

**Charles Prestwood Sir
Lucas**



*A history
of Canada,
1763-1812*

Charles Prestwood Sir Lucas

A history of Canada, 1763-1812



Published by Good Press, 2022

goodpress@okpublishing.info

EAN 4064066431655

TABLE OF CONTENTS

[PREFACE](#)

[LIST OF MAPS](#)

[CHAPTER I THE PROCLAMATION OF 1763, AND PONTIAC'S WAR](#)

[CHAPTER II CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE QUEBEC ACT](#)

[CHAPTER III THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE](#)

[CHAPTER IV THE TREATY OF 1783 AND THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS](#)

[CHAPTER V LORD DORCHESTER AND THE CANADA ACT OF 1791](#)

[CHAPTER VI SIR JAMES CRAIG](#)

[APPENDIX I TREATY OF PARIS, 1783](#)

[APPENDIX II THE BOUNDARY LINE OF CANADA](#)

[INDEX](#)

[CLARENDON PRESS BOOKS](#)

PREFACE

[Table of Contents](#)

My warm thanks are due to Mr. C. T. Atkinson, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford, who most kindly read through the proofs of the chapter on the War of American Independence and made some valuable corrections; and also to Mr. C. Atchley, I.S.O., Librarian of the Colonial Office, who has given me constant help. Two recent and most valuable books have greatly facilitated the study of Canadian history since 1763, viz., *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-91*, selected and edited with notes by Messrs. Shortt and Doughty, and *Canadian Constitutional Development*, by Messrs. Egerton and Grant. I want to express my grateful acknowledgements of the help which these books have given to me.

C. P. LUCAS.

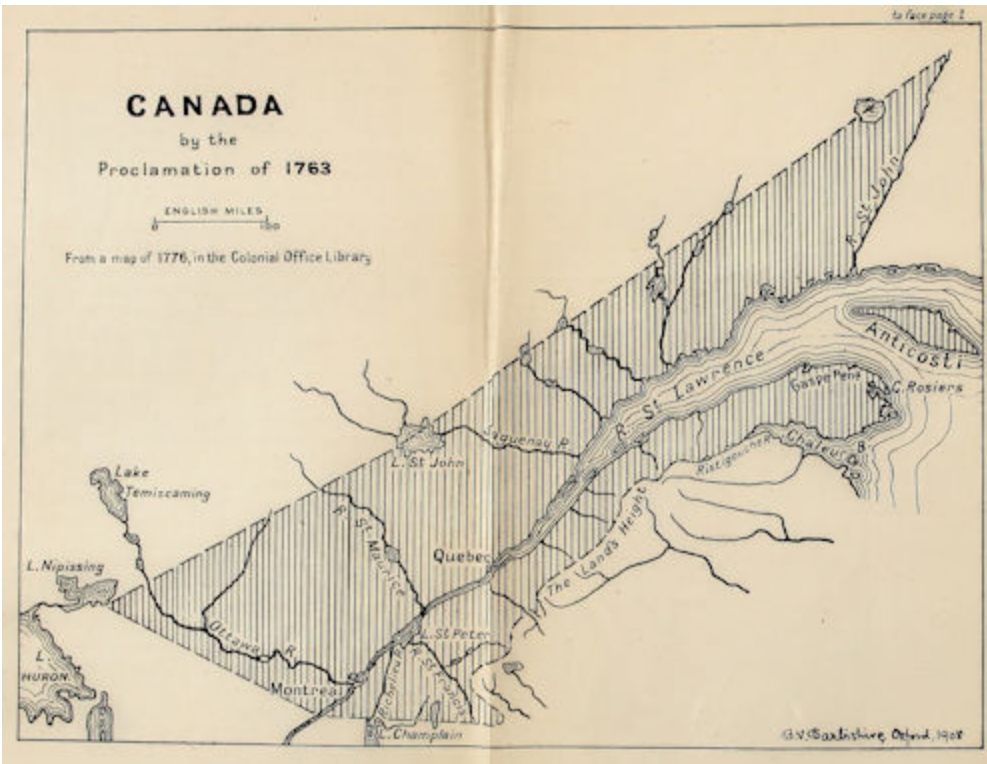
December, 1908.

LIST OF MAPS

Table of Contents

1.	MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE PROCLAMATION OF 1763	<i>To face</i>	1
2.	CANADA UNDER THE QUEBEC ACT	"	81
*3.	PLAN OF THE CITY AND ENVIRONS OF QUEBEC	"	112
4.	MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE BORDER WARS	"	145
*5.	A MAP OF THE COUNTRY IN WHICH THE ARMY UNDER LIEUTENANT-GENERAL BURGOYNE ACTED IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1777	"	161
6.	THE TWO CANADAS UNDER THE CONSTITUTIONAL ACT OF 1791	"	257
7.	MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE BOUNDARY OF CANADA	"	321
8.	MAP OF EASTERN CANADA AND PART OF THE UNITED STATES	End of book.	

* Reproductions of contemporary maps.



[click here](#)

for larger image.

to face page 1

CANADA
by the
Proclamation of **1763**
From a map of 1776, in the Colonial Office Library

B. V. Barbishire, Oxford, 1908

HISTORY OF CANADA, 1763-1812

CHAPTER I

THE PROCLAMATION OF 1763, AND PONTIAC'S WAR

[Table of Contents](#)

On the 10th of February, 1763, the *The Peace of* Peace of Paris was signed between Great *Paris*. Britain, France, and Spain. Under its provisions all North America, east of the Mississippi, which had been owned or claimed by France, was, with the exception of the city of New Orleans, transferred to Great Britain, the navigation of the Mississippi being thrown open to the subjects of both Powers. The English also received Florida from Spain, in return for Havana given back to its old owners. Under a treaty secretly concluded in November, 1762, when the preliminaries of the general treaty were signed, Spain took over from France New Orleans and Louisiana west of the Mississippi, the actual transfer being completed in 1769. Thus France lost all hold on the North American continent, while retaining various West Indian islands, and fishing rights on part of the Newfoundland coast, which were supplemented by possession of the two adjacent islets of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

In the autumn of the year 1763, on the *The* 7th of October, King George III issued a *Proclamation of* proclamation constituting 'within the *1763*. countries and islands, ceded and confirmed to us by the said treaty, four distinct and separate governments, styled and called by the names of

Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada'. Of these four governments, the first alone requires special notice. The government of Grenada was in the West Indies, and the governments of East and West Florida, excluding a debatable strip of territory which was annexed to the State of Georgia, were co-extensive with the new province which had been acquired from Spain.

The limits assigned by the proclamation *Boundaries of* to the government of Quebec were as *the* follows: north of the St. Lawrence, the new *government of* province was 'bounded on the Labrador *Quebec.* coast by the river St. John, and from thence by a line drawn from the head of that river, through the Lake St. John, to the south end of the Lake Nipissim'. The river St. John flows into the St. Lawrence over against the western end of the island of Anticosti; Lake St. John is the lake out of which the Saguenay takes its course; Lake Nipissim or Nipissing is connected by French river with Georgian Bay and Lake Huron. The line in question, therefore, was drawn due south-west from Lake St. John parallel to the St. Lawrence.[\[1\]](#) From the southern end of Lake Nipissim the line, according to the terms of the proclamation, crossed the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain in 45 degrees of north latitude. In other words, it was drawn due south-east, to the west of and parallel to the Ottawa river, until it struck the St. Lawrence, where the 45th parallel of north latitude meets that river at the foot of the Long Sault Rapids. It then followed the 45th parallel eastward across the outlet of Lake Champlain, and subsequently, diverging to the north-east, was carried 'along the highlands which divide the rivers that empty

themselves into the said river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the sea'. Further east it skirted 'the north coast of the Baye des Chaleurs and the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosieres', which last named cape is at the extreme end of the Gaspé peninsula. The line then again crossed the St. Lawrence by the western end of the island of Anticosti, and joined the river St. John.

Thus, south of the St. Lawrence, the boundary of the province of Quebec was, roughly speaking, much the same as it is at the present day. Its westernmost limit was also not far different, the Ottawa river being in the main the existing boundary between the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. On the north and north-east, on the other hand, the government of Quebec in 1763 covered a smaller area than is now the case. 'To the end that the open and free fishery of our subjects may be extended to and carried on upon the coast of Labrador and the adjacent islands,' ran the terms of the proclamation, 'we have thought fit, with the advice of our said Privy Council, to put all that coast from the river St. John's to Hudson's Straits, together with the islands of Anticosti and Madelaine, and all other smaller islands lying upon the said coast, under the care and inspection of our Governor of Newfoundland.' To the government of Nova Scotia were annexed the conquered islands of St. Jean or St. John's, now Prince Edward Island, and Isle Royale or Cape Breton, 'with the lesser islands adjacent thereto.'

It was greatly desired to encourage *Encouragement* British settlement in North America, and *of military and* special regard was had in this respect to *naval settlers*. the soldiers and sailors who in North

American lands and waters had deserved so well of their country. Accordingly the proclamation contained a special provision for grants of land, within the old and the new colonies alike, to retired officers of the army who had served in North America during the late war; to private soldiers who had been disbanded in and were actually living in North America; and to retired officers of the navy who had served in North America 'at the times of the reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec'. It was thought also by the Lords of Trade that confidence and encouragement would be given to intending settlers, if at the outset they were publicly notified of the form of government under which they would live. Hence the proclamation provided, as *Provision for a legislature and for the administration of justice.* regards the new colonies, 'that so soon as the state and circumstances of the said colonies will admit thereof,' the governors 'shall, with the advice and consent of the members of our Council, summon and call

General Assemblies within the said governments respectively, in such manner and form as is used and directed in those colonies and provinces in America which are under our immediate government'. The governors, councils, and representatives of the people, when duly constituted, were empowered to make laws for the public peace, welfare, and good government of the colonies, provided that such laws should be 'as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England, and under such regulations and restrictions as are used in other colonies.' Pending the constitution of the legislatures, the inhabitants and settlers were to enjoy the benefit of the laws of

England, and the governors were empowered, with the advice of their councils, to establish courts of justice, to hear and decide civil and criminal cases alike, in accordance as far as possible with the laws of England, a right of appeal being given in civil cases to the Privy Council in England. It was not stated in the proclamation, but it was embodied in the governors' instructions, that until General Assemblies could be constituted, the governors, with the advice of their councils, were to make rules and regulations for peace, order, and good government, all matters being reserved 'that shall any ways tend to affect the life, limb, or liberty of the subject, or to the imposing any duties or taxes'.

In June, 1762, James Murray, then *The Western* military governor of the district of Quebec, *territories*. and subsequently the first civil governor of the province, wrote that it was impossible to ascertain exactly what part of North America the French styled Canada. In the previous March General Gage, then military governor of Montreal, had written that he could not discover 'that the limits betwixt Louisiana and Canada were distinctly described, so as to be publicly known', but that from the trade which Canadians had carried on under the authority of their governors, he judged 'not only the lakes, which are indisputable, but the whole course of the Mississippi from its heads to its junction with the Illinois, to have been comprehended by the French in the government of Canada'. In June, 1763, the Lords of Trade, when in obedience to the Royal commands they were considering the terms and the scope of the coming proclamation, reported that 'Canada, as possessed and claimed by the French, consisted of an

immense tract of country including as well the whole lands to the westward indefinitely which was the subject of their Indian trade, as all that country from the southern bank of the river St. Lawrence, where they carried on their encroachments’.

After the Peace of Paris had been signed, the King, through Lord Egremont, who had succeeded Chatham as Secretary of State for the southern department, referred the whole subject of his new colonial possessions to the Lords of Trade. In doing so he called special attention to the necessity of keeping peace among the North American Indians—a subject which was shortly to be illustrated by Pontiac’s war—and to this end he laid stress upon the desirability of protecting their persons, their property, and their privileges, and ‘most cautiously guarding against any invasion or occupation of their hunting lands, the possession of which is to be acquired by fair purchase only’. The Lords of Trade recommended adoption of ‘the general proposition of leaving a large tract of country round the Great Lakes as an Indian country, open to trade, but not to grants and settlements; the limits of such territory will be sufficiently ascertained by the bounds to be given to the governors of Canada and Florida on the north and south, and the Mississippi on the west; and by the strict directions to be given to Your Majesty’s several governors of your ancient colonies for preventing their making any new grants of lands beyond certain fixed limits to be laid down in the instructions for that purpose’. Egremont answered that the King demurred to leaving so large a tract of land without a civil jurisdiction and open, as being derelict, to possible

foreign intrusion; and that, in His opinion, the commission of the Governor of Canada should include 'all the lakes, viz. Ontario, Erie, Huron, Michigan, and Superior', and 'all the country as far north and west as the limits of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Mississippi'. At the same time He cordially concurred in not permitting grants of lands or settlements in these regions, which should be 'for the present left unsettled, for the Indian tribes to hunt in, but open to a free trade for all the colonies'. The Lords of Trade were not convinced. They deprecated annexing this western territory to any colony, and particularly to Canada, on three grounds: The first was that annexation to Canada might imply that the British title to these lands was the result of the late treaty and of the cession of Canada, whereas it rested on antecedent rights, and it was important not to let the Indians form a wrong impression on this head by being brought under the government of the old French province. The second ground was that, if the Indian territory was annexed to one particular province and subjected to its laws, that province would have an undue advantage over the other provinces or colonies in respect to the Indian trade, which it was the intention of the Crown to leave open as far as possible to all British subjects. The third objection to annexing the territory to Canada was that the laws of the province could not be enforced except by means of garrisons established at different posts throughout the area, which would necessitate either that the Governor of Canada should always be commander-in-chief of the forces in North America, or that there should be constant friction between the civil governor and the military commanders. This

reasoning prevailed, and the lands which it was contemplated to reserve for the use of the Indians were not annexed to any particular colony or assigned to any one colonial government.

With this great area, covering the *Provisions for* present province of Ontario and the north *the protection* central states of the American Republic, *of the Indians.*

the Royal proclamation dealt as follows:

‘Whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our interest, and the security of our colonies, that the several nations or tribes of Indians, with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their hunting grounds ... we do further declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the lands and territories not included within the limits of our said three new governments, or within the limits of the territory granted to the Hudson’s Bay Company, as also all the lands and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and north-west as aforesaid; and we do hereby strictly forbid, on pain of our displeasure, all our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of any of the lands above reserved, without our especial leave and licence for that purpose first obtained.’

Thus North America, outside the recognized limits of the old or new colonies, was for the time being constituted a great native reserve; and even within the limits of the colonies it was provided 'that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any lands reserved to the said Indians within those parts of our colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlement: but that, if at any time any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for us, in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose by the governor or commander-in-chief of our colony respectively within which they shall lie'. Trade with the Indians was to be free and open to all British subjects, but the traders were to take out licences, and, while no fees were to be charged for such licences, the traders were to give security that they would observe any regulations laid down for the benefit of the trade.[\[2\]](#)

It is impossible to study the correspondence which preceded the Proclamation of 1763, without recognizing that those who framed it were anxious to frame a just and liberal policy, but its terms bear witness to the almost insuperable difficulties which attend the acquisition of *Difficulties of a great borderland of colonization, the situation.* difficulties which in a few years' time were largely responsible for the American War of Independence. How to administer a new domain with equity and sound judgement; how to give to new subjects, acquired by conquest, the privileges enjoyed by the old colonies; how to reconcile the claims of the old colonies, whose inland

borders had never been demarcated, with the undoubted rights of native races; how to promote trade and settlement without depriving the Indians of their heritage;—such were the problems which the British Government was called upon to face and if possible to solve. The proclamation was in a few years' time followed up by the Quebec Act of 1774, in connexion with which more will be said as to these thorny questions. In the meantime, even before the proclamation had been issued, the English had on their hands what was perhaps the most dangerous and widespread native rising which ever threatened their race in the New World.

The great French scheme for a North *French policy in* American dominion depended upon *North America*. securing control of the waterways and control of the natives. Even before the dawn of the eighteenth century, Count Frontenac among governors, La Salle among pioneers, saw clearly the importance of gaining the West and the ways to the West; and they realized that, in order to attain that object, the narrows on the inland waters, and the portages from one lake or river to another, must be commanded; that the Indians who were hostile to France must be subdued, and that the larger number of red men, who liked French ways and French leadership, must be given permanent evidence of the value of French protection and the strength of French statesmanship.

Along the line of lakes and rivers in *The French* course of years French forts were placed. *posts in the* Fort Frontenac, first founded in 1673 by *West*. the great French governor whose name it bore, guarded, on the site of the present city of Kingston,

the outlet of the St. Lawrence from Lake Ontario. Fort Niagara, begun by La Salle in the winter of 1678-9, on the eastern bank of the Niagara river, near its entrance into Lake Ontario, covered the portage from that lake to Lake Erie. Fort Detroit, dating from the first years of the eighteenth century, stood by the river which carries the waters of Lake Huron and Lake St. Clair into Lake Erie. Its founder was La Mothe Cadillac. The post at Michillimackinac was at the entrance of Lake Michigan. From Lake Erie to the Ohio were two lines of forts. The main line began with Presque Isle on the southern shore of the lake, and ended with Fort Duquesne, afterwards renamed Pittsburg, the intermediate posts being Fort Le Bœuf at the head of French Creek, and Venango where that stream joins the Alleghany. Further west, past the intermediate fort of Sandusky, which stood on the southern shore of Lake Erie, there was a second series of outposts, of which we hear little in the course of the Seven Years' War. The Maumee river flows into the south-western end of Lake Erie, and on it, at a point where there was a portage to the Wabash river, was constructed Fort Miami, on or near the site of the later American Fort Wayne. On the Wabash, which joins the Ohio not very far above the confluence of the latter river with the Mississippi, were two French posts, Fort Ouatanon and, lower down its course, Fort Vincennes. On the central Mississippi the chief nucleus of French trade and influence was Fort Chartres. It stood on the eastern bank of the river, eighty to ninety miles above the confluence of the Ohio, and but a few miles north of the point where the Kaskaskia river flows into the Mississippi. On the Kaskaskia, among the

Illinois Indians, there was a French outpost, and settlement fringed the eastern side of the Mississippi northwards to Fort Chartres. Above that fort there was a road running north on the same side to Cahokia, a little below and on the opposite side to the confluence of the Missouri; and in 1763 a French settler crossed the Mississippi, and opened a store on the site of the present city of St. Louis. The posts on the Mississippi were, both for trading and for political purposes, connected with Louisiana rather than with Canada; and, though the Peace of Paris had ceded to Great Britain the soil on which they stood, the French had not been disturbed by any assertion of British sovereignty prior to the war which is associated with the name of the Indian chief Pontiac.

The rising which Pontiac headed came *The rising of* too late for the Indians to be permanently *Pontiac*. successful. In any case it could have had, eventually, but one ending, the overthrow of the red men: but, while it lasted, it seriously delayed the consolidation of English authority over the West. After most wars of conquest there supervene minor wars or rebellions, waves of the receding tide when high-water is past, disturbances due to local mismanagement and local discontent; but the Indian war, which began in 1763, had special *Its special* characteristics. In the first place, the rising *characteristics*. was entirely a native revolt. No doubt it was fomented by malcontent French traders and settlers, disseminating tales of English iniquities and raising hopes of a French revival; but very few Frenchmen were to be found in the fighting line; the warriors were red men, not white. In the second place it was a rising of the Western Indians, of

the tribes who had not known in any measure the strength of the English, and who had known, more as friends than as subjects, the guidance and the spirit of the French. Of the Six Nations, the Senecas alone, the westernmost members of the Iroquois Confederacy, joined in the struggle, and the centre of disturbance was further west. In the third place the rising was more carefully planned, the conception was more statesmanlike, the action was more organized, than has usually been the case among savage races. There was unity of plan and harmony in action, which betokened leadership of no ordinary kind. The leader was the Ottawa chief Pontiac.

‘When the Indian nations saw the *Indian* French power, as it were, annihilated in *suspensions of* North America, they began to imagine that *the English*. they ought to have made greater and earlier efforts in their favour. The Indians had not been for a long time so jealous of them as they were of us. The French seemed more intent on trade than settlement. Finding themselves infinitely weaker than the English, they supplied, as well as they could, the place of strength by policy, and paid a much more flattering and systematic attention to the Indians than we had ever done. Our superiority in this war rendered our regard to this people still less, which had always been too little.’[3] The Indians were frightened too, says the same writer, by the English possession of the chains of forts: ‘they beheld in every little garrison the germ of a future colony.’ Ripe for revolt, and never yet subdued, as their countrymen further east had been, they found a strong man of their own race to lead

them, and tried conclusions with the dominant white race in North America.

In the autumn of 1760, after the *Rogers' mission* capitulation of Montreal, General Amherst *to Detroit*. sent Major Robert Rogers, the New Hampshire Ranger, to receive the submission of the French forts on the further lakes. On the 13th of September Rogers embarked at Montreal with two hundred of his men: he made his way up the St. Lawrence, and coasted the northern shore of Lake Ontario, noting, as he went, that Toronto, where the French had held Fort Rouillé, was 'a most convenient place for a factory, and that from thence we may very easily settle the north side of Lake Erie'.^[4] He crossed the upper end of Lake Ontario to Fort Niagara, already in British possession; and, having taken up supplies, carried his whale boats round the falls and launched them on Lake Erie. Along the southern side of that lake he went forward to Presque Isle, where Bouquet was in command of the English garrison; and, leaving his men, he went himself down by Fort le Bœuf, the French Creek river, and Venango to Fort Pitt, or Pittsburg, as Fort Duquesne had been renamed by John Forbes in honour of Chatham. His instructions were to carry dispatches to General Monckton at Pittsburg, and to take orders from him for a further advance. Returning to Presque Isle at the end of October, he went westward along Lake Erie, making for Detroit. No English force had yet been in evidence so far to the West. On the 7th of November he encamped on the southern shore of Lake Erie, at a point near the site of the present

city of Cleveland, and there he was met by a party of Ottawa Indians 'just arrived from Detroit'.^[5]

They came, as Rogers tells us in *His meeting* another book,^[6] on an embassy from *with Pontiac*.

Pontiac, and were immediately followed by

that chief himself. Pontiac's personality seems to have impressed the white backwoodsman, though he had seen and known all sorts and conditions of North American Indians. 'I had several conferences with him,' he writes, 'in which he discovered great strength of judgement and a thirst after knowledge.' Pontiac took up the position of being 'King and Lord of the country', and challenged Rogers and his men as intruders into his land; but he intimated that he would be prepared to live peaceably with the English, as a subordinate not a conquered potentate; and the result of the meeting was that the Rangers were supplied with fresh provisions and were escorted in safety on their way, instead of being obstructed and attacked, as had been contemplated, at the entrance of the Detroit river. On the 12th of November Rogers set out again; on the 19th he sent on an officer in advance with a letter to Belêtre, the French commander at Detroit, informing him of the capitulation of Montreal and calling upon him to deliver *Surrender of* up the fort. On the 29th of November the *Detroit to the* English force landed half a mile below the *English*.

fort, and on the same day the French garrison laid down their arms. Seven hundred Indians were present; and, when they saw the French colours hauled down and the English flag take their place, unstable as water and ever siding at the moment with the stronger

party, they shouted that 'they would always for the future fight for a nation thus favoured by Him that made the world'.^[7]

There were at the time, Rogers tells us, *Detroit*.^[8] about 2,500 French Canadians settled in the neighbourhood of Detroit. The dwelling-houses, near 300 in number, extended on both sides of the river for about eight miles. The land was good for grazing and for agriculture, and there was a 'very large and lucrative' trade with the Indians.

Having sent the French garrison down to Philadelphia, and established an English garrison in its place, Rogers sent a small party to take over Fort Miami on the Maumee river, and set out himself with another detachment for Michillimackinac. But it was now the middle of December; floating ice made navigation of Lake Huron dangerous; after a vain attempt to reach Michillimackinac he returned to Detroit on the 21st of December; and, marching overland to the Ohio and to Philadelphia, he finally reached New York on the 14th of February, 1761. In the autumn of that year a detachment of Royal Americans took possession of Michillimackinac.

Return of Rogers.

Michillimackinac occupied by the English.

Throughout 1761 and 1762 the Indian discontent of the Indians increased; they saw the English officers and soldiers in their midst in strength and pride; they listened to the tales of the French voyageurs; they remembered French friendship and address, and contrasted it with the grasping

Indian discontent.

rudeness of the English trader or colonist; a native prophet rose up to call the red men back to savagery, as the one road to salvation; and influenced at once by superstition and by the present fear of losing their lands, the tribes of the West made ready to fight.

For months the call to war had secretly been passing from tribe to tribe, and from village to village; and on the 27th of April, 1763, Pontiac held a council of Indians at the little river Ecorces some miles to the south of Detroit, at which it was determined to attack the fort. *The fort at* Fort Detroit stood on the western side of *Detroit.*

the Detroit river, which runs from Lake St.

Clair to Lake Erie, at about five miles distance from the former lake and a little over twenty miles from Lake Erie. The river is at its narrowest point more than half a mile wide, and, as already stated, Canadian settlement fringed both banks. The fort, which stood a little back from the bank of the river, consisted of a square enclosure surrounded by a wooden palisade, with bastions and block-houses also of wood, and within the palisade was a small town with barracks, council house, and church. The garrison consisted of about 120 soldiers belonging to the 39th Regiment; and, in addition to the ordinary Canadian residents within the town, there were some 40 fur-traders present at the time, most of whom were French. The commander was a determined man, Major Gladwin, who, *Major Gladwin.* under Braddock on the Monongahela river, had seen the worst of Indian fighting. Before April ended Gladwin reported to Amherst that there was danger of an Indian outbreak; and, when the crisis came, warned either

by Indians or by Canadians, he was prepared for it. For some, at any rate, of the Canadians at Detroit, though they had no love for the English, and though Pontiac was moving in the name of the French king, were men of substance and had something to lose. They were therefore not inclined to side with the red men against the white, or to lend themselves to extermination of the English garrison.

On the 1st of May Pontiac and forty of *Pontiac's* his men came into the fort on an outwardly *attempt to* friendly visit, and took stock of the ways of *surprise the* attack and the means of defence. Then a *garrison*. few days passed in preparing for the blow. A party of 60 warriors were once more to gain admittance, hiding under their blankets guns whose barrels had been filed down for the purpose of concealment: they were to hold a council with the English officers, and at a given signal to shoot them down. The 7th of May was the day fixed for the deed, but Gladwin was forewarned and forearmed. The Indian chiefs were admitted to the fort, and attended the council; but they found the garrison under arms, and their plot discovered. Both sides dissembled, and the Indians were allowed to leave, disconcerted, but saved for further mischief. On the 9th of May they again applied to be admitted to the fort, but this time were refused, and open warfare began. Two or three English, who *The fort openly* were outside the palisade at the time, *attacked*. were murdered, and on the 10th, for six hours, the savages attacked the fort with no success.

There was little danger that Detroit *Siege of* would be taken by assault, but there was *Detroit*.

danger of the garrison being starved out. Gladwin, therefore, tried negotiation with Pontiac, and using French Canadians as intermediaries, sent two English officers with them to the Indian camp. The two Englishmen, one of them Captain Campbell, an old officer of high character and repute, were kept as captives, and Campbell was subsequently murdered. The surrender of the fort was then demanded by Pontiac, a demand which was at once refused; and against the wishes of his officers Gladwin determined to hold the post at all costs. Supplies were brought in by night by friendly Canadians, and all immediate danger of starvation passed away.

Amherst, the commander-in-chief, far away at New York, had not yet learnt of the peril of Detroit or of the nature and extent of the Indian rising, but in the ordinary course in the month of May supplies were being sent up for the western garrisons. The convoy intended for Detroit *British convoy* left Niagara on the 13th of that month, in *cut off*. charge of Lieutenant Cuyler with 96 men.

Coasting along the northern shore of Lake Erie, Cuyler, towards the end of the month, reached a point near the outlet of the Detroit river, and there drew up his boats on the shore. Before an encampment could be formed the Indians broke in upon the English, who fled panic-stricken to the boats; only two boats escaped, and between 50 and 60 men out of the total number of 96 were killed or taken. The survivors, Cuyler himself among them, made their way across the lake to Fort Sandusky, only to find that it had been burnt to the ground, thence to Presque Isle, which was shortly to share the fate of Sandusky, and eventually to

Niagara. The prisoners were carried off by their Indian captors, up the Detroit river; two escaped to the fort to tell the tale of disaster, but the majority were butchered with all the nameless tortures which North American savages could devise.

While Detroit was being besieged, at *Destruction of* other points in the West one disaster *the Western* followed another. Isolated from each other, *outposts by the* weakly garrisoned, commanded, in some *Indians.* instances, by officers of insufficient experience or wanting in determination, the forts fell fast. On the 16th of May Sandusky was blotted out; on the 25th Fort St. Joseph, at the south-eastern end of Lake Michigan, was taken; and on the 27th Fort Miami, on the Maumee river. Fort Ouatanon on the Wabash was taken on the 1st of June; and on the 4th of that month the Ojibwa Indians overpowered the garrison of Michillimackinac, second in importance to *They take* Detroit. Captain Etherington, the *Michillimackina* commander at Michillimackinac, knew *c.* nothing of what was passing elsewhere, though he had been warned of coming danger, and he lost the fort through an Indian stratagem. The English were invited outside the palisades to see an Indian game of ball; and, while the onlookers were off their guard, and the gates of the fort stood open, the players turned into warriors; some of the garrison and of the English traders were murdered, and the rest were made prisoners. The massacre, however, was not wholesale. Native jealousy gave protectors to the English survivors in a tribe of Ottawas who dwelt near: a French Jesuit priest used every effort to save

their lives; and eventually the survivors, among whom was Etherington, were, with the garrison of a neighbouring and subordinate post at Green Bay, sent down in safety to Montreal by the route of the Ottawa river.

Next came the turn of the forts which connected Lake Erie with the Ohio. On the 15th of June Presque Isle was attacked; on the 17th it surrendered. It was a strong fort, and in the opinion of Bouquet—a competent judge—its commander, Ensign Christie, showed little stubbornness in defence. Fort le Bœuf fell on the 18th, Venango about the same date, and communication between *Fort Pitt* the lakes and Fort Pitt was thus cut off. *isolated.* Fort Pitt itself was threatened by the Indians, and towards the end of July openly attacked, while on Forbes' and Bouquet's old route from that fort to Bedford in Pennsylvania, Fort Ligonier was also at an earlier date assailed, though fortunately without success.

Amherst now realized the gravity of the *Dalyell sent to crisis*, and his first care was the relief of *the relief of Detroit.* A force of 280 men, commanded *Detroit.* by Captain Dalyell, one of his aides de camp, and including Robert Rogers with 20 Rangers, was sent up from Niagara, ascended on the 29th of July the Detroit river by night, and reached the fort in safety. Long experience in North American warfare had taught the lesson which Wolfe always preached, that the English should, whenever and wherever it was possible, take the offensive. Accordingly Dalyell urged Gladwin, against the latter's better judgement, to allow him to attack Pontiac at once; and before daybreak, on the morning of the 31st, he led out

about 250 men for the purpose. Less than two miles north-east of the fort, a little stream, then known *The fight at* as Parents Creek and after the fight as *Parents Creek.* Bloody Run, ran into the main river; and beyond it was Pontiac's encampment, which Dalyell proposed to surprise. Unfortunately the Indians were fully informed of the intended movement, and there ensued one more of the many disasters which marked the onward path of the white men in North America. The night was dark: the English advance took them among enclosures and farm buildings, which gave the Indians cover. As the leading soldiers were crossing the creek they were attacked by invisible foes; and, when compelled to retreat, the force was beset on all sides and ran the risk of being cut off from the fort. Dalyell[9] was shot dead; and, before *Death of* the fort was reached, the English had lost *Dalyell.* one-fourth of their whole number in killed and wounded. The survivors owed their safety to the steadiness of the officers, to the fact that Rogers and his men seized and held a farmhouse to cover the retreat, and to the co-operation of two armed boats, which moved up and down the river parallel to the advance and retreat, bringing off the dead and wounded, and pouring a fire from the flank among the Indians.

Pontiac had achieved a notable success, but Detroit remained safe, and meanwhile in another quarter the tide set against the Indian cause.

After General Forbes, in the late autumn *Fort Pitt.* of 1758, had taken Fort Duquesne, a new English fort, Fort Pitt, was in the following year built by