

QUEBEC HERITAGE NEWS

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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Music was an essential ingredient for any home

Family piano waited for mother's son to come home

The theme for this issue of the Quebec Heritage News is military heritage, so this seems as good a time as any for me to talk about my piano.

It is, of course, a heritage piano. Older than me. Older than my house by 62 years. Already eight years old at the time it was presented to my grandparents as a wedding gift by the father of the bride – who was presumably not of the persuasion within Presbyterianism that considered music somewhere between suspect and evil. Far from it: for my great-grandfather, and one hopes the young couple, music was an essential ingredient for any Victorian (or rather, by then, Edwardian) home. Whether it was a practical gift for a household headed by an itinerant minister who changed rural congregations every few years (and later a Montreal prison chaplain whose budget favoured rented apartments) is beside the point. Music is music.

Which, of course, meant piano lessons. My two older uncles must have been exposed to the instrument at some point, although the heady pace at which these boys chewed through medicine, theology, and psychology doesn't appear to have left much room for music. My father and youngest uncle, however, took to the piano like a duck takes to Schubert, and were soon making weekly visits to the home of Viola Benson. Miss Benson also lived in an apartment – namely the Pickwick Arms, on the corner of Sherbrooke and Claremont streets in Westmount. I have somewhere a program from about 1935 featuring the pupils of Miss Benson in recital, performing such timeless classics as *The Happy Farmer* and *The Bobolink Waltz*. The piano upon which my father practiced such numbers was by then four decades old. I'm sure that listening to her younger sons play was a great joy for my grandmother. (Not that she was above applying a ruler to the knuckles if she observed bad form!) This was especially so after her husband's death and the marriages of her older sons. With the outbreak of war in 1939 ('Ah-hah,' you say, sensing a military aspect to this story at last!) and the subsequent enlistment of three of her sons (the fourth was an American by then) the piano can not have seen much action.

With my father's departure overseas in the summer of 1941 it went silent. When, a year later, my grandmother received word that he had

been shot down in the African desert and was missing in action, that piano must have been a very conspicuous piece of furniture indeed.

My grandmother, who had seven siblings in the Montreal area, all of whom were quick to give advice, was apparently the only one among the extended family who firmly believed that my father was alive, contrary to evidence and in the face of a great many sympathy notes. She moved from what had been a family home

into a smaller apartment – in, of all places, the Pickwick Arms. Significantly, her new home had a small spare bedroom for her yet unmarried son – who would, she knew, return – and enough room for the piano.

My father did, of course, materialize, having become a guest (as he likes to say) of the Italian government in Sulmona – only to fall off the radar again in late 1943 when Italy capitulated and the freed POWs made a sprint for the tip of the Boot where the allies were advancing northward. Some were successful at this endeavour; my father not. Word soon reached home that he was now a guest of the German government in a camp near Stettin – the one that was not famous for the Great Escape. He was there until the Russians liberated him in May 1945, after which he convalesced in England, returning 'home' at the end of the summer to welcoming mother, spare room, and piano.

That piano stayed in the Pickwick Arms until my father moved to Montreal West with wife and young son. The latter took piano lessons and practiced on this piano, often performing for his grandmother, who was by then in her 90s; these sessions were blissful ones for her, interrupted only occasionally by her asking him whether he had any aspirations of becoming a minister. When, in their late 70s, my parents moved into an apartment (would you believe the Pickwick Arms?) they took the piano with them. When my father gave up that apartment for a seniors'

residence four years ago, the piano went back to Montreal West, where I was (and am still) living with my own family – who, yes, take piano lessons.

A well-traveled piano. Certainly part of our heritage, as are all the notes that have ever been played on it. And all the notes not played.

– Rod MacLeod



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QAHN MATTERS

QAHN launches Quebec Heritage Web, Laurentian Heritage WebMagazine

History, travel meet at www.TownshipsHeritage.com

The Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network (QAHN) has just launched its long-awaited Laurentian Heritage WebMagazine. The event took place (appropriately) in Morin Heights, in the heart of the Laurentians. An enthusiastic crowd was on hand to get a peek at the new site, and to hear presentations by Rod MacLeod, President of QAHN, and Matthew Farfan, project coordinator and editor of the new site.

As part of Quebec Heritage Web, QAHN's new Quebec-wide Internet heritage website, Laurentian Heritage WebMagazine is designed to serve as a window on the history of the Laurentians, a guide to the region's heritage, past and present, and a way to encourage people of all ages to visit the region in person.

Modeled on the highly acclaimed Townships Heritage WebMagazine (created by Townshippers' Association three years ago and now administered by QAHN), Laurentian Heritage WebMagazine is the second of QAHN's innovative regional Internet magazines spotlighting the province's history and heritage, with emphasis on the history and heritage of Quebec's English-speaking community.

Says Editor Matthew Farfan, "there's some great material in there – local history, heritage trails, archival and contemporary

photographs, information on local heritage groups, historic sites, and other attractions, not to mention a calendar of events, maps,



links, and much more." And of course, he adds, "over time the site will continue to grow, with new material being added all the time." For his part, QAHN President Rod MacLeod believes the webmagazines will "make it a pleasure to plan trips into the regions of Quebec, where information is so often hard to find or is incomplete. It will also be a treat for desktop travelers, who can easily spend hours browsing in these absorbing, insightful pages." "It's an exciting project," Farfan adds. "And hopefully, it's just the beginning – and what a wonderful way for QAHN to fulfill its province-wide mandate!" Together with Townships Heritage, Laurentian Heritage WebMagazine – and eventually, distinctive webmagazines for all the regions of Quebec from Gatineau to Gaspé – will constitute QAHN's ambitious, province-wide website,



Quebec Heritage Web.

The Quebec Heritage Web project and Laurentian Heritage WebMagazine are funded jointly by Canada Economic Development and the Department of Canadian Heritage.

Look for the new site at www.QuebecHeritageWeb.com. Townships Heritage WebMagazine, as always, may also still be found at www.TownshipsHeritage.com.



Left to right: QAHN Executive Director Valérie Bridger, President Rod MacLeod, and Editor Matthew Farfan, following the launch in Morin Heights. (Photo: Dwane Wilkin)

TB researcher seeks traces of Mount Sinai Sanatorium

I am looking for any material concerning the Mount Sinai Sanatorium for a permanent exhibition on tuberculosis. These include photographs, architectural drawings, diaries, letters, objects, and memorabilia and that you would be willing to have reproduced or to donate. This is a government-funded, McGill-based project on the history of tuberculosis in Montreal and the Laurentians. – Valerie Minnett, 514-807-5851. valerie.minnett@mail.mcgill.ca

QAHN MATTERS

Two Solitudes: Myths and Realities

French and English Perspectives of Quebec History, 1837-1867

As Quebecers, our perceptions and the lessons drawn from major historical events are frequently influenced by the linguistic community to which we belong, be it francophone or anglophone. In collaboration with the Fédération des sociétés d'histoire du Québec, the Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network invites you to take a second look at some of the key events that have marked the history of Quebec, including the 1837-38 Rebellions, the evolution of Responsible Government and the birth of Confederation. This is an opportunity to revisit these crucial events in our history in the company of francophone and anglophone historians who, through roundtable discussions and exchanges with participants, will assist us to discover the many facets and repercussions these events have had on the "Two Solitudes". This will be a day to study the differing realities of Quebec and will no doubt test some of the beliefs many of us hold without knowing, and without quite asking why. This Fall Workshop will be held on October 16 at Collège Maisonneuve in Montreal. For information, contact the Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network at (819) 564-9595 or toll-free in Quebec 1 877 964-0409.

COMMUNITY QUESTIONS

Speaking together...we'll be heard

Public Consultations: Revitalizing the English-speaking communities of Quebec

The Quebec Community Groups Network is holding a broad public consultation with English-speaking communities across the province to share and discuss its Global Development Plan. The content of the Plan was generated by eight task forces made up of community volunteers who prepared detailed proposals in their respective fields and presented them at a conference in Montreal in May 2003.

This next stage is expressly intended to learn what you - the interested public of English-speaking Quebec - think about these proposals and how they fit with your hopes and expectations for our community. Once endorsed by the English-speaking community, the Global Development

Plan will help us give voice to your needs and concerns at all levels of government. The public consultation is taking the form of a series of 22 town hall meetings across the province during September, October and November. The meetings are being organized by the QCGN office in partnership with regional and local associations and individuals. The meetings will be complemented by a GDP website, <http://www.englishspeakingquebec.ca/>, to provide access to documentation and the opportunity for individuals to register comments. The consultation and the web site will be promoted by a community media campaign, as well as other communications efforts targeted at generating word-of-mouth enthusiasm.

GDP Public Consultations coming up

Quebec City, Tuesday, October 5 at 7pm, Au Coin Soleil Room, Jeffery Hale Hospital, 2nd floor, 1250, chemin Sainte-Foy, Ste-Foy, Contact: Helen Walling, Voice of English-Speaking Quebec, 418-683-2366, execdirector@veq.qc.ca

Lennoxville, Wednesday, October 6 at 7pm, Amédée-Beaudoin Community Centre (above Fire Hall), 10 Depot St., Lennoxville, Contact: Rachel Garber, Townshippers' Association, 819-566-5717 or 1-866-566-5717, execdir@townshippers.qc.ca

Cowansville, Thursday, October 7 at 7 pm, Townshippers' Association Office, 203 rue Principale, Cowansville, Contact: Rachel Garber, Townshippers' Association (TA), 819-566-5717 or 1-866-566-5717, execdir@townshippers.qc.ca,

Rouyn-Noranda, Thursday, October 7 at 7pm, Salle #1, Hotel Gouverneur et Centre de congrès Rouyn-Noranda, 41, 6e rue Rouyn-Noranda, Contact: Sharleen Sullivan, Neighbours Regional Association, 819-878-9788, neighbours@cablevision.qc.ca

Aylmer, Wednesday, October 13 at 7pm, Bamboo Restaurant, 87 rue Principale, Aylmer, Contact: Richard Henderson, Regional Association of West Quebecers, 819-682-9602 or 1-877-733-0177, wq@magma.ca

Port Cartier, Saturday, October 16 at 1pm, Riverview School, 67 au Dubon, Port Cartier, Contact: Jody Lessard, North Shore Community Association, 418-296-6957, jodydaniel@globetrotter.net

St. Augustine, Monday, October 18 at 7pm, St. Augustine Arena, Contact: Cornella Maurice, Coasters Association, 418-379-2006 or , 1-877-447-2006, coasters@globetrotter.qc.ca

St. Paul's River, Tuesday, October 19 at 7pm, St. Paul's Municipal Hall, Contact: Cornella Maurice, Coasters Association (CA), 418-379-2006 or 1-877-447-2006, coasters@globetrotter.qc.ca

Shawville, Thursday, October 21 at 7 pm, RA Centre, Hillcrest Avenue, Shawville, Contact: Richard Henderson, Regional Association of West Quebecers, 819-682-9602 or 1-877-733-0177, wq@magma.ca

Hudson, Wednesday, October 27 at 7pm, Hudson Community Centre (Teen Centre), 394 Main, Hudson, Contact: Kevin O'Donnell, l_k_donnell@sympatico.ca

Montreal - Central, Monday, November 15 at 7 pm, Concordia University, Henry Hall Building, 1455 Maisonneuve Blvd. W., Room 767, Local contact: to be confirmed

Montreal - South Shore, Thursday, November 4 at 7 pm, Greenfield Park Baptist Church, Chapel Hall, 598 Bellevue North, Greenfield Park (Longueuil), Local contact: to be confirmed.

MEMBERS' NEWS & NOTES

Domtar forest and Long Island protected

Potton archaeological sites sheltered from development

By Gérard Leduc, Potton Heritage

Long Island on Lake Memphremagog and the big Domtar forest will be protected for future generations. These acquisitions by Nature Conservancy, Quebec Division, were made possible through a financial contribution of close to \$3 million by the Quebec Government. More green space will escape housing or other development, and several archaeological sites will also be protected and now may be studied and promoted.

Long Island harbours 27 acres of magnificent pine and oak forest and was the property of Mr Robert L. Coby. In addition to its ecological value, the island holds one of the many Indian legends that have contributed to the history of Lake Memphremagog. It was mentioned by William Bullock (1938) in *Beautiful Waters* and republished by the author in 2002. The legend says that the Balanced Rock, located on the southern tip of the island, was brought in by the spirits of the Portal of the Manitou to console the tribe after the death of their Chief, following the kidnapping of his fiancée, the beautiful maiden Winona, Spirit of the Morning.

Legends are the memory of people and, even if, with time, they were embellished or exaggerated, they often have a basis of truth. At any event, the Balanced Rock is still there even though not balanced anymore!

Besides the legend, it appears that the Balanced Rock was meant to point out an important landmark. In fact, the author discovered near that rock a man-made stone work which appears to be a geodesic marker, included in a virtual east-west alignment that runs between the top of Mount Owl's Head and an underwater cairn (stone mound) which is located near the opposite, east shore of the lake. It must be remembered that in 1875, the water level of the lake was raised about 4 metres by the construction of a dam at its outlet in Magog. Today atop Owl's Head is a geodesic marker placed by the Canadian Geological Survey.

This island, just north of the infamous Skinner Island cave, became very important for Amerindians as part of their mythology. It is therefore very possible that the grounds of Long Island may harbour archaeological artifacts left by Indians or by the ancient surveyors who used the island as a important landmark. Good reasons to protect the site.

Nature Conservancy also acquired by cost sharing the Domtar forest, a prime natural area of 10,000 acres (8,000 in Potton and 2,000 in Sutton) located in the northwest corner of Potton Township. This news was warmly received by the Ruiter Valley Land Trust, Parc-Sutton, and Appalachian Corridor which, with other nature lovers have been promoting this project for many years,

In 1998-1999, following the well remembered ice storm which also hit the summits of the Sutton Mountains, several community organizations protested the clear cut logging operations on Mount Singer by Domtar which had a permit from the municipality of Potton Township. An article titled "A legal but devastating exploitation" written by this author and co-signed by members of the Board of Directors of the Potton Heritage Association. Inc was published in *Le Devoir*. We had also a

number of other stories in the local press and it is a relief today to see this beautiful and ecologically rich territory finally protected as well as the many archaeological sites discovered by the author.

Fullerton Pond, a pristine lake a little over one kilometre long, is part of the protected area and is an impoundment created by a stone masonry dam built across the headwaters of the Ruiter Brook stream. The dam measures 175m long, with a 1m width at the top. The basin of the lake was excavated 4-5m and an earth bank laid out all along the dam to waterproof it. A civil servant from the Quebec Ministry of Natural Resources once told me that this type of dam is unheard of, although the dam of the first mill built in Mansonville and at the former Mountain House Hotel are of similar construction.

People say that the Fullerton Pond dam was built in 1911 by Sheldon Boright a math teacher and former Mayor of Mansonville. He was one of the most important land owners of his time including the area around Fullerton Pond. However, one can seriously question if he was indeed the project manager of Fullerton Pond, an engineering marvel which, in his time, exceeded the available resources, financial and technical. We may also add that a preliminary study by paleoecologists from the Université de Montréal suggests that the basin of Fullerton Pond underwent three phases in its history: the present lake (impounded in 1911), a marsh and a previous impoundment of unknown but ancient date. It may appear very extravagant to suggest that Fullerton Pond originated a long time before the arrival of the first settlers in Potton but in light of the observed features, one has to face this hypothesis.

If Boright did not create Fullerton Pond and built its dam, but only reused it in 1911, who were the builders? Possibly they were those who left the mysterious ruins and artefacts in the woods surrounding the lake including: two small dolmen like structures which consist of a flat stone resting on three smaller ones and covering a small piece of quartz. Dolmen are very well known archaeological features in western Europe. Although much smaller, it is quite surprising to find them here. In the vicinity, there are also the ruins of two stone ovens and of a stone dwelling foundation. And what are the numerous earth mounds seen in the woods? The burial sites of those who worked at the vast engineering project?

Except for logging and hauling roads, the site remained mostly undisturbed and displays structures that were abandoned in a distant past by unknown but very clever and powerful people.

Once professional historians, anthropologists and archaeologists have overcome the psychological barrier of the better known colonial era of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries they will be able to see the new dimension of our pre-history and the artefacts left by ancient civilizations. Spectacular archaeological discoveries are waiting, discoveries that will change our knowledge about past civilizations and our notions of humanity. At the same time, these discoveries will reduce our ethnocentric concepts that lead us to believe we are the only civilization which invented and created everything. There were other peoples before us!

MILITARY HISTORY

The Black Mountain crash site memorial

Did faulty charts, gauges doom bomber on anti-sub run?

By Joseph Graham

The wingspan of a B-24 Liberator is 110 feet and it measures 66 feet tip to toe. It would have fit sideways in a hockey rink and the wingtips would span the distance between the opposing face-off circles while the fuselage covered most of the redline. At 16 tons, it would stand two storeys above the ice surface.

This was the behemoth that Flight Lieutenant Frank Fisher and his crew flew into battle with the RCAF's North Atlantic Squadron in the autumn of 1943. Their quarry was German U-boats. A typical mission would see the crew in the air at dawn and would last 12 hours. Though dressed snugly in their Air Force gear and despite some heating,

the cold could penetrate right through them, hammered into their bones by the vibrations from the four 1200 horsepower Pratt & Whitney Twin Wasp 14 cylinder radial engines and the wind pressure as they flew at up to 300 miles per hour above the icy Atlantic.

As the sun broke across the ocean on the morning of September 19, 1943, First Officer Peter Dale spotted a U-boat. They

were flying at 3000 feet, 450 miles southwest of the Iceland coast and dropped down to 500 feet, but were still too high to attack. Traveling on the surface, the sub directed its deck guns against them and began firing tracer bullets. These specially designed bullets burned a black powder in flight allowing the gunner to trace his shots and thereby redirect the next series. It was an equal fight. The B-24s made up a significant number of the estimated 10,000 bombers lost from the American fleet alone during the war. They circled back around the sub and came up astern only 50 feet above the waves of a rough sea. With depth charges set to drop every 25 feet, the bomb doors stuck closed. They hustled to open them manually just prior to passing over the sub and banked for another pass.

As they came around again, the sub dove. They dropped the remaining depth charges blindly in the water at the point just ahead of where the sub had disappeared and

climbed to circle the site. Fifteen minutes later, an oil slick and a large bubble broke the surface. Navigator Bruce Murray set course into a headwind back towards Gander, and at that moment another one of the crew noticed a hole where a shell had perforated the starboard wing. Lieutenant Fisher voiced his thanks for a rough sea that greatly hindered the U-boat gunner's aim. The results could have been the opposite and no one has told the story from the U-boat's side.

Three days later, the squadron was again deployed against U-boats in the North Atlantic, this time for two consecutive days. Fisher and his crew would be engaged in six such sorties in the two weeks leading up to their fateful

flight of October 19th. On that rainy day they set out for Mont Joli, Quebec, with a total of 24 crew and other service men on board. Navigator Bruce Murray was the only member of Fisher's crew of ten not with them. Fisher had just learned of the loss of his brother, Pilot Officer Wm. J. Fisher in flying operations in India and he was headed home to see his family. Flying over land, they were in radio contact,



and as they approached the airport they were re-directed to Dorval. Mont Joli was socked in. This must have been discouraging news for these tired boys. The flight ahead of them was almost as long as the one they had just flown.

The round, rolling Laurentian Mountains are said to be the oldest in the world, and for large stretches they have been worn down to between 1200 and 1500 feet above sea level. Thousands of years of glaciers have worked them down to mounds that are better described as hills, but the glaciers stopped short on their retreat north 10,000 years ago, and over a period of 500 years, they kept advancing and retreating along a front that ran from the western Laurentians, where they touch the Ottawa River, almost all the way to Quebec City. Today, that glacial front is commemorated in the ridge called the St. Narcisse Moraine, and around it, a few of the stubborn old hills

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break through the clouds at 2800 and 2900 feet. One of these is Black Mountain and on that dark night, trying to find Dorval Airport, Flight Lieutenant Fisher, his battle weary crew and dozen passengers flew straight off the map into its peak.

Black Mountain is really very close to the road between Ste. Agathe and St. Donat, and while a pilot flying into Grand-mère picked up an SOS signal, the ground crew were faced with a challenge interpreting what the SOS could refer to. First, they would have to wait until morning to see what plane did not complete its flight-plan, and then they would have to examine

the flight-plan. Once they had figured out that a member of Squadron 10 was missing, they would have to try to estimate where it would have been when the SOS was sent out. Mont Joli is east of Quebec City and the additional flying time that the Liberator would have been forced to make almost doubled the length of their trip. Grand-mère is between Quebec City and Montreal, therefore the SOS could have come from somewhere in between the two cities. That narrowed it down a bit. Imagine the immense territory that a search would have to cover. Rumours circulated that the plane and its crew had simply flown away somewhere. It had disappeared.

During the search for another plane that went missing on June 20, 1946, two and a half years later, Flight Lieutenant Frank Fisher's Liberator was finally found. The searchers discovered a wreck that had been scattered through the trees for two and a half years. Their reports were a horror story. Only three bodies were positively identified.

The charts have been blamed. Black Mountain has three peaks and is officially measured at 2,870 feet above sea level. That is almost twice as high as the consistent, rolling hills of the Laurentians. The weather could have been a factor. October 19, 1943 was a dreary day in the region. There was a trace of snow in the light rain. Visibility would have been poor, and the crew had none of the equipment we take for granted today. They would not

necessarily have been monitoring the equipment they had. Their altimeter could have been poorly calibrated for an atmosphere that was different from the Maritime theatre of operations. The charts apparently underestimated the height of the mountain, but even so, they may not have had a concise enough idea of where they were to have been

able to identify this stubborn old hill. They could have sent out the SOS because of engine trouble, or survivors on the ground may have sent it out.

Art Bruneau, a retired lawyer who lives in Ste. Agathe and piloted one of these planes for the RAF, said that because the wings of the Liberator were



on the top, they afforded little protection to the fuselage upon impact. He said that landing on the sea, the crew would have had little time to get out. Carried below the huge wings, it would have been cut to pieces by the trees.

The crew may have spotted the lights of St. Donat, and they may have been intending to follow the roads into Montreal. Some say that it is possible that they never saw the mountain, but were that the case, the SOS must have been sent from the ground.

Two thousand people a year climb up the long trail from Lac Archambault to visit the site. Thanks to the efforts of various residents of St. Donat, a memorial was unveiled there in 2000. Governor General Adrienne Clarkson as well as Brigadier General Marc Caron attended the dedication. If you plan to visit, give yourself a day to walk up the steep 6 km trail. The view from the top, the monument, the rows of crosses and the debris will leave a lasting impression.

Much of this information can be seen at saint-donat.ca. Other sources include the website of the city of San Diego and the National Archives of Canada. Special thanks to Barbara Stolt, Art Bruneau and Sheila Eskenazi.

The picture of the Liberator came from www.b24.mach3ww.com/new/archive3.html Reach Joseph Graham at joseph@doncaster.ca

MILITARY HISTORY

The vast majority did not care about the issues

A distant drum: The War of 1812 in Missisquoi County

By Heather Darch and Michel Racicot

Upper Canada felt the sting in the opening days of the War of 1812 but for many residents of Lower Canada life continued as usual.

The War of 1812 was fought almost entirely in Upper Canada and for the citizens settled around Missisquoi Bay in what was Lower Canada it seemed a distant threat. For the vast majority, they did not care about the issues of the war nor did they wish to fight. Their struggle to settle here and the daily concerns of survival occupied their minds rather than the political posturing of Washington or London. The embargo act, which shut out foreign goods led to widespread smuggling on the Lake Champlain frontier. Severing ties with Vermont and New York was not in the best interest of the settlers around Missisquoi Bay.

The local clergyman, the Reverend Charles Caleb Cotton wrote a letter to his sister dated February 2nd, 1812 concerning the conflict: "The general state of our political affairs with the United States has given the Inhabitants in these new settlements much disagreeable feeling; on account of our exposed situation should a war take place between Britain and America. We live still in hopes that this dreaded calamity will not be realized, but the affairs in the house of Congress look quite unfavourable. I have lately seen a paper, which informs that a bill for raising an additional army of 25,000 men for the purpose as they say of reducing the Canadas, is about passing both houses...This very unsettled state of political matters between us and our neighbours in the U. States, is a great disadvantage to this part of the country...."

The Canadian militia was a "rabble". They were called when needed and after engagements sent back to their farms. Hastily trained, most were unprepared for the conditions of the field and thought nothing of leaving a battle to prepare for the harvest. The Eastern Townships supplied six battalions, each representing a specific geographic area. Lieutenant Colonel Philip Luke was the commander of the Fourth Battalion, which served the St. Armand-Dunham area, which included Philipsburg-Missisquoi Bay. The battalions were to be comprised of volunteer soldiers however; the Townships battalions were

not able to meet their quota. The government responded by imposing a draft to military service.

The lack of interest in the war, the small population of men at the time and the difficult conditions of life in the Townships made a draft wildly unpopular. Again in a letter to his sister dated July 20th, 1814, Priest Cotton commented on the affects of the draft: "From a list of the inhabitants of Dunham, which I have lately seen, more than one hundred of the inhabitants have quitted the Township since the declaration of war, and there has been much depopulation in several of the other Townships. This has to be owing to the disaffection to our excellent Government in many and to the dread of being drafted into the standing militia, in many others."

War came to the Townships when an expeditionary force of Townships volunteers destroyed a barracks built at Derby and a blockhouse at Stewartstown, N.H. In the evening of October 11, 1813 a fleet of American vessels under the command of Colonel Isaac Clark entered Missisquoi Bay. One sloop, ten bateaux and two scows each carrying a "six-pounder" and in all, 400 soldiers moved in to the Bay. The intent of the raid was to put a halt to smuggling of American goods to British troops, an estimated two-thirds of which came from Vermont and New York.

The Reverend C.J. Stewart, the Anglican rector of Philipsburg and Frelighsburg, later described the raid as follows: "Early in the morning, about 150 men under the command of Colonel Clark attacked our Militia at Philipsburg, Missisquoi Bay. This militia had been assembled there a few days before but at the time of the attack were only 100 strong and were not yet properly organized and armed."

The Fourth Battalion was overwhelmed. In his report on the incident Lt. Col. Philip Luke recorded: "During the engagement we had one man killed and eight wounded but none mortally. The prisoners taken were Major Joseph Powell, Captain John Ruitter, Captain James Pell, Philip Luke Jr., Lieut. John Richard, Ensign Snider, Ensign George Ellis, Ensign John Waggoner; in all one major, two captains, two lieutenants, three ensigns, five sergeants, and ninety-one privates, making a total of one hundred men.

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Soldier in the 1st Reg't of Foot (Royal Scots), British army 1813. From Parks Canada

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The prisoners were immediately marched to Swanton and then to Burlington. A reporter from the Boston Messenger reported: "I have just seen Colonel Clark's prisoners, who were paraded through town. They are a motley crew of farmers, citizens, tavern-keepers, and traders, etc. not a regular soldier among them. They were surprised in their beds."

American raiders took supplies from the village of Philipsburg. On March 22nd, 1814 Philipsburg was again captured and remained in American hands for four days before the arrival of British troops. There are no documents recording the mood of the Bay after these attacks but the sudden loss of men from the community, including Philip Luke's own son, and the plundering of precious stores did not seem to create animosity towards Americans as one might assume rather, it served to cement opposition to the war efforts.

A few weeks later, Clark made a second raid on Frelighsburg, where he collected about 80 head of cattle, most of which had been smuggled from Vermont in the first place! Clark and his men were said to have behaved well and in a civil manner.

The average Vermonter seemed indifferent to the conflict. Northern Vermont and the Townships were frontier communities with much in common and a "neutral bloc" cut across the international boundary. In Upper Canada, the war created a unified

political entity, which ensured that Canada would never become a part of the United States. Although the same could be said of Lower Canada in general, the Eastern Townships seemed to change very little. Americans on the eastern shore of Lake Champlain for example, fed British troops fighting on the western shore. Smuggling took place on "a colossal scale" and trade between Vermont and the Townships brought increased prosperity to merchants in

Dunham, Stanbridge and St. Armand. Montreal middlemen grew rich supplying the needs of New England and two out of every three Canadian soldiers subsisted on beef brought in by "enemy" contractors.

The Silver Greys

The final drama for the Missisquoi Bay area occurred when members of the Eastern Townships militia marched in Sir George Prevost's invasion from Lower Canada to New York State in 1814. Among the militia were the Silver Greys, a company consisting of men over 60 years of age. They marched all night to Burlington where they boarded a sloop for Plattsburg. They saw little combat and returned to their farms and families. It was a typical scenario for the Missisquoi "soldiers".

As one observer wrote "so much for the War of 1812". The fact that both sides of the border were uninterested in

the greater conflict helped to keep the war at bay. A lack of supplies, ammunition and equipment likewise kept fighting at a distance. In October 1813 Col. Henry Cull of the Third battalion complained that he had no arms or ammunition and the Fourth battalion had most of their arms captured in the raid at Philipsburg. Without guns, aid, men, or enthusiasm, it is not hard to understand why the war of 1812 did not create as great an impact as it did in Upper Canada. With the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, hostilities subsided and feelings were quickly mended. In Missisquoi County "wrestling matches were held near

Richford Vermont to show good feelings between the two countries. Mr. Warren of Stanbridge and Jonathon Smith of Richford were finalists. After several hours, Mr. Smith won." The cross-border connections settled into their familiar relationships, trade routes and cooperation. The war did give the loyalists a sense of community in their new homeland yet it did little to sever ties with friends and relations.



The Law office of Julius C. Hubbell in Chazy N.Y. is used as a headquarters for the advancing British and Canadians. Still standing, the quaint little building is now the public library. From the excellent web site <http://www.historiclakes.org>

MILITARY HISTORY

The Plattsburg Bay Naval Battle

Premature attack fatal to British commander, ships

Carpenters and riggers spend the week preceding the battle frantically working to finish the British flagship *Confiance*. There is so much work to be done that the craftsmen leave the vessel only minutes before the start of the engagement. The British naval commander, George Downie, has been under tremendous pressure from Governor General George Prevost. Prevost is waiting outside of Plattsburg with his army and does not want to attack until the British fleet arrives.

Prevost has sent a series of urgent messages to Downie. At one point, he even questions Downie's willingness to fight. These letters goad the naval commander into attacking, though he knows his fleet is not ready. Perhaps even more dangerous is the fact that Downie decides to engage the Americans on their terms: U.S. commander Thomas Macdonough has been allowed to dictate the location and



One issue precipitating the War of 1812 was the British disregard of American shipping rights. British ships frequently stopped American ships, confiscated their cargo, and impressed (captured) crew members, claiming they were deserters from Britain's Royal Navy. Picture from <http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia>

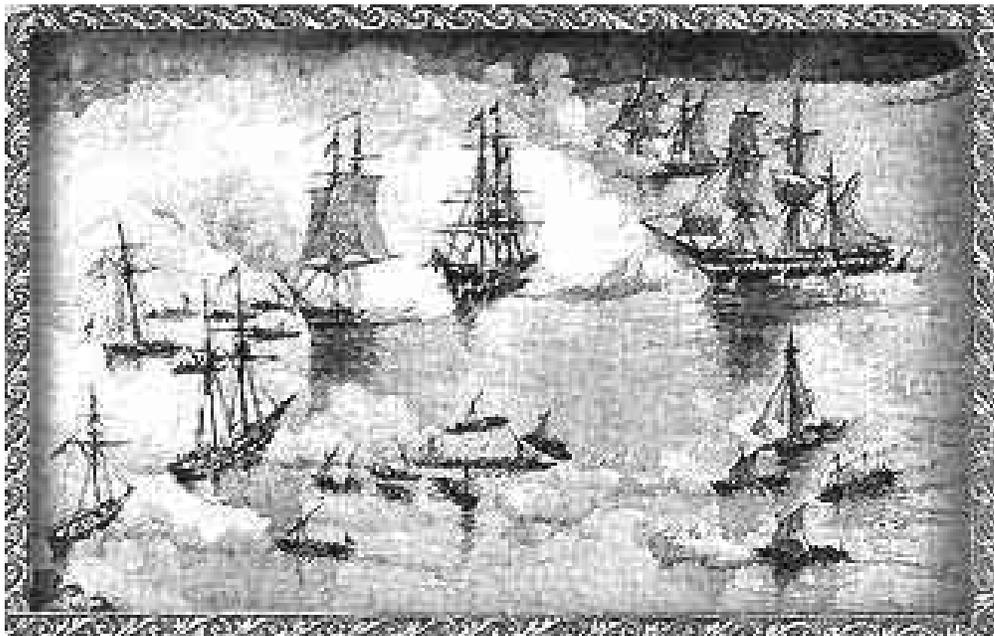
strategy of the battle.

The British fleet consists of the *Confiance*, *Linnet*, *Chubb*, *Finch* and 12 gunboats. George Downie sails his vessels into

Plattsburg Bay on the morning of September 11, 1814. Hampered by unfavourable winds and under heavy fire, the *Confiance* anchors prematurely and fouls some of its anchors. Captain George Downie is killed only fifteen minutes into the action and is replaced by Lieutenant James Robertson on the *Confiance*, overall command goes to Captain Daniel Pring.

After knocking the *Preble* and the *Eagle* out of action, it looks like the British fleet is poised to win. Macdonough, then makes a surprise move. He winches his flagship *Saratoga* around to bring a new broadside to bear on the battered *Confiance*. The British flagship, with its fouled anchors, is unable to copy the maneuver.

The British gunboats flee. Robertson realizes he is beaten and the *Confiance* strikes her colours. The British squadron surrenders.



An artist's depiction of the Battle of Plattsburg. Story and picture from the War of 1812 TV series by Brian McKenna. See www.galafilm.com/1812/e/

MILITARY HISTORY

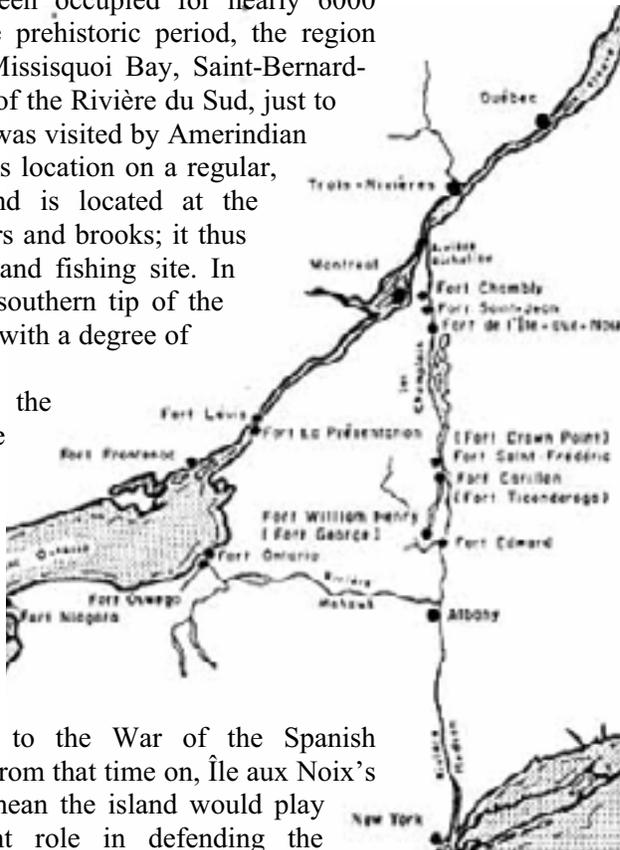
By the early 18th century, skirmishes had already erupted

Defence: The story of Île aux Noix and Fort Lennox

Île aux Noix has been occupied for nearly 6000 years. During the prehistoric period, the region falling between Missisquoi Bay, Saint-Bernard-de-Lacolle and the mouth of the Rivière du Sud, just to the north of Île aux Noix, was visited by Amerindian nomads, who settled at this location on a regular, seasonal basis. The island is located at the confluence of several rivers and brooks; it thus offered a choice hunting and fishing site. In addition, the bluff at the southern tip of the island provided occupants with a degree of safety.

Following the arrival of the Europeans, the trade route formed by Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River became the theatre of military activities. By the early 18th century, skirmishes had already erupted around Lake George

(New York) in relation to the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). From that time on, Île aux Noix's strategic position would mean the island would play an increasingly important role in defending the



country. However, it was during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) that the island truly earned its place in history books.

The Campaign of 1760

The British war plan of 1760 called for an offensive against Montreal by three army columns. The first column, under the command of General Murray, was to move westward up the St. Lawrence from its base in Quebec City.

The second column, led by



General Amherst, commander-in-chief, would set out from

Oswego, on the shores of Lake Ontario, and head eastward. The third column, led by General Haviland, was to take the route northward from Lake Champlain along the Richelieu River.

On the third of these three fronts, the French, led by Bourlamaque,

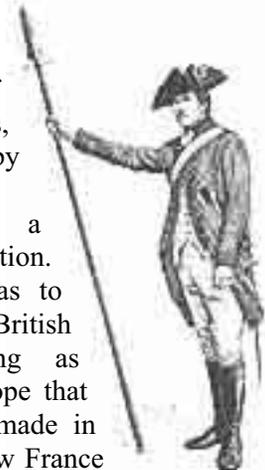
prepared for a decisive confrontation. Their strategy was to delay the British advance as long as possible in the hope that peace would be made in Europe before New France was finally conquered. If Île aux Noix were well fortified, it would be able to neutralize any invasion attempt via the Richelieu River Valley.

Work on the Île aux Noix fortifications began in the spring of 1759. The objective was to make entrenchments for 500 men and set up three batteries that would allow the French to parry the enemy's attack and cover the river passages. Unfortunately, a lack of time and manpower prevented the fortifications from being fully completed.

The siege of the French entrenchments began on August 16, 1760. Haviland and his 3400 men disembarked less than 3 km downriver from the island on the east bank, where they set up their batteries. Bougainville, who had replaced Bourlamaque, faced the siege with only 1400 ill-trained soldiers, who entered the battle with inadequate ammunition and supplies.

On August 25, the British marked a decisive victory by capturing the French fleet and thereby cutting off all communication with the French outposts. From that point on, the French positions at Île aux Noix were open to

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Pictured this page: Map of the forts of New France, © Parks Canada / François Pellerin / 87-G-D6; Portrait of Bougainville, © National Archives of Canada / C-10541; American officer, between 1775 and 1776, © Parks Canada / Illustration by G.A.Embleton. Story by Parks Canada. All from www.pc.gc.ca/lhnhhs/qc/lennox/natcul/natcul2d_E.asp

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an attack on the northern flank of the island. Two days later, Bougainville ordered the troops to evacuate the island and withdraw, first to Saint-Jean and then to Montreal. He left a detachment of 60 men on the island to cover the retreat. They surrendered the following day. The way was now open to Haviland, who moved on to rendezvous with Amherst's and Murray's armies.

In October, following the surrender of Montreal, General Amherst visited Île aux Noix and decided to dismantle both the French fortifications and the batteries constructed by the British at the time of the siege. The island then enjoyed a period of calm which was to last a full fifteen years. The British later reigned over the better portion of the continent. Their rule was to prove short-lived, however.

The American Invasion

Stimulated by their desire for independence, revolutionaries in the 13 American colonies declared war on Great Britain in 1775. A few months later, they occupied Île aux Noix. General Schuyler used it as a base for the attack on Montreal. One year later, in reaction to the resistance encountered at Quebec City and the British counter-attack, the Americans retreated to the island, which provided them with a strategic refuge for their troops. Following their withdrawal from Île aux Noix, the island became the southernmost British defensive position on the Richelieu.

The British then considered the island to be a major frontier post, and decided to fortify it. The original intention was to adapt the remains of the French fortification to contain a small garrison. A few blockhouses were constructed in 1779, making the



fort capable of resisting an attack. Then, from 1779 to 1782, they built a much more impressive fortification using plans drawn up by Twiss, an engineer.

The border with the newly founded United States was to remain a source of conflict, with clashes erupting sporadically. Finally, the ongoing state of tension between England and its former colony was to build up into another full-blown war.

The War of 1812 and the Naval Shipyard

Twenty years later, the Anglo-American war (1812-1814) triggered a new series of military operations. At that time, the English were busy fighting Napoleon in Europe. As they had few troops stationed in North America, they were forced to remain on the defensive during the first year of the war.

On the Lake Champlain-Richelieu River front, naval strength was destined to play a major role. In response to the American fleet which patrolled the lake, the British built a naval base and shipyard at Île aux Noix. They wasted no time starting up shipbuilding operations. Several warships, including the brig *Confiance*, were turned out at the Île aux Noix shipyards. They confronted American vessels, most notably during the battle of Plattsburg in the fall of 1814. The Americans, with a superior, better-organized fleet, emerged victorious from this battle, the last to take place on Lake Champlain. However, their losses prevented them from pursuing the English and capitalizing on their victory.

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Fort Lennox, the Last English Fortification

The War of 1812 resulted in a re-evaluation of the strategic role to be played by Île aux Noix. The new road between Missisquoi Bay and Saint-Jean reduced the importance of the island for the region’s defence. Nevertheless, the colonial leaders decided to erect a major fortification in reaction to Fort Montgomery, which the Americans had begun building at Rouses Point, less than 15 km south of the island.

Construction lasted from 1819 to 1829, and was carried out in accordance with plans drawn up by engineer Nicolls. First, a rectangular earth enceinte with bastions at the corners was built, along with fosse, redan and ravelin. Following this, several other structures in a neoclassical style were added: the powder magazine, two warehouses (ordnance magazine and artillery magazine), a guardhouse, an officers’ quarters, a barracks and 17 casemates. The new fort was named Lennox, in honour of Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond, who died in 1819 during his term as Governor-in-Chief of British North America.

The Transition to Peacetime

The inauguration of the first local railroad line (Saint-Jean-Laprairie, 1836) and the opening of the Chambly canal (Chambly-Saint-Jean, 1843) made the town of Saint-Jean the economic and military hub of the Richelieu River Valley. As a result, the strategic importance of Île aux Noix declined substantially.

In 1837-1838, the rebellion by the Patriotes of Lower Canada brought about a resurgence of activity at Île aux Noix. The island was used as a base of operations designed to crush the



insurgents. Once the rebellion was over, Fort Lennox became a military establishment of secondary importance. In 1858, the fort was used as an internment camp for young offenders.

The 1860s, years coinciding with the American Civil War and its aftermath, saw a renewal of military activity on the island. The British left the island permanently in 1870.

Following the departure of the British army, the Canadian government decided not to reoccupy Fort Lennox, since the Treaty of Washington provided a guarantee against any American threats for some time. The island was leased to farmers, who used it for



pastureland. In 1899, Fort Lennox was rented out to a certain Mr. Naylor, who operated it as a summer resort. In 1921, the Department of Militia and Defence transferred ownership of the island to the Department of the Interior. During World War II, Fort Lennox was used as a camp for German Jewish refugees.

The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada designated Fort Lennox as a historic site of national interest shortly after its own foundation in 1921. The island was declared a national historic park in 1940, but it was only in 1970 that the Canadian government began conservation and restoration of this impressive fortification in earnest.



Pictures these two pages: View of the wet ditch, R. Hilborn, Parks Canada, 114/00/PR7/PDO-00027; Ile aux Noix, late 18th century. In the background, the French defence works constructed in 1759 and the British blockhouses erected in 1776, © National Archives of Canada / Capitaine Rudyard / C-40335; Review of the troops at Fort Lennox, © Parks Canada; An aerial view of Fort Lennox today; Rear view of the barracks and casemate, Sophie Grenier / Parks Canada, 114/IN/PR7/SPD-00108; Oil painting by Henry Bunnett, © McCord Museum / Henry Richard S. Bunnett / M-872, 1886; The ordnance magazine and the artillery magazine, Jean Audet / Parks Canada, 114/00/PR7/SPD-00179.

MILITARY HISTORY

Were the Kirke brothers heroes, or pirates, or both?

1629: The year that Nouvelle France nearly vanished

King James of England had a way (which he shared with the French) of granting vast claims to such of his subjects as desired to venture into the west. On the authority of one such charter an English sea captain named Samuel Argall (the same commander who abducted Pocahontas in Virginia and allowed a member of his crew, John Rolfe, to marry her) cruised up the coast from Massachusetts with the intention of expelling the French from their Acadian possessions. He had no difficulty in capturing them, as the French were taken by surprise. The buildings at Port Royal were burned and some fourteen members of the colony, including the Jesuit priest, Father Biard, were carried off as prisoners, to be released later. The rest scattered and lived as well as they could off the land.

The Argall raid was the first open conflict between the English and the French. The war would go on, never completely quiescent even when the mother countries were at peace, for a century and a half. Much blood would be shed and many gallant deeds would be performed (and many black and terrible deeds as well) on both sides before the struggle came to an end when Wolfe captured Quebec.

The Argall raid had been a minor clash. It remained for two pedantic Scots to bring about the first fighting on a large scale. One was James I, the other Sir William Alexander; and of the pair, it was said that "James was a king who tried to be a poet and Alexander was a poet who tried to be a king." It may be stated at the outset that both failed.

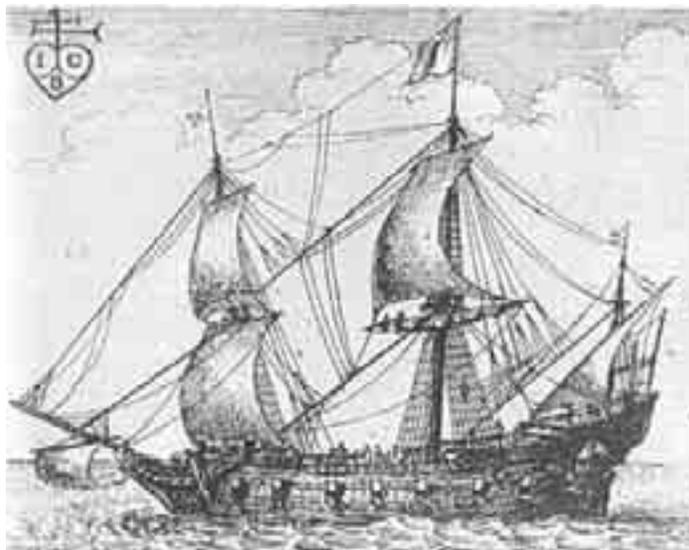
EDITOR'S NOTE: The first military conflict of Quebec's European era pitted king against king, England against France, protestant against Catholic, man against the elements, individual against community, government against private enterprise, and the pious against, well, the pirates. The more things change...

The following several pages are excerpted from the classic *The White and the Gold, The French Regime in Canada*, by Thomas B. Costain. This famous author doesn't stay strictly on the academic path; his work is full of phrases like perhaps, what-if, maybe, might. What if, indeed. If the Kirkes hadn't taken Quebec in 1629, would Champlain and his settlers have starved? Would tiny New France have collapsed on its own? What if the invaders had killed Champlain? After all, that's what conquerors usually did in those days. But the things that didn't happen are half the fun of history. Enjoy a little speculation with your reading. By the way, David Kirke became governor of Newfoundland but eventually died in jail.

James I was the son of Mary Queen of Scots and succeeded to the throne of England on the death of

Elizabeth in 1603. He had already won for himself a reputation that culminated in the description, "the wisest fool in Christendom." Riding eagerly away from the poverty of his native Scotland, he took with him into England a whole train of Scots whose heads were filled with knowledge and ambition but whose pockets were woefully empty. One of these was William Alexander of Menstrie, whose patrimony was not large and who had been acting as tutor to Prince Henry, the oldest of the royal children. He was the most prolific of poets (his *Doomes-Day* ran to eleven thousand lines, most of them very dull indeed), and this brought him into close contact with the pawky monarch who thought he could do great things with words also. It was Alexander who sat at the royal elbow when James began to compose his metrical version of the Psalms. The attempt was not a very happy one and it was not until

after the death of James that the royal version was published. The King's son, who succeeded him as Charles I, granted permission to Alexander "to consider and reveu the meeter and poesie thereof," but it is not known to what extent he availed himself of the opportunity. Alexander, being a man of vision, was unwilling to spend his life in the writing of verses and tutoring of princes. His eyes had become fixed on the west, and it was partly as a result of his urging that King James elected to make his liberal gestures of annexation. In 1621 the King made a grant to Alexander of all Nova Scotia, which was assumed at



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the time to include Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Acadia, Maine, New Brunswick, and a large slice of Quebec. In a later confirmation Alexander was empowered to “erect cities, appoint fairs, hold courts, grant lands and coin money.”

It remained for the poet-tutor, thus royally endowed, to find the wherewithal to take possession of his vast domain and to build the cities where the fairs would be held and raising funds, to make baronets out of men who could pay a fat price for the honour. On his journey to London to claim the crown, he had created them with as lavish a hand as a queen of the May tossing posies. Now he decided to adopt the same plan in the occupation of North America. A new order was created, the Knights Baronet of Nova Scotia. Any man of property who could make a voyage to that country, or pay down instead the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, would get his title and a grant of land six miles by three. He would have the right to wear about his neck “an orange tawney ribbon from which shall hang pendant in an escutcheon argent a saltire azure with the arms of Scotland:”

Nothing much came of this save the settling of small groups here and there around the Bay of Fundy and the creation of much ill feeling between the newcomers and the French at Port Royal. After the death of James the Company of Merchant Adventurers was founded in London by Sir William and a number of London financiers



and merchants. One of the members was Gervase Kirke, who had married a Frenchwoman and had always taken a great interest in matters concerning North America. The company had an ambitious purpose, the seizure by force of arms of all Canada. War had started between England and France because of Richelieu's determination to break the back of Huguenot solidarity. The new dictator of France struck at the heart of Calvinism by besieging La Rochelle. In the reign of James there had been a handsome court favourite named George Villiers who gained such an ascendancy over the bumbling old monarch that he was created Duke of Buckingham. “Steenie,” as James had affectionately called him, had continued to wield a great influence over the new King. He even succeeded in persuading Charles to take the part of the Huguenots. War accordingly had been declared on France and Charles had

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Pictures on these pages: A typical small English ship of the early seventeenth century, of the type used by the Kirke brothers; King James I, etching by Wenceslaus Hollar from the title-page to J. Ussher, *Annales*, London 1654, <http://web.ukonline.co.uk/lordcornell/iwhr/ships.htm>; Sir David Kirke, 1597-1654., unknown artist. Likely a fanciful 20th Century sketch, Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives, Memorial University.

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sent a fleet under Buckingham to relieve La Rochelle. Buckingham was a man of glittering personality and an almost diabolical degree of charm, but he possessed neither military capacity nor experience. The expedition was a signal and dismal failure.

When the war began the Company of Merchant Adventurers raised the sum of sixty thousand pounds to equip an expedition against the French in Canada. Three ships set out early in 1628 under the command of Captain David Kirke, a son of Gervase. Word had reached England that the armada promised Champlain by the Company of One Hundred Associates was ready to start. Kirke made his first objective the interception and capture of the fleet.

Kirke and his two brothers, Lewis and Thomas, started for Canadian waters, carrying letters of marque from King Charles. They found Admiral Roquemont and his armada in Gaspé Bay, where he had been compelled to take refuge by heavy storms sweeping over the gulf. It was clear to the English captains at once that the French admiral had been taken by surprise. All his ships were deep in the water with the weight of the cargoes they carried. The new guns were lashed in the holds of the bigger ships and the few that were ready for use were of small calibre. Even the decks of the four warships were black with the passengers they were bringing out-men, women and children, soldiers and mechanics and Jesuit priests. To see English sails on the horizon was the last thing the admiral had expected.

De Roquemont looked about him with a desperate anxiety. The Company of One Hundred Associates had lived up to their promises. The bay was dotted with sails, for in addition to the four convoy ships he had twenty transports in his charge. Everything that the colony at Quebec needed had been loaded into the holds with a lavishness in contrast to the penurious methods of the now defunct trading companies. Could he let this wealth of supplies, which meant life to the struggling colony, fall into the hands of these buccaneering ships which had suddenly emerged out of the blue horizon?

De Roquemont was a good sailor and a brave man. He decided not to give up without a struggle, and the order to prepare for defence was hastily flown from his masthead. The struggle, however, was a brief one. The three English ships came in under a spread of canvas but otherwise stripped for action, the shrouds filled with musketeers, the

muzzles of heavy cannon protruding from the portholes. David Kirke brought his ship alongside that of the admiral and raked the hull of the French flagship with a broadside. Throwing out their grappling irons, a boarding party of the English came over, their cutlasses in their teeth. With the most valorous of intentions, the French found themselves unable to put up any effective resistance. To spare the lives

of his helpless passengers, De Roquemont had to strike his colours. The other French vessels, seeing the uselessness of further resistance, surrendered also.

Kirke burned some of the transports and took the rest, heavily loaded with the spoils of victory, into Newfoundland harbours. From here he sailed back to England, taking the most prominent of his prisoners with him.

England hailed the victors with delight (See *Englands Honour Revived*, Page 21). France seethed with indignation and dismay. Stuffed effigies of the three Kirke brothers were burned on the Place de la Creve.

A despairing Champlain paced the ramparts of the citadel on the heights after receiving this bitter news. He had learned of the capture and

destruction of Roquemont's ships from Indian scouts. The French colony, he was convinced, was now doomed. There was nothing to prevent the English from seizing Quebec and expelling all the French settlers. Old and bent and unhappy, he kept an eye on the eastern reaches of the river, expecting to see at any moment the sails of the English ships coming triumphantly to his undoing.

Champlain was fully aware of the weakness of his position. Never an engineer, he had proven himself a poor builder. The houses he had raised among the walnut trees had been flimsy and had fallen into dilapidation and disrepair in the course of a few years. His great pride, the stone citadel, was now going the same way. The walls showed signs of decay and insecurity; the masonry had developed dangerous fissures; two of the corner towers had collapsed, filling the moat with rubble over which an attacking force could scramble to victory with the ease of Joshua and his men charging into Jericho. The mouths of his few cannon protruding above the battlements looked little more dangerous than broomsticks poking out from the white walls of a boy's snow castle.

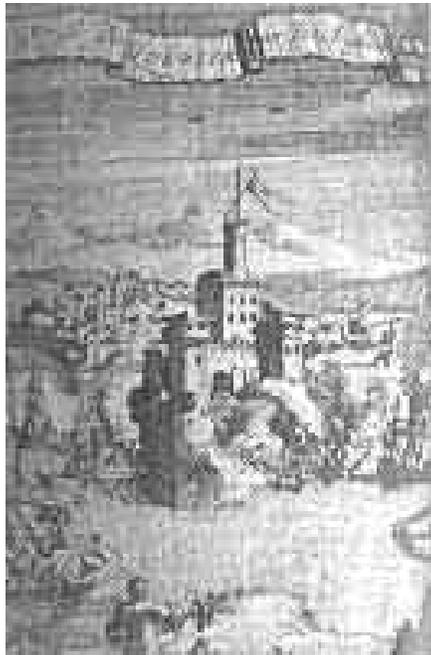
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Expecting attack, Champlain had moved the people of Quebec into the fort. The food supplies were inadequate for a siege and so he had found it necessary to reduce the daily ration to a small supply of peas and “turkey corn,” as the Indian maize was called. The people grumbled and in their hearts perhaps hoped that the English would come soon to free them from such privations.

But the English did not come. Winter settled in. With the freezing of the streams and the falling of the snow, the sufferings of the little garrison became pitiful indeed. The cellars of the now fatherless but always thrifty Héberts yielded considerable in the way of grain and vegetables, but the total supply could not fill so many hungry mouths. When spring came at last there was no joy over the violets in flower and the chervil which was ready for cutting. The daily ration by this time had been cut to seven ounces of



pounded peas per person. The settlers were gaunt; the children were thin and spiritless in their patched and ragged clothes.

Throughout the winter the unhappy colony had been cut off from the outside world. The Kirkes held control of the waters about Newfoundland and the gulf. Champlain did not know, therefore, that the defeat had precipitated a

serious situation in France, The Company of One Hundred Associates hovered on the brink of bankruptcy.

Returns made to the government in 1671, after the final dissolution of the concern, showed that it had been bankrupt almost from the first. The cost of the great fleet had almost exhausted the amount raised. All subsequent reorganizations did no more than fend off the ultimate failure. After the first days of incredulous rage when the effigies of the three Kirkes smoked on Execution Square, there had been talk of equipping more ships for the relief of Canada, but the preparations had proceeded with great slowness. Champlain, in the dark about all this, still expected relief in the spring.

The settlers do not seem to have shared his optimism. The men of the colony, no longer content to exist on starvation rations and anxious as well to ease matters for their families, began to scatter into the woods. Some joined bands of roving Indians, some took to boats and vanished down the river in the direction of the fishing banks. Their wives and children remained in the fort, begging piteously for the food which the unhappy commander could not



supply. When the English finally came, Champlain had no more than sixteen men with him in addition to the priests on the St. Charles.

Two ships came into sight from behind the Isle of Orleans, flying the English flag. David Kirke had returned from England with four ships, the Abigail of three hundred tons and the others of two hundred tons each, the William, the George, and the Gervase. The first two named had been left at Tadoussac, and it was the George and the Gervase which had been sent to attack the citadel. As it happened, this was not going to prove a difficult task. At the moment there was no man in the fort save the stooped and sad-eyed

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Pictures on these pages: Samuel de Champlain from the painting by Moncornet; Champlain leaving Quebec as a prisoner, <http://www.civilization.ca/>; Quebec as David Kirke saw it, <http://www.historiatv.com>.

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commander, all of his sixteen men being in the woods in a desperate search for food. Champlain, standing despondently on the battlements, watched an English officer climb up the narrow path under a white flag. The moment he had foreseen with so much dread had arrived. The sails of the ships had been seen from the woods on the high declivity, however, and now the men of the garrison were hurrying back. As they straggled in they were ordered to go at once to their posts. When the English officer reached the summit, he found the fort well manned. Soldiers with muskets on their shoulders paced the crumbling ramparts, and the sound of sharp military orders reached his ears. It must have been apparent to him, however, that all this was no more than a brave pretense; that in reality destitution perched on the sagging walls and the sharpness of the voices held an edge of despair.

Realizing that to offer defence would be futile, Champlain nevertheless held out for terms. He insisted that the commander of the attacking force must first show his commission from the English King, that no effort be made to come ashore until all terms had been agreed to, and that one of the two ships be used to convey his people back to their own country, including all the priests and two Indians; and above everything he demanded that fair and courteous treatment be accorded to all.

The commander of the English agreed to these terms. And so on August, 9, 1629, Champlain formally surrendered Quebec to the invaders. It is worth noting that the company of English officers and men who came ashore and raised their flag over the citadel found no food in the place save one tub filled with potatoes and roots.

What thoughts filled the mind of Samuel de Champlain, watching the fluttering of the fleur-de-lis as it was hauled

down from the flagpole on the battlements? Was he remembering the struggles of the long years, the disappointments, the triumphs? Did he think of the meeting at Fontainebleau when he and the Sieur de Monts had pledged their lives to the cause, come what might? Did he pause to recall his many explorations which had accumulated knowledge of the vast extent of this wooded



empire, this wonderful domain which France was now yielding to her hereditary foe? Perhaps he was too old and tired, too beaten down by the seeming finality of the blow, to experience the poignancy of such regrets. Perhaps he said to himself no more than "This, then, is the end of it all" as he turned and hobbled down the uneven stone steps to the cobbled courtyard of the citadel, where his word had been law for so many years.

It was known to Champlain that Kirke's ships had been guided up the St. Lawrence by Frenchmen, and he encountered two of these renegades when he reached Tadoussac as a prisoner on his way to England.

The English commander had left a garrison at Quebec under Lewis Kirke and was taking all his important prisoners of war with him. Champlain, the most unhappy and weary of men, was allowed to go ashore when they reached the mouth of the Saguenay, and it was here that the two men were pointed out to him as having belonged to the party of four who acted as

guides to the enemy. The governor's indignation caused him to approach the guilty pair, who hung back with a shamed air and seemed anxious to get away. To his astonishment and sorrow, he recognized one of the brown and unkempt fellows as Etienne Brulé!

Champlain's ire mounted to such a height that he proceeded to berate the pair at great length. A full version of what he said is contained in the Relations. It unquestionably has been rephrased, for it is a well-rounded and somewhat stilted harangue and not in the heated terms

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in which Champlain probably expressed himself. The picture of the scene that is given, however, can be accepted as an accurate one. It is recorded that Brulé, holding his head down and shuffling in the extremity of his embarrassment, made no defence save to say that he knew the French garrison had no hope of resisting successfully and so it had not seemed to him wrong to act with the English.

The former servant of the governor, whose exploits in the field of exploration had been so creditable and, in fact, astounding, but who now would be remembered chiefly for this act of treachery, slunk away and was never seen again by men of his own race. Word of his doings reached their ears, however, and it is possible to tell briefly of his last days.

When he guided the English ships up the estuary to the foot of the rock, his period of achievements and, yes, glory came to an end. From that stage on he failed to add anything to his record. Apparently the urge to set out on new quests had left him. No longer was he filled with a desire to plant his moccasined feet on new trails or to dip his paddle in strange waters. He went back to the Huron country and spent the balance of his days there, a slothful and degraded existence. Perhaps he became bitter of temper and quarreled with the tribesmen in whose midst he lived. He had settled down in

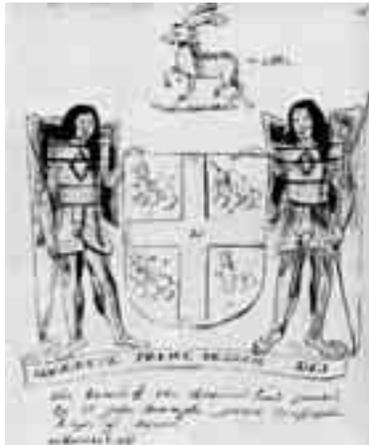
the village of Toaniché on Penetanguishene Bay, a spot of great natural beauty. One day the Indians turned on him and by force of numbers (he was a man of considerable personal strength and could not have been worsted in single combat) succeeded in beating him to death. Having killed him, they decided they might as well benefit in the usual way. They cut up his body and boiled it in the kettles, and then they gathered in a wide circle and proceeded to consume all that was left of this ungovernable young Frenchman (he was only forty-one when he came to his end) who, in spite of everything, deserves to be remembered for the greatness of his exploits.

Sometime afterward Father Brébeuf recorded in one of his letters that he had visited Penetanguishene Bay where the tragedy occurred and that an intuitive flash of his own death had come to him. "I saw the spot where poor Etienne Brulé was barbarously and brutally murdered," he wrote, "which made me think that perhaps someday they might treat me in the same manner, and to desire at least that it might be while we were earnestly seeking the glory of the Lord."

On April 24, a month after the second fleet left England to complete the conquest of Canada, peace had been declared

between England and France. When word came back from Canada of the success of the Kirkes, the French Government made an immediate demand that Quebec be restored and that restitution be made for all the losses the French had sustained. King Charles agreed to this.

The Kirkes found on their arrival that their King had appointed a commission made up of a panel of legal baronets to take possession of everything they had brought back, with the intention of turning it over to the French Government. A warrant had been issued to seal the warehouses of the Company of Merchant Adventurers, the purpose being to seize and deliver to the French all the beaver skins and other pelts which were stored there.



The victors protested vigorously. They pointed out that they had sailed under a royal commission and that the purpose of the expedition had been discussed and approved. Their claims, in spite of this, were coldly received and as coldly brushed aside. No attention was paid to the fact that the men who backed the expedition had spent sixty thousand pounds in equipping the ships and that they now stood to lose every penny of it. Even the statement of Kirke that only thirteen hundred of the seven thousand skins he had brought back with him had been taken from the French, the rest being the result of his own trading with the

Indians, was disregarded. When he went to the length of taking forcible possession of the warehouses and refusing to yield them to the Crown, the sheriffs of London received orders from the King, or from the ministers acting in his name, to use force in regaining possession. This was done.

The raiding of a thieves' den in Alsatia, the section of London where the crooks gathered and the authority of the Upright Man (the name applied to criminal bosses) was recognized above the law, could not have been conducted with less lack of consideration.

It developed later that King Charles had decided to employ the restitution of Quebec as a weapon to compel the French Government to pay him the balance of the dowry of his Queen, who had been Princess Henrietta Maria of France, which amounted to eight hundred thousand crowns. He was in desperate need of money, having already embroiled himself with Parliament and so being without the financial supplies usually voted to the heads of state. The deal with the French Government was carried through. King Charles received the balance of the dowry and Quebec was handed back to the French.

Continued on next page

Pictures on these pages: Articles requested by Samuel de Champlain and François Gravé Du Pont for the capitulation of Québec and granted by Lewis and Thomas Kirke, with the ratification of David Kirke, July 19 and August 19, 1629 (facsimile), CA ANC MG18-N1, www.champlain2004.org/html/12/01_e.html; Newfoundland Coat of Arms granted to Sir David Kirke in 1638. The 17th-century issue of this coat of arms was forgotten over time. After being rediscovered, it was adopted by Newfoundland as its official coat of arms in the 1920s.

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The merchants of London lost every shilling they had invested in the effort to add Canada to the overseas possessions of the English Crown. Alexander, it is true, was elevated to the dignity of Earl of Stirling, but some years later he died in London in an insolvent condition. David Kirke was knighted for what he had done, but it is not on record that any of the family received as much for their services as the ten pounds which another king had given John Cabot as his reward for discovering North America.

Twice Canada had been within the grasp of the English. Twice the great prize had slipped away from them.

Canada was officially handed back to France by the Treaty of St.-Germain-en-Laye, signed in March 1632. The Company of One Hundred Associates was teetering on the verge of dissolution at this point, but Cardinal Richelieu needed it for the carrying out of his plans in Canada. The official bellows were used to blow new life into it, and Champlain was sent back to Quebec to resume his lieutenancy.

The willing veteran, who had now reached the age of sixty-six, was received with delight by the few settlers left, among them the widow of Louis Hébert with her children and grandchildren. The guns boomed from the dilapidated citadel, and the happy inhabitants shed tears of gratitude. The Indians showed their delight at the return of the grand old man by holding a meeting. Long orations were delivered, in the course of which it was stated that "when the French were absent the earth was no longer the earth, the river was no longer the river, the sky was no longer the sky."

In spite of his advanced years Champlain went briskly to work to repair the damages of war. He saw to it that new houses were built for the settlers who would be arriving. He repaired and strengthened the citadel, raising new towers and mounting larger cannon on the battlements. He erected a new chapel and called it Notre Dame de la Recouvrance as a token of gratitude for the restoration of Canada to the French people.

The atmosphere at Quebec had changed. The chaffering of free traders was no longer heard, nor the rough language of convict-settlers, the loud songs of men who lived in idleness. The Jesuits were in full control. The Récollet fathers had been released from captivity in England as soon as the treaty was signed and had been sent back to France. There they had found that they were not to

resume their work in Canada. The Black-Gowns, as the Indians called the Jesuits, sat in council with Champlain and shared in his plans.

Champlain seems to have enjoyed some of his earlier vigour. He began to plan campaigns against the English, the Dutch on Manhattan Island, who were becoming active rivals in the fur trade, and the Iroquois, who were demonstrating the bitterness of their hatred. The last letter he addressed to Richelieu was a request for one hundred and twenty soldiers to defend the colony and police the Great Lakes. He raised a fort at Three Rivers and he willingly issued commissions to anyone desiring to explore the country to the west.

It was in the midst of such activities that death came to him. While his mind remained brisk and vital, his heavy frame had been showing the effect of his advanced years. In the fall of 1635 he was stricken with paralysis. He lingered for several months, unable to stir from his couch. It is to be hoped that as he lay in his narrow stone room in the citadel awaiting the slow approach of death there came to him for consolation a prophetic glimpse of the greatness which would grow out of the work to which he had devoted himself so loyally and so long.

He died on Christmas Day. Where he was buried has remained a mystery and has led to much research and earnest pursuit through the records of the day. The conclusion to which most historians have given their assent is that he was laid away in the Mountain Hill Cemetery which adjoins the chapel of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance. The chapel was burned in 1640 and Champlain's successor, the Sieur de Montmagny, erected a new one in its place. It is generally believed that this edifice was raised over the grave in which the brave and able leader had been buried.

The unhappy colonists would have restrained their tears, which flowed so freely and generously, if they had known that the death of the founder was a happy release from humiliation. As he lay on his last couch the Company of One Hundred Associates was meeting in Paris to choose his successor.

Why it was thought necessary to replace the man who had devoted his life to New France and whose faith alone had kept the fleur-de-lis flying over the high eminence of Quebec has never been explained.

Olivier Le Jeune (? – 1654)

David Kirke brought Canada its first African slave

The first black person known to have lived in Canada was a native of Madagascar who was brought at the age of 7 by the British Commander David Kirke during his invasion of New France and sold to Olivier Le Tardiff, head clerk of the French Colony. When Quebec was handed back to the French in 1632, Le Tardiff, who had often collaborated with the British, was forced to flee. He sold his slave to a Quebec resident. The boy was educated in a school established by the Jesuit priest, Father Le Jeune. He was later baptized as Olivier Le Jeune, taking the first name of the French clerk and the surname of the Jesuit priest. He died on May 10, 1654. It is believed that by the time of his death his official status was changed from that of "domestic servant" to freeman.

<http://www.blackstudies.ca/gallery/lejeune.htm>. The painting is the work of Montreal artist Richard Horne. Copyright(c) Black Studies Centre (Quebec) Inc., 1996.



MILITARY HISTORY

Unique penny ballad tells Kirke Brothers' tale

Book dealer's tip brings musical treasure to Canada

In the year 2000 the National Library of Canada acquired a rare 1628 Ballad found by book dealer Helen Kahn of Montreal during a visit to London.

The library bought the penny-sheet ballad, printed in 1628, for \$65,000. The ballad entitled, *Englands Honour Revived*, represents the earliest separate publication in English, dealing entirely with Canada, in the collections of the National Library.

The sheet was found inside the binding of a 17th-century book. At the book fair in London, England in June 1999, one of Canada's most prominent antiquarian book dealers, Helen R. Kahn of Montreal, was approached by an agent of the owner of the ballad. Recognizing the ballad's relevance to Canadian heritage, Helen Kahn acted swiftly to make the National Library aware of the opportunity to purchase the piece. "It was very exciting to be in the position of connecting the agent with the potential buyer in Canada", said Mrs. Kahn, who is familiar with international transactions of this kind.

Michel Brisebois, rare book curator at the National Library, was thrilled. "For our national collection of rare Canadiana, it's certainly a coup for us to have gotten our hands on it. This is a piece of international stature." Sold for a penny, ballads were a popular form of entertainment in England and supplied people with sensational stories based on current events. According to Mr. Brisebois, "Few have survived. They were typically read, passed around and quickly discarded. Its uniqueness makes it an important addition to the National Library's collection."

There are earlier published works on Canada, but much of this material was written in French and translated. With respects to earlier English-language works, they only made

passing mention of the new colony, within the pages of more general publications.

Mr. Brisebois pointed out that this has been the only copy found of the ballad, which is in itself important. In fact, the same copy of the ballad had been reprinted in a small press run approximately 30 years ago. It is believed to have been discovered in the 1960s by the former owner, who took some time to research the ballad. No other copies have surfaced, making this ballad a unique artifact.

Mr. Brisebois emphasized its importance to Canadian history as well. This is a ballad which narrates a British attack on the developing settlements in New France, at the time of Samuel de Champlain.

The ballad is illustrated with four woodcuts printed at the top of the sheets. The text consists of 22 stanzas of lyrics. It was originally set to music, the tune of which is mentioned on the ballad sheets, "King Henries going to Bulloyne". Mr. Brisebois said that it was the type of popular song that was sung in the local pubs.

The Author

Dryden refers to Martin Parker (d. 1656) as "the best ballad-maker of his day." He was the author of numerous printed broadside ballads, as well as several small chapbooks and romances. A staunch royalist, Parker's ballad *When the King enjoys his owne again*, in support of Charles I, was called the "most famous popular air ever heard in this country" by Ritson, in his *Ancient Songs*. A number of Parker's ballads survived for centuries

as popular songs, such as *When the stormy winds do blow*. Many of Parker's lesser known ballads are preserved in a unique collection in the British Museum. See WorldBookDealers.com.



MILITARY HISTORY

Englands Honour revived.

By the valiant exploiters of Captaine *Kirke*, and his adherents, who with three Ships, viz. the *Abigaile* Admirall, the *Charitie* vice Admirall, and the *Elizabeth* the reare Admirall: did many admirable exploiters; as is exactly showne in the iusuing story. To the Tune of King *Henries* going to *Bulloyne*.

Brave Souldiers of this island,
That fight by Sea, or by Land,
Attention give unto this gallant newes:
Which commeth to revive our hearts
Lately dul'd; to feele the smarts,
Of those true Christians whom our foes misuse.

Three Ships that lancht forth lately,
(Vessels tall and stately,
Under the command of brave Captaine *Kirke*.
Hath had such auspicious chance,
Against our vaunting foes of France,
That all true English may applaude this worke.

Upon the second day of *May*,
One the coast of *Canaday*,
Our English vessels safely did arive;
And tooke a Ship of *Biskany*
Which did in the Harbour lie,
That by the trade of Fishing sought to thrive.

A Frenchman in her company,
They surprised valiantly,
And after that a vessel call'd the *Post*:
Our Englishmen in fight subdude,
Thus their good fortunes they persude,
And vext their Enemies on their owne coast.

I cannot tell you truely,
What past twixt then and *July*,
But in that month upon the thirteenth day:
Foure mighty and tall French Ships of Warre,
Came supposing us to scarre,
And so they did the cleane contrary way.

Sure never any mortall wight,
Beheld a fiercer Sea-fight,
Then was betweene those foure French Ships and
ours:
They for full ten howers space,
Strove for Victory apace,
On either side the Sea men shewde their powers.

At last (by Heavens assistance,
After this long resistance,
Our English over came the French in fight:
And like brave Conquerors did surprise,
Both Ships and goods, in warlike wise,
Thus did they coole the Frenchmens courage quite.

And yet the (Lord be thanked,
In all this bloody banquet,
Wherein so many Frenchmen were struke dead:
Not any one oth' English side,
In the furious Battell dyde,
This is a thing that may be Chronicled.

Neither was any of our men,
In the Skirmish wounded then,
But onely one who was a Trumpeter:
And he as I doe understand,
Was with a Bullet shot ith' hand,
Gods power then let's before our owne preferre.

For had not he us aided,
I needes must be perswaded,
We had not beene so merveilously saved:
As not one Englishman to dye,
In gaining such a Victory,
That may for after ages be ingraved.

The second Part: To the same Tune.

To prosecute my story,
Unto those Sea-mens glory,
According to the truth of what befell:
I must proceed to the next day,
Where on the coast of *Canaday*,
Another shippe our English then did quell,

This shippe with Fish was laden well,
Which to Sea-mens shares then fell:
And after that in *August* 'twas their chance,
About Saint *Peters* Iland then,
To try their valour once agen:
They met and fought with five more ships of
France.

Among those shippes then by Gods helpe,
Was one that's cald the *Lyons Whelpe*,
Which shippe belongd to Queen *Elizabeth*,
From us twas taken in those dayes
By the *French*: yet now she stayes,
Ith English power to fight for the true Faith.

And in the *Elizabeth of Diepe*,
Which was the Admirall of the Fleete:
The Governour oth Ilands sonne was there.
Who was in *France* I understand,
To learne the language of the land,
And now he's come to learne some English here,

He's a brave and proper Prince,
And lives in *London* ever since,
Where many people see him every day
For oft he walkes in the *Exchange*,
To see our customes to him strange,
By some he's cald the Prince of Canaday.

This Iland as it well appeares,
Hath bin almost this twenty yeeres
possessed by the *French*; but this invasion
Hath frustrated their hopes almost,
All their providings quite are crost
They are like I thinke to leave off that Plantation.

For these three shippes of *England*,
Comming thither ith Spring: and
Increasing still their number by their might,
Have ransackt burnt and spoyled all:
That into their hands did fall,
Which hath disfurnisht them of victuall quite.

Forthwith it is declared,
That those *French* shippes cari'd,
Provision full enough to serve three yeeres
And for the preservation,
Of that hopefull new Plantation,
Where they made account as well appeares.

But now all is surprised
As it is surmised
That if more land-men had bin in our Fleet
The Iland had bin overrun,
And for the King of *England* woon,
It may be that ere long we so may see't,

Just threescore Bullockes fat and faire,
By our English burned were,
Which was a pitious object to behold,
But twas farre better to doe so
Then to have left them for our foe
For we had more then carry well we could.

Thus our valient Captaine *Kirk*,
Did the *French* men soundly jerk,
And purchast honour unto h's native land
Oh had we many like to him,
Then *England* would in credit swim,
And *France* nor *Spaine* could not against us stand.

Our gracious King and Queene God save,
With all the Privy Counsell grave,
And send reliefe to *Rochel* in distresse,
Oh now when earthly meanes doth faile,
Let Heavenly power at last prevaile,
Amen, cry all that doe true Faith professe.

FINIS. *M.P.*

Printed for *M. Trundle*, Widdow

The Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network
 and
The Fédération des sociétés d'histoire du Québec
 Present:



*Two Solitudes:
 Myths and Realities*

French and English Perspectives of Quebec History, 1837-1867

F A L L W O R K S H O P

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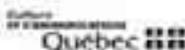
Includes: conferences, lunch and coffee breaks

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Programme

Opening Address:
 Jacques Lacoursière
 Round-table discussions on the 1837-38 Rebellions
 Round-table Discussions on Responsible
 Government and the Birth of Confederation



Canada