS TO GLASGOW, WHERE THEY ARE EMPLOYED BY THE MANUFACTURERS.—CLOSING OF THE MANUFACTORIES ON PROCLAMATION OF WAR BETWEEN BRITAIN AND FRANCE.—PROPOSAL TO RAISE A REGIMENT TO BE UNDER COMMAND OF THE YOUNG CHIEF OF GLENGARRY.—FIRST CATHOLIC CORPS SINCE THE REFORMATION.—STATIONED IN GUERNSEY.—OFFER TO GARRISON ST. MARCOU.—SERVICES IN IRELAND IN SUPPRESSION OF REBELLION OF '98.—DISBANDED WITH OTHER FENCIBLES IN 1802.—SERVICES OF THE CHAPLAIN ON BEHALF OF THE MEN.—HE PROCURES A GRANT OF 200 ACRES FOR EACH MAN IN GLENGARRY IN CANADA.—LORD HOBART'S LETTER TO LIEUT.-GOV. U. C.

The last emigration on a large scale of Glengarry Highlanders took place in 1802 under the circumstances mentioned in Thomson's "Memoirs of the Jacobites," page 322 et seq., but as they are so interesting and of such historic value to the County, I prefer to quote from the words of the person best qualified to speak authoritatively on the subject, and who brought the immigrants to Canada, the former Chaplain of the Glengarry Fencible Infantry or British Highland Regiment, afterwards the Honourable and Right Reverend Alexander Macdonell, first Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada and a member of the Legislative Council of the Province. I take them from the Canadian Literary Magazine of April, 1833, vol. 1, page 3 et seq.

After explaining how, consequent upon the abolition of the feudal system of clanship which had obtained from time immemorial, and had been based upon the mutual interest of chieftain and clansmen, by the influence and consequence in proportion to the number of his followers it afforded the former—and the protection and support it gave to the latter—the “bleak and barren mountains of the north,” which had previously raised MEN, had been converted into sheep walks, and the suffering thus necessarily entailed upon the people—their utter misery in fact—he proceeds :

It was in this conjecture that the writer of these pages, then a Missionary on the borders of the Counties of Inverness and Perth, in the highest inhabited parts of the Highlands of Scotland, affected by the distressed state of his countrymen, and hearing that an emigrant vessel which had sailed from the Island of Barra, one of the Hebrides, had been wrecked and had put into Greenock, where she landed her passengers in the most helpless and destitute situation, repaired in the spring of 1792 to Glasgow. Having secured an introduction to several of the professors of the University and to the principal manufacturers of that city, he proposed to the latter that he should induce the Highlanders who had been turned out of their farms, and those lately escaped from the shipwreck, to enter into their works if they (the manufacturers) would but encourage them, and this they really promised to do upon very liberal terms. There were two serious obstacles, however, to the usefulness of the Highlanders : the one that they did not understand the English language, the other that a large portion of them were Roman Catholics. The excitement raised by Lord George Gordon about Catholics twelve years before, when the Catholic chapels of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the clergymen’s houses, were burned, had not yet subsided, and a strong and rancorous feeling against the professors of the Catholic religion still remained amongst the lower orders of the people of Glasgow ; so much so, indeed, that no Catholic clergyman could with safety reside there from the time of the burning of the chapels to the period we are now speaking of. The manufacturers represented to the Missionary that although perfectly willing themselves to afford the Catholics all the countenance and protection in their power, yet, as the Penal Laws still remained in full force against them, they could not be answerable for the consequences in the event of evil deigned persons assailing or annoying them ; and they repre-

sented that the danger was still greater to a Catholic Clergyman, who was subject not only to the insult and abuse of the rabble, but to be arraigned before a court of justice. To this the Missionary replied that although the letter of the law militated against Catholics, the spirit of it was greatly mitigated, and that if they would but assure the Highlanders of their protection, he himself would take his chance of the severity of the law and the fanaticism of the people, and accompany the Highlanders to the manufactories, in order to serve them in the double capacity of Interpreter and Clergyman; for the Missionary saw that it was a notorious fact that Catholics following the dictates of their religion, and restrained by its morality, made faithful and industrious servants; but, discarding those ties and obligations, they became vicious and unprincipled.

The manufacturers, appearing much pleased with this proposal, offered every protection and encouragement in their power to himself and followers. Accordingly, with the approbation of his Bishop, he took up his residence in Glasgow in June, 1792, and in the course of a few months procured employment for upwards of 600 Highlanders.

On the few occasions previous to this, that a priest had officiated in Glasgow, he was obliged to have his meetings up two or three pairs of stairs, and to station at the door a sturdy Irishman or Highlander armed with a bludgeon to overawe the intruders who might attempt to disturb the service. But the missionary, by the advice of one of the most influential Presbyterian of the city, (1) opened his chapel to the street and did not close the door during the service. Two respectable members of the congregation attended to show any decent persons, attracted thither by curiosity, into a seat; and several who thus came were repeatedly heard to say that this was not Popery at all, although the principal tenets of the Catholic Religion were taught and explained both in English and Gaelic; and because they saw neither pictures nor images, and the mass was said early in the morning, before those who might be disposed to give annoyance were up, and who, being of the lower class of labourers and tradesman, generally spent the Saturday evenings in a tavern and Sunday morning in bed.

For two years the manufactories went on with astonishing prosperity and success, but in the year 1794 the principles of the French

(1) Dr. Porteus, a nephew, by marriage, to Sir John Moore.

Revolution, spreading rapidly over Great Britain, and meeting with the warmest abettors in the manufacturing districts, the English Government found it necessary to adopt measures to check its progress and to prevent intercourse between the two countries.

War was at length proclaimed between England and France. The export of British manufactures to the Continent was stopped; the credit of the manufacturers was checked; their works were almost at a stand; frequent bankruptcies ensued; a general dismissal of labouring hands took place, and misery and distress overtook those thus suddenly thrown out of employ.

Among the sufferers were the poor Highlanders above mentioned. Unaccustomed to hard labour and totally ignorant of the English language, they became more helpless and destitute than any other class of the whole community.

At this crisis the Missionary conceived the idea of getting these unfortunate Highlanders embodied as a Catholic corps in His Majesty's service, with his young Chief, Macdonell of Glengarry, for their Colonel. Having procured a meeting of the Catholics at Fort Augustus, in February, 1794, a loyal address was drawn up to the King, offering to raise a Catholic corps, under the command of the young Chieftain, who, together with John Fletcher, Esq., of Dunans, proceeded as a deputation to London with the address, which was most graciously received by the King. The manufacturers of Glasgow furnished them with the most ample and honourable testimonials of the good conduct of the Highlanders during the time they had been in their works, and strongly recommended that they should be employed in the service of their country. A Letter of Service was accordingly issued to raise the first Glengarry Fencible Regiment as a Catholic corps, being the first that was raised as such since the Reformation.

The missionary, although contrary to the then existing law, was gazetted as Chaplain of the Regiment. Four or five Regiments which had been raised in Scotland, having refused to extend their services to England, and having mutinied when they were ordered to march, the Glengarry Fencibles, by the persuasion of their Chaplain, offered to extend their services to any part of Great Britain or Scotland, or even to the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey. This offer was very acceptable to the Government, since it formed a precedent to all Fencible corps that were raised after this period. The Regi-

ment, having been embodied in June, 1795, soon afterwards embarked for Guernsey, and remained there until the summer of 1798.

Sir Sidney Smith having taken possession of the small island of St. Marcou, in the mouth of Cherbourg Harbor, the Glengarries offered to garrison that post, but the capture of that gallant officer and of the much lamented Captain Wright, who was first tortured and then put to death in a French prison because he would not take a commission in the French navy, prevented the enterprise from taking place.

In the summer of 1798 the rebellion broke out in Ireland, and the Glengarry Regiment was ordered to that country. Landing at Ballenack, they marched from thence to Waterford, and from Waterford to New Ross the same day. At the former place a trifling circumstance occurred which afforded no small surprise to some and no slight ridicule to others, while at the same it showed the simplicity of the Highlanders and their ignorance of the ways of the world. The soldiers who received billet money on their entrance in the town returned it on their being ordered to march the same evening to New Ross for the purpose of reinforcing General Johnson, who was surrounded, and, in a manner, besieged by the rebels.

The next day General Johnson attacked and dislodged the rebels from Laggan Hill, who, after a very faint resistance, retreated to Vinegar Hill. The Chaplain, upon this and all other occasions, accompanied the Regiment to the field, with the view of preventing the men from plundering or committing any act of cruelty upon the country people. The command of the Town of New Ross devolved on Colonel Macdonell, and the Chaplain found the Jail and Court House crowded with wounded rebels, whose lives had been spared, but who had been totally neglected. Their wounds had never been dressed, nor any sustenance been given to them since the day of the battle. Colonel Macdonell, on being informed of their miserable condition, ordered the Surgeon of his Regiment to attend them, and every possible relief was offered to the wretched sufferers. From New Ross the Regiment was ordered to Kilkenny, and from thence to Hackett's Town, in the County of Wicklow, to reduce a body of rebels and deserters, who had taken possession of the neighboring mountains, under the command of the rebel chiefs, Holt and Dwyer.

The Village of Hackett's Town had been entirely consumed to

ashes, partly by the insurgents and partly by the military. Deprived of this shelter, the troops were compelled to live under tents the greater part of the winter, and the Chaplain considered it his duty to share their privations and sufferings.

Colonel Macdonell, who now commanded the Brigade, which consisted of the Glengarries, two companies of the Eighty-Ninth Regiment of Foot, two companies of Lord Darlington's Fencible Cavalry, and several companies of the Yeomanry, finding that the rebels made a practice of descending from the mountains in the night time to the hamlets in the valleys for the purpose of plunder, adopted a plan of getting the troops under arms about midnight and marching them from the camp in two divisions without file or drum. One division was ordered to gain the summits of the mountains, the other to scour the inhabited parts of the country; so that the rebels, in attempting to regain their footsteps, found themselves entrapped between two fires. The Chaplain never failed to accompany one or the other of these divisions, and was the means of saving the lives of, and preserving for legal trial, many prisoners, whom the yeomanry would, but for his interference, have put to immediate death.

The Catholic chapels in many of those parts had been turned into stables for the yeomanry cavalry, but the Chaplain, when he came, caused them to be cleaned out and restored to their proper use. He also invited the terrified inhabitants and clergy to resume their accustomed worship, and laboured not in vain to restore tranquility and peace to the people, persuading them that if they behaved quietly and peacefully the Government would protect Catholics as well as Protestants, and impressing upon their minds that the Government having entrusted arms to the hands of the Glengarry Highlanders, who were Roman Catholics, was a proof that it was not inimical to them on account of their religion. These exhortations, together with the restoration of divine service in the chapels, the strict discipline enforced by Colonel Macdonell, and the repression of the licentiousness of the yeomanry, served in a great measure to restore confidence to the people, to allay feelings of dissatisfaction and to extinguish the embers of rebellion wherever the Glengarry Regiment served.

The Highlanders, whom the rebels called "the Devil's Bloodhounds," both on account of their dress and their habit of climbing

and traversing the mountains, had greatly the advantage of the insurgents in every encounter, so much so that in a few months their force was reduced from a thousand to a few scores. Holt, seeing his numbers so fast diminishing, surrendered to Lord Powerscourt, and was transported to Botany Bay. Dwyer, after almost his whole party had been killed or taken, was at length surprised in a house with his few remaining followers by a party of the Glengarries. Here he defended himself and killed some of his pursuers, till the house being set on fire, he was shot while endeavoring to make his escape, stark naked, through the flames.

The Marquess Cornwallis, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Commander of the forces, was so well pleased with the services of the Glengarry Fencibles that he advised the Government to have the Regiment augmented. In furtherance of this plan, the Chaplain was despatched to London with recommendations from every General under whose command the corps had served in Guernsey or in Ireland, to procure the proposed augmentation and to settle on the terms. Previous to his departure from Dublin, the measure of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland had been brought into the Irish Parliament and miscarried. The Catholic Bishops and Catholic nobles of Ireland having assembled in Dublin to discuss this subject, came to a determination favourable to the views of Government, and communicated their sentiments to the Chaplain, authorizing him to impart them to the Ministry. The Chaplain did so accordingly in his first interview with the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, but that statesman considered the Chaplain's information incorrect, and insinuated that the intention of the Irish Catholic dignitaries and nobility was quite contrary to what was stated.

He also privately informed Sir John Cox Hipplesley, who accompanied the Chaplain to the Secretary of State's Office, that by a despatch received through that day's mail from Lord Castlereagh, the Secretary of State for Ireland, he was informed that the purpose of the meeting of the Catholics was to counteract the measures of the Government. This the Chaplain took the liberty to deny, and offered to prove his assertion to the satisfaction of Mr. Dundas by being allowed time to refer to the Catholic meeting at Dublin. He accordingly wrote to Colonel Macdonell, whom he had left in that city, and received by return of post an answer from Viscount Ken-

mare, contradicting in toto the assertions of Viscount Castlereagh. On this occasion the Government papers indulged in severe reflections upon the conduct of the Irish Catholics. The Chaplain requested that they should be contradicted, which was done very reluctantly, and not until he had threatened to have the truth published in the Opposition papers. The correspondence on that subject is now in his possession.

The proposed augmentation, however, did not take place. The views of government were altered, and instead of augmenting the Fencible Corps, they gave commissions in the regiments of the Line to those officers of the Fencibles who could bring a certain number of volunteers with them.

The Glengarry Fencibles were afterwards employed in the mountains and other parts of Conomaraigh, where some of the most desperate rebels had taken refuge, and where the embers of rebellion continued longest unextinguished. The Chaplain was their constant attendant down to the year 1802, when at the short Peace of Amiens, the whole of the Scotch Fencibles were disbanded.

I have obtained a list of the officers of this Regiment from an army list of 1798. The Regiment was stationed at Kilkenny at the time. It will be observed that Colonel Macdonald is named as Colonel, Glengarry being in charge of the Brigade :

Colonel—Donald Macdonald.
Lieutenant-Colonel—Charles McLean.
Major—Alexander Macdonell.

Captains.

Archibald McLachlan,	James Macdonald,
Donald Macdonald,	Archibald Macdonell,
Ranald Macdonell,	Roderick Macdonald,
Hugh Beaton.	

Captain-Lieutenant and Captain—Alexander Macdonell.

Lieutenants.

John Macdonald,	James McNab.
Ronald Macdonald,	D. McIntyre,
Archibald McLellan,	Donald Chisholm,
James Macdonell,	Allan McNab.

Ensigns.

Alexander Macdonell,	Donald Maclean,
John Macdonald,	Archibald Macdonell,
Charles Macdonald,	Alexander Macdonell,
Donald Macdonell.	Andrew Macdonell,

Francis Livingstone.

Adjutant—Donald Macdonell.

Quarter-Master—Alexander Macdonell.

Surgeon—Alexander Macdonell.

Taken as a whole, the names seem to be somewhat Scotch, and to savor, as did these of the men, of the clan whose *suaicheantas* was the heather!

I may mention that this is but one of the twenty-six Scottish regiments, almost all Highland, enumerated in the army list of 1798, though a young essayist has gravely assured us that the finer qualities and instincts of the men of that and previous generations had been dwarfed by long subjection to the despotism of their chiefs, and that even their physique had degenerated under oppression, and that it required years and another climate and changed surroundings to counteract the stunting influences of centuries.

The Highlanders now found themselves in the same destitute situation as they were in when first introduced into the manufactories of Glasgow. Struck with their forlorn condition, the Chaplain, at his own expense, proceeded to London to represent their situation to the Government and to endeavor to induce ministers to lend them assistance to emigrate to Upper Canada. He was introduced to the Right Honourable Charles Yorke, Secretary at War, and by him to Mr. Addington, the Premier. The latter, on account of the testimonials which the Chaplain presented to him of the good conduct of the Regiment during the whole of their service, signed by the different general officers under whose command they had been, directed that a sum of money should be paid to the Chaplain, out of the Military Chaplains' fund in lieu of half-pay, which could not be granted to him without forming a precedent to other Chaplains of Fencible Corps; and this favour was conferred upon him at the recommendation of His Royal Highness the Duke of York, then Commander-in-Chief, on account of his having constantly attended the Regiment when every other regimental Chaplain had retired

upon five shillings a day by virtue of an order issued from the War Office in 1798. Mr. Addington requested the Chaplain to state to him, in writing, the cause of the frequent emigrations from the Highlands of Scotland. The Chaplain complied with his request in a series of letters, on the perusal of which Mr. Addington expressed his deep regret that so brave and faithful a portion of His Majesty's subjects, who were always found ready at the call of Government, and from whom no murmurs or discontents were ever heard, even under the most trying and distressing circumstances, should be compelled to quit their native soil by the harsh treatment of their landlords, and to transfer their allegiance to the United States, whither the emigration had been flowing previous to this period.

Mr. Addington added that the loss of so many Highlanders was one of the circumstances which had given him the greatest uneasiness during his administration, and that nothing would give him greater satisfaction than to convince them of the friendly feelings and kind intentions of Government towards them by putting them in the way of acquiring, in a few years, prosperity, and even wealth, with which they might return and live in ease and independence in their native land. He then proposed to the Chaplain to send a colony of those Highlanders with whom he was connected to the Island of Trinidad, which was then first ceded to the British Empire; and to give a farm of eighty acres of land to every head of a family, and money out of the treasury to purchase four slaves for every farm; a larger proportion of land and slaves to such gentlemen who would accompany the colony, and to the Chaplain as large a salary as he could reasonably demand. Mr. Addington also offered to send a surgeon and a schoolmaster, with salaries from Government, to the new colony, and, to remove the difficulties which the Chaplain had stated in regard to the unhealthiness of a tropical climate and the propensity of Highlanders to drink ardent spirits, undertook to furnish the colony with as much wine as the Chaplain and Surgeon should consider necessary for the preservation of the general health for three years, also sufficient vinegar wherewith to wash their habitations for the same period; after which it might be supposed that the constitution of the settlers would become inured to the climate.

For these liberal and advantageous offers the Chaplain could not but feel grateful to Mr. Addington, but while he thanked him for

kind intentions towards his countrymen, he assured him that no consideration on earth would induce him to prevail upon Highlanders to reside in the unhealthy climate of the West Indies, or reconcile to his conscience the bitter reflection of his being the cause of making a woman or a child a widow or an orphan.

Mr. Addington seemed greatly surprised and disappointed at this expression of the Chaplain's sentiments, and demanded in what other way he could serve the Highlanders. He was answered [that what they expected and wished was to be assisted in emigrating to Upper Canada, where several of their friends had already settled themselves.

The Chaplain proceeded to state that if this assistance were tendered upon a more expensive scale, it would allay the irritated feelings entertained by the Highlanders against their landlords, whose cruel conduct was identified with the system and operations of Government. Moreover, the Scotch, quitting their country in this exasperated state of mind, and settling in the United States, readily imbibed republican principles and a determined antipathy against the British Government; whereas by diverting the tide of emigration into the British colonies, their population would be increased by settlers retaining British principles, British feelings and an attachment towards their native country, not only undiminished, but even increased by the parental conduct of the Government towards them.

Mr. Addington then offered to lend some assistance to the Chaplain to convey his adherents to the sea coast of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick or Cape Breton, but assured him that His Majesty's Government considered the hold they had of Upper Canada so slender and so precarious that a person in his situation would not be justified in putting his hand in the public purse to assist British subjects to emigration to that colony. The Chaplain, however, adhered to his first resolution of conducting his countrymen to Upper Canada, and Mr. Addington procured for him an order (with the Sign Manual) to the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada to grant two hundred acres of land to every one of the Highlanders who should arrive in the Province.

No sooner was it known that this order had been given by the Secretary for the Colonies than the Highland landlords and proprietors took the alarm, considering the order as an allurement to entice from the country their vassals and dependents.

Sir John McPherson, Sir Archibald Macdonald (the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in England), the late Mr. Charles Grant, one of the Directors of the East India Company and M.P. for the County of Inverness, with other gentlemen connected with the Highlands, and even the Earl of Moira, then commanding the forces in North Britain, endeavored to dissuade the Chaplain from his purpose, and promised to procure a pension for him provided he would separate himself from the Highlanders whom he had promised to take to Canada, and that the amount of the pension should be in proportion to the number he should prevail upon to stay at home.

So anxious were these gentlemen to keep the Highlanders at home that they applied to the Prince of Wales, and by His Royal Highness' sanction, Sir Thomas Tyrwhit, the Prince's agent, sent for the Chaplain to Carlton House for the purpose of prevailing upon him to induce the intending emigrants to settle on the waste lands of the County of Cornwall, under the patronage and protection of His Royal Highness. This the Chaplain also declined, and in concert with Major Archibald Campbell, then on the staff of General Pulteney, now (1) Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, proposed a plan of organizing a Military emigration, to be composed of the soldiers of the several Scotch Fencible Regiments just then disbanded, and sending them over to Upper Canada for the double purpose of forming an internal defence and settling the country. It was requested that a certain portion of land should be granted to every man after a service of five years, or on his furnishing a substitute; so that the same force might always be kept up and the settlement of the country go on. It was considered that this plan would prevent the frequent desertion of His Majesty's troops to the United States; would make these military settlers interested in the defence of the Province, and be a prodigious saving of transport of troops in the event of a war with the United States.

Several distinguished officers appeared anxious to join this military emigration, and the scheme was nearly matured, when Mr. Addington found himself under the necessity of resigning the Premiership, and Pitt and Dundas returned to office.

The war was soon after renewed, and the Scotch landlords combined to keep their people at home.

(1) At the time the Bishop wrote the narrative, 1833.

Most of these gentlemen had received commissions from the Government to raise levies, and were, of course, anxious to fulfil their engagements. Seeing that so many thousands of their poor countrymen who had been let loose in the country in a state of destitution, had no other alternative, if prevented from emigrating, than to enter the army, they procured an Act of Parliament to impose certain restrictions and regulations on vessels carrying out emigrants to the Colonies. By those regulations, a vessel could not get her clearance from the Custom House if she had more than one passenger, even an infant, for every two tons of the registered burden of the ship—although the transport regulations for carrying troops to the East and West Indies allowed a ton and a half for every soldier, even without reckoning women and children; another clause was that the provision should be inspected and certified, that a pound of salt beef or pork and a pound and a half of flour or of hard biscuit should be found on board as the daily provision for every man, woman and child for the space of three months. A third clause was that a vessel carrying emigrants from any part in Great Britain and Ireland to the Colonies should be provided with a surgeon, who should have his diploma from Surgeons' Hall in London, from Edinburgh University or Trinity College, Dublin. A diploma from any other college or university in Great Britain would not qualify him for this charge. Several other clauses similar to the above were contained in this Act, and all under the specious pretext of humanity and tender benevolence towards the emigrants, and, forsooth, to prevent the imposition of those who were employed in chartering vessels to carry emigrants to the Colonies, who were designated by the Scotch lairds, dealers in white slaves; yet, by the operations of this merciful Act of Parliament, an emigrant could not pay the passage of himself, his wife and four children under eight years of age for a less sum than £84!

Alexander Hope, then Lord Advocate of Scotland, was instructed to bring this bill into Parliament, and in his luminous speech in the House of Commons, the learned gentleman, to show the necessity of such regulations, related a most pathetic story of an emigrant vessel arriving in a harbour in one of the British Colonies of North America, the whole of the passengers and almost the whole of the crew of which were found dead in their berths, and the few survivors of the crew not able to cast anchor. He also asserted

that emigrants who had been some time in the Colonies were desirous to get back to their native country, and when they could not accomplish their wishes, were desirous to prevent their friends at home from emigrating, but dared not acquaint them of their now miserable condition but by stratagem desiring them to consult their Uncle Sandy, and if he advised them to come, then they might proceed. Now, it was well known that Uncle Sandy was dead many years previous. These and many other such like pitiable and affecting passages of the Lord Advocate's speech in the House of Commons blazed through the public prints in Scotland, and were believed, or it was pretended that they were believed, like Gospel, by the Highland lairds and their friends.

The moment that this bill passed into law, an embargo was laid on all emigrant vessels in British harbours, and this though many of them had already nearly received their complement of passengers, and the whole of the emigrants of the season, after selling their effects, had arrived or were on their way to the seaports to embark. Fortunately, however, for the soldiers of the disbanded Glengarry Fencibles, the greater part of them had got away before the bill came into operation. The Chaplain, having been detained in London on business, after the sailing of his adherents, received a call from the Earl of Selkirk, who proposed to him to join in his plan of taking emigrants to North America. The Chaplain requested his lordship to explain his views and intentions, upon which the Earl stated that he intended to settle those regions between Lakes Huron and Superior with Scotch Highlanders, where the climate was nearly similiar to that of the north of Scotland, and the soil of a superior quality ; besides, they would enjoy the benefit of the fish with which the lakes teemed, particularly the white fish of the Sault Ste. Marie.

The Chaplain at first declined this offer on the plea that private business would detain him in London. The Earl than offered him an order for £2,000 upon his agent, as an indemnification for any loss or inconvenience he might experience by so sudden a departure. The Chaplain was a second time compelled to give a refusal and to decline this generous offer of the Earl, declaring at the same time he felt most grateful for such generosity, but that he could never think of putting himself under so great an obligation to any man ; that the situation which his lordship had selected for his settlement was beyond the jurisdiction of the Government of Upper Canada, and so

far from any other location that he was apprehensive that emigrants settling themselves in so remote a region would meet with insuperable difficulties ; that he could by no means induce those with whose interests he was connected to go beyond the protection of the Provincial Government, and, besides, such a settlement would entirely destroy the Northwest Company, as it would cut off the communication between the winterers and Canada ; and as several of the principal members of that Company were his particular friends, no consideration would induce him to enter upon an enterprise that would injure their interest.

The Chaplain then asked the Earl what could induce a man of his high rank and great fortune, possessing the esteem and confidence of His Majesty's Government and of every public man in Britain, to embark in an enterprise so romantic as that he had just explained. To this the Earl replied that the situation of Great Britain, and indeed of all Europe, was at that moment (September 1803) so very critical and eventful that a man would like to have a more solid footing to stand upon than Europe could offer.

The following letter was addressed by Lord Hobart, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Lieutenant-General Hunter, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, at the time of the departure of this important emigration to Canada :

“DOWNING STREET, 1st March, 1803.

“SIR,

“A body of Highlanders, mostly Macdonells, and partly disbanded soldiers of the Glengarry Fencible Regiment, with their families and immediate connections, are upon the point of quitting their present place of abode, with the design of following into Upper Canada some of their relatives who have already established themselves in that Province.

“The merit and services of the Regiment in which a proportion of these people have served, give them strong claims to any mark of favour and consideration which can consistently be extended to them ; and with the encouragement usually afforded in the Province they would no doubt prove as valuable settlers as their connexions now residing in the District of Glengarry, of whose industry and general good conduct very favourable representations have been received here.

“Government has been apprized of the situation and disposition of the families before described by Mr. Macdonell, one of the Ministers of their Church and formerly Chaplain to the Glengarry Regiment, who possesses considerable influence with the whole body.

“ He has undertaken, in the event of their absolute determination to carry into execution their plan of departure, to embark with them and direct their course to Canada.

“ In case of their arrival within your Government, I am commanded by His Majesty to authorize you to grant, in the usual manner, a tract of the unappropriated Crown lands in any part of the Province where they may wish to fix, in the proportion of twelve hundred acres to Mr. Macdonell and two hundred acres to every family he may introduce into the Colony.

“ I have the honour to be, sir,

“ Your most obedient, humble servant,

“ HOBART.”

CHAPTER 13.

EMIGRATION FROM KINTAIL AND GLENELG, ROSS-SHIRE.—SUBDIVISIONS OF THE COUNTY.—LOCAL NOMENCLATURE.—KENYON, LOCHIEL, BREADALBANE, DUNVEGAN, EIGG, STRATHGLASS, UIST, LITTLE KNOYDART, LAGGAN, FASSIFERN, &C., &C.—MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT TO UNION OF UPPER AND LOWER CANADA, 1840.—ENUMERATION OF THE CLANS.

Mr. McLennan, from whom I have previously quoted, states that in the same year and in the same ships that brought out the men of the Glengarry Fencibles and their families, came also a number of people from Glenelg and Kintail and other parts, his father's family being amongst those from Kintail. His grandfather, Mr. Murdoch McLennan, gave up a valuable holding on the Seaforth estate in order to keep with his friends and neighbours, who were emigrating. They were 1100 souls on the vessel, and were four months at sea, encountering wintry weather on the coast of Labrador, which, as he remarks, was a rough introduction to the new world. His father, John McLennan, was but 13 years of age at the time. At the call to arms in 1812 he enlisted in the Militia, and was appointed Sergeant in the Company commanded by Captain Duncan Greenfield Macdonell. He was with the Company at the taking of Ogdensburgh, and became Lieutenant and Quarter-Master at the close of the campaign. After the War, he taught for several years the school at Williamstown, which continues as a high school under the present system. In 1823 he retired to hew out a farm in Lancaster, and was appointed at the same time to the Commission of the Peace. He commanded a Company for frontier duty in 1838-9, and died in 1866.

In the same immigration was Mr. Donald Fraser, who after some years' residence and business in Williamstown, purchased from

Sir John Johnson the property of Pointe-du-Lac (now Fraser's Point), where his son Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Fraser, of the Glengarry Militia, hale and hearty at the age of 84 years (at the time Mr. McLennan wrote his paper), now resides, and from whom he obtained much of the information afforded in his essay.(1)

I trust Mr. McLennan will not accuse me of piracy if I quote from him still further :—

“The early settlers had many and serious difficulties to encounter, coming, as so many did, with small means and with scarcely any knowledge of woodcraft, and a great proportion knowing very little of farming after they had cleared away the woods ; but they overcame them by the courage and endurance of their race. The value of their exportable timber, and the discrimination in its favour in the British tariff, helped them very greatly, as did also the high price for pot and pearl ashes, which they manufactured from the timber burned in clearing the land. Fortunately for them (and for their posterity) they were of frugal habits ; they followed from the beginning the practice of their country in the establishment of schools, so that their descendents are able to hold their own in the now greatly accelerated pace of development.

“During the lifetime of the first immigrants, the Gaelic language was much in use, so much so that a knowledge of it was considered a necessary qualification for the Presbyterian pulpit. The common school, however, has brought the new generation to use the English tongue, and now a Gaelic sermon is rarely heard, though in some isolated sections the Gaelic language is in some measure of use.”

I fear it but too true that the Gaelic language is to some extent being allowed to die out, though many, to their credit be it said, still make it the language of the household.

In 1798 the rear part of Charlottenburgh (which Township was when originally laid out between the years 1776 and 1778, known as “Township Number One”), was erected into a new Township and called Kenyon, doubtless so named after the celebrated Lord Kenyon, then Lord Chief Justice of England. Charlottenburgh had no doubt derived its name from the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the wife of George III.

It was not until 1818 that Lancaster, which was originally known as “the Lake Township,” was subdivided, and the rear portion named Lochiel, in compliment to those who had come from that

(1) As previously mentioned, Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser died on the 5th June, 1891, at the patriarchal age of ninety-one years, retaining all his faculties to the end. An excellent account of his life and a well-deserved tribute to his memory from the well-known pen of one of Glengarry's most accomplished sons is given in the “Glengarrian” of the 10th of July, 1891.

District in Scotland, the Camerons and their clansmen the MacMillans, the latter by the way greatly preponderating. When a census of the Highland clans was taken by the late Colonel Chisholm in 1852, it appeared that of the MacMillans there were in Lochiel 351, while of the Camerons but 43. In Kenyon the proportion was different, there being in that Township 228 Camerons and 138 MacMillans.

Various settlements in these Townships are designated after the districts in Scotland from which the first settlers in the neighborhood came. Thus we have "Breadalbane," where those who reside still maintain the religious and political tenets common to the people of Argyleshire in Scotland (of which Breadalbane forms a not inconsiderable part), with the tenacity of purpose which is one of the greatest characteristics of the Highland race. In and around "Dunvegan" are settled large numbers of the MacLeods, and there they have perpetuated the name of the ancient and romantic seat of their Chief, the patriarchal fortress of Dunvegan in Skye. The name is familiar, and recalls the well-known but sorrowful air, "Cha till mi tuille," or "MacCrimmon's Lament," the strain with which the emigrants from the West Highlands and Isles usually took leave of their native shore. Sir Walter Scott gives the first verse as follows :

"MacLeod's wizard flag from the grey castle sallies,
The rowers are seated, unmoor'd are the galleys ;
Gleam war-axe and broadsword, clang target and quiver,
As MacCrimmon sings 'Farewell to Dunvegan for ever !
Farewell to each cliff, on which breakers are foaming ;
Farewell each dark glen, in which red deer are roaming ;
Farewell lovely Skye—to lake, mountain and river
MacLeod may return, but MacCrimmon shall never !'"

MacCrimmon, who was hereditary piper to Lord MacLeod, is said to have composed this lament when the clan was about to depart upon a distant and dangerous expedition. The minstrel was impressed with a belief, which the event verified, that he was to be slain in the approaching feud ; and hence the words with which the song concludes : "Cha till mi tuille ; ged thillis MacLeod, cha till MacCrimmon." ["I shall never return ; although MacLeod returns, yet MacCrimmon shall never return."]

"Eigg" reminds us of another island on the west coast of Scotland, a portion of the estate of Macdonald of Clanranald, where occurred, in a dispute between the MacLeods and the inhabitants of that island, a dreadful episode which had better be forgotten.

From the MacLeods who came from the main shore and were separated from their clansmen by an arm of the sea and that part of the Island of Skye known as Sleat, the property of the Baronets of Sleat, and who settled in the vicinity of Kirkhill, the country thereabouts is known as "Glenelg." They were very early settlers, coming to Glengarry, as we have seen, about 1793.

In "Strathglass" there are, as might be expected, many Chisholms, and I might mention that it was due largely to the efforts and genealogical knowledge of clansmen of that name settled in Glengarry that the late Chieftain of that Clan, James Sutherland Chisholm, then a resident of this country, was enabled to establish his right to Erkless Castle and an estate in Scotland worth some thousands of pounds sterling a year.

"Uist." There was a small settlement in the second concession of Lochiel known as "Uist," from the fact that some families of Macdonalds had settled in the neighbourhood who came from the island of that name on the west coast of Scotland.

In "Little Knoydart," a number of persons from that part of the Glengarry estates, who came to Canada comparatively recently, about the time of the building of the Grand Trunk Railway, settled, and their Scottish home is thus commemorated. They are good farmers and in most comfortable circumstances.

Some of the post offices and adjoining villages have names more or less familiar, though they were derived, as a rule, more from local surroundings than from Scottish origin, such as Glen Roy, Glen Donald, Glen Norman, Glen Nevis, Glen Sandfield, Glen Walter, McCrimmon, McCormack, Athol, &c., &c. "Laggan" takes its name from the place of the same name in Badenoch, Inverness-shire, Scotland, recently best known probably as having been for many years the home of one of the most accomplished writers of the day, Mrs. Grant of Laggan, the authoress of "Letters from the Mountains," "Memoirs of an American Lady," &c., &c.; "Fassifern" is a name dear to all who cherish the traditions of the Camerons, ennobled especially in the case of Dr. Archibald Cameron of Fassifern, a younger brother of Lochiel, who with the Honourable Alexander Murray, one of Lord Elibank's brothers, and Macdonell of Lochgarry, was at the head of the last Jacobite effort in Scotland, when Fassifern was taken prisoner, sent to London, brought to trial upon the bill of attainder passed against him on account of his

concern in the Rebellion of 1745, and upon that charge arraigned, condemned and put to death at Tyburn in June, 1753. Though there may be difference of opinion as to the laudable nature of Dr. Archibald Cameron's enterprise (there can be none as to his gallantry, humanity and brave bearing during his trial or his manner of meeting his fate!) all, without reference to politics, will cherish the name of his brave descendant, Colonel John Cameron of Fassifern, so often distinguished in Lord Wellington's despatches from Spain, who fell in action at Quatre Bras (16th June, 1815) while leading the 92nd or Gordon Highlanders to charge a body of cavalry, supported by infantry, and to whom Sir Walter Scott, in the finest portion of "The Field of Waterloo," in enumerating those who fell, thus refers:

"And Cameron in the shock of steel
Died like the offspring of Lochiel"

"Dalkeith" is somewhat more Lowland than most other Scottish names identified with Glengarry, though Sir Walter always claimed that the Scotts were at any rate, "a Border Clan." I presume the place is called after the title of the eldest son of the Duke of Buccleuch, the head of the great family of Scott.

"Alexandria" (formerly Priest's Mills), took its name from the first Bishop of Upper Canada, Alexander Macdonell, who built the mill there, which was the commencement of the village. It is now the See of another Bishop of similar name, worthy successor of his great namesake.

"Martintown" was so called after an officer of that name, Lieutenant Malcolm McMartin, of the King's Royal Regiment. One of his family at one time represented Glengarry and was Sheriff of the United Counties.

"St. Andrews" is not far off, but lies in the adjacent County of Stormont. The original settlers in the neighbourhood were all Highland United Empire Loyalist soldiers. The name requires no explanation—the good people of the vicinity have commemorated the name of Scotland's patron saint, not only in the name of their settlement but by erecting one of the finest churches in Eastern Ontario.

It is greatly to be regretted that no complete list can be obtained of the members of the Legislature of Upper Canada dur-

ing each parliament from 1792 until the Union of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841. The destruction of all the parliamentary papers when York was burnt by the Americans in 1813 partly accounts for the scarcity of accurate and complete information of this nature. Again, in early days the members of Parliament drew their expenses and indemnity from the county treasurer on their return from Parliament, and Judge Pringle, who has made a careful search of the records, informs me that it is apparent that most of the earlier members for Glengarry evidently considered the honour of representing the County sufficient, and declined to accept or omitted to procure the indemnity to which they were entitled, and their names cannot therefore be obtained from that source, as in the case of the County of Dundas for instance, where the members were as regular in drawing their indemnity as in their attendance on their duties. Since the Union, I believe, members of both branches of Parliament have been somewhat more attentive to the duty they owe themselves in this particular, and the cases are few in which the people's representatives have done themselves the slightest injustice!

Until the Union of 1841, Glengarry had two members, and although the following list, for the reasons stated, is not complete, it is as much so as can now be ascertained:

MEMBERS FOR GLENGARRY, 1792-1840.

John Macdonell of Aberchalder, first Speaker, - - -	}	1792
Hugh Macdonell (Aberchalder), - - - - -		
Colonel John Macdonell of Aberchalder, - - - - -	}	1797
John N. Campbell, - - - - -		
Alexander Macdonell (Collachie) Speaker, - - - - -	}	1803
Angus B. Macdonell (Saundic), - - - - -		
Alexander Mackenzie, - - - - -		1808
Alexander Macdonell (Collachie), - - - - -	}	1808
Walter Butler Wilkinson, - - - - -		
Alexander Macdonell (Collachie), - - - - -	}	1812
Thomas Fraser, - - - - -		
Colonel John Macdonell (Greenfield), - - - - -		1812
Alexander McMartin, - - - - -	}	1816
John Cameron, - - - - -		

Alexander Macdonell (Collachie), - - - - -	}	1820-'23
Alexander McMartin, - - - - -		
Alexander Macdonell (Greenfield), - - - - -		1821
Duncan Cameron, - - - - -		1823, '28
Colonel Alexander Fraser, - - -		1824 or 1828 and 1830-'34
Donald Macdonell (Greenfield), - - - - -	}	1834-'35
Colonel Alexander Chisholm, - - - - -		
Colonel Donald Macdonell (Greenfield), - - - - -	}	1836-'41
Colonel Alexander Chisholm, - - - - -		

I can find no record of any militia regiment earlier than 1803.

From the nature of the population of the County, all its inhabitants having previously, almost without exception, borne arms either in the Revolutionary War, in the Second Battalion Royal Canadian Volunteers (disbanded, as we have seen, in the previous year) or in the Glengarry Fencible (British Highland) Regiment (whose men this year arrived in Glengarry), there could have been but little difficulty in organizing a militia regiment in the County.

In 1803, the officers of the Glengarry Militia Regiment, which appears to have been one of the most complete in the Province, were as follows :

GLENGARRY MILITIA REGIMENT, 1803.

Colonel—John Macdonell (of Aberchalder).

Lieutenant-Colonel—Hugh Macdonell (Aberchalder).

Major—Walter Sutherland.

Captains.

Ranald Macdonell,	Richard Wilkinson,
Alexander McMillan,	Alexander Macdonell,
Joseph Sutherland,	Duncan Murchison,
	John McIntyre.

Lieutenants.

Murdoch Maclean,	John Hay,
Duncan McIntyre,	Duncan McKenzie,
Allan Macdonell,	John Dunn,
Peter Macdonell,	Duncan Macdonell,
Donald McGillis,	Norman Macleod.

Ensigns.

Jacob Simmers,	Jeremiah Snyder,
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Hector Mackay,	Duncan Macdonell,
Donald MacMillan,	John Macdonell,
Ranald Macdonell,	Alexander Grant,
Donald Mackay, jr.,	John Cameron.

Chaplain—John Bethune.

Adjutant—Murdoch Maclean.

Quartermaster—Lawrence Mackay.

Many of these officers had already seen service. Thus Colonel Macdonell had served through the Revolutionary War in the K. R. R. of N. Y. and Butler's Rangers, and was stated by Col. Mathews Military Secretary to Sir Guy Carleton, to have been "an active and distinguished partizan," who, with other members of his family and their adherents, "had united the Indians of the Five Nations in the interest of government, and in a great measure preserved the upper country of Canada." He had also commanded the 2nd Batt. R. C. V. R. of Foot during its period of service, and while on the regular establishment of the British Army from 1796 to 1802.

In 1852 a list was prepared by Colonel Alexander Chisholm, when taking the census of the County, giving the number of the various Highland Clans in Glengarry at that time. The families of most of these people had come to Canada long before, and previous to 1812; and although the numbers may have been somewhat less at the earlier period, and may have increased considerably since 1852, the proportion is but little changed. This enumeration does not, however, give all the clans represented in Glengarry, a few having been omitted by reason of the Government requiring Colonel Chisholm to make his return before he was able fully to complete his interesting enumeration. It was always a matter of regret to that gentleman that he was thus unable to perfect his self-imposed task.

Judge Pringle gives the list at page 196 of his book as follows :

A TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS IN EACH OF THE FOLLOWING CLANS IN THE COUNTY OF GLENGARRY,
 TAKEN FROM THE CENSUS RETURNS OF 1852.

Charlot tenburg	880	7	156	69	12	290	93	88	119	111	51	50	15	27	57	79	3	49	67	45	88	73	28	35	7	63	30	52	35	10	
Ken- yon.....	803	138	71	163	131	45	228	25	153	44	155	53	20	79	39	34	48	65	13	38	16	19	22	27	9	223	5	14	8		
Lochiel Lan- cast'r...	419	351	147	90	218	8	43	60	31	89	84	120	184	99	35	50	97	9	24	34	7	12	74	39	50	66	7	13	12	120	
Total...	3228	545	541	456	437	415	399	359	333	322	304	262	243	242	195	176	157	140	139	133	114	110	102	99	99	83	72	72	70	68	50

Friends and connections of the original settlers belonging to the various Highland Clans from time to time joined them, and when in 1812 war was declared by the United States, it was found that on Canadian soil there was a great colony of Highlanders prepared to maintain the traditions of their race, and to lay down their lives, if necessary, to preserve the connection with the land they had left, but still loved so well. And so I trust it may always be.

CHAPTER 14.

OUTBREAK OF THE WAR OF 1812.—EXPRESSIONS OF THE AMERICAN PRESS AND PUBLIC MEN.—SITUATION OF AFFAIRS IN UPPER CANADA.—COLONEL DENISON'S ACCOUNT OF GENERAL BROCK'S DIFFICULTIES.—TREASON OF WILLCOCKS, MALLORY, MARCLE AND OTHER RENEGADES.—EXTRA SESSION OF PARLIAMENT SUMMONED.—MARTIAL LAW PROCLAIMED.—EXPULSION OF WILLCOCKS AND MARCLE.

It would be foreign to the purpose of a work such as this to enter at any length into the cause which led to the War of 1812. The people of Glengarry, indeed those of Canada, had nothing to do with that. This matter has been discussed at length by various writers on the subject, by James in "The Military Occurrences of the War," by Christie in his admirable "History of Lower Canada," by Auchinleck in the "History of the War of 1812-13-14," and later by Colonel Coffin in his "Chronicle of the War of 1812," published as late as 1864. My object is simply to show that the War having come upon us, owing to no act of ours, the Highlanders of Glengarry did their share of the work and merited the high encomium of Colonel Carmichael passed upon them in his letter to Sir James Macdonell in 1840, which I quoted on the title page.

Suffice it to say that they were fighting for their homes, for the possession of British North America was what the Americans aimed at. Not only, however, were they lustful of further territorial aggrandizement, but they recognized the fact that, as stated in the "Weekly Register":

"The conquest of Canada will be of the greatest importance to us in distressing our enemy; in cutting off his supplies of provisions and naval stores for his West India Colonies and home demand. There is no place from where she can supply the mighty void tha

would be occasioned by the loss of this country, as well in her exports as imports. It would operate upon him with a double force; it would deprive him of a vast quantity of indispensable materials, as well as of food, and close an extensive market for his manufactures. Canada and Nova Scotia, if not fully conquered immediately, may be rendered useless to him in a few weeks. Without them, and particularly the latter, he cannot maintain these terrible fleets on our coast which we are threatened with, or bridge our harbours with frigates, admitting he may have no use for them to defend his own shores; for he will not have a dockyard, filling the purposes of his navy, within three thousand miles of us."

Mr. Porter, then Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, said:—

"These Provinces were not only immensely valuable in themselves, but almost indispensable to the existence of Great Britain, cut off as she now is, in a great measure from the north of Europe. He had been credibly informed that the exports from Quebec alone amounted during the last year (1810) to near six millions of dollars, and most of these, too, in articles of the first necessity—in ship timber and in provisions for the support of her fleets and armies."

Britain's battle, therefore, became our fight, and our defence not only an obligation to us but a duty she owed to herself and her supremacy on the sea. Canada was to be the battle-ground, and the success of the War must largely depend on the temper and loyalty of its people; and though there were traitors within the gates the great bulk of them proved equal to the emergency. Such of the veterans of the War of 1776-83 as were left had their experience to fall back upon and place at the service of the Crown, though their limbs had lost the elasticity of youth, and in most cases were crippled with age and the hardship incidental to their lot; while the children of those who had gone proved true to the loyalty of their forefathers and the obligations incumbent upon subjects of the British Crown.

"We will drive the British from our continent" was the text of their speeches and manifestoes. "The Falls of Niagara could be resisted with as much success as the American people when they should be called into action," cried an excited orator in Congress. "I am willing," was the magnanimous declaration of Mr. Grundy of Tennessee, "to receive the Canadians as adopted brethren. * * I feel anxious not only to add the Floridas to the south, but the Canadas to the north of this 'empire.'" The willingness, however, was not reciprocal, and we purposed to hold our own on what they

were pleased to term "their" continent. The Canadian people, less inflated and less vulgar and verbose, gave them their answer on many a hard contested field during the next few years.

Henry Clay said: "It is absurd to suppose we shall not succeed in our enterprise against the enemy's Provinces. We have the Canadas as much under our command as Great Britain has the ocean, and the way to conquer her on the ocean is to drive her from the land. I am not for stopping at Quebec or anywhere else, but I would take the whole continent from them and ask no favours. *

* * We must take the continent from them—I wish never to see a peace till we do. God has given us the power and the means; we are to blame if we do not use them." It is a curious coincidence that this same Henry Clay signed the treaty of peace at the close of the War; and that it did not give the United States a single inch of Canadian territory.

Dr. Eustis, the Secretary at War of the United States, said: "We can take the Canadas without soldiers; we have only to send officers into the Provinces, and the people, disaffected toward their own government, will rally around our standard."

There can be no doubt but that they counted, and counted largely, on a portion, a large and influential one, of our population, being inimical to Great Britain, and that they had, unfortunately, some ground for this impression will shortly be shown.

My friend Colonel George Taylor Denison, of Toronto, who, like all the members of his distinguished family for several generations, has done so much by precept and example to keep alive the spirit of loyalty and patriotism among our people, in an admirable lecture on the opening of the War of 1812, recently delivered before the Sons of England in Toronto, has outlined far better than I could attempt to do, the situation of affairs at the time, the difficulties General Brock had to face, and the measures he took to meet them. He has most kindly placed it at my disposal, with permission to use it to the fullest extent—a courtesy of which I most gladly avail myself. He first refers to the fact that England was engaged in the mightiest effort she had ever made, carrying on, almost single-handed, a war against the greatest soldier and conqueror of modern times, if not of all time. From 1793, with a slight intermission, she had been continually engaged in war. The British troops had been fighting in the Peninsula with varying success for four years. One army

under Sir John Moore, had been obliged to retreat in 1809 to Corunna and embark for England ; while Lord Wellington had been obliged to fall back to the shelter of the lines of Torres Vedras in 1810 and across the Portuguese frontier in 1811 and to retreat from Burgos in 1812. The national debt had increased from £240,000,000 to about £740,000,000 sterling during the preceding nineteen years, an increase of over £26,000,000, or \$130,000,000 per annum. The total debt was fifteen times larger than the present debt of Canada, while the population of Great Britain and Ireland was not more than three and a half times our present population. Napoleon was at the zenith of his power. The whole of Europe, except Russia, was under his control. On the 12th June, 1812, he crossed the Niemen to invade Russia at the head of about half a million of the best troops of Europe. Alison says :

“ The commands of Napoleon were as readily obeyed by the Italians, Germans or Prussians as by the Guards of the French Empire.”

Napoleon left Paris for this campaign on the 9th May, 1812, and six weeks after, on the 18th June, the United States declared war against England. The population of Upper Canada was then estimated at about 70,000, of Lower Canada about 230,000, in all about 300,000. The population of the United States was over 8,000,000. The population of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was slightly more than double that of the United States, but it was a population exhausted by nineteen years of war, burdened with a debt relatively four times as great as the present debt of Canada is to the Canadian people, and facing in mortal struggle nearly all Europe, lead by the greatest captain of the age.

England's difficulty was the Republic's opportunity. Madison and his government, believing that England was upon the verge of ruin, were determined to bring on war, and nothing but the public voice restrained them from sooner commencing hostilities. Sir George Prevost and General Brock knowing this, made it their constant study to guard against anything that would enable the War Party in the States to influence the minds of the people against England. This strong desire to conquer and acquire Canada was increased somewhat by the belief that England was in extremities, but principally from the belief that Canada, weak in numbers as she was, was still weaker in consequence of divided councils and

internal disaffection. The confidence of the politicians at Washington in the certainty of the acquisition of Canada was absolute.

Now let us consider General Brock's position. For the defence of this Province he had to rely upon the regular troops and the quota of militia that 70,000 people could furnish. On the breaking out of hostilities the regular force in Upper Canada amounted to barely 1,500 men, composed of:—The Forty-First Regiment, 900; Tenth Veterans, 250; Newfoundland Regiment, 250; Royal Artillery, 50; Provincial Seamen, 50.

In Lower Canada Sir George Prevost had about 3,000 regular troops. The total number of men capable of bearing arms in Upper Canada was about 11,000. The proportion available for active service constantly was estimated at about 4,000. At the beginning of 1812, the United States had a regular army of 5,500 men. On the 11th January, 1812, five months before the Declaration of War, an Act of Congress was passed for raising 25,000 men for five years. In the next month an Act was passed to organize 50,000 volunteers, and in April 100,000 militia were called into active service for the purpose of military drill. During the whole war the United States regular army amounted to about 30,000. The whole militia force raised during the war was 471,622, making a grand total of over half a million engaged in the effort to conquer Provinces containing a total population of 300,000. Another great difficulty was the lack of military stores and supplies. General Brock had no uniforms to clothe the militia, and therefore issued a recommendation to them that each man, as far as his circumstance and situation allowed, should provide himself with a short coat of some dark coloured cloth, made to button well around the body, and trousers suited to the season, with the addition of a round hat. It was also recommended to the officers on every occasion when in the field to dress in conformity with the men, in order to avoid the bad consequences of a conspicuous dress.

Flour was scarce, the price having risen before the War to \$8.50 a barrel, and many of the militia were drilling in their naked feet, while Brock was without a military chest, without money enough to buy provisions, blankets or even shoes for the militia. He made his wants known to a number of gentlemen of credit, who formed themselves into what was called "the Niagara and Queenston Association," and several thousand pounds were issued in the shape

of bank notes, which were currently received throughout the country. This enabled Brock to fit out his expedition to Detroit. The want of arms was also severely felt until the capture of Detroit placed at his disposal 2,500 muskets of General Hull's army, which were used to arm Canadian Militia. There also he captured a quantity of cannon that were of service in subsequent operations.

In addition to the enormous odds against him, the lack of supplies, arms, men and money, there was one difficulty worse than all others, namely, internal disaffection and treachery. The regular force under General Brock was apparently utterly inadequate to defend so long a frontier, even if assisted by the hearty support of the whole population of the Province. Here, however, came Brock's greatest danger, enough to appal the stoutest heart. Upper Canada had been settled by different classes of settlers. The first arrivals, in 1784, were the loyal fighting men of the Revolutionary War, men who had made enormous sacrifices and suffered untold hardships to maintain the unity of the Empire and their allegiance to their Sovereign. These men had settled along the Niagara frontier, on the Bay of Quinte and along the St. Lawrence.

When in 1792 Colonel Simcoe arrived as first Lieutenant-Governor of this Province, being anxious to secure additional population he established a most liberal system of granting the public lands to bona fide settlers. His principal efforts were directed to inducing emigration from the United States. He felt that, although the Revolutionary War had ceased nine years before, there was still in the United States a large number of people whose sympathies were with the Royal side, and who would feel more satisfied in Canada under the old allegiance, and would probably move here if inducements were held out by a liberal system of free grants. His policy had the result of adding largely to the population of the Colony. Many doubtless came who were loyal in their tendencies, but they were different from the men of extreme views, who fought throughout the War, and left the States at its close. The weak point in the policy, however, was that the liberal inducements as to land tempted a large number of Yankee settlers to emigrate to Canada simply from mercenary motives, bringing with them the Republican sentiments which were so obnoxious to the loyal element which had opened up the first settlements in the forest. This class of disloyal mercenary Yankee settlers was more numerous than is now generally

known, and of all the difficulties General Brock had to face, the lukewarmness, disloyalty, and, in many cases, secret and in others open treason of these settlers was the most dangerous and disheartening.

One of this disloyal type named M. Smith, who was given a passport to leave the country shortly after the War broke out, has left a short history of the War, published in Baltimore in 1814. He admits that he came from Pennsylvania to Upper Canada in 1808, not because he preferred the Government of Great Britain to that of the United States, but in order to obtain land on easy terms. He says that a large proportion of the population of Upper Canada consisted of the same class and their children.

The United Empire Loyalists were, as has been mentioned, principally settled along the St. Lawrence, on the Bay of Quinte, on the Niagara frontier and some in Toronto and in its neighborhood. From Toronto westward to the Detroit River, all along the shores of Lake Erie and in the London district, the then settlers were principally of the mixed class, that is the later United Empire Loyalist settlers, and the Yankee settlers who came with them on the same pretexts, but really from mercenary motives.

For years the United States had been preparing for war, and Yankee emissaries had been insidiously encouraging disaffection, and spreading fear and doubt among the people. The continued Indian wars in the United States had diverted a portion of the stream of Yankee migration into Canada, and consequently the western district received a considerable number of Yankee farmers, who took up lands, and wherever they settled spread more or less the republican and revolutionary ideas in which they had been brought up. Of course many of these secondary emigrants were loyal and true to the Government of their adopted country, and fought for it, but the majority of this class were essentially disaffected and disloyal.

It was among these men that Yankee emissaries were sent to consult and advise, and the Yankee newspapers were filled with the reports of so-called travellers as to the disloyal state of public opinion in the Province. It was positively stated that our people would make no defence against invasion, and they would submit at once. General Hull's proclamation to the Canadians was evidently based on this belief, that he was bringing them the blessings of freedom for which they were longing. The first invasion was made

into the western district at Detroit. This frontier was far removed from the enemy's base of supplies, and was the most remote and difficult line for them to operate upon; yet the movement on Canada was commenced there, evidently in the hope that in that section, where the disloyal faction were settled, they would meet with the least resistance and receive the greatest support from the inhabitants. The disaffection of these aliens was to a great extent instrumental in plunging the two countries into war. Had the people of the United States known that the Canadian people as a whole were thoroughly loyal, and would have fought as stubbornly as they did in defence of their King and Country, there would have been no war.

On the 2nd December, 1811, General Brock, says, in a letter to Sir George Prevost: "I cannot conceal from Your Excellency that unless a strong regular force be present to animate the loyal, and to content the disaffected nothing effectual can be expected." On the 4th February, 1812, Brock opened the session of the Legislature and urged upon the House: 1. A militia supplementary Act. 2. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. 3. An alien law. 4. The offer of a reward for the apprehension of deserters.

"The many doubtful characters in the militia," he says in one of his despatches, "made me anxious to introduce the oath of abjuration into the bill. It was lost by the casting vote of the chairman. The great influence which the numerous settlers from the United States possess over the decisions of the Lower House is truly alarming, and ought immediately by every practical means to be diminished." The bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus was also beaten by a very trifling majority. Willcocks, Mallory and Marcle were all members of this House and leading spirits of the Opposition.

When war was declared, Brock at once called out the flank companies of the militia. This produced a force on the Niagara frontier of eight hundred men, who turned out very cheerfully, and he calculated that all over the Province the number would amount to about four thousand men. In the districts originally settled by the United Empire Loyalists the flank companies were instantly completed with volunteers, an almost unanimous disposition to serve being manifested, and on these men General Brock seems to have depended to overawe the disaffected and to aid him in the field. In fact he said in reply to an address at Kingston that "it was the confidence inspired by the admir-

able conduct of the York and Lincoln Regiments of Militia which had induced him to undertake the expedition which terminated in the capture of Detroit." These men who were with him when he died at Queenston were the sons of the loyal veterans of the Revolution. All along the St. Lawrence the same spirit was manifested, the men of Glengarry in particular performing at Chateaugay and in other fights the most brilliant services for Canada.

On the 6th July General Brock issued a proclamation, ordering all persons suspected of traitorous intercourse with the enemy to be apprehended and treated according to law. His letters are filled with references to his anxiety as to the machination of the disloyal and disaffected.

On the 12th July General Hull invaded Canada at Sandwich, and the militia in that district behaved very ill. They seemed either to lose hope or to be disaffected. Five hundred of them, principally of these alien settlers, gave in their adhesion to the enemy, and a party of General Hull's cavalry, amounting to about 50 men, led by a traitor named Watson, a surveyor from Montreal, were able to penetrate eastward as far as Westminster, about 110 miles east of Sandwich, a conclusive proof of the apathy, to say the least, of the settlers in that district. The Yankee settlers in the Norfolk district also refused to turn out.

At this time General Brock called the Parliament together, and on the 27th July, 1812, opened an extra session. In his speech he says: "A few traitors have already joined the enemy; have been suffered to come into the country with impunity, and have been harboured and concealed in the interior. * * * To protect and defend the loyal inhabitants from their machinations is an object worthy of your most serious deliberation." His speech concluded with these well known and memorable words showing in the face of all his difficulties and dangers, and in the face of overwhelming odds, the true heroism and confidence of a gallant soldier:

"We are engaged in an awful and eventful contest. By unanimity and despatch in our councils and by vigor in our operations we may teach the enemy this lesson, that a Country defended by free men, enthusiastically devoted to the cause of their King and constitution, can never be conquered."

Two days later Brock appealed to the militia of York, the York

flank companies, whether they would follow him anywhere in this Province or out of it, in defence of it. The whole force volunteered cheerfully, without a moment's hesitation. The House, however, refused to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, or to act as promptly as he desired. The disloyal section, led by Willcocks, assisted by Abraham Marcle, did everything they could to thwart and embarrass General Brock. The state of the country certainly required prompt and vigorous measures, but many of the House of Assembly were seized with apprehensions, and endeavoured to avoid incurring the indignation of the enemy. In consequence of these difficulties Brock, feeling that General Hull's emissaries throughout the country were numerous and active, called together the Executive Council on the 3rd August, and made the following representation to them :

“ That the House of Assembly, instead of prompt exertions to strengthen his hands for the Government of the militia, providing for security from internal treason by the partial suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, authorizing a partial exercise of martial law concurrently with the ordinary course of justice, and placing at his disposal the funds not actually applied of the past appropriation, had consumed eight days in carrying a single measure of party, the repeal of the school bill, and passing an Act for the public disclosure of treasonable practices before the magistrates should have the power to commit without bail. That under these circumstances little could be expected from a prolonged session. The enemy had invaded and taken post in the western district ; was multiplying daily his preparations to invade in others ; that the militia in a perfect state of insubordination had withdrawn from the ranks in actual service ; had refused to march when legally commanded to reinforce a detachment of regular forces for the relief of Amherstburg ; had insulted their officers, and some, not immediately embodied, had manifested in many instances a treasonable spirit of mutiny and disaffection ; that the Indians on Grand River, tampered with by disaffected whites, had withdrawn from their volunteer services, and declared for a neutrality which was equally inadmissible as with the King's other subjects. That in the western and London districts several persons had negotiated with the enemy's commander, hailing his arrival and pledging their support. That the King's forces consisted of the 41st, nine hundred strong, part of the Royal Newfoundland two hundred, with a detachment of Royal Artillery and several vessels. That the ex

tent of coast and distance of prominent parts would divide that force to support and countenance the militia. That the conduct of the western militia had exposed the regulars at Amherstburg, and he had made a large detachment of the 41st with militia from the home and Niagara districts. That the commandant at St. Joseph had taken Mackinac and might descend to Amherstburg, and compel the invaders to retreat, with the aid of the detachment now on the march to Long Point; but that no good result could be expected unless he had power to restrain the militia and general population from treasonable adherence to the enemy or neutrality by summary procedure—asked whether it would be expedient to prorogue the House of Assembly and proclaim martial law.”

The Council adjourned till the next day, the 4th of August, for deliberation, and then unanimously expressed the opinion that, under the circumstances of the Colony, it was expedient after the prorogation of the Assembly that the General should proclaim and exercise martial law under authority of his commission from the King. On the 5th Brock prorogued the House and proclaimed martial law. In all probability the action contemplated by General Brock became known on the 4th, for on the 5th, the day of prorogation, the loyal party carried in this same House a most spirited and patriotic address to the people of Upper Canada. In this it is stated that the population is determinedly hostile to the United States, and “the few that might be otherwise inclined will find it to their safety to be faithful,” and calls upon the people to “deem no sacrifice too costly which secures the enjoyment of our happy Constitution.”

The outlook must have been very disheartening to General Brock when he wrote this minute for the Council on the 3rd of August. With only a handful of troops and no money or supplies, with a House of Assembly weak and timorous, and containing a few infamous secret traitors, sufficiently influential to delay and embarrass every step for the defence of the country; with an invading army within our borders, and a portion of the militia in the invaded district mutinous and disloyal. The turning point was the proclaiming of martial law on the 5th of August. Then Brock was master of the situation, and the change in the prospects in a few days was almost miraculous. That very day the stirring address from the House went forth to the people. The next day Brock left for Amherstburg, arriving there on

the 13th at midnight. On the 15th he was at Sandwich, with three hundred and thirty regulars, four hundred militia and six hundred Indians. On the morning of the 16th he crossed to the Michigan side of the river, with these thirteen hundred and thirty men, and captured Detroit, with the whole of Hull's army of two thousand five hundred men and their immense stores and supplies. Two or three days after he set out again for York, where he arrived on the 27th August.

The success at Detroit, so unexpected as it was, produced an electrical effect throughout Canada. It inspired the timid, fixed the wavering and awed the disloyal. After this event the disaffected saw that it was as much as their property and lives were worth to disobey orders, and what they were at first compelled to do, after a little while they did from choice. Aliens were required to take the oath of allegiance or leave the Province. Many were sent out of the country, large numbers left on their own account—passports being furnished those desiring to leave. Those who refused the oath of allegiance, or to take up arms to defend the country, and remained in the Province after the 1st of January, 1813, were to be considered enemies and spies and dealt with accordingly. When the militia of the London district were ordered out, Smith, the author already referred to, says :

“Many refused of their own accord and others were persuaded so to refuse by a Mr. Culver and a Mr. Beamer and one more, who rode among the people for six days telling them to stand back. However, they were apprehended and the most of the people became obedient. After this they had their choice to go or stay, and some went.”

This power of compelling the traitorous to cease their treason soon bore fruit. Large numbers went to the States, among them three members of Parliament—Joseph Willcocks, the leader of the Opposition, Benjamin Mallory and Abraham Marcle. At the next session Willcocks and Marcle, who were still members, were expelled the House “for their disloyal and infamous conduct in having traitorously deserted to the enemy.” Mallory had not been re-elected in 1812. Willcocks was killed at Fort Erie in 1814 in command of a regiment in the Yankee army—Mallory served during the War as major in the same regiment. Fifteen traitors were tried at Ancaster during the war and sentenced to death. Seven of them were hanged together at that place by order of General Drummond and eight were

sent to Quebec for punishment. A large number of the disloyal must have been arrested and put in prison very early in the war, for on the day of the battle of Queenston Heights, October 13, 1812, the Jail and Court House at Niagara were filled with political prisoners, as well as the block house in Fort George, amounting altogether to over three hundred aliens and traitors in custody, with only a few raw militia to guard them. When Brock lost his life at Queenston he did not have many more than three hundred soldiers with him in action, as the main forces had not come up. After the commencement of the War the officers of the army, the Indians and the loyal militia all volunteered their services to force the few laggards into the ranks. They thought it hard and unreasonable that they should bear all the burden and dangers of the War, and a number of them were zealously engaged in bringing forward the disobedient. Some forty men of Colonel Grahame's regiment refused to turn out in the neighborhood of Whitchurch township and retired into the wilderness, and the whole regiment volunteered to go out and fetch them in, an offer Colonel Grahame did not accept, probably feeling that such men were better in the woods.

The result of the war was practically that the disloyal minority were driven out, and the apathetic, unable to avoid serving the country, soon became enthusiastic in the cause. Three years of war weeded out the bad elements and welded the Canadians into a loyal and patriotic people. It also stopped the Yankee emigration, and afterwards the country was filled up with loyal English, Irish and Scotch, who settled here that they might retain their allegiance and remain under their flag.

Canada can never again be called upon to face such dangers and difficulties. It seems impossible that the odds could ever again be anything like so great against us, and although unfortunately we might have a few traitors among us, yet there are too many sons of Canada born upon her soil and too many other men loyal to their Sovereign and to the land of their adoption for a small fraction of strangers to be able to seriously endanger the national life.

Colonel Denison very properly adds that :

The experience of 1812 teaches us that internal treachery and the intrigues of a faction in favour of annexation, although the faction may be small in numbers and weak in influence, may yet involve the two countries in war and bring untold misery and immense loss of

life and property upon our country. The belief that the Canadians wanted annexation, a belief industriously fostered and encouraged by the United States Government, alone enabled them to prevail upon their people in 1812 to engage in an aggressive war, and to-day the right-thinking masses of the United States would forbid a war of aggression upon Canada, unless they believed we desired the change and would yield to it without bloodshed. The man who advocates annexation in Canada is therefore playing into the hands of our worst enemies in the States, and doing all he can to embroil us in war. Whenever we hear of men advocating annexation, and there are a few cranks who do, we should remember that they are the most dangerous type to the country.

CHAPTER 15.

SIR ISAAC BROCK—HIS PARENTAGE AND FORMER SERVICES—
 RAISING OF THE GLENGARRY LIGHT INFANTRY BY CAPTAIN
 GEORGE MACDONELL OF THE KING'S REGIMENT AND THE
 REVEREND ALEXANDER (AFTERWARDS BISHOP) MACDONELL—
 LIST OF OFFICERS—OFFICERS OF FLANK COMPANIES GLEN-
 GARRY MILITIA—CORPS DES VOYAGEURS CANADIENS—CANA-
 DIAN FENCIBLE INFANTRY.

Sir George Prevost was Governor-General of Canada and Commander of the Forces, his Headquarters being at Quebec, while to quote from a commission signed by him, before me, "Isaac Brock, Esquire," was "President administering the Government of Upper Canada and Major-General commanding His Majesty's Forces therein." To the fact that he was is largely due the preservation of at least this Province to the British Crown and to us the institutions it is alike our privilege and our heritage now to enjoy.

From Mr. Martin Brock Tupper's "Life and Correspondence of Sir Isaac Brock," I gather principally the following particulars regarding the man so deservedly designated "The Saviour of Upper Canada." His name will be remembered with gratitude by our people, as his biographer stated of a Glengarry man who shortly afterwards fell with him, "As long as courage and devotion are revered in the province":

General Brock was the eighth son of John Brock, a gentleman of ancient family in the Island of Guernsey, by Elizabeth De Lisle, and was born on the 6th October, 1769, the memorable year which gave birth to Wellington and Napoleon.

He received his commission as ensign in the Eighth (the King's) Regiment 2nd March, 1785, and served in Guernsey and Jersey, in

1790 receiving his company. He then exchanged into the Forty-Ninth Regiment, which he joined at Barbadoes in 1791, but was shortly afterwards compelled to return very suddenly to England on sick leave, having nearly fallen a victim to the pestilential climate. He was then employed on recruiting service in England, and in 1795 purchased his majority. In 1797 he purchased his lieutenant-colonelcy, when but twenty-eight years of age, and soon after became Senior Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-Ninth. He served with distinction under Sir Ralph Abercrombie in Holland in 1799, and was wounded at Egmont op Zee, where thirty of his regiment were killed and fifty wounded. The loss of the enemy on that occasion was estimated at four thousand men.

His next active service was at the celebrated attack on Copenhagen by Lord Nelson in 1801, when Lieutenant-Colonel Brock was second in command of the land forces, and where his brother, Savery Brock, also greatly distinguished himself.

In 1802, his regiment, the Forty-Ninth, was ordered to Canada, being stationed at York (now Toronto) in 1803. In 1805 he was made full colonel, and returned on leave to England, that being his last visit, and early in the following year he laid before His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, the outlines of a plan for the formation of a veteran battalion to serve in the Canadas, recommending that ten companies should be raised, each of sixty rank and file, with the usual proportion of officers, distributed in the following manner:—

St. John and Chambly, one Company ; Kingston, one Company ; York, two Companies ; Fort George and dependencies, three Companies ; Amherstburg, two Companies ; St. Joseph, one Company.

Colonel Brock received the thanks of the Duke of York “for the communication of his very sensible observations respecting the distribution of the troops in Canada, which His Royal Highness will not fail to take into consideration at a seasonable opportunity.” As in the case of Colonel Macdonell’s recommendation on a kindred subject, nothing however appears to have been done at the time towards carrying out the views of these far-seeing men, who were so well acquainted with the country and its defensive requirements.

While on a visit to his family and friends in Guernsey, Colonel Brock deemed the intelligence from the United States to be of so warlike a character that he resolved on returning to Canada before

his leave was expired, and such was his anxiety to be at his post that he overtook at Cork the "Lady Saumarez," a Guernsey vessel, well manned and armed as a letter-of-marque, bound to Quebec. He left London on June 26, 1806, never again to return to home and kindred.

On September 27, 1806, he was appointed to the command of the troops in both Provinces, with the rank of Brigadier, his appointment as such being confirmed by the King to date from July 2, 1808

In September, 1806, he addressed a very able representation to the Horse Guards with regard to the defence of the country:—

"It is impossible to view the late hostile measures of the American Government towards England without considering a rupture between the two countries as probable to happen.

"I have in consequence been anxious that such precautionary measures might be taken as the case seemed to justify; but His Honour the President (Dunn, with whom Sir Isaac did not appear to agree) has not judged it proper to adopt any other step than merely to order one-fifth of the militia, which amounts to about ten thousand men, to hold itself in readiness to march on the shortest notice.

"The men thus selected for service being scattered along at extensive line of four or five hundred miles, unarmed and totally unacquainted with everything military, without officers capable of giving them instructions, considerable time would naturally be required before the necessary degree of order and discipline could be introduced among them. I therefore very much doubt whether, in event of actual war, this force could assemble in time, and become useful.

"Without considerable assistance from the militia, the few regulars which might be spared from this garrison (Quebec) could avail nothing against the force the Americans would suddenly introduce by various routes into this Province."

After referring to the state of affairs in Lower Canada, he continues, "From every information I can receive, the Americans are busily engaged in drilling and forming their militia, and openly declared their intention of entering this Province. The very instant war is determined upon, they will be encouraged to adopt this step from the very defenceless state of our frontiers. The means at my disposal are too limited to oppose them with effect in the open field, and I shall be constrained, unless His Honour the President makes

exertions, which I do not think him disposed at this moment to do, to confine myself to the defence of Quebec."

He then narrates the preparations he had made for placing Quebec in a defensive condition, and proceeds, "Although these remarks may be premature, I yet conceive it to be my duty to give His Royal Highness, the Commander-in-Chief, a view of my real situation.

"I must confess that I am unable to account for the motives which seem at present to guide the Councils of this Province. Voluntary offers of service have been made by numbers, on whose loyalty the utmost reliance can be placed, to form themselves into corps of cavalry, artillery and infantry, at little or no expense to Government, provided they were furnished with arms; but this liberal spirit has not been encouraged by the President."

In 1808 Colonel Brock was stationed at Montreal, which, from the description of its society given by Washington Irving in "Astoria," was a good place to be quartered in. These were the palmy days of the then celebrated North-west Company, "which for a time held a lordly sway over the wintry lakes and boundless forests of the Canadas, almost equal to that of the East India Company over the voluptuous climes and magnificent realms of the Orient." The principal partners resided at Montreal, where they formed a commercial aristocracy and lived in a generous and hospitable manner. Few travellers who visited Canada at this period in the days of the Mactavishes, the Macgillivrays, the Mackenzies, the Frobishers and other magnates of the North-west when the Company was in all its glory, but must remember the round of feasting and revelry kept up among these hyperborean nabobs. With these merchant princes Colonel Brock lived on terms of much intimacy.

In 1810 Brigadier Brock was sent to Upper Canada where he remained in command of the troops until his death, Lieutenant-Governor Gore at first administering the civil government.

In 1811 he was promoted and appointed by the Prince Regent to serve as a Major-General on the staff of North America and on October 9th of the same year was appointed President and Administrator of the Government of Upper Canada in succession to Lieutenant-Governor Gore, who had returned to England on leave. General Brock had previously expressed his desire for more active employment in Europe, and Sir George Prevost was authorized to

replace him by another officer, but when the permission reached Canada early in 1812, war with the United States being evidently at hand, Major-General Brock was retained both by honour and inclination in this country.

So small was the force we could oppose to the Americans that it became a necessity at once to augment it. Mr. Auchinleck, who here confuses the dividing line between the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, after explaining the reason why a larger levy was not made in the Lower Province (the apprehension that Lower Canadians might contract militia habits and enlist into the service) proceeds: "This feeling, however, did not prevent the establishment of the Glengarry Light Infantry, who numbered by the 1st May, 1812, 400 rank and file; and we find, further, that on Sir George Prevost's issuing orders to recruit for a still higher establishment, the officers engaged to double the number, and did it. This does not look like disaffection; and, whether we go still further east, or south, we trace the same spirit. We find two officers dividing Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and enlisting Acadians, while Lieutenant Ranald Macdonell is reported as making great progress among the Highland settlers on the Coast and Gulf. When we take all these circumstances, then, into consideration, we confess that we are at a loss to find any sounder reasons for imputing disaffection to Lower Canadians than we have found to exist among their brethren of the Upper Province; and although they were not called on, in the course of the events which followed, to make such sacrifices, or give such unequivocal proofs of their loyalty as Upper Canadians, yet we venture to assert that the animus was there, which would have proved that in both Provinces alike the same pure spirit of patriotism burned."

We have previously seen that in 1807 Colonel John Macdonell, who formerly commanded the Second Battalion Royal Canadian Volunteers, had urged upon Sir Isaac (then Colonel) Brock the desirability of raising a corps from among the Highland settlers in Glengarry, and that the latter had forwarded Colonel Macdonell's proposal to the Secretary-at-War strongly recommending that it should be carried out, but for some reason which I am unable to discover, it does not appear to have been acted upon. It will be remembered that Colonel John Macdonell placed much reliance on assistance in this direction from the Reverend Alexander Macdonell,

the former Chaplain of the Glengarry Fencibles (the regiment raised in Scotland), afterwards Bishop of Upper Canada.

When hostilities broke out some five years afterwards, and the necessity arose, that settlement was looked to to supply soldiers for the defence of the country, and the following letter was addressed to General Brock:—

Colonel Baynes, Military Secretary to Major-General Brock.

“QUEBEC, December 12, 1811.

“ I am directed to transmit herewith a copy of proposals for raising a corps of Glengarry Fencibles. The Commander of the Forces has selected an officer of the King’s Regiment, Captain George Macdonell, an avowed Catholic and a relative of the Glengarry priest of that name, to attempt the formation of a small battalion to be in the first instance under his command with the rank of Major, and in case a more respectable body can be collected, a Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant will be appointed. Captain Macdonell will leave this in a few days, and he will be directed to take an early opportunity of communicating with you as soon as he has felt his ground in Glengarry, and is able to form a correct idea of the prospect and extent of success that is likely to attend his exertions.”

In order to insure the important co-operation of the Catholics in Lower Canada, His Excellency the Governor-General personally presented Captain Macdonell to the Bishop of Quebec, as the officer specially selected to raise the corps, which had a very important political effect, as the French-Canadians regarded the regiment most favourably as being a Catholic one, indeed the letter of service directed to Captain Macdonell, distinctly named the Highland Catholic Priest in Glengarry, Mr. Alexander Macdonell, as Chaplain of the corps—a most unusual proceeding—but which indicated to those of that faith, though of a different race, the beginning of a new system towards them and a flattering mark of the confidence of Government in them, exactly as the wise policy of Chatham won the Highlanders in the reign of George the Second, and therefore the raising of this corps immediately called forth an active spirit of loyalty throughout all Lower Canada, whilst it raised the good feelings of the settlers in the Upper Province. French and British Canadians were incorporated in its ranks. (1)

The gallant officer, Captain George Macdonell, who was selected to raise and to assume temporary command of the Glengarry

(1) United Service Journal, 1848, p. 430.

Fencibles, was a member of a cadet family of Glengarry, well known in the Highlands for their great strength and warlike disposition. They were settled at Leek, in Glengarry's Country (from which they took their name) for many generations until after Culloden, when, like many other Highland families, they had to seek shelter elsewhere, their house at Leek having been burned to the ground by Cumberland's troops. His father John Macdonell of Leek, joined Prince Charles in 1745, and was on his staff at the battle of Culloden, where he was wounded by a shot in the thigh. He remained in hiding in the house of Grant of Glenmoriston (his grandmother being of that family) for six months until his wound healed up, after which he walked in disguise the whole way to Hull, where he embarked for Holland in a sailing ship, and soon after joined the Prince at St. Germain. He subsequently served in the Garde Ecosais. Some time after, under an assumed name, he returned to the Highlands and joined subsequently, Fraser's Highlanders as lieutenant. His commission is dated 5th January, 1757. He fought with his Regiment on the Heights of Abraham, before Quebec, and was beside Wolfe when he fell. Before "the Forty-Five," he had formed the acquaintance of the great general, and became so attached to him that he named his eldest son after him. Wolfe acted as his friend, and protected him throughout, the amnesty not having been granted for some years after the fall of Quebec. He remained on the staff after Wolfe's death and was a great favourite with his brother officers. On a certain occasion one of the Hessian officers on the staff had a difference with him about a lady, when the Hessian denounced him as a rebel Highlander. The whole headquarters were indignant and spurned the accusation. Macdonell challenged his accuser; a duel with swords ensued, and the German was killed, to the gratification of some thirty officers, who witnessed the combat and strongly sympathized with Mr. Macdonell. Among his friends in the latter days were the famous Glengarry of George IV.'s time and his distinguished brother, General Sir James Macdonell, defender of Hougoumont. He served as Major during the American War of Independence, and subsequently commanded a veteran corps in Newfoundland, where his second son was born in 1779 or 1780. He died at Berwick in 1818." (1)

Every one of this gentleman's sons was in the army, viz.: 1. Wolfe Alexander, who was Colonel of the Twenty-Fifth Regiment.

(1) Mackenzie's History, page 527.

2. George, who served so well in Canada. 3. James, a Captain Thirteenth Light Infantry. 4. Charles, who died while on service with his regiment in India. 5. Edward, who also died on service in India. 6. Ernest, who was an officer in the Twenty-Fifth Regiment.

Colonel George Macdonell, who thus raised the Glengarry Fencibles, and so greatly distinguished himself both at Ogdensburg and Chateauguay when in command of that corps, was afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel of the Seventy-Ninth Foot. He married the Honourable Laura, second daughter of Lord Arundel of Wardour, and died at Wardour Castle in 1870, at the advanced age of ninety years. His son, John Ignatius Macdonell, is now a major-general in the army, and was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Seventy-First Highland Light Infantry.

The hand of the "Chaplain" is easily traced in the successful formation of this regiment (the Glengarry Light Infantry), Colonel Coffin states that:—

"The Bishop had been most active in rousing and recruiting the Glengarries during the preceding winter. The Fiery Cross had passed through the land, and every clansman had obeyed the summons. Partaking of the character of the mediæval churchman, half Baron, half Bishop, he fought and prayed with equal zeal, by the side of men he had come to regard as his hereditary followers."

The Bishop himself, in a letter to Sir Francis Bond Head, written in 1836, to repel some charges brought against him in the House of Assembly, of having neglected his spiritual functions to devote his time and talents to politics, after showing how he had discharged his duty to God, the hardships and privations he had suffered in the discharge of his sacred functions, and how he had spent thirteen thousand pounds of his own means in building churches, chapels, presbyteries and school houses, in rearing young men for the Church and in promoting general education, states:—

"I never had, or enjoyed, a situation or place of profit or emolument except the salary which my Sovereign was pleased to bestow upon me, in reward of forty-two years' faithful services to my country, having been instrumental in getting two corps of my flock raised and embodied in defence of their country in critical times, viz.: the first Glengarry Fencible Regiment was raised by my influence as a Catholic corps during the Irish Rebellion, whose dangers and fatigues I shared in that distracted country; ample and honourable testimonials of their service and my conduct may be found in the Government Offices at Toronto. The second Glengarry Fencible Regiment, raised in the Province when the Government of the

United States of America invaded and expected to make a conquest of Canada, was planned by me and partly raised by my influence. My zeal in the service of my country and my exertions in the defence of this Province were acknowledged by his late Majesty, through Lord Bathurst, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. My salary was then raised and a seat was assigned for me in the Legislative Council as a distinguished mark of my Sovereign's favour, an honour I should consider it a disgrace to resign, although I can hardly ever expect to sit in Council."

Captain Macdonell evidently not only filled up the ranks of the regiment in Glengarry, but distributed rather more commissions among the gentlemen of the county than was anticipated by or altogether pleasing to the officers at headquarters, as appears from the following letter:—

Major-General Brock to Colonel Baynes :

"YORK, January 26, 1812.

"Captain Macdonell, accompanied by the priest, arrived here some days ago. The badness of the weather has prevented his return as soon as he first proposed. All the junior commissions being already disposed of among the youths of Glengarry, I fear that little will be done in this part of the Province towards recruiting the intended corps. A few idlers may be picked up, but without the aid of persons of influence no great number can be expected, unless indeed the militia be called out and land promised.

"Understanding from Captain Macdonell that the Commander of the Forces had applied to the Prince Regent for permission to offer some of the waste land of the Crown as an inducement to the Scotch emigrants to enlist, I stated the circumstance to Council, and have much pleasure in assuring His Excellency that should he be of opinion the present state of affairs calls for prompt measures, and that a direct promise of land would accelerate the recruiting this Government will readily pledge itself to grant one, or even two, hundred acres to such as would enlist on the terms proposed by his Excellency. This will be deviating largely from the King's instructions; but in these eventful and critical times the Council conceives that an expression from his Excellency of the necessity of the measure will be sufficient to warrant a departure from the usual rules.

"Should His Excellency think it expedient to act immediately, and authorize a direct offer of land, I have no doubt that a number of young men might be collected between Kingston and Amherstburg, in which case His Excellency may sanction the raising of two additional companies under my superintendence."

Sir George Prevost replied on the 20th February, readily accepting General Brock's proposal to recruit two additional

companies to be added to the Glengarry Fencibles, the nomination of the officers, viz., 2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants and 2 Ensigns, to rest entirely with General Brock, and intimating his intention to recommend Colonel Baynes, then on his staff as Militia Secretary, to the Colonelcy of the regiment.

On the 26th January, the Rev. Mr. Macdonell ("the Chaplain") was the bearer of despatches from General Brock to the Commander-in-Chief, with regard to the opening and keeping up communication between the two Provinces, "a subject which he is well qualified to explain." In fact "the Chaplain" was evidently entirely in the confidence of both, and relied on for active co-operation, which was unstintingly given by that loyal and patriotic man. Had he not been a great missionary, priest and prelate he would have been a great soldier. He used to say that every gentleman of his name should either be a priest or soldier.

So great had been his success in raising the Glengarry Light Infantry that General Brock, in February, 1812, recommended the formation of a corps of Canadian Fencibles, which was shortly afterwards accomplished. An idea of the manner in which Captain Macdonell performed the important duty assigned to him, and the readiness with which the people of Glengarry took up arms, may be gathered from the following letter of 14th May, 1812, it being borne in mind that it was only on the 12th December, 1811, that the Military Secretary wrote General Brock that Captain Macdonell had his authorization, and would in a few days start on his recruiting tour for Glengarry, that the service was performed in the depth of winter and that there were no railways or telegraphs in those days:—

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock:

“QUEBEC, May 14, 1812.

“I have great satisfaction in telling you that I have reported the Glengarry Light Infantry more than complete to the establishment of four hundred rank and file, and have received Sir George Prevost's commands to recruit for a higher establishment, indeed the quota the officers have engaged to fulfill will nearly amount to double that number, and from the very great success that has attended our exertions, I have no doubt of succeeding by the end of the year. Two officers have divided Nova Scotia and New Brunswick for their hunting ground, and are permitted to recruit Acadians, and Lieutenant Ranald Macdonell, of the Canadians, proceeds in a few days to Pictou and the Highland settlements on the coast and gulf; he is an officer that appears to be eminently qualified for that service, and

he is sanguine that the proffer of lands in the Scotch settlements of Upper Canada will induce great numbers to enter. I am assured that the men I have got are generally young and of good disposition, there being very few Yankees among them."

GLENGARRY LIGHT INFANTRY FENCIBLE REGIMENT, 1813.

A list of the officers of this corps, which was on the regular establishment of the British Army, is as follows:—

Colonel—Edward Baynes. (1)

Lieutenant-Colonel—Francis Battersby.

Major—George Macdonell.

Captains.

Andrew Liddell,

Robert Macdouall, (2)

John Jenkins, (3)

Thomas Fitzgerald,

R. M. Cochrane,

Foster Weeks,

D. McPherson,

W. Roxburgh.

Lieutenants.

A. McMillan,

James Stewart,

Anthony Leslie,

H. S. Hughes,

Walter Kerr,

Æneas Shaw,

William Kemble,

James Macaulay. (4)

Ensigns.

Roderick Matheson, (5) (6)

Angus Macdonell,

(1.) This officer had entered the army in 1783. After serving at Gibraltar and the West Indies he became aide-de-camp, in 1794, to Sir James Craig, afterwards Governor-General of Canada, and was at the taking of Good Hope in 1795 and also at the capture of a Dutch force in Saldanha Bay in the following year. He subsequently served as A.D.C. to Sir James in the East Indies, but having obtained a majority in the 96th, he joined that corps at Cawnpore. In 1803 he returned to England. In 1804 he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 5th Foot, and in 1805, Sir James Craig again desiring his services, he was placed on half-pay and served as first aide-de-camp to Sir James at Gibraltar, Malta, Naples and Sicily. In 1807 he was appointed adjutant-general to the forces in North America, which appointment he held during the whole of the War of 1812-14 and for several years afterwards. He died at Sidmouth, England, in March, 1829. (*Morgan's Celebrated Canadians*, p. 200.)

(2.) This gallant officer entered the service in 1796 and after taking the various steps, became a major-general in 1841. When in command at Fort Michilamackinac he successfully defended it when attacked by a very superior force, August 4th, 1814, which he drove off with considerable loss. He died at Stranraer on 15th November, 1848. (*Morgan*, p. 216.)

(3.) Captain Jenkins was a native of New Brunswick, and an honour to the Province. He greatly distinguished himself at the taking of Ogdensburg by his gallant and intrepid conduct, where he lost both arms, which were smashed by canister shot, and sank exhausted from loss of blood within twenty yards of the enemy's guns. He was most honourably mentioned in the despatch announcing that victory, and survived the war several years. It is not creditable to the then authorities that he never got a brevet or any other honour. His only reward when he no longer had an arm to hold a sword was a contemptible town majority of some £65 a year. Col. Macdonell begged, almost on his knees, at the Horse Guards, for an increase of his widow's pension, but in vain.

(4.) Afterwards Sir James Buchanan Macaulay, C.B., one of the three gentlemen who served through the war and afterwards became chief justices, the other two being Sir John Beverly Robinson, Bart., and the Hon. Archibald McLean—all three, strangely enough, having been pupils of Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Stachan at the Cornwall school. He died 27th July, 1857.

(5.) Afterwards the Hon. Roderick Matheson. Born in Rosshire, Scotland, and great grandson of Dugald Matheson, chief of his clan, who was killed in the action at Glen Shiel, Glenelg, 10th June, 1719. Mr. Matheson was present with his regiment at the actions at York, Sackett's Harbour, Cross Roads, Fort George, Lundy's Lane and Fort Erie. Wounded at Sackett's Harbour. He was appointed a life member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada in 1847, and

James Robins,	William Maclean,
James Mackay,	Byland Smith,
Joseph Frobisher,	Alexander Macdonell.
Paymaster—Anthony Leslie.	
Adjutant—John Mackay.	
Quarter-Master—John Watson.	
Agents—Greenwood, Cox & Co.	

In addition to the regular force then raised from among the people of Glengarry, there were also two regiments of Glengarry militia.

Unfortunately, I can only procure the names of the officers of the flank companies. I know as a fact, however, that Alexander Macdonell of Greenfield commanded the Second Regiment of Glengarry Militia at the time, as a commission of Captain Donald Greenfield Macdonell, dated 15th April, 1812, appoints him to the command of a company in that regiment, "of which Alexander Macdonell, Esquire, is Lieutenant Colonel," and I find from family papers in my possession that he commanded that regiment at the action at Hoople's Creek, where some of his men were wounded, whose cases he brought to the notice of headquarters in applying for pensions for them.

The Militia Department furnishes me with the following :—

GLENGARRY REGIMENTS—FLANK COMPANIES—SERVED IN WAR OF
1812.

First Regiment.

Captains—Duncan Macdonell, John Hooke Campbell.

Lieutenants—John Cameron, Donald McDermid.

Ensigns—John Kennedy, James Macdonell.

Second Regiment.

Captains—Donald Macdonell, Alexander Mackenzie, Alexander Macmillan.

sat until Confederation, when he was called to the Senate by Royal Proclamation.

(6.) An officer who subsequently served in this regiment and retired in 1816 as a captain in it was James Fitzgibbon, subsequently colonel of the 1st Regiment of Toronto Militia. Mr. Fitzgibbon had previously served in the 19th and 61st Regiments as a non-commissioned officer, and had been present in the action near the Helder and elsewhere in Holland, and was made prisoner at Egmont op Zee. At the battle of Copenhagen he was in the "Monarch, 74," which had 210 men killed and wounded, and he was afterwards, until 1801, in Lord Nelson's ship the "Elephant," his regiment in that campaign acting as marines. While in the Glengarry Regiment during the War of 1812-14, he was in the battles at Stoney Creek, Fort George and several others, including the siege of Fort Erie. At the Beaver Dams, aided by a body of Indian warriors and with 48 men of the 49th Regiment, he captured a force of 450 infantry, 50 cavalry and 2 guns. He rendered important services in the Rebellion of '37-8, and received therefor a sword and the thanks of the Canadian Assembly. He was for nineteen years clerk of Parliament. In 1850 Her Majesty the Queen, in recognition of his services, created him a Military Knight of Windsor, from which time until his death he resided in England.

Lieutenants—Angus Kennedy, Donald McMartin.
 Ensign—Alexander Macdonald.
 Adjutant—Donald Fraser.
 Quarter-Master—John Mackenzie.
 Surgeon—Timothy Johnson.

We frequently read, too, of the gallant Corps des Voyageurs Canadiens, and, from its name, the supposition would be that it was composed exclusively of our French-Canadian countrymen. A list of its officers would indicate that some, at any rate, of them hailed from Glengarry, as their names are typical of those found in such numbers there.

The list is given in the Quebec Almanac of 1813 as follows :—

CORPS DES VOYAGEURS CANADIENS.

Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant—William Macgillivray.

First Major—Angus Shaw.

Second Major—Archibald Macleod.

Capitaines.

Alexander Mackenzie,
 John Macdonell,
 James Hughes,

William Mackay,
 Pierre de Rocheblave,
 Kenneth Mackenzie, Jr.

Lieutenants.

James Goddard,
 Peter Grant,
 William Hall.

Joseph Mackenzie,
 Joseph Macgillivray,

Ensignes.

Pierre Pieras,
 Louis Joseph Gauthier,
 Andre Barron,

James Maxwell,
 John Macgillivray,
 Pierre Rotot, Fils.

Paie Maitre—Æneas Cameron.

Adjutant— — Cartwright.

Quartier Maitre—James Campbell.

Chirurgien—Henry Monro.

From the names of the officers of this corps, there can be little or no doubt but that it was raised by the officers of the Northwest Company. The Honourable William Macgillivray, who was lieutenant-colonel commandant, was senior partner of that Company, and I recognize the names of many other partners amongst them. Mr. William Macgillivray was, with Bishop Macdonell, one of the founders of the Highland Society in Canada, under a commission

from the Duke of York, President of the Highland Society of London, addressed to William Macgillivray, Esq.; Angus Shaw, Esq.; the Reverend Alexander Macdonell, John Macdonald, Esq., of Garth, and Henry MacKenzie. The institutional meeting was held at St. Raphaels in the house of Mr. Angus McDonell. My father, who was in 1844 secretary and one of the directors of the Highland Society, and wrote an account of it, states that that meeting was attended by "three of the best men and finest Highland gentlemen this Province ever saw, the late Honourable William Macgillivray, the late Bishop Macdonell and the late Honourable Neil MacLean, all of whom, though dead, still live in the hearts of their countrymen."

In addition to the Glengarry Fencible Regiment, another regiment raised at this time in Canada, and which was also placed on the permanent establishment of the army, and so continued until after the close of the war, when it was disbanded in 1816, was the Canadian Fencible Infantry. The officers were as follows, Glengarry contributing its quota, amongst whom was Alexander Fraser, who afterwards represented the County and for many years commanded the First Regiment of Glengarry Militia, which was on active service during the Rebellion of 1837-8 in both Upper and Lower Canada:—

CANADIAN FENCIBLE INFANTRY.

Colonel—Thomas Peters, Major-General.

Lieutenant-Colonels—David Shank, Major-General; George Robertson.

Major—Francis Cockburn.

Captains.

James Eccles,	William De Haren,
Thomas Hay,	Edward Cartwright,
Dugald Campbell,	George R. Ferguson,
Ewen MacMillan,	Alexander MacQueen,
James Pentz.	

Lieutenants.

John Reid,	William Marshall,
Ranald Macdonell,	William Radenhurst,
Henry Weatherston,	John Johnston,
Daniel Dupre,	Archibald K. Johnston,
Alexander Grant,	R. M. Cochrane,
Edwar Dewar, Staff.	

Ensigns.

Alexander MacMillan, Charles Pinguet,
Thomas F. Gunter, Benjamin Delisle,
Ulysses Fitzmaurice.
Paymaster—William Marshall, Lieutenant.
Adjutant—R. M. Cochrane, Lieutenant.
Quartermaster—Alexander Fraser.
Surgeon—Michael Mabey.
Assistant Surgeon—Alexander Cunningham.
Agents—Greenwood, Cox & Co.

CHAPTER 16.

FIRST BLOOD OF THE WAR OF 1812.—A BRITISH INDIAN SCALPED BY AN AMERICAN OFFICER.—CAPTURE OF MICHILIMACINACK.—BROCK LEAVES YORK FOR THE SCENE OF ACTION.—LETTER OF COLONEL MACDONELL, A.D.C., M.P. FOR GLENGARRY, TO HONOURABLE DUNCAN CAMERON.—SURRENDER OF FORT DETROIT BY THE AMERICANS.—ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION.—LIST OF GOLD MEDALS GRANTED.—ARMISTICE BETWEEN PREVOST AND DEARBORN.—BATTLE OF QUEENSTON HEIGHTS.—DEATH OF GENERAL BROCK AND COLONEL MACDONELL, A.D.C. — THEIR FUNERAL. — MOVEMENTS ON QUEENSTON HEIGHTS.—THE PRINCE REGENT'S TRIBUTE.—COLONEL MACDONELL'S ADDRESS TO THE ELECTORS OF GLENGARRY, MARCH 18TH, 1812.—LETTER DESCRIBING HIS DEATH.—BISHOP STRACHAN'S VERSES.

Hostilities commenced on 12th July, 1812, when General Hull crossed the Detroit River to Sandwich (perhaps he thought the date auspicious), invading us with an army of two thousand five hundred men and a blood-curdling proclamation. It was answered by General Brock, and the two should be placed in parallel columns, so that the vulgarity and fanfaronade of the one and the resolute, dignified tone of the other might be fully understood and appreciated. The grandiloquence of the American General and the magnitude of what he was going to do was as remarkable as the dignified common sense of the other, and what he immediately proceeded to carry into execution.

Brock's admirable production is generally believed to have been prepared by Mr. Justice Powell, then Senior Puisne Judge of the Court of King's Bench, of which Court he became Chief Justice in the year 1816. He was at the time a Member of the Executive Council and with his numerous duties, General Brock would naturally avail himself of Judge Powell's great abilities in the preparation of a document

of this nature. I may mention that Colonel Macdonell, the Member for Glengarry, and Brock's A.D.C., was shortly to have been married to a daughter of Judge Powell's, had it not proved his lot

" To change love's bridal wreath
For laurels from the hand of death."

But General Brock did not confine himself to answering General Hull on paper. He directed Captain Roberts, then in command at St. Joseph, to take the American fort of Michilimacinack or Mackinaw, in the straits between Lakes Michigan and Huron, which in words which afterwards became historic, "was done accordingly" with a small force of forty-five men of the Tenth Royal Veteran Battalion, two hundred militia and about a like number of Indians. From Sandwich, General Hull proceeded to Amherstburg, but here again both his proclamation and his prowess, if not his courage, failed him.

Colonel St. George was in command of that place with two hundred men of the First Battalion of the Forty-First Regiment, a few of the Newfoundland Fencibles, with some artillery men under Lieutenant Troughton, and the Commander of the Forces was able to announce in General Orders of the Sixth of August that "he had great pleasure in stating that the enemy under General Hull had been repelled in three attacks made on the 18th, 19th and 20th of last month upon part of the garrison of Amherstburg on the River Canard." First blood was drawn and the first scalp taken on the 15th July, James in his "History of the War," mentioning that an American officer, a Captain McCullough, who was afterwards killed, stated in a letter to his wife which was found in his pocket after his death, that he had on that day shot an Indian, and had experienced the pleasure of tearing off his scalp with his teeth—and yet General Hull affected to think the Indians savage and barbarous!

Tecumseth, who proved with his Indian warriors, such a valuable ally to the British arms, waylaid a detachment of the enemy about two hundred strong, which had been sent as a convoy to guard the mail, and cut them to pieces. An expedition, however, under Captain Muir, who was wounded in the engagement, which was sent to occupy Brownstown on the American side, through which a second convoy was expected to pass, failed, with a loss to us of one private killed, two officers, two sergeants, nineteen rank and file wounded and two taken prisoners, who were afterwards

recaptured by our Indians, and to the Americans of eighteen killed and sixty-three wounded.

Their force on this occasion was largely in excess of ours, consisting of all but one company of Fourth Regiment United States Infantry, a detachment of the First Infantry, with some artillery and four hundred militia, while oppose to them were not more than four hundred and fifty men, of whom two hundred were Indians.

General Hull stated in his official report that "nothing was gained in it but honour." That satisfied him. He was easily satisfied, as the results showed.

General Brock, who up to this time had been detained at York, left that place for the scene of action on the 6th of August with some two hundred volunteers, arriving at Amherzburg on the 13th. His little band on the way, he stated in his note book, endured all the fatigues with greater cheerfulness and constancy than he had ever previously seen evinced, their conduct throughout exciting his admiration.

The following letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, General Brock's A.D.C., to the Honourable Duncan Cameron, of York, who was, I believe at the time and continued for many years subsequently a member of the Government of the Province, has been placed in my hands through the courtesy of Mr. Æmilius Jarvis, of Toronto, and is of interest as giving an account of the journey to Detroit and as being the last letter written by Attorney-General Macdonell, who was then Member for Glengarry, and was so soon to die with Brock in the defence of the country.

"PORT TALBOT, 10th August, 1812.

"My dear Sir,

"We left Dover on the 8th, between three and four o'clock p.m., and got to this place about six this morning, when the wind blew so strong upon the shore that we found it would be quite impracticable to weather the point about thirty miles ahead and between which and this place there is no possibility of landing, so were forced to beach and have our boats into a fine creek where, from present appearances, it is possible they will remain till to-morrow morning, and how much longer I cannot say. It has rained almost continually since we encamped last night, and although the men have been completely drenched, they continue in excellent spirits and behave in the most orderly and obedient manner.

"Peter Robinson, with his riflemen, joined us about twelve o'clock to-day, and our fleet now consists of twelve sail of all kinds, in one of which is a six pounder (dismounted), with ammunition, etc. The

want of boats obliged the General to send a detachment consisting of about one hundred men of the Oxford and Norfolk Militia in a small vessel, which happened to be at Dover, which must have reached Amherstburg this morning.

"Upon our arrival at Dover it was said that a sufficient number of boats to embark the whole of the force assembled there had been got ready, but upon examination we found that hardly one was in a state for service, and it was not till about four o'clock next day, with every exertion, that we got ten boats under way. Many of them are in so bad a state that we are constantly delayed and detained by them, and will no doubt prevent our arriving as soon as we otherwise would. Had there been boats enough we probably would have had with us about one hundred men more than we have. Our force at present, including the men sent in the vessel, will be upwards of three hundred and fifty, besides about twenty Indians, under Cadotte, who has fallen behind. These, with the sixty men from the Forty-First sent from Fort Erie will, I trust, be found a sufficient reinforcement to the garrison at Amherstburg to enable us to effect the desired object. Not having heard a word from Amherstburg since we left you, we must suppose things remain in the same state.

"I am sorry to say that poor Chambers was taken so ill just as we were about to embark, that Mr. Rolph thought it absolutely necessary to detain him. Robinson, however, says that Colonel Talbot and he were to leave Mr. R.'s yesterday morning, so that we look out for him every moment. Such a disappointment to him would certainly be most distressing—I mean being left behind. I hope he may arrive, not only on his account, but also for the good of the service, which I think would materially suffer from his absence. Everyone else is perfectly well.

"I do not know how this is to find its way to you, but as you desired me to write you from each place at which we should stop, which I think I promised to do, and having got myself dry, and having a little time to spare, I felt myself bound in conscience to devote it to the performance of my promise, and I wish with all my heart I could say anything which would give you any pleasure to hear. My next, however, may possibly contain something more interesting.

"Chambers, I am glad to say, has arrived perfectly recovered, not only from his illness, but from his fear of being left behind, which I believe gave him more uneasiness than all his other complaints. Remember me to all of those who you think would wish to hear of me, and say to them what you please for me, and believe me to be

"Your sincere friend and faithful servant,

"J. MACDONELL.

"Duncan Cameron, Esq."

But when General Brock with his small force had arrived at Amherstburg it was feared that General Hull had had enough glory in the affair at Brownstown, and that satisfied with his magnificent success

he had recrossed the river, leaving behind him his proclamation, the sole monument of his fame. He was apparently much attached to his own country, though he was destined shortly to leave it for a considerable time, and when he again returned his reception by his countrymen was the reverse of cordial, though they took great care of his person!

On the 15th August, General Brock despatched this letter to him:—

“HEAD QUARTERS, SANDWICH, August 15th, 1812.

“SIR,—The force at my disposal authorizes me to require of you the immediate surrender of Fort Detroit—It is far from my inclination to join in a war of extermination, but you must be aware that the numerous body of Indians who have attached themselves to my troops, will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences. You will find me disposed to enter into such conditions as will satisfy the most scrupulous sense of honour. Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell and Major Glegg are fully authorized to conclude any arrangement that may tend to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood.

“I have the honour to be,

“Sir, your most obedient Servant,

“(Signed) ISAAC BROCK, Major General.

“His Excellency,

“Brigadier-General Hull,

“Commanding at Fort Detroit.”

On the same day General Hull replied that he was prepared to meet any force at his opponent's disposal, but changed his mind the following day, as shown in General Brock's despatch to the Commander-in-Chief, enclosing the terms of the Capitulation of Fort Detroit, which were agreed upon without any of the unpleasantness which usually characterises the proceedings antecedent to such negotiations.

Referring first to the events, at York, following closely upon the commencement of hostilities, General Brock states:—

“* * * In the meantime the most strenuous measures were adopted to counteract the machinations of the evil disposed, and I soon experienced the gratification of receiving voluntary offers of service from that portion of the embodied militia the most easily collected. In the attainment of this important point gentlemen of the first character and influence showed an example highly creditable to them, and I cannot on this occasion avoid mentioning the essential assistance I derived from John Macdonell, Esquire, His Majesty's Attorney-General, who, from the beginning of the war, has honoured me with his services as my Provincial Aide-de-Camp.”

After narrating the events previous to his arrival at Amherstburg, he proceeds :

"The force at my disposal (1) being collected in the course of the 15th, in the neighbourhood of Sandwich, the embarkation took place a little after daylight on the following morning, and under the able arrangement of Lieutenant Dewar, of the Quartermaster-General's Department, the whole was in a short time landed without the slightest confusion at Springwill—a good position, three miles west of Detroit. The Indians, who had in the meantime effected their landing two miles below, moved forward and occupied the woods, about a mile and a half on our left.

I crossed the river, with an intention of waiting in a strong position the effect of our force upon the enemy's camp, and in hopes of compelling him to meet us in the field ; but receiving information upon landing that Colonel McArthur, an officer of high reputation, had left the garrison three days before with a detachment of five hundred men, and hearing soon afterwards that his cavalry had been seen that morning three miles in our rear, I decided on an immediate attack. Accordingly, the troops advanced to within one mile of the fort, and having ascertained that the enemy had taken little or no precaution towards the land side, I resolved on an attack, whilst the Indians penetrated his camp.

"Brigadier-General Hull, however, prevented this movement by proposing a cessation of the hostilities for the purpose of preparing terms of capitulation. Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonell and Captain Glegg were accordingly deputed by me on this mission, and returned within an hour with the conditions, which I have the honour herewith to transmit.(2) Certain conditions afterwards induced me to agree to the two supplementary articles.

"The force thus surrendered to His Majesty's arms cannot be estimated at less than two thousand five hundred men. In this estimate, Colonel McArthur's detachment is included, as he surrendered, agreeably to the terms of capitulation, in the course of the

(1. It consisted of 30 Royal Artillery, 250 of the 41st Regiment, 50 Royal Newfoundland Regiment, 400 militia and 600 Indians under Tecumseth.

(2.) It has frequently been stated that the terms of this surrender were drawn up by Mr. (afterwards Sir John Beverley) Robinson, who was then, as a very young man, a lieutenant in the York militia and a student in the office of Attorney-General Macdonell, General Brock's A.D.C. This statement is repeated in Read's "Lives of the Judges," p. 124, but it is manifestly inaccurate, and I take this opportunity of correcting it. General Brock's despatch is my authority and it cannot be gainsaid. Were further authority wanting, it is furnished by the Chief-Justice himself, who in a letter to Mr. F. B. Tupper, dated Toronto, January 19th, 1846, states : * * "Though I was old enough to be upon the expedition to Detroit and in the action at Queenston I was too young to be in a position to know more of General Brock than could be observed by seeing him in public, but I retain a very distinct recollection of his person and manner." * * * Sir John Robinson achieved in after life such high distinction, his name, for public services no less than for private virtues, is so certain to go down to posterity as one of the most distinguished among the deservedly great ones of the land, that it is neither necessary nor well that services other than those he actually rendered to the State should be attributed to him. Colonel Macdonell it was who negotiated these terms. He so soon after "nobly fell" at so early an age that it is due to his memory that the credit for the services he had the opportunity of rendering his country should be accorded to him alone. His monument is with that of Brock at Queenston Heights, where he died. Sir John Robinson is to be found in the subsequent pages of Canadian History.

evening with the exception of two hundred men, whom he left escorting a valuable convoy at some little distance in his rear ; but there can be no doubt the officer commanding will consider himself equally bound by the capitulation.

“The enemy’s aggregate force was divided into two troops of Cavalry, one Company of Artillery Engineers, the Fourth United States Regiment, detachments of the First and Third United States Regiments, volunteers, three regiments of the Ohio Militia, one regiment of the Michigan Territory.

“Thirty pieces of brass and iron ordnance have already been secured.”

In addition there was handed over four hundred rounds of twenty-four-pound shot fixed, one hundred thousand cartridges, forty barrels of powder and two thousand five hundred stand of arms.

The terms of capitulation were as follows :—

Camp at Detroit, August 16, 1812.—Capitulation for the surrender of Fort Detroit entered into between Major-General Brock, commanding His Britannic Majesty’s forces on the one part, and Brigadier-General Hull, commanding the Northwestern army of the United States on the other part :—

Article I.—Fort Detroit, with all the troops, regular as well as militia, will be immediately surrendered to the British forces under the command of Major-General Brock, and will be considered as prisoners of war, with the exception of such of the Militia of Michigan Territory who have not joined the army.

Article II.—All public stores, arms and all public documents, including everything else of a public nature, will be given up.

Article III.—Private persons and property of every description will be respected.

Article IV.—His Excellency Brigadier-General Hull having expressed a desire that a detachment from the State of Ohio, on its way to join his army, as well as one sent from Fort Detroit under the command of Colonel McArthur, should be included in the capitulation, it is accordingly agreed to. It is, however, to be understood that such part of the Ohio Militia as have not joined the army will be permitted to return to their homes, on condition that they will not serve during the war ; their arms will be given up, if belonging to the public.

Article V.—The garrison will march out at the hour of twelve this day, and the British will take immediate possession of the fort.

J. MACDONELL,
Lieutenant-Colonel Militia, P.A.D.C.

J. B. GLEGG,
Major A.D.C.

JAMES MIETER,
Lieutenant-Colonel Fifth United States Infantry.

E. BRUSH,
Colonel commanding First Regiment Michigan Militia.

Approved. { W. HULL,
Brigadier-General commanding Northwestern Army.
ISAAC BROCK,
Major-General.

An article supplementary to the articles of capitulation, concluded at Detroit, the 16th of August, 1812 :—

“ It is agreed that the officers and soldiers of the Ohio Militia and Volunteers shall be permitted to proceed to their respective homes, on this condition, that they do not serve during the present war, unless they are exchanged.

“ W. HULL,
“ Brigadier-General Commanding United States Northwestern Army.
“ ISAAC BROCK,
“ Major-General ”

An article in addition to the supplementary article of capitulation, concluded at Detroit, the 16th of August, 1812 :—

“ It is further agreed that the officers and soldiers of the Michigan Militia and Volunteers, under the command of Major Whetherall, shall be placed on the same principles as the Ohio Militia and Volunteers are placed by the supplementary article of the 16th instant.

“ W. HULL,
“ Brigadier-General commanding Northwestern Army United States.
“ ISAAC BROCK,
“ Major-General.”

Return of the ordnance taken at the Fort and batteries at Detroit, August 16th, 1812 :—

Iron ordnance.—Nine twenty-four pounders, eight twelve-pounders, five nine-pounders. Brass ordnance—three six-pounders, two four-pounders, one three-pounder, one eight-inch howitzer, one three and a third inch ditto. (1)

(1) After the surrender of the American troops General Brock desired Tecumseth not to allow the Indians to ill-treat the prisoners. The great Indian chief replied “ I despise them too much to meddle with them ! ” As a proper contrast to this Mr. James cites a battle between the Americans, under General Jackson, and the Creek Indians in March, 1814, when of about one thousand Creeks, only ten of the men are supposed to have escaped with life : sixteen of the Creeks who had hidden being killed the morning after the battle, the American commander saying in his despatch he was determined to exterminate the tribe.

The surrender of Detroit electrified all Canadians. It was the first enterprise in which the militia had been engaged, and the courage and success of their volunteers animated and encouraged all. No more was there of doubting or wavering; disaffection sunk out of sight. Brock became the idol of Upper Canada; and no man ever, by his dauntless example, both moral and physical, and by effecting much with small means, had more honestly won the homage of the people. (1)

It was a sad and strange coincidence that on the day of his death and that of his chief of staff, Glengarry's representative, at Queenston Heights, the guns of the Tower at London proclaimed the victory at Detroit!

A medal was struck to commemorate the victory, and gold medals were awarded to the following:—

Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, killed in action in 1812.

Lieutenant Colonel John Macdonell, A.D.C., killed in action in 1812.

Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Latouche Chambers, Forty-First Foot, died in 1828.

Colonel Mathew Charles Dixon, R.E.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mathew Elliot, Canadian Militia.

Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Glegg, Forty-Ninth Regiment.

Major Adam Muir, Forty-First Foot.

Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Nichol, Canadian Militia.

Major-General Sir P. Bligh St. George, C.B., K.C.H., died in 1836.

Major Joseph Tallon, Forty-First Foot.

Lieutenant Felix Troughton, R.A., died in 1815.

The names are taken from the army list of 1852, which gives the rank subsequently attained in the army by each officer.

Colonel Macdonell's was forwarded to his family after his death with the following letter to my grandfather from the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces:—

“HORSE GUARDS, May 16, 1820.

“Sir,—The King having been graciously pleased to command that the officers present at the capture of Detroit should be permitted to bear a medal in commemoration of that victory, I have to transmit to you the medal which would have been conferred on the late Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonell of the Canadian Militia, and which His Majesty has been pleased to direct should be deposited with his family as a token of respect which His Majesty entertains for the memory of that officer.

“I am, sir, yours,

“FREDERICK.

“Commander-in-Chief.

“Duncan Macdonell, Esq.”

On the other hand, as soon as a cartel was effected, and General Hull returned to the United States, he was placed under arrest and the Administration exhibited charges for capital offences against him.

He was eventually tried at Albany, N. Y., by a court-martial, of which General Dearborn was President, on January 3, 1814, charges of treason, cowardice and neglect of duty being preferred against him. He was practically acquitted of the first, but was found guilty of the second and third charges, and sentenced to death, but on account of his revolutionary services and advanced age (which was only fifty-nine years, however, at the time of the surrender), was earnestly recommended to the mercy of the President, who approved of the sentence of the Court, but remitted the execution of it.

The feeling in the United States appears to have been varied as to his conduct, though on the whole decidedly adverse, as might naturally be expected. After the publication of his defence, however, a public dinner was tendered him in Boston as an evidence of the appreciation of its people. That was, and is, no affair of ours. If they were satisfied, the people of Canada had every reason to be. The proclamation remains an imperishable monument of his good intentions.

As soon as possible, after concluding the necessary arrangements at Detroit, on the 22nd August, General Brock, with such of his men as could be spared, left for the Niagara frontier, intending to follow up in that direction the advantage gained at Detroit. The vigorous measures he proposed to adopt, however, were not only hampered but nullified by the armistice which Sir George Prevost, acting under orders from England, and General Dearborn, the American commander, had concluded. The British Order-in-Council, which the Americans urged as the cause of the war, which had been revoked by order of the 23rd June, seven days after the declaration of war by the United States, an action on their part the British Government concluded would suffice to effect the recall of the declaration. In this they were mistaken, and the unfortunate armistice afforded the Americans the opportunity they desired of strengthening their several positions in the vicinity of Montreal, at Niagara, and further west. After it had served their purpose it was repudiated by the President. General Brock's correspondence with his brother shows the very natural impatience with which he was obliged to remain inactive. On September 18th he states that he

believes he could sweep everything before him from Niagara to Buffalo. By the middle of October, however, the Americans had assembled on the Niagara frontier an army of six thousand three hundred men, of which force three thousand one hundred and seventy were at Lewiston, under the command of General Van-Ranssalaer. To oppose this force General Brock had part of the Forty-First and Forty-Ninth Regiments, a few companies of militia and about two hundred Indians, in all one thousand five hundred men—dispersed, however, at different points between Fort Erie and Fort George.

The Americans decided upon an attack, and before daylight on the morning of October 13th, a large division of their army, numbering some one thousand four hundred men, under Brigadier-General Wadsworth effected a landing at the Village of Queenston, immediately oppose Lewiston, not however without strenuous opposition from such of the British forces as could be collected in the vicinity. Some of them were driven back, their boats being disabled or sunk, but the greater number succeeded in gaining the summit of the mountain, after which no resistance could be offered to those crossing from Lewiston.

A gentleman who will be well remembered by many of the older people of Glengarry, who resided for very many years in Cornwall and was Judge of the United Counties, the late Judge Jarvis, was not only an eye-witness of, but an active participant, in the events of that day. He had been one of those who had attempted to prevent the landing of the Americans. His account of what followed will be read with interest. It is given in Auchinleck's "History of the War," page 104 :—

"On retiring to the north end of the village, on the Niagara road, our little band was met by General Brock, attended by his Aide-de-Camp, Major Glegg and Colonel Macdonell. He was loudly cheered as he cried, 'Follow me, boys !' and led us a pretty smart trot towards the mountain ; checking his horse to a walk, he said, 'take breath, boys ; we shall want it in a few minutes.' Another cheer was the response both from regulars and militia. At that time, the top of the mountain and a great portion of its side was thickly covered with trees, and was now occupied by American riflemen. On arriving at the foot of the mountain, where the road emerges to St. David, General Brock dismounted, and, waving his sword, climbed over a high stone wall, followed by the troops. Placing himself at the head of the light company of the Forty-Ninth, he led

the way up the mountain at double quick time, in the very teeth of a sharp fire from the enemy's riflemen—and, ere long, he was singled out by one of them, who, coming forward, took deliberate aim and fired. Several of the men noticed the action and fired, but too late, and our gallant General fell on his left side, within a few feet of where I stood. Running up to him, I required, 'Are you much hurt, sir?' He placed his hand on his breast, but made no reply, and slowly sunk down. The Forty-Ninth now raised a shout 'Revenge the General,' and regulars and militia, led by Colonel Macdonell, (1) pressed forward, anxious to avenge the fall of their beloved leader, and literally drove a superior force up the mountain side, to a considerable distance beyond the summit. The flank companies of the York militia, under Captains Cameron and Heward and Lieutenants Robinson, McLean and Stanton, besides many others whose names I forgot, eminently distinguished themselves on this occasion."

General Brock's biographer and relative, Mr. F. B. Tupper, after describing the fall of the gallant officer, continues:—

"His Provincial Aide-de-Camp, Colonel Macdonell, of the militia, and Attorney-General of Upper Canada, a fine promising young man, was mortally wounded soon after his chief, and died the next day at the early age of twenty-five years. Although one bullet had passed through his body, and he was wounded in four places, yet he survived twenty hours, and during a period of excruciating agony his thoughts and words were constantly occupied with lamentations for his deceased commander and friend.(2) He fell while gallantly charging with the hereditary courage of his race up the hill with one hundred and ninety men, chiefly of the York Volunteers, by which charge the enemy was compelled to spike the eighteen-pounder in the battery there, and his memory will be cherished as long as courage and devotion are revered in the Province."

Had the Americans by this time received reinforcements, the fate of the battle might have been different, but all the authorities, American as well as Canadian, agree that those who still remained on the opposite side of the river exhibited the utmost poltroonery. General Van Ranssalaer crossed with a view of urging them on, but they absolutely refused to cross. Reinforcements, however, had arrived for the British under General Sheaffe, who, on the death of General Brock, assumed command, until the force amounted to between 800 and 1000 men. The invaders were surrounded, and although they fought most gallantly, their cause was hopeless, and

(1) Colonel Macdonell's horse was shot under him at this time—just before he himself fell.

(2) Captain Duncan Cameron, of the York Volunteers, and Provincial Secretary in the Government, and between whom and Colonel Macdonell there existed a warm friendship, in his attempt to save Colonel Macdonell, after the latter had fallen, exposed himself to a shower of musketry which he most miraculously escaped. He succeeded in bearing his friend off the field.

the last rush being made every American was swept from the hill. Van Ranssalaer, finding it impossible to urge a single man to cross the river, sent boats to enable those who had previously crossed to retreat to their own side, but a fire being maintained upon the ferry from the battery on the bank, at the lower end of Queenston, these boats were completely dispersed. Brigadier Wadsworth was, therefore, compelled, after a vigorous conflict had been maintained for some time upon both sides, to surrender himself, with all his surviving officers, and nine hundred men, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

The loss to the British was sixteen killed and sixty-nine wounded, while that of the American side, in addition to the nine hundred made prisoners with one gun and two stand of colours taken, was ninety killed and about one hundred wounded. Some of the Americans, terrified by the Indians, flung themselves over the cliff, endeavoring to cling to the bushes which grew upon them, but losing their hold, were dashed on the rocks beneath, while others who reached the river perished in their attempts to swim across it. It will scarcely be credited that contemporary American writers attempted not only to deny that they were completely routed on this occasion, but so far to pervert the truth as to claim it as a victory for their arms, one of them, a General Wilkins, alleging that "under all the circumstances—and on the scale of operations the impartial soldier and competent judge will name this brilliant affair the *chef d'œuvre* of the war." Well might Mr. Auchinleck suggest that if this was considered by them to be the *chef d'œuvre* of the War, he would like to know in what light the capitulation of Detroit is to be regarded. (1)

Their only advantage was in the death of General Brock, though to quote the words of Mr. Symons, Canada "had also to deplore the loss of the eminent services and talents of Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, Provincial Aide-de-Camp and Attorney-General of the Province, whose gallantry and merit rendered him worthy of his chief."

On the 16th October, the bodies of Major-General Brock and Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell were interred at Fort George. As a tribute to the magnanimity of the enemy it is recorded that during the funeral procession from Queenston to Fort George, a distance of about seven miles, minute guns were fired at every American post on

(1) In the despatch of Major-General Sheaffe to Sir George Prevost, in alluding to officers whose services in the battle deserved approbation, he mentions: "I derived much aid from the activity and intelligence of Lieutenant Kerr, of the Glengarry Fencibles, whom I employed in communicating with the Indians and other flanking parties."

that side of the line, and all appearance of hostilities suspended "as a mark of respect due to a brave enemy." The funeral cortege, while all ostentatious display was avoided, was necessarily most imposing. It was as follows :—

Fort Major Campbell.

Sixty men of the Forty-First Regiment, commanded by a subaltern.

Sixty of the militia, commanded by a captain.

Two six-pounders, firing minute guns.

Remaining Corps and detachments of the Garrison, with about two hundred Indians in reversed order, forming a street through which the procession passed extending from the Government House to the garrison.

Band of the Forty-First Regiment.

Drums covered with black cloth and muffled.

Late General's horse, fully caparisoned, led by four grooms.

Servants of the General.

The General's body servant.

Surgeon Muirhead, Doctor Kerr,

Doctor Moore, Staff-Surgeon Thom,

Reverend Mr. Addison.

THE BODY OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MACDONELL, A. D. C.,
with pall-bearers as follows :

Captain A. Cameron,	Lieutenant Jarvis,
Lieutenant J. R. Robinson,	Lieutenant Ridout,
J. Edwards, Esq.,	Captain Crooks,
Supporter,	Supporter.
Mr. Dickson.	Captain Cameron,

Chief Mourner—Mr. Macdonell,

THE BODY OF MAJOR-GENERAL BROCK.

Supporter. Supporter.

Jas. Coffin, Esq., D. A. C. G. Captain Williams, Forty-Ninth.

Pall-bearers—

Captain Vigoreaux, R. E.	Major Merritt, L. H. L. M.
Captain Derenzy, Forty-First,	Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, L. M.
Captain Dennis, Forty-Ninth,	Lieutenant-Colonel Butler,
Captain Holcroft, R. A.,	Colonel Claus.
Supporter.	Supporter.

Brigade Major Evans. Captain Glegg, A. D. C.

Chief Mourners—

Major-General Sheaffe, Lieutenant-Colonel Myers, D.Q.M.G.
Ensign Coffin, A. D. C., Lieutenant Fowler, A. D. Q. M. G.

The civil staff.

Friends of the deceased.

Inhabitants.

"I enclose a plan of the procession," wrote Captain Glegg, the surviving Aide-De-Camp, "but no pen can describe the real scenes of that mournful day. A more solemn and effecting spectacle was perhaps never witnessed. As every arrangement connected with that affecting ceremony fell to my lot, a second attack being hourly expected, and the minds of all being fully occupied with the duties of their respective stations, I anxiously endeavoured to perform this last tribute of affection in a manner corresponding with the elevated virtues of my deceased patron. Conceiving that an interment in every respect military would be the most appropriate to the character of our dear friend, I made choice of a cavalier bastion in Fort George, which his aspiring genius had lately suggested, and which had just been finished under his daily superintendence."

On the 13th October, 1824, the remains of General Brock and Colonel Macdonell were removed from Fort George and deposited in the resting-place prepared for them in the first monument which was erected on Queenston Heights by the Legislature of Upper Canada.

On the 17th October, 1840, that monument was destroyed by an American miscreant named Lett. In 1853, the Militiamen and the Indian warriors of the Province, by voluntary subscription, raised the present noble structure (which exceeds in height that of any other monumental column, ancient or modern, known, with the exception of that designed by Sir Christopher Wren in London, to commemorate the great fire of 1666, which is twelve feet higher), the ceremony of laying the foundation stone and for the third time interring the bodies of Brock and Macdonell taking place on the 13th of October of that year. The Administrator of the Government being invited to lay the corner-stone, but being unavoidably prevented, caused the following General Order to be promulgated:—

"ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, QUEBEC, 1st October, 1853.

"MILITIA GENERAL ORDER.

"The Lieutenant-General, Administrator of the Government, being unavoidably prevented from attending the ceremony of depositing the remains of the lamented Major-General Sir Isaac Brock and his Aide-de-Camp, Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, and laying the corner-stone of the monument about to be raised on Queenston Heights, has been pleased to appoint as his representative on that deeply interesting occasion Colonel Donald Macdonell, Deputy Adjutant General of Militia for Canada West.

“His Excellency has much pleasure in nominating for this duty the brother of the gallant officer who fell nobly by the side of the Major-General in the performance of his duty as Provincial Aide-de-Camp.

“Lieutenant-Colonel DeSalaberry, Deputy Adjutant-General Canada East, and Lieutenant-Colonel Irvine, Provincial Aide-de-Camp to the Governor-General, will be pleased to accompany Colonel Macdonell on this occasion.”

The silver trowel with which the corner-stone was laid on that occasion, having on one side the crest and arms of Sir Isaac Brock, and on the other those of Colonel Macdonell, with an inscription stating the circumstances of the presentation, was presented to Colonel Donald Macdonell, and is now in the possession of his family.

Shortly after the Attorney-General's death, the following letter was addressed to his father :—

“YORK, March 20, 1813.

“SIR,—I am directed by His Honour the President to transmit to you the extract of a letter received by His Excellency Sir George Prevost from Earl Bathurst, and written by the command of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, as it will no doubt afford some satisfaction to all the members of the family to which the late Attorney-General was so great an ornament, to learn that his merit has been recognized even by the Royal Personage who wields the sceptre of the British Empire : on which His Honour commands me to declare his personal gratification.

“ I have, &c.,

“ NATH. COFFIN, Lieutenant-Colonel,

“ P.A.D.C.

“ Alexander Macdonell, Esq.”

The following was enclosed :—

Extract of a letter from the Right Honourable Earl Bathurst, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, to His Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, Bart., dated Downing street, 8th December, 1812 :—

“His Royal Highness has also been pleased to express his regret at the loss which the Province must experience by the death the Attorney-General, Mr. Macdonell, whose zealous co-operation with Sir Isaac Brock, will reflect lasting honour on his memory.”

Mr. F. B. Tupper states that Colonel Macdonell, at the time of his death, was 25 years of age. This, however, is a mistake. Family records in my possession show that he was born at Greenfield, Glen-

garry, Scotland, on the 19th April, 1785, which would make him a little over twenty-seven, and, therefore, a child of seven years of age when his family came to Canada in 1792. He was, together with his brothers, educated by the late Bishop Strachan at the Cornwall School. He was admitted a student at law on the 6th April, 1803, and was called to the Bar of Upper Canada in Easter term 1808. He was appointed Attorney-General of Upper Canada on the 28th November, 1811.

The following is his address to the electors of Glengarry when returned for that County shortly before his death. It was dated York, March 18, 1812 :—

“To the free and independant electors of the County of Glengarry :—

“Gentlemen,—As the time is not far distant when you will be called upon to exercise one of the most valuable and sacred privileges secured to you by our happy Constitution—the choice of a person to represent you in the House of Assembly of the Province—I beg to offer myself as a candidate for that truly honourable situation.

“Connected with many of you by the ties of blood, and possessing one common interest with you all, I trust that it is unnecessary for me to assure you that in aspiring to so distinguished a situation I am not actuated by any personal considerations distinct from your prosperity and that of the Province in general.

“If you should feel yourselves justified in honouring me with so flattering a mark of your confidence, it shall be my most anxious endeavour by my conduct to convince you that it has not been misplaced, and of the sincerity with which I subscribe myself,

“Gentlemen,

“Your Friend and

“Faithful Servant,

“JOHN MACDONELL.”

We have seen that he gave the best proof of his sincerity, and amply justified the confidence which the people of Glengarry placed in him. He was succeeded temporarily in his office of Attorney-General by Mr. Robinson (afterwards Chief Justice Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bart.), who was a student in his office at the time. He died unmarried, but as previously intimated, was shortly to have been married to a daughter of Chief-Justice Powell, who survived until a quite recent period. A member of that estimable lady's family has placed at my disposal the following letter addressed to

her by her brother at the time of Colonel Macdonell's death. I give such portions of it as can properly be made public :—

“MY DEAR SISTER,—How sincerely do I regret, with all, the loss of our young friend—poor fellow. He was dreadfully wounded and said that he suffered great pain. I think he was wounded in three different places—in the head, through the body and in one of his wrists, besides being trampled by his horse. Mr. P. and myself wished very much to have seen him while he was living, but were told that he was too low to be disturbed. Perhaps we escaped a dreadful sight. The discharge of blood from the wound in his body was said to have been wonderful. Your brother saw him and said that it had gone through two beds to the floor. He kissed your brother and gave him his hand and pressed it, but it was very faintly. While your brother was there his uncle, Mr. Macdonell, was with him, which must have been a great comfort to him. Poor Mr. Macdonell seems very much disturbed. He died on Wednesday at twelve o'clock, and the moment before he died he desired his servant to lift him up. He was perfectly sensible to the last, poor fellow. I wish you could all have shared with us the gratification, though a melancholy one, of taking a last look at him. He looked quite natural. I cut a curl of his hair, which I shall preserve—poor fellow! I sincerely regret him. I always felt a friendship for him, because I knew his superior worth. He has left few of his age that possess that purity of mind that he did. The General I regret as a good man and a loss to his country, but John Macdonell I feel for as one of the family. Mrs. P., I suppose, has given you a description of the funeral. Poor Captain Glegg was very much overcome. Even Derenzy wept, and I believe there was not a man present that did not shed a tear. The Yankees themselves, if we may judge by their conduct, felt regrets. They fired a salute from the Fort opposite us and another at Queenston. General Van Ransselaer sent a message to General Sheaffe to say that if it be agreeable he would do it as a proof of respect he felt for so good a man and so excellent an officer as General Brock. It was very extraordinary if it was meant well. We are in constant fear of another attack from them. They are to give three hours' notice, but there is no confidence to be placed in their word. [The balance of the letter is of a private nature.]

“Adieu, my dear sister, and believe me

“Ever yours,

“J. POWELL.

“Miss M. B. Powell, York.”

Mr. John Beverley Robinson, late Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, sent me recently the following verses, written by Archdeacon (afterwards Bishop) Strachan, which he discovered when looking through some of the Bishop's papers. They have, I believe, never before appeared, and are well worth publishing.

Verses on looking at the bastion of Fort George at Niagara (1819), where Sir Isaac Brock and his gallant Aide-de-Camp, Colonel Macdonell, were temporarily laid before being removed to the monument at Queenston Heights.

Why calls this bastion forth the patriot's sigh?
And starts the tear from beauty's swelling eye?

Within its breach intrepid Brock is laid
A tomb according with the mighty dead,
Whose soul devoted to its country's cause
In deeds of valour sought her just applause.
Enrolled with Abercrombie, Wolfe and Moore,
No lapse of time his merits shall obscure.
Fresh shall they keep in each Canadian heart,
And all their pure and living fires impart.

A youthful friend rests by the hero's side,
Their mutual love Death sought not to divide.
The muse that gives her Brock to deathless fame
Shall in the wreath entwine Macdonell's name.

On plates within the column of the present monument at Queenston Heights are the following inscriptions :

In a vault underneath are deposited the mortal remains of the
lamented

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K.B.,

Who fell in action near these Heights on 13th October, 1812, and was entombed on the 16th October at the Bastion of Fort George, Niagara; removed from thence and reinterred under a monument to the eastward of this site on the 13th October, 1824, and in consequence of that monument having received irreparable injury by a lawless act on the 17th of April, 1845, it was found requisite to take down the former structure and erect this monument—the foundation stone being laid and the remains again re-interred with due solemnity on 13th October, 1853.

In a vault beneath are deposited the mortal remains of

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN MACDONELL, P.A.D.C.
K.B., Aide-de-Camp to the lamented Major-General Sir Isaac Brock and who fell mortally wounded in the battle of Queenston, on the 13th October, 1812, and died the following day.

His remains were removed and re-interred with due solemnity on 13th October, 1853.

There were but few newspapers in Upper Canada in 1812. The "York Gazette" of October 17th, 1812, in announcing the victory, made mention of the member for Glengarry as follows: "Nor let us forget to lament the untimely fate of the young, the affectionate and the brave Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonell, who received a mortal

wound about the same time as his beloved General. Attached to him from affection, his constant follower in every danger, this amiable youth is now buried with him in the same grave."

In the Toronto "Week" of 23rd October, 1891, a tattered fragment is produced, copied from the Niagara "Bee" of October 24th, 1812, and demonstrating the difficulty of obtaining local contemporaneous accounts of these affairs. It would seem to have given a full description of the engagement and of the time and circumstances of the death of General Brock and Colonel Macdonell. After describing the fight around Vrooman's Battery it states:—

"It was in the engagement last named that we have to regret the loss of Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, A. D. C. to General Brock. He was shot whilst on horseback encouraging the men. The Province of Upper Canada, by the death of Colonel McDonell, has been deprived of one of its most enterprising young men; the discerning eye of the Major-General had singled him out, and was forming his mind to have become a prominent figure among us. Fortune had already begun to lavish her favours, and her blushing honours stood thick upon him; he has appeared and passed away from us like a brilliant meteor in the firmament. His remains were interred beside his beloved friend and patron, General Brock."

CHAPTER 17.

FORAYS ALONG THE ST. LAWRENCE.—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTACK ON OGDENSBURG.—ST. REGIS SURPRISED.—AMERICANS REPULSED AT FORT ERIE.—“GENERAL VAN BLADDER” AND HIS PROCLAMATIONS.—NAVAL ENCOUNTERS.—BATTLE OF STONEY CREEK.—THE TAKING OF OGDENSBURG.—YORK TAKEN BY THE AMERICANS, APRIL 27TH, 1813.

Along the St. Lawrence some attacks were made during the autumn on posts on either side. On the 4th October Colonel Lethbridge, who commanded at Fort Wellington (Prescott) determined to assault the American fort at Ogdensburg. He took with him eight artillerymen, two companies of the Canadian Fencibles, about forty of the Newfoundland regiment under Captain Skinner, and one hundred and fifty Glengarry militia, who, after travelling the whole night, had just arrived in carts from Cornwall, distant forty-eight miles. There were other militia men at the post, but the Highlanders, fatigued as they necessarily must have been, were the only ones that would consent to accompany the regulars across to the attack. Colonel Lethbridge with his few men advanced towards Ogdensburg, and Captain Skinner, having his small detachment on board two gunboats, attacked and silenced the American battery upon the point below the town. The small force that had embarked could make little or no impression upon so strong a position, the boats therefore returned with a trifling loss. It afterwards was ascertained, however, that General Brown was preparing to abandon the Fort, so that had all the men embarked the enterprise might have been brought to a successful conclusion.(1) The American version of this affair is to the effect that the attacking force numbered over one thousand men.(2)

On the 23rd of October, the Indian village of St. Regis was surprised by a force of four hundred men detailed from Plattsburg.

(1.) James I, p. 128.

(2.) History of the War, p. 61.

The outpost at this point consisted of twenty men and an officer of the Canadian Voyageurs, Lieutenant Rototte. Sergeant McGillivray and six men were killed, the remainder taken prisoners. In a cupboard of the wigwam of the Indian interpreter was found a Union Jack. This windfall of colours, as stated by Colonel Coffin, was grandiloquently announced to the world as "the capture of a stand of colours, the first colours taken during the war," whereas dozens of them might have been obtained at far less cost in any American shipyard.

This affront was resented forthwith. On the 23rd November, small parties of the Forty-Ninth Foot and Glengarry Light Infantry, supported by about seventy men of the Cornwall and Glengarry Militia, about one hundred and forty in all, under Lieutenant-Colonel McMillan, crossed the St. Lawrence and pounced on the American Fort at French Mills on Salmon River, opposite Summerstown—since called Fort Covington in honour of the American general of that name who was killed at the battle of Chrysler's Farm. The enemy took to the block-house, but finding themselves surrounded, surrendered prisoners of war. One captain, two subalterns and forty-one men were taken, with four batteaux and fifty-seven stand of arms. No "stand of colours" was captured with the Americans; as it is not usual to confide standards to the guardianship of detached parties of forty or fifty men in any service (Coffin, page 69). Captain Duncan Greenfield Macdonell's company of the First Glengarry Regiment was, as I see by papers in my possession, in this engagement. Colonel Macmillan, who commanded, was married to his sister.

During the autumn, some fighting took place in the vicinity of Kingston, on the lake, in which our boats seem to have got somewhat the worst of it, though nothing occurred of any importance. The Lower Canadian frontier was threatened by General Dearborn, who had assembled some ten thousand men in the neighbourhood of Plattsburg, and an attack was made on a picket at Lacolle by a force from Champlain Town on the 20th November. Some frontier militia and Indians under Colonel McKay, of the Northwest Company, drove them back with some loss to the Americans. Dearborn then went into winter quarters.

In the West, between Fort Erie and Chippewa, General Smythe detached some 2500 men "to take Canada," without any

success. Colonel Bisshopp, a gallant officer who was killed in the following summer, with some six hundred regulars and militia, beat them off with considerable loss to the Americans in killed and wounded, while an aide-de-camp to the American General, some other officers and forty men were taken prisoners. General Smythe then despatched a flag of truce to Fort Erie, politely requesting a surrender, stating that it was desirable to "prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood by a surrender of Fort Erie to a force so superior as to render resistance hopeless," a suggestion which Colonel Bisshopp, with scarcely equal politeness, declined, sending Captain Fitzgerald with his answer: "Come and take it!" Two other feints were made, after which General Smythe, having abandoned his intention of taking Canada for the present, went into winter quarters. The Americans, however, made it hot for this gallant soldier, whose inflated proclamations to "the men of New York" must have made poor Hull green with envy, when he declared that "the present is the hour of renown. You desire your share of fame; then seize the present moment. Advance to our aid. I will wait for you for a few days. I cannot give you the hour of my departure to plant the American standard in Canada. But come on. Come in companies, half companies, pairs or single." The peroration of his manifesto to the soldiers of the Army of the Centre was positively immense.

"Soldiers of every corps! It is your power to retrieve the honour of your country and to cover yourselves with glory. Every man who performs a gallant action shall have his name made known to the nation. Rewards and honours await the brave. Infamy and contempt are reserved for cowards. Companions in arms! You came to vanquish a valiant foe; I know the choice you will make. Come on, my heroes! And when you attack the enemies' batteries let your rallying word be, 'the cannon lost at Detroit or death'."

The Americans of those days liked a little highfaluting (let me dare the odious word), but the contrast between this and the result was a little too strongly marked. Military conventions were held, resolutions very disparaging to this Boanerges were passed, suggestions of a nice, close-fitting coat of tar-and-feathers were made, to escape which he went South, was summarily dismissed from the service without trial, and eventually found his proper sphere in the American Congress, though the appropriate soubriquet of "General Van Bladder" conferred upon him by his grateful and admiring countrymen followed him to his grave!

During the first year of the war, therefore, Britain and British Canadians had decidedly the best of it on land in all except proclamations. In that field Generals Hull and Smythe positively annihilated the poor "Britishers."

At sea, however, it had been different. The admiralty could not or would not understand that the Americans were building vessels superior in all respects to those which constituted the fleet on the North American station, and the first engagement in which the British "Belvidere," in charge of a convoy bound for the West Indies, beat off Commodore Rogers with a squadron of three frigates and two sloops, rescued the merchantmen and saved herself, was calculated to impress them with the fact that it was impossible for Britain to be otherwise than supreme upon the sea. Moreover, the nominal strength in equipage and tonnage of the American vessels was not a fair criterion when compared with the nominal strength of the British. Their vessels were new, while the British were for the most part old; they had but one war on hand, while Britain had ships fighting on every sea; their crews were picked crews, while the British vessels were manned—in most cases under-manned at that—with motley crews, pressed into the service from every available quarter and largely undisciplined.

The British "Guerriere," after an unequal contest, was obliged to strike her flag to the American vessel "Constitution," and in October the "Frolic" succumbed to the American ship "Wasp," the latter, however, being taken and the "Frolic" rescued the same day by "Poictiers." A few days later the "United States" beat the "Macedonian," and about the same time the British ship "Peacock" was, after a desperate encounter, sunk by the American "Hornet," four of the American sailors nobly losing their lives in an effort to save the "Peacock's" crew. The British at last achieved a brilliant victory, however, in the celebrated battle between the "Shannon," Captain Broke commanding, and the "Chesapeake." It was probably one of the shortest and most spirited actions ever fought at sea, lasting only fifteen minutes. Eleven minutes from the firing of the first shot, Captain Broke boarded the "Chesapeake," and in four minutes more her flag was hauled down. Captain Lawrence was mortally wounded, and died almost immediately after, with forty-seven of his officers and men killed and ninety-nine wounded, fourteen mortally. Captain Broke was severely wounded, his first

lieutenant and twenty-three others killed and fifty-eight wounded.(1)

The campaign of 1813 opened on the extreme western frontier, where, owing to the climate being less rigorous than in the east, they were naturally able to go to work earlier. Colonel Proctor had been left in command at Detroit by General Brock, when in the preceding August the latter had gone to the Niagara frontier.

On the 19th January, he received information that a division of the American army under General Winchester was encamped at Frenchtown, some twenty-six miles from Detroit. He promptly determined to attack them before they could be reinforced by General Harrison, who was then three or four days' march in the rear. His disposable force was assembled at Brownstown on the 21st, consisting of five hundred regulars and militia, and six hundred Indians. The next morning he advanced some twelve miles to Stoney Creek, and made, at day-break, a resolute attack on the enemy's camp. General Winchester himself, soon after the commencement of the action, fell into the hands of the Wyandot Chief Roundhead, who surrendered him to Colonel Proctor. His forces retreated to the houses and enclosures, from which they made a vigorous resistance, but soon surrendered. Their loss in killed and wounded was between three hundred and four hundred men, while over five hundred men, with one Brigadier-General, three field officers, nine captains, twenty subalterns, surrendered prisoners of war. The British loss was twenty-four killed and one hundred and eighty-five wounded. The House of Assembly of Lower Canada, then in session, passed a vote of thanks to Colonel Proctor and to the officers and men of his force. Colonel Proctor was immediately promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General by the commander of the forces, which was approved of and confirmed by the Prince Regent. (2)

The next engagement of moment, the assault and capture of Ogdensburg, was one in which the Glengarry Light Infantry and the Glengarry Militia played so important a part that I may be permitted to narrate it at greater length, as it must of necessity be of interest to the descendants of those who principally earned the credit of it—nor is the credit denied them by any of those who have written on the subject of the war, all bearing testimony to the daring of the man

(1) It is worthy of note that the officer who succeeded to the command of the "Shannon," Captain Broke being desperately wounded and the first lieutenant killed, and who took her out of action was a Canadian and is still alive, the Senior Admiral of the fleet, Sir Provost Wallis, G.C.B., who was born at Halifax on the 12th April, 1791, and is now over one hundred years of age, and as the London Times in an account of his career observed, may well be termed the Father of the Royal Navy.

(2) Christie, vol. 2, p. 69.

who devised it, and who, acting on his own discretion, and without orders to do what he so gallantly accomplished, would probably have been broken had he failed.

Sir George Prevost, the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, having closed the Session of the Legislature, left Quebec on the 17th February on a journey to Upper Canada. On his arrival at Prescott Lieutenant-Colonel George Macdonell, second in command there, proposed to him, as he passed through, an attack on Ogdensburg in retaliation for an excursion by the enemy from thence upon Brockville some days previously, where a sentry had been wounded, some cattle pens sacked, some private houses and the gaol burned and fifty-two of the inhabitants taken into captivity, amongst them two majors, two captains and two lieutenants, elderly gentlemen who, as a compliment, retained their commissions in the militia.(1)

Mr. James states that Colonel Macdonell had been sent across the river by Colonel Pearson, his senior officer, to remonstrate with the American commander at Ogdensburg against the commission of such depredations. Forsyth was exceedingly insolent to him and expressed a wish to meet Pearson and his men upon the ice, declaring in his own vernacular that he could "whip" him with the greatest ease, to which Macdonell replied that the command at Fort Wellington would in a few days devolve upon him and that he would have no objection to indulge Colonel Forsyth in the manner indicated by him.

Ogdensburg was then a fortified military post, garrisoned and armed, but still more effectually protected by the breadth of the St. Lawrence, at this point a mile and a quarter wide. One rash attempt upon it had, as we have seen, already failed. The Governor did not deem it expedient to order an attack, but as two men had deserted on the evening of his arrival, and had gone over to the enemy, who might, on ascertaining of the arrival of the Governor, waylay him on his route, it was determined that Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell should make a demonstration on the ice in front of Ogdensburg, as well with a view of engaging the attention of the enemy as by drawing out their forces to ascertain the strength of the garrison.

But such a thing as an attack was expressly forbidden, Sir George Prevost repeating more than once his prohibition in unequi-

(1) Coffin, p. 88.

vocal terms. He particularly objected to the hazard of doing anything that might tend to interrupt the transport of stores then going on by land, and he would give no credit to the rumour then current and communicated to him by Colonel Macdonell, that the enemy were about to concentrate a large force at Ogdensburg for that very purpose. He strictly enjoined on Colonel Macdonell the necessity of great prudence on his part "to justify the strong step he had taken in placing him (Macdonell) above all the majors in his army, a measure, he stated, that had already excited great murmurs among that class of officers." The only admission of the possibility of an attack that His Excellency would make, was that on the expected arrival at Prescott of Major Cotton and three hundred men of the King's Regiment, then some days' march distant, Colonel Macdonell might write to Major-General de Rottenburg, commanding at Montreal, and act as that officer might be pleased to direct.

Colonel Coffin, in his account of the affair, states that Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell at this time commanded the Glengarry Light Infantry. This, however, is a mistake. It is true that on the occasion of the attack he commanded such of them as were present, as he did the other forces, but it was for the very reason that he did not receive the command of the regiment which he raised and completed to the additional establishment, that the local rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and the command of the St. Lawrence frontier was conferred upon him. The facts are stated in Colburn's Military Gazette of 1848, and as they are of interest and some importance, I quote them at length before giving an account of the engagement :

"It happened that in the end of January, 1813, the Glengarry Highland Militia Regiment, being much harassed by severe duties arising out of predatory excursions by the enemy's strong garrison at Ogdensburg, sent in a petition to the Governor-General that their personal acquaintance and clansman, Major Macdonell of the Glengarry Light Infantry, should (since deprived of that corps) be appointed to command them, and the highly vulnerable frontier they had charge of, extending about one hundred miles, and more than half of it at that moment a bridge of ice, passable for artillery. This petition was of course undeniable : first, because, without disparagement to the brave and loyal English and Anglo-Dutch settlers, these Highlanders were, from their numbers and peculiar locality, indisputably the sheet anchor of the English tenure of Canada, and secondly for the following reason :—The Governor-General had, most unfortunately on the eve of hostilities, by a very inconsiderate breach of

public faith, (more, it is believed, the act of an interested official than himself) unjustly deprived Major Macdonell of the expressly stipulated command of the Glengarry Light Infantry, which he had raised and which, but for his local influence, never could have been attempted, and had placed in command, from private favour, an Irish officer, undoubtedly brave, but an utter stranger to the Highlanders in the Glengarry District. The immediate consequence of this unjust and dangerous act, was mutiny in the corps itself, and something not unlike an insurrection among their fathers and brothers in the settlement, a circumstance which can excite little surprise in anyone who has read Colonel David Stewart's "History of the Highland Regiments." True, the extreme forbearance of the Catholic Priest in Glengarry (the Chaplain of the Regiment) and the temperate firmness of Major Macdonell, had allayed the effervescence, but deep resentment still lurked in the breast of those sturdy Highlanders, many of whom could not speak one word of English, at the thought of their relative and clansman having been betrayed, as they alleged, by the Government, and placed under an Irish Protestant, an alien to them and their peculiar feelings, and as they not unnaturally but erroneously thought, a bitter enemy to their religion. The Governor-General appreciated the necessity of putting these brave and loyal men into good humour with him and the Government, and this he accomplished by placing Colonel Macdonell at their head and giving him the command in their own District."

On the morning of the 23rd February, Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell commenced his march on the ice with about two hundred and thirty militia and two hundred and fifty regulars, two thirds of the little force being Glengarry Highlanders. The distance across the river, in the direction of the point of attack, was about a mile and a half. Owing to the caution requisite in marching over ice with four hundred and eighty men, at a place which had never been crossed in the same manner, the troops and militia were divided into two columns and formed in extended order.

Obedient for some time the command of Prevost, Colonel Macdonell played with the enemy, but, as Mr. Rattray observes, "the season for action had come. They needed no martial address or inflated proclamation. The Highland blood was up." "These men did not plead qualms of conscience or constitutional scruples for not daring the ice which undulated and cracked and gaped beneath their feet." (1) The American Commandant Forsyth was at his breakfast, and affected to ridicule the demonstration. Macdonell

(1) Coffin.

divided his force into two columns, having, as stated, advanced rapidly to the attack—speed and resolution alone could save him. The Americans, more wary than their chief, sprang to their guns; musketry and cannon opened on the advancing columns. The left, under Macdonell himself, rushed rapidly on, under a heavy fire, and through the deep snow ascended the river bank and swept from the left into the village of Ogdensburg, overwhelming all opposition. Here, from the eastern bank of the Oswegatchie, he commanded to a great extent the flank and rear of the old French Fort Presentation and the batteries which raked the river; but his own guns were behind hand, they had stuck in the deep snowbank and rough ice, broken and piled, at the river bank. By furious efforts they were forced to the front, and not a moment too soon. While this was doing Captain Jenkins, of the Glengarry Fencibles, who commanded the right wing, a gallant New Brunswicker, was making a most desperate effort to carry out the part assigned to him. Seven pieces of artillery, backed by two hundred good troops, smashed the head of his advance; gallantly he rallied his broken column; not a living man shrank; springing forward with a cheer, his left arm was shattered by a shot; nothing daunted, forward and still cheering on, his upright right arm was disabled by a case shot; still disregarding all personal consideration, he nobly ran on, cheering his men, to the assault, till, exhausted by pain and loss of blood he became unable to move, his company gallantly continuing the charge under Lieutenant Macaulay. The Glengarries, with broken formation, through the deep snow, in front of the deadly battery, were reforming for a charge with the bayonet, when, fortunately, Macdonell's guns on the left got within range. Captain Eustace, with the men of the King's Regiment, crossed the Oswegatchie and captured the eastern battery, and, together, both attacks swarmed into the body of the place, to find it vacated, except by dead and dying—the enemy having withdrawn to the woods in their west rear, where there was no means of intercepting their retreat.”(1)

“The gallant little band—worthy sons of the Gaelic clans—had nobly vindicated their claim to ancestral valour. Ogdensburg was theirs and an end was put to frontier raids from the other side.” (2)

(1) Coffin, page 93.

(2) R attray.

Eleven pieces of cannon and all the ordnance, marine, commissariat and quartermaster-general's stores, four officers, seventy men were taken, and two armed schooners, two large gunboats and both the barracks burnt, twenty of the enemy killed and a large number wounded. Of the British seven were killed and seven officers (including Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell) and forty-one men wounded. Colonel Coffin suggests that on crossing the river a little of the old raiding temper had revived among the Highlandmen, and the word "spulzie" had passed and many faces glistened with glee at the hopeful prospect. This is the only case in which I find my old friend drawing upon his imagination for his facts!

On the day following this action Sir George Prevost was at dinner with the officers of his staff at Kingston when his Colonial Aide-de-Camp, Captain Percival, who had remained behind for a day at Montreal when Sir George left there, walked in, holding in his hand Colonel Macdonell's despatch announcing his success at Ogdensburg, and apologizing to the Governor-General for having dared to take it. His Excellency filled a bumper to the captor and that night wrote him as follows:—

" KINGSTON, 24th February, 1813.

" MY DEAR SIR,—Although you have rather exceeded my orders, I am well pleased with what you have done, and so I have just told you in a general order, which is to announce to the troops in British America your achievement.

" I am, yours faithfully,

" (Signed), GEORGE PREVOST.

" Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell."

The general order stated that * * * " His Excellency feels much pleasure in publicly expressing his entire approbation of the gallantry and judgment with which the taking of Ogdensburg appears to have been conducted. A salute to be fired immediately."

On the 8th March, 1813, the House of Assembly of Upper Canada passed a vote of thanks to Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell and his force for what the Speaker, in his letter transmitting it styled, " the splendid victory at Ogdensburg." Sir Roger Sheaffe, Lieutenant-Governor and Major-General commanding in Upper Canada, although a personal stranger to Colonel Macdonell, wrote to the latter from York a letter of congratulation on his " recent success in the brilliant affair of Ogdensburg." The Governor-General recommended to the Horse Guards that Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, who had been

severely wounded in the action, should receive by brevet a confirmation of the local rank in which he performed the service, and in consideration of the political importance even then visible, but not fully appreciated until afterwards, proposed to the Government that the capture of Ogdensburg be made a medal day. Indeed, even His Royal Highness the Duke of York himself, at a later period, also recommended that it should be made a medal day, but Lord Bathurst replied that the list had been closed and could not be re-opened. It seems scarcely fair that it should have been left to a civilian such as Lord Bathurst to pronounce upon and determine a matter purely military. A medal was given for the taking of Detroit, where not a life was lost on either side. A motion was made, some time after the vote of thanks was passed in the House of Assembly, that a sword of the value of one hundred guineas should be presented to Colonel Macdonell. It seems scarcely credible, and certainly is far from creditable, that religious differences should have determined a matter such as this, but I fear it was so. The writer in the *Military Gazette* does not hesitate to state that it was because Colonel Macdonell was "a Papist" that the motion was allowed to drop, and declared that the then Speaker of the House boasted afterwards that he had quashed it by using the "argument" that on account of his religion Colonel Macdonell ought not to receive from a Protestant House any recognition of his bravery and services. The name of his authority is given, Mr. John Cumming, of Kingston, then or afterward member for that town.

Sir George Prevost, in his proclamation to the inhabitants of His Majesty's Provinces in North America, of 12th January, 1814, in contrasting the conduct of the troops under his command with that of the American forces, refers to the conduct of the British on this occasion as follows: * * * "In the winter of the following year, when the success which attended the gallant enterprise against Ogdensburg had placed that populous and flourishing village in our possession, the generosity of the British character was again conspicuous in scrupulous preservation of every article which could be considered as private property, such public buildings only being destroyed as were used for the accommodation of troops and for public stores. The destruction of the defences of Ogdensburg and the dispersion of the enemy's force in that neighbourhood laid open the whole of the frontier on the St. Lawrence to the incursion of his

His Majesty's troops, and Hamilton, as well as the other numerous settlements on the banks of the river might, at any hour, had such been the disposition of His Majesty's Government, or of those acting under it, been plundered and laid waste."

A correspondent in the *United Service Magazine*, 1848, part 1, page 452, does not hesitate to affirm that this important part was taken on that morning contrary to the most positive orders, verbal and written, of the Governor-General in person and on the spot only one-half hour previous to the attempt, and that when Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell hazarded the attack he was acting under something like a certainty of being cashiered by a court-martial, if not indeed sentenced to be shot, for disobedience of orders in the event of failure. Nothing but success could justify the attempt—it was a case of do or die—and yet, when it was done, the despatch announcing it to the Home authorities and published in the *London "Gazette"* was altered, and Colonel Macdonell was made to say, over his own signature, that he had taken Ogdensburg "by the command of His Excellency." (1)

Being constantly employed in remote parts of the upper country, Colonel Macdonell did not discover this misrepresentation of fact until November, 1816, and when he called the attention of the Colonial Military Secretary to it, the only reply he received was that such alterations were customary in the service. The matter was subsequently brought before the Duke of York, but the time had gone by and Colonel Macdonell was left without satisfaction. He was a rash young officer and did more than his duty, for which men are seldom thanked.

The statement has frequently been made that, having acted in disobedience of orders, he was obliged to leave the service. This, of course, is untrue. Though he never received for this and other important services rendered by him, any reward commensurate with his merits, he continued on in the service, received one of the two gold medals given for Chateauguay, and in 1817 was made a Commander of the Bath. He afterwards commanded the 79th Highlanders.

When General Pike arrived at Ogdensburg in the week following with five thousand regular American troops, he found the garrison had fled to Sackett's Harbour, the barracks all burned down, the

(1) *James* 1, 393.

fort dismantled and all the artillery, stores and provisions transferred to our side of the river, and, having no food or cover for his men, and seeing his grand plan of taking Prescott, and with it hampering all Upper Canada, anticipated and counteracted, he thought it prudent to abandon all idea of conquest and to hurry on to Lake Ontario. Thus the taking of Ogdensburg completely frustrated all the enemy's schemes ; it forced him to remove the seat of war for six months thereafter three hundred miles further from Montreal, and so compel him to waste his time and strength in that, for him, remote and useless locality, and this too when time was everything for Britain, as it gave time for the arrival of troops.

The return of killed and wounded shows :—Royal Artillery, two rank and file killed ; Eighth or King's Regiment, one sergeant killed, one subaltern, twelve rank and file wounded ; Glengarry Light Infantry, two rank and file killed, one captain, one subaltern, three sergeants, nine rank and file wounded ; Militia, nineteen wounded. The officers wounded were :—King's Regiment, Ensign Powell ; Glengarry Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, Captain Jenkins and Ensign McKay ; Militia, Captain Macdonell and Lieutenants Impey, McLean and Macdonell.

Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, in his despatch to Sir George Prevost, among other officers mentioned for their gallant conduct, Lieutenant Macaulay, and Ensigns Macdonell and Kerr, of the Glengarry Regiment, and Ensign Kerr, of the Militia, the two latter of whom had each charge of a field piece. Needless to say, the gallantry and devotion of Captain Jenkins was first recorded.

The following men of the Glengarry Militia Regiments, who were wounded at the taking of Ogdensburg, received a pension of twenty pounds each :

First Regiment Glengarry Militia :—D. McDermid, Farquhar McBean, Donald Macdonell, John Macdonell, Thomas Ross.

Charles Mackinnon and Finlay Munro were wounded near Cornwall on the 10th November, 1812, and also received a pension of twenty pounds. (1)

To Glengarry and Glengarry men, I think I have shown, must that important achievement, one or the most daring of the war, be credited in greater part.

(1) Upper Canada Gazette, 1st January, 1818.

I have obtained, from the official records, a list of the officers and men of the flank companies of the Glengarry Militia Regiments who were present both at the taking of Ogdensburg and the capture of Fort Covington, in the same year, all of whom received grants of two hundred acres of land from the Crown for their services on the conclusion of the war, but I regret that want of space will not permit me to insert it.

When the Legislature of Upper Canada assembled at York on 25th February, 1813, General Sir Robert Sheaffe, commanding the forces in Upper Canada, and who had succeeded Sir Isaac Brock as President of the Province, in his address to the House stated, "It affords me satisfaction that the first time I am called upon to address you in this place, I have to offer you my cordial congratulations on the uniform success which has crowned His Majesty's arms in this Province. The enemy has been foiled in repeated attempts to invade it. Three of his armies have been surrendered or completely defeated, and two important posts wrested from him. In this glorious campaign, the valour and discipline of His Majesty's regular troops have been nobly supported by the zeal and bravery of our loyal militia."

The Americans' plan of campaign for this season included attacks on Kingston, Fort George, Niagara and York. Their superiority on the lake rendered the situation of these places very critical—that of York, which was entirely unprotected, extremely much so. It was then, as now, the capital of the Province, though in 1812, instead of a population of two hundred and sixteen thousand, it contained one thousand souls. The Legislative Buildings and Government Offices were there, and all official people were obliged to live in "Muddy little York," as people of other places then and for many years after called it. The British force stationed there consisted of but six hundred men under General Sheaffe.

In April, 1813, Commodore Chauncey, with a squadron of sixteen sail, and having on board of the various vessels General Dearborn and some two thousand five hundred American soldiers, left Sackett's Harbour, and on the 26th of that month arrived at York, which fell an easy prey on the following day. It was as well defended as could be expected, by the regular force, consisting of a company of the Glengarries, a company of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment (which served in this Province throughout the whole War) and two

companies of the Eighth Regiment (which happened to be at York en route from Kingston to Niagara), and the local militia; but successful resistance was out of the question. The enemy had virtually captured the place when an explosion occurred at the powder magazine, where some two hundred and fifty of the Americans were killed or wounded, including General Pike, their commander (General Dearborn appearing to have remained on board), as well as a few of the British. The American papers endeavoured, with their usual untruthfulness, to show that this was done intentionally, though the evidence was all to the contrary, and even if it had been it was perfectly consistent with the rules of warfare.

General Sheaffe retired with the regular forces to Kingston, and the militia, to the number of two hundred and ninety-three, with a few officers and men of the Royal Navy, surrendered prisoners of war. The Americans burned the public buildings with the libraries and all the records and papers of Parliament, and gained possession of a great quantity of naval and other stores. The British loss was sixty-two killed and seventy-two wounded. Of the Glengarry Regiment, two rank and file were killed, Ensign Robins and three rank and file wounded, and three rank and file missing. The militia rolls fell into the hands of the enemy, who claimed many as prisoners who never surrendered into their hands. York had a fictitious importance, owing to its being the capital of the Province, and we can easily understand, as the fact was, that the Americans made the most of its capture. Commodore Chauncey forwarded to the Secretary of the Navy the British standard which was taken, accompanied by the mace, and what he claimed was a human scalp which hung over it. Colonel Coffin says it was a peruke such as was commonly worn in those days, and very likely belonged to the Speaker, while Mr. Auchinleck suggests it was the scalp of an unfortunate Indian who was shot in a tree by the Americans, and was taken by Commodore Chauncey himself.

They held possession of York about a week, evacuating it on the 2nd May, when they proceeded to the Niagara frontier. The regular force in that district at the time consisted of the Forty-Ninth Regiment, and of detachments of the Eighth, Forty-First, Glengarry Light Infantry, and Royal Newfoundland corps, with some artillery, the whole commanded by Brigadier-General Vincent. At Fort George were about a thousand of these, with three hundred militia

and about fifty Indians, but unfortunately there was so great a scarcity of powder that they were able to make but little use of the guns.

After being driven back in three separate efforts to land, the Americans on the 27th May obtained possession of the fort, which General Vincent abandoned, having lost three officers, one non-commissioned officer and forty-eight rank and file killed, eleven officers, four sergeants and twenty-nine men wounded and one officer, thirteen sergeants and two hundred and forty rank and file wounded and missing; and the Americans thirty-nine killed and one hundred and eleven wounded. The Eighth Regiment, Glengarry Light Infantry and Royal Newfoundland detachments lost about half their united force. The Glengarry Regiment had one captain, one ensign, one sergeant, twenty-four rank and file killed; one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, three sergeants, twenty rank and file wounded; one lieutenant, two sergeants, twenty-three rank and file wounded and missing. The officers of the Glengarry Regiment killed were Captain Liddell and Ensign McLean; those wounded Captain Roxburgh, Lieutenant Kerr and Ensign Kerr. General Vincent fell back to the head of the lake, the enemy not attempting to follow, and eventually encamped at Burlington Heights, when his supply of ammunition was reduced to ninety rounds per man. On the 5th June the enemy were encamped at Stoney Creek. Mr. Auchinleck shows conclusively that their force was not less than from two thousand two hundred to two thousand five hundred men, while General Vincent states it to have been three thousand five hundred, with two hundred and fifty cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey (afterwards Sir John Harvey, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick), who had been sent by General Vincent to reconnoitre, recommended a night attack, which General Vincent determined on and advanced with a force of seven hundred and four men. Colonel Harvey led the attack; the enemy was completely surprised. He was charged again and again, and before daybreak the battle was over; the first and second officers in command, Brigadier-Generals Chandler and Winters, and upwards of one hundred officers, non-commissioned officers and men made prisoners and the remainder of the survivors in full retreat to Forty-Mile Creek, where a junction was effected with two thousand men who were on

their march to reinforce him. The British loss was twenty-three killed, including one lieutenant, twelve officers, nine sergeants and one hundred and fifteen men wounded and fifty-five missing. On the 24 June Colonel Boerstler, of the United States Army, with a force of five hundred and forty-one men, having been sent to surprise an outpost in the vicinity, and having been rather severely handled on the way by Colonel Bisshopp, Colonel Clark of the Lincoln Militia and a few Indians, was summoned to surrender by Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) Fitzgibbon, who was at the head of some thirty men and two hundred Indians, which with praiseworthy exaggeration he represented to be many times their number and the vanguard of a large army in the immediate vicinity. Colonel Boerstler threw up the sponge and surrendered to this imposing force. Just as the enemy were being drawn up, Major De Haren, of the Canadian Fencibles, arrived with two hundred and twenty-nine men, and articles of capitulation were agreed upon. Very naturally, there was a row in Congress over this succession of mortifying defeats. It culminated in the recall of General Dearborn, who had been scarcely been more fortunate than Generals Hull and Smythe, and the taking of York and Fort George were amply avenged.

CHAPTER 18.

GENERAL DEARBORN IN TURN SUPERSEDED.—SUCCESSFUL ATTACKS ON FORT SCHLOSSER AND BLACK ROCK.—DEATH OF COLONEL BISSHOPP.—ATTACK ON SACKETT'S HARBOUR.—PREVOST'S DEMONSTRATION ON FORT GEORGE.—THE GLENGARRY REGIMENT'S TIMELY OCCUPATION OF BURLINGTON HEIGHTS.—YORK AGAIN TAKEN.—CANADA MENACED IN THREE DIRECTIONS IN THE AUTUMN OF 1813.—DISASTERS ON LAKE ERIE.—EVACUATION OF DETROIT.—GENERAL PROCTOR DEFEATED AT MORAVIANTOWN.—DEATH OF TECUMSETH.—COURT-MARTIAL ON PROCTOR.

General Dearborn was succeeded by Generals Boyd and Lewis. The enemy, by these successes of the British, was compelled to confine himself to Fort George and its environs, where sickness broke out and his troops suffered considerably. Though General Vincent's force amounted to only eighteen hundred men, he beleaguered the Americans, numbering some four thousand, and before the 1st of July the British had formed a line extending from Twelve Mile Creek on Lake Ontario across to Queenston on the Niagara River, nor did they leave the enemy idle.

The "glorious Fourth" of July, of all days in the year, was selected by Colonel Clark, of the 2nd Lincoln Militia, for a descent of Fort Schlosser, immediately above Niagara Falls, and during the night a small party of militia with a few regular soldiers surprised the guard at that post and brought away a brass six-pounder, upwards of fifty stands of arms, a quantity of stores, with a gunboat and two batteaux, without loss of life. Again, on the 11th July, poor Colonel Bisshopp, who had so distinguished himself on the Niagara Frontier in the preceding autumn and spring, crossed over to Black Rock, near Buffalo, at daybreak with two hundred and forty men, consisting of a small party of militia and detachments of the Eighth, Forty-first and Forty-ninth Regiments. He effectually surprised the enemy and burnt his block houses, stores, barracks, dock-yard and

a vessel, but while occupied in securing the stores the enemy, with a reinforcement of militia and Indians, under cover of the surrounding woods, opened a smart fire and compelled the British to hasten their retreat, with the loss of thirteen killed and a number of wounded, among the latter being Colonel Bisshopp himself, who died almost immediately, to the deep regret of his companions in arms. He was an officer of singular merit and but thirty years of age. A beautiful monument in the graveyard at Drummondville, erected by his family in England, marks his resting-place.

On the same day that the Americans took Fort George (27th May), Sir James Yeo having arrived in Kingston from England, with some naval officers and seamen to the number of four hundred and fifty, and Sir George Prevost being also at Kingston, it was determined by these two officers that an attack should be made on Sackett's Harbour, on the American side, somewhat higher up the Lake, the enemy's fleet being then at Niagara. Some seven hundred men, including a company of the Glengarry Regiment, set out from Kingston on board three frigates, four gunboats and some batteaux, and at noon of the 28th they were off Sackett's Harbour. An unfortunate delay occurred, however, which was the precursor of other miscarriages. This delay enabled the Americans to assemble their militia from the surrounding district, and thus, by the material addition of some five hundred men to their regular force (consisting of dragoons, artillery and infantry, to the number of seven hundred and eighty-seven) largely to outnumber the invading force. The landing took place, after much difficulty, on the morning of the 29th, not without strong opposition on the part of the enemy, under General Brown, while the fleet which was to have supported the advance of the troops was, owing to adverse winds, a long way off. Colonel Baynes, Colonel commanding the Glengarry Regiment and Adjutant-General of the forces in British North America, who was in charge of the attacking party, having at length secured a landing, ordered his men to divide and scour the woods, where the enemy had taken refuge, and kept up a sharp fire on the British.

They succeeded in dislodging the enemy at the point of the bayonet, who thereupon fled to their fort and blockhouses, whither they were pursued by the British, who set fire to the barracks. Colonel Baynes considered, however, that it would be impossible to capture the enemy's blockhouses and stockaded battery without the assist-

ance of artillery, which had not been landed, and without the aid of the fleet, which was still out of reach, while his men were exposed to the fire of the enemy, secure within his works. Colonel Bockus, of the American Army, had, however, in the meantime, been killed, and part of his force had fled. The signal for retreat to the boats was given to the British and the enterprise abandoned at the very moment that victory was within their grasp, the enemy so far calculating upon a decisive victory for our forces as to have set fire to their naval storehouses, hospital and marine barracks, by which all the booty previously taken at York was consumed. It was a most unfortunate occurrence, and all the more so owing to the presence of the leaders of the land and naval forces, and the attack having been under the immediate direction of the Adjutant-General. The British loss was one officer and forty-seven men killed and two hundred wounded and missing; that of the Americans about three hundred killed and wounded. The Glengarry Regiment lost six rank and file killed, Captain McPherson was severely and Ensign Matheson slightly wounded; one sergeant and seventeen of their rank and file were also wounded. Colonel Baynes, in his report to Sir George Prevost, stated that Captain Macpherson's company of the Glengarry Light Infantry, the one present in this action, evinced most striking proof of their loyalty, steadiness and courage.

This untoward event was a grievous blow to the military reputation of Sir George Prevost, nor was it strengthened by what took place on the Niagara Frontier in August following.

The two armies had there remained in sight of each other, inactive, until the Commander of the Forces had arrived from Kingston, when the speedy reduction of Fort George, where the Americans were entrenched, was confidently expected. The Governor, to ascertain, as it was pretended, the extent of the enemy's works and the means he possessed of defending the position which he occupied, determined upon making a demonstration on that fort on the 24th of August, and the army was put in movement as if for an assault upon it. The enemy's pickets were driven in, several of them being taken, and the British advanced within a few hundred yards of the enemy, who, although supported by a fire upon the British from their batteries on the opposite shore, declined leaving their entrenchments to venture into the field. Sir George, however, did not deem it ad-

visible to risk a trial for the recovery of the Fort, which, as he deemed it, was not of sufficient moment to compensate for the loss that must have ensued had an attack been made. It is true the American forces within the fort numbered four thousand, while those in the neighbourhood of Fort George did not exceed two thousand on an extended line, yet the Americans were totally dependent upon their own resources for their subsistence, and were compelled to act solely on the defensive from the hostile front assumed by the British in their neighbourhood.

This fruitless "demonstration," coming, as it did, so soon after the fiasco at Sackett's Harbour, dispelled whatever confidence in Sir George Prevost as commander of the forces, the army and those in the country best able to judge of his capacity as such previously entertained, nor was he ever able to regain it.

Shortly before this, however, the Glengarry Regiment had another opportunity of distinguishing itself. On the 28th July the American fleet under Commodore Chauncey, which was then lying off the Niagara River, having on board a battery of artillery and a considerable number of troops under Colonel Scott, U.S.A., proceeded to the head of the Lake, with a view of seizing and destroying the stores at Burlington Heights, the principal depot of the army on the Niagara frontier, then garrisoned by a small detachment under Major Maule. The design of the enemy against the depot being suspected, the Glengarry Regiment, under Battersby, was ordered by Colonel Harvey from York, and by a march of extraordinary celerity arrived in time to save the place. The enemy, upon hearing of their arrival, wisely determining to abandon the proposed attack. The Glengarry Regiment unfortunately lost their baggage which they had left in some boats in a creek in the neighbourhood of York. Colonel Battersby wrote to Major William Allan to send some of the militia to secure it, but the letter did not reach its destination, as the gallant officer to whom it was addressed had retired to the woods when the Americans appeared off York.⁽¹⁾ Commodore Chauncey, however, on ascertaining that York, by the advance of the Glengarry Regiment to Burlington Heights, was left unprotected, seized the opportunity and bore down upon that unfortunate place, which he entered on the 31st July. The Americans landed without opposition, and having taken possession of a small quantity of stores,

(1) Letter Hon. W. D. Powell to Sir George Prevost, August 1, 1813.

set fire to the barracks and public storehouses, and having re-embarked their troops, and carrying with them some sick and wounded American prisoners found in York and a quantity of provisions from the shop of Mr. William Allan, bore away for Niagara.

Some naval engagements took place about this time on Lake Ontario between the rival naval commanders, Yeo and Chauncey, each striving for the command of the Lake. The British captured two small vessels (the "Julia" and "Growler") off Niagara, and the Americans lost two others, the "Scourge" and "Hamilton," in a press of sail to escape the British; all the officers and men, except sixteen of the latter, being drowned. No general engagement, however, occurred. On the 1st October the American fleet set sail from Fort George with a convoy of troops for Sackett's Harbour, where an expedition was preparing whose destination was as yet unknown, and was, as we shall shortly see, fated ultimately to be untoward. In their way they fell in with and captured five small vessels out of seven, with upwards of two hundred and fifty men of De Watteville's Regiment, from York bound for Kingston, where an attack was apprehended, a loss which, although small, was, owing to the scarcity of troops in the Upper Province, severely felt.

It was during this autumn that the Americans made the most strenuous, and in one quarter, most successful efforts of the War. Three separate armies menaced Canada in as many directions. In the East, during the month of September, the forces which had been concentrated at Burlington, in the State of Vermont, under General Hampton, moved across Lake Champlain to Plattsburg, with a view of penetrating into the District of Montreal; the army under Hampton's command, consisting of seven thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry, and being well supplied with artillery.

General Wilkinson at Sackett's Harbour, on Lake Ontario, a short distance above Kingston, on the opposite side of Lake Ontario, was preparing, under the immediate direction of General Armstrong, the American Secretary at War, a large flotilla of batteaux and Durham boats for an expedition of ten thousand men, destined against Kingston or Montreal, though fated to reach neither place.

General Harrison, with an army shortly reinforced until it numbered eight thousand men, was camped on the Miami River, in Michigan, only awaiting the equipment of the American fleet fitting out at Presq' Isle, some distance below on Lake Erie, to move his

forces against Detroit, which still continued in possession of the British (since its capture by Brock at the beginning of the War), and carry on offensive operations in the neighbourhood of Lake Erie. Fortunately only the latter was successful, and in the West the most disastrous engagements of the War, both on water and land, with the exception possibly of Plattsburg, took place, though the valour of the British naval forces retrieved to some extent the serious loss sustained.

The British fleet on Lake Erie was commanded by Captain Robert Barclay, who had seen service under Nelson, and lost an arm at Trafalgar, his flagship being the "Detroit"; his squadron consisting in all of six vessels and sixty-three guns, while Commodore Perry was in command of the enemy's fleet, his flagship, the "Laurence," and his squadron comprising nine vessels, with fifty-two guns, the weight in metal being, however, in favour of the Americans, in the proportion of over two to one in pounds.

During the month of July the British had maintained an effective blockade on the American fleet in Presq' Isle Harbour, where a sandbar prevented the larger American vessels moving out without unshipping their guns, but towards the end of August, Barclay having occasion to proceed to Long Point, on the Canadian side, for provisions, the Americans took advantage of his absence and crossed the bar. The British fleet then sailed for Amherstburg, followed shortly by Commodore Perry, for the head of the Lake. The British forces in the Michigan Territory, under the command of General Proctor, falling short of supplies, for which they depended solely upon the fleet, Captain Barclay had no alternative but a general engagement, which accordingly took place on the 10th September, near Put-in-Bay, though the British fleet had but fifty experienced sailors between its six vessels, the rest of the crews being made up of two hundred and forty soldiers and eighty volunteer Canadian seamen, while Perry's ships were fully manned with six hundred skilled seamen. The battle began about half after twelve, and continued with great fury until half past two, the advantage being then on the side of the British, Commodore Perry being obliged to abandon his flagship and take to another vessel, the "Laurence" shortly afterwards striking her colours, but the British, from the weakness of their crews, were unable to take possession of her. A sudden and strong breeze

enabled the Americans to retrieve the fortunes of the day, Barclay's vessels, owing to lack of seamen, becoming unmanageable.

Captain Barclay himself was dangerously wounded, his thigh being shattered and his only arm disabled ; Captain Finnis, of the "Queen Charlotte," killed, and every British commander and officer second in command either killed or wounded, forty-one of the British officers and seamen and soldiers were killed and ninety-four wounded. Little wonder the flag was struck ! The American loss was twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded, though the battle lasted but little over three hours.

Mrs. Edgar, in her interesting book, "Ten Years of Upper Canada," states that when some months afterwards the gallant Barclay (who had been placed on parole and then exchanged), was brought before a court of enquiry to answer for the loss of his fleet, his judges were moved to tears as they looked at the mutilated form of the hero who had fought so well. She mentions that he was a Scotchman, and had attended school at Kettle, at which Bishop Strachan, who afterwards taught at Cornwall, was the master.

Disastrous as was the engagement itself, in that the whole British squadron on Lake Erie was captured by the enemy, who now became masters of the Lake, it was even more so by reason of the fact that the British army in possession of the Michigan Territory, and in the neighbourhood of Detroit, was thus deprived of every prospect of obtaining future supplies, and a speedy evacuation of Detroit and a retreat towards the head of Lake Ontario became inevitable. Fort Detroit, therefore, was immediately evacuated ; Proctor, on leaving, destroying the magazines, barracks and public stores. Had the retreat been properly managed matters would not have been so bad.

Commodore Perry, as soon after the engagement of the 10th as circumstances permitted, transported the American forces under command of Harrison to Put-in-Bay, from whence they were conveyed to the neighbourhood of Amherstburgh (or Malden, as it was then called), which also had been abandoned by the British, which they occupied on the evening of the 23rd September.

Proctor's troops were altogether too inadequate in numbers and destitute in resources to make a stand against the overwhelming forces of the enemy and a retreat along the River Thames was determined upon, the Indians, under Colonel Elliott, of the Indian Department, with their great Chief Tecumseh, still adhering to his

standard in his reverses with unshaken fidelity, and covering his retreat. He was closely followed by General Harrison, whose force was escorted by a number of batteaux under the immediate direction of Commodore Perry, by which they were enabled to overtake, on the 4th October, the rear guard of the British, and succeeded in capturing the whole of their ammunition and stores. It was under these adverse circumstances that Proctor was compelled to stake the fate of his small army in a general engagement. He accordingly assumed a position on the right bank of the River Thames, at the Indian Village of Moraviantown, where he awaited the approach of the enemy, who had crossed the river in the morning, and came up in the afternoon of the 5th October. The battle was of short duration. Harrison had among his forces a large number of Kentucky cavalry, accustomed to ride with extraordinary dexterity through the most intricate woods. These he ordered to charge full speed upon the British. By this charge of the enemy our soldiers, worn out with fatigue and hunger, and dispirited by the unpromising appearance of the campaign, became totally routed, and for the most part surrendered prisoners to the enemy, while General Proctor and his personal staff sought safety in flight. The Indians behaved with a gallantry worthy of the chief who led them, and for a considerable time carried on the contest with the left of the American line with great determination, but finding all hope of retrieving the day to be futile, at length yielded to the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, and reluctantly left the field, but not until the great Tecumseh had fallen.

Mr. James states (1) that Tecumseh, although he had received a musket ball in the left arm, was still seeking the hottest of the fire, when he encountered Colonel Johnson, Member of Congress for Kentucky. Just as the chief, having discharged his rifle, was rushing forward with his tomahawk, he received a ball in the head from the colonel's pistol. Thus fell the great Indian warrior in the forty-fourth year of his age. What Brant had been to the British in the Revolutionary War, Tecumseh was in the War of 1812, and the memory and services of these two great men would, were other motives wanting, of themselves constitute a reason why the Indian tribes of British America should be treated with justice, consideration and respect by those who are charged with the administration of

(1) *Military Occurrences* 1, p. 287.

affairs. He was a great leader of his people, of strong intellect and lofty spirit, sufficiently austere in manner to control the wayward passions of those who followed him in war. He had a flow of oratory that enabled him, as he governed in the field, so to guide in council. Though he frequently levied subsidies to a large amount, yet he preserved little or nothing to himself—not wealth but glory being his ruling passion. After the capture of Detroit, in which his knowledge of the surrounding country, as well as the awe inspired by his followers, had been of inestimable value, General Brock, as soon as the business was over, publicly took off his sash and placed it around the body of the chief. Tecumseh received the honour with evident gratification, but was the next day seen without the sash. General Brock, fearing something had displeased the Indian, sent his interpreter for an explanation. The latter soon returned with an account that Tecumseh, not wishing to wear such a mark of distinction when an older, and, as he said, abler warrior than himself was present, had transferred the sash to the Wyandot Chief Roundhead, which act of disinterestedness proved him to have had the highest and best instincts of a gentleman. The Prince Regent, out of respect to his memory, sent out a valuable sword as a present to his son, a lad seventeen years of age, who fought by his father's side when he fell. That he was scalped by the Americans is beyond doubt, and Mr. James proves conclusively that the Kentucky soldiery, not content with his scalp, which would be the property of but one, absolutely flayed his body in order to procure "trophies" which all might share, quoting from Burdick's *Pol. and Hist. Reg.*, p. 84, which American authority admits that "some of the Kentuckians disgraced themselves by committing indignities on his dead body. He was scalped and otherwise disfigured." He held the rank of Brigadier-General in the British Army.

The British loss at Moraviantown was twelve killed, twenty-two wounded, while thirty-three of our Indians were found dead on the field. Upwards of six hundred of the army, including twenty-five officers, were made prisoners of war. The American loss was but seven killed and twenty-two wounded. Such of the British as escaped made the best of their way to Ancaster, at the head of Lake Ontario, exposed, at an inclement season, to all the horrors of the then wilderness. On the seventeenth of October they arrived at that place to the number of two hundred and forty-six, including General Proctor and seventeen officers.

General Proctor was tried by court-martial at Montreal in December, 1814, on five charges preferred against him for misconduct on this occasion. He was found guilty of portions of the charges and sentenced to be publicly reprimanded and to be suspended from rank and pay for six months, but though it was found that he did not take proper measures for conducting the retreat, and had been guilty of errors of judgment and deficient in those energetic and active exertions which the situation of his army so particularly required, the Court nevertheless most fully acquitted him of any defect or reproach in regard to his personal conduct during the action of the 5th October. The Prince Regent, in confirming the finding of the Court, animadverted upon its "mistaken lenity" towards the accused, and directed the general officer commanding in Canada to convey to General Proctor His Royal Highness' high disapprobation of his conduct, and directed that the charges preferred against him, together with the finding and sentence of the Court, and the Prince Regent's remarks thereupon, should be entered in general orders and read at the head of every regiment in His Majesty's service. His previous services in this war, when he defeated the enemy at Brownstown, which contributed much to the fall of Detroit and the capitulation of Hull and the American army, and his brilliant victory over a superior force under Winchester on the River Raisin, in Michigan, were however, remembered to his advantage, and the Canadian people viewed the defeat at Moravian-town with generous indulgence. He commanded again during the War, was afterwards promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General, surviving until 1859, when he died at his seat in Wales.

Shortly after this untoward event General Vincent, who continued the investment of Fort George, deemed it expedient to raise the siege of that place and fall back upon Burlington Heights, lest General Harrison, by a bold and rapid march, or by a sudden descent in the fleet from Amherstburg, should pre-occupy that important position, which would have the effect of placing him, Vincent, between the two hostile armies. This he succeeded in doing, though not without great difficulty, being closely pressed for several days by a brigade of one thousand five hundred men under Generals McClure and Porter from Fort George.

Fortunately, though General Harrison had carried all before him in the extreme west of the Province, neither Wilkinson's force, which had assembled at Sackett's Harbour, nor Hampton's, which it was intended should invest Montreal, were equally successfu

CHAPTER 19.

GENERAL WILKINSON ASSEMBLES TEN THOUSAND AMERICAN TROOPS AT SACKETT'S HARBOUR.—KINGSTON THREATENED.—DEFENCELESS STATE OF MONTREAL.—HE DETERMINES TO ATTACK THAT PLACE WITH GENERAL HAMPTON.—COLONEL GEORGE MACDONELL ASKED WHEN HIS LIGHT BATTALION WOULD BE READY TO EMBARK TO ITS DEFENCE.—“AS SOON AS MY MEN HAVE FINISHED THEIR DINNER.”—HIS EXTRAORDINARY DESCENT OF THE ST. LAWRENCE IN BATTEAUX.—“HERE, SIR; NOT ONE MAN ABSENT.”—BATTLE OF CHATEAU-GUAY.—GOLD MEDALS.—DEFEAT OF THE AMERICANS AT CHRYSTLER'S FARM.—GOLD MEDALS FOR THAT ACTION.—PRESENTATION OF COLOURS TO LOWER CANADIAN MILITIA BY THE PRINCE REGENT.—HAMPTON DECLINES JUNCTURE WITH WILKINSON.—ATTACK ON MONTREAL ABANDONED.—UNFAIR TREATMENT OF COLONEL MACDONELL.

Though the enemy, under General Harrison, had thus been successful in the West, yet his success was barren of any considerable results, and discovering at last his erroneous strategy, he wisely determined upon again turning his attention to the St. Lawrence. His General, Wilkinson, forthwith commenced assembling a disposable force of ten thousand regular troops at Sackett's Harbour, with a view of seizing upon our naval depot at Kingston, only four hours' sail from him; and the Governor-General, in consequence, immediately repaired in person to that post, concentrating there all the force he could possibly muster, though this compelled him to strip Lower Canada of nearly all his regular troops, and thereby left that Province exposed to the most imminent danger of a surprise. But in his destitute state he had no alternative.

Indeed, so weak, after all, was the garrison of Kingston, that he was obliged to bring thither, from Montreal, the eight flank companies of the four recently embodied regiments of the French or

Lower Canada Militia, to be there organized by Lieutenant-Colonel George Macdonell, into a Light Battalion for immediate service, which, considering this officer had not one single individual who had ever worn uniform to assist him in the task, was by no means a sinecure employment.

The enemy, however, getting information from Montreal in October (1) that there were "no fortifications in that city or in advance of it," and that it was only garrisoned "by two hundred sailors and marines, with the militia, numbers unknown"—that is, as we have seen, the four recently embodied battalions, less their flank companies, Wilkinson abandoned the idea of Kingston and wisely determined upon the immediate capture of Montreal itself by a combined and rapid coup de main with his general, Hampton, who for this purpose advanced from Four Corners across the frontier of Lower Canada, about the 20th October, with seven thousand regular infantry, two hundred cavalry and ten pieces of artillery, to penetrate to that city by the Chateauguay River, knowing well that he would meet with no opposing force on the way except three hundred French-Canadians, being half the Voltigeurs and the Light Company of the Canadian Fencibles under Lieutenant-Colonel DeSalaberry, whom he was then driving in before him. Wilkinson, about the same time, embarked in boats at Sackett's Harbour fourteen battalions of infantry, three corps of artillery and fifty-eight guns, accompanied by two regiments of cavalry,(2) as if to attack Kingston, but, in reality, suddenly to "slip down the St. Lawrence, lock up the enemy in his rear to starve or surrender;" and, when arrived at the mouth of the Chateauguay, was "to act in concert with the division of Major-General Hampton and take Montreal.(3)

About noon, of the 20th October, His Excellency received, at Kingston, an express from Lower Canada that Hampton was certainly advancing upon Montreal. Alarmed at this imminent danger, and not daring to take a regiment of the line from Kingston, then in daily danger of the attack from Wilkinson, the Governor-General had nothing to do for it but to send for Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, to ascertain if his Light Battalion—five months previously at the plough—was fit to meet an enemy, single-handed; and being assured that it would move down to the beach to embark as soon as

(1) James 1, 304.

(2) James 1, p. 301.

(3) James 1, p. 255.

the men had finished their dinner, His Excellency mounted his charger and started at once for the Chateauguay, ordering Colonel Macdonell to follow with his corps, and giving him *carte blanche* to deal with Hampton at his discretion. Twenty-four hours, however, elapsed, before a sufficient number of boats could be procured, and even then the requisite and usually indispensable pilots to navigate the *batteaux* through the succession of dangerous rapids of the St. Lawrence could not be obtained. As delay would prove fatal, Colonel Macdonell determined upon trusting to his personal knowledge of the navigation of the river to dash at the risk which would have proved fatal to almost any other commander, and which no other officer would have dreamt of undertaking. Indeed, even he was, owing to the inexperience of his officers, in imminent peril of repeating in the dangerous cataract at the Coteau du Lac, the awful catastrophe which befel four hundred men of Lord Amherst's army, formerly drowned there, and had he not been aware of the tradition, and known also how to regain the only safe channel in that rapid, the consequences would have proved fatal to his whole corps. But notwithstanding the perilous currents and difficulties of the St. Lawrence, and the labour of rowing such a fleet of unwieldy *batteaux*, for many hours in the dark, across thirty-five miles of the broad Lake St. Francis, in the teeth of a very heavy gale of wind, which provokingly compelled him at last to halt nearly a whole day at the Cedars—the pilots there positively refusing to embark in such a storm, and, eventually, forced him to cross to the Beauharnois shore, and take his chance of penetrating at least twenty miles of that forest in the dead of night in file, without any guide, and by a doubtful wood track, this willing young battalion, cheerfully surmounting all obstacles, found themselves on the bank of the Chateauguay River before daylight of the 25th October—some hours, indeed, before the Governor-General, with twenty-four hours' start, reached the spot by relays of horses, from Kingston, and notwithstanding the day's delay at the Cedars. They had, in fact, traversed no less than one hundred and seventy miles by water and nearly forty more by land in about three days and a half, during twenty-four hours of which they were inevitably compelled to halt, a rapidity of movement unequalled in Canada and unprecedented in the Peninsular or elsewhere. Indeed, Sir George Prevost, on seeing Colonel Macdonell approach, single, to meet him on his arrival,

concluded that he had by some means hurried down the St. Lawrence without his corps, and began a severe reprimand, which, however, soon changed into complimentary terms of astonishment when that officer, with some degree of pride, pointed to his still exhausted soldiers sleeping on the ground, said, "Here, sir, NOT ONE MAN ABSENT." After five hours' repose, the Light Battalion moved on cheerfully to the ground where they, still in their slop. clothing, next morning drove from the field nearly twelve times their number of regular troops, and supported by both cavalry and artillery.

Hampton had on the 25th October advanced to within a mile or two of the site of the action of the 26th at Chateauguay, which lay in the midst of a primeval forest, and DeSalaberry, who had stuck close to the enemy for several days previously, then occupied a favourable spot in the wood, which he had hastily strengthened by a slight abatis, and had gallantly determined to dispute the ground even before the arrival of the Light Battalion. Macdonell coming up from the rear, found a ford in the river about two miles below DeSalaberry, and seeing the necessity of occupying that position, sent forward an officer to report his arrival and intention.

Most fortunately the enemy had not a conception that Macdonell and his Light Battalion had ever quitted Kingston, and therefore, calculating only on the opposition of DeSalaberry's handful of men, had secretly passed three strong battalions to the right bank of the river, with the view of recrossing at this ford in DeSalaberry's rear, and thus making his whole force prisoners when the American left wing should attack him in front. Accordingly, on the morning of the 26th, Hampton, with the four thousand men he had on the left bank, dashed at DeSalaberry's abatis through some rounds of a sharp fire of the Voltigeurs, and, as might well be expected, instantly crushed in the brave little defensive band, driving them irresistibly before his overwhelming superiority, and strangely passing unobserved in the confusion the gallant DeSalaberry himself, who, when his men gave way, remained standing on the stump of a tree he had occupied at the beginning of the action! At the same moment the three American battalions on the right bank of the river, made a rapid and somewhat irregular push to gain the ford, but before reaching it unexpectedly received a destructive volley about portant from a company of the Light Battalion, hidden by

Macdonell in the forest on that side, and actually then nearly enveloped by the more advanced portions of the enemy's columns. This instantly threw the three battalions into disorder, for not seeing their opponents, and blinded with the smoke, they in their confusion opened a heavy and continued fire upon each other. The detached company, having thus done its work, immediately crept back out of the woods unseen, crossed the ford and rejoined its own corps, leaving the enemy there fully occupied with their own embarrassment. Macdonell soon heard by the approaching cheers of Hampton's forces that he was driving the Voltigeurs before him, and seeing clearly that there was no immediate danger to be apprehended from the brigade of the enemy in confusion on the right bank, advanced rapidly to support DeSalaberry. By the happiest accident possible, he was joined at this moment by one hundred and seventy Indians from the rear. He instantly threw them into the wood to his right, with instructions to scatter and scream their war whoop, and by an incessant fire to threaten Hampton's left flank, sending with them a dozen of his bugles to spread widely and keep sounding "the advance" in every direction; and making his remaining bugles frequently repeat the call and his companies in succession to cheer loudly (to appear to be distinct bodies), he pushed on in double quick to rally the front line. He had scarcely met the retreating Voltigeurs, who then turned upon the enemy, when Hampton, paralyzed at once by the screams and fire of the Indians, the constant clang of bugles and the cheering at different distances—and convinced also by the heavy fire that his brigade on the right bank was warmly opposed by a considerable force, declared that there was certainly ten thousand British in the forest, and thinking he had been drawn into some fatal ambuscade, he halted, broke and instantly abandoned the field, as did also his right wing, in the course of the day and following night, leaving some prisoners in the hands of the Light Battalion, from whom were obtained the details of the enemy's strength. And just as the last shots of the retiring enemy were dying away, Sir George Prevost and his staff arrived, and received the verbal report of Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, who had by that time returned to watch the ford; and shortly after Major General de Watteville also came up in consequence of a note written to him in pencil by Colonel Macdonell at the commencement of the action.

It is incontestable that the battle of Chateauguay—absolutely lost for about half an hour—would have been no impediment whatever to the advance of the enemy upon Montreal, and must have ended in the irresistible capture of DeSalaberry and his little band but for the ardent zeal which brought the Light Battalion so opportunely on the ground, and for the active manner in which it there handled the enemy—an enemy of British descent, consisting of seven thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry, with ten pieces of artillery, to which were opposed just nine hundred men, all of whom except Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell and Captain Ferguson, of the Canadian Fencibles, were of French blood and but recently embodied, the only three officers of the regular army being the two gentlemen named and Lieutenant-Colonel DeSalaberry.

Chateauguay being made a medal day, gold medals were awarded to Lieutenant-Colonel George Macdonell, Glengarry Light Infantry; Lieutenant-Colonel DeSalaberry, Canadian Voltigeurs. Both these officers were also created Companions of the Bath for their services upon this occasion.

The despatch of Sir George Prevost to the Secretary of State, dated just four days after the battle of Chateauguay(1), shows the imminently critical state of Lower Canada at that moment. He there states, "almost the whole of the British troops being pushed forward for the defence of Upper Canada, that of the Lower Province must depend in great measure on the valour and continued exertions of its incorporated battalions—only five in number—and its sedentary militia until the Seventieth Regiment and the two battalions of marines now daily expected, shall arrive:" "the sedentary militia" being neither more nor less than the mere unarmed and unorganized French-Canadian peasantry working at their ordinary avocations on their farms! Had Hampton won the battle of Chateauguay, there cannot be a doubt that, quite independent of Wilkinson's division, there would in the space of ten days after the action have been at least sufficient American volunteers in the city of Montreal to have rendered the probability of its recapture extremely problematical.

DeSalaberry and his little corps, being much exhausted with the fatigues of the last ten days, were relieved on the evening of the action, and Macdonell took charge of the advance posts with his

(1) James 1, 463.

Light Battalion, and with these six hundred comparatively raw recruits he held Hampton (who had returned to Four Corners on the 28th) completely at bay until the 11th November following.

Wilkinson's orders from his Government were "to precipitate his descent of the St. Lawrence by every practicable means."⁽¹⁾ He had accordingly moved to Grenadier Island, in Lake Ontario, between the 17th and 24th October, but hearing of Hampton's defeat on the 26th, his flotilla advanced by slow steps to give that General time to make a second attempt on the Chateauguay; and thus he only dropped down to French Creek on the 3rd November, remaining there some days, which delay kept Kingston in suspense as to his intentions, as it was assailable from that quarter. Finding, however, on the 6th November, that Hampton could not be brought to attempt another passage by the Chateauguay, Wilkinson that day altered the original plan of the campaign, ordering the others to march from Four Corners, and to meet him, on the 9th or 10th, at the Indian village of St. Regis, on the St. Lawrence, opposite Cornwall,⁽²⁾ and to effect this juncture he himself floated down to the head of the Long Sault on the 10th, where (to lighten his boats in running the rapid) he landed most of his men and marched the greater part down on the British side to within five miles of Cornwall. He had thus been compelled, by the loss of the action at Chateauguay, to waste sixteen days in descending a distance that Macdonell covered in thirty-one hours! Of course Montreal gained thereby a respite of about a fortnight.

Fortunately General de Rottenburg, at Kingston, had convinced himself on the 7th of the month that Wilkinson's real object was Montreal, and had accordingly, that day, despatched Lieutenant-Colonels Morrison and Harvey to follow him with five hundred and sixty men of the Forty-Ninth and Seventieth Regiments and some field artillery, and these, being joined at Prescott by Lieutenant-Colonels Pearson and Plenderleath, with two hundred and forty of the troops at that post, this small regular force overtook at Chrystler's Farm, on the 11th November, the rear guard of the enemy, amounting to between three thousand and four thousand men.⁽³⁾ They turned upon Morrison, but after a gallant action of about two hours, he compelled them to retire.

(1) James 1, 473.

(2) James 1, 471.

(3) James 467.

Chrystler's Farm was made a medal day : The following officers received gold medals :—

Colonel Miller Clifford, C.B., K.H., Fifty-Eighth Foot, died in 1837 (then Major Eighty-Ninth Regiment).

Lieutenant-General Sir J. Harvey, K.C.B., K.C.H., Fifty-Ninth Foot (then Lieutenant-Colonel and Deputy Adjutant-General).

Major-General F. Heriot, C.B., died in 1844 (then Major of the Voltigeurs).

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Geo. Jackson, R.A., died in 1849 (then Captain R.A.).

Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Plenderleath, C. B., Forty-Ninth Foot (then Lieutenant-Colonel Forty-Ninth Regiment).

Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Pearson, C.B., K.C.H., Eighty-Fifth Foot, died in 1847 (then Lieutenant-Colonel commanding detachment at Prescott).

Colonel J. W. Morrison, C.B., Forty-Fourth Foot, died in 1826 (commanding at Chrystler's Farm).

This was unquestionably a very brilliant *affaire d'armes*, but it is quite a mistake to suppose it had any effect upon the ulterior operations of the enemy, as Wilkinson's flotilla pursued its course down the rapids next morning, and by mid-day re-united his whole division nearly opposite St. Regis. Morrison followed by land and reached Mille Roches on the 13th, but as the enemy were in boats and a day ahead of him down the stream he could not possibly impede their progress upon Montreal—which, indeed, they might easily have reached on the following day, while Morrison would have required nearly a week to march that distance by land.

It was only on the 10th or 11th of the month that the Governor-General received, at Lachine, intelligence for the first time of Wilkinson's intended combination with Hampton. His dismay can easily be imagined at finding this new force of ten thousand men within two days' run of Montreal, then almost defenceless, and Hampton's co-operating division only held in check by the six hundred men of the Light Battalion. His Excellency, having no disposable regular soldiers to send to impede the progress of either column, and knowing that there were no troops between him and Wilkinson except three companies at Cornwall and the 103rd Regiment at Coteau du Lac, a post that could not be abandoned, his only resource was in "the

zeal and alacrity evinced by the militia of the Scotch settlement," who from their locality might cripple Wilkinson in some of the rapids, and therefore "solicitous to forward their laudable exertions and the good of His Majesty's service by placing them under the direction of an officer who from talents, local information and influence is best qualified to promote that object,"(1) he ordered a field officer to proceed express to the Chateauguay frontier to relieve and send into headquarters Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, who arrived at Lachine on the afternoon of the 12th, and was forthwith despatched to Upper Canada with *carte blanche* to do as he might think proper.

General Wilkinson states in his report to the American Secretary at War of the 16th November, 1813, that on reaching the fort at the Long Sault on the 12th, he "confidently expected to hear of Major-General Hampton's arrival on the opposite shore," but that "to his unspeakable mortification and surprise he there learnt that Hampton had not only" declined the junction ordered, but had actually, on the 11th November, quitted the Canadian frontier altogether, and had marched back from Four Corners towards Lake Champlain, evidently in order to avoid being forced into any further co-operation in the proposed attack upon Montreal, and thus we see why Wilkinson's immediately-assembled Council of War at once decided that the contemplated attack upon Montreal should be abandoned for the present season, because the loss of the division under Hampton weakened the force too sensibly to justify the attempt.(2) It is clear that had Hampton screwed up his courage to wait for the arrival of Wilkinson on the 13th, at French Mills, the two armies might that night have supped together half way between those mills and Four Corners, or they might, the next morning, have both united within fifteen miles of Macdonell's Light Battalion, still in its old position on the Chateauguay, and Wilkinson's boats could have been either sent down the St. Lawrence to meet them at the mouth of the Chateauguay, or they could have been drawn across the short isthmus of four miles between this last stream and the Salmon River, and Montreal would still have been as much at their mercy as if Colonel Morrison had remained quietly in garrison at Kingston; indeed, their defeat at Chrystler's Farm had but the effect of accelerating their advance upon Montreal. It is apparent,

(1) Adjutant-General's letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, 10th November, 1813.

(2) James I, 474.

therefore, that the effect of Chateauguay was much more important than that of Chrystler's Farm, and though both were made medal days several brevets were conferred for the latter but none for Chateauguay ; indeed, Colonel Macdonell was not even confirmed in the local rank he held when he so opportunely arrived by his own gratuitous activity to snatch the victory out of the half-closed grasp of the enemy. Nay, more, neither the general order issued on the occasion, nor the official despatch to the Secretary of State, ever once mentioned the name of that officer as having been present in the action, or gave the slightest hint that he was in any way connected with it, or even that he had stirred one foot from Kingston to hasten to save it. What made the remissness all the more extraordinary and unjust was the fact that both these state papers specially named with praise some of the captains of his corps who acted under his eye and his express direction ; but as if to cheat him of any, even the slightest part of the merit, not calling them officers of the Light Battalion, but designating them only by the little known numerical titles of the several different regiments "of the embodied militia" from which they had been originally drafted to form his Light Battalion—not one of those embodied militia regiments being within twenty miles of the action ! This studied omission is attributable to an influential official, who had profited too much by a previous injustice to Colonel Macdonell ever to permit him to acquire any distinction which would enable him to plead that wrong with effect at the Horse Guards.

What made the transaction deplorably base was the fact that the whole of the injustice Macdonell experienced throughout the war, on this and other occasions, hinged notoriously on mean and contemptible fanaticism—that he, a free-born Briton, chose to hold by the religious faith of the royal heroes who won the fields of Cressy and Agincourt. Surely his devotional opinions were his own, and Government should have recognized with gratitude how with his co-religionists of Scotch and French descent he turned them to the service of the Crown, and won with the one Ogdensburg and the other Chateauguay—achievements which saved, in the former instance, the free navigation of the St. Lawrence and the connecting link between the Upper and Lower Province, and in the other the certainty of the capture of Montreal. On the 26th March following, His Excellency issued a general order, expressing the

approbation of the Prince Regent of the affair at Chateauguay, and "his peculiar pleasure in finding that His Majesty's Canadian subjects had at length had the opportunity of refuting, by their own brilliant exertion in defence of their country, the calumnious charge of disaffection and disloyalty, with which the enemy had prefaced his first invasion of the Province." To Lieutenant-Colonel De Salaberry in particular, and to all the officers and men under his command, the sense entertained by His Royal Highness of their meritorious and distinguished services was made known. The Commander of the Forces at the same time acquainted the militia of the determination of His Royal Highness to forward colours for the various battalions of embodied militia, feeling that they had evinced an ability and disposition to secure them from insult, which gave the best title to such a mark of distinction. So flattering a mark of the Prince Regent's approbation was eminently gracious, and wise withal, and well calculated to raise the pride and enthusiasm of the French-Canadians; but it should be borne in mind that the battalions themselves were many miles distant from the scene of action, only their flank companies forming the Light Battalion, under Macdonell, and it was due to him therefore that they won their colours. The only recognition of his services which Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell obtained was the gold medal and C.B. given to him.

General Hampton having declined the juncture with General Wilkinson, to the surprise and mortification of the latter, nothing was left to the American commander, on whom countless difficulties momentarily crowded, but to re-cross to his own side and a Council of War being held, it was determined "that the attack on Montreal should be abandoned for the present season and that the army near Cornwall should immediately be crossed to the American shore for taking up winter quarters," which was accordingly done on the following day, when they proceeded to Salmon River, where their boats and batteaux were scuttled, and extensive barracks, surrounded on all sides by abatis, were at once erected.

Sir George Prevost, every appearance of immediate danger having subsided, by general orders of 17th November dismissed the sedentary militia in the neighbourhood on Montreal, with acknowledgments of the cheerful alacrity with which they had turned out, and the loyalty and zeal they had manifested.

And thus terminated the great and imminent danger which had threatened Montreal through the armies of General Wilkinson, the Commander-in-Chief of the American army, and General Hampton. It was the intention of the former to have landed on Isle Perrot, when he had formed his juncture with Hampton, which is separated from the Island of Montreal by a small channel over which he intended to throw a bridge of boats and thence to fight his way into the city. To Colonels DeSalaberry and George Macdonell, Morrison and Harvey, is the credit chiefly due for the total defeat of the enemy's plans.

CHAPTER 20.

EVACUATION OF FORT GEORGE BY THE AMERICANS, WHO, BEFORE LEAVING, DESTROY THE TOWN OF NEWARK (NIAGARA).—TAKING OF AMERICAN FORT NIAGARA BY BRITISH, DECEMBER 19TH, 1813, AND OF LEWISTON, 20TH, AND OF BLACK ROCK AND BUFFALO, DECEMBER, 1813.—RETALIATION.—CLOSE OF SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR.

Matters being thus, in a comparatively satisfactory position in Lower Canada, it became essential to take immediate and effective steps as regards the Upper Province. Towards this end Major-General De Rottenburg was relieved of the command in the Province, and Lieutenant-General Gordon Drummond appointed in his stead. That active, brave and resolute officer, of Scotch descent, though born in Canada, immediately proceeded to show the stuff of which he was made, and entered upon a most vigorous and successful campaign.

His first objective point was Fort George, but General McClure, hearing of the disasters which had befallen Wilkinson and Hampton on the St. Lawrence, relieved him of further anxiety in regard to that post by evacuating it and moving his force to Fort Niagara, on their own side of the river, on the 12th December. Before leaving Canadian soil, however, he was guilty of an offence against the rules of civilized warfare, and acting under the immediate instructions of the American Secretary at War, he set fire, on the tenth December, to the Village of Newark, as Niagara was then called, whereby over a hundred and fifty houses were laid in ashes, and four hundred and fifty women and children were exposed to the inclemency of a Canadian winter at half an hour's notice to the defenceless inhabitants. On the same day McClure reported exultingly from Fort Niagara to the Secretary of War: "The village is now in flames and the enemy shut out of hope and means of wintering in Fort George."

Now, when Detroit had been taken by the British, and Michilimackinack and Ogdensburg, Forts Schlosser and Black Rock, all

private property had been respected, and only public property destroyed, in conformity to the views and disposition of the British commanders and the liberal and magnanimous policy of the British Government. It was reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the invaders of Canadian territory would have abstained from acts of wantonness and unnecessary violence and not have brought disgrace upon a nation calling itself civilized and Christian, the more especially as General McClure had, by a recent proclamation in which he affected to consider Upper Canada as abandoned by the British Army, proffered his protection to those "innocent, unfortunate, distressed inhabitants," whom he thus made the mournful spectators of the conflagration and total destruction of all that belonged to them. Retribution quickly followed.

"The British Commander would have ill consulted the honour of his country and the justice due to His Majesty's injured and insulted subjects, had he permitted an act of such needless cruelty to pass unpunished, or had he failed to visit, whenever the opportunity arrived, upon the inhabitants of the neighbouring American frontier, the calamities thus inflicted upon those of our own."⁽¹⁾

"Let us retaliate by fire and sword," we are told that Colonel Murray said to General Drummond, as they gazed on the sinking ruins of the town.

"Do so, swiftly and thoroughly," said the Commander; and bitter indeed was the vengeance taken.⁽²⁾

Fortunately, in his haste to take refuge at Niagara, McClure, had neglected to destroy Fort George, and Colonel Murray, who was in command of a small corps of observation which lay at Twelve-Mile Creek, and to whom the flames of the burning village became a signal, putting his men in sleighs, hurried forward through a blinding snowstorm, and marched in on the night of the day McClure evacuated the fort. Once more the British flag waved over its walls and the left bank of the Niagara was in possession of the British forces. It was immediately decided to take Fort Niagara, and on the night of the 18th December, a sufficient number of batteaux having been conveyed overland from Burlington, "it was done accordingly."

(1) Sir George Prevost's Proclamation, 12th January, 1814.

(2) M.s. Edgar, 260.

The manner in which Colonel John Murray performed the task is thus described in general orders, dated Quebec 29th, 1813 :

“ The Fort of Niagara was most gallantly carried by assault at the point of the bayonet at daybreak, on the morning of the 19th instant, by a detachment consisting of the Grenadiers of the Royals, of the flank companies of the Forty-First, the Hundredth Regiment, and a small party of the Royal Artillery, under the command of Colonel Murray. The enemy suffered severely in killed and wounded, Captain Leonard, the commandant, several officers and the greater part of the garrison were made prisoners. This gallant enterprise was achieved with the loss on our part of very few of our brave men ; but His Excellency has to regret the fall of Lieutenant Nolan, of the Hundredth Regiment, and that Colonel Murray has been wounded. All the ordnance mounted in the fort, together with three thousand stand of arms, clothing and military stores of all descriptions, to a considerable amount, have fallen into our hands. His Excellency is in hourly expectation of receiving the official details of this brilliant affair, which reflects the highest honour upon Colonel Murray and the small detachment under his command.”

The Provincial Corps acted as boatsmen on the occasion. Two of the enemy's picquets were cut off and the sentinels on the glacis and at the gate surprised, from whom the watchword was obtained, which greatly facilitated the enterprise. One British officer and five men were killed, two officers and three men wounded. Of the enemy sixty-five men and two officers were killed and twelve men wounded (1), and over three hundred soldiers of the regular army of the United States taken prisoners. General McClure had left for Buffalo a few days previous and thus escaped.

Major-General Riall, who had crossed over immediately after Colonel Murray with a large force of Indians, the First Battalion Royal Scots and the Forty-First Regiment, in order to support the attack, proceeded up the river upon Lewiston, where the enemy had established a fort and erected batteries for the avowed purpose of destroying the village of Queenston, immediately opposite on our side, and which they had been bombarding with red-hot shot. These, however, they abandoned, together with a considerable quantity of arms and stores, and then began the work of vengeance, and

(1) The disparity between the number of killed and wounded is probably to be accounted for by the enemy's proceedings of the 10th December. A free use of the bayonet was to have been expected.

Lewiston, Youngstown, Tuscorora Village, Manchester, Schlosser and the circumjacent country were laid in waste by our Indians and exasperated soldiers who had witnessed the scene of devastation at Newark. But the end was not yet; the opportunity was at hand and a full measure of retaliation was essential; justice demanded that the whole of their frontier should be laid in ashes.

General Drummond accordingly moved his forces up to Chipewewa on the 28th December, and on the following day approached to within two miles of Fort Erie, and having reconnoitred the enemy's position at Black Rock, determined upon an attack. General Riall was accordingly directed to cross the river at midnight on the 29th with about a thousand men, composed of four companies of the King's Regiment, the light company of the Eighty-Ninth, under Colonel Ogilvy, two hundred and fifty men of the Forty-First, the Grenadiers of the Hundredth, and some militia and a body of Indians. He succeeded in surprising and capturing the greater part of the enemy's picquets. At daybreak he attacked the enemy, who were in great force and strongly posted, and maintained their position for some time, but a reserve under Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon having arrived, they were compelled to give way, and were driven through their batteries at the point of the bayonet. The Americans fled to Buffalo, about two miles distant, where they received a reinforcement and rallied, attempting to oppose the advance of the British by the fire of a field piece, but they shortly broke and took to the woods. Their forces greatly exceeded those of the British, numbering not less than twenty-five hundred. They lost in killed and wounded from three to four hundred men and one hundred and thirty were made prisoners. The British loss was thirty-one killed, four officers and sixty-eight men wounded and nine missing. Captain Robinson, with two companies of the King's, was immediately despatched to destroy four of their lake squadron, a short distance below the town. Buffalo and Black Rock then followed the fate of Lewiston and their other frontier towns, only four buildings being left standing in the former and one in the latter to mark where once their sites had been, and all their public stores, with such of their contents of clothing, spirits and flour as could not be carried away, entirely consumed.

These successes put the British force in possession of an ample and sorely-needed supply of provisions, ammunition and stores of all

kinds. Hitherto they had had no winter clothing, and even yet were without any regularly organized commissariat.

The resources of the enemy being thus completely exhausted, there being no more towns left to take, nor anything to destroy, General Drummond went into quarters for the winter. Hampton's army had been beaten, Wilkinson's had, after being badly defeated at Chrystler's Farm, recrossed to his own side without taking either Kingston and Montreal, and the Upper Province was rid of all appearance of the enemy, who had at one time threatened to overwhelm it. Thus closed the second year of the war.

CHAPTER 21.

OPENING OF PARLIAMENT FEBRUARY, 1814.—CAMPAIGN OF THAT YEAR.—AMERICANS DEFEATED AT LACOLLE.—RAID NEAR CORNWALL.—OSWEGO TAKEN BY BRITISH MAY 6TH.—GENERAL BROWN SUCCEEDS TO COMMAND OF NORTHERN DIVISION U.S. ARMY.—DRUMMOND'S DIRE DISTRESS.—ABANDONMENT OF UPPER CANADA CONTEMPLATED OWING TO LACK OF SUPPLIES.—DESPERATE FIGHTING ON NIAGARA FRONTIER.—FORT ERIE SURRENDERED 3RD JULY.—AMERICANS VICTORIOUS AT CHIPPEWA JULY 5TH.—THE BATTLE OF NIAGARA OR LUNDY'S LANE, THE MOST SANGUINARY OF THE WAR, 25TH JULY.

When the House of Assembly met at York on the 15th February, 1814, General Drummond, as President administering the Government of the Province, was able, as had been his predecessor Sir R. Sheaffe at the commencement of the former session, to congratulate the members and the country upon the results of the previous year's campaign, proving as it did what could be accomplished in a good cause by men who had nothing in view but their own honour and the country's safety. He alluded, more as a matter of regret than surprise, to the fact that two members of the Legislature, Benjamin Mallory and Joseph Willcocks—the same two traitors who in the inception of the war had so seriously hampered General Brock when prompt action was so imperative, and had purposely wasted the time of the Legislature by futile discussion on school matters when the exigencies of the situation called for martial law and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—had found their proper place in the ranks of the enemy. Willcocks' treachery had been rewarded by his being placed in command of what they were pleased to term a Canadian regiment in the United States army. He shortly met his fate—far too good for him—being killed when planting a guard at the siege of Fort Erie.

A small reinforcement, consisting of the second battalion of the 8th (King's) Regiment came overland on sleighs through New

Brunswick in February, and two hundred and fifty seamen for the lakes by the same route.

The campaign of 1814 opened in the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain, Brigadier-General Macomb with a division of the American forces crossing the lake on ice to St. Armands, while General Wilkinson prepared for an attack on Odelltown, where he was soon joined by Macomb, their joint force numbering some five thousand men. The Americans made an attempt to take a blockhouse in the vicinity of Lacolle, scarcely deserving the appellation of a military post, but were driven off by a small British force composed of the flank companies of the Thirteenth Regiment, the Grenadiers of the Canadian Fencibles and some of the Voltigeurs, and retired in good order upon Plattsburg. Major Hancock, who commanded the British forces, which consisted of one hundred and sixty men in the blockhouse, with reinforcements which arrived during the action to the number of two hundred, had reason to be proud of his achievement in repelling an army more than seven times his number. His loss was ten killed and four missing, two officers and forty-four men wounded; that of the Americans, thirteen killed, a hundred and twenty-three wounded and thirty missing. The action took place on 30th March. General Wilkinson cannot have been regarded by his countrymen as a successful commander, or a marked improvement upon Hull, Smythe, Van Ransaller, Dearborn or Hampton. As was to be expected, his services were not again called into requisition.

In Upper Canada during the winter matters had been quiet, the only incident of note being a raid from Cornwall organized by Captain Sherwood, of the Quartermaster-General's Department, who, with twenty marines and ten militia men under Captain Kerr (I presume of the Glengarry Regiment) on the night of the 6th February made an incursion upon Madrid on the Grass River, fourteen miles below the village of Hamilton, and recaptured a quantity of merchandize plundered from British merchants near Cornwall in October preceding when on their route to Upper Canada.

An unsuccessful attack was made by the British on the 4th March on Longwood in the extreme west of the Province. A small detachment consisting of the flank companies of the Royal Scots and the light companies of the Eighty-Ninth, with a few of the Kent

militia and some Indians, under the command of Captain Barsden, of the Eighty-Ninth, attempted to dislodge a strong party of the enemy, who were strongly entrenched, by a gallant charge up an ice-covered hill, but after a spirited contest of an hour and a half the troops were withdrawn, the enemy, however, shortly abandoning the position. Two British officers and twelve men were killed, and three officers and forty-nine men wounded; the enemy's loss being unknown.

It was not, however, until the opening of navigation that the campaign can be said to have begun in earnest. The taking of Oswego by the British was the first noteworthy event.

The American forces in the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain were withdrawn and moved towards Lake Ontario early in the spring, shortly after the fiasco at Lacolle, the object being to strengthen the army, which was to recommence offensive operations in the Niagara District as soon as the fleet at Sackett's Harbour should be in a state to co-operate with the land forces. General Drummond and Sir James Yeo determined upon intercepting the enemy's naval stores for the fleet at Oswego, and with this object in view an expedition against that place was determined upon. A force consisting of the light companies of the Glengarry Regiment, six companies of DeWatteville's Regiment, the second battalion Royal Marines, with a detachment of artillery and two field pieces, a detachment of a rocket company with a few sappers and miners, set sail in the fleet, which had been strengthened by two additional ships, the "Prince Regent" and "Princess Charlotte," on the 4th May, arriving at Oswego on the following day, but were unable to land owing to a stiff gale which sprung up. On the 6th, however, a landing was effected by about a hundred and forty of the troops and two hundred seamen armed with pikes, in the face of a heavy fire of round and grape shot from the battery and of musketry from a detachment of three hundred of the Americans posted on a hill and in a neighbouring wood. Nevertheless our men pushed on with true British pluck, pressed up the hill and captured the battery, from which the enemy retreated, leaving sixty of their wounded behind. The fortifications were dismantled, the barracks burnt and the stores found in the fort carried off, but the naval stores which it was hoped would have been secured had been moved some miles up the River Oswego, and were thus saved to the enemy. The British loss was

severe, Captain Holtaway, of the Marines, and twenty-one men killed, six officers and sixty-seven men wounded. In his despatch General Drummond specially mentioned for gallant conduct Captain McMillan, who commanded the light company of the ubiquitous Glengarries, who covered the left flank of the troops in the advance. The fleet returned to Kingston on the following day.

On the Niagara frontier the command of the American troops had passed to Major-General Brown, formerly an officer in the New York militia, who had gained some distinction among his countrymen by his good fortune in defending Sackett's Harbour in the previous year, and on General Wilkinson's retirement he became commander of the northern division of the United States army. He had some excellent officers under him, notably Brigadier-Generals Winfield Scott and Ripley—the former of whom was one of the most talented and best trained officers in the army. Both sides now required their ablest generals, for the skill and judgment of the commanders as well as the pluck and endurance of their armies were shortly to be put to the severest test. The Americans had this great advantage over their opponents, namely, that their troops were not worn out with fatigue as were those of the British, which from the scarcity of their number in comparison with the extent of the country they had to cover and protect, and the number of posts they had to garrison, were so reduced from exposure and fatigue, and consequent ill-health, as to be largely unfit for duty. Stores, too, of all kinds had to be brought up from Montreal at enormous trouble and expense, and provisions were difficult to obtain owing to the ravages of the enemy, and so many of the farmers, then comparatively few at the best of times, having been in the two previous seasons engaged in co-operation with the regular forces in the defence of the country to the total neglect of their ordinary avocations.

General Drummond had been unremitting in his preparations for the coming campaign. Through the worst of weather and execrable roads he hurried from York to Kingston and from Kingston to Delaware, making enquiries into the resources of the country and the condition of the inhabitants, with a view to procuring supplies (1). In the month of January, indeed, it had become evident that the supply of meat would soon be exhausted and he began to entertain serious apprehensions that he would be compelled to abandon all

(1) General Drummond to Sir G. Prevost. March 5th, 1814.

that part of the Province west of Kingston from sheer want of food. In addition to his troops, he had several thousand non-combatants to feed, most of the Western Indians who had survived General Proctor's defeat, as well as the whole of the Six Nations from the Grand River, three thousand persons in all, of whom two-thirds were women and children, had sought refuge near the British cantonments at Burlington. Their depredations so harassed and alarmed many of the inhabitants in the vicinity that they abandoned their farms and took shelter in the soldiers' quarters.⁽¹⁾ In addition to these the homeless fugitives from Niagara were also dependent upon the overtaxed commissariat. Thus while the armed force numbered less than two thousand, between seven and eight thousand rations were issued daily.⁽²⁾ The Indians alone consumed twice as much flour as the whole of the troops.

Mrs. Edgar points out ⁽³⁾ that with but three thousand British troops, garrisons were maintained at Forts George, Niagara, Erie and Mississagua (built early in 1814 after the burning of Newark by the Americans), the important post at Burlington Heights had to be protected, detachments were required to guard the provision depots at Twelve Mile Creek and Twenty Mile Creek. York from its exposed position and liability to be again attacked, had to be defended. Port Dover, on Lake Erie, was also in need of protection, owing to the danger that troops might be landed there and gain the rear of General Riall's division by the Western road; while at the crossing of the Grand River (Brantford) and also at Delaware other detachments had to be posted to guard the advance of the enemy by way of the Thames. It was owing, of course, to the Peninsular War that material reinforcements could not be sent to Canada until too late for any practical use, although it is customary with American writers to describe General Drummond's forces as being composed of Wellington's veterans. In May, the Sixteenth and Ninetieth Regiments, besides a corps of rifles and some artillery, landed at Quebec, but it was not until the autumn of this year that consequent upon the downfall of Napoleon, Wellington's troops, released from service on the continent, were despatched in large numbers to Canada, and enabled us to compete with the enemy on anything like equal terms. The disaster at Plattsburg, which was

(1) Drummond to Prevost, February 8th, 1814.

(2) Ernest Cruickshank's "Lundy's Lane," p. 7.

(3) Ten Years of Upper Canada, p. 284.

the one engagement of importance in which they participated, could not, however, have been congenial to regiments which had so recently shared with Wellington the glory of the Peninsular War.

By the end of June the American forces concentrated on the Niagara frontier were ready for another invasion of Upper Canada. They consisted of five thousand regular soldiers and three thousand New York and Pennsylvania militia, admirably drilled at the Buffalo camp of instruction, which had been organized under Brigadier-General Scott; together with some six hundred Indians under the celebrated Seneca Chief Red Jacket. On the 3rd July the enemy embarked in boats and batteaux, and effected a landing on the Canadian side, with two brigades under Brigadiers Scott and Ripley respectively, the former about one mile below and the latter the same distance above Fort Erie. At this post was a small British detachment of some seventy men under Major Buck, of the King's Regiment, who had been engaged in placing it in a state of defence, more with a view of causing a temporary check to the anticipated invading force than for defending it against a regular siege, which would have been impossible. The Americans, after having erected some batteries, and placing their cannon in position, summoned Major Buck to surrender, giving him two hours to determine. Had he held out even for a few hours, General Riall would have been able to have concentrated his troops in the vicinity, and have fallen upon the enemy before they could have had time to prepare for an effective resistance. Major Buck, however, tamely surrendered to the enemy without making even a show of resistance, his force being sent across the river prisoners of war. The loss of this important post was a most serious matter to the British forces, and many a life was lost around it before the American General Izard, previous to abandoning the Niagara peninsula, mined it and on the 5th November laid it in ruins.

The Americans advanced the next day to Chippewa and were making preparations to carry the post when General Riall, having collected his forces, and being reinforced by the arrival of the 8th and 10th Regiments, on the 5th July, gave them battle. The enemy had much the advantage in point of numbers and a most sanguinary conflict ensued. After an hour of desperate fighting, General Riall, having lost no less than six officers and one hundred and forty-two men killed, twenty-six officers (among them Lieutenant-Colonel the

Marquis of Tweeddale, severely) and two hundred and ninety-five men wounded and an officer and forty-five men missing, was obliged to fall back upon Chippewa. The enemy stated his loss at seventy killed, two hundred and forty-nine wounded and nineteen missing.

Had the American fleet been in the vicinity, the whole of our forts in the neighbourhood of Niagara might at this time have been reduced and the greater portion of the Province again subjugated, as shown in the letter of General Brown to Commodore Chauncey, dated 13th July, begging him "for God's sake" to meet him with the fleet at Fort George, where they "would be able to settle a plan of operations that will break the power of the enemy in Upper Canada and that in the course of a short time." Fortunately, however, Chauncey was still safely blockaded in Sackett's Harbour by Sir James Yeo. As it was the enemy advanced upon and occupied Queenston and made demonstrations upon Forts George and Mississagua, without any result however, falling back on Queenston on the 25th July, and after firing the village of St. David, retreating to Chippewa, his object being to disencumber his army of its heavy baggage, draw a supply of provisions from Fort Schlosser, and then proceed in the direction of Burlington Heights with a view to capturing that important post.

General Drummond had repeatedly requested that more troops should be sent him for the relief of the Niagara frontier, but the only reinforcements he received were four hundred of the Glengarry Regiment, which had formed for some time past the garrison at York, a small portion of Marine Artillery, the Hundred and Third Regiment and some of the Eighty-Ninth, under Colonel Morrison. He also had the able assistance of Colonel Harvey which came most opportunely.

Sir George Prevost could not, however, be made to appreciate the imminence of the situation. He was convinced that the attack would be made from the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain. Pencilled upon the margin of General Drummond's letter of June 21st, 1814, expressing his firm belief that the main attack would be made on the Niagara frontier, and that the movement of troops towards Plattsburg was simply a feint to prevent reinforcements from being despatched from Lower Canada to his assistance, there is this significant memorandum in Prevost's own handwriting, "Much

obliged to Lieutenant-General Drummond for his opinion, but it is entirely without foundation.”(1)

On the 25th July, then, with such forces as there were at his disposal, General Drummond had to fight the most stubbornly contested and sanguinary battle ever fought in Upper Canada. It began between six and seven in the evening and lasted five hours and a half. Nothing could have been more awful or impressive than this midnight struggle. In Canada it is commonly known as Lundy's Lane, in British official records Niagara, while by American writers it is styled Bridgewater, but by whatever name it may be known it was a glorious victory for the British forces. The Glengarry Regiment constituted the right wing of the British army(2). General Riall had early in the morning sent the Glengarry Regiment, with the Provincial Dragoons and Incorporated Militia(3), to reconnoitre the American camp at Chippewa and watch the movements of the enemy. They took up their position on the high ground near Lundy's Lane, and in the afternoon were joined by General Riall and Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond of the Hundred and Fourth. The best and naturally most authentic account of the battle that ensued is that of the gallant General Drummond himself in his official despatch to Sir G. Prevost :

FROM LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DRUMMOND TO SIR G. PREVOST.

HEAD-QUARTERS, near Niagara Falls, July 27, 1814.

SIR,

I embarked on board His Majesty's schooner "Netley," at York, on Sunday evening, the 24th instant, and reached Niagara at daybreak the following morning. Finding, from Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker, that Major-General Riall was understood to be moving towards the Falls of Niagara, to support the advance of his division, which he had pushed on to that place on the preceding evening, I ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison, with the Eighty-Ninth Regiment and a detachment of the Royals and King's, drawn from Forts George and Mississaga, to proceed to the same point in order that, with the united force, I might act against the enemy (posted at Street's Creek, with his advance at Chippeway) on my arrival, if it should be found expedient. I ordered

(1) Mr. Cruickshank's Lecture.

(2) It was by no means the first time Glengarry men had held that post in battle!

(3) Drummond had some time previously directed the establishment of a battalion of four hundred men from among the militia to serve during the war in order that the others might bestow their attention on their farms except in the event of a levy en masse. The ranks of this corps were rapidly filled up with stalwart young recruits, and it was armed and exercised as a light infantry battalion under the name of the Incorporated Militia. They rendered most valuable service during the latter portion of the war.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker, at the same time, to proceed up the right bank of the river, with three hundred of the Forty-First, about two hundred of the Royal Scots, and a body of Indian warriors, supported (on the river) by a party of armed seamen, under Captain Dobbs, Royal Navy. The object of this movement was to disperse, or capture, a body of the enemy, encamped at Lewistown. Some unavoidable delay having occurred in the march of the troops up the right bank, the enemy had moved off previous to Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker's arrival. I have to express myself satisfied with the exertions of that officer.

Having refreshed the troops at Queenstown, and having brought across the Forty-First Royals, and Indians, I sent back the Forty-First and Hundredth Regiments, to form the garrisons of Forts George, Mississaga and Niagara, under Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker, and moved with the Eighty-Ninth and detachments of the Royals and King's, and light company of the Forty-First—in all about eight hundred men—to join Major-General Riall's division at the Falls.

When arrived within a few miles of that position, I met a report from Major-General Riall, that the enemy was advancing in great force. I immediately pushed on, and joined the head of Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison's columns just as it reached the road leading to the Beaver Dam, over the summit of the hill at Lundy's Lane. Instead of the whole of Major-General Riall's division, which I expected to have found occupying this position, I found it almost in the occupation of the enemy, whose columns were within six hundred yards of the top of the hill, and the surrounding woods filled with his light troops. The advance of Major-General Riall's division, consisting of the Glengarry Light Infantry and Incorporated Militia, having commenced a retreat upon Fort George, I countermanded these corps, and formed the Eighty-Ninth Regiment, the Royal Scots detachment and the Forty-First light company, in the rear of the hill, their left resting on the great road; my two twenty-four pounder brass field guns a little advanced, in front of the centre, on the summit of the hill; the Glengarry Light Infantry on the right; the battalion of Incorporated Militia, and the detachment of the King's Regiment on the left of the great road; the squadron of the Nineteenth Light Dragoons in the rear of the left, on the road. I had scarcely completed this formation when the whole front was warmly and closely engaged. The enemy's principal efforts were directed against our left and centre. After repeated attacks, the troops on the left were partially forced back, and the enemy gained a momentary possession of the road. This gave him, however, no material advantage, as the troops which had been forced back formed in the rear of the Eighty-Ninth Regiment, fronting the road, and securing the flank. It was during this short interval that Major-General Riall, having received a severe wound, was intercepted as he was passing to the rear, by a party of the enemy's cavalry, and taken prisoner. In the centre, the

repeated and determined attacks of the enemy were met by the Eighty-Ninth Regiment, the detachments of the Royals and King's, and the light company of the Forty-First Regiment, with the most perfect steadiness and intrepid gallantry, and the enemy was constantly repulsed with very heavy loss. In so determined a manner were their attacks directed against our guns, that our artillerymen were bayoneted by the enemy while in the act of loading, and the muzzles of the enemy's guns were advanced within a few yards of our's. The darkness of the night, during this extraordinary conflict, occasioned several uncommon incidents; our troops having been for a moment pushed back, some of our guns remained for a few minutes in the enemy's hands; they, however, were not only quickly recovered, but the two pieces (a six-pounder and a five and a half inch howitzer) which the enemy had brought up, were captured by us, together with several tumbrils, and in limbering up our guns at one period, one of the enemy's six-pounders was put by mistake on a limber of ours, and one of our six-pounders limbered on one of his; by which means the pieces were exchanged; and thus though we captured two of his guns, yet, as he obtained one of ours, we have gained only one gun.

About 9 o'clock (the action having commenced at 6) there was a short intermission of firing, during which it appears the enemy was employed in bringing the whole of his remaining force; and he shortly afterwards renewed his attack with fresh troops, but was everywhere repulsed with equal gallantry and success. About this period the remainder of Major-General Riall's division, which had been ordered to retire on the advance of the enemy, consisting of the Hundred and Third Regiment, under Colonel Scott; the head-quarter division of the Royal Scots; the head-quarter division of the Eighth, or King's; flank companies of the 104th; and some detachments of the militia, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, Inspecting Field Officer, joined the troops engaged; and I placed them in a second line, with the exception of the Royal Scots and flank companies of the Hundred and Fourth, with which I prolonged my line in front to the right, where I was apprehensive of the enemy outflanking me.

The enemy's efforts to carry the hill were continued till about midnight, when he had suffered so severely from the superior steadiness and discipline of His Majesty's troops, that he gave up the contest, and retreated with great precipitation to his camp beyond the Chippeway. On the following day he abandoned his camp, threw the greater part of his baggage, camp equipage, and provisions, into the rapids, and having set fire to Street's Mills, and destroyed the bridge at Chippeway, continued his retreat in great disorder towards Fort Erie. My light troops, cavalry and Indians are detached in pursuit, and to harass his retreat, which I doubt not he will continue until he reaches his own shore.

The loss sustained by the enemy in this severe action cannot be

estimated at less than one thousand five hundred men, including several hundred of prisoners left in our hands; his two commanding generals, Brown and Scott, are said to be wounded, his whole force, which has never been rated at less than five thousand, having been engaged.

Enclosed I have the honour to transmit a return of our loss, which has been very considerable. The number of troops under my command did not, for the first three hours, exceed one thousand six hundred men; and the addition of the troops, under Colonel Scott, did not increase it to more than two thousand eight hundred of every description.

In enumerating those by whose valour and discipline this important victory had been obtained, special mention was made of the Glengarry Light Infantry, which under Lieutenant-Colonel Battersby, it was stated, had displayed most valuable qualities as light troops, while in reviewing the action from the commencement the first object which presented itself was * * “the very creditable and excellent defence made by the Incorporated Militia Battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson, who was dangerously wounded, and was succeeded in the command by Major Kirby, who continued very gallantly to direct its efforts. This battalion has only been organized a few months, and much to the credit of Captain Robinson, of the King’s Regiment (Provincial Lieutenant-Colonel), has attained a very respectable degree of discipline.”

The British loss was: killed eighty-four, wounded five hundred and fifty-nine; missing one hundred and ninety-three, prisoners forty-two; total, eight hundred and fifty-eight. The Glengarry Regiment suffered severely, four privates being killed, Lieutenant R. Kerr and thirty non-commissioned officers and men wounded, Ensign Robins and twenty-one non-commissioned officers and men missing. The Incorporated Militia suffered most of all the provincial corps, losing one hundred and forty-two officers and men killed, wounded and missing out of about three hundred engaged, among the wounded being Captain John Macdonell, a brother of the wife of the late Colonel Alexander Chisholm, of Alexandria. He had his arm shot off, and died shortly afterwards of wounds at York, now Toronto. Lieutenant McDougall, of the same corps, was also mortally and Ensign Macdonell severely wounded, and a gentleman who was afterwards Sheriff of this district, then an officer in the Eighth (or King’s) Regiment, Donald Æneas Macdonell, was also

severely wounded.(1) General Drummond himself received a painful bullet wound in the neck, which narrowly missed being fatal, through he paid so little attention to it that he did not even dismount to have it dressed. A few minutes later his horse was shot under him.(2) General Riall, too, rashly brave and impetuous, was before being taken prisoner wounded in the arm, which it was feared, would require to be amputated, though the operation was, fortunately, eventually found to be unnecessary.

The command of the American forces, in the absence of Generals Brown and Scott, who had retired for the recovery of their wounds, devolved upon General Ripley for the time being, but that officer was severely called to account by his Government for his retreat, and was superseded in the command of the army by General Gaines, who was summoned from Sackett's Harbour to take command until General Brown should recover from his wounds. The aides to the commanding officers on either side, Captain Loring, A.D.C. to General Drummond, and Captain Spencer to General Brown, were both taken prisoners by their respective opponents, but were exchanged without the usual delay customary in such cases. Captain Spencer, who was mortally wounded, died the day he arrived at Fort Erie.

Ripley's retirement to Chippewa met with the full approval of General Brown, as appears from a despatch of the latter to the American Secretary-at-War.

The bravery of the militia engaged in this desperate conflict is stated by Mr. Christie, upon the authority of Lieutenant-Colonel (afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir John) Harvey, to have been beyond all praise. The scene of battle must have been a gruesome and awful sight. Mr. Christie says than it nothing could have been more awful and impressive. The desperate charges of the enemy were succeeded by a death-like silence, interrupted only by the groans of the dying and the dull sounds of the Falls of Niagara,

(1) Mr. Macdonell afterwards exchanged from the King's Regiment to the Ninety-Eighth (Royal Tipperary). Upon retiring from the army he settled at St. Andrews, and commanded one of the Stormont Militia Regiments in the rebellion of 1837-8. He represented Stormont in several Parliaments, was Sheriff of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry, and for many years Warden of the Provincial Penitentiary at Kingston.

(2) General Drummond was, as previously mentioned, by birth a Canadian, having been born at Quebec in 1771. He was a son of Colin Drummond, of Megginch, Paymaster-General of the Forces in Lower Canada. His promotion in the service was rapid. He served in Holland at the siege of Nimeguen and elsewhere, greatly distinguishing himself for valor. He took part in the expedition to Egypt under Abercrombie, and participated in all the battles of that campaign. He succeeded Sir G. Prevost as Commander-in-Chief and Administrator of the Government. He died in London in 1854.

while the adverse lines were now and then dimly discerned through the moonlight by the gleam of their arms. Those anxious pauses were succeeded by a blaze of musketry along the lines and by a repetition of the most desperate charges from the enemy, which the British regulars and militia received each time with the most unshaken firmness. The battlefield remained, of course, in the possession of the British during the remainder of the night. Pearson's brigade had marched fourteen miles and had been deprived of sleep the previous night, Morrison's detachment had accomplished the same distance, and the remainder not less than twenty-one miles in the heat of a July day. Almost one-third of their number had been killed or were wounded or missing. The survivors were utterly exhausted and threw themselves down to rest among the dead and dying upon the blood-stained hill they had finally re-conquered (1). On the following day the British buried their own dead and sent a message to the Americans to send back a detachment to bury their late comrades, which duty they were, however, unable to fulfil, and the heat being so excessive, nothing was left for the British but to burn their bodies.

Having claimed Queenston Heights not only as a victory, but declared it to be the *chef d'œuvre* of the War, it is not surprising to find their historians claiming this battle, too, or to learn that "Niagara Falls" is emblazoned on the flags of such of their regiments as participated in it. It fell to their lot not infrequently in this War to extract sunbeams from cucumbers.

Fort Erie, to which after the battle the Americans had retreated, was now their only foothold on our side of the river, and here Ripley, under orders from his superior officer, though much against his own judgment and inclination, which would have led him to forsake an inhospitable shore, proceeded to entrench himself and to rebuild, strengthen and enlarge the fortification. General Gaines had arrived on the 6th to take command. The American fleet had arrived at the head of the lake, but on finding the army far from being in a state to co-operate, cooped up at Fort Erie, and incapable of holding any communication with the naval force on the lake, returned to Sackett's Harbor.

Captain Dobbs, R.N., had on the night of the 12th August captured two of the enemy's schooners, the "Ohio" and "Somers,"

(1) Mr. Cruickshank's lecture, page 31.

close to Fort Erie, each mounting three long twelves, with complements of thirty-five men, which gave spirit to our army, and General Drummond, after ascertaining their position, determined to storm the American entrenchments. He accordingly opened a battery on the 13th, and on the following day made the necessary preparations for an assault, the troops getting under arms at mid-night of the 14th of August, his force being divided into three divisions—the first under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer, of De Watteville's Regiment; the second under Lieutenant-Colonel William Drummond, of the Hundred and Fourth, a nephew of General Drummond, who had already done much good service, but was fated after this night to do no more (1); and the third, under Colonel Scott, (2) of the Hundred and Third, who also now fought his last battle. At two o'clock in the morning the attack became general. Colonel Fischer's column had gained the point of attack two hours before daylight, and the two other columns advanced as soon as the firing upon his division was heard, and at the same moment stormed the fort and entrenchments on the right, and after a desperate resistance succeeded in securing lodgment in the fort. The enemy took to a stone building, being driven from their posts at the point of the bayonet, which was used with terrible effect. The victory was about complete when a terrible explosion occurred within the fort, the ammunition under the platform on which the guns were placed taking fire, whether accidentally or by design has never been ascertained, and almost all the British troops who had entered the fort were blown to pieces.

An immediate panic ensued. Those of the British who survived could not be rallied. Colonel Scott had been shot dead and Drummond killed by a bayonet thrust in the contest at the fort, at the head of their respective columns. The enemy had received reinforcements from the left and centre of their lines, which, taking taking advantage of the darkness and confusion of the moment, pressed forward with a heavy and destructive fire, and compelled their assailants to retire from the works they had so gallantly carried. General Drummond stated his loss as follows: killed—four officers,

(1) He was fifth son of John Drummond, of Keltie, County Perth, Scotland. At St. Vincent, when a Lieutenant in the Second West India Regiment, he received the most flattering testimonials from Lieutenant-General Hunter, under whom he served. At the capture of Surinam he was Aide-de-Camp to Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Green, in command of the forces, and most honourably mentioned in despatches. In 1804 he was voted a hundred guinea sword by Lloyds for his intrepid conduct in animating the crew of the merchant ship "Fortitude" to beat off the attack of two French privateers. He was severely wounded at Sackett's Harbour, and at Chippewa and elsewhere displayed the highest and best qualities of a soldier.

(2) Colonel Hercules Scott, of Brotherton, Scotland.

fifty-three non-commissioned officers and men ; wounded, twenty-three officers, two hundred and eighty-five non-commissioned officers and men ; missing, nine officers, five hundred and thirty non-commissioned officers and men—a total in killed, wounded and missing of 904, while the American loss was but 84 all told !

Mrs. Edgar states that in poor Colonel Drummond's pocket was found a secret order in Colonel Harvey's handwriting, "The Lieutenant-General most strongly recommends the free use of the bayonet." Through this paper General Gaines is authority for the statement that the mark of the bayonet which laid him low is to be seen ! She also mentions the fact that Colonel Scott was buried the same evening by his own men in the presence of the only three officers of his Regiment who came out of that fatal fort unhurt.

Among the names of those mentioned in despatches for conspicuous gallantry on this occasion was that of Lieutenant-Colonel Battersby, of the Glengarry Regiment, as also that of Captain Powell, of whom Sir Gordon Drummond reported, "Captain Powell, of the Glengarry Light Infantry, on the staff as Deputy Assistant in the Quarter-Master-General's Department, who conducted Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer's column, and first entered the enemy's entrenchments, by his coolness and gallantry particularly distinguished himself."

General Drummond was reinforced a day or two after this assault by the arrival of the Sixth and Eighty-Second Regiments from Lower Canada, which, however, were barely sufficient to supply the recent casualties, and he did not deem it expedient to hazard another attack on Fort Erie, contenting himself with continuing its investment, thereby cutting off the enemy's communication with the adjacent country, and by compelling him to draw all his resources from his own country, rendering the occupation of Fort Erie for the remainder of the campaign of no service to the invaders. He also constructed new batteries, and harassed his neighbours constantly with hot shot, shell and rockets. On the 28th August General Gaines narrowly escaped with his life, a shot descending through the roof of his quarters and exploding at his feet. He was so severely wounded that he was obliged to relinquish his command and retire to Buffalo.

CHAPTER 22.

CAPTURE OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN BY THE BRITISH.—AMERICANS REPULSED AT MICHILIMACINAC.—BRITISH CAPTURE THE AMERICAN SHIPS "SCORPION" AND "TIGRESS."—ARRIVAL OF LARGE REINFORCEMENTS FROM BRITAIN.—PREVOST'S DISASTROUS EXPEDITION TO PLATTSBURG, N.Y.—AMERICANS REPULSED AT FORT ERIE SEPT. 17, 1814.—AMERICANS CROSS TO THEIR OWN SHORES.—MCARTHUR'S INCURSION AND RETREAT.—CLOSE OF THE WAR.—TREATY OF GHENT SIGNED DEC. 24, 1814, AND RATIFIED FEB. 17, 1815.

Troops to the number of 16,000 released from further duty in the Peninsular by the overthrow of Napoleon now poured into Canada, and with them some of Wellington's most distinguished generals, notably General Kempt, afterwards Sir James Kempt, G.C.B., who became Governor-General of Canada, and who had commanded a brigade which led the attack and carried the Castle of Badajoz, a brigade of the Light Division at Vittoria, the attack on the Heights of Vera, at Neville, Nive, Orthez, Toulouse and other engagements in that campaign, and who afterwards for his part in the Battle of Waterloo, where he was severely wounded, was promoted to the Grand Cross of the Bath in the place of the renowned Sir Thomas Picton; General Robinson, who also had fought at and received decorations for Vittoria, St. Sebastian, where he was wounded, and the Nive, who was the son of a distinguished U. E. Loyalist and who afterwards became Governor of Upper Canada; and General Brisbane (afterwards Sir Thomas Brisbane, G.C.B., G.C.H.), who had been in five of the most desperate of the Peninsular battles, as also too had General Power. Yet, notwithstanding the number of the reinforcements and the distinction of the officers commanding them, it was their fate to participate, under the immediate direction of Sir George Prevost, the commander of the forces in British North America, in a luckless and humiliating expedition which terminated in

the total loss of the co-operating squadron, of five hundred of the land force in killed, wounded and missing, of stores to a prodigious amount, and the retirement of an indignant army before an enemy inferior in discipline and renown and in every other possible respect. The memory of Prevost's unfortunate armistice concluded between himself and Gen. Dearborn in August, 1812, which paralyzed the efforts of Gen. Brock, the miscarriage of the attack on Sackett's Harbour in May, 1813, under his immediate superintendence, and his fruitless "demonstration" on Fort George in August of the same year were to dwindle into insignificance in extent and comparison with this most untoward event, which completely shattered his reputation as a military commander, and from the result of which death and a consideration of his qualities as a civil Governor and his conciliation and discreet treatment of and consequent popularity with the French population alone saved him.

The circumstances as they appeared to each are set forth in the statements made to their respective governments by Sir George Prevost and General Macomb, U.S.A., quoted at length in Mr. Christie's History, volume II., p.p. 216-220, and however distasteful to British readers, cannot be gainsaid, being matter of authentic history, allowance being made for Sir G. Prevost's evident desire to minimize and explain away his defeat, and General Macomb's not unnatural, nor under the circumstances to be wondered at, exultation—his despatch, however, on the whole being comparatively free from the bombast and vulgarity which usually characterized the writings of their general officers, who seldom during this war had similar occasion to have indulged in self-glorification. A narrative of the circumstances would take more space than I have to spare, and must, together with the accounts of the many and sanguinary contests between the British and American forces along the seaboard, be left to the general historian. The force engaged in this expedition into the State of New York by way of Lake Champlain, were Imperial troops entirely, led, as stated, by the Commander-in-Chief himself, all his subordinate officers belonging of course to the Imperial service, and I must content myself with following the events of the war in which the Canadians participated, and more particularly those in which our own people of Glengarry had a share. A court-martial was to have enquired into the charges made against Sir George Prevost in connection with this affair, formulated

by Sir James Yeo, who was in command of the naval force in Canada at the time, on Prevost's return to England. He died, however, before the court-martial took place.

It is more satisfactory to turn to the situation of affairs in the vicinity of Niagara, where shortly took place the last battle of moment of the war, and in which, as on former occasions, the Glengarry Regiment distinguished itself. The enemy, at Fort Erie, on hearing the result of the expedition to Plattsburg, and aware that the British in their neighborhood had not been recently reinforced to an extent greater than their strength previous to the disasters of August 15, determined to make a sortie, their plan being, as stated by their General, Brown, "to storm the batteries, destroy the cannon and roughly handle the brigade upon duty before those in the camp could be brought into action." They waited until the 17th of September, when they ascertained that De Watteville's Regiment, composed of foreigners of all nations and principles, was doing duty at the batteries. They succeeded in obtaining possession of No. 3 Battery, its magazine and the block house upon the right, all of which they destroyed, and had then gained possession of the remaining block house and No. 2 Battery and made prisoners of the garrison, though not without great loss, their three principal leaders of divisions, General Davis, Colonels Gibson and Wood being mortally wounded and a number of their men killed. They were about to assail the remaining battery when a force composed of the First Battalion of the Royal Scots, the Glengarry Light Infantry, Second Battalion of the Eighty-Ninth and some companies of the Sixth and Eighty-Second Regiments arrived from the British camp. The despatch of General Drummond tells the story of how the batteries were retaken by these gallant corps.

CAMP BEFORE FORT ERIE, September 19, 1814.

My letter to your excellency of the 17th gave a short account of the result of an attack made by the enemy on my position on that day.

I have to add, that as soon as the firing was heard, I proceeded towards the advance, and found the troops had moved from camp, and the Royals and 89th had been pushed, by Major-General De Watteville, into the wood on the right towards No. 3 battery, and that the 82nd was moving to the support of the batteries on the left. At this moment it was reported to me that the enemy had gained possession of the batteries Nos. 2 and 3, and that our troops were falling back—a report which the approach of the fire confirmed;

(your Excellency will have in recollection that the whole line of operations lay in a thick wood). I immediately directed Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell to detach one wing of the 6th regiment to support the 82nd in an attack which I ordered to be made for the recovery of battery No. 2. I threw forward the Glengarry light infantry into the wood in front of the centre, to check the advance of the enemy, and support the troops retiring from that point. Both these movements were executed to my entire satisfaction, and being combined with a judicious attack made by Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon with part of the first brigade, consisting of the 1st battalion of the Royal Scots supported by the 89th, the enemy was everywhere driven back, and our batteries and entrenchments regained, not, however, before he had disabled the guns in No. 3 battery and exploded its magazine. The enemy did not attempt again to make a stand, but retreated in great disorder to the fort, and was followed by our troops to the glacis of that place.

I myself witnessed the good order and spirit with which the Glengarry light infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Battersby, pushed into the wood, and by their superior fire drove back the enemy's light troops.

I cannot sufficiently appreciate the valuable assistance which I have received from Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey, Deputy Adjutant-General, during the present service, and which has been of the more importance, as from my own state of health, of late (in consequence of my wound), I have not been able to use those active exertions which I otherwise might. To Major Glegg, Assistant Adjutant-General; to Captains Chambers and Powell, Deputy Assistants Quarter-master-General; to Captain Foster, Military Secretary, Lieutenant-Colonel Hargerman, Provincial aide-de-camp, who have rendered me every assistance in their respective situations, my best acknowledgments are due.

The enemy, it is now ascertained, made the sortie with his whole force, which, including the militia volunteers, by which he has lately been joined, could not consist of less than 5,000. About 200 prisoners fell into our hands, and I cannot estimate the enemy's loss in killed and wounded at less than that number.

The dreadful state of the roads and of the weather, it having poured with rain almost incessantly for the last ten days, renders every movement of ordnance or heavy stores exceedingly difficult.

By great exertions, the commanding artillery officer has succeeded in moving the battery guns and mortars, with their stores, etc., towards the Chippewa, to which I mean to withdraw them for the present.

In General De Watteville's account of the engagement to Sir G. Drummond, he speaks in high terms of the Glengarry Regiment, stating, "Lieutenant-General Pearson with the Glengarry Light

Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Battersby, pushed forward by the centre road and attacked and carried with great gallantry the new entrenchment, then in full possession of the enemy." The American loss in this fruitless attack was according to their own account in killed, wounded and missing 509 men, including eleven officers killed and twenty-three wounded, while the British loss was three officers and 112 men killed, seventeen officers and 161 men wounded, and thirteen officers and 303 men missing—a total of 609 officers and men. The Glengarry Light Infantry had three rank and file killed, one sergeant and eighteen rank and file wounded. Mr. James states that the American return of casualties did not appear to include the militia or volunteers. They proclaimed it throughout the republic, as usual, as a "splendid achievement."

General Drummond, after this affair, finding his troops encamped in a low situation, now rendered very unhealthy by the late constant rains, growing sickly, raised the investment of Fort Erie and fell back upon Chippewa on the evening of the 21st of September, without molestation by the enemy. He shortly afterwards broke up his cantonments there and retired upon Fort George and Burlington. On the morning of the 19th October, a skirmish took place at Lyon's Creek between a brigade of American regulars under General Bissell and detachments from the Eighty-Second, One Hundredth and Glengarry Regiments, amounting to about 650 rank and file, under Colonel Murray. The thickness of the woods gave great advantage to the American riflemen, but though their force amounted to at least 1500 rank and file, they would not risk an encounter with evidently inferior numbers upon open ground. After what may be termed a drawn battle, each party retired; the British with a loss of nineteen killed and wounded, the Americans according to their own admission sixty-seven killed, wounded and missing. Reinforcements shortly after came in the fleet from Kingston to the relief of General Drummond; the arrival of the first, although it did not augment Drummond's force much beyond half that of General Izard, being made an excuse for the retreat of a considerable portion of the latter to Fort Erie on the 22nd October, while the remainder having by the aid of their fleet removed the guns and completely destroyed the fortifications, crossed from Fort Erie to their own shore on the 5th November.

The fighting being over upon the Niagara, Lieutenant-General

Drummond and suite, with the Forty-First Regiment and a number of convalescents, departed from the head of the lake and arrived at Kingston on the 10th November, having left the light division distributed along the Niagara frontier in comfortable winter quarters.

The still defenceless state of the Western District had exposed the inhabitants to all the horrors of a second American invasion. On the 20th September a band of depredators issued from the garrison of Detroit, and, crossing the stream, spread fire and pillage through a whole settlement, while on the 22nd of the following month a horde of mounted brigands from Kentucky, under Brigadier-General McArthur, penetrated into the Western Peninsula, the object of the expedition being the capture of Burlington Heights, but after plundering a few of the inhabitants of the country, and burning some houses in the County of Oxford, they met with such sturdy opposition from a number of militia and Indians at "the crossings" on the Grand River, that they did not pursue their journey further eastward, but turned down the Long Point Road and returned to Detroit by way of Port Dover and St. Thomas, pursued part of the distance by a company of the Glengarrys and a few of the Forty-First Regiment under Major Muir.(1)

The war was now practically over. Negotiations had been going on between the Peace Commissioners for Britain and the United States since the 6th August, which culminated in the Treaty of Ghent, which was signed on the 24th December, 1814, and ratified and exchanged at Washington on the 17th February, 1815. The treaty contained provisions for the settling of disputed boundaries by commissioners, and it was agreed that both nations should use their best endeavors for the suppression of the slave trade.

The Governor-General announced the fact of the Treaty in general orders of the 1st of March, in which was stated, * * * "His Excellency embraces the earliest opportunity that is afforded him of restoring to their domestic avocations the Provincial corps and battalions of embodied militia, whose gallant and patriotic devotion to their country has been so honourably evinced in their zealous services since the commencement of hostilities, and His Excellency will not fail to represent to our most gracious Sovereign the zeal, courage and loyalty that has been so conspicuously displayed by all classes of his brave subjects in both Canadas."

(1) Mrs. Edgar, p. 334.

The ostensible grounds assigned by the United States for the declaration of war were the orders-in-Council and the right of search, while the conquest of Canada was the object they had really at heart. In the treaty of peace nothing was said about the flag covering the merchandise or the right of search, and Canada remained unconquered, although the prospects at the commencement of the war were of the most gloomy description.

From first to last, the course pursued by the United States presents few grounds for justification. They had commenced an unrighteous war by the invasion of an unoffending and harmless people. When they found they could not seduce them from their allegiance to their Sovereign, their generals burned their villages and farm houses and plundered them of their properties. But, by a righteous dispensation of Providence they were most deservedly punished. Nothing had been gained by the lavish expenditure of American blood and treasure. Not one solitary dollar had been added to the wealth of the people of the United States nor an inch of land to their territory. On the other hand, their export trade from twenty-two millions sterling had dwindled down in 1814 to less than one and a half millions, and their imports from twenty-eight million pounds sterling had been reduced to three. Nearly three thousand of their merchant vessels had been captured; their entire seaboard insulted; two-thirds of the mercantile and trading classes of the whole nation had become insolvent, and the Union itself was threatened with dissolution by the secession of the New England States.(1)

In this war the men of Glengarry participated with honour to themselves and to the advantage of their country in the following:—

Capture of Detroit, August 16, 1812.

Attack on Ogdensburg, October 4, 1812.

Battle of Queenston Heights, October 12, 1812.

Engagement at St. Regis, October 23, 1812.

Capture of Fort Covington, November 23, 1812.

Capture of Ogdensburg, February 22, 1813.

Taking of York by Americans, April 27, 1813.

Battle of Fort George, May 27, 1813.

Attack on Sackett's Harbour, May 29, 1813.

Defence of Burlington Heights, July, 1813.

(1) Alison's Hist. Europe, Vol IV, p.p. 482-3

Battle of Chateauguay, October 26, 1813.

Skirmish at Hoople's Creek, November 10, 1813.

Raid from Cornwall on Madrid, February 6, 1814.

Capture of Oswego, May 6, 1814.

Battle of Niagara or Lundy's Lane, July 25, 1814.

Attack on Fort Erie, August 15, 1814.

Second Battle at Fort Erie, September 17, 1814.

Skirmish at Lyon's Creek, October 19, 1814.

Expulsion of McArthur's brigands, October 22, 1814.

I submit it is a good record.

CHAPTER 23.

THE REBELLION OF 1837-8. — WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE'S SUBSEQUENT LETTER TO EARL GREY.—EXTRACTS FROM BISHOP MACDONELL'S ADDRESS. — NO REBELS IN GLENGARRY. — STATEMENT SHOWING WHERE THE DISAFFECTION PREVAILED IN UPPER CANADA. — OUTBREAK IN LOWER CANADA IN OCTOBER 1837.—FOUR REGIMENTS IN GLENGARRY.—LIST OF OFFICERS.—SIR JOHN COLBORNE NOTIFIES COLONEL MACDONELL THAT HE HAS CALLED ON THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF UPPER CANADA FOR ASSISTANCE AND TO KEEP UP COMMUNICATION WITH THE UPPER PROVINCE.—REQUESTS THE GLENGARRYS REGIMENT TO PROCEED TO LOWER CANADA.—TWO THOUSAND MEN MUSTER AT LANCASTER. — TEMPORARY SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION.

“A course of careful observation during the last eleven years has fully satisfied me that, had the violent movement in which I and a good many others were engaged on both sides of the Niagara proved successful, that success would have deeply injured the people of Canada, whom I then believed I was serving at great risks; that it would have deprived millions, perhaps, of our own countrymen in Europe of a home upon this continent, except upon conditions which, though many hundreds of thousands have been constrained to accept them, are of an exceedingly onerous and degrading character. I have long been sensible of errors committed during that period to which the intended amnesty applies. No punishment that power could inflict or nature sustain would have equalled the regrets I have felt on account of much that I did, said, wrote and published; but the past cannot be recalled.” * * * “There is not a living man on this continent who more sincerely desires that British Government in Canada may long continue and give a hand and a welcome to the old countrymen than myself. Did I say so, or ask an amnesty, seven or eight years ago, till under the convictions of more recent experience? No; I studied earnestly the workings of the institutions before me and the manners of the people, and looked

at what had been done, until few men, even natives, had been better schooled. The result is not a desire to obtain power and influence here, but to help, if I can and all I can, the country of my birth." —William Lyon Mackenzie to Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, February 3rd, 1849.

* * *

(Extract from a pastoral address of Bishop Macdonell, dated 1st December, 1838.)

"In exculpation of the Canadian Rebellion little can be said. The Canadians had no real grievances to complain of; they paid no tithes but to their own clergy; no taxes or any other burthen but what was imposed upon them by laws of their own making; their religion was not only free and uncontrolled, but encouraged and protected by the Government when threatened to be shackled by their own Catholic Assembly; parishes were multiplied by the consent of the Government, and subscriptions were raised by Protestants and even by the representatives of His Britannic Majesty to build their churches—in a word, the French-Canadians lived freer, more comfortably and more independently than any other class of subjects perhaps on the whole surface of the globe; and they were perfectly contented and seemed quite sensible of the blessings they enjoyed under the British Government until the folly and madness of Irreligious Papineau, Atheistical Giraud and Camelion O'Callaghan (whose religion is as changeable as the colours of that animal) of the Protestant Nelsons, Browns, Scots and others of that kidney, who, taking advantage of the ignorance and simplicity of the unfortunate habitants, made them believe that they were groaning under a galling yoke which they did not feel but in imagination, and succumbing under unsupportable burdens which had never been laid upon them; that they were to found a glorious Canadian Republic which was to surpass those of Greece and Rome, and even the overgrown mammoth of our own days.

"An unfledged gang of briefless lawyers, notaries and other pettifoggers and a numberless horde of doctors and apothecaries, like the locusts of Egypt, spread themselves through the land, and by working upon their prejudices against the British, and flattering their vanity with the hopes of the distinguished situations which they would occupy in the new republic, they unfortunately succeeded in seducing but too many of the credulous Canadians.

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"The most inexcusable part, however, of the conduct of the Canadians was not to listen to the advice of their clergy, who knew well the intention of Papineau and his associates was to destroy their influence and extinguish the Catholic religion, which he publicly declared to be absolutely necessary, before liberty could be established in Lower Canada.

* * * * *

"I have said that your loyalty is based upon the sacred obligations of your holy religion. The Apostle commands us to obey and be submissive to the powers that be. That is to say, under the government of a King, we must honour and obey the King, and give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."

In a history of Ireland once written there was a chapter on Irish snakes, which shortly disposed of the matter by stating the fact that there were no snakes in Ireland. In similar manner might one dispense with a discussion of the Rebellion in Upper Canada of 1837-8 so far as Glengarry was concerned by simply mentioning that there were no rebels in Glengarry; but as its people had much to do with the suppression of the Rebellion, not only in our own Province, but in the Province of Lower Canada as well, it is now in place to narrate the honourable and loyal part which our fathers bore in the events of that critical period in the history of the country.

Rebels against the British Crown and those institutions which flourish under its ægis were not indigenous to the soil of Glengarry, nor is that to be wondered at when we consider the character of the early settlers, whose views had naturally descended to their sons. Those settlers were in large part United Empire Loyalists, who had laid down at the very inception of our system of government, when the Upper Country of Canada was erected into a separate Province, the principles upon which this country was thereafter to be governed, and had declared that so far as the circumstances of the country would permit, our Constitution was to be similar to that of the Motherland, which had stood the test of ages, and which guaranteed to those who lived under it as much freedom and happiness as is possible to be enjoyed under the subordination necessary to civilized society. We have seen that the largest addition to those original settlers was composed of the soldiers of a disbanded Highland Regiment, the Glengarry Fencibles, brought to this country and established

here in their homes by that loyal and devoted subject of the Crown, their Chaplain, who soon became the first Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada, who still survived, and who stood so high in the confidence of successive representatives of the Sovereign. When the country was invaded by the people of the United States, we have seen how materially they contributed to its defence, how many of them died and all risked their lives in order that our institutions should be preserved intact. That the sons born of those parents were worthy of them, and in their turn furnished an example for future generations to follow we shall now see.

Previous to the outbreak of the Rebellion, murmurings and mutterings had for some time been heard. Colonel Denison, from whose able essay I have already quoted, shows that the weak point in the policy of Colonel Simcoe, the first Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, was that in his anxious desire to secure additional population for the Province, his liberal offers of land induced considerable emigration from the United States, many of these Yankee settlers, coming from mere mercenary motives, and bringing with them republican sentiments most obnoxious to the loyal element which had opened up the first settlements in the Province, and it was in large part owing to the known sentiments of these undesirable residents, and the assistance expected to be derived from them, that the Americans hoped to make such an easy conquest of Canada when war was declared in 1812, and although the result of that war left us in the enjoyment of the blessings of our free institutions, it did not eradicate the views of the disloyal faction, though during the war and for some time after, bearing in mind the example afforded by the execution of the traitors hanged at Ancaster by the order of General Drummond, and the imprisonment of others, they took care to avoid public expression of them, yet they at the same time instilled them into the minds of their children, and they bore fruit in the Rebellion of 1837-8. These people and their descendants have been a curse to this Province, and are a standing menace to British institutions.

A numerical abstract of the names and residences of persons arrested in Upper Canada and placed in confinement in the various prisons throughout the Province on charges of insurrection or treason from 5th December, 1837, to the 1st November, 1838, shows the parts of the Province where these renegades were to be found,

and where the embers of rebellion were ready to burst into blaze :

Eastern District, none.
 Ottawa District, none.
 Johnston District, 8.
 Bathurst District, none.
 Prince Edward District, none.
 Midland District, 75.
 Newcastle District, 12.
 Home District, 422.
 Niagara District, 43.
 Gore District, 90.
 Talbot District, None.
 London District, 163.
 Western District, 11.

In the Province of Upper Canada but thirteen hundred regular troops, including artillerymen, were scattered here and there from Kingston to Penetanguishene, while in the Lower Province about two thousand soldiers were stationed at various points to overawe nearly half a million of partially or wholly disaffected habitants. The situation of affairs in the latter Province was set forth in Lord Gosford's despatch of 2nd September, 1837, to Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary. "It is evident," he wrote, "that the Papineau faction are not to be satisfied with any concession that does not place them in a more favourable position to carry into effect their ulterior objects, namely, the separation of this country from England and the establishment of a republican form of government," and he added that with deep regret he was under the necessity of recommending the suspension of the Constitution of the Province. Communications had been passing between the leaders of sedition in both Provinces, and their aims, so far as the overthrow of existing institutions was concerned, were identical. When Sir Francis Bond-Head arrived in Toronto, and relieved Sir John Colborne (who was then appointed to the military command of both Provinces) of the Government of Upper Canada, he found that not even the famous Grievance Report contained a recital of all the wrongs the malcontents had been able to furbish up, Mr. Marshall Spring Bidwell, a very advanced "Reformer," stating to him in an interview that "there were many grievances not detailed in that book which the people had long endured with patience ; that there was no desire to

rebel, but a morbid feeling of dissatisfaction was daily increasing.”(1) On the 31st July, a precious document, styled “A Declaration of Independence” was published by Mackenzie and others, the first step in the road to insurrection, committing all who accepted it to share the fortunes of the rebels in Lower Canada, and a permanent vigilance committee was appointed. Mackenzie had promoted a run on the Bank of Upper Canada, and the machinations of himself and his friends had brought about the failure of the Commercial Bank at Kingston and the Farmers’ Bank at Toronto, while they were daily declaiming against the loyal element as false Canadians, Tories, pensioners, placemen, profligates, Orangemen, Churchmen, spies, informers, brokers, gamblers, parasites and knaves! who he alleged were plundering and robbing with impunity, their feet on the people’s necks, responsible for all the woes and wailings, and pauperism and crimes, the ruin of the merchants and the want of the settlers who, “seldom tasting a morsel of bread, were glad to gnaw the bark off the trees to keep away starvation, and were leaving the country in thousands for lands less favoured by nature but blest with free institutions and just government.” Had a few of these impassioned gentry been summarily dealt with in the first instance as Lount and Matthews were subsequently, there would have been infinitely less want and misery abroad, and many more valuable lives would have been saved; but, unfortunately, the Government permitted an undue license, not only of speech and writing, but allowed the vigilance committees to become the nuclei of military organizations. Shooting matches became fashionable, a brisk business in the manufacture of pikes was carried on, and drilling was practised more or less openly, while Mr. Lindsey states that an occasional feu de joie on Yonge street in honour of Papineau would be made the subject of boast in the press. Mackenzie, meantime, was appointed agent and secretary of the Central Vigilance Committee, a convention of delegates of the Reform unions was to be held, and the functions of the Legislature usurped by these sons of sedition, and by the end of November fifteen hundred names were returned to Mackenzie of persons enrolled and ready to take up arms at an hour’s notice.

In Lower Canada the crisis had been reached in October of 1837. A collision had occurred between the Governor and the Legislature, which had abrogated the Constitution by a continued

(1) McMullen’s History, p. 433.

abandonment of its duties, had refused to vote the supplies, and had consequently been prorogued. Meetings were held in different parts of the country, one at St. Charles, on the Richelieu, being attended by over five thousand people. At St. Hyacinthe the tricolored flag was displayed, while the tavern keepers substituted eagles for their former signs. Officers who had been dismissed from the militia were elected by the habitants to command them again. Mobs paraded the streets of Montreal, singing revolutionary songs, and nothing but the firm, loyal and patriotic stand of the Catholic hierarchy and clergy prevented the actual outbreak. M. Lartigue, the Catholic Bishop of Montreal, who had previously addressed a large body of ecclesiastics at Montreal to discourage insurrection, now, "actuated by no external influence, but impelled solely by motives of conscience," issued a pastoral enjoining the clergy and faithful to discountenance all schemes of rebellion (1). The people, however, became more and more restless as they felt the influence of the clergy setting against them, and priests were insulted in their churches, on one occasion in the presence of Papineau himself. Law and religion were on the side of the Government, and rebellion and infidelity on that of the misnamed Patriots. (2) The popular frenzy was too great to be at once brought under control even by the powerful influence of the Catholic Church, yet even so pronounced an enemy of that Church as Mr. Lindsey admits that "there is reason to believe that the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy eventually did more than even the British troops to crush the insurrection in Lower Canada."

On the 6th November, 1837, a riot occurred in Montreal, the "Sons of Liberty" being appropriately led by a Yankee, one Thomas Sturrow Brown. The Loyalists dispersed the rioters, captured their banners and some guns, and threw the printing material of their organ, the "Vindicator," into the street. On the 12th November a proclamation was issued directing the suppression of seditious meetings. Bodies of armed peasantry began to assemble near the Richelieu River, particularly at St. John and Chambly, and Sir John Colborne, perceiving that the crisis was at hand, moved his headquarters to Montreal, where he concentrated all the troops that had been withdrawn from Upper Canada and all that could be spared from Quebec.

(1) Lindsey's *Life of Mackenzie*, II., p. 49.
 2) McMullen's *History*, p. 416.

On the 23rd November a battle took place at St. Denis, the insurgents being commanded by Dr. Nelson and the troops by Colonel Gore, in which the "Patriots" had considerably the advantage, the troops being fatigued by a march of twelve miles through the deep mud, and their ammunition being insufficient, while a large number of the Patriots were safely lodged in a large stone store, four storeys high, from which they were enabled to keep up a galling fire on the troops, whose loss is stated to have been about fifty, while of the Patriots nineteen were killed.

In the meantime the loyal people of Glengarry were re-organizing their Militia Regiments of which there were no less than four, the First or Charlottenburg, Second or Lancaster, Third or Lochiel, and Fourth or Kenyon. They were respectively commanded by Colonels Alexander Fraser, Donald Greenfield Macdonell, Alexander Chisholm and Angus Macdonell, all of whom fortunately had had previous military experience. Colonel Fraser had held a commission in the Canadian Fencible Regiment and had served through the War of 1812-15; Colonel Donald Macdonell had commanded one of the flank companies of the Second Regiment of Glengarry Militia, as well as being Assistant Quarter-Master-General of the Midland District during that war, and had been gazetted to the command of his Regiment in 1814; Colonel Chisholm had been an officer in the Royal African Corps for several years before settling in Glengarry in 1816, and Colonel Angus Macdonell had seen much service during 1812-15, when he held a commission in the Glengarry Light Infantry which, as we have seen, had been in almost every battle and action in that campaign. The Toronto Almanac of 1839, which contains the militia list, gives the officers of these Regiments, with the dates of their respective commissions, though I believe the Regiments were largely reorganized for the active service which they were about to be called on to perform, some of the officers having become disabled by reason of age and other causes from undertaking further active service. I am unable, however, to procure further information than is furnished by the source mentioned. The force on service in 1837-8 was paid by the Imperial Government though the commissariat, and all returns made thereto, which accounts for so little information being obtainable in the Militia Department.

GLENGARRY MILITIA—1ST REGIMENT (CHARLOTTENBURG.)

Colonel—A. Fraser, April 1, 1822.

Lieutenant-Colonel—A. McMartin, March 6, 1837.

Major—D. Fraser, January 1, 1838.

Captains.

A. McGillis, June 19, 1822. J. McLennan, Jan. 1, 1838

D. McPherson, June 20, 1822. A. McDougall, ditto.

P. Ferguson, April 13, 1830. D. McPherson, ditto.

J. Macdonald, Jan. 1, 1838. A. Fraser, ditto.

W. Urquhart, ditto. F. Macdonald, ditto.

Lieutenants.

W. McKenzie, ditto. J. Dingwall, ditto.

J. McDonald, ditto. J. Cumming, ditto.

P. Grant, ditto. J. McBain, ditto.

A. Macdonell, ditto. J. Hay, ditto.

D. Fraser, ditto. K. Murchison, ditto.

Ensigns.

Jno. Macpherson, ditto. James Grant, ditto.

A. Macpherson, ditto. D. Macpherson, ditto.

A. Macdonell, ditto. M. McGruer, ditto.

R. MacLennan, ditto. J. Curry, ditto.

J. Rose, ditto. D. Cameron, ditto.

Adjutant—J. Cumming, January 1, 1838.

Quarter-Master—A. Campbell, January 1, 1838.

Surgeon—D. E. McIntyre, January 1, 1838.

SECOND REGIMENT MILITIA.

Colonel—Donald Macdonell, January 1, 1822.

Lt. Col.—Duncan Macdonell, ditto.

Major—John McIntyre, April 16, 1812.

Captains.

A. McKenzie, April 21, 1812. Alex Grant, Jan. 25, 1814.

W. McLeod, ditto. D. Macdonell, May 21, 1814.

D. McMillan, April 25, 1812. P. McIntyre, ditto.

J. Macdonell, Jan. 25, 1814. A. Wilkinson, Feb. 25, 1822.

Angus Kennedy, ditto. A. Macdonald, July 15, 1822.

Lieutenant

P. Cameron, April 23, 1812. R. McLeod, Oct. 20, 1815.

D. McMartin, April 25, 1812. J. Macdonell, Oct. 21, 1815.

A. S. Macdonell, ditto. J. McMartin, Oct. 22, 1815.

R. Macdonell, ditto. D. Chisholm, Oct. 24, 1815.

A. Macdonell, ditto.

Ensigns.

D. McPhail, Jan. 25, 1814. N. McIntosh, Oct. 24, 1825.

J. McIntyre, Jan. 25, 1814. R. Macdonell, Oct. 25, 1825.

D. Macdonell, Oct. 19, 1825. J. McGillis, Oct. 25, 1825.

A. Macdonell, Oct. 20, 1825. R. Macdonell, Oct. 27, 1825.

M. McMartin, Oct. 21, 1825. J. Fraser, Oct. 28, 1825.
 A. Kennedy, Oct. 22, 1825.
 Adjutant—D. Macdonell, October 19, 1814.
 Quarter-Master—R. Macdonell, November 22, 1830.

THIRD GLENGARRY MILITIA.

(As given in the Militia List of 1838.)

Colonel—A. Chisholm, June 27, 1825.
 Lieutenant Colonel—George C. Wood, June 27, 1825.
 Major—D. McDonald, December 20, 1837.

Captains.

D. McLeod, Nov. 13, 1820. T. Duncan, April 28, 1835.
 A. Cameron, Nov. 1, 1827. K. Mackenzie, April 28, 1835.
 A. Cattanach, Nov. 7, 1827. D. McDonald, Dec. 20, 1837.
 A. McNab, Nov. 9, 1827. A. Cameron, Dec. 20, 1837.
 D. McGillivray, April 12, 1830. J. Stewart, Dec. 20, 1837.

Lieutenants.

E. McMillan, Nov. 3, 1827. R. McGillivray, Dec. 20, 1830.
 D. McDonald, Nov. 7, 1827. D. McMillan, Dec. 20, 1837.
 D. McRae, April 13, 1830. W. McDonald, Dec. 20, 1837.
 D. Macdonell, April 28, 1835. D. Macpherson, Dec. 20, 1837.
 A. Macdonald, April 28, 1835. J. McMillan, Dec. 20, 1837.

Ensigns.

T. Chisholm, Dec. 20, 1837. D. Macdonell, Dec. 20, 1837.
 J. McMillan, Dec. 20, 1837. R. McLeod, Dec. 20, 1837.
 A. Campbell, Dec. 20, 1837.

FOURTH REGIMENT GLENGARRY MILITIA.

Colonel—A. Macdonell, June 27, 1837.
 Lieutenant-Colonel—A. Macdonell, October 18, 1837.
 Major—A. Macdonell, October 18, 1837.

Captains.

G. Macdonell, Oct. 18, 1837. A. McKinnon, Oct. 21, 1837.
 N. Macdonell, Oct. 19, 1837. J. McKenzie, Oct. 23, 1837.
 A. Macdonell, Oct. 20, 1837.

Lieutenants.

A. Macdonell, Oct. 18, 1837. J. Macdonell, Oct. 21, 1837.
 C. Chisholm, Oct. 19, 1837. D. Macdonell, Oct. 23, 1837.
 K. McLennan, Oct. 20, 1837.

Ensigns.

A. Fisher, Oct. 18, 1837. A. Macdonald, Oct. 21, 1837.
 D. Macdonald, Oct. 19, 1837. Henry Hunt, Oct. 23, 1837.
 J. McGillis, Oct. 20, 1837.

On the 1st December, 1837, Colonel Goldie, A.D.C., wrote to Colonel Donald Greenfield Macdonell, as senior officer of the Glengarry Militia, as follows :

HEAD-QUARTERS, MONTREAL, 1 December, 1837.

SIR,—I am directed by Lieutenant-General Sir John Colborne

to acquaint you that the District of Montreal, being in a state of revolt and the rebels having again collected in force on the Richelieu and preparing defensive works, he has called on the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada for assistance, and he trusts that several Battalions will be ordered to march to our assistance.

The Lieutenant-General thinks that measures should be adopted to keep up the communication with Upper Canada by the Coteau du Lac.

I have, etc.,

THOS. LEIGH GOLDIE, A.D.C.

Colonel Macdonell, Second Glengarry Militia, Cornwall.

Colonel Macdonell immediately notified the commanding officers of the several regiments, took such other active steps as were necessary, and knowing full well how readily any call would be responded to, wrote to Sir John Colborne for further instructions. In answer he received the following :

HEADQUARTERS, MONTREAL, December 8, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am desired by Lieutenant-General Sir John Colborne to acquaint you, in reply to your letter of the 6th instant, that provided your march is sanctioned by the Lieutenant-Governor, he is persuaded that the Glengarry battalions under your command may render essential service to our cause by marching to the Coteau du Lac to the ferry at Vaudreuil, opposite St. Anne's, at which place arms and ammunition shall be forwarded to you. Afterwards he would wish you to proceed through Vaudreuil by the Lake of the Two Mountains to Point Fortune, to escort the arms which are intended for the corps now forming at the Carillon under the direction of Mr. Forbes. On your arrival there you will receive further orders respecting our operations against the rebels at St. Benoit and Grand Brule.

I have, &c.,

THOS. LEIGH GOLDIE, A.D.C.

Colonel Donald Macdonell, com'g. Glengarry Militia.

Sir John Colborne had effectually suppressed the Rebellion in that quarter before the Glengarry Regiments were able to proceed to Lower Canada, his force consisting of the First Royals, Thirty-Second and Eighty-Third Regiments, with a strong party of artillery, the Queen's Light Dragoons (Provincial), the Montreal Volunteer Cavalry and Rifle Corps and other militia. At St. Eustache some slight resistance was offered and a few lives lost. At St. Benoit (Grand Brule) two hundred and fifty insurgents surrendered at discretion, and were for the most part dismissed, only the ringleaders

being kept prisoners. The militia appear to have destroyed considerable property in retaliation for the injuries inflicted upon that of volunteers and other loyal persons. Papineau and Wolfred Nelson had now fled the country.

It will be observed that the date of the first letter to Colonel Macdonell, advising him of the call for assistance from Upper Canada, was the 1st December. In nineteen days, two thousand men from all parts of the County of Glengarry were under arms at Lancaster, on the River St. Lawrence, ready to proceed to the relief of the loyal people of the Lower Province.

Mr. Christie, in a note to volume 5, page 14, quotes as follows: "The Cornwall 'Observer' of the 21st instant, mentions that on the day previous the four Regiments of Glengarry Militia, mustering about two thousand strong, assembled at Lancaster for the purpose of marching down to Montreal, under the command of Colonels Donald McDonell, Fraser, Chisholm and Angus McDonell. The field-pieces belonging to the different Regiments were mounted on strong sleighs, with horses and everything necessary for active service, which, with flags and martial music of the pipes, formed a most interesting spectacle. It was intended that the troops should march on the 21st, but an express arrived from Sir John Colborne with a communication 'expressing his warmest thanks to the colonels of the different regiments for their exertions and activity in this critical period, and requesting them to inform the officers and men of these brave Glengarry Regiments, that in consequence of the Rebellion being put down he does not wish them to march from their homes at present.' 'We can appreciate the feeling of disappointment,' says the Cornwall "Observer," "with which this communication was received by the hardy Highlanders, anxious as we know they are to distinguish themselves as brave and loyal subjects of their Queen."

CHAPTER 24.

SIR JOHN COLBORNE COMMISSIONS COLONELS MACDONELL AND FRASER TO RAISE TWO BATTALIONS OF GLENGARRY "LADS" FOR SERVICE IN LOWER CANADA.—LIST OF OFFICERS OF "LANCASTER GLENGARRY HIGHLANDERS."—CHARLOTTENBURG REGIMENT STATIONED AT ST. PHILIPPE, AND LANCASTER REGIMENT AT NAPIERVILLE.—COMMENTS OF THE MONTREAL "HERALD" ON THEIR APPEARANCE ON THEIR RETURN.—GENERAL CLITHEROW TESTIFIES TO THEIR SERVICE AND EFFICIENCY.—TEMPORARILY RELIEVED FROM FURTHER SERVICE.

The service of the Glengarry Militia were soon to be required however.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, Sir John Colborne, on the 15th January, 1838, wrote to Colonel Donald Greenfield Macdonell as follows :

MONTREAL, 15th January, 1838.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Our affairs in Upper Canada as regards the conduct of the United States Government and people require that great exertion should be made to place ourselves speedily in a strong defensive position.

Do you think that you and Colonel Fraser could raise two battalions of Glengarry lads for five or six months' general service ?

If you are of opinion that two corps of six hundred men could be formed in a few weeks I authorize you to proceed in organizing them immediately.

I remain, dear sir,

Yours very faithfully,

J. COLBORNE.

Colonel Macdonell, commanding Glengarry Militia.

A similar letter was on the same day addressed to Col. Fraser.

The Lancaster Regiment of Glengarry Highlanders, raised under the general orders of 8th January, 1838, and in pursuance of the above letter of Sir John Colborne, was officered as follows :

Lieutenant-Colonel—Donald Macdonell (Greenfield).
Major—Alexander Macdonell (Aberchalder).

Captains.

Donald Macdonell (Buidh),	Ranald Macdonell,
Malcolm McMartin,	Neil Macdonald,
George Macdonell (Greenfield),	Allan Cameron.

Lieutenants.

Angus McDougall,	Donald Chisholm,
Donald McDougall,	John Stewart,
Thomas Oliver,	Alexander Macdonell.

Ensigns.

Alexander Macdonell,	John Macdonell,
Alexander McGregor,	Alexander Cameron,
Angus Kennedy,	Donald Macdonell.

Adjutant—William Hayes.
Paymaster—Alexander Macdonell.
Quarter-Master—Angus Macdonell.

I am unable to give a list of the officers of the Charlottenburg Regiment, which was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Fraser. His grandson most kindly placed at my disposal all the papers connected with the corps, which have been most carefully preserved, but unfortunately they do not contain the names of the officers, nor was Judge Pringle, who, owing to his relation to Colonel Fraser's family, was in even better position to have procured information respecting the Regiment, able to procure a list when giving those of other Regiments of Glengarry and Stormont.

On the 31st January, 1838, Colonel Gore addressed Colonel Fraser as follows :

MONTREAL, January 31st, 1838.

SIR,—I am directed by His Excellency the Lieutenant General Commanding to inform you, that, from the reports which have reached him of the preparations of invasion from the lines that your services may be required, and that if you can march your Regiment to Montreal, Sir John will immediately have arms served out to you and you will be quartered in the L'Acadie district.

I have, etc.,

CHAS. GORE,
Deputy Quarter Master General.

To Colonel Fraser,
Commanding First Glengarry Regiment.

Colonel Fraser's (Charlottenburgh) Regiment was quartered at St. Philippe, in the County of Laprairie. When Colonel Macdonell's

(Lancaster) Regiment went down I am unable to ascertain. It was stationed at Napierville, and both remained in Lower Canada during the winter.

The Charlottenburg Regiment returned in March, the Montreal "Herald" of the 20th of that month remarking, "One Regiment of Glengarry Highlanders, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser, arrived in town yesterday from St. Philippe, and created quite a sensation as they marched through our streets to the martial music of the spirit-stirring bagpipes. They mustered about five hundred strong, and were generally considered as fine and efficient a body of volunteers as could be produced in the Province, such men as would 'do or die' for their Queen and country. They are en route for their homes, after having displayed their willingness to defend with their lives the glorious institutions of their Fatherland from the encroachment of internal traitors or foreign enemies."

Colonel Macdonell's Regiment remained until May. The "Herald" of the 1st May stated, "This day the Lancaster Regiment of Glengarry Highlanders, under command of their Colonel, Donald Greenfield Macdonell, marched into town en route to Upper Canada from Napierville, where they were quartered since their arrival in this Province during the winter. They are a fine body of men, and presented a very military appearance." On the 2nd May they were inspected by the Commanding Officer of the District of Montreal, who directed the following letter to be addressed to Colonel Macdonell :

MONTREAL, May 2nd, 1838.

SIR,—I am directed by the Major-General commanding the District to request that you will accept and convey to the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the Lancaster Glengarry Highlanders the expression of his best thanks for the soldier-like appearance that they presented at the inspection yesterday. Major General Clitherow directs me to assure you that it will afford him great pleasure to be enabled to report most favourably to His Excellency the Commander of the Forces on the appearance and efficiency of this fine corps, and he doubts not that should their active services at any future period be required, the Lancaster Glengarry Highlanders will maintain the high reputation which they have now so deservedly acquired.

I have, &c.,

JAMES JOHN HAMILTON,
Major and Major of Brigade.

At the inspection of the Charlottenburg Regiment by Sir John Colborne and his staff, one of the men, Lewis Grant, who stood 6 feet 7 inches, carried a brass three-pound field-piece on his shoulder when the Regiment marched past. (1)

Having returned to Upper Canada they were disembodied in accordance with the following letter :

MONTREAL, 11th May, 1838.

SIR,—With reference to my letter addressed to you on the 2nd instant, I have this day received the direction of the Commander of the Forces to inform you that the large reinforcements which have arrived at Quebec from England enable His Excellency to dispense with the services of the corps which you have so zealously brought forward in time of danger and alarm for the defence of the Province, which measure becomes the more desirable as, from the advanced period of the season, many of the men must be anxious to return to their homes. His Excellency is therefore pleased to direct that the Lancaster Glengarry Highlanders under your command shall be disembodied on the 15th instant, receiving pay, however, to the end of the month.

His Excellency has been pleased to grant permission for the men of your corps to retain the arms, etc., which they have in their possession, as well as a certain proportion of ammunition. (After instructions as to the care to be taken of the arms and ammunition the letter proceeds :)

The Commander of the Forces requests that the officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the Lancaster Glengarry Highlanders will accept his sincere thanks for the important service which they have rendered, and he is firmly persuaded that should the Provinces be ever again in danger of revolt or attack from the lawless banditti from which it has lately been rescued, that they will be the first to come forward in their defence.

His Excellency also grants permission to the Loyal Volunteer Corps to retain their clothing, which must, however, be preserved with the greatest care, as in the event of their services being required on any future occasion no further supply will take place.

The officers and men of the disbanded Loyal Volunteers are to remain upon the list according to the designation of their respective corps, as unpaid volunteer corps.

I have, etc.,

W. P. CHRISTIE,
Provincial Military Secretary.

A letter similar in effect was addressed to Colonel Fraser, under date 19th April, 1838, when the Charlottenburg Regiment was released from further service.

(1) Judge Pringle, p. 260.

CHAPTER 25.

DEPARTURE OF LORD DURHAM.—RENEWAL OF INSURRECTION IN LOWER CANADA.—BISHOP MACDONELL'S LOYAL ADDRESS.—SEIZURE OF THE "HENRY BROUGHAM" AT BEAUHARNOIS.—GLENGARRY REGIMENTS CALLED OUT A THIRD TIME.—MARCH ON BEAUHARNOIS.—ITS EASY CAPTURE.—APPRECIATION OF SIR JOHN COLBORNE.—CONGRATULATIONS OF LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR UPPER CANADA.—ORDERED TO UPPER CANADA TO REPEL INVASION OF BRIGANDS.—BATTLE OF THE WINDMILL.

Lord Durham arrived at Quebec on 27th May to assume charge of the Government and the reinforcements which had been sent from England rendered the probabilities of successful revolt more slender than ever. The Special Council summoned by Lord Durham had banished Wolfred Nelson and other leading insurgents to Bermuda, and had threatened the penalty of death on Papineau and others should they return to Canada. While the Home Government approved of this course the Imperial Parliament censured him, and Lord Durham accordingly resigned and returned to England on the 3rd November, 1838, leaving Sir John Colborne, the Commander of the Forces, again in charge of the Government, and who was shortly thereafter appointed Governor-General.

The departure of Lord Durham would appear to have been the signal for another outbreak. Mackenzie and other refugees in the United States had been at their dastardly work of agitation, and countenanced by the unprincipled portions of the American border population,⁽¹⁾ secret associations had been formed along the frontier

(1) "Hunters' Lodges" had been formed in various towns and places on the frontier in the United States, according to the statements of prisoners taken at Prescott, among others at Oswego, Salina, Liverpool, Syracuse, Auburn, Great Bend, Palema, Dexter, Evans' Mills, Wattertown, Brownville, Lerayville, Sackett's Harbour, Cape Vincent, Chaumont, Millen's Bay, Alexandria Bay, Orleans, Flat Rock, Ogdensburg, Rossie Village. These societies are supposed to have originated in the State of Vermont in May, 1838. Their objects are shewn by the nature of the oath each "Hunter" had to take: "I swear to do my utmost to promote republican institutions and ideas throughout the world—to cherish them, to defend them; and especially to devote myself to the propagation, protection and defence of these institutions in North America. I pledge my life, my property and my sacred honor to the association. I bind myself to its interests and I promise, until death, that I will attack, combat and help to destroy, by all means that my superior may think proper, every power or authority of Royal origin upon this continent, and especially never to rest till all tyrants of Britain cease to have any dominion or footing whatever in North America. So help me God."

of both Canadas and a combined system of invasion and insurrection organized. It would appear, therefore, that the country was again to be plunged into turmoil, and steps were taken to place the militia regiments in readiness for the emergency. It was under these circumstances that Bishop Macdonell issued the following address to the people of Glengarry :

MY DEAR COUNTRYMEN,

I am far from thinking it necessary, in the present critical situation of your country, to address you on the score of loyalty to your Sovereign, and uncompromising attachment to Britain and the British Constitution.

Forty years' intercourse and intimate connexion with you, in various parts of the British Empire, where your active services have been of so much importance in restoring peace and tranquility to Ireland, in repelling the invasion of the Americans on these Provinces, and in checking the progress of Canadian rebellion last winter, leave no doubt on my mind that you will turn out to a man on the present occasion, and join with your loyal fellow subjects in defence of your wives and children and valuable properties against the attacks of a heartless gang of pirates and rebels.

When a Prime Minister of England in 1802 expressed to me his reluctance to permit Scotch Highlanders to emigrate to the Canadas, from his apprehension that the hold the Parent State had of the Canadas was too slender to be permanent, I took the liberty of assuring him that the most effectual way to render that hold strong and permanent was to encourage and facilitate the emigration of Scots Highlanders and Irish Catholics into these Colonies.

Your brave and loyal conduct during the last war with the United States of America verified my prediction, and so highly appreciated were your services as to obtain the approbation and thanks of his late Majesty George IV.

On review of my long intercourse with you, it is to me a most consoling reflection that I have been so fortunate as to possess the confidence of you all, Protestants as well as Catholics, because on all occasions when my humble exertions could forward your interests, I never made any distinction between Protestants and Catholics, and I have no hesitation to declare that among my warmest, my most sincere, and most attached friends, are persons of a different persuasion from my own.

To the credit and honour of Scots Highlanders be it said, that the difference of religion was never known to weaken the bonds of friendship, and Catholics and Protestants have always stood shoulder to shoulder, nobly supporting one another during the fiercest tug of battle.

It is not a little to your credit, Glengarry men, Protestants and Catholics, that you have hitherto carefully abstained from entering

into the existing overheated (and certainly in the present critical state of the Province), unseasonable discussion of your claims upon Government, reposing with a generous confidence on the impartial justice of a noble-minded and magnanimous Sovereign, whose pleasure and true happiness is to see all her loyal subjects satisfied and contented, and their faithful services rewarded as they deserve.

Fear not, my friends, that you whose fathers have been so much distinguished in the conquest of the Canadas, and who have yourselves contributed so powerfully to the defence of them from foreign and domestic enemies, shall be forgotten by a grateful and generous Sovereign in the distribution of rewards.

The loyal and martial character of Highlanders is proverbial. The splendid achievements of your ancestors under a Montrose and a Dundee in support of a fallen family proved their unshaken adherence to honour and principle, acquired for them the admiration of their opponents, and secured for you, their posterity, the confidence of a liberal and discerning Government.

You have indeed reason to be proud of such ancestors, and your friends have reason to be proud of your conduct since the first of you crossed the Atlantic.

When the American Colonies broke their allegiance and rebelled against Britain, your fathers and such of you as are yet alive of those Royal Emigrants, rallied around the standard of your Sovereign, fought your way through the wilderness to the banks of the St. Lawrence, and gallantly supported the British authorities in Canada. How gratifying it is to think that the martial character transmitted to you by your forefathers has not been tarnished nor disgraced. Queenston Heights, Lundy's Lane, Chrysler's Farm and Ogdensburgh will be standing monuments of your bravery and loyalty, while the history of the Canadas shall continue to be read.

The renowned veteran, Sir John Colborne, Commander of the Forces, acknowledged and admired the promptitude and alacrity with which you flew to arms last winter, and volunteered your services to Lower Canada, where your presence effectually checked the spirit of revolt for the time, and would in all probability have extinguished it in that part of the country, had your corps been kept on foot.

Your countryman and friend, General Macdonell, whose brows are encircled with unfading laurels of many a hard-fought battle, travelled hundreds of miles last summer to Glengarry, for the pleasure of inspecting your Militia Regiments on their respective parades. Think with what satisfaction he will view them on the field of honour this winter, and by your valor and bravery see you contribute so much to the preservation of the Canadas.

That nothing may be wanting to cheer and encourage you in the glorious contest in which you are now engaged, the brave and gallant Colonel Carmichael, whose confidence in your loyalty and courage can only be equalled by his regard and attachment to you

all, will direct your operations against the enemy, and will, I feel confident, have the honour and satisfaction of making the most favourable report of your gallantry in the field.

That the God of Battles may be your protector, and grant success to the righteousness of your cause, is the ardent prayer and sincere wish of your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER MACDONELL.

Kingston, 1st December, 1838.

On the 1st November Sir John Colborne wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel Turner, Particular Service, at Cornwall as follows :

QUEBEC, November 1, 1838.

SIR,—I request that you will explain to the officers of the militia in the district in which you are stationed that Canada being threatened with an attack from the American frontier by a horde of rapacious brigands, every man that can bear arms, I am persuaded, will not hesitate to join his regiment, and prepare to repel the wicked and unprovoked invasion with which the Provinces are threatened, and which, no doubt, will be immediately attempted. The loyal inhabitants may be assured that the Mother Country will no longer suffer these Provinces to be kept in a state of suspense and alarm to which they have been recently exposed ; but that the strength of the Empire will be exerted fully to put an end to the disgraceful proceedings on the frontier. I have, &c.,

J. COLBORNE.

On the 3rd November the habitants between the Yamaska and Richelieu Rivers had assembled under arms at St. Ours, St. Charles and St. Michaels, while about four thousand had congregated at Napierville under the command of Dr. Nelson between the 5th and 6th. On the 4th Sir John Colborne by proclamation declared martial law again in force in the District of Montreal and on the previous day the Special Council had been summoned to meet on the 9th. Large numbers of people were from day to day placed under arrest and the gaol at Montreal was filled to overflowing. The troops under Sir James Macdonell at once proceeded to Napierville, where they arrived on the morning of the 10th, to find that the insurgents had decamped the night previous, and a portion of them having been attacked by the militia near Rouse's Point, were overpowered and driven across the border, three hundred stand of arms and one field piece being taken. An engagement took place between the volunteers and the insurgents at Odell Town, where the latter suffered heavily.

On the 2nd November the insurgents seized the steamer "Henry Brougham" at Beauharnois, and took the crew and passengers prison-

ers, among whom, Judge Pringle states, was D. E. McIntyre, then Surgeon in Colonel Fraser's (Charlottenburg) Regiment (the present Sheriff of these Counties), Donald McNicol, of Williamstown, John S. McDougal, Duncan McDonald (Lachlan) and others. They next surrounded the house of the Seigneur, Mr. Ellis, and made prisoners of its inmates. The Glengarry Regiments was immediately ordered to Beauharnois.

ASSISTANT QUARTER-MASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE,

MONTREAL, 5th November, 1838.

SIR,—I am directed by the Commander of the Forces to acquaint you that Colonel Phillpotts has proceeded to Lancaster for the purpose of conveying His Excellency's instructions to Major Carmichael to assemble as many Battalions of the Glengarrys as he can collect, and pass over with them from Point au Baudet to Cartier, in Hungry Bay.

The company of the Seventy-First and four companies of the Ninety-Third Highlanders, which are supposed to be on their return to Montreal from the Upper Province, have been ordered to join in this movement and to pass over with the Glengarry Regiments.

The object of this movement is to disperse the rebels assembled at Beauharnois.

A large force of regulars are about to march against the rebels at L'Acadie and Chateauguay, which will probably have the effect of drawing the rebels from your front, and the Commander of the Forces is so anxious that your movement should not be delayed that he thinks it possible you may undertake it with safety without either the company of Seventy-First or those of the Ninety-Third should they not have arrived.

I have, etc.,

G. D. HALL, Major,

Assistant Quarter-Master General.

Colonel Macdonell, Commanding Glengarrys.

Colonel Phillpotts wrote to Colonel Fraser, commanding First (Charlottenburg Regiment) Glengarry Militia, from Coteau du Lac on the same day (5th November), requesting him to assemble as many men of his Regiment as could conveniently leave their homes, and march them to that place, stating that there was every reason to believe that it was the intention of the rebels to cross over from Beauharnois to Coteau and cut off the communication between the Upper and Lower Provinces. The letter then proceeds :

The Commander of the Forces has, therefore, directed me to inform the brave and loyal Militia of Glengarry that he depends upon them to prevent this, and if circumstances should render it necessary to march to Vaudreuil, St. Annes and Point Claire in order

to keep that communication completely open, while he, by crossing over to Laprairie, Caughnawaga and Chateauguay, disperses the rebels on that side of the St. Lawrence and restores tranquility to the Province.

A postscript added that in order to secure the County of Glengarry from aggression during the absence of those who left in pursuance of the above directions, it was necessary that Colonel Fraser himself should remain at Lancaster in command of all those who could not conveniently leave their homes, but who were well able to defend that part of the Province from invasion, and stated that "in confiding this very important duty to you, His Excellency is aware, from your well known vigilance and zeal, that it could not be entrusted to abler hands." Major McMartin was directed to march the Regiment to Coteau du Lac.

On the 29th October previous, Colonel Fraser had received instructions from Colonel Turner, K.H., commanding the Eastern District (acting under the orders of the Government of Upper Canada) to call out immediately six hundred men of his Battalion, detaching two companies of one hundred each to Lancaster, two to Coteau du Lac and two in reserve at Williamstown, the field-piece to be taken to Lancaster, and in case of alarm or landing of banditti three rounds to be fired as a signal for all to turn out, and all suspicious persons who might land to be detained. This was a temporary arrangement until a draft from all the regiments in Glengarry should take place to complete 1200 men. How this third call to arms was responded to in Glengarry is stated by Mr. McMullen in his history :

On the report of the rebellion reaching Glengarry the County rose en masse, the loyal Highlanders burning with but one desire, to get an opportunity to crush it. They came to Colonel Carmichael's headquarters in hundreds, beseeching him to give them the privilege of striking a blow for their Queen and British connection. As fast as he got them enrolled and supplied them with arms he sent them by steamers to Coteau, where he meant to start from.(1)

The Glengarry Regiments were landed at Hungry Bay on the 10th November, and marched immediately upon Beauharnois. The rebels, after a brief resistance, abandoned the position and fled. Colonel Carmichael, who was in command, stated in the following report what took place :

BEAUHARNOIS, 10 November, 10 p.m.

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander of the Forces, that in conjunction

with Colonel Phillpotts a detachment of an officer of the Engineers, twenty-two sappers and miners, one captain, three subalterns, four sergeants, two buglers and 121 rank and file 71st Regiment, with upwards of 1000 Glengarry men were landed at Hungry Bay this morning, marched and took Beauharnois, rescued all the prisoners with the exception of Messrs. Ellice, Brown, Norman, Ross, Norval, Bryson, Hondslow and Surveyor, supposed to be at Chateauguay, with the loss of one man killed and three wounded of the 71st Regiment. The men are much fatigued, and we wait here for orders.

I have, &c.,

L. CARMICHAEL, Colonel P.S.

Major Hall, Assist. Qr.-Mr.-Gen'l.

The Glengarry Regiments had been but a few days at Beauharnois when they were ordered to return to Upper Canada, the frontier of the lower part of the Province being invaded by American sympathizers. Their services at Beauharnois were recognized in the following general order :

HEADQUARTERS, Montreal, November 17, 1838.

* * * The prompt assembly and movements of the brave Glengarry Regiments under Colonels Macdonell and Fraser, and of the Stormont Militia under Col. Donald Æneas Macdonell, and their march to Beauharnois, has had the effect of dispersing the rebels in that quarter. The great activity and judgment which has been evinced by Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor in his defence of the post of Odelltown and by Colonels Carmichael, Campbell and Phillpotts at Beauharnois reflect the highest credit on these officers. * * *

JOHN EDEN, D.A.G.

Sir John Colborne, in his despatch to Lord Glenelg, November 11, 1838, mentioned Colonels Macdonell and Fraser and the promptitude with which they, in conjunction with the other officers, carried out the movement on Beauharnois, while Lord Glenelg, in acknowledging the despatch, stated that while Her Majesty sincerely deplored the events which had recently occurred in that part of her dominions, she has contemplated with the greatest satisfaction the zeal, promptitude and gallantry with which her loyal subjects in both Provinces had come forward for the suppression of the insurrection and the defence of their country. That the steadiness and valour displayed by the militia and volunteers both in Upper and Lower Canada was deserving of the highest praise, and that he (Lord Glenelg) was commanded to convey to them through Sir John Colborne Her Majesty's sense of their valuable services, which was accordingly done by Sir John Colborne on the 12th January, 1839.

His Excellency Major-General Sir George Arthur, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, bore testimony to the conduct of the Glengarry Regiments as follows :

DISTRICT GENERAL ORDERS.

TORONTO, November 19, 1838.

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor has much pleasure in congratulating Colonel Carmichael, Particular Service, and the loyal and gallant Glengarry Militia Regiments under Colonels Macdonell, Fraser, Chisholm and Macdonell, whose ready aid in moving into the Lower Province mainly contributed to the recapture of the "Henry Brougham," and has earned for them the high approbation of the Commander of the Forces.

After having, as stated, only about time to recover from the fatigue of their march to Beauharnois, orders were issued to the Glengarry Regiments to return to the Upper Province. The following letter was addressed to Colonels Macdonell and Fraser :

BEAUHARNOIS, November 14, 1838.

SIR,—Despatches having been received from Colonel Turner, commanding at Cornwall, reporting that Upper Canada has been invaded by a lawless band of brigands from the United States, who have landed near Johnstown between five and eight hundred men, with eight pieces of cannon, His Excellency the Commander of the Forces has therefore directed that your Regiment of brave Glengarry Highlanders shall be immediately relieved from duty in this Province, and proceed forthwith to Lancaster, where they will receive further orders from Colonel Turner.

In communicating to you the above orders, I am directed to convey to the Regiment under your command the warmest thanks of the Commander of the Forces for their zeal and alacrity in turning out from their homes at such short notice at this inclement season of the year, and for the patience and perseverance with which they have performed the very important duty required of them, and I am further directed to request that you will be pleased to impress both upon the officers and men the absolute necessity of their keeping together on their return to Upper Canada, and to desire most positively that no man will think of leaving his regiment under any pretence whatever until you receive authority from His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada to dismiss them. I have, &c.,
 GEORGE PHILLPOTTS, A.Q.M.G.

Early in the same month (November) unusual numbers of strangers were congregated about Syracuse, Oswego, Sackett's Harbor and Watertown, and large quantities of arms and warlike stores were concealed about these towns. Great activity was displayed among the Hunter's Lodges, which counted among their

office-holders members of the American Congress, generals in their army, Governors of States and other leading citizens, the "Brother Jonathan" newspapers alleging that sixty thousand members were sworn to relieve the continent from "the absurdities of monarchy," and towards which philanthropic scheme large sums of money had been collected. Floating rumours had been in circulation for several days that an attack might be expected in the vicinity of Prescott, and on the night of Sunday, the 11th November, information was received that a large number of armed men had embarked on the steamer "United States," and two schooners were rapidly approaching the town. Their plan of landing them miscarried and the vessels parted company. One of them crossed over to Ogdensburg and grounded on the flat at the mouth of the harbour, the others dropping down the river, anchored about midstream, opposite the Wind-mill (1). This building stood upon a bluff rocky point a mile and a half below Prescott. It was of circular form, massively constructed of stone, its walls three and a half feet in thickness and eighty feet high, its interior divided into several storeys, the small windows of which admirably served the purpose of loop holes. It still stands, an object of much interest to passengers on the steamers down the St. Lawrence, and is now used as a lighthouse. Around it stood a number of stone houses, and nearly all the fences in the neighbourhood were of the same material. The banditti, concealed under the hatchets of the schooner, effected a lodgment here on Monday evening, and were soon joined by numbers who crossed from Ogdensburg in small boats. The night was spent in fortifying the Wind-mill and adjacent premises, under the direction of Von Schoultz, a Polish refugee, who was, I believe, an engineer by profession. This misguided man, totally ignorant of the situation of affairs in Canada, and believing that its people were afflicted with a tyranny and misgovernment similar to that which prevailed in his native Poland, was the only one of these rascallions for whose ultimate fate one can feel the slightest sympathy.

The attack naturally evoked great excitement in the vicinity. Early on Monday morning a little steamer, the "Experiment," under command of Lieutenant Fowell, R.N., was despatched from Brockville to the assistance of their neighbours. She was armed with two small cannon, and continued during the day to make it

(1) Croil's History of Dundas, from which I take the account of this event.

warm for the sympathizers as they crossed and re-crossed from Ogdensburg. The steamer "United States" was seized by a gang of ruffians at her dock in Ogdensburg, and utilized during the day in carrying arms, ammunition and men to the Wind-mill. As she was returning from her last trip a shot from the "Experiment" knocked the head off her pilot. Late at night the British steamers "Queen" and "Cobourg" arrived, having on board a party of marines and regulars, amounting in all to seventy men. The same night a detachment of the Glengarry militia, under Captain George Macdonell (Greenfield), also arrived, and lay on the ground during a heavy rain, every moment expecting an attack from the brigands.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gowan with a detachment of the 9th Provincial Battalion, numbering 140 men, also arrived at Prescott. On Tuesday morning early, a battalion of Dundas militia, consisting of 300 men, commanded by Colonel John Crysler, made their appearance, and were soon after joined by a part of the 1st Grenville militia, when the following disposition was made: The left wing, consisting of 30 marines under Lieut. Parker, part of Captain Macdonell's Glengarry volunteers, and a portion of the Grenville and Dundas militia under Colonel R. D. Fraser, took up a portion along the edge of the woods, where the enemy had posted their piquets, and drove them in in gallant style. The right wing, consisting of forty men of the Eighty-Thirty Regiment of the line, part of Colonel Gowan's battalion, sixty men under Edmonston, and part of the Dundas Militia, the whole under the command of Colonel Young, proceeded along the bank of the river, and, having advanced to within a few rods of the Wind-mill, encountered a sharp fire from the enemy. The action on the left commenced by a galling fire from the brigands posted behind the stone walls in rear of the mill. The British being upon the rising ground, were placed at great disadvantage from their exposed situation, nevertheless they advanced steadily, in double quick time, loading and firing with great precision. The enemy were driven from their shelter in great confusion, and, retreating some distance, took up a position behind another stone wall. From this they were dislodged in like manner, and finally were driven into their citadel the Wind-mill and the adjacent stone buildings, from which they maintained a vigorous fire upon their assailants, who suffered severely from the sharpshooters that were posted in the upper storeys of the mill. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, a barn which had afforded shelter to the British was burned by the patriots.

During the remainder of the day, both parties kept up an irregular discharge of musketry without coming to close quarters. The dead and wounded lay on the field till next morning, when the British sent a flag of truce to bury their dead, and both parties were engaged for a short time in performing this duty.

Wednesday and Thursday were passed at the Wind-mill, in comparative inaction, the British waiting for reinforcement and for guns of sufficient calibre to reduce the place; the brigands remained locked up in their prison, and kept up a desultory fire from the windows of the buildings. On Friday, at half-past twelve, the Canadians were relieved from their anxiety; three steamers hove in sight, which proved to be the "William IV.," the "Brockville," and the "Cobourg," having on board the Eighty-Third Regiment of the line, and a detachment of the Royal Artillery, with three twenty-four-pounders. The Eighty Third, with the heavy cannon, took up a position in rear of the Wind-mill, and immediately opened up a heavy fire upon the rebels, which dislodged them from the stone houses, and drove them all in the mill. At the same time the three steamers assailed them from the river side.

Within half an hour after the cannonade commenced, a white flag was seen to wave from the top of the tower, but it waved in vain, and was at last nailed to the outside of it. The exasperated British continued to pour in deadly volleys upon them, and every building in the vicinity of the mill was set fire to, in order to concentrate their attack upon the enemy's main fortress. "The flames raging in the gloom of the night, showed at a great distance the position of the combatants, and, shedding a lurid light upon all around, had an effect at once awful and sublime." At length the firing ceased, when the severely chastised rebels marched out, and surrendered at discretion. Von Schoultz, and many others, were found concealed among the bushes, and dragged from their hiding places. The number of prisoners who surrendered was one hundred and ten, besides those who had been taken during the siege. In the mill were found several hundred kegs of powder, a large quantity of cartridges, pistols and swords, and two hundred stand of arms, most of which were of costly and very superior workmanship; many of the swords and dirks were silver mounted, and their handles ornamented with elaborate carving. A flag, composed of the finest texture, valued at \$100, was also taken, on which was exhibited a full

spread eagle, beautifully executed, surmounted by one star, and beneath were the words wrought in silk, "Liberated by the Onondaga Hunters." The total loss of the rebels in killed and wounded was never accurately ascertained, as numbers of them were taken across the river; not less than forty, however, are known to have been killed, among these was a young officer, a son of General Brown, and two other officers, in the pocket of one of them was found a list of proscribed persons in Prescott, who were to have suffered death. The official return of the British loss was two officers, eleven rank and file killed, of whom four were of the Loyal Glengarry Highlanders, four officers and sixty-three men wounded. The officers killed were, W. S. Johnston, Lieutenant Eighty-Third Regiment; and ——— Dulmage, Lieutenant Second Grenville Militia. The officers wounded were, Ogle R. Gowan, Lieutenant-Colonel, Ninth Provincial Battalion, slightly; Lieutenant Parker, Royal Marines, slightly; John Parlow, Lieutenant Second Dundas Militia, severely, and Angus Macdonell, Easign Loyal Glengarry Highlanders, slightly. Of the Dundas Militia four were killed and seven wounded.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, in District General Orders of 19th November, 1838, thus recognized the services of those who delivered the Province of these desperadoes. After mentioning Colonel Plomer Young, Particular Service, he stated: "The Major-General also offers his warmest thanks to Colonel the Honourable Henry Dundas, R.A., for the able disposition of his force and his indefatigable exertions; to Colonel McBean, R.A.; to Colonel R. Duncan Fraser; to Lieutenant-Colonel Gowan and Captain George Greenfield Macdonell, and to all the officers of the militia and volunteers whose names he is alone prevented from particularizing by the casual absence of the despatch from Colonel Young, which enumerated them, and His Excellency is confident that the gallant example now shown will be followed with equal loyalty and spirit by all the militia of the Province, should their services be called for."

CHAPTER 26.

EVENTS IN UPPER CANADA.—SUPINENESS OF SIR FRANCIS HEAD.
 —A TYPICAL ADDRESS FROM THE LOYAL MEN OF LOCHIEL.
 —HIS CHARACTERISTIC REPLY.—TORONTO IN SERIOUS PERIL.
 —RESCUED BY COLONEL MACNAB AND THE "MEN OF GORE."
 MURDER OF COLONEL MOODIE.—NAVY ISLAND.—CUTTING
 OUT OF THE "CAROLINE."—SHE IS SENT OVER THE FALLS OF
 NIAGARA.—"GENERAL" VAN RENSELLAER DISLODGED.—
 TROUBLE ON THE MICHIGAN FRONTIER.—A SPECIMEN "PRO-
 CLAMATION."—ATTACKS AT AMHERSTBURG.—RENDEZVOUS AT
 WATERTOWN.—FURTHER ATTACKS IN THE WEST.—DEPARTURE
 OF SIR FRANCIS HEAD.—ADVENT OF SIR G. ARTHUR.—
 EXECUTION OF LOUNT AND MATHEWS.

With the exception of the occurrence last mentioned the Province of Upper Canada east of Toronto was not troubled either with insurrection or the attacks of brigand "sympathizers." In the west, however, it was different, yet as the Glengarry Regiments were employed in Lower Canada and in protecting the frontier of the eastern portion of the Province, I need not enter at any considerable length into a narrative of these events, as they will be found elsewhere in Lindsey's *Life of William Lyon Mackenzie*, in Dent's two volumes of the *Upper Canadian Rebellion*, and other works. Early in December, 1837, the insurgents had narrowly missed capturing Toronto, owing to the supineness of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Francis Bond Head, who could not or would not believe that affairs had reached such a crisis, and this in spite of remonstrances while he had received from almost every district in the Province. Warnings had accompanied the loyal addresses of the well disposed, and yet Mackenzie and his fellows had been allowed to make deliberate preparation for revolt, to write what they chose, say what they chose and virtually do what they chose. The number and ardour of the address may have misled him. Mr. Christie quotes one, probably more or less typical of them all, from "the loyal and true-hearted Highlanders of Lochiel," forwarded shortly after the attack on

Toronto, in which abhorrence was expressed of the late foul and unnatural rebellion, and the signers declared "by the memory of the past, by the hope of the future, by all that is worthy of ourselves and of being transmitted down to posterity," that they were all ready to a man and at a moment's warning to march against the rebels of their adopted country. The following is the characteristic reply of His Excellency to this spirit-stirring address :

Brave and loyal Highlanders of Lochiel,

The few remaining rebels who dared to insult the authorities of this noble portion of the British Empire, have absconded from its dominions, and the only enemies we have now to encounter are a band of pirates, who, under American leaders, have invaded our territory, for the avowed object of plundering our lands and subverting our revered institutions.

I feel confident, if this unprincipled aggression should continue, that, in one body, you will advance to exterminate the perfidious invaders of our liberties, or, like Highlanders, perish

With your backs to the field,
And your feet to the foe,
And leaving in battle
No blot on your name,
Look proudly to Heaven
From the deathbed of fame !

Government House, January 13, 1838.

All this was very well in its way, and tallied with the declaration of the somewhat dramatic Lieutenant-Governor, when, alluding to Papineau's threat that the people of the United States would assist a republican movement in Canada, he stated, "In the name of every regiment of militia in Upper Canada, I publicly promulgate, let them come if they dare." When Sir John Colborne withdrew the troops from Toronto to Kingston he offered Sir Francis Head to leave two companies as a guard for the capital of the Province, which Sir Francis rashly declined. It was then determined by the insurgent leaders that early in December they should assemble their force, which they anticipated would number about 4000, at Montgomery's tavern, about three miles north of Toronto, and proceed thence to the city, capture 4000 stand of arms which Sir Francis had left with the civic authorities for protection, seize the Lieutenant-Governor and his chief advisers, place the garrison in the hands of the Liberals, declare the Province free and proclaim a republic. They did accordingly assemble at Montgomery's, and

but for some disarrangement of their plans as regards the date of attack, which was changed from the 7th to the 4th of December, their programme would probably have been carried out in its entirety. They were within half a mile of the city when some shots were fired by some of the people of the town from behind a fence. Both parties then took to their heels, the rebels leaving one man killed and two wounded. They rallied at Gallow's Hill, near Montgomery's tavern, but fortunately the "men of Gore," with gallant Colonel—afterwards Sir—Allan Macnab at their head, had arrived from Hamilton, numbering some 600, and a brisk fire from their artillery, a few volleys of musketry and a bayonet charge was sufficient. The rebels retreated in greatest confusion, with a loss of thirty-six killed and fourteen wounded, of the Loyalists only three being slightly wounded. Colonel Moodie, who had previously commanded the 104th Regiment of Foot, was cowardly murdered by the rebels when passing Montgomery's tavern on his way to warn the authorities of the rising on the previous day, and a leading "patriot" named Anderson was shot by Alderman John Powell on attempting to make that gentleman a prisoner near Montgomery's, while a flash in the pan of the pistol in the hand of the same gentleman alone saved Mackenzie the same fate. Colonel Moodie was killed by a man named Ryan, who probably is now dead or he would in all likelihood have been pensioned by the same Legislature which recently handsomely compensated Montgomery for the burning of his hotel, which, with the house of Gibson, a Member of the Assembly, and who had a command under Mackenzie in the Rebel force, was ordered to be destroyed by the Lieutenant-Governor. Montgomery, I may mention, was subsequently tried for his share in these events, found guilty and sentenced to death, when his sentence being commuted to transportation, he escaped from Fort Henry, Kingston, when en route to Bermuda. It would seem incredible that he should have been compensated to anyone not familiar with the views which find expression in the Assembly when the question of rewarding the surviving volunteers who suppressed the rebellion comes up.

After the affair at Gallow's Hill, Mackenzie escaped to the States by way of Niagara, a reward of £1000 being offered for his apprehension and £500 for that of Gibson, Lount, Fletcher and Loyd, the other leaders of this movement. Colonel Macnab and his loyal "men of Gore" were then ordered to the London District,

where a Dr. Dunscomb had actively encouraged insurrection, which Colonel Macnab's force quelled in the same satisfactory manner that they had dispersed the rebels at Gallow's Hill and saved Toronto when in such imminent peril. Mackenzie then raised the standard of rebellion on Navy Island, opposite Chippewa, in the Niagara River, offered a reward of £500 for the apprehension of the Lieutenant-Governor, issued a ridiculous proclamation, appointed a scamp named Van Rennselaer "commander in chief" of his ragged force of refugees and Yankee sympathizers, which soon amounted to over a thousand men, and generally attempted to foment trouble, though his efforts in that direction, further than naturally producing considerable alarm in the neighbourhood, were as futile as might be expected. A steamer, the famous "Caroline," which was employed in their service, was captured by Colonel Macnab, Mr. Elmsley, formerly of the Royal Navy, Lieutenant Drew, R.N., and a force of volunteers on the night of the 29th December, set fire and sent over the Falls of Niagara. Just where she was taken appears somewhat doubtful, though the weight of testimony seems to show that she was cut from her moorings at the wharf at Schlosser, on the American side, by the occupants of the attacking boats, some seven in number, each containing about nine men, five of her crew being killed and several wounded. It was intended to take her across the river, but owing to the strength of the current that was found impossible, and she had to be abandoned to her fate. Her passage through the rapids and over the falls, a mass of flame, was a grand spectacle. The Americans professed great indignation over the affair, though their conduct in permitting the Canadian refugees to outrage the rights of asylum and practically allowing their own citizens in sympathy with them to engage in open war with a neighbouring country with which their Government was at peace, would seem to have estopped them from complaint, and the fact that the "Caroline" was ostentatiously and undeniably in the service of the rebel force on Navy Island, carrying articles contraband of war, to have rendered her destruction entirely justifiable.

Colonel MacNab was knighted for his services in this affair, and the House of Assembly tendered its thanks to the force engaged and voted swords of honour to Colonel Macnab and Lieutenant Drew. It very nearly led to war between Great Britain and the

United States. In 1842 the British Government expressed regret at the circumstance. The steamer "Sir Robert Peel" was burnt in retaliation on the 29th May, 1838, while taking in wood at Wells' Island, in the St. Lawrence, eight miles from French Creek, by a band of armed ruffians from the American shore, the passengers wantonly insulted and a large amount of money and other property plundered.

Sir John Colborne now determined to adopt in Upper Canada the same effectual methods by which he had suppressed the rebellion in the Lower Province. Although the season was mid-winter, it was remarkably open, the St. Lawrence being navigable until the middle of January and the upper lakes and rivers free from ice. He accordingly forwarded from Lower Canada a sufficient number of troops to garrison the more exposed frontier posts, thus allowing the militia to attend to their respective districts.

Early in January, 1838, the American Government made a show of doing its duty in suppressing the outrageous proceedings on their frontier by arresting Mackenzie. He entered into a recognizance in \$5,000 for his appearance and immediately returned to Navy Island, where he remained until Van Rensselaer and his ragamuffins were driven out under a fire of heavy guns and mortars directed against it by the artillery from Chippewa on the 14th of that month. Mr. Lindsey claims that the Buffalo "Committee of Thirteen" and not the "Provisional Government" directed the evacuation. I strongly suspect that the artillery men had more to do with it than either those high sounding organizations. The British loss during the siege was one killed and one wounded. I cannot find that of the "patriots."

In the meantime another band of ruffians, under the leadership of a person named Sutherland, an American citizen, who styled himself "General of the Second Division of the Patriot Army," had assembled on the Michigan frontier, to the number of 1000 or 1200, and a proclamation was of course in order. As this precious document, while containing the usual and appropriate lies, had the one merit of brevity, I give it as a specimen of what a long-suffering people had to endure :

PROCLAMATION TO THE PATRIOTIC CITIZENS OF UPPER CANADA.

You are called upon by the voice of your bleeding country to join the patriot forces and free your land from tyranny. Hordes of

worthless parasites of the British Crown are quartered upon you to devour your substance, to outrage your rights, to let loose upon your defenceless wives and daughters a brutal soldiery.

Rally, then, around the Standard of Liberty, and victory and a glorious future of independence will be yours.

THOMAS J. SUTHERLAND, Brigadier-General.

Headquarters, 2nd Division, Bois Blanc, U.C., Jan. 9, 1838.

Associated with "Brigadier-General" Sutherland were the following distinguished warriors with their titles: Henry S. Handy, of Illinois, who before the advent of Sutherland was "Commander in Chief," Mr. Lindsey assuring us that his command extended over "the whole of Western Canada"; James M. Wilson, Major-General; E. J. Roberts, "Brigadier-General of the First Brigade;" Dr. Theller, "Brigadier-General commanding the First Brigade of French and Irish troops to be raised in Canada;" "Colonels" Dodge, Davis, Brophy, Bradley and others. Their object was a descent upon Amherstburg. They rendezvoused at the Island of Bois Blanc, in the Detroit River, on the Canadian side, secured cannon and several hundreds of muskets from the State arsenals of Michigan, which were placed on board the schooner "Anne" at Detroit without concealment, which vessel also brought another large detachment of Canadian refugees and their "sympathizers." So great was the feeling manifested in their favour on the American side that the United States marshal was utterly unable to prevent their proceedings, though plainly a violation of all international obligations. The Canadian militia were hastily summoned for the defence of the neighbourhood, and were found quite equal to the occasion. Several feints were made before they came to close quarters, which resulted in the capture of the "Anne," which had grounded, the militia plunging into the water, boarding and carrying her in the most gallant manner, taking twenty-one prisoners, three pieces of cannon, over 300 stand of arms, some money and a large quantity of ammunition, stores and provisions, the crew having three killed and twelve wounded. Sutherland, who had kept safely aloof, then retired to Sugar Island, on the American side, and procured a visit from Governor Mason of Michigan, who dispersed his men and arrested him, only of course to be set at liberty after the force of a trial had taken place.

Van Rensselaer, who had figured at Navy Island, from which he had been driven in January, turned up in the following month at

Watertown, in the State of New York, with his colleague Mackenzie, where with one "Bill" Johnson, a most notorious ruffian, they organized some 2000 men for an expedition against the St. Lawrence frontier. They had a rendezvous at French Creek, but the strength of the garrison at Kingston frightened them, and after considerable bluster they dispersed. Johnson, however, continued in the neighbourhood for some time and committed many depredations, the burning of the "Sir Robert Peel," one of the finest steamboats plying the St. Lawrence, being his chief exploit. After this event he issued the inevitable proclamation. I do not know his ultimate fate, though I don't think he was ever captured, and thus escaped what he deserved, nor so far as I know has he had Montgomery's good fortune in being compensated for the "losses" he undoubtedly sustained.

A Scotchman named Donald McLeod (1), who was of course a General, was associated with a Colonel Vreeland in another expedition from the neighbourhood of Detroit. They crossed to Fighting Island, in the Detroit River, on the 24th February, where they met a small force of regulars and retired quickly with five wounded. They were then taken in hand by the United States authorities and dispersed.

Sutherland again gave trouble, a force under his directions numbering about 500, establishing itself in the end of February at Point au Pelee, about forty miles from Amherstburg. They were dispersed by Colonel Maitland, of the 32nd Regiment, with a loss to the patriots of thirteen killed and forty wounded, in addition to a number taken prisoners, while of the British two were killed and twenty-eight wounded. Sutherland himself was taken prisoner. He was not convicted, however, owing to some technicality in his trial, and his release was ordered by the Government.

On the 6th March, 1838, Sir Francis Head prorogued the Legislature in a lengthy review of recent circumstances, and retired, being succeeded by Sir George Arthur, who was sworn in on the 22nd March. Sir Francis had some narrow escapes in his journey to New York via Kingston and Watertown, where he was recognized and pursued to Utica. He was enabled to escape simply by distancing his pursuers. (2)

(1) Mr. Lindsey states that McLeod was born at Fort Augustus, Invernessshire, Scotland, and became a sergeant in the British Army, after his discharge from which he taught school at Brockville, U.C. He seems to have been a thoroughly bad lot.

(2) McMullen's History, p. 461.

In the spring of 1838 executions for high treason commenced, the first to suffer being Samuel Lount and Peter Mathews, who were hanged on the 12th April at Toronto, their execution being witnessed from the windows of the gaol by Montgomery and others, twelve in number, whose sentences were commuted through the mistaken leniency of Lord Glenelg and the home authorities, and who eventually succeeded in escaping from Fort Henry. A special commission sat in Hamilton for the trial of political offenders, while courts-martial assembled at Toronto and Kingston. Petitions were in order on behalf of those who had been taken red-handed and by those who still were in league with the Hunters' lodges and other kindred organizations, yet who bitterly complained when Sir George Arthur, properly stated in reply to the "Constitutional Reformers of Toronto," that he was fully determined to allow impartial justice to take its course, that commodity being precisely what they did not want administered to their friends.

CHAPTER 27.

FURTHER ATTACKS ON BORDER TOWNS IN UPPER CANADA.— COLONEL PRINCE'S LACONIC DESPATCH.—GLENGARRY REGIMENTS AND OTHERS GARRISON CORNWALL IN WINTER OF 1838 9.— OFFICERS ON PARTICULAR SERVICE.— COLONELS TURNER, K.H., AND CARMICHAEL.—THEIR THANKS TO THE MILITIA OF DISTRICT.— LETTERS OF BOTH TO COLONEL FRASER, COMMANDING CHARLOTTENBURG REGIMENT.— ARRIVAL OF SIR JAMES MACDONELL, IN COMMAND OF BRIGADE OF GUARDS.—HIS GREAT MILITARY CAREER.—DEFENCE OF HOUGOUMONT.—INVESTED WITH ORDER OF THE BATH BY SIR JOHN COLBORN.—ADDRESSES OF MAGISTRATES OF GLENGARRY AND STORMONT ON HIS ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE.

War with the United States being a possible contingency, owing to the ill-feeling in both countries arising over the "Caroline" affair and the Maine boundary matter on the one hand and the frequent and outrageous attacks upon our frontier towns on the other, Sir John Colborne therefore sent engineer officers to all posts where troops or fortifications were required. At Amherstburg, Fort Malden was repaired, barracks were commenced at London, Fort Mississaga at Niagara was strengthened, additional barracks were constructed at Toronto, the works at Kingston were strengthened, Fort Wellington at Prescott rendered impregnable to sudden attack (1), and more troops were forwarded to various points.

Notwithstanding these precautions, a body of sympathizers crossed near Niagara and committed considerable depredations. Thirty of them were taken prisoners as well as their leader Morrow, who subsequently suffered the death penalty. Simultaneously with this, bodies of "patriots" penetrated into the London District, rescued a number of state prisoners and plundered some of the inhabitants, when they were taken in hand by the Indians, and badly routed, several of them being taken prisoners. At Goderich also a body of them made their appearance in a sloop, and after commit-

(1) McMullen's History, p. 462.

ting some robberies in the shops, escaped.(1) Nothing further transpired until November, when took place the attack on Prescott, and the battle at the Windmill already described, and another invasion on Amherstburg on the 4th December, when some four hundred and fifty miscreants crossed, marched upon Windsor, captured a few militia guarding it, burned the steamer "Thames" and some buildings, murdered a negro and proceeded to Sandwich, brutally murdering Surgeon Hume, of the Regular Army, who happened to meet them, and mutilating his body in a shocking manner. (2)

They were then met by Colonel Prince, who attacked and routed them, killing twenty-one of their number. Some prisoners were brought in shortly after the engagement and properly dealt with by Colonel Prince. His despatch states the facts: "Of the brigands and pirates twenty-one were killed, besides four who were brought in just at the close, whom I ordered to be shot on the spot, which was done accordingly." Twenty-six prisoners were shortly afterwards taken and reserved for the authorities to deal with. The remainder escaped, except nineteen who concealed themselves in the woods, and, unable to re-cross to their friends, were shortly afterwards found frozen to death. This practically closed the rebellion, though affairs remained in an unsettled condition for some time. One hundred and eighty of those taken at the Windmill and elsewhere were tried before general courts-martial at Fort Henry (Kingston) and London early in 1839 and sentenced to be hanged, the great majority having their sentences commuted. Ten were hanged in Kingston, including Von Schultz. Of the remainder, most of them were sent to Van Dieman's Land, where many died, the remainder being eventually pardoned and many of them returned to Canada.

The militia, though some of them had been out on three different occasions, were liable to be again called on at a moment's notice. Thus, among Colonel Fraser's papers I find the following letter from the distinguished officer on Particular Service commanding in this District:

CORNWALL, 20 min. to 10 a.m., 22nd November, 1838.

My Dear Colonel,—I wish to see you in here as soon as possible. I fancy some very important information has come to light

(1) McMullen's History, p. 464.

(2) McMullen's History, p. 467.

regarding the American Government. Two Regiments of Glengarrys are immediately to be stationed in this town. In haste.

Yours very faithfully,

C. B. TURNER, Colonel Com'g.

To Colonel Fraser, 1st Glengarry Militia.

Judge Pringle states⁽¹⁾ that during the fall of 1838 and the early part of 1839 the First Provisional Battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Vankoughnet, the third (Lochiel) Regiment of Glengarry Militia under Colonel Alexander Chisholm, the Fourth Provisional Battalion (practically the Lancaster Regiment of Glengarry Militia) under Colonel Donald Greenfield Macdonell, Major Jarvis' Troop of Lancers, Captain Crawford's Independent Company of Infantry and Captain Pringle's Company of Artillery were all stationed in Cornwall, which must have had the appearance of a garrison town. At the same time the Fifth Provisional Battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Fraser (no doubt largely composed of the officers and men of the Charlottenburg Regiment of Militia) was raised in Glengarry, and was on duty along the front of that County, the headquarters I believe being at Lancaster; and the First Regiment of Stormont Militia under Colonel Donald Æneas Macdonell was on duty in the Township of Cornwall. In the spring of 1839 the First Stormont, the Third Glengarry and Captain Pringle's Company of Artillery were relieved from duty, while later in the season the Provisional Battalions were also relieved. The Government then authorized the formation of the Fifth Battalion of Incorporated Militia under Lieutenant-Colonel Vankoughnet, which evidently caused some friction, as I observe in a letter from Colonel Turner to Colonel Fraser the statement (of which I had previously known), "I can neither make head or tail of Colonel Macdonell in consequence of Colonel Vankoughnet being employed in preference to himself, and it would not surprise me, from the manner in which he and his friends are now acting, if the company of his son⁽²⁾ will not continue their services any longer than the end of this month." Similar trouble on a larger scale had occurred before, when Glengarry men in Scotland were not given the post of honour, which they deemed their services had earned. Their pride and prejudices have always to be reckoned with, and I can easily understand how little

(1) Lunenburg, p. 266.

(2) Referring to the Independent Company of Glengarry Light Infantry, which garrisoned Coteau du Lac under Captain Alexander Greenfield Macdonell until June, 1843.

they would like the imputation (probably never intended) that they were not capable of defending their own frontier!

At the expiration of two years, Colonel Vankoughnet's Regiment was re-enlisted for two years, and remained in Cornwall until April or May, 1842, when the Fourth Incorporated Battalion, which had been stationed at Prescott, was sent to Cornwall, the Fifth going to Prescott. In May, 1843, all the five incorporated battalions were disbanded. They were clothed and armed as the regular troops and were fully equal to them in drill and efficiency, and had they been kept on foot would have formed an excellent nucleus for the training of our militia and volunteers. (1)

Early in the rebellion the authorities in England had sent out officers of experience to take command of the militia and superintend the formation and drill of the regiments and companies ordered out for service. Judge Pringle gives the names and stations of these officers as follows: Colonel Chichester, Chatham; Colonel Marshall, Brockville; Colonel Cox, K.H., Whitby; Colonel Carmichael (2), Lancaster and Coteau du Lac; Colonel Young and afterwards Colonel Williams, Prescott; Captain Baron de Rottenburg, Belleville; Captain Swan, Niagara; Colonel Turner, K.H., Cornwall.

The Town Major of Cornwall during the stirring times from 1838 to 1843 was Major Donald McDonald, who had been a lieutenant in the Fortieth Regiment and had previously seen much service in the Forty-Second (Black Watch) Highlanders. He had the Peninsular medal with ten clasps for Corunna, Fuentes D'Onor, Badajoz, Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelles, Nive, Orthes and Toulouse.

Colonel Carmichael, who had seen so much of the Charlottenburg Regiment during its several periods of service, was presented with an address by its officers on his removal to Prescott. His reply was as follows:

PRESCOTT, May 24, 1839.

Gentlemen,—I beg you will accept my very best thanks for the address you were pleased to present to me at Lancaster on my way to this District.

During the time I have been employed amongst you your zeal and good conduct could not have been surpassed, and there cannot

(1) Pringle, p. 267.

(2) Colonel Carmichael was a Highlander and an enthusiastic lover of the language, dress and traditions of the Gael. He built the cairn at the mouth of the River au Raisin near Lancaster in honour of Sir John Colborne, afterwards Field Marshal Lord Seaton. He had seen service in the East Indies.

be a stronger proof of your attention to your duty than my not having had a single complaint from any of the men who served in the Fifth Provisional Battalion last winter.

That you may long enjoy the confidence and support of your loyal and brave countrymen to uphold the reputation of Glengarry is my sincere wish. Agus creidiruh gu brath, gu mi ur caraid dileas.

L. CARMICHAEL, Col. P.S.

Col. the Hon'ble Alexander Fraser and officers of the 1st Regiment of Glengarry Militia.

Colonel Turner on the 29th April, 1839, in District Orders, stated that he could not permit so many of the brave, loyal militia of the District to return to their homes without returning them his best thanks for their zeal, indefatigable attention to their drill, discipline in the field and their exemplary conduct in quarters, instancing the fact that while on service under him not a complaint had reached his ear from those who had so nobly come forward in defence of their Most Gracious Queen's dominions in Canada, and of the glorious and happy Constitution under which by God's blessing they were permitted to live, and of which a set of unprincipled rebels and remorseless vagabonds and brigands from the United States, who had no fear of God nor regard for civilized and humane laws, had endeavoured in vain to deprive them of. He mentioned that he had received from the several commanding officers of corps in the District so cordial a support as to render his duty pleasing and easy ; begged them to accept his special thanks and to convey the same to those officers under them, and trusted that God's blessing would attend all, officers and men, and that happiness and prosperity would crown their labours in their different occupations in life, assuring them that he knew well that should their services ever again be required they would all with willing hands and stout hearts again take the field to put down unnatural rebellion, and drive from their happy soil pirates and brigands who should dare to put foot on it.

Such language, though not now the mode in the Legislature of the Province, had the ring in it which appealed to the hearts of the men of half a century ago.

I have been so fortunate as to procure the letters which Colonels Turner and Carmichael addressed to Colonel Fraser on their return to England, and cannot do better than to give them both in full :

CORNWALL, 12th April, 1843.

My Dear Colonel Fraser,—I cannot quit the command of this loyal District, which I have had the honour to hold for upwards of five years, without expressing to you how much I have valued your useful services to your Queen and country and to myself for your advice and information in time of great excitement in the country, and when I was an entire stranger in the District, and which advice and information I always found correct and for the benefit of Her Majesty's service and the good of the District and of the brave militia which I had the good fortune to command during the disturbances in this country—and for which I now tender you my sincere thanks. And I beg in the name of Mrs. Turner and myself to acknowledge our obligations to you and Mrs. Fraser for the kindness and hospitality so often shewn to us and our family, and sincerely do we hope that by the blessing of God yourself and family may continue to prosper and be happy to the end of your days, which we pray may be long and past in peace and tranquility. God bless you all, and believe me, my dear Colonel, Your very sincere friend,
C. B. TURNER, Colonel Particular Service.

Colonel Carmichael wrote as follows :

WILLIAMSTOWN, 21st May, 1843.

My Dear Colonel Fraser,—Previous to my departure from this country, I beg you to accept my warmest acknowledgments for the able assistance you have given me in the performance of my duty during the last five years, which from your well-earned influence among your countrymen, was on every occasion most valuable, and cannot in the future fail to be of the utmost service to Government.

The soldier-like manner in which you have conducted the First Glengarry Regiment was most creditable, and no country can boast of a better corps, in appearance, good feeling and loyalty.

That you may long retain your high position among such true men is my sincere wish. Always believe me, yours very sincerely,
L. CARMICHAEL, Lt.-Col. P. S.

Colonel the Honourable Alexander Fraser, Glengarry.

The advent to Canada of Sir James Macdonell during the rebellion in the position of second in command of the British forces under Sir John Colborne, was naturally regarded with great gratification by the people of Glengarry. He arrived at Quebec on the 9th May, 1838, in H. M. S. "Edinburgh" (74), which was accompanied by the "Inconstant" frigate and the troop ships "Apollo" and "Athol," bringing the Second Battalion Grenadier Guards and the Second Battalion Coldstream Guards, the whole under the command of Sir James. He was on the 28th June following, together with Vice-Admiral the Honourable Sir Charles Paget, G.C.H.,

Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable C. Grey, the Honourable Colonel Charles Couper and the Honourable Charles Buller, appointed a member of Lord Durham's Special Council.

He was one of the most renowned soldiers of the day. In the Service he was known as the "Hero of Hougomont," and throughout the Empire he had for years borne the glorious appellation of "The bravest Man in Britain." He was the third son of Duncan Macdonell, 14th Chief of Glengarry, by Marjory, daughter of Sir Ludovic Grant, Bart., of Dalvey, and a brother of Alastair Ranaldson Macdonell, 15th Chief, described by Mackenzie(1) as "being truly called the last specimen of the Highland Chiefs of history, and who is stated to have been, in the most favourable features of his character, Scott's original for Fergus MacIvor."(2)

He had obtained his commission in the Coldstream Guards in 1796, and with his regiment had taken part in the expedition to Naples and Calabria in 1805 and 1806. He had rendered most important service in Egypt, and subsequently in Portugal, Spain, France and Flanders. He had received one of the few gold medals given for Maida. It was at Waterloo, however, that he covered himself with greatest glory. He was then a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Guards and was in the Second Brigade of the First Division,

(1) History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles, p. 356.

(2) There is no doubt as to this. It was well-known at the time of the publication of Waverley, and is mentioned by many others besides Mr. Mackenzie. Sir Walter and Glengarry were warm personal friends. Sir Walter writes in his journal (Lockhart's Life, p. 606, Abbotsford edition): "February 14, 1826. I had a call from Glengarry yesterday, as kind and friendly as usual. This gentleman is a kind of Quixote in our age, having retained in their full extent, the whole feeling of clanship and chieftainship, elsewhere so long abandoned. He seems to have lived a century too late, and to exist, in a complete state of law and order, like a Glengarry of old, whose will was law to his sept. Warm-hearted, generous, friendly, he is beloved by those who know him, and his efforts are unceasing to show kindness to those of his clan who are disposed fully to admit his pretensions. To dispute them is to incur his resentment, which has sometimes broken out in acts of violence, which have brought him into collision with the law. To me he is a treasure, as being full of information as to the history of his own clan and the manners and customs of the Highlands in general. Strong, active and muscular, he follows the chase of the deer for days and nights together, sleeping in his plaid when darkness overtakes him. The number of his singular exploits would fill a volume; for, as his pretensions are high, and not always willing to yield to, he is every now and then giving rise to some rumor. He is, on many of these occasions, as much sinned against as sinning; for men, knowing his temper, sometimes provoked him, anxious that Glengarry, from his character for violence, will always be put in the wrong by the public. I have seen him behave in a very manly manner when thus tempted."

Mr. John Galt bears testimony of a similar nature in one of his tales, "The Steamboat," in reference to an affair which occurred at the coronation of George IV. He alludes to Glengarry as "a chieftain of the most truly Highland spirit," "one of the last of the chieftains, none caring more for the hardy mountain race, or encouraging, by his example, the love of the hill and the heather," "a proud and bold son of the mountain," "the noble that a king cannot make, for it is beyond the monarch's power to bestow the honour of a chieftainship, even on the Duke of Wellington, as all true Highlanders know." He was killed on the 14th January, 1823, when jumping from the wrecked steamer "Stirling Castle," at Corran, near Fort William. His clansmen carried his body on their shoulders over the hills to his seat, Invergarry Castle. I have heard old people tell of the wailing throughout Glengarry in Scotland and the sadness in Glengarry in Canada when their beloved chieftain was no more. I knew how they loved him and gloried in him, and how many, many years after his death, and in this far off land, old eyes would kindle at the mention of his name.

under General Sir J. Byng, afterwards Field Marshal the Earl of Strafford. On the eve of the 18th of June it was decided that Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell with the Second Battalion of the Coldstream Guards should have charge of the buildings of Hougoumont, while Lord Saltoun should hold the orchard and wood. The Rev. Mr. Gleig, in "The Story of the Battle of Waterloo," describes the defence: "Hougoumont was felt to be a point of vital importance, and Napoleon calculated that could he make himself master of that he might suspend all future operations in this quarter and turn his undivided strength against the allied left. Wherefore clouds of men rushed down to sustain the advance, which, having won the wood, appeared to be on the eve of winning the Chateau likewise. * * * Dense masses of assailants rushed against the gates, and shouted as they flew open, and then began such a struggle as does not often occur in modern warfare. Not a foot would the defenders yield. Not for a moment or two would the assailing party withdraw. At last the bayonets of the Guards carried all before them, and five individuals, Lieutenant-Colonel (now Lieutenant-General) Macdonell, Captain (now Lieutenant-General) Wyndham, Ensign (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Gooch, Ensign Harvey and Sergeant Graham, by sheer dint of personal strength and extraordinary bravery and perseverance, succeeded in closing the gate and shutting the enemy out."

Sir Walter Scott concludes "The Field of Waterloo" by the following reference to the defence of Hougoumont:

Yes, Agincourt may be forgot,
 And Cressy be an unknown spot,
 And Blenheim's name be new;
 But still in story and in song
 For many an age remembered long
 Shall live the Towers of Hougoumont
 And Field of Waterloo.

Mr. Southey, in his "Pilgrimage to Waterloo," thus refers to it:

But wouldst thou tread this celebrated ground,
 And trace with understanding eyes a scene
 Above all fields of war renowned,
 From Western Hougoumont thy way begin;
 There was our strength on that side, and there first
 In all its force, the storm of battle burst.

Sir James was created a K.C.H. in 1837 and a K.C.B. in

September, 1838, his investiture with the latter Order taking place in this country, the Governor-General, Sir John Colborne, acting by deputation from Her Majesty. The Quebec papers of the day contained interesting accounts of the ceremony, which was attended with great military pageant, guards of honour, waving banners, a splendid cortege and military music. On either side of the Throne were placed the colours of the Grenadier Guards and Seventy-First Highlanders, of which Regiment Sir James afterwards became Colonel. Sir John Colborne, in his highly complimentary address to Sir James, alluded to his services in Egypt, the Peninsula and at Waterloo, and expressed his gratification at being the Queen's representative to thus honour so distinguished a soldier and so faithful a subject. "Nothing," said the "Herald," "could be more imposing than to witness a war-worn hero like Sir John Colborne, covered with wounds and wearing numerous stars and orders as the reward of his heroism, being the means of bestowing a mark of Her Majesty's favour on one who had with him opposed and triumphed over the gigantic power of Napoleon." "With much grace and propriety," says Dr. Henry, in his "Recollections of a Staff Officer," "one eminent soldier was thus the Royal Representative in conferring this honour on another gallant companion in arms; and that well-tryed sword which had led the Fifty-Second to victory on many a hard-fought field and finally waved before them when they routed a column of Napoleon's Guards on the evening of Waterloo, was now most fitly employed in bestowing knighthood on the stalwart and indomitable defender of Hougoumont." Sir James, in addition to the gold medal for Maida and the Waterloo medal, had the Peninsular medal with clasps for Salamanca, Vittoria, Neville and the Nive. He had also received the Order of Maria Theresa, and was a Knight (fourth class) of St. Vladimir. He was principal Equerry to the Queen Dowager.

He was, of course, a frequent visitor to his friends and relatives in Glengarry during his command in Canada. Upon the occasion of his first visit he was presented with an address by the leading gentry of the County and the adjoining County of Stormont. The original of his answer is in my possession and is as follows :

To the Inhabitants of the Counties of Glengarry and Stormont,

Gentlemen,—I return you my most sincere thanks for the congratulation with which you have met my arrival amongst you, and

for the marks of affectionate kindness I have received in the Counties of Glengarry and Stormont. From the moment in which I received the intimation that Her Majesty had been graciously pleased to approve of my nomination to the Staff of British North America, I promised to myself the pleasure of visiting you, and I looked for a welcome, not on my own account, but for the sake of my departed brother, who, when in life, loved you more than life itself. Thro' me you have honoured his memory, and have thus convinced me that Highland hearts beat as warmly in the Canadas as on the heath-covered mountains of our Mother Country.

Gentlemen, you have justly said that it is not necessary to assure me of your warm and unshaken attachment to your Sovereign and the Constitution of the Parent State: You have proved it by your past conduct, and should circumstances again call for your active services, I know you will uphold the character you have already established.

J. MACDONELL, Major-Gen'l.

To the address presented to him on his retirement from his command he made the following reply :

To the Magistrates and other Inhabitants of the Counties of Glengarry and Stormont,

Gentlemen,—I have received with no ordinary feelings of pride and gratification the address which has been presented to me. I am conscious that your expressions of regret at my approaching retirement from the command I have had the honour of holding in this country, spring from no other source than that of a pure and kindly character; and the assurance you convey to me of your loyalty and attachment to our Beloved Queen enhances your tribute of regard.

Your allusion to my military services I estimate as a soldier, and with the pride of one shall ever gratefully remember.

Should it please my most gracious Sovereign to again require my services, it will be my duty to obey, and believe me when I assure you that that portion of Her Majesty's Canadian 'possessions, which contains a population of such devoted zeal and fidelity as that of the Counties of Glengarry and Stormont, shall never be forgotten by me.

I am truly sensible of your esteem and regard, and shall derive no small degree of consolation when far removed from all intercourse with you by reflecting that the ties which bind us to each other are those of loyalty and honour.

Your allusion to the memory of my departed brother is grateful to my heart. If, as you justly designate him, "the noble, high-minded and patriotic Glengarry," how truly have those who this day honour me with their kindly expressions of attachment, cherished

his memory by, in the hour of danger, maintaining the honour of their country.

And now, gentlemen, permit me to bid you farewell, and to once more assure you that individually and collectively I shall pray for your happiness and prosperity.

J. MACDONELL, Lt.-Gen'l.

Sir James Macdonell had evidently, previous to his leaving Canada, been offered the command of the Forces or the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Upper Province, as I find the following in one of his letters (December, 1840) relating to family matters, "I have declined Upper Canada, as the brevet which I confidently look for must remove me from the Staff of North America; and if even a brevet should not appear, I mean to return to England with the Brigade of Guards should they be called home in spring or summer, which is more than probable."

Sir James died unmarried in 1857.

CHAPTER 28.

BISHOP MACDONELL—HIS SERVICES TO THE CROWN, HIS COUNTRYMEN AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.—HIS DEATH AT DUMFRIES, SCOTLAND.—FUNERAL IN EDINBURGH.—OBITUARY NOTICES.—TABLET AT ST. RAPHAELS.—GILFINNAN'S POEM.—REMOVAL OF HIS REMAINS TO CANADA.

Bishop Macdonell, who had for so long played so notable and conspicuous a part in the affairs not only of the County of Glengarry but of those of his adopted country at large, died at Dumfries while on a visit to Scotland on the 14th January, 1840.

As to the place of his birth, as not unfrequently is the case,(1) some doubts exists, the Chevalier Macdonell of Toronto, recently Vice-Consul of France, stating that he was born on the borders of Loch Ness, Inverness-shire, on the 17th July, 1762, while his grandnephew, the late John Allan Macdonell, J.P., of St. Raphaels, than whom few were in a better position to speak authoritatively on the subject, in a memorandum given to me some years ago, gave the place of his birth as Inchlaggan, Glengarry, Scotland. The latter accords with the tradition in Glengarry. He was educated at the Scottish College in Paris, and subsequently at the Scots College at Valladolid in Spain, where he was ordained on February 16th, 1787, and on leaving there returned to Scotland, and was stationed as a missionary priest in the braes of Lochaber, where he remained for several years.

His part in the raising of the Glengarry Fencible Regiment, his connection with that corps as Chaplain during the Irish Rebellion and while it continued on service until disbanded during the Peace of Amiens in 1802, and in subsequently bringing the greater part of the men with their families to Glengarry in Canada has been set out at length in these pages.(2)

(1) A striking instance in point is that of the Duke of Wellington; although the son of an Irish Peer, the Earl of Mornington, it is uncertain whether he was born in Dublin or at Dungan Castle, Meath, nor is the date of his birth certain. It was in the spring of 1769, in the latter end of April or beginning of May.

(2) P. 134 et seq.

Arriving in Canada in 1804, for thirty six years he had been a notable figure in the Province. He possessed an influence over his Highland fellow-countrymen, which was exerted without stint for their temporal welfare and advancement, without distinction of creed, and for the furtherance of those sound and loyal principles which were so dear to his heart.

With the maintenance of British connection in Canada the name of Bishop Macdonell must ever be indelibly associated. While he was a pillar of the Catholic Church—almost its pioneer in Upper Canada—he was a bulwark of the Throne. By precept and example, again and again he proved his stern, unflinching loyalty, and drew from the highest authorities repeated expressions of gratitude and thanks. While the nature of his sacred profession debarred him from taking part in the actual fighting, he nevertheless took good care to see that every man of his name was on hand to fight, and when there was fighting to be done he was always near by to see that it was well done. It was a favourite saying of his that “every man of his name should be either a priest or a soldier,” and had he not been a priest he would have made a great soldier. He had all the attributes of one. His stature was immense and his frame herculean. He stood six feet four and was built in proportion; he had undaunted courage, calm, cool judgment, resolute will and a temper almost imperturbable, although it was best not to arouse it; he had the endurance of his race, fatigue and privation were as nothing to him; he was a man of great natural ability, great parts and of a personality which impressed all brought in contact with him; he inspired confidence, admiration and respect, but above all he was a born leader of men. The gain to the Church was great, the loss to the Army correspondingly great when he was ordained at Valladolid.

Of his services to the Catholic Church it is unnecessary here to speak at any length. In after life, he himself, in a letter to Sir Francis Bond Head, referring to an address in the House of Assembly in 1836, in which his character had been asspersed and his motives assailed by William Lyon Mackenzie and his radical conferees, who hated the Bishop both on account of his religion and his loyalty, gave a statement of the hardships he was called upon to endure in the discharge of his sacred functions when he first came to the country, and of his efforts on behalf of religion subsequently:

“ * * * Upon entering upon my pastoral duties, I had the

whole of the Province in charge, and without any assistance for the space of ten years. During that period I had to travel over the country from Lake Superior to the Province line of Lower Canada, carrying the sacred vestments sometimes on horseback, sometimes on my back, and sometimes in Indian birch canoes, living with savages—without any other shelter or comfort but what their fires and their fares and the branches of the trees afforded; crossing the great lakes and rivers, and even descending the rapids of the St. Lawrence in their dangerous and wretched craft. Nor were the hardships and privations which I endured among the new settlers and emigrants less than those I had to encounter among the savages themselves, in their miserable shanties, exposed on all sides to the weather and destitute of every comfort. In this way I have been spending my time and my health year after year since I have been in Upper Canada, and not clinging to a seat in the Legislative Council and devoting my time to political strife, as my accusers are pleased to assert. The erection of five-and-thirty churches and chapels, great and small, although many of them are in an unfinished state, built by my exertion, and the zealous services of two-and-twenty clergymen, the major part of whom have been educated at my own expense, afford a substantial proof that I have not neglected my spiritual functions, nor the care of the souls under my charge; and if that be not sufficient, I can produce satisfactory documents to prove that I have expended, since I have been in this Province, no less than thirteen thousand pounds of my own private means, besides what I received from other quarters, in building churches, chapels, presbyteries and school houses, in rearing young men for the Church and in promoting general education.”

Upper Canada was erected into a Bishopric by Leo XII. on 14th February, 1826, and Bishop Macdonell appointed first Bishop under the title of Bishop of Resina, i.p.i., the Home authorities not at the time wishing that Bishops of the Catholic Church should be recognized as Titulars. His appointment was made on the recommendation of the British Government.(1) His Diocese comprised the present Province of Ontario, and has since been subdivided into the Dioceses of Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton, London, Ottawa, Pembroke, Peterborough and Alexandria.

(1) His episcopal ring was given to him by His Majesty George IV. It is a very beautiful amethyst, surrounded by diamonds, and is now worthily worn by his namesake, the Bishop of the Diocese of Alexandria.

Advancing age and increased responsibility forced the Bishop to apply for a coadjutor, and Mr. Weld, of Lulworth Castle, a descendant and representative of one of the oldest Catholic families of England, who, on the death of his wife—like another eminent Cardinal of a very recent day—had taken orders, was selected and consecrated Bishop of Amycla and Coadjutor of Upper Canada, on the 6th of August, 1826. By the advice of his friends and medical advisers, Bishop Weld remained some years in England and afterwards went to Rome, where, in March, 1830, he was nominated Cardinal by Pius VIII.

The Presbytery (abandoned in 1889 on the erection of the one built on the west side of the Church) and the present Church at St. Raphael's were built in anticipation of the arrival of Bishop Weld, but although always fully intending to go to Canada, he closed his days at Rome on the 10th of April, 1837. His funeral discourse was pronounced by Doctor (afterward Cardinal) Wiseman, Rector of the English College at Rome. Bishop Macdonell obtained many favours from Rome through the influence of his intended coadjutor.

Let me give two striking instances of the Bishop's services to his countrymen in Glengarry. "I had not," he wrote in an address to them, "been long in this Province when I found that few or none of even those of you who were longest settled in the country had legal tenures of your properties. Aware that if trouble or confusion took place in the Province your properties would become uncertain and precarious, and under this impression I proceeded to the seat of Government, where, after some months' hard and unremitting labour through the public offices, I procured for the inhabitants of the Counties of Glengarry and Stormont patent deeds for one hundred and twenty-six thousand acres of land."

That may be taken as a fair indication of the magnitude upon which he was able to conduct affairs, of the extent of his business capacity, and of the influence he always possessed with the Colonial as well as with the Home Government. Another example of his exertions on behalf of the temporal welfare of the people of Glengarry is given in the same address, which was published by him in a time of great public excitement, when he felt called upon to warn the people of the county against those whom he designated as "wicked, hypocritical radicals, who are endeavouring to drive the

Province into rebellion, and cut off every connection between Canada and Great Britain, your Mother Country, and subject you to the domination of Yankee rulers and Lynch law” :

“ I cannot pass over in silence one opportunity I gave you of acquiring property which would have put a large proportion of you at ease for many years—I mean the transport of war-like stores from Lower Canada to the forts and military posts of this Province, which the Governor-in-Chief, Sir George Prevost, and the Quartermaster-General, Sir Sidney Beckwith, offered you at my request.

“ After you refused that offer it was given to two gentlemen who cleared from thirty to forty thousand pounds by the bargain.”

In 1818 he procured from the Duke of York, President of the Highland Society, a commission to establish a branch of that institution in Canada. It was addressed to William MacGillivray and Angus Shaw, esquires, the Rev. Alexander Macdonell, John Macdonell (of Gart) and Henry Mackenzie, esquires. The institutional meeting took place at St. Raphaels on the 10th November, 1818, over which Mr. Simon MacGillivray, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Highland Society of London, presided, and at which were present, among others, three of the best and finest Highland gentlemen this Province ever saw : the late Honourable William MacGillivray, Bishop Macdonell and the late Honourable Neil MacLean—all of whom, though long since dead, still live in the hearts of their countrymen.

The following officers were elected and, with the exception of the President, immediately installed into their respective offices : President, Sir Peregrine Maitland, K.C.B., etc.; Vice-Presidents, the Rev. Alexander Macdonell, Colonel the Honourable Neil MacLean, Lieutenant-Colonel Donald Greenfield Macdonell ; Treasurer, Alexander Fraser, esquire ; Secretary, Archibald MacLean, esquire ; Directors, Roderick MacLeod, Alexander MacLean, Alexander Wilkinson, esquires. The Society continued in active operations for several years, and contributed largely to the objects for which it was formed, drawing upon itself the blessing of many distressed Highlanders, whom it relieved at a distance from their native home ; several liberal contributions in money were given to assist gentlemen engaged in the publication of works in the Gaelic language, and a succession of premiums to Gaelic scholars, performers on the bagpipes and the best dressed Highlanders ; nor were the remains of

Celtic literature neglected, while some collection of Gaelic poetry was made.

Owing, however, to the death of some and the removal of others of the master spirits who guided it, from this part of the country, to the frequency of the meetings, and the high rate at which the yearly subscription was fixed, and deprived of the fostering care and immediate superintendence of Bishop Macdonell by his removal to Kingston, the Society, after some years of usefulness, struggled for some time under all these difficulties (added to which were those imposed upon it by political excitement and the private dissensions of some of its members) and then sank into the sleep from which the exertions of Mr. Macdonald of Gart subsequently awakened it for a time. It has long since ceased to exist, having passed away with the men of the last generation.

The respect entertained for Bishop Macdonell by all classes of the community is well illustrated by the following address, which was presented to him by the Orangemen of Toronto a few years before his death, and which was recently re-published in the Chicago "Canadian-American" of March 25th, 1892, which well remarked in commenting upon it, that a continuation of the spirit shown in the address is essential to the prosperity, if not the existence, of the Dominion :

Address of the Orange Body of the City of Toronto to the Right Reverend Alexander Macdonell, D.D., Bishop of Regiopolis, etc., etc.

May it please Your Lordship,—We, the Orangemen of the City of Toronto, beg to approach your Lordship with sentiments of unfeigned respect for your pious and loyal labour in the service of your Church and country, and during a long protracted life for the Christian liberality which you have ever evinced towards those of a different creed.

We beg to reciprocate the charitable feelings breathing throughout your Lordship's address to the electors of Stormont and Gleggarry; sentiments which bear deeply the impress of a mind noble and virtuous, raised alike above the mean and grovelling distinctions of party feeling or political rancour; such feelings when disseminated, we trust, in the approaching contest for the maintenance of the British Constitution, may array Catholics and Orangemen side by side, and hand in hand, to achieve a victory more bloodless than, yet as glorious as, that which they won on the empurpled field of Waterloo.

We take leave of your Lordship, with a fervent wish that Providence may gild the setting sun of your declining days with

every blessing, and that Catholics and Orangemen all over the world may live united in the bonds of Christian fellowship, such as will tend to prevent the crafty agitator and the renegade apostate from ever being able to sever that bond of union which we trust may ever exist between us, not only in our attachment to each other, but also in our attachment to our Mother Country.

The Bishop, in his reply, stated that no cause of difference or misunderstanding existed between Catholics and Orangemen in Canada, that as fellow subjects they should stand shoulder to shoulder in defence of the British Constitution and British liberty against the crafty and designing enemies who expected to achieve by cunning what they dare not attempt by force, and that he trusted they would unitedly prove an impenetrable bulwark of their adopted country and the strong chain of connection with the Parent State.

In 1839 Bishop Macdonell paid his last visit to Great Britain, from which he was fated never to return alive. Previous to his departure a dinner was given to him at Carmino's Hotel, Kingston, by the Celtic Society of Upper Canada, which was attended by all the leading townspeople as well as by the principal officers of the garrison, with whom the Bishop always lived on terms of great intimacy and friendship,⁽¹⁾ and by many influential gentlemen from a distance. Some days afterwards the Bishop commenced his journey, and was accompanied to the steamboat "Dolphin" by a large number of his personal friends, the old bell of St. Joseph's Church pealing forth a parting salute.

The Bishop and his party landed at Liverpool on the 1st of August, 1839. Soon after his arrival the Bishop went to London, where he communicated personally with the Colonial Office regarding his plan of emigration from the Highlands as a measure of relief to his suffering fellow-countrymen in Scotland, and as a security and benefit to his fellow-countrymen in Canada; as well as with regard to the establishing of the College for the domestic education of the priesthood and other matters. He then visited the scenes of his nativity and childhood, and was present at the great northern meeting at Inverness in October. In the same month he passed over to Ireland, intending to be present at a great dinner given to the Catholic Prelates in the City of Cork, but a dense fog in the Clyde and adverse winds prevented him from arriving in time for the festival. Nevertheless, he visited the Bishops, and being unable to

(1) It is stated that during a time in 1837-8, when the regular troops were absent from Kingston, Bishop Macdonell had charge of the garrison.

obtain, in the West of Ireland, any other conveyance than a jaunting car, he was exposed during the entire day to one of the drizzling rains so common to that region. The exposure brought on inflammation of the lungs, accompanied by a severe cough ; and although he placed himself under the care of the President of Carlow College, and afterwards with the Jesuits of Clongowes Wood, and received much benefit and every attention, he still continued so indisposed on arriving in Dublin as to be obliged to keep to his bed for nearly a fortnight. From Dublin he went to Armagh, and remained a short time with the Catholic Primate. He then accepted the invitation of his friend the Earl of Gosford, to Gosford Castle, near Market Hill, Armagh, where, under the roof of that kind-hearted nobleman, who had been Governor-General of Canada from 1835 to 1838 (immediately preceding the Earl of Durham), he appeared to have completely recovered. He then returned to Scotland, a great meeting of noblemen and proprietors having in the meantime been held (on the 10th of January, 1840) at the Hopetown Room, Edinburgh, at which the Bishop's measure of emigration was discussed, the Bishop's travelling companion, Dr. Rolph, attending it as his representative.

From Port Patrick to Dumfries he was obliged to drive all the way on the outside of the coach, a cold Scotch rain falling upon him all the time of his slow journey of nearly eighty miles. On the morning after his arrival (Sunday), he was with a great effort able to leave his hotel to say Mass at the Mission House, but it was a last effort. On the following Tuesday he was dead, passing away so quietly, in perfect peace, that Vicar-General Dawson, who was present with him at the time, states that they who were in attendance could not tell whether the vital spark had flown until Dr. Blacklock arrived, and, after due examination, pronounced. There was no funeral in Dumfries ; the remains were conveyed at once to Edinburgh. Bishop Gillies, with the full consent of the Senior Bishop, had everything arranged in the grandest style. Since the days of Scotland's Royalty so magnificent a funeral had not been seen in Scotland. All that was mortal of him was deposited in the crypt of St. Margaret's Convent Chapel, where his body rested until brought to Canada in 1861. Upon the arrival of the melancholy intelligence at Kingston, his See, a solemn Requiem High Mass was sung by Bishop Gaulin, on Passion Sunday, 1840, which was attended by all the clergy of the Diocese and a vast concourse of people.

In 1861 Bishop Horan went to Edinburgh to bring Bishop Macdonell's body to Canada. The funeral cortege, which drove through Glengarry, resting at the well-loved St. Raphaels, arrived in Kingston on the 25th September, and the earthly remains of the much-loved and venerated Prelate were consigned to their last resting-place, with suitable honours, in the Cathedral Church of his Diocese in the land of his adoption.

In the Parish Church of St. Raphaels a tablet was erected in his memory by the Highland Society of Canada, in pursuance of the following resolution, which was moved by the Rev. Mr. Urquhart, the Presbyterian Minister of Cornwall, seconded by the Rev. George Alexander Hay, Parish Priest of St. Andrews :

“Resolved, that the Highland Society of Canada do erect on the 18th of June next, in the Parish Church of St. Raphael's a tablet to the memory of the late Bishop Alexander Macdonell ; that the said Society meet on that day, which is the day of the festival anniversary meeting, at eleven o'clock at Macdonell's in Williamstown, and proceed thence at twelve o'clock in procession to the Parish Church, where the Reverend John Macdonald be requested to read prayers, to erect the tablet ; and that George S. Jarvis, Esquire, Guy C. Wood, Esquire, and Alexander MacMartin, Esquire, be a committee to procure such tablet.”

The day was advisedly chosen, as one which the Bishop gloried in—the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo.

The tablet bears the following inscription :

“On the 18th of June, 1843,
 “THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF CANADA
 “Erected this Tablet to the memory of
 “THE HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND
 “ALEXANDER MACDONELL,
 “BISHOP OF KINGSTON,
 “Born 1760. Died 1840;
 “Though dead, he still lives in the hearts of his countrymen.”

The Kingston “British Whig,” thus refers to Bishop Macdonell in its obituary article :

“Of the individuals who have passed away from us during the last twenty-five years, and who have taken an interest in the advancement and prosperity of Canada West, no one probably has won for himself in so great a degree the esteem of all classes of his fellow citizens as has Bishop Macdonell.

"Arriving in Canada at an early period of the present century, at a time when toil, privations and difficulties inseparable from life in a new country awaited the zealous Missionary as well as the hardy immigrant, he devoted himself in a noble spirit of self-sacrifice, and with untiring energy, to the duties of his sacred calling and the amelioration of the condition of those entrusted to his spiritual care. In him they found a friend and counsellor; to them he endeared himself through his unbounded benevolence and greatness of soul. Moving among all classes and creeds, with a mind unbiassed by religious prejudices, taking an interest in all that tended to develop the resources, or aided the general prosperity of the country, he acquired a popularity still memorable, and obtained over the minds of his fellow-citizens an influence only equalled by their esteem and respect for him. The ripe scholar, the polished gentleman, the learned divine, his many estimable qualities recommended him to the notice of the Court of Rome; and he was elevated to the dignity of a Bishop of the Catholic Church. The position made no change in the man; he remained still the zealous Missionary, the indefatigable Pastor. His loyalty to the British Crown was never surpassed; when the interests of the Empire were either assailed or jeopardized on this continent, he stood forth their bold advocate; by word and deed he proved how sincere was his attachment to British Institutions; and infused into the hearts of his fellow-countrymen and others an equal enthusiasm for their preservation and maintenance. Indeed, his noble conduct on several occasions tended so much to the preservation of loyalty that it drew from the highest authority repeated expressions of thanks and gratitude. As a member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada (to which he was called by Sir John Colborne on October 12th, 1831), his active mind, strengthened by experience acquired by constant associations with all classes, enabled him to suggest many things most beneficial to the best interests of the country, and the peace and harmony of its inhabitants."

Mr. Morgan thus concludes his notice of the Bishop in his useful work, "Celebrated Canadians:—"

"In every relation of life, as subject, Prelate, relative and friend, he was a model of everything valuable. To his Sovereign he brought the warm and hearty homage of a sincere, enthusiastic, unconditional allegiance, and the most invincible, uncompromising loyalty; as Prelate, he was kind, attentive and devoted to the interests, welfare and happiness of his Clergy; as a relative, his attachment was unbounded, and his death created an aching void to hundreds of sorrowing relatives whom he counselled by his advice, assisted with his means and protected by his influence; as a friend, he was sincere, enthusiastic and unchangeable in his attachments. Such, indeed, was the liberality of his views and the inexpressible benignity

of his disposition, that all creeds and classes united in admiration of his character, respect for him, and congregated together to bid him farewell as he left the shores of the St. Lawrence on that voyage, which proved but the prelude to that long and last one, from which there is no return."

The following beautiful verses, composed by Robert Gilfillan, a Scottish poet of some celebrity, appeared in the Edinburgh "Weekly Chronicle" at the time of the Bishop's funeral services there :

DIRGE OF THE LATE BISHOP MACDONELL.

BY ROBERT GILFILLAN.

The temple was wrapt in deepest gloom,
As they laid out the dead for the silent tomb,
 And the tapers were lighted dim—
A soft and solemn shadowy light—
And the book was opened for Holy Rite,
 When they woke this funeral hymn :
"He's gone ! he's gone ! the spirit is fled,
And now we mourn the honoured dead !"

The coffin before the Altar stood,
With purple pall and silken shroud,
 And tassels sable hung,
And as they bore it slow along,
They chanted forth the burial song,
 By hundred voices sung—
"He's gone ! he's gone ! the spirit is fled,
And now we mourn the honoured dead !"

And many a Priest with mitred brow,
Before the Holy Cross did bow,
 And joined the mournful strain.
"The living once !—the lifeless now !
All, all, to Death's fell grasp must bow,
 Nor come they back again !
The tide gives back its ebbing wave,
But there's no return from the darksome grave !

Frail mortals of the passing day,
Is this your home ? Is this your stay ?
 Attend the lesson given ;
"Tis dust to dust and clay to clay,
The friend we mourn from earth away,
 They welcome now in Heaven !"
'Twas thus they bore him slow along,
With Holy chant and mournful song.

They spoke of his deeds well done on earth,
 His Holy life, and active worth,
 Relieving others' woe ;
 The poor in him they found a friend,
 Whose like again they will not find,
 In this cold world below !
 Did good where good was to be done,
 But his race is o'er, and the prize is won !
 They chanted the Requiem in cadence deep—
 The good may grieve, but the dead shall sleep,
 When life's dull round is o'er—
 Rest, Pilgrim, from a distant land,
 A peaceful home is now at hand,
 Where troubles come no more !
 Like a shock of corn he ripely fell,
 His days were long, but he used them well !

CHORUS.

Raise the crosier o'er the dead,
 Chants are sung, and Mass is said ;
 Bear him to the dwelling low
 Where all sons of Adam go.
 Sisters, brothers, onward come,
 Earth is but a living tomb,
 Full of sorrow, full of sadness,
 Little joy, and little gladness ;
 Listen what the Scripture saith,
 " In midst of life we walk in death ! "

CHAPTER 29.

THE OLD NORTHWEST COMPANY.—PARTNERS WHO SUBSEQUENTLY RESIDED IN GLENGARRY.—MR. DUNCAN CAMERON, THE HONOURABLE JOHN MACGILLIVRAY, MR. JOHN MACDONALD, MR. ANGUS MACDONELL, MR. ALEXANDER MACDONELL, LAIRD MCGILLIS.

I had hoped that the space at my command would have enabled me to notice at some length the Northwest Company, its objects and history, its partners and their services in connection with the fur trade and partial opening up of the illimitable country, which, after the absorption of the Company by or amalgamation with the Hudson Bay Company, was practically monopolized by that Company until the enlightened statesmanship of Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues in the Government of Canada threw it open to the people of Canada and the emigrants from the Old Country, and which is now traversed by that great highway to the Pacific Coast, the Canadian Pacific Railway, the most important, probably, of all the great works originated and consummated by that ablest of the Colonial statesmen of Britain. I am warned, however, that I have already exceeded the limits laid down with the printer of these sketches, and I can but refer to it incidentally. This is to be regretted, as many of those most intimately connected with that great pioneer enterprise were also closely associated by birth, family connection and residence with the County of Glengarry. The Company appears to have been formed almost immediately after the close of the Revolutionary War; additional partners were from time to time admitted, and agreements as to shares, governance, etc., entered into between them in 1802 and 1804, which are set out at length by the Honourable L. R. Masson, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec, in his interesting work, "Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord Ouest." The officers or partners of the Company were almost entirely Scotchmen, as their names would indicate. Those in 1804 were John Gregory, William MacGillivray, Duncan MacGillivray, William Hallowell and Roderick Mackenzie, composing the house of McTavish, Frobisher & Co., of Montreal; Angus

Shaw, Daniel Mackenzie, William McKay, John McDonald, Donald McTavish, John McDonell, Archibald Norman McLeod, Alexander McDougall, Charles Charboillez, John Sayer, Peter Grant, Alexander Fraser, Æneas Cameron, John Finlay, Duncan Cameron, James Hughes, Alexander McKay, Hugh McGillis, Alexander Henry, John McGillivray, James McKenzie, Simon Fraser, John Duncan Campbell, David Thompson, John Thompson (composing the company or concern known as the Old Company); Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Thomas Forsyth, John Richardson and John Forsyth (composing the great Montreal house of Forsyth, Richardson & Co.); Alexander Ellice, John Inglis and James Forsyth, of London, Eng. (forming the firm of Phyn, Inglis & Co.); John Ogilvie, John Muir, Pierre Rocheblave, Alexander Mackenzie, John McDonald, James Leith, John Haldane and John Wills, wintering partners and the trustees of the estate of the firm of Leith, Jamieson & Co. and Thomas Tain. The voyageurs and other employees of the Company, of whom there were hundreds, were principally French-Canadians, and during the War of 1812-14 were formed into the Corps so distinguished during that war known as the Corps des Voyageurs Canadien, a list of the officers of which is given at page 185. It was largely those men who so gallantly defended Fort Michilimackinac and captured the post of Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi, about 450 miles distant, and took the enemy's war vessels "Scorpion" and "Tigress" in the closing days of that War.(1) The name of this Corps and its distinguished services will be found constantly referred to by all the historians who treat of the subject of the War. Great trouble eventually arose between this Company and Lord Selkirk's, which led to violence, illegal arrests, confiscations and robbery, and culminated in the total destruction of Fort Gibraltar, the headquarters of the Northwest Company, at the forks of the Red River, and in the tragedy of the 19th June, 1816, by which Governor Semple, of Lord Selkirk's Company, lost his life, Fort Douglas was destroyed and Lord Selkirk's Company were dispersed. One of the principal partners, Mr. Duncan Cameron, afterwards member for Glengarry(2), was arrested in consequence of these occurrences, detained for more than a year at York Factory, and taken prisoner to England, for which high-handed arrest and

(1) I had intended giving an account of these occurrences, but through an unfortunate oversight, for which I am more to blame than the printer, it was, although written out, omitted from its proper place.

(2) Vide pages 154-5.

illegal detention he obtained damages to the extent of £3,000 sterling. (1) Mr. Cameron remained but a short time in England, where he was immediately set at liberty without even being brought to trial, and on his return to Canada he retired from the Northwest Company and settled at Williamstown, in this County, where he led a quiet life in the genial company of several other old Nor'-Westers who had made Glengarry their home. One of his sons, Sir Roderick Cameron, is now residing in New York, and engaged in the Australian trade. He retains a warm affection for Glengarry, as those who have been so fortunate as to partake of his princely hospitality are aware.

Another of the partners was the Honourable John MacGillivray, who also resided in the neighbourhood of Williamstown, and became a member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada. He was the father of the late Neil MacGillivray, who succeeded to the estate of Dunmaglass in Scotland and the chieftainship of his clan, and of Mr. George H. MacGillivray, so well known to us in Glengarry, who occupies the homestead of this highly respected family.

John Macdonald of Gart, after retiring from the Company in which he had long been partner, settled on the property of the late Major Gray of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, known as the Gray's Creek estate on the River St. Lawrence. His father was a captain in the 84th Regiment, and after his death his grand-uncle, General Small, who had commanded one of the Battalions of the Highland Emigrant Regiment during the Revolutionary War (2), and an elder brother, bound Mr. Macdonald to Mr. Simon MacTavish as an apprenticed clerk in the Company, which he thus joined in 1791. A short but interesting account of his life, with his notes relating to his experience in the Northwest, is given in Mr. Masson's book, volume 2, page 3 et seq. Mr. Masson describes him as being like most of his comrades in that adventuresome undertaking, brave, rash, reckless and domineering. Mr. Macdonald's arm was slightly deformed in consequence of an accident in childhood, and the old Canadian voyageurs, in order to distinguish him from the numerous other Macdonalds and Macdonells in the Company, called him Monsieur Macdonald le bras croche. Our Scotch people, whose French was not quite perfect, rendered it Brock-rosh, and by the latter designation he is well and affectionately remembered. He

(1) Masson's *Bourgeois du Nord Ouest*, p. 235.

(2) Vide page 52 et seq.

was the father of the late Judge Rolland Macdonald, of Welland, and of Mr. De Bellefeuille Macdonald, of Montreal.

Angus Macdonell (Greenfield), a brother of Colonels John, Duncan and Donald Greenfield Macdonell, was also in the Company, and was murdered in the Northwest in one of the many conflicts there. His murderer was tried in Montreal but acquitted. His fate, however, after leaving the Court House, is unknown.

Alexander Greenfield Macdonell, another brother of the latter, was also a partner in the later years of the Company's existence. He returned to Glengarry subsequently, and represented the County in the Legislature, as also Prescott and Russell. He was Sheriff of the Ottawa District. He did good service for the Company in its controversy with that of Lord Selkirk, and appears to have been the chief literary partizan of the former. His "Narrative of the transactions in the Red River country, from the commencement of the operations of the Earl of Selkirk till the summer of the year 1816," published in London, England, in 1819, is an exceedingly able presentation of his Company's case. He died in Toronto while attending to his legislative duties before the Union of the Provinces in 1841.

Mr. Hugh McGillis, another partner, also settled at Williamstown on his retirement from the company, and acquired a great deal of property in the neighborhood. None of his family are now living there, and his property has now passed into other hands. In fact, with the solitary exception of Mr. G. H. Macgillivray, not a descendant or representative of any of the above named gentlemen is now in the County to my knowledge.

Another resident of Williamstown, a former partner in the Northwest Company, and who had served as an Astronomer Royal on the Pacific Coast, was Mr. David Thompson. Mr. Thompson resided in the house (originally built by the Rev. Mr. Bethune), now occupied by Mr. Murdoch Farquhar McLennan.

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