GLIMPSES OF SOLDIERING AT COTEAU-DU-LAC, QUEBEC - 1780 TO 1856

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BEADS FROM THE FORT AT COTEAU-DU-LAC, QUEBEC

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TABLE GLASS FROM THE FORT AT COTEAU-DU-LAC, QUEBEC

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COINS FROM THE FORT AT COTEAU-DU-LAC, QUEBEC

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Glimpses of Soldiering
at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec -
1780 to 1856
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Abstract

Drawing from contemporary official records and personal memoirs, the author has prepared a brief survey of the duties and lifestyles of the officers and men stationed at the fort at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec, during the period when the fort was active, from 1779 to 1856. The officers' and men's duties encompassed not only the manning of the fort, strategically situated on the St. Lawrence River, but also the construction and maintenance of the canal around the rapids at the site. Their off-duty activities have also been included in this survey, as have their relationships with the nearby town.

S'inspirant des archives officielles contemporaines, de la correspondance existante et des mémoires personnels, l'auteur a fait une courte étude des tâches et du mode de vie des officiers et des hommes en poste au fort de Côteau-du-Lac (Québec). Ce fort servit de 1779 à 1856, soit une période commençant durant la révolution américaine et incluant la guerre de 1812 et la Rébellion de 1837. Les tâches des officiers et des hommes comportaient non seulement la protection du fort, situé à un endroit stratégique près du fleuve Saint-Laurent, mais aussi la construction et l'entretien du canal contournant les rapides à cet endroit. Cette étude fait aussi mention des loisirs des soldats et de leurs relations avec la ville voisine.
Although officers and common soldiers worked closely together in the British army throughout the years 1786 to 1856, the distinction between the two groups was both cultivated and maintained at all times, as can be seen from this officer's statement, circa 1843:

As a groundwork for proceeding properly in my new office, I established an inseparable vacuum between my rank and that of the other non-commissioned officers, treating them with every respect consistent with theirs, and in time, making them sensible that such a difference must be established between their station and that of the privates under them [sic] command....Thus things went on smoothly and pleasantly; and in two or three months, I could trust them in the discharge of their duties with confidence, and they soon learned how far they could go with me.¹

The first of these groups, the officer class, was most often made up of second and third sons of wealthy aristocratic families whose names were linked with Britain's past military engagements. These men made the army their life as well as their career, and many took pride in serving their king and country. A few officers came from the wealthy merchant class and they joined the army, in most cases, out of a desire for adventure and fame coupled with
service to one's land. It is of interest to note that the qualities, both natural and acquired, expected of an officer were:

a robust constitution, a noble open countenance, a martial genius; fire to produce activity; phlegm to moderate his transports, and patience to support the toils and fatigues of war, almost without seeming to feel them. Acquired qualities of an officer consist in moral virtues and sciences; by the first is meant a regular good conduct, economy, prudence and a serious application to what regards the service. Military sciences indispensably demand the reading of ancient and modern historians; a good knowledge of military mathematics and a study of the chief languages of Europe.

These men would purchase a commission in one of Britain's regiments and would be responsible for appropriately equipping themselves for duty and for seeing that they acquired the requisite military training. On the whole, Britain was served well in Canada by her officer class, for they were generally well-educated and trained men and provided the leadership that was needed to conduct the common soldier in his various duties and in the campaigns.

The common soldier, of course, was by far the larger group in the British army. Unfortunately British recruiting practices of the 18th and 19th centuries were hardly conducive to attracting good and able-bodied men into the force. The results of a survey taken in the 1840s show why men entered the army and give some idea as to the type of men one might expect to find in the ranks of an average British regiment. MacMullen claimed that out of a group of 120 soldiers, the following statistics would be borne out:
Indigent - embracing labourers 80 out of 120 and mechanics out of employ who merely seek for support.

Indigent - respectable persons 2 out of 120 induced by misfortune or imprudence.

Idle - who consider a soldier's 16 out of 120 life an easy one.

Bad characters - who fall back 8 out of 120 upon the army as a last resource.

Criminals - who seek to escape 1 out of 120 from the consequence of their offences.

Perverse sons - who seek to 2 out of 120 grieve their parents.

Discontented and restless. 8 out of 120

Ambitious. 1 out of 120

Others. 2 out of 120

To maintain order among such a group of men, intensive military drills were a daily occurrence and severe military laws were established. Disobedience and "unsoldierlike conduct," a term defined by the commanding officer of the regiment, met with harsh punishments ranging from death to a certain number of lashes. These punishments were generally carried out in the presence of all the men as it was felt that by such action others would be deterred from misbehaviour. This reasoning certainly seems to have had some truth to it for Sergeant Lamb (1800) never forgot the first flogging he saw, and wrote that "being at that time only seventeen years of age, with all the warm, youthful emotions operating within me, the spectacle made a lasting impression upon my mind."
Unlike the officer class, the common soldier was issued a uniform upon joining a regiment. In addition, he was provided with a knapsack, a blanket, a camp kettle and a canteen as well as a musket and a few rounds of ball cartridge. After 1816 it was felt that the "soldiers should also be provided with a Book to show the state of their account," and up until 1823 utensil money was also given to the men. However, there is little doubt that the most important article of equipment to the soldier serving in Canada was the great coat for "in this Country a Great Coat is not merely an article of comfort, it is indispensable." Each soldier was responsible for his own equipment. Furthermore, when his regiment was on the march he was often called upon to carry regimental supplies and provisions for another unit. Such was the case of a detachment of the Canadian Regiment, "consisting of 1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal and 12 privates to proceed to Coteau du Lac," who were to take with them "two Flints and Sixty Rounds Ball Cartridge each man - as well as Eight Flints and one hundred and sixty rounds for the Detachment of the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion stationed there." Many British regiments were sent out to Canada between 1759 and 1856. In the earlier half of the 19th century, soldiers in Britain were kept under rigid control and were often employed in the odious duties of assisting the civil powers during disturbances caused by the Industrial Revolution. Thus there is little doubt that the change to the relative freedom of life in Canada was generally popular. Many men made enthusiastic entries in their diaries about the prospect of serving in Canada. Many were disbursed "perfectly enchanted with the prospect of a voyage thither" and others clearly stated that they would prefer to serve in Canada than in the Bermudas ("I, for my part would have preferred Canada, but I don't think we need complain.")
Only a few complained of having served in Quebec.

The regiments were transported by ships of the British Navy to either Halifax or Quebec City and while the soldiers were on board they were under the command of the ship's captain and not of their own officers. As far as luggage was concerned, there was no limit to what an officer could take with him. Many of these men brought elaborate furnishings with them for their new quarters while others took their dogs and pet birds. The common soldier, on the other hand, was allowed to take only his basic equipment and was often put in charge of certain regimental supplies.

Furthermore, a designated number of women and children were allowed to embark with each regiment. These women were generally the wives of the sergeants or of the lower ranking officers as the common soldier was purposely discouraged from getting married and the high ranking officers were very seldom accompanied by their wives to foreign stations.

Most of the regiments seem to have enjoyed their passage out to Canada. The accommodation for the officers was generally very good as they often had a light and airy cabin to themselves. There were four meals a day served on board ship, "breakfast at nine, luncheon at twelve, dinner at four and tea at eight - so that we do pretty well on the whole. We have preserved milk which is like oil, butter like tallow and yellow water." Throughout the voyage the men amused themselves in various ways. They would play "hunt the skipper" and if by chance there were a man on board who could play the pipes, they would dance reels and sing songs and glees. Others amused themselves on the voyage by shooting and harpooning porpoises, and when we got to the bank of Newfoundland, we began to fish, and in two hours caught seventy large codfish averaging from 10 to 25 pounds
weight; as fast as you put your lines down, you hauled up fish; we caught enough for the men and crew besides ourselves.\textsuperscript{10}

Once the regiments had landed at Halifax or Quebec City, they would be transferred to the various military garrisons in this country. The fort at Coteau-du-Lac, situated on the brink of Lac Saint-François and described as "a small post a considerable distance from Kingston,"\textsuperscript{11} was a post of military significance and throughout the years many a British regiment passed through the site on its way to the western garrisons or was based here. In the spring and summer, men destined for the fort at Coteau-du-Lac would generally march from Quebec City to Montreal where they would board bateaux which would take them to Coteau-du-Lac. During the winter months they would travel by horse and sleigh to the post. Such was the case of one wing of the 93rd Regiment whose expenses for winter transportation to Coteau-du-Lac in 1838 consisted of ten shillings and sixpence to each of 11 Canadian drivers for one and a half days service.\textsuperscript{12} Although mention is made of a road running from Cascades to Coteau-du-Lac, a distance of 16 miles, little use was made of it by the military for the condition of the road was, at best, deplorable. A traveller in 1831 described his stage journey from Cascades to Coteau-du-Lac in this way:

the road is generally near the bank of the river....Along this stage, the road is generally very bad: in the spring of the year it cuts to the depth of twelve or eighteen inches, and when summer set in, it dries in this rough condition, so that we had it rough enough, and rougher than I ever saw a coach pass on. It frequently runs near the edge of the river, and there are numerous small brooks
which fall into the St. Lawrence, each being crossed by a wooden bridge of some twenty yards long, and only about two feet above the water, without a vestige of railing, and only a little broader than the coach. There is generally an acclivity on each side, and the driver puts the horses to the gallop at the top of the stopping bank, then drives with fury alongst the corderoy bridge and half way up the other side. This is by no means agreeable, the rest of the passengers disliked it as well as I. I did not like the coach at all on this stage, because the road was very bad, but the rest thought little about it, being accustomed to the roads of the country.  

The site of Coteau-du-Lac in many ways reflects British military policy in Canada throughout these years. Coteau-du-Lac had its beginnings in 1779 as the location of a warehouse where military equipment and supplies for the western garrisons could be stockpiled during the winter months and shipped out with the coming of spring. Hence it was hoped that the navigational season would be lengthened by a few weeks. This experiment in military logistics proved to be successful and the following year additional warehouses were built. Furthermore, in an attempt by the military to improve navigation on the river and to circumvent the dangerous Coteau rapids, Coteau-du-Lac became the site of the first multi-level canal in Canada. Construction of the canal was begun in the summer of 1780 by artificers and sawyers of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, under the direction of William Twiss, R.E. The construction was completed by the spring of 1781 and Coteau-du-Lac continued to serve as a transshipment point for both military and merchant vessels until the late 1830s.
Closely associated with the establishment of warehouses and a canal at Coteau-du-Lac was the need for protection of the site. Wars only accentuated this need. During the American revolutionary war (1775-83) the island opposite Coteau-du-Lac contained a prisoner of war camp, and in the War of 1812, when the British military logistics, strategy and tactics were based upon control of the vulnerable St. Lawrence River route, the fort at Coteau-du-Lac was seen as an essential component of the colony's line of defence. Thus from 1779 to 1854, regimental detachments were stationed at Coteau-du-Lac to garrison the site and in 1812 extensive military construction was undertaken to further fortify and strengthen this position. Furthermore, with the outbreak of rebellion in 1837, repairs were made to the fort and it was put in a state of military preparedness.

Desertion from the ranks to the United States in pursuit of higher wages and improved conditions became an acute problem of the military during the War of 1812 and during the 1820s and early 1830s. The army did its best to frustrate these escapes by retaining garrisons in the border posts. The fort at Coteau-du-Lac was useful in this regard, for a report of 1834 states that a "small detachment of a N.C.O. and 4 men is at present quartered there to prevent dissertation [sic]." During the Rebellion of 1837, men were sent after fleeing rebels and, according to a War Office record, "L. Henry Roebuck was paid £5 5s; Mr. M. Smith £4 1s; Roth McIntyre £6 1ls 8d for horses and sleighs in search of fugitives," while E. Sullivan received 15 shillings for the part he played in the search.

Although it is important to know what role a given fort played, the study is incomplete until an attempt is made to discover what sort of lives were led by the men who garrisoned it. Personal writings have value in such a quest.
Soldiers' diaries, being a record of the daily events which nearly concern their own lives, are notably more truthful, as a rule, and are therefore of greater historical value than the possibly more scholarly and better written journals of their superior officers. While a diary of a colonel or a general in command might be written with a view to its subsequent production in evidence at a court martial, or to its publication in obituary form, the common soldier has nothing of this nature to cause him to paint his picture in colors other than they really appeared.

Accounts written by military men for publication are also useful, for some wrote in order to lay this work before military readers not only for the purpose of getting some return for labour, but also in the humble hope that the compilation will be found both entertaining and instructive, as the narratives are generally founded on facts.

Valuable information can also be gleaned from the British War Office records and military correspondence. Data pertaining to many forts can be found, and the problems of a particular garrison are often treated at some length in the correspondence. In addition the letters help the researcher to determine what kind of men these military administrators were and how effective their administration was. Lastly, in such a study of military history, the historian can learn still more of what life must have been like at the site through close collaboration with the archaeologist and through the latter's analysis of the remains unearthed during the excavation of the site. All these sources - diaries, books, War Office records and
information gleaned from the artifacts - have afforded a glimpse of the various aspects of garrison life at Coteau-du-Lac.

One of the first questions arising from a study of the social history of a military garrison concerns the soldiers' accommodation facilities. Unfortunately no continuous record containing such information is available for the fort at Coteau-du-Lac, but it is probable that during the early years of the fort (1779-90) the buildings occupied by the small garrison bordered the canal and were near the warehouses. These buildings do not seem to have been well-constructed for they were in constant need of repair and were reported to be in a dilapidated condition by the 1790s. Lt. Frazer, the overseer of the locks from 1791 to 1803, lived off the site with his family, having "a farm and House contiguous to the Locks" and he was "desirous of continuing there with an allowance for Lodging, in preference to having new quarters provided." This report's recommendation was that "if this should be thought advisable, it will certainly be much less expensive [than] building a House - none of the Buildings remaining are capable of being fitted up to any advantage as a dwelling."

The stone barracks, the largest building on the site, was built during the War of 1812, for it was during those years that accommodation for the soldiers became a crucial matter at Coteau-du-Lac. Not only was a larger garrison kept on the site to guard against surprise attacks, but also regiments on their way to the western posts or regiments recalled to the east usually stopped over in Coteau-du-Lac for a time. Even the stone barracks, built to accommodate about 250 men, was not felt to be adequate and thus the octagonal blockhouse was constructed and the upper section fitted out to accommodate 148 men. At its peak of preparedness, the fort at Coteau-du-Lac could properly
accommodate "1 Field Officer; 2 Captains; 460 Men" and had "19 Stalls for Horses." As it happened, the stone barracks was where the soldiers lived during their sojourn at Coteau-du-Lac for the octagonal blockhouse never saw use as a barracks. Soon after its completion the hammocks were replaced by beds and the building was converted into a hospital for the sick and wounded. More will be said about this later.

Rooms in the stone barracks were large and airy and each contained a fireplace for winter heat. Rations of wood for the fireplaces were allotted to the men, the quantity being determined by how many men shared the room. Wood was supplied by a local person and there did not seem to be any limit to the amount officers could obtain:

A Mr. Forbes was the person who supplied all the fuel (wood) for Coteau du Lac. He was contracted to do so and had delivered to date 80 Cords and had ready for delivery 860 Cords and was to be paid 3s 4d. With such a flux of officers in and out of Coteau du Lac it was argued, fuel was needed and readily consumed. Such a system of allotment did not satisfy everyone and John Scott, who was a fort sergeant at Coteau-du-Lac in 1835 wrote,

I beg leave most respectfully to submit to your consideration the great inconvenience to which I am subjected, from the very small allowance of Fuel (half a room) which I am entitled to, as Fort Sergeant at this post, and which is quite insufficient to warm the Barrack Room 30 feet by 24, which I am obliged to occupy, the same having 17 loop holes for Musquetry. To warm a similar Barrack Room, the Detachment here stationed formerly received one Room
allowance of Fuel, but a representation having been made in the early part of last winter the allowance was increased to a Rooms and a halfs Fuel, which allowance they now receive. With my limited pay 1/ Sterling a Day out of which I have to pay 5d per day for Rations stoppages, leaving me only 7d to maintain a Large family, it is entirely beyond my means to purchase the extra wood necessary to warm so large and open a Barrack Room, and under these circumstances I venture most humbly to solicit your attention to the hardship of my case and to hope that it may be esteemed fairly entitled to your humane and favourable consideration. 

Whether his request was granted or not is not recorded, but it is hoped it was for John Scott stayed at Coteau-du-Lac as fort sergeant for another 19 years.

No beds or hammocks were provided for the men in the rooms of the barracks. Rather the soldier was supplied with a palliass, a rough cotton sack filled with straw, on which he slept. It would seem that at the start of each year all the straw needed for the barracks would be ordered and then delivered to the site. Some of the orders indicate how much was needed and how much was allotted to the comfort of each man. In 1825, "600 bundles of straw" were ordered. In 1846 the fort at Coteau-du-Lac required for the service of the Barracks for the present year, the last years supply being expended the undermentioned stores....

Straw two hundred and seventy bundles at twelve pounds to the bundle, equal to three thousand, two hundred and forty pounds. And the order issued from the Office of Ordnance in December 1846 reads:
Required to be provided by the Commissariat Department the undermentioned quantity of clean pateu straw for Service of the Troops at Coteau du Lac from September 1846 to 1st September, 1847 to be supplied upon the Barrack Master's requisition as the wants of the Service may require.

No. of Troops at Coteau du Lac 15
No. of Bundles of Straw 12 lbs. each 200
Gross quantity required 1 lbs. 240 25

Explanations of the use of the straw sometimes accompanied the order form and would state, "in this quantity provision is made for exchanges and occasional additions to the detachment," 26 or might read, "in this quantity provision is made for the exchanges and occasional additions to the Detachment in Barracks, and for Married Women drawing Rations." 27

With such quantities of straw being ordered and shipped to the fort at Coteau-du-Lac, the problem arose as to where it might be stored to prevent it from becoming damp and rotting. A letter from the Deputy Barrack Master General's Department outlined the difficulties:

Mr. Cleghorne, Barrack Master at Coteau du Lac, has represented to me the very great difficulty he labours under for the want of some proper place to secure the Straw for the use of the Troops stationed at the Garrison and informs me the Barn which was stabling the King's oxen he presumes will not be wanted by the Engineer's Department, the oxen having been lately sold. Should this be the case, may I request you will be pleased to give directions that the Barn may be delivered over to the Barrack Department for the purpose of being
used as a Straw Shed. It would seem that the barn was used for straw storage and that it proved to be satisfactory, for no other reference to this problem was found.

Candles were used to light the large barrack rooms. A certain number of candles were allotted to each man. The lighted candles were probably placed in tin holders on the wall as these would provide the maximum of safety and the tin would reflect the light. It really is a wonder that with all the draughts in these rooms and often raucous state of the men that no serious fires broke out in the barracks.

The civilians employed by the engineers department do not seem to have resided on the site but to have lived in the village. They were given lodging money and were allotted fuel and candles, usually for just half a room. The foreman, generally a member of the Corps of Royal Engineers, at times lived off the site. He received one room's allotment of fuel and candles and would be provided with money for lodging. As housing conditions deteriorated at the fort, men affiliated with the barrack department also lived off the site and as early as 1819 the "Proposed Establishment of the Barrack Department" for Coteau-du-Lac reads:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Capacities</th>
<th>Lodging per Annum.</th>
<th>Money per week.</th>
<th>Rms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Cleghorne</td>
<td>Asst. Barrack</td>
<td>£24</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>Rms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timothy McCarthy</td>
<td>Issuer</td>
<td>£20</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>Rms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By 1838 accommodation for both officers and men at the fort at Coteau-du-Lac was extremely poor. It was said the barrack was both damp and cold and that "the accommodation
for the Officers is extremely bad, they all sleep in one small apartment two in a bed." The officers did not tolerate these conditions for long and made other arrangements. Major Bell, for example, wrote to the authorities, "I have the honor to request you will let me know if there is any necessary form required for me to obtain Lodging money as Captain at this Station, there being no public quarter for me, and having provided myself with a house since my first arrival to take command of the Garrison." No measures were taken to improve the officers' quarters and Lieutenant Colonel L. Carmichael, who succeeded Major Bell as commander of the fort, took a room in the local inn. Although in the 1840s minor repairs were made to the buildings, the stone barracks at Coteau-du-Lac never again served as the main living quarter of the troops.

The soldier's usual fare was bully beef, pea soup and hard tack. As well, a large amount of salt pork was eaten. Some of this food was shipped out from England, but later great quantities of provisions were procured from the western and northern parts of the United States, particularly from the southern shore of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, which for several hundred miles form the northern boundary of the state of New York. In exchange for their produce, the Americans received European merchandise except for their cattle, which were always paid for in cash. At other times certain merchants of Coteau-du-Lac were responsible for procuring meat for the garrison. Alex Perry in the 1840s, for example, was a farmer and according to the records was the beef contractor for the post. Flour for bread was also shipped from England, but after 1800 this supply was supplemented by grain shipped east to Montreal from the western Loyalist settlements. In Montreal, it was ground and then distributed to the various military garrisons. These staple supplies prior to 1812 were
delivered weekly to the fort at Coteau-du-Lac, but later they were forwarded to the fort on a monthly basis. Their distribution was supervised and controlled by the adjutant and complaints about the food were also, in the last instance, his concern. Such was the case in 1818, for, according to a report from Major Long, the following condition existed at Coteau-du-Lac:

I have the honor to report for the information of His Excellency, the Commander of the Forces, that the Men of my Detachment stationed at this Post have made the following complaint to me,..."That since last Summer they have not had Pork issued to them, whilst the Men at the Cascades are receiving Pork and Beef alternatively" and as they conceive it a grievance it creates jealousy and discontent amongst them....

Finding however that Pork has not only been issued regularly to the Commissariat Department but also to the Fort Adjutant, Barrack Master, Clerk of Works, and Barrack Issuer without any having been received by the Detachment Royal Staff Corps, I have directed the next issue to be made of Pork, as I do not conceive His Excellency, when made acquainted with the circumstances will sanction so a distinction being made in the issue of Rations to Officers who pay equally with those who have hitherto been receiving Pork, and men who not only Work from sunrise to sunset but also pay more than double.

I beg you will mention to His Excellency that there is a sufficient quantity in 6 Tierces of Pork to issue alternatively with
Beef to the whole Garrison while the Detachment Royal Staff Corps remain here. In the face of such a charge, Adjutant Bailey at Coteau-du-Lac wrote a letter to the deputy commissary general, defending his position and claiming that Long's charges were not all valid for "the several persons mentioned in his letter to the Military Secretary as it will appear in my Provision Accounts, they received Pork and Beef alternatively." The matter must have been resolved for no other reference to the situation was found.

Such a diet, including the same basic foods day after day, must have proved monotonous to the common soldier at Coteau-du-Lac. However, there is little doubt that the men varied their fare by netting large numbers of fish which were then plentiful in the river and by shooting wild fowl, deer, raccoons and rabbits.

Information concerning food preparation is scanty. The commanding officer of the fort had a small kitchen attached to his quarters and it is supposed that at times this kitchen was also shared by the officers at the post. There was a cookhouse near the stone barracks and it was probably there that most of the soldiers' meals were prepared. Bread for the garrison was made in the bakehouse, a small building on the other side of the canal from the barracks. It is probable that other bakery goods were prepared here as well, as the ovens were large and easy to operate.

The winters at Coteau-du-Lac were bitterly cold and the summers were sultry and humid with "the Mosquitoes swarming in Myriads." Besides this, the accommodation facilities were far from satisfactory and the food was not always nourishing. Under such conditions, it is little wonder that the soldiers weakened and became ill. Their specific complaints were duly recorded:

Deaths have been numerous in consequence of the
prevalence of the Asiatic Cholera....\textsuperscript{36}

The prevailing diseases have been catarrahs and venereal - stomach and bowel complaints have also been prevalent.\textsuperscript{37}

Rheumatism is also prevalent in...the Royal Canadian Regiment.\textsuperscript{38}

catarrh, bowel complaints and common Fevers, have however been prevalent, which are attributed to this variable and inclement season.\textsuperscript{39}

chest complaints have been the prevailing disorders.\textsuperscript{40}

Furthermore, accidents occurred on the site from time to time, such as that of Gunner John Hacket of the Royal Artillery who fractured his skull in a fall. The first record of medical facilities being established at Coteau-du-Lac was in 1812, for many of the wounded were taken to Coteau-du-Lac from the western posts and cared for in the hospital there.

Little is known about the hospital building itself. From the archaeological excavations, the hospital appears to have been a relatively small building divided into two wards which were able to accommodate a total of 20 men. This structure is thought to have served as a warehouse before being converted into a hospital in 1812. Throughout its use, it was never in a very good state of repair. Conditions by 1815 had deteriorated to such an extent that the sick were placed in the upper storey of the octagonal blockhouse.

Beds and bedding were provided for the men and half a room's fuel a month was allotted to the hospital to take the
chill and dampness out of these quarters. From time to time an extra half room's fuel would be distributed for the purpose of airing the hospital bedding. Medicines and rudimentary hospital equipment and instruments were provided, but the doctor had to keep accurate and detailed records specifying

the names and number of men attended while sick as well as the medicines which were given them in order that the usual stoppage of three pence per diem may be made against each man for the period he was attended. 41

The exactment of three pence per day was collected by the paymaster of the regiment to which the sick man belonged and this token amount went towards the doctor's charges and helped to cover the hospital costs. The doctor's charges do not seem to have been excessive:

To Henry Porter - for Medicine and Attendance on the Sick Soldiers in Garrison at Coteau du Lac between the 11th and 20th of July, 1815, 
Amounting to the sum of £3 - Halifax Currency. 42

In the British army the doctors who attended the ill soldiers were military men and were attached to specific regiments. They were directly responsible for the health of the men within their regimental detachment, but often their duties were extended to include the care of all the men stationed at their respective garrisons. Such was the case of the regimental doctor at times stationed at Coteau-du-Lac. He was not only responsible to the men of his regiment, but also to all those on the site. His duties were further extended to include the men stationed at the Cascades and Cedars, so that he often had much travelling to do. Consequently, it was decided in 1816 that a horse should be placed at the doctor's disposal. Despite the
extra responsibility that the regimental doctor at Coteau had, he was not permitted to have his own staff and as late as August 1827, general orders were still being issued concerning "medical...staff not permitted to employ Soldiers as Servants." 43

At times there was no doctor on the site and in this event a doctor from the village of Coteau-du-Lac would be called upon. This occurred in the case of John Hacket:

Gunner John Hacket of the Royal Artillery
having fractured his Skull by a fall last Evening, I beg leave to Report that I have been under the necessity of calling in the Aid of a Private Practioner there being no Army Medical Man stationed at this Post.

Upon enquiry I have been informed by the Surgeon that it will be impossible to remove the Gunner to Montreal in his present state and have therefore requested him to visit the Patient occassionally until such time as he can be removed to a Military Hospital. 44

A medical report would then have to be written up and the proper forms completed and sent to Quebec before the private doctor was compensated for his services. This could be a slow process, but as far as the post at Coteau-du-Lac was concerned, there were no medical accounts left outstanding by the time the fort was closed in 1858.

The soldier's duties centered around the three basic and connected functions of the post: canal construction, renovation and improvement; military and commercial transportation and storage of goods, and, last but not least, military protection. Construction of the canal began in 1780 and was undertaken by artificers and sawyers of the King's Royal Regiment of New York under the direction of
William Twiss, R.E. It was opened in 1781 and throughout its history was considered by the military and the merchants as an important link in the St. Lawrence transportation system. Minor repairs to the canal seem to have been required every spring, as the winters were very severe and the ice did extensive damage to the canal's wooden lock gates and stone walls. A requisition form for some of the tools required for these repairs still exists:

Required for repairs of the Locks...at Coteau du Lac.

- 6 Crow Bars
- 13 Miners Drills
- 12 Striking Hammers
- 6 Sledge Hammers.
- 1 Small piling Machine
- 12 Picks
- 2 Brace Wheeled Waggons.
- Non-Axles for Running on Planks.
- 45 with Sheaves.

At other times, extensive renovations and improvements to the canal were needed. For this work, the military required the services of well-trained military engineers and these men seem to have been found. Such was the case of Captain John Grey, who was recommended as being a good Architect who has always employed himself in carrying on extensive improvements, and is in every respect perfectly competent to conduct public works of any extent or importance....it [the works] will be attended with every possible advantage to the public Service, and the Works will be carried on with expedition and oeconomy [sic].

He was sent to Coteau-du-Lac in 1813. Also involved in this work were soldiers, who were sent to the site to carry out the orders of the officer in charge of the construction. These men would work alongside civil artificers and were employed as carpenters, carters, masons, miners, sawyers and
blacksmiths at Is. 5d. per day. The work was arduous and exacting; and since the soldiers were not often adequately trained in it, the officer in charge had to attend to all the details.

The second function in which soldiers at Coteau-du-Lac were involved concerned the smooth and safe passage westward of military supplies. The goods were carted from Montreal to Lachine, where bateaux and Durham boats took their departure westwards. The boats often travelled in brigades of from 5 to 12 with a conductor in charge of each brigade. This enabled the crews to aid one another in portaging freight and in other ways decreased the difficulties of what was, at best, a laborious trip. The boats sailed through Lac Saint-Louis, and at the Cascades were locked past the first rapids. At this point most of the boats' cargo was unloaded and carted to the head of the Cedars while the lightened boats would be dragged up the Split Rock and Cedar Rapids. Here the boats would be reloaded and hence they proceeded to Coteau-du-Lac. In times of hostilities these brigades would be afforded military protection throughout the journey. Small contingents of soldiers, often made up of men based at Coteau-du-Lac, would guard these shipments from attack. Once the boats had reached Coteau-du-Lac, soldiers would help unload the supplies destined for the post and would place them in the warehouses lining the banks of the canal. Other goods stored at Coteau-du-Lac, but now required by the western posts, were taken on board these boats. The boats would then be passed through the locks and would proceed westwards. At still other times, the goods would be transferred from the boats to large barges which would navigate the waterways above Coteau-du-Lac.

Traffic on the canal in the early years of the 19th century was heavy. "In 1818 a total of 315 Durham boats and 679 bateaux paid toll at the Coteau locks," and in 1833,
"863 Batteaux and 612 Durham boats passed through this year." Tolls were exacted from commercial vessels using the canal. In the case of a Durham boat, the toll amounted to £2 10s. Soon the canal at Coteau-du-Lac became a source of revenue for the provincial government (at first through the military chest) as from 1785 to 1835, profits were made. "In 1816, the revenue after deducting expenses was nearly £566; in 1820, it amounted to £1404. It decreased in 1826, and finally rose in 1833 to £2218 in dependently of the expenses, £876." During the winter months, sleighs frequented Coteau-du-Lac. These would bring supplies for the post itself as well as goods for the western garrisons. These goods would be stored in the warehouses and would not be shipped out of Coteau-du-Lac until the spring. In time of war the sleighs, like the boats, always travelled in convoy and would be guarded by a contingent of soldiers. Sometimes the sleighs destined for Cornwall or Prescott would be held over at Coteau-du-Lac until a proper force could be assembled. Such seems to have been the case in the winter of 1813:

I have thought it prudent to stop at Coteau du Lac in transport of 40 sleighs with ordnance and naval stores, and the five twelve Pounders for Prescot, until a sufficient Force can be spared from the Glengarry and Cornwall Militia to protect it.

Thus in both the winter and summer, in times of peace and of war, the garrison at Coteau-du-Lac was responsible for seeing that canal transport was efficient and effectively maintained and that the goods reached their proper destination.

Protection of the fort itself with its commanding position on the vulnerable river route was perhaps the military's greatest concern and its defence was the prime
duty of every soldier of the garrison. Military drills were part of the British soldier's life and it was not unusual for four to be held during the course of the day. The importance of drill in the soldier's day becomes clear in the following:

I rose at five o'clock in the morning and made up my bed which occupied at the least a quarter of an hour and was rather a troublesome job. I then made my toilet and at six turned out for drill, from which we were dismissed at quarter to eight, when we breakfasted. From ten to twelve we were again at drill; had dinner at one in the shape of potatoes and meat, both usually of the most wretched quality, and at two fell in for another drill which terminated at four; after which hour my time was at my own disposal until tattoo.51

The drills would be carried out under the direction of a non-commissioned officer and most officers agreed that drills served to discipline and control the soldiers, thus bringing order into the ranks. The soldiers were taught to obey an order promptly and to act with both speed and precision.

During times of war, the fort at Coteau-du-Lac reached its peak of military preparedness. From 1780 to 1783 the position was strengthened because on the island opposite the site a prisoner of war camp was established. Guns were placed both on the island and in the fort itself to guard the channel from attack. Extra men were stationed at Coteau-du-Lac to guard the fort and at other times to serve as sentries on the island. However, perhaps the greatest threat to the position at Coteau-du-Lac came in 1812 when, by late October, Wilkinson had the most formidable force in Sacket's Harbor that had
ever been gathered there up to that time and probably since. He had nearly 8,000 troops with probably 7,000 of them fit for service. It is true that most of the soldiers were recruits, yet practically all of them had seen some action and one regiment, the Fifth infantry, was a veteran organization.\textsuperscript{52}

This force was supposed to come down the river and to attack Montreal. Elaborate preparations were made to defend Coteau-du-Lac and to halt the enemy's progress at this point. The garrison force was increased and more guns and ammunition were ordered to the fort. The fort's strength, however, was never tested as Wilkinson, having experienced many disappointments and setbacks, decided to cancel his expedition and winter in St. Regis on the south shore of the river. Later that winter word reached Coteau-du-Lac that the American army had partially destroyed their barracks, blockhouses and a flotilla of their own ships, and had begun to break camp on 12 February. Upon receiving the news, Hercules Scott, commander of the garrison at Coteau-du-Lac, at once set out from the fort across the ice with about 600 men composed of detachments of the 89th and 103rd regiments. They arrived at the American encampment in time to annoy their rearguard and capture a hundred sleigh loads of provisions and stores...Scott advanced without opposition to Madrid and Malone, following a division of the retreating troops within a few miles of Plattsburg.\textsuperscript{53}

The expedition was a success and Scott and his force returned to Coteau-du-Lac. A large garrison was retained at the fort throughout the war, but Coteau-du-Lac was never again threatened. Although the extensive renovations, improvements and construction undertaken at the fort during
this time were not interrupted, all was not completed until 1816.

A small garrison was retained during the succeeding years to protect the fort, but it was not until 1837 that Coteau-du-Lac again assumed a military role and repairs were found necessary. The following is an abstract of the expenses incurred in 1837:

No. 1. Paid G. Beaudet for bedding £11 18 7
No. 2. Paid Aw. Shearer making bedding £ 17 6
No. 3. Paid R. Sargeson Pickaxes and Pikes.
   £ 3 0 0
No. 4. Paid O. Royden Pikes etc... £ 3 10 9
No. 5. Paid J. McIntyre Handles for Pikes.
   £ 1 16 0

...  
...  
No. 8. Paid A. Whipple for transport of Prisoners and Guards. £16 12 0
No. 9. Paid A. Louis, Repairing arms. £ 1 0 0

...  
No. 11. Paid Capt. McCuaig for the transport of 2 Parties of his Company of Militia for the defence of the fort. £10 14 9
No. 12. Paid O. Seas for 1 Keg of Powder. £ 1 13 654

The fort was set in order although the various garrison commanders of the time seem to have had varying ideas as to how this could be best done. The Quebec Mercury reported that Mr. John Simpson, who was at the post in early December,

has done the state good service by the precaution he took of throwing the guns of the fort at that place together with the shot into
the rapids, to prevent their falling into the hands of a rebel party which was organizing in that neighbourhood.  

Captain George Bell of the Royal Regiment, who arrived in early January 1838, first spent his time placing the garrison in order and then began to recover the cannon and shot from the river. According to Bell's memoirs, he and his men met with success:

I now thought it possible to get a gun or two out of the river. Having first found out the place where they were deposited, I cut away the ice to the brink where they lay, and the water being clear, I distinctly observed four twenty-four pounders at the bottom. By the help of about seventy men whom I employed, I got ropes and chains passed under the guns, had log poles cut in the woods, laid them sloping from the ice down to the guns, and by main [sic] force hauled them out of the water. Each of these long guns weighed two tons and a half. They were all spiked, and most unfortunately, with patent spikes. . . . I got two clever fellows, who promised to take out the spikes for a consideration. I agreed to give them two dollars a gun if not - no pay. They drilled them all out in three weeks, very nicely, and without injuring the vents. . . . I mounted two of those guns, having made platforms for the carriages of the strongest material. I recovered, by dint of perserverance, upwards of four thousand cannon shot from the river, and I now commanded the country all about the space of a mile. Within that distance I could have destroyed every house from my batteries. . . .
fired several shots from these guns up and down the river to try the effect and strength of the platforms, and to calculate the distance at which I could knock down a house, and to let the good people about know that I was well prepared in the event of any future disturbances.  

By the time he left, Bell had recovered 14 cannon from the river and had made the fort, he felt, "secure against any enemy."  

Occasionally the men at Coteau-du-Lac were assigned specific projects. During the War of 1812, for example, some of the gunboats which were to be used on the Great Lakes were laid down at this post. It would seem that Commodore Sir James Yeo had suggested this be done, for a letter from headquarters reads:

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 1st Inst. suggesting the propriety of 6 Gun Boats being built at Coteau du Lac and 6 at Montreal to which I have no objection if Artificers for this purpose can be obtained. Two at Coteau du Lac have already been ordered to be laid down and are in progress by a proportion of the Shipwrights lately engaged for navigation being detained at that Port, the additional number of four may be forwarded after, if the Artificers on the spot are sufficient for the task.

This scheme aroused mixed feelings. Some men, such as Sir James Yeo, were in favor while others, such as Gordon Drummond, condemned it:

[I] am apprehensive it will very much delay the arrival of the Seamen here, as I understand from Lieutenant Radcliffe, Royal Navy, who was
employed in bringing up two gunboats from the
same place, last year, that he was upwards of
three weeks in performing the distance and that
not less than 30 men out of 80, his complement
on the occasion, have been totally lost to the
Service, either by having been rendered
altogether unfit for further active duty, at
the time, or by having been invalided, in
consequence since. 59

Despite the objections raised, the gunboats were built at
Coteau-du-Lac and upon their completion, were sent upriver.

Another duty allocated to Coteau-du-Lac was that of
powder storage. A strong and fairly dry magazine was built
in 1814 and it was here that great quantities of powder were
stored not only for this post, but also for the district.

For example, in 1814 there was at Coteau-du-Lac "a
proportion of 500 Pounds per Gun for the Field Ordnance and
300 Pounds for Garrison Ordnance now in the District." 60
These stores were looked after by non-commissioned officers
of the artillery, but this arrangement proved to be
unsatisfactory and it was suggested in 1818 that these
stores be placed under the charge of an artillery pensioner,
"thereby adding much to their security and preventing the
frequent travelling expenses incurred by sending a person
from Montreal to take Surveys." 61 In February 1819,
Pensioner Sergeant Petre was nominated to take charge of the
stores at Coteau-du-Lac at a shilling per diem. The
pensioners carried out their duties well and it was not
until 1854 that any serious problem arose. At that time
Fort Sergeant John Scott wrote:

I consider it to be my duty to inform Captain
Griffin that a large quantity of Gun Powder
(6000 lbs) has been deposited in the Magazine
in this Fort yesterday. And as there is no
Centinel placed over it, it might be considered as insecure, the Detachment stationed here being insufficient to Mount a Guard over it, as they consist only of 1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal, and 6 Privates, there was also a large quantity here of Gun Powder before this came, about 72000 Rounds of Musket Cartridges and a few Barrels of loose Powder such a large quantity of Ammunition without a Sentry over it, is unprecedented, I believe, in a Military magazine.  

In 1858 the stores kept in the powder magazine at Coteau-du-Lac were removed to Montreal.  

The duties of the fort only took up part of the men's time, but with the hustle and bustle of a garrison, a soldier would have no difficulty in passing his time from day to day, if not with satisfaction, at least with unconcern. Some men, no doubt, took walks about the area but they were rather limited as to where they could go since no soldier was permitted to wander a greater distance than a mile from the fort. Other men preferred to ride and kept their own horses at Coteau-du-Lac. Fishing was also a popular pastime amongst the military and their efforts seem to have been rewarded for Colonel Landmann, who spent some time at Coteau-du-Lac, relates:

My marquee was so near the Trou, close to which there is a very powerful eddy full of fish, that, for the mere purpose of having something miraculous to relate to my friends in England, I desired my servant to give me my rod, and then made him carry out the line and cast it into the eddy, where it had not been many minutes before I hauled in a fish of about two pounds weight whilst actually lying in bed.
Fish seem to have been plentiful as well for Colonel Landmann continues: "In regard of fish, Johnson supplied us also in great profusion; so that our table, and that of the servants, cost very little more than powder, shot and fish-hooks." Hunting was also enjoyed by the men at Coteau-du-Lac. Small game such as rabbit was plentiful and hotly pursued. There is no direct reference to duck shooting at Coteau-du-Lac; rather, pigeons seem to have been a favorite dish amongst the men and to have appeared frequently on the table:

but Johnson, having no other occupation than to attend to the military discipline of the men engaged on the works, during the early part of the morning with his gun procured as many pigeons and other game as supplied our table at breakfast and dinner, and as we generally, each of us, ate two and sometimes three every morning during six or eight weeks in the spring, and the same in the fall, we proved the fallacy of a vulgar opinion prevailing with many persons, that one pigeon eaten every morning during thirty consecutive days would infallibly cause death.66

When glancing through the War Office records of this period, one constantly comes across a form headed "General Orders, Circular and Other Official Letters etc., received from England since Last Return," which mentions the London Gazette being sent to Canada. The London Gazette was an official publication printed twice a week. It gave lists of government appointments, bankruptcies and other public notices. This paper was no doubt of interest to the officers at the various garrisons in Canada and its delivery was eagerly awaited. The reading of books, especially novels and histories of military campaigns, interested the
men; newspapers and journals made for popular reading as well. Letters from home were always welcomed and many of the men seem to have written back to their friends and relations giving news of their activities. Needless to say, card playing, smoking and drinking also helped fill the men's leisure hours, but these were activities which did not always have the most favourable consequences for the participants.

The activities so far mentioned were not peculiar to the fort at Coteau-du-Lac, but were in evidence in most garrisons throughout the country. Although it is difficult and at times unsatisfactory, an attempt in this discussion should be made to move from the general to the particular. In this regard, it is of interest to note that amongst the artifacts unearthed by the archaeologist at Coteau-du-Lac were pipestems and bowls, many of which bear masonic symbols. Lodges and fraternal societies played a very important role in the early social life of Canada. One of the first masonic lodges in Canada was formed among the members of the garrison at Halifax in 1749 and from there the movement spread. These early lodges of Canada were held under field warrants, seven in all, in the 1st, 17th, 27th, 40th, 42nd, 46th and 55th Foot Regiments. The ideas and aims of the masonic movement continued to influence army corps. Although no direct reference has been found to the establishment of a permanent lodge at Coteau-du-Lac, masonic rites and ceremonies could have practiced at this post, for many of the regiments who saw duty here were greatly influenced by the movement and some of the regiments held field warrants. The Royal Regiment of New York which was stationed at Coteau-du-Lac in 1780, December 1781, January to December 1783, and which was disbanded in 1784, was made up of men who enjoyed freemasonry. After disbandment, many of these men settled in the environs of Coteau-du-Lac.
Other regiments that possessed field warrants and served at Coteau-du-Lac are the 49th Regiment, the 8th Regiment and the Royal Regiment of Artillery. The masonic movement was most active during the first quarter of the 19th century, a period which coincides with the peak of Coteau-du-Lac's importance, and this adds to the supposition that the masonic movement figured in some of the men's lives during their sojourn at the fort.

Several of the British regiments had their own bands and one of the favourite pastimes of the soldier was to "frequently spend whole afternoons in listening to the band practicing." The fife, the trumpet and the drum were the only purely military instruments used for some time, but by the 1800s these were joined by both brass and wind instruments such as the bugle, the horn, the hautboy and the "serpent." The "serpent" was a curious wind instrument having 14 keys and was used for the base parts in military bands down to the 1860s. In those days, the principal thing aimed at in martial music was noise and thus much dependance was placed on the drums. Among the regiments stationed at Coteau-du-Lac which had their own bands and their own marches were the Welsh Regiment (the 41st) and the Royal Berkshire Regiment (the 49th). The regimental march of the former was "Ap Shenkin," an old Welsh song, while "The Dashing White Sergeant" was the march associated with the latter. There is little doubt that these martial tunes were oft times played at Coteau-du-Lac and enjoyed by the men.

It is pleasantly surprising that in such a highly structured and group-oriented organization as the army there was room for individual projects and initiative. Such was the case of Sergeant White's canteen at Coteau-du-Lac. Sergeant White had written the authorities claiming that he could not support his wife and his children on the salary he was making and requested to be allowed to set up a canteen.
Permission was granted and the following letter pertaining to this matter and containing basic stipulations was sent by the fort adjutant, Alexander Nicholl:

With regard to the second request of his Petition, as I have nothing against the character of Sergeant White, and he having a large family, I further beg leave to state that I have no objection to his keeping a Canteen within the Garrison, under proper restrictions which I will of course take care to see properly enforced, requesting in the meantime that I may be allowed to retain the power of discontinuing this Indulgence whenever I perceive that it is necessary for the good of the Service to do so.

I have returned Sergeant White his papers, who expresses himself as very thankful for the Indulgence granted to him, and who promises to use his utmost exertions to prevent any chance of abuse arising from it.

The canteen must have been well run as no complaints exist amongst the War Office records and it may be assumed that Sergeant White through his own efforts was able to improve his financial position.

The fort itself was located just outside the town of Coteau-du-Lac and there seems to have been an economic bond between the two. The officers and men had to be fed and maintained, providing a source of ready money to local merchants in an economy which was not long removed from the pioneer stage. During the summer months the fort would be supplied with fresh vegetables and fruit from the surrounding area and the merchants would sometimes sell flour to the fort. The farmers in the area occasionally were granted the beef contract for the fort. Such was the
case of Alex Perry who, as mentioned earlier, was beef contractor for the fort in 1844. In the winter, cords of wood to stoke the stoves and fireplaces would be brought from local merchants and paid for by the fort adjutant. The merchants at Coteau-du-Lac also benefited from the proximity of the fort and canal to the town, for they could order up their goods from Montreal and count upon receiving them in due course.

While the other ranks may have been most popular with the local tavernkeepers, the officers at Coteau-du-Lac provided a welcome addition to what society there was in the area. Colonel Landmann has written that the society was not highly aristocratic and that at the time of his stay it was chiefly composed of a farmer's family, a Mr. and Mrs. French with two daughters, Kitty and I believe Polly; and there we very frequently met a young man named Nider, a farmer, and his sister Polly, a very beautiful and most elegant girl....

On the opposite side of a small creek, just below the locks, resided a Mr. McDonnell. Mr. McDonnell had two sisters, very interesting very amiable and very educated girls, natives of Scotland. We had moreover, a surgeon attached to our establishment, a Dr. Jacobs, hospital mate, a clever diminutive man, not over five feet high.

Most of the large social events took place during the winter months. The season opened with the corn bee held each October and to which the officers at Coteau-du-Lac would be invited.

The season had now arrived for gathering the Indian corn, of which a great quantity was produced in the neighbourhood of our camp; and
it was the practice of the farmers... - to invite all the young girls and men of the adjacent farms to meet in the great barn where the corn, roughly torn from the stalks, had been deposited, in order to strip the ears off the leaves. As an inducement or reward for that work, every young man who found a red ear of corn was licensed to select anyone of the girls and kiss her, whilst he held the red ear over her head. It, however, not unfrequently happened that the red ear found its way into the pocket, and a white ear of corn was thrown on the heap; and it is probably needless to explain that the red ear was reproduced as often as a red ear was desired - a fraud which the girls were not over zealous to detect....we soon arrived at the art of finding a red ear of Indian corn as often, if not oftener than the oldest and most expert peeler of Indian corn-leaves. I do not remember if the ladies had any peculiar privilege allotted to them, when they had the fortune of finding a red ear; but I think I perceived one of them to pass a red ear into the hand of a favorite upon which he immediately claimed the exercise of the privilege it conferred.\textsuperscript{72}

Another event which brought the garrison force and the local inhabitants together was the annual militia parade which provided a holiday usually observed in the rural districts as in the town. All men from 16 to 65 years of age were enrolled in the militia and many of them took part in the proceedings on parade day, which consisted of a little drill and a good deal of horse racing and drinking. It was usual to have a review of the regular garrison as
well, but in all cases the military manoeuvres ended in a "feu de joie" enjoyed by all.

Relations between the garrison and the surrounding area were interconnected and were, for the most part, harmonious. Henry Evatt, who was barrack master of the fort, was as well the postmaster of the village and in July 1835 his position as postmaster was taken by John Bell who was fort sergeant at the post. Another example of this interdependence pertains to the school at Coteau-du-Lac. It was built by the town in 1814 and in 1819, Donald McDermid, a retired soldier who may have seen service at Coteau-du-Lac, became the schoolmaster; while amongst the school commissioners in 1830 were Henry Evatt, the fort's barrack master and Alexander Nicholl, the fort's adjutant. However, deliberate interference by one group in the affairs of the other only led to ill feeling and resentment, as is seen in the case of Colonel Lewis Carmichael, commanding officer at Coteau-du-Lac, who was most influential in engineering Mr. Simpson's victory in the 1841 elections. It was said that while an Officer on duty he did interfere in the election of a Member of Parliament for the County of Glengarry in 1841 and at the same time by his advice, assistance and promised co-operation caused a number of the Inhabitants of Glengarry to go to Terrebonne and other places in Lower Canada to influence the elections at those places by force, in direct violation of the law and the place of Her Majesty's Subjects.  

Feelings ran high at the time and throughout the whole election of 1841, but fortunately the matter was carefully examined and the case amiably closed. Eventually, all must have been forgiven and forgotten for there still exists in Glengarry a memento to Carmichael in the cairn that stands
at Lac Saint-François, just opposite the mouth of the Rivière-au-Raisin, west of South Lancaster Village. The people of this district are encouraged to view this cairn as an affectionate memorial of Lt. Col. Carmichael a Highland Officer who loved the militia of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry and generously praised their loyalty, gallantry and efficiency....His name should forever be held in affectionate esteem by the Regiment. 74

Although one can attempt to discover the number of men who were at a post at any one time and can hope to find what they did while stationed there, it is more difficult to ascertain what these men were like as persons and how they performed their duties. The personal reports of the men who were stationed at Coteau-du-Lac throughout the years are unavailable and thus one must rely for this type of information on the War Office correspondence, which, at best, is scanty in this regard. It would seem that the maxim "no news is good news" holds true for in the sparse correspondence files available, only problems are discussed and thus the men concerned are not seen in a very favourable light. Such was the case of William Cleghorne who was assistant barrack master at Coteau-du-Lac from August 1813 to September 1819. When Henry Evatt became barrack master of the post in October 1819, he apparently made an inventory of the goods in the warehouses, only to discover a deficiency in the barrack stores. A memorandum was then sent to Catherine Cleghorne, wife of the late Mr. Cleghorne, who wrote explaining the situation:

In the autumn of 1813, when the American Army under the Comm d of Lt. Wilkinson was making a descent on the Lower Province, the Barr k Stores, then deposited at Cornwall, were forwarded to this Post in the greatest hurry
and confusion. Mr. Cleghorne granting his receipts for the supposed contents of the Bales or Packages as stated by the Carters or Dockmen, there being no paper in the shape of a very Bill or Invoice received from the person in charge of that Post.

These Stores were put aside in the King's Magazine here, in order that their contents might be correctly ascertained at a future period when the duties of his office, which were at the time very heavy would enable him so to do, which were accordingly inspected some four or five months afterwards, but which in many instances, fell far short of the quantities credited to the public by my poor husband. He being then only lately appointed to the situation and not having, at the time a very correct knowledge of the duties of the Department was fearful that by reporting the circumstance to Head Qts, very severe censure would have been on him probably the forfeiture of his employment for not examining the stores previous to giving an acknowledgment for them. 

In her attempt to clear her husband's name, she leaves the reader with the impression that her husband was gullible and inefficient and that he was not very confident of his ability. This hardly affords the reader an attractive portrait of Mr. Cleghorne.

Yet another incident sheds light on the character of Henry Evatt, who was barrack master at Coteau-du-Lac from 1819 to 1826 and who was there again in September 1831 and May 1835. The charge brought against him was that he had more baggage than he was allowed and the case reads:

The Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's
Treasury having had before them your letter of the 17th October last relative to a surcharge of £2 16 on Barrack Master Evatt for Extra baggage from Coteau du Lac to Prescott, I am commanded to acquaint you that it appears evident that Mr. Evatt had become properly chargeable for the sum paid for that conveyance of his baggage from Coteau du Lack [sic] to Prescott beyond the allowance to which he was entitled according to the Regulations he ought to have been sufficiently acquainted, and cannot therefore be relieved from refunding the excess paid beyond the regulated allowance on account of an accidental mistake on the part of the Officer in Charge of the duties of the O.M. Gen's Dept. in giving orders for the reception of this baggage on board of the Steam Boat of which mistake Mr. Evatt has actually enjoyed the benefit. 76

Evatt was annoyed by such a charge:
Assistant Commissary General Foote having called upon me, by your order to refund £2 16 Sterling, as an overcharge against me for extra baggage to Prescott from Coteau du Lac. I beg to lay before you the following statement for your favourable consideration and if it should be a matter you do not wish to exonerate me from upon your own responsibility, allow me to lay the subject before Sir John Colbourne, the Commander in Chief of the Forces in Canada for his favourable consideration.

I do not enter into the merit of the case whether I am entitled to 6 or 12 Cvts. of Baggage, but I think you will allow it to be a
hardship on me should I be compelled to pay this overcharge when the mistake did not originate with me. I did not bring any extra baggage with me on the strength of the order. Had the order been originally for only 6 Cvts., instead of 12, I am perfectly certain Capt. Whipple, who I have known for several years, would not have made any charge against me, even if it had exceeded the 12—and from Prescott upwards there was not any extra baggage charge made against me, although Asst. Commissary General Clark's Order stated only 6 Cvts: Capt. Whitney made no objection although I had precisely the same quantity of Baggage as when I left Coteau du Lac.77

He showed no fear of bureaucracy, for he was willing to have his case considered by the highest authority, the commander-in-chief, if necessary. However, he did not seem to be very loyal to his friend, Captain Whipple, when it came to defending himself, or perhaps, giving Evatt the benefit of the doubt, it can be said that he did not realize that such a statement could heap trouble on his friend.

Some of the men stationed at Coteau-du-Lac seem to have been indifferent managers of finance. A Mr. Wilson, who was appointed inspector and keeper of locks at Coteau-du-Lac in 1803, was referred to as "a man of excellent character although unfortunate in business."78 Others appear to have accepted office at Coteau-du-Lac to stave off financial embarrassment. Such was the case of John Scott, issuer at Coteau-du-Lac in the early 1820s, of whom it was written that he

was formerly a Soldier in the 49th Regiment from which he was Discharged on their leaving this Country after a Service of Nineteen Years,
including Two years under Age, and was
appointed to his present situation in the
Barrack Department in the months of May, 1816
making a total period of Service of Twenty-five
years.

May I beg leave to Remark that he is a man
who is incumbered with a large family having
Six Sons, the eldest of which is not eleven
years of age. 79

Most of the men stationed at Coteau-du-Lac did not
accumulate much wealth and thus died leaving their wives and
children almost penniless. The records are full of
correspondence from these women asking the authorities for
some monetary settlement. Mrs. Cleghorne, widow of William
Cleghorne who was barrack master at Coteau-du-Lac for some
years, wrote,

I trust, Sir, you will be pleased to take into
consideration the deplorable situation in which
I am left, living entirely on the bounty of my
friends in the neighborhood, and that you will
have the goodness to order me the balance of
pay and Allow^n which are due to my late
Husband, to be paid to me, to enable me to
discharge the account of his funeral expenses
for which I am daily threatened. 80

Mrs. Fraser, wife of William Fraser, who was inspector and
keeper of the locks at Coteau-du-Lac from 1791 to March
1804, sent a petition to the military authorities, her
plight differing little from Mrs. Cleghorne's:

The Petition of Jane Fraser, Widow of the late
Lieutenant William Fraser of Coteau du Lac and
Inspector of Dutyable Goods has become Vacant,
that your Petitioner is left with a helpless
family and but a small property to support them
with, Most Humbly requests that there places may be continued for the support of her Family and ar' in Duty Round shall ever Pray.  

The military policy regarding retired soldiers differed considerably from time to time. After the American revolutionary war (1775-83), the men from the disbanded regiments were offered a certain allotment of land in Canada, the proportions of which were determined by their rank and number of years in the service. This land was given outright to the soldier to farm and develop and it is of interest to note that many soldiers from the King's Royal Regiment of New York were settled on land around Coteau-du-Lac. This policy seems to have been continued and have been extended to include retiring soldiers and officers down to 1825. In that year an order was issued stating that "no soldier on any account to be discharged at Foreign Stations except by His Royal Highnesses Authority, to be previously obtained." Thus at the end of their period of service in Canada, most soldiers would return and retire in England except for those who became enrolled pensioners and whose duty it was to look after ordnance stores or carry out certain barrack and garrison duties. William Pétrie and William Waddell were examples at Coteau-du-Lac. After 1854 some of these "enrolled pensioners" were given small grants of ordnance land on the condition that they hold themselves in readiness for service if needed.

Prior to 1825, reference to retired soldiers collecting military pensions yet holding a civilian position exist and are not uncommon. It is recorded that "in March, 1816, Lt. Donald McDermid, then a school-master at Coteau du Lac, reported that his injury - a ball through the right thigh, two inches above the knee - still gave him considerable trouble and applied for a wound pension." At other times the military authorities would provide for brave and worthy
soldiers who were incumbered by old age, a case in point being John McDonald:

His Excellency, the Commander of the Forces is pleased to approve a free Ration of Provisions being allowed to John McDonald, a disabled soldier formerly belonging to the Glengarry Fencibles in Scotland, and that the same be issued from the Commissariat Stores at Coteau du Lac every three months, to commence from the 25th Inst.\textsuperscript{84}

It appears that the military's attitude towards retiring soldiers was an enlightened one and that their policies of pensions and provision were reasonably generous.

Soldiering was a most diversified and arduous profession at this time in history and the records of soldiering at Coteau-du-Lac from 1779 to 1856 illustrates the point. Conditions here, as elsewhere, were crude and harsh while the drills were strict and exacting. The duties of the post best exemplify the diversity of the profession for they ranged from defending the post and the surrounding area to building, renovating and operating the canal effectively and efficiently. Off duty, the men would make the best of their free time and enjoy themselves and, no doubt, those at Coteau-du-Lac were no less raucous and rowdy than those at any other garrison. The soldiers of this era often were considered to be an integral part of the community and those stationed at Coteau-du-Lac were no exception, for as has been seen, the officers and men associated with the citizens in both social events and municipal business. Soldiering was a profession which spanned the years of a man's life, since he generally entered the force as a young boy and left it as an elderly man with a military pension and perhaps with a belief similar to William Cobbett's:
"Once a soldier, always a soldier" is a Maxim the truth of which I need not insist on to anyone who has ever served in the army for any length of time, and especially if the service he has seen has embraced those scenes and occasions where every man, first or last, from one cause or another owes the preservation of his all, health and life not excepted to the kindness, the generosity, the fellow-feeling of his comrades....I like soldiers, as a class in life better than any other description of men. Their conversation is more pleasing to me, they have generally seen more than other men. 85
Endnotes

Glimpses of Soldiering at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec - 1780 to 1856


4 R. Lamb, Memoir of His Own Life, in Tom Henderson McGuffie, comp., op. cit., p. 95.


6 Ibid., Vol. 1515, Remarks, 1810.


8 Quoted from the diary of Cobbett (ca. 1789), published in 1933 by Faber and Faber, London, under the title of The Progress of A Ploughboy to A Seat in Parliament, ed. William Reitzell, and used by Tom Henderson McGuffie, comp., op. cit., p. 9; M.M. Hammond, Memoir of Captain
9 M.M. Hammond, op. cit., p. 12.
10 Ibid., p. 13.
18 PAC, RG8, C Series, Vol. 512, p. 126, Memoranda of Col. Mann's respecting Coteau du Lac, 6 June 1801.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid., Vol. 573, p. 165.
22 Ibid., Vol. 586, p. 113, John Scott to Dept. Adjutant Gen. at Quebec, Coteau-du-Lac, 13 Nov. 1835.
23 Ibid., Vol. 575, p. 179, Probable Quantity of...Straw... required by the Barrack Branch of the Ordnance Department for Service of the Troops at the Several Posts in Canada for the year, 1825.
24 Ibid., Vol. 596, p. 51, John Bell, Barrack General, Coteau-du-Lac, 1 Sept. 1843.
Asiatic cholera was certainly prevalent in Coteau-du-Lac in 1832 for the registers of the parish church at Coteau-du-Lac contain this information:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Regt.</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 1832</td>
<td>15th Foot</td>
<td>Bur. George Fidler (Pvt) 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 July</td>
<td>15th Foot</td>
<td>Bur. Thomas Joiner (Pvt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Aug.</td>
<td>1st Royal Scots</td>
<td>Bur. Thomas Abbott (Pvt) 40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37 PAC, MGL2, WO17, Vol. 1551, 1 July 1847.
38 Ibid., 1 Jan. 1848.
39 Ibid., Vol. 1553, 1 Jan. 1849.
40 Ibid., 1 March 1849.
41 Ibid., RG8, C Series, Vol. 291, p. 107, to Major Foster, 22 March 1816.
42 Ibid., p. 106.
43 Ibid., MGL2, WO17, Vol. 1531, General Orders, Circular and other Official Letters, etc....received from England since last Return, Horse Guards, 24 Aug. 1827.
44 Ibid., RG8, C Series, Vol. 406, p. 53, Alex Nicholl to Officer Commanding RA Quebec, Coteau-du-Lac, 1 Feb. 1820.
49 Ibid., p. 47.


55 Quebec Mercury, 2 Dec. 1838.

56 George Bell, Rough Notes By An Old Soldier, During Fifty Years' Service.... (London: Day and Son, 1867), Vol. 2, pp. 57-8.

57 Ibid., p. 58.

58 PAC, RG8, C Series, Vol. 1225, Pt. 2, pp. 1-2, letter to Commodore Sir J.L. Yeo, Headquarters, Quebec, 7 May 1814.


60 Ibid., Vol. 1709, p. 58, Supplies, Garrison Service, 7 July 1814.

61 Ibid., Vol. 401, p. 63, R.H. Crews to Respective Officers, 13 July 1818.


65 Ibid., p. 194.
66 Ibid.
67 M.M. Hammond, op. cit., p. 46.
69 Canada (Province). Legislative Assembly, Journal...for the year 1843 (Kingston: 1844), Vol. 3, Appendix.
70 Such a merchant was Godfroi Beaudet of Coteau-du-Lac.
72 Ibid., pp. 202-3.
75 PAC, RG8, C Series, Vol. 569, p. 107, Catherine Cleghorne to Ian Courtland, barrack master general, Coteau-du-Lac, 5 Nov. 1819.
78 Ibid., Vol. 383, p. 131, John Richardson to Lt. Col. Green, Montreal, 28 April 1804.
80 Ibid., Vol. 569, p. 107, Catherine Cleghorne to Ian Courtland, Coteau-du-Lac, 5 Nov. 1819.
81 Ibid., Vol. 383, p. 128, Petition from Jane Fraser to His Excellency Peter Hunter, Esq., General and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces.... Coteau-du-Lac, 25 March 1804.
82 Ibid., MG12, W017, Vol. 1529, General Orders, Circular and Other Official Letters etc.,...received from England.
since last Return, 17 Sept. 1825.

83 W. Boss, op. cit., p. 17.


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Wallace, W.S.

White, Arthur Sharpin

Wood, Walter
Beads from the Fort
at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec
by Karlis Karklins
Abstract

One plastic bead and 54 glass beads representing ten types were recovered from the fort at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec, during archaeological investigations there under the direction of W.J. Folan, then of National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada. Of the total number, 44 specimens form part of a lesser rosary. The remainder are all necklace beads. Two of the latter are attributed to the 17th century. These beads predate the provision forwarding post at the site and indicate the presence of European trade goods in the area at an early date.

Submitted for publication, 1971, by Karlis Karklins, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Ottawa.
Abrégé


Quarante-quatre des 50 pièces de la collection appartiennent à un chapelet de date inconnue, qui pourrait fort bien être une intrusion récente. Les autres pièces sont toutes des perles de collier dont deux remontent au XVIIe siècle. Ces deux dernières, deux corailines d'Alep ornées, datent d'avant le comptoir d'approvisionnement à ce site et indiquent la présence de marchandises européennes de troc très tôt dans la région.
Introduction

Beads were notably scarce at the fort at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec. The collection of specimens excavated from the site consists of one plastic bead, four drawn glass beads and 50 wound glass beads. The glass beads were classified using the system developed by Kenneth and Martha Kidd (1970) and their identifying code precedes the detailed description of each bead type in this report. Bead types that were encountered which are not listed in the Kidds' type lists are marked by an asterisk (*) since they do not, as yet, have type numbers.

Colour and size notations used in this report correspond to those employed by the Kidds in their system. Colours were designated using the names and codes in the Color Harmony Manual (Jacobson, et al. 1948). The equivalent colour code in the Munsell colour notation system (Munsell Color Company 1960) was also provided for the benefit of those who may not be familiar with the manual. The size categories used refer to bead diameter and have the following numerical values: very small, under 2 mm; small, 2 mm to 4 mm; medium, 4 mm to 6 mm; large, 6 mm to 10 mm; very large, over 10 mm. Although Kidd uses "clear" in lieu of "transparent," the latter term was used herein since it was felt to be more descriptive.

A brief survey of the methods employed to manufacture glass beads is presented here to indicate the differences between the beads in the two categories mentioned above.

In the manufacture of drawn beads a long tube is drawn
out from a hollow globe of molten glass by two men. After cooling, the tube is broken into short sections to facilitate handling. These are then annealed to strengthen the glass. The tube is subsequently broken into bead lengths by placing it on a sharp broad chisel set in a block of wood and striking it with another chisel-like tool ("On the Manufacture of Glass Beads" 1825: 120).

The beads may be left unaltered or their broken ends may be rounded. The latter process is accomplished by placing the rough beads in an iron drum containing a mixture of plaster and graphite, or clay and charcoal dust (Orchard 1929: 85). The drum is then heated and rotated simultaneously. In another process, the beads are put in a large pan with sand and wood ash, or plaster and graphite. The pan is then heated over a charcoal fire and the contents are stirred continually with a spatula resembling a hatchet with a round end ("On the Manufacture of Glass Beads" 1825: 120). In both processes the heat and agitation round the broken ends while the various "packing" mixtures keep the beads from sticking together and prevent their perforations from collapsing as the glass becomes viscid. Depending on the length of time that the beads are treated in this manner, they may range from practically unaltered tube fragments to almost perfect spheroids.

Drawn beads have certain characteristics due to their method of manufacture. Beads may consist of unaltered tube sections with uneven, broken ends, commonly referred to as "bugle" beads. Bubbles in the glass and striations on the surface, if present, are oriented parallel to the axis, an imaginary line passing through the centre of the perforation. The perforation is parallel-sided and usually has a smooth surface.

Wound beads are produced in a totally different manner. In this process, a thin filament of glass is drawn from a
molten rod and repeatedly wound around a rotating metal mandrel until the desired size and shape is achieved (Murray 1964: 16). The remainder of the filament is then cut from the bead which is heated and turned to further fuse the glass and create a smoother surface. This procedure is continued until several beads have been formed. After cooling, they are removed from the mandrel which is sometimes tapered to facilitate this step.

The surfaces of wound beads usually exhibit swirl marks that are at right angles to the axis. Bubbles in the glass are either round, or elongate and perpendicular to the axis. The perforation may taper and have an uneven surface.
Drawn Beads

Ia*. Tubular; small; translucent, ice blue (19 ba; 5BG 9/2); one specimen (Fig. 1a). The ends are rounded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Perforation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 mm</td>
<td>3.8 mm</td>
<td>2.1 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


IIIIf*. Tubular, cornerless heptagonal; large; transparent, ultramarine (13 pa; 7.5PB 4/14) outer layer; translucent light aqua blue (16 ea; 7.5B 8/4) middle layer; very thin, transparent, ultramarine core; one specimen (Fig. 1b). This bead consists of a short section of heptagonal tubing with a pentagonal facet cut on each corner. The body facets are roughly diamond-shaped unaltered tube faces. The bead has a total of 21 facets. The ends are heptagonal in outline and are unfinished (broken); the perforation is large.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Perforation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.5 mm</td>
<td>8.5 mm</td>
<td>3 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Provenience: 9G1B5.

IVbb7. Round; large; transparent, apple green (23 ic; 10GY 6/6) core; thin, opaque, redwood (6 ne; 7.5R 4/6) outer layer decorated with three broad, straight, compound stripes of bright navy (13 pg; 7.5PB 3/4) on white (a; N 10/0); two specimens (Fig. 1c–d). One specimen is globular; the other is barrel-shaped. Beads of this style are often referred to
as "Cornaline d'Aleppo."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Perforation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 mm - 10 mm</td>
<td>8.5 mm - 9 mm</td>
<td>2 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Provenience: 9G5N1, 9G51A1.
Wound Beads

**Wib5.** Round; very large; translucent, pale blue (15 ca; 10B 9/3); one specimen (Fig. 1e). The glass has a slightly golden cast when held up to a strong light. The surface is smooth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Perforation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 mm</td>
<td>11 mm</td>
<td>2.5 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Provenience: 9G4D7.

**Wib7.** Round; large; transparent, amber (3 lc; 7.5YR 7/8); one specimen (Fig. 1f). Swirl marks are visible on the surface.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Perforation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.8 mm</td>
<td>7.3 mm</td>
<td>2.5 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Wib16.** Round; large; transparent, bright navy (13 pg; 7.5PB 3/4); one specimen (Fig. 1g). The surface exhibits swirl marks. Numerous tiny, round bubbles are present in the glass.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Perforation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 mm</td>
<td>10 mm</td>
<td>2 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Provenience: 9G15E3.
W1b*. Round; large; opaque, black (p; N 1/0); one specimen (Fig. 1h). No swirl marks are visible. The perforation tapers very slightly toward one end.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Diametr</th>
<th>Perforation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.5 mm</td>
<td>10 mm</td>
<td>1.8 mm - 2 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Provenience: 9G12A2.

W1b*. Round; medium and large; translucent, light gray (c; N 8/0); 44 specimens. Many specimens are covered with a heavy, white patina and several others are discoloured by a rust-brown stain. Swirl marks are clearly visible on the surface.

These beads are strung on a brass chain which forms the loop-like portion of a lesser rosary (Fig. 2) which has 54 beads when complete: five groups of ten medium-size Ave beads separated from each other in all but one instance by a large Gloria bead. Although ten beads are missing from the specimen, the links which bore them are present. Several of the links have been modified into loops, indicating that the rosary was repaired on several occasions before it was discarded or lost.

Each set of Ave beads is strung on a chain of elongated S-shaped links which are about 8 mm long. The beads are situated in the centres of these links and are held in place by the looped ends of the links which interlock to form the chain. The beads are 3 mm to 3.5 mm apart. Each section of Ave beads is about 67 mm long.

Each Gloria bead is also centred on an S-shaped link which is separated from the adjacent Ave beads by a short section of braided wire on either side of it. The braided wire/Gloria bead components are 25 mm long.

A brass heart-shaped device was used to separate the two remaining sets of Ave beads and to connect the ends of
The chain. This device is also separated from the adjacent beads by braided wire; one short section on either side of it. Each section of wire is attached to a loop located at the tip of each of the two upper lobes of the heart by an S-shaped link. Another loop is present at the base of the heart, but nothing is attached to it. A short series of beads on a chain terminated by a crucifix was probably suspended from it, as is usually the case.

The brass device is composed of two thin embossed heart-shaped pieces fastened together by folding the edge of one over the edge of the other. The edges are beaded. In the centre of each piece is a raised heart which also has a beaded edge. The letter M is stamped in the centre of one heart and is representative of the Virgin Mary. In the centre of the other is the letter J which probably signifies Jesus. The device is 15 mm long, 12.5 mm wide and 4 mm thick.

Bead measurements are as follows:

Ave Beads (41 specimens)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Perforation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Range:</td>
<td>3 mm - 4.75 mm</td>
<td>4.5 mm - 6 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average:</td>
<td>3.75 mm</td>
<td>5.3 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gloria Beads (three specimens)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Perforation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Range:</td>
<td>5 mm - 6 mm</td>
<td>6 mm - 6.5 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average:</td>
<td>5.4 mm</td>
<td>6.2 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


WId*. Donut; large; transparent, light gold (2 ic; 2.5Y 7/7); one specimen (Fig. 11). The surface exhibits swirl marks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Perforation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.5 mm</td>
<td>7.4 mm</td>
<td>2.7 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WIIIb*. Oval; large; opaque, white (a; N 10/0) body decorated with coloured glass appliqués; one specimen (Fig. 1j). The white glass has the appearance of porcelain and its surface is pitted and dull. An undulating apple green (23 ic; 10GY 6/6) line encircles each end of the specimen. A leaf-like wreath girds the middle. Although the latter appliqué has almost completely disappeared, leaving only an impression in the surrounding glass, tiny remnants indicate that it was pink (10RP to 2.5R). A portion of one end of the bead is missing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Perforation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 mm (existing)</td>
<td>8 mm</td>
<td>2 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Provenience: 9G4A10.
Non-Glass Beads

Plastic Bead. Round; large; transparent, light gray (c; N 8/0) plastic core covered with a thin, very shiny layer of opaque light melon yellow (3 ea; 10YR 8/6) enamel paint; one specimen (Fig. 1k). The core of this specimen was probably mould pressed and then the outer layer was applied; however, the surface is smooth and no mould marks are evident.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Perforation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.7 mm</td>
<td>7.8 mm</td>
<td>1.3 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beads were recovered from nine archaeological operations at the fort at Coteau-du-Lac. With the exception of those forming the rosary, all are from necklaces. No embroidery beads were encountered. Five bead types are distinctive enough to be dated.

The two decorated "Cornaline d'Aleppo" beads (type IVbb7) are assigned to the period from 1625 to 1637 by Pratt (1961: 10); however, this time range seems too restrictive. These beads were possibly used as trade items until about 1670, the approximate terminal date for a type identical to the Coteau-du-Lac specimens except that it lacks the green core (Quimby 1966: 84). If the 1670 cut-off date is correct, then the two "Cornaline d'Aleppo" beads clearly predate the provision forwarding post at Coteau-du-Lac, construction of which began in 1779 (Ingram 1966: Sect. A) and indicate the traffic of European goods in the area during the 17th century.

One of the "Cornaline d'Aleppo" specimens is without definite provenience. The other came from the uppermost level of the fill in the south storehouse built during the American Revolution (Ingram 1966: Sect. 11). In the latter instance, the bead was probably washed into the structure after it was levelled.

The cornerless heptagonal bead (IIIf*) is attributable to the period from circa 1780 to circa 1880; Harris and Harris (1967: 151, types 129 and 130; 157-8) record similar types for the period from 1780 to 1836, while Woodward
(1965: 10) states that faceted, tubular beads were popular on the West Coast from the 1830s to around 1880. It was recovered from the canal built in 1780 to bypass the Coteau rapids (Ingram 1966: Sect. C).

The decorated wound bead (WIb*) was found in the cellar fill of the commanding officer's quarters which was erected during the War of 1812 and destroyed by fire in 1870 (Ingram 1966: Sect. 18). Quimby (1966: 88) states that this bead type is diagnostic of the Late Historic Period: 1760 to 1820 or slightly later. However, while the earliest date is probably relatively accurate, that this type continued to be manufactured and traded until at least the 1860s is suggested by the presence of similar specimens at Fort Berthold II, North Dakota, which was in operation from 1862 to 1886 (Smith 1972: 150). Thus, the only possible interpretation is that the bead was deposited at some time during the occupation of the structure.

The round pale blue bead (WIb5) was also recovered from the commanding officer's quarters. It appears to be the equivalent of a type (No. 53: large, milk-glass, translucent) described by Harris and Harris (1967: 144, 156-8) which they attribute to the period from 1700 to 1820. If the two types are identical, then the Coteau specimen can be assigned to the early occupation of the building.

The plastic bead, a recent intrusion, was recovered during the excavation of the road that runs east and west from the canal. The two glass beads (WIb7 and WIb*) from the same provenience are older, but cannot be precisely dated at the present time.

The three remaining beads are not distinctive enough to be useful in assigning dates to their archaeological contexts either. The round transparent bright navy (WIb16) and opaque black (WIb*) beads were recovered from the guardhouse and stone barracks, structures erected during the
period from 1813 to 1815, and sold in 1872 for the materials they contained (Ingram 1966: Sect. 14, 35). The tubular ice blue bead (type Ia*) was recovered from the southeast gun platform which was erected during the period from 1812 to 1814 and replaced in 1838.

The rosary was found in the upper layer of the fill in the powder magazine which was built about 1815 and sold with the other buildings in 1872 (Ingram 1966: Sect. 16). The date of this artifact is unknown; it may be a recent intrusion.
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ILLUSTRATIONS
The glass beads from the fort at Coteau-du-Lac are: a, Ia*, tubular, translucent, ice blue; b, IIIf*, tubular, cornerless heptagonal, three layers; c, IVbb7, round, decorated "Cornaline d'Aleppe"; d, IVbb7, round (barrel-shaped), decorated "Cornaline d'Aleppe"; e, WIIb5, round, translucent, pale blue; f, WIIb7, round, transparent, amber; g, WIIb16, round, transparent, bright navy; h, WIIb*, round, opaque, black; i, WIIb*, donut, transparent, light gold, and j, WIIb*, oval, opaque, white, decorated. A plastic bead (k) was also recovered. (Photo by G. Lupien.)
2 The lesser rosary from the fort at Coteau-du-Lac. (Photo by G. Lupien.)
Table Glass from the Fort
at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec
by Paul McNally

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Abstract

Table glass recovered from the fort at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec, during archaeological investigations there under the direction of W.J. Folan, then of National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, presents a reasonable sampling of the common forms of Anglo-Irish manufacture in the approximate period 1780-1825 and probably somewhat beyond. Very much more poorly represented is glass of the 1820s industrial commencement — contact-moulded and pressed, American or otherwise. The sampling points to markedly greater permanent population during the earlier period and, as well, to a degree of traditionalism in consumer taste at the site.

Submitted for publication 1972, by Paul McNally, St. Thomas University, Fredericton.
La Direction des lieux et des parcs historiques nationaux a entrepris des fouilles archéologiques au fort de Coteau-du-Lac (Qué.), lequel fut occupé de 1779 à 1856. La verrerie de table découverte durant les fouilles représente quatre techniques différentes de fabrication: soufflage sans moule, verre imprimé, contact et verre pressé. (Les pièces de fabrication mécanique datent du début du XXᵉ siècle et ne figurent pas dans le présent rapport.) La collection renferme très peu de pièces précieuses et de grande valeur; les gobelets et verres à vin les plus usuels de cette période composent de loin l'essentiel de la collection. Comme on pourrait s'y attendre, la majeure partie des artefacts, ainsi que les plus beaux, proviennent des quartiers des officiers. Les baraques des soldats et les bâtiments de l'hôpital ont aussi permis de découvrir de nombreux objets de verre. Les pièces trouvées dans le canal indiquent bien que ce dernier servait à l'époque de dépotoir.

La verrerie de table de Coteau-du-Lac démontre assez bien les méthodes de fabrication anglo-irlandaises en usage vers les années 1780-1825 et probablement un peu plus tard. Les fouilles ont également permis de découvrir en nombre moindre de la verrerie de contact ou pressée (américaine ou autre) datant du début de la période industrielle des années 1820. Les échantillons trouvés indiquent que le fort a connu une activité plus intense au début de son existence (période militaire), soit durant la révolution américaine et
durant la guerre de 1812. De plus, il découle des découvertes que les occupants du fort avaient des goûts très conservateurs. Au cours de la période d'occupation du fort, la fabrication du verre a connu de nombreuses innovations telles que l'apparition du verre moulé comme substitut bon marché au verre taillé, mais Coteau-du-Lac a su résister aux nouvelles techniques.
Acknowledgements

Gratitude is extended to the members of the Research Division staff of the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch who contributed advice and shared their knowledge, particularly to Olive Jones, who read a preliminary draft and made useful suggestions. Mr. Kenneth Wilson of the Corning Museum commented on several artifacts.
The major occupation of the fort at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec, 1779 to the mid-19th century (Rick 1970: 29), encompasses some of the most spectacular and fascinating changes in the history of the glass industry. In 1779, when construction and military occupation first began at Coteau-du-Lac, the glass industry of the western world was still confined almost entirely to Europe and its technical advancement had been tardy, even if artistic expression and decorative wizardry on finer glass had advanced steadily in both Germany-Bohemia and England, the two major centres for table glass after the decline of Venice and the delicate Muranese style. Glassmaking was still the unchallenged province of master craftsmen and small glassworks. Much had been done in the preceding century to improve the quality of the product - greatly improved annealing procedures, the invention of lead glass, more carefully purified raw batch materials, refined furnaces and better fuels, and exciting development of decorative techniques such as cutting, engraving and, to a lesser extent, colouration, had characterized the late 17th and the 18th centuries - but very little change had been introduced to the traditional role of the chair or glassmaking crew. The process of shaping a vessel from plastic metal was essentially the same as it had been for centuries and the industry had only barely re-achieved the efficiency of ancient Roman glassmakers, whose use of moulds was not surpassed until the early 19th century. The glass industry was ripe for an industrial revolution.
The revolution came, but not in Europe. In the second decade of the 19th century, tariff-protected American glassmakers set about capitalizing upon the known but hitherto little-used capabilities of the multi-piece contact mould, which was before long combined with the use of colours to an extent which Europeans had only rarely indulged. By 1830 the Americans were perfecting the process of making pressed hollow ware and were able to reproduce complex patterns with facility and economy. Both of these techniques originated in imitation of cut glass then in fashion, but their texture and appearance inevitably differed and to some extent both developed into styles suitable to this difference. The British industry began to use these techniques as well, somewhat later and without much enthusiasm or imagination. For instance, the only pressed glass shown at the Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1851 was praised for its remarkable and deceptive resemblance to cut glass (Thorpe 1961: 239).

On Canadian historic sites dating after the end of the Seven Years' War, to speak of European glass is to speak of British glass. This is largely the result of colonial status, but it should be mentioned that from about 1750, Britain was preeminent in the glass trade of western Europe and this situation continued into the 19th century.

The British glass industry from 1746 to 1845 was hampered by an ever-increasing excise tax, collected on the weight of glass made. More important than the direct increase in cost to the consumer which this tax caused, was the labyrinth of regulations and restrictions designed to control its collection. No step in the process of making glassware could be undertaken without written notice to the excise officer connected to each factory and without his authorization. As a result, only the most routine production could continue efficiently and economically
without breaking the law. Experimentation and innovation (according to the glassmakers) was prohibitively expensive (Sandilands 1931: 231-45). Compounding the matter was the fact that the English table-glass industry was economically based upon and organized around the success of a certain style, cut glass. Thorpe remarks that

Markets were developed, businesses were costed, wages were found and paid on this basis. Manuafacturers found it impossible to carry on if they cut less and lost the margin of profit which the bit of extra afforded them....They fell back on glint and snobbery (Thorpe 1961: 233-4).

And so British glassmakers met the competition of the novel, sometimes trinkety, but often clever and attractive American moulded glass with a deepening insistence upon prismatic overall cutting. There was little competition for domestic markets, but in United States a formerly brisk trade in imported European glass, especially from Britain, was in decline by 1820 (Lanmon 1969: 26, Table 4), and in the early 1830s American producers were exporting pressed glass to England in some quantity (Great Britain. Commissioners of Excise 1835: 98).

Most people could not afford elaborately cut crystal, however much they might admire it. Before the large-scale innovation of moulding, they simply had to make do with undecorated glass although there was the option of pattern-moulded glass with simple ribbing or diamonds introduced easily in the process of making glass off-hand. It is the partial purpose of this report to examine how glass consumers, in this instance largely military - both British regulars and Canadian militia - responded to the choice which they might have been offered during a period of drastic revision of glass technology and styles.
Table Glass Artifacts Excavated at the Fort at Coteau-du-Lac

The artifacts to be discussed are grouped under the rather broad typology of manufacturing technique. There are four such groups: off-hand, pattern-moulded, contact-moulded and press-moulded manufacture. (While some machine-made glass was recovered during the excavations, it dates to the early 20th century at the earliest and is excluded from this discussion.) Since descriptions of the various processes involved in each type of manufacture are readily available, they are excluded here. Excellent sources for such information are Haynes's *Glass Through the Ages* (1964) and the McKearins' *American Glass* (1948), possibly the standard works on English and American glass respectively. Elville's *The Collector's Dictionary of Glass* (1961) is very useful for quick reference and succinct, reliable information. Within the manufacturing classifications, styles and forms are identified. The breakdown of artifacts by type is summarized in Table 1.

**Off-Hand Manufacture**

**Tumblers**

There are 166 plain unfinished tumbler bases or fragments of bases. Only 72 bases are complete: they range from 50 mm to 71 mm in diameter, with a mean diameter of 57.9 mm and all have slightly pushed up bases (mean push-up height, 5.6 mm)
with scars from glass-tipped pontils. In two cases the ragged glass of this scar protrudes below the resting point of the base to cause a "rocker." Anathema to tablecloths, these two bases illustrate how inexpensive and common such tumblers must have been in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Yet all are made of lead glass and while some are slightly discoloured, most are of good metal with very few bubbles or other faults. There is a simple explanation for the use of expensive glass for cheap wares: the Excise Act in England required that only flint glasshouses could make table wares and that flint glasshouses could make only glass of lead (Powell 1923: 155).

There were found 31 bases or partial bases from plain off-hand tumblers with finished bases (Fig. la). Eighteen bases are complete; base diameters range from 60 mm to 79 mm, with a mean diameter of 68.6 mm, and the mean depth of the basal concavity is 4.2 mm. All are of lead glass. The finishing in most cases is a hollow centered on the nearly flat base and ranging from 27 mm to 51 mm across, with one instance of a hollow within a hollow, indicating that two wheels of different diameters were successively used. Two of the bases were ground completely flat on a horizontally revolving wheel. Evidently the tumblers were designated for finishing at the time they were made, for they are generally larger in diameter than the unfinished tumblers and have little appreciable push-up, the grinding itself accounting for most of the basal concavity. The finished pontil mark on English glass is usually granted broad dating significance, the assertion being made that 18th-century glass is virtually never without a pontil scar (Elville 1961: 97; Lloyd 1969: 29), but it is wrong to assume that this is always true. For example, a finished decanter base was found at Fort Beauséjour which was deposited before 1756 (McNally 1971: 123-4). It is clear, however, that finished
bases become much more common in the early decades of the 19th century than they had been in the 18th century.

There are five off-hand tumblers with cut decoration and finished bases. The mean base diameter of three complete bases is 65.3 mm and the mean push-up height 5 mm. The cutting consists of simple vertical flutes encircling the base, wide and flat in three instances (Fig. 1b) and concave in the other two. There is no apparent difference between these bases and plain finished tumblers excepting their extrinsic decoration.

All the tumblers have been examined with beta-ray back-scattering to determine a comparison of lead content. The range of variation of lead content is slight overall and, more importantly, the variation which does occur forms no pattern to correspond with the slight style variations noticed. Thus it is clear that at a given time, the same amount of lead was used to make glass for both crude plain tumblers and stylish cut tumblers. Since it is reasonable to assert that at least the majority of the finished tumblers were made in the 19th century while many of the unfinished were made in the late 18th century, lead content was apparently stable over a period of time, approximately 1780 to 1820 or later. Substantial increases in the excise tax, levied by weight, which occurred several times during the interval, do not seem to have affected batch proportions. No variation is evident to indicate that excise-free Irish manufacturers in the period might have used more lead. The implication from this rather large sampling of glass is that British glassmakers had found a glass formula which worked well and that they stayed with that formula.
Stemware
Capacious rummer goblets are represented by five examples, and two types were found. There are two rummers with short straight stems and huge ovoid bowls (Fig. 2a). There are three others with centrally knopped stems and bucket bowls, very similar to common small glasses with similar features (compare Fig. 3d), but very large and with grand horizontal proportions (Fig. 2b). Only one rummer, of the bucket type, has a finished pontil mark. Rummers of the ovoid type begin in the 1770s and the bucket type appeared about a decade later (Ash 1962: 136): both types last well into the 19th century, with the bucket type predominating, and their influence on glass styles will be noted on artifacts described below.

The largest group of stemware on the site is that of glasses with plain straight stems (Fig. 3a), represented by 46 objects. The flaring stems are quite short, ranging from 29 mm to 40 mm in height measured to the base of the bowl, and the glasses are without exception of two-piece or drawn-stem construction. The only style variations evident are in bowl form. Most of the bowls grow out of the flare of the stem in easy and graceful curves to form conical or trumpet bowls, but in five instances the bowls are cup-shaped (Fig. 3b). The rummer style here demonstrates influence, for one of its distinguishing characteristics is the proportional preeminence of the bowl. The feet of the glasses are mostly broken, so that only four feet are complete to the rim, and in each case the rim is folded.

A single firing glass was found at Coteau-du-Lac (Fig. 3c). Compared to the much higher incidence of firing glasses on sites such as Fort Beauséjour, the scarcity of firing glasses at Coteau may be interpreted as indicating that the form's popularity dwindled quickly towards the end of the 18th century. However, it is possible that we may
expect firing glasses to occur frequently on sites near ocean shipping ports, for the glasses were undoubtedly favoured for use on ships because of their great stability (Ash 1962: 159). It is noteworthy that special "ship's decanters" were made late in the 18th century, on the forming principle of a low centre of gravity, and were shaped like a broad-based triangle (Ash 1962: 159-60). A high frequency of firing glasses at Fort Michilimackinac (Brown 1971: 143) settles the question. Michilimackinac is further inland than Coteau-du-Lac and British occupation there was from 1761 until 1781. Firing glasses were clearly most common in the third quarter.

There are 27 glasses with centrally knopped stems and bucket bowls. These are first cousins to the rummer goblets of similar form and they were popular from about 1790 and especially in the first third of the 19th century. The glass in Figure 3d is one of five which bear cut flutes around the base of the bowl and part way to the rim. It is unique, however, with the flutes separated by narrow concave vertical cuts - the other four cut bowls have only plain basal fluting. Twelve glasses are complete enough to permit examination of the pontil mark and four of these have finished pontils. On each of these four is a spreading step at the foot weld, while only two of the unfinished feet have such steps. Only two cut glasses have feet extant and the pontil marks are finished. The feet have plain rims and tend to be lower and thicker than those on 18th-century glasses and than the slightly earlier plain straight-stemmed glasses just discussed. The knops are either bladed or annular. One glass (Fig. 4a) is an exception to these generalizations since it has a folded foot and a proper knop. It is perhaps early in the evolution of the style. At the base of the bowl, the number of collars ranges from none to three, and the glasses with cut bowls all have at
least one collar.

Two related glasses which date to the early 19th century are represented by fragments of the stem at the base of the bowl. Each has a merese at the base of the bowl, which is once again a rummer element, and begins to appear about 1800 (Ash 1962: 162). The first (Fig. 4b) has a cut fluted bowl and a knop proper immediately beneath the merese. The second (Fig. 4c) has a central bladed knop and probably conical bowl nestled in the merese.

There are two facet-cut stem glasses, one with hexagonal and one with diamond facets (Fig. 4d). They are English from between 1760 and 1810 (Haynes 1964: 207). The figured glass has an unfinished pontil mark, always something of a surprise on a glass which was cut, but not at all uncommon and indicative of the tolerance with which consumers in England apparently viewed rough pontil scars. In the last quarter of the 18th century, until about 1790, these glasses were very fashionable, and also expensive.

Finally, a thick plain stem enclosing a huge tear beneath an apparently waisted bowl is the most anachronistic table glass artifact found (Fig. 4e). Such a glass would not be expected later than about 1765 for two reasons: enclosed tears as a common decoration and fashionable plain stems (as opposed to debased and rudimentary tavern glasses) had both passed out of style by that time (Hughes 1956: 88-9). This artifact may underline the need for caution in dating styles in table glass too closely or exclusively. However, stemware may be expected to have a relatively long life, especially when as physically substantial as this piece.

Stemware feet which do not mend with stems and thus do not fit into style classifications include 22 feet or fragments with folded foot rims and 24 feet or fragments with plain rims. There is a persistent myth that folded feet on English glasses are no later than about 1750. The
recent report of an excavation at the Gawber glasshouse, for instance, dates two foot fragments "late 17th- to first half 18th-century" simply because the foot rims are folded (Ashurst 1971: Fig. 41, Nos. 7 and 8). Evidently the folded foot rim was quite common on late 18th- and possibly early 19th-century stemware. Powell (1923: 50) points out that the folded rim was merely a device for reducing the size of a foot made too large by accident. Nevertheless, the folded foot would seem to have fallen out of favour about mid-century and few glasses are found with it until about 1780, when it reappears on common stemware to the extent that it is almost the norm (note plain stemmed glasses above). It passed out of favour again and is rarely seen on 19th-century glasses. Allowance must be made for exceptions on the basis of Powell's sensible argument.

Only one foot fragment has a finished pontil mark. A single specimen bears no pontil mark, indicating that it was made after the introduction of the gadget or snap case, which probably occurred during the 1850s (Elville 1961: 188) although one author places it as early as 1830 (Wilkinson 1968: 20). This foot is also the sole example of non-lead glass in the off-hand manufactured glass. Another exceptional foot is a pale blue-grey colour and has a low lead content (Fig. 5a). The foot rim is folded. The glass appears to be poor quality rather than intentionally coloured. Two explanations present themselves: it is a product of an early American glasshouse which had as yet developed little expertise, or it was made in one of the small illicit glasshouses which were established in England to evade the excise duties by turning out cheap wares, usually made from melted culled, unknown to the law.
Decanters

Off-hand decanters are represented by base fragments, neck fragments, stoppers and finials. In the late part of the 18th century and continuing into the 19th century, stopper finials were press-moulded in England and elsewhere. None of the finials can be certainly related to decanters found and so pressed finials are discussed under that type of manufacture rather than with the decanters for which they might have been made.

However, there were two hollow blown finials found (Fig. 5b). They are disc- or lozenge-shaped and both are broken from their shanks. Thorpe (1929b: 279) states that hollow blown stoppers are Victorian, but he is presumably referring to contact-mould-patterned stoppers such as those illustrated by Hughes (1958: 107). The simple hollow finials found at Coteau are probably late 18th century or early 19th century.

There are seven stopper shanks which do not relate positively to any finials. They are tapered cylinders with dull ground surfaces and were empointilled at the bottom end. The pontil is ground flat in all but one case. One has two proper knops set immediately above the ground shank and another is cut with a circuit of eight flutes on the neck between the shank and the missing finial.

Decanter neck fragments include one fragment of a widely everted lip, seven partial necks with applied neck rings, and one fragment of an apparently plain neck. The largest neck fragment has three rings, which are cut in diamond facets and with the neck areas between and above the rings cut in vertical flutes (Fig. 6a). Such a neck is typical of the finest pieces of the Anglo-Irish period, 1780 to 1825, and its elaboration probably indicates that it is later, rather than early in that period. It was fashionable and expensive. Other neck rings are all plain rounded
rings. Where present, orifices are ground to receive a stopper. The use of neck rings and wide horizontal lips began about 1780 and they were primary characteristics of Anglo-Irish decanters.

Six identifiable decanter bases tell us nothing of the body shapes of the decanters. The bases are similar to tumbler bases, but the walls are thicker, the heels more rounded and the diameters larger. Only one pontil is finished. All the decanter fragments are of lead glass.

Miscellany
There are two bases which are probably from jelly glasses (Fig. 6b). They consist of bowls set directly onto feet and as such they may be small footed tumblers, but it seems more probable that they are jelly or sweetmeat glasses. The pontil mark is ground on the illustrated base and missing on the other.

Several fragments with extrinsic decoration were found which are from the bodies of unidentified vessels - decanter or tumbler walls or stemware bowls. Two fragments, one from a cylindrical body and one from a spherical body, show the tops of vertical concave flutes. A third cut fragment has wide flat flutes topped by a deeper horizontal cut, above which begin narrow concave vertical flutes (Fig. 6c).

Figures 6d, e, and 1, illustrate engraved fragments of lead glass. The engraving in each case is of a formal though sketchily executed foliate motif. Engraving of this sort on English glass became a rather rare occurrence towards the end of the 18th century (Thorpe 1961: 232). The first two fragments may be from an ale glass, with a barley motif, and would date prior to 1800 (Wilkinson 1968: 189).

Clearly, virtually all the off-hand glass found at Coteau is commensurate with British manufacture of about
1780-1825, the period known as the Anglo-Irish period. But the styles represented remained fairly standard for a highly traditional British industry and the plain styles of tumblers and stemware which make up the bulk of the sampling persisted into Victorian times.

Pattern-Moulded Manufacture

Tumblers
Ten fragments of pattern-moulded tumblers were excavated at Coteau-du-Lac. In normal pattern-moulding procedure, the parison is moulded in a part-sized mould, then taken out and expanded to its final shape. The pattern usually continues around the basal edge and onto the basal surface. Three of six extant bases conform to this process: one is diamond-moulded, a second appears to have plain vertical ribbing and a third bears sharply swirled ribbing (Fig. 6g). Fragments from the bodies of four other tumblers include two with plain vertical ribbing and two with diamonds.

Three other base fragments have impressed sunburst rays on the basal surfaces only and each bears the distinct striations of off-hand finishing, indicating that they were not blown in a full-size mould. It would seem that the bases were formed by pressure against a die at some intermediary stage in manufacture. The precedent for this conjecture is twofold. First, bases on bottles were frequently pushed up and/or shaped by special tools designated for this purpose, sometimes leaving distinct impressions of no functional purpose such as a quatrefoil (Jones 1971: 66). Second, a preliminary development on the way to the full exploitation of the full-size contact mould was the use of a wide mould for open vessels into which the
parison would be pressed and bumped while still on the blowpipe (Watkins 1939: 68). While this process was usually combined with overblow and grinding to finish the rim, it would be easy enough to adapt it to the making of tumblers.

Stemware
Six fragments of stemware bearing pattern moulding include four in clear glass and two in blue glass. The four clear specimens are similar to off-hand plain stemmed glasses found, but diffuse vertical ribbing begins about halfway up the stems and continues on the bowl to the rim (Fig. 6h). The largest fragment shows just the beginning of a folded foot rim.

The largest of the blue fragments is a complete bowl, cup-shaped, with overall diamond moulding (Fig. 7a) and with a remnant of a clear stem adhering to the bottom (Fig. 7b). The second blue fragment is from the rim of a similar and perhaps identical bowl. They are lead glass. A blue diamond-moulded sugar bowl illustrated by Hughes (1958: Pl. 42) strikingly resembles these bowls. Hughes dates the sugar bowl to the early 19th century and terms it "Bristol blue," a collector's term having very little to do with the attribution of the piece. These bowls are likely English and the first quarter of the 19th century is a reasonable dating.

Pattern moulding generally disappeared by about 1850 (Lorraine 1968: 370) since it was obviated by contact and press moulding. It had been known and used by glassmakers for centuries. One still encounters it in gift ships on neo-rustic Mexican glass.
Contact-Moulded Manufacture

Tumblers
There are eight contact-moulded tumblers amongst the Coteau-du-Lac artifacts which were made in one-piece moulds. They represent little advance over pattern-moulded tumblers described above. Seven specimens have plain vertical ribbing on the walls and all but two of these have rayed bases. These were formed in a one-piece mould, similar to the pattern mould but full size and hence forming the vessel as well as its decoration. Of the seven such tumblers, four are lead glass. Basal diameters are 55 mm for the non-lead glass tumblers and 59 mm to 63 mm for those of lead glass. An eighth tumbler is moulded in a one-piece mould as well, with a rayed base, but the body was moulded in wide flutes which were then over-cut for prismatic sharpness. The basal edge is ground flat (Fig. 8a). Moulding and over-cutting were means of reducing the cost of cutting, and probably the wastage of glass as well, and was apparently quite commonly used for tumblers in the first half of the 19th century in England (Sandilands 1931: 243). The metal of this tumbler is considerably better in clarity and colour than the other contact-moulded tumblers.

Other tumblers were blown in multi-piece moulds and are described below.

Blown Three-Mould Glass
There are fragments from ten vessels of "blown three-mould" lead glass. The terminology used here is based entirely upon the painstaking and comprehensive treatment given blown three-mould glass in the McKearins' American Glass (1948: 240-331).
A fragment from a clear blown three-mould salt is shown in Figure 8b. It has an apparently rayed base, a rounded diamond-diapered body surmounted by a short (6 mm) band of vertical ribbing at the rim, and an irregular sawtooth cut rim. Of recorded American patterns, this corresponds most closely to a salt in pattern GII-1 (Mc Kearin and McKearin 1948: Pl. 87), but this does not have vertical ribbing at the rim. Since it is of unusually thick section, British origin is a distinct possibility (Mc Kearin and McKearin 1948: 284). In fact, two Irish footed salts illustrated by Westropp (1928: 542) would bear out this suggestion perfectly except that they have one less row of diamonds than the Coteau fragment.

Two bases of clear glass, 63 mm in diameter, are rayed base type VI.A. (Fig. 9a; McKearin and McKearin 1948: Pl. 100). The McKearins list the base with diameter 2.5 in. on tumblers in pattern GII-19 (1948: 307, Pl. 88) and pattern GIII-18 (1948: 309, Pl. 93), but also on half-pint decanters of three different patterns (1948: 294, 296). From the thinness of these specimens, a tumbler is likely, but not certain.

There is a fragment in clear glass from an octagonal body in pattern GI-18 (Mc Kearin and McKearin 1948: Pl. 85). The pattern is recorded by the McKearins only on a stoppered aquamarine bottle of quart capacity (1948: Pl. 102), but judging from the panel width on the Coteau fragment (Fig. 9b), it could not be from a vessel of more than half this capacity if the panels are all equal in width. The fragment is more likely from the lower part of a small square bottle with bevelled corners shown by Westropp as Irish (1920: Pl. XXXVII).

In clear glass were three additional fragments of blown three-mould which are too small to give any indication of
vessel form: all are patterned with simple diamond diapering and/or ribbing.

In coloured glass are two green tumbler bases and a blue base from an unidentified vessel. The tumbler bases (Fig. 10a) are 72 mm in diameter, the basal surface patterned diamond type II (McKearin and McKearin 1948: Pl. 100), with vertical flutes rising for just 15 mm from the base. The flutes terminate in a V impression, above which the body is patterned in large raised diamonds, with each diamond truncated by a minute and faint sunburst. Kenneth Wilson of the Corning Museum has expressed the opinion that these tumblers are British from the 1840s or 1850s (Wilson pers. com.).

The blue base is very large, 98 mm in diameter (Fig. 10b). The body is patterned with wide rounded pillars which are demonstrated by a single body fragment to terminate in a similar rounded bib which runs horizontally. This must be from a decanter or other large vessel such as a pitcher, but nothing has been found to correspond to it in the literature.

The popularization of contact moulded glass is quite rightly associated with American manufacture especially of the 1820-40 period, but it was certainly used in Britain as well, somewhat later generally and to a lesser extent. Westropp (1928: 542) points out that the British used only simple geometric motifs such as diamonds and ribs, which were of course largely imitative of cut glass, and this is in keeping with all the fragments found at Coteau. The possibility of British manufacture has already been discussed in three specific instances. The difficulty encountered in corelating these fragments with recorded American examples further suggests extreme caution in ascribing them to American manufacture.
Press-Moulded Manufacture

Pressed glass from the fort at Coteau-du-Lac falls easily into two categories, that made from lead glass and that of lime glass. An 1864 invention of a new lime glass formula is credited with allowing pressed glass manufactories to cease using expensive lead glass and it is commonly accepted that until that time very little pressed glass was made from non-lead metal (for example, Hughes 1958: 170). Patterns and styles seem to bear out the supposition. Thus the pressed lead glass found at Coteau is generally from the major period of occupation though possibly somewhat later, especially since a few makers of pressed glass persisted in using lead glass for as long as 15 years after 1864 (Quattlebaum 1938: 186). The pressed lime glass is categorically relegated to post-occupation deposit. One exception, a stopper, was found and is discussed below. Much pressed glass can be dated more closely by pattern.

Occupation Period Pressed Glass

Five fragments of so-called lacy glass were found, comprising two cup plates, two salts, and a small unrecognizable fragment. Lacy glass was the first independent stylistic development of pressed glass, deserting the rule of cut prismatic decoration and utilizing the inherent possibilities of pressing. Its period of popularity began just before 1830 and foundered with the extreme expense of making the intricate moulds during economic difficulties in the late 1830s, just when fire polishing was beginning to permit entirely different approaches to the patterning of pressed glass (McKearin and McKearin 1948: 394), so that the style did not last to 1850. Lacy glass originated in the United States and was soon made
in Belgium and France, later and to a lesser extent in Britain (Rose 1954: 16-17).

Two identifiable cup plate fragments in clear glass are attributed to the Sandwich Glass Company of Boston. The fragment shown in Figure 11a is from a "star and diamond" cup plate (McKearin and McKearin 1948: Pl. 188, No. 6) and this pattern was among those excavated in a pre-1849 context at the Sandwich factory site and hence tentatively assumed to have been made there (Watkins 1938: 133). The second cup plate fragment (Fig. 11b, c) is in the Sandwich hairpin pattern (McKearin and McKearin 1948: Pl. 147, No. 2; Lee 1966: Pl. 96). The pattern was "enormously successful," and it was duly copied by Midwestern factories (Lee 1966: 308, 309). It will be noted from the two photographs of the hairpin fragment that lacy glass derives its appeal not from brightness of surface, which is dull, but from sparkling refraction of the pattern seen through the unpatterned surface.

The first of the lacy salts (Fig. 12a) is a fragment from one of the famous "Lafayet" boat salts, once again attributed to Sandwich. In fact, if the fragment were more complete it would presumably bear the name of the factory in as many as three places (Lee 1966: 242-3, 261, Pl. 72). The second salt (Fig. 13a) has not been identified, but is typical of lacy forms with its scroll foot and flaring side, showing kinship, for instance, with salts illustrated in McKearin and McKearin (1948: Pl. 170).

A further tiny fragment of stippled lacy glass has not been identified.

Of four pressed stopper finials, three are of the ribbed mushroom type and one is a "target" finial. The finial alone was pressed and the shank (and knop, if any) formed off-hand and applied. The only finial with its shank
extant (Fig. 12b) has a proper knop between the shank and finial, is concave on the under side of the mushroom and is rather surprisingly of non-lead glass. This particular style is identified by the McKearins as the normal stopper for blown three-mould decanters of square section and quart capacity (1948: 274, Pl. 114, No. 19, Pl. 102, No. 3). Ribbed mushroom stoppers were also common on Anglo-Irish decanters, 1775-1820 (Thorpe 1929: 279), but surely these would be lead glass since the decanters certainly were. It seems likely that this stopper is American, while the other two (Fig. 13b), in lead glass, with two concentric circles moulded on the flush lower surface of the mushroom (unlike the stoppers shown by the McKearins) are probably British. The plain "target" stopper (Fig. 13c) is British and was made about 1775-1800 (Thorpe 1929b: 279). It should be mentioned that along with square feet, such stopper finials were the first modern glass to be pressed, using dies attached to the ends of tongs (Hughes 1958: 109), and preceded the more sophisticated American invention of a levered plunger and stationary mould (for a diagram, see Lee 1966: Pl. 15) by about 40 years.

Other pressed lead glass recovered includes fragments from five panelled tumblers, a salt, and a small bowl.

The tumbler fragments include only one base, which is rayed on the depressed basal surface, octagonal in form and very thick and heavy (Fig. 13d). The other fragments are from the walls of tumblers and the panels terminate in rounded tops 15 mm or 20 mm below rims which show no mould lines. All appear to be fire polished. Fire polishing corrected the dullness of pressed glass which naturally resulted from the glass chilling against a metal mould and which was a drawback in competition with off-hand and cut and polished glass. This dullness had been cleverly nullified in the stippling of lacy glass, but with the
introduction of fire polishing by 1834 it became possible to closely imitate the surface of cut glass as well as its motifs. Not surprisingly, it was first used in Britain (McKearin and McKearin 1948: 394). While the origin of these tumblers, whether British or American, is necessarily uncertain, the date of manufacture may be narrowed to about 1835-65 with some confidence.

The non-lacy pressed salt is a rectangular vessel with vertical ribbing which is imitative of mitre cutting (Fig. 14a). Dating and attribution are difficult within broad boundaries - British or American from 1827 to about 1865 - but a reasonable guess would be that it is British from the 1830s or 1840s. The fragment of a small bowl, which is probably oval and is patterned with curved or spiraled rounded ribs, has a base rim which is ground flat, indicating that it was empontilled there. It corresponds to no recorded early American pressed pattern (Fig. 14b) and is thus equally difficult to place. Very little has been written about early British pressed glass and since these pieces come from a site where so much British glass was found and do not seem to suit the exhaustively studied tradition of American pressed glass, it is tempting to assume British origin.

Post-Occupation Pressed Glass
Of 15 items of pressed lime glass found at Coteau dating after 1865, none can be dated earlier than about 1870 with any certainty and most date to the 1890s and later.

A fragment from an unidentified vessel is in the "Candian Beaded Oval and Fan" pattern (Fig. 14c) made by the Jefferson Glass Company of Toronto between 1913 and 1925 (Jefferson Glass Company n.d.: 21; Stevens 1967: 39). Two fragments from a water pitcher (Fig. 14d) seem to be of the
"Squirrel" pattern, dating to the late 1870s (Lee 1958: 553, Pl. 100). The fragment shown is from the body of the pitcher and a second fragment is from the pouring lip. A large fragment from a huge pressed berry bowl in imitation brilliant cutting is patterned identically as a punch bowl which appears in the Butler Brothers wholesale catalogue for 1910 (1970: 400). The punch bowl, 11-1/2 in. in diameter along with a separate stand and 12 handled cups, and touted for its resemblance to cut glass because of brilliant fire polish, wholesaled for 75 cents. A handle from a small pitcher has just enough pattern extant to identify it with a style made by the Central Glass Co. (Wheeling, West Virginia) from about 1888, George Duncan and Sons (Pittsburgh) from about 1890 and re-issued by the United States Glass Company which was formed by a merger of a dozen companies in 1891, and probably made long into the 20th century (Revi 1967: 315, No. 926). Part of a pressed bowl in opaque white glass, along with a fragment which may be from the lid finial to the bowl, does not date earlier than the 1870s (Lee 1944: 253).

There remain ten fragments from pressed glass vessels which are typical of common tablewares of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Two handled tankards were found, one simply panelled octagonally with a deep basal depression, the other with a slightly protruding octagonal base and with the body patterned in large diamond facets. There is a fragment from a panelled tumbler. Fragments from three goblets - two foot-stem fragments and one stem-bowl fragment - all have vertically fluted stems, with the one extant bowl fluted as well. A fragment from the foot and bowl of a small footed bowl, otherwise plain, raised ribs radiating from an unpatterned circle on the underside of the foot. A pitcher lip fragment has part of a beading pattern extant, but the pattern is too incomplete for identification. Part
of a cylindrical portion of lamp standard is patterned with chevron ribbing. There is part of a plain foot which is probably also from a lamp. All these are clear glass: a final fragment is electric blue, but its pattern and the vessel from which it might originate are unknown.
Conclusions

Society
There is very little fine and expensive table glass in the Coteau collection. Facet-cut stems were the fashionable stemware of the 1780s, but are represented by only two specimens. Similarly, the decanter neck with facetted rings was among the most elegant and costly of the products of the Anglo-Irish period of exuberant cut glass. While it is obvious that such pieces would be more highly treasured and carefully used than common glass and thus less likely to be broken and discarded, these three items are numerically swamped by the most common tumblers and wineglasses of the period. The social gap between the extremes is bridged by four cut fluted tumblers, six glasses with cut fluted bowls, and several small fragments of cut and engraved glass, and to some extent by finished bases on about 15 per cent of the otherwise plain tumblers.

When barracks were first built in England in the 1790s, eight dragoons or 12 infantrymen shared two large bowls, one beer can, and two tin mugs; each soldier had a small bowl, trencher and spoon (De Watteville 1954: 92). It is not difficult to picture men acquiring a few supplements to this limited table setting, particularly for their daily ration of beer (later a daily allowance of money [De Watteville 1954: 92-3]), and a plain and cheap glass tumbler of English manufacture might be chosen. Certainly a large number of such tumblers have been found on Canadian military sites such as Forts Beauséjour and Lennox as well as Coteau-du-Lac.
That some attempt at gentility was made by at least a few of Coteau's residents is indicated by the presence of cut glass, which, with a few brief lapses after 1850, was considered throughout the 19th century to fulfill the highest standards of taste, and by cup plates, popular from perhaps 1820 but in glass not until a little before 1830. People used these small plates to hold their tea cups while they drank from the saucer. Not surprisingly, a British glass historian has remarked stuffily that the practice was mainly a provincial custom (Hughes 1958: 167), while an American pointed out that her forefathers (including Benjamin Franklin) had no reason to consider it bad table manners (Lee 1966: 211). In either case, it was a fashion, and certainly not the most obvious way to drink tea.

**Industry, Taste and Population**

In the historical exploration of table furnishings is a grey zone which lies between the proper province of the historian of art and the antique dealer on one hand, and the reality of the plain tumbler or earthenware plate which existed simply to facilitate the consumption of liquid and food on the other. Into the grey zone fall inexpensive substitutes and dressed-up commonplaces. For example, when oriental porcelain was first brought to Europe, potters and glassmakers far and wide applied themselves to ingenious imitations. When a spectacular and unprecedented price was paid for the Morgan Peachblow vase in New York in 1886, virtually every table glass manufacturer in the United States put out a line of "Peachblow" (Lee 1944: 31-5).

In the glass industry, the period covered by the Coteau occupation is remarkable for its innovation in the realm of inexpensive substitutes for cut glass through the medium of newly applied moulding techniques - blown three-mould and
pressed glass. The collection of table glass artifacts recovered at the fort at Coteau-du-Lac is equally remarkable for its demonstration of resistance to innovation.

It has been pointed out in the course of describing the artifacts that the glass is rather commonplace. Relatively few bases are finished, little cut glass was found and the vast majority of articles are far more functional than decorative. But this judgement is true only in the specific context into which it falls, the standard of taste set by Anglo-Irish production in the period. Since the vast majority of the glass is Anglo-Irish in origin, it is clear that it is commonplace beside the few nobler specimens recovered and beside the lustrous marvels which historians of art use to characterize Anglo-Irish glass. There was a reasonably priced alternative, in the form of novel American glass, and the residents of Coteau for one reason or another largely rejected the alternative.

That American glass was available is evidenced by the small but rather representative selection of blown three-mould and pressed glass from the 1820-50 period which was recovered. That relatively decorous tables were being kept at Coteau during at least part of this period is indicated by lacy salts and cup plates found. It is clear that these tables were furnished with plain lead glass British vessels in a rejection of most of the novel styles and innovations of American glass. It is interesting to note that Coteau is probably not unique in this. In 1832 major American glass firms were exporting a considerable amount of glass to the West Indies and to South America, but apparently none to the Canadas (Watkins 1937: 10-11).

Not being able to afford the best of British glass, the residents of Coteau apparently preferred British forms not enhanced by any decoration to the inexpensive substitutes probably available. It is dangerous to impose our taste
upon this choice, but in a sense it is not surprising. The simple plain straight stems with their delicate flare were a pleasing and natural form. The glasses with centrally knopped stems and bucket bowls have a squat and solid attractiveness even without embellishment and remained a standard form for some fine glass through the middle of the century. Again, it is clearly possible that much of this glass was brought from Britain with private possessions, but the British certainly made some blown three-mould and pressed glass, and might have made more if British consumers had so desired. From the table glass excavated at Coteau, it is impossible to deny a definite resistance to novelty, and a certain attachment to simplicity and tradition. Such a tendency in table furnishings may be a small-scale indicator of a larger cultural phenomenon which is observable, for instance, in the literature of Canada in the first half of the 19th century. The new Canadian loves the new world to whatever extent it may be recreated in an image of the innocent pre-industrial old world, while the new American in true Rousseauian fashion loves his new world for its very newness.

Naturally, this hypothesis must be offered with reservations. The population at Coteau was certainly smaller during the period of American revolution in glassmaking than it had been during periods of intense military activity; that is, the late years of the American revolutionary war and the War of 1812. Ceramics recovered from the site seem to reflect this difference (Cloutier: pers. com.). While there is a numerically considerable sampling of bottles, medicinal and "wine" types, dating to the second quarter of the 19th century (Jones: pers. com.), bottles are much more likely to be discarded by a transitory population (people using the canal at Coteau-du-Lac) than are wine glasses and decanters. These biases are
complicated by the difficulty in distinguishing British glass of the 1812 period from British glass of the 1830s, a difficulty deriving from a phenomenon of traditionalism and even snobbery not dissimilar to that which seems to have characterized consumers at Coteau.

In summary, it is necessary to say that some evidence of traditionalism in glass styles is indicated although the overwhelming numerical imbalance of types is partly mitigated by site population biases.

The Operations
Most of the operations excavated at the fort at Coteau-du-Lac relate to structures or complexes of structures of which at least something is known of function during the military occupation. The operations, with related structures and dates of construction and destruction, where known, are listed in Appendix A. In Table 2, the artifacts are tabulated, by the typology used throughout the report, to indicate artifact distribution by operation.

Clearly, the largest groupings of table glass, as well as some of the finest table glass, is related to the quarters of officers at the site. Operations 4 and 32, the interior and the exterior of the commanding officer's quarters, are especially well represented if taken together. While the troops' quarters - blockhouses, operations 7 and 8, and stone barracks, operation 15 - yielded numerically large groups of table glass, their per capita representation is obviously much lower than that of the officer's quarters. That the canal (operation 1) served as a handy refuse pit is quite clear. Other high concentrations relate to hospitals - operations 18 and 28.
Appendix A. Operations and Structures.

Operation 1: canal, 1779-1840
Operation 2: scarpwall
Operation 3: octagonal blockhouse, 1813-37
Operation 4: commanding officer's quarters, 1812-70
Operation 5: storehouse, 1780-1820s; attached gun shed, 1812-1820s
Operation 6: storehouse, 1780-1823; temporary officers' quarters, ca.1850s-1872
Operation 7: blockhouse, 1779-ca.1830, ca.1838-ca.1850s
Operation 8: blockhouse, 1779-? (probably 1830)
Operation 9: hospital, 1780?-ca.1823
Operation 11: hospital, master carpenter's quarters, 1779?-1815
Operation 12: gun platforms
Operation 13: barracks, carpenter's shop, stables, 1812?-1850s
Operation 14: powder magazine, 1812?-1872
Operation 15: stone barracks, 1813-72
Operation 17: commissariat, officers' quarters, church, 1816-70
Operation 18: temporary bakehouse and canteen, 1812-15
Operation 19: temporary bakehouse and canteen, 1812-15
Operation 22: bakehouse, 1814?-1820s - in ruins until 1872
Operation 23: barracks master's quarters, ? - on plans in 1815 and 1834
Operation 24: cookhouse
Operation 25: barracks store, 1827-72
Operation 26: retaining wall
Operation 29: test trenches, no structures
Operation 31: palisade
Operation 32: commanding officer's quarters (area associated with operation 4), 1812-70
Operation 33: test trenches, no structure
Operations 38 and 39: road
Operation 40: barracks master's quarters, ? - on plans in 1815 & 1834
Operation 51: general provenience
Operation 55: gun platforms
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1931

Stevens, Gerald F.
1967
Thorpe, W.A.
1929a
1929b
1961

Watkins, Lura Woodside
1937
1938
1939

Westropp, Michael Seymour Dudley
1920
1928

Wilkinson, R.
1968
TABLES
Table 1. Major Occupation Table Glass Frequency by Manufacturing Technique

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Table 2. Table Glass Distribution by Operation

| Table Glass Type | Operation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 29 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 38 | 39 | 40 | 51 | 55 | 59 | Total |
|------------------|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Off-Hand         | Unfinished tumblers | 20 | 2 | 7 | 6 | 15 | 12 | 4 | 18 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 2 | 8 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 10 | 1 | 13 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 10 | 1 | 171 |
|                  | Finished tumblers   | 3  | 1 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 46 |
|                  | Plain stemware      | 2  | 6 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 27 |
|                  | Rummers             | 1  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 |
|                  | Central knop        | 3  | 4 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
|                  | Facet stems         | 1  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|                  | Other stemware      | 1  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|                  | Decanter finials    | 2  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|                  | Decanter shanks     | 6  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|                  | Decanter neck frags. | 1  | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|                  | Decanter base frags.| 1  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|                  | Jelly glasses       | 1  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|                  | Cut & engr. frags.  | 2  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Pattern-Moulded  | Tumblers            | 1  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|                  | Plain ribbed stemware | 2  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|                  | Blue diamond stemware | 1  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Contact-Moulded  | Tumblers            | 2  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|                  | Blown 3-mould salt  | 1  | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
|                  | Blown 3-mould tumblers | 1  | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|                  | Blown 3-mould other  | 1  | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Press-Moulded    | Tumblers            | 3  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|                  | Lacy salts          | 1  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|                  | Lacy cup plates     | 1  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|                  | Stoppers & finials  | 3  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|                  | Salt                | 1  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|                  | Small bowl          | 1  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Total            |                    | 41 | 2 | 4 | 28 | 14 | 24 | 40 | 19 | 18 | 27 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 15 | 3 | 10 | 1 | 18 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 16 | 1 | 2 | 29 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 7 | 14 | 1 | 1 |
1 British tumblers: a, plain lead glass tumbler with finished pontil mark; probably British, late 18th or first half 19th century (9G32J2-195), and b, lead glass tumbler with finished pontil mark and cut flutes; British, late 18th or first half 19th century (9G32J2-192). (Drawing by J. Moussette.)
British rummers: a, rummer goblet, ovoid bowl with plain stem and step at foot; British; not before 1770 (9G32J2-159), and b, rummer goblet, bucket bowl with triple collar below bowl, central bladed knop, step at foot; British; most popular first third of 19th century (9G32J2-161). (Drawing by J. Moussette.)
British stemware: 

- a, plain stem wineglass with typical flaring trumpet bowl and folded foot rim, lead glass; probably British; folded rim may indicate that it is later than about 1780 (9G-9C2-65);
- b, plain stem wineglass as above but with cup or ovoid bowl, lead metal; probably British; late 18th or early 19th century (9G23B1-16);
- c, firing glass with enclosed tear in stem, lead metal; British; most popular 1750-1800 (9G32J1-12),
- d, wineglass with central bladed knop on short stem, bucket bowl with single collar, cut fluting on bowl, step at foot weld, pontil mark finished; typical British glass of first third 19th century (9G32J2-160). (Drawing by J. Moussette.)
British stemware: a, wineglass with central proper knop on short stem, bucket bowl and unusual folded foot rim, lead glass; British; probably late 18th century or very early 19th (9G7B2-255); b, stem-bowl fragment in lead metal, proper knop surmounted by merese, bowl facet-cut; British; first half 19th century (9G1B21-62); c, stem-bowl fragment in lead metal, central bladed knop, merese and apparently conical bowl; British; first half 19th century (9G7A3-85); d, facet-cut stem, diamond facets, lead metal; British; 1760-1810 (9G11M3-29), and e, lead glass stem with large enclosed tear (tear is drawn as seen magnified by curvature of glass); British; probably prior to 1765 (9G18B1-262). (Drawing by J. Moussette.)
5 Stemware foot and stopper finial: a, stemware foot in blue-grey lead metal with folded rim; origin and date uncertain (9G39B1-422), and b, hollow disc stopper finial, lead glass; British; probably late 18th or early 19th century (9G9D1-118). (Photos by G. Lupien.)
Miscellaneous British table glass: a, decanter neck with lip missing, three neck rings facet-cut, vertical cut fluting between and above rings; good example of finer Anglo-Irish cut glass of probably first quarter of 19th century (9G7B2-256; b, jelly glass base (?), lead metal, finished pontil mark; probably British; date uncertain (9G40A1-26); c, fragment of cut lead glass from unidentified vessel; below, face view; above, cross-section; typical Anglo-Irish motif; about 1780-1825 (9G13F1-76); d, rim fragment of engraved lead glass, foliate design may be barley motif from ale glass; probably British; prior to 1800 (9G23C1-53); e, as d above (9G23D1-80); f, engraved fragment of lead glass, foliate motif; probably British; prior to 1800 (9G9AA1-81); g, base view of tumbler with sharply swirled pattern-moulded ribbing, lead metal, pontil mark unfinished; probably British; prior to 1850 (9G32J2-198), and h, plain stem wineglass with pattern-moulded ribbing on upper part of the stem and on the bowl, lead metal; not visible in the illustration is the beginning of a folded foot rim; probably British; perhaps 1780-1825 (9G6H4-2). (Drawing by J. Moussette.)
Blue pattern-moulded stemware bowl: a, stemware bowl of cup shape, lead metal, blue; diamond pattern moulding; British; first quarter 19th century; rim diameter 74 mm (9G32J2-210), and b, same bowl as shown above, detail of bowl base showing adhering fragment of clear stem. (Photos by G. Lupien.)
Contact-moulded tumbler and salt: a, tumbler base in lead glass, contact moulded with rayed base, flutes and resting point overcut for sharpness; possibly British; first half 19th century; below, base view; above, side view/cross-section (9G23D1-79), and b, fragment of contact-moulded salt, clear lead glass, rim cut; either British or American; 1815-40 (9G4C13-16). (Drawing by J. Moussette.)
"Blown three-mould" fragments: a, contact-moulded base in clear lead metal, probably from tumbler; probably American; approximately 1820-40; below, base view; above, side view/cross-section (9G9H1-91), and b, fragment of contact-moulded clear lead glass, probably from decanter or small square bottle with bevelled corners; could be Irish; 1815-40; below, cross-section; above, face view (9G23B1-51). (Drawing by J. Moussette.)
Contact-moulded coloured glass tumbler and vessel: a, contact-moulded tumbler base in pale green lead glass; British; from the 1840s or 1850s (9G9J5-19), and b, base of large cylindrical vessel with contact-moulded pillars on sides, rayed base, blue lead glass; British or American; first half 19th century (9G15N3-568). (Photos by G. Lupien.)
Lacy cup plates: a, lacy pressed cup plate fragment, star and diamond pattern; American, probably Sandwich, Mass.; 1827-40 (9G5B1-175); b, lacy pressed cup plate fragment, hairpin pattern; American, possibly Sandwich, Mass.; 1827-40; view of patterned (outside) surface (9G3A1-19), and c, same fragment as shown in b above, viewed through the unpatterned surface; note brilliance of stippling. (Photos by G. Lupien.)
Lacy salt and pressed mushroom stopper: a, fragment of "Lafayet" boat salt, clear lead metal; paddlewheel element 28 mm in diameter; Sandwich, Mass.; second quarter 19th century (9G32B1-51), and b, mushroom stopper, finial pressed, non-lead metal; probably American; first half 19th century (9G1B29-31). (Photos by G. Lupien.)
13 Pressed glass lacy salt, stopper finials and tumbler base: a, lacy pressed salt fragment; American; second quarter 19th century; left, end view; right, side view (9G4B7-16); b, pressed mushroom stopper finial, clear lead glass; Likely British; approximately 1775-1820; below, side view/cross-section; above, top view (9G1B18-9); c, plain target finial, pressed clear lead glass; probably British; last quarter 18th century; below, face view; above, side view/cross-section (9G1B21-61), and d, base view of a pressed tumbler, octagonal with rayed base, in clear lead glass; British or American; 1835-65 (9G1B11-5). (Drawing by J. Moussette.)
150 Pressed glass fragments: a, pressed salt dish in imitation of cut glass, clear lead metal; British or American; about 1830-65; below, side view; above, cross-section (9G4A17-14); b, small pressed dish, clear lead glass; British or American; about 1840-65; below, cross-section; above, side view (9G7A2-214); c, fragment of Canadian beaded oval and fan pattern from unidentified vessel; Toronto, Jefferson Glass; 1913-25 (9G15U3-18), and d, body fragment of "squirrel" water pitcher; American; late 1870s (9GlA1-25). (Drawing by J. Moussette.)
Coins from the Fort
at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec
by Ann Cunningham Falvey

Abstract
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Introduction
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Abstract

A collection of 88 coins were recovered during archaeological investigation of the fort at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec, in 1965 and 1966 under the direction of W.J. Folan, then of the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada. The coins are described and identified in this report and related to the history and archaeology of the site.

The coins suggest that the occupation period of the site (from 1779 to the early 1900s) may be divided into three separate periods of high population density: the years immediately following the construction of the canal in 1779-80, the time of the War of 1812, and the time of the Rebellions of 1837. Few coins were found from the years between these periods; historical documentation shows that these intervening years witnessed a decline in population.

Abrégé

Les fouilles archéologiques faites au fort de Coteau-du-Lac (Québec) en 1965 et 1966 sous la direction de W.J. Folan, alors au service de la Direction des lieux et des parcs historiques nationaux, Parcs Canada, ont livré 88 pièces de monnaie. Le présent rapport décrit et identifie les pièces et montre leur relation à l'histoire et à l'archéologie du site.

La collection comprend deux halfpennies de Guillaume III, trois halfpennies de George II, 17 halfpennies de George III, deux jetons du nord du Pays de Galles (ca 1760), un jeton politique anglais (1794), quatre halfpennies irlandais (1774-1776, 1781-1782), trois jetons commerciaux irlandais (1785-1797), trois pièces espagnoles ou hispano-américaines (ca 1770-1790), un skilling danois (1771), trois cents américains (1787), 17 jetons canadiens de 1812, 1820 et 1836, trois blacksmith coppers canadiens (décennie 1830), quatre cents canadiens (1917, 1956-1964), cinq pièces non identifiées et 20 flans.

Comme la date de déposition de la plupart des pièces n'est pas connue avec précision, il aurait été difficile de tirer de ces pièces des conclusions justes sur les dates des ouvrages et des éléments fouillés; cependant, dans un contexte plus vaste, les pièces de monnaie suggèrent une division de la période d'occupation du site (de 1779 jusqu'à l'abandon du fort en 1857 et puis jusqu'au début des années 1900) en trois époques correspondant à de grandes densités de population: immédiatement après la construction du canal.
en 1779-1780, l'époque de la guerre de 1812 et l'époque des troubles de 1837. La collection compte peu de pièces datant des périodes entre ces époques et les documents historiques montrent qu'à ces périodes le fort connut une baisse de population.

Il faut souligner également le fait que la collection ne comprend que des pièces de faible valeur. Elle ne compte que deux pièces d'argent, soit un demi-réal hispano-américain ayant la valeur d'un quart de peseta et une pièce non identifiée. Avant de conclure qu'il y eut peu de pièces de monnaie plus importantes à Coteau-du-Lac, il faut penser que leur absence s'explique peut-être par le fait que les gens font toujours plus d'efforts pour retrouver les grosses pièces qu'ils en font pour les petites.
Preface

The purpose of this report is to describe and identify 88 coins which were excavated from the fort at Coteau-du-Lac in 1965 and 1966 under the direction of W.J. Folan, then of the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, and to show their relation to the history and archaeology of the site. Preliminary work on the coins began in March 1969. They were cleaned in conjunction with buttons from the same site, a process which lasted throughout the summer of 1969. Actual cataloguing and research work did not begin until early October of that year and was carried on under the direction of DiAnn Herst, of the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, with suggestions from Jervis D. Swannack, also of the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, concerning the format of the catalogue cards.

Further assistance was received from Paul Sullivan of the City of Ottawa Coin Club, who helped to identify some of the coins and provided information on the history of currency in Canada; from W.J. Folan and John Dewhirst, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, who provided comments and information on the results of the excavation; from Spink & Son Limited, London, who commented on a 1794 political token, and from Sheldon S. Carroll, of the National Currency Collection, Bank of Canada, who identified some of the coins and commented on the manuscript.
Introduction

Certain major problems are involved in the archaeological study of coins, not the least of which is identification. Many coins emerge from the soil in such poor condition that it is impossible to discern even a trace of design on their surfaces; thus attempts at identification must be based on the size of the coin, the metal of which it is made, and perhaps its archaeological context. It is often impossible to differentiate between wear resulting from circulation as coinage and deterioration caused by chemicals in the soil where the coin was buried. This renders invalid any attempt to use the surface condition of the coin as an indicator of the length and intensity of the coin's circulation.

Even if all the coins from the excavation could be dated accurately, the dates could not be immediately assigned to the deposition of the layers in which the coins were found. The year in which a coin was minted frequently has only slight relation to the date of deposition of the coin in the ground. Coins tend to remain in circulation for extended periods of time until they are lost, or until some historic event (such as Confederation) or the passing of new currency laws causes certain denominations to become obsolete. Even then, these obsolete forms do not immediately drop out of circulation, but may continue in use until they are recalled or become so rare that they are no longer considered legal tender.

Another problem that the archaeologist interested in coins must face is the comparative lack of adequate sources.
Most works on coins have been written with a decidedly numismatical emphasis. Those few works that do have an archaeological slant are concerned mainly with European and ancient coinage (for example, Laing's *Coins and Archaeology*). Works on Canadian coins and tokens that are of value to the archaeologist are relatively scarce, with the exception of such publications as Pierre Breton's early catalogue and the annual catalogues of Canadian coins published expressly for collectors.

In the following descriptions of the coins, the artifact identification number of each coin is listed under the heading "Number."
Historical Background

The Fort at Coteau-du-Lac
Coteau-du-Lac is one of a series of three rapids in the St. Lawrence River between Lac Saint-Louis and Lac Saint-François. A canal was built there during the winter of 1779 to assist in circumnavigating the rapids and the site became increasingly important as a forwarding post for goods in transit from Montreal to Upper Canada. By 1790 the many Loyalists who had moved into Upper Canada after the War of American Independence were producing a large portion of their own supplies, and activities at Coteau abated somewhat; however, a token military garrison was maintained during the early years of the 19th century.

With the outbreak of the War of 1812 and the consequent increase in troop and provision transportation, a larger garrison was stationed at Coteau; more elaborate fortifications were constructed in 1813 and 1814 as a protective measure. At the end of the war the canal was enlarged. The volume of peacetime traffic reached a peak in the early 1820s; however, by 1831 the canal had been allowed to fall into a very poor state of repair.

The Rebellions of 1837 resulted in another surge of activity at the site; a garrison of volunteers was stationed there and maintained during the 1840s until unrest and tension in Lower Canada died down. In 1857 the site was abandoned by the military and leased to a series of civilians, including a Georges Beaudet who built a mill on the northern end of the canal in 1866 and operated it at
least until the late 1880s. The land around the site was used as a quarry by the Department of Railways and Canals as late as 1906 (Ingram 1968).

**Coins in Canada**

The North American colonies suffered from a constant shortage of coins. The necessity of importing manufactured goods and paying for them in coin resulted in a flow of currency out of the colonies (Breton [1894]: 11). Because almost no minting was carried out in North America, coins to replenish the supply had to be shipped in bulk from Europe and often the passage of ships across the Atlantic was not frequent enough to keep the colonies well-stocked.

When the British replaced the French as the major influence in colonial Canada, British coinage naturally displaced that of France. However, the coin shortage was not alleviated because the obsolescence of the equipment in the Royal Mint had created a shortage in Britain (Bell 1963: 9). After the accession of George III in 1760, both silver and copper coins almost entirely disappeared from British currency (Brooke 1962: 220). In order to correct this situation, copper pennies and halfpennies were issued between 1770 and 1775, but the majority of these coins were melted down and made into light-weight counterfeits (Bressett 1968: 24). Finally, in 1787, in response to the demand for more coins of small denomination, commercial tokens began to be produced by various business concerns in order to pay their workers (Bell 1963: 9). Because it was not illegal to forge these tokens, counterfeiting became so prevalent that in 1797 the British government outlawed commercial tokens and issued legal penny and two-penny pieces (Bell 1963: 10).

Meanwhile, the coin shortage in British North America
was forcing the colonists to use any coins that were available, including American and Spanish-American currency. With the outlawing of commercial tokens in England, a number of speculators seized the opportunity to make a profit by buying the tokens in bulk and selling them in the colonies (Sullivan: pers. com.). As a result, by 1800, Canadian currency consisted variously of legally issued British coins, British commercial tokens which, although outlawed in England, were apparently acceptable as exchange in the coin-starved colonies, and whatever foreign currency was available.

It is believed that the first attempts at minting coins in Canada occurred shortly before the War of 1812 when some tokens were struck in Montreal (Williams 1959: 74). After 1815, merchants from Upper and Lower Canada began issuing private and commemorative tokens for use in local trade. These were used in conjunction with British money until 1836 when they were supplemented by copper tokens issued by many Canadian banks (Williams 1959: 74). The bank tokens were usually minted in England. In 1842, when Lower and Upper Canada were united as the Province of Canada, the Bank of Montreal was given the right to mint copper coins, which resulted in a new series of bank tokens (Charlton 1969: 15).

The next major development in colonial currency came in 1857 when an official decimal coinage for the Province of Canada was authorized. In 1858 the first coins of this issue were received from England (Williams 1959: 75); other provinces (such as the Maritimes) also had distinctive coinage. After Confederation in 1867, coinage became uniform throughout the Dominion (Williams 1959: 75). Up until 1908, Canadian coins were still struck by the Royal Mint in England; however, in that year a branch of the Royal Mint opened in Ottawa. This became the independent Royal Canadian Mint in 1931 (Williams 1959: 76).
Description of the Coins

Coins are relatively easy to type, using as criteria the material of which they are made, their size and weight, and the designs which have been stamped on them. For the purposes of this report the coins have been grouped according to country of origin; a separate grouping has been made for coins to which neither country of origin nor denomination could be assigned. Blanks, of which 20 were found, are also grouped separately. An attempt has been made to give some indication of the degree of wear and handling that each coin has undergone, using the following standard:

Heavy wear: All the detail of the design has been worn away, leaving only a general outline that may or may not be identifiable. Only a few letters (if any) are discernible in the legend.

Medium wear: The design can be identified but much of the detail has been worn away. The legend is discernible although it may not be either clear or complete.

Slight wear: The design can be observed in detail with legend and date easily legible.

English Coins and Tokens

1. William III halfpenny, copper (Seaby 1968: 193, No. 2781); two specimens (Fig. 1a).

Obverse: A male bust facing right surrounded by the legend GVLIELMVS TERTIVS.
The third issue of the William III halfpenny with the right hand of Britannia on her knee was minted during the years 1699 to 1701 (Seaby 1968: 193). These years do not correspond to the apparent date on one of the coins (9G51A1-176); the configuration of the date may have been so obscured by wear that it has been interpreted incorrectly, or the coin could be a counterfeit.

2. George II halfpenny, copper (Seaby 1968: 201, No. 2944); one specimen.
   Obverse: A young male bust wearing a laurel wreath and facing left, surrounded by the legend GEORGIVS II REX.
   Reverse: Britannia seated facing left surrounded by the legend BRITANNIA; the date is in the exergue.
   Number Diameter Date Wear
   9G9K3-46 27.0 mm 1736 (?) medium

3. George II halfpenny, copper (Seaby 1968: 201, No. 2946); two specimens (Fig. 1b).
   Obverse: Mature laureate male bust facing left surrounded by the legend GEORGIVS II REX.
   Reverse: Britannia seated facing left surrounded by the legend BRITANNIA; the date is in the exergue.
   Number Diameter Date Wear
   9G12A1-77 26.7 mm illegible heavy (pitted)
   9G47L61-6 27.4 mm 1750 (?) medium-heavy
4. George III halfpenny, copper (Seaby 1968: 206, No. 3029); 17 specimens (Fig. 2a, b).

**Obverse**: A laureate male bust, wearing a breast-plate or cuirass, with the legend GEORGIUS III REX; a border of sawtooth marks around the rim.

**Reverse**: Britannia seated facing left surrounded by the legend BRITANNIA; the date is in the exergue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G1B18-8</td>
<td>28.5 mm</td>
<td>illegible</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G1C1-52</td>
<td>27.0 mm</td>
<td>illegible</td>
<td>heavy (pitted with small hole in centre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G3G4-53</td>
<td>28.4 mm</td>
<td>illegible</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G4A7-14</td>
<td>27.0 mm</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G5A1-182</td>
<td>27.6 mm</td>
<td>illegible</td>
<td>very heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G6G1-88</td>
<td>26.7 mm</td>
<td>illegible</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
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<td>9G9D2-31</td>
<td>26.4 mm</td>
<td>1774</td>
<td>slight</td>
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<td>9G9D2-32</td>
<td>28.3 mm</td>
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<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G9D4-8</td>
<td>26.4 mm</td>
<td>illegible</td>
<td>very heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G9K3-47</td>
<td>28.6 mm</td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>heavy (pitted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G9K7-159</td>
<td>28.0 mm</td>
<td>illegible</td>
<td>heavy (badly pitted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G9K7-160</td>
<td>29.0 mm</td>
<td>illegible</td>
<td>medium (pitted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G9S1-32</td>
<td>28.1 mm</td>
<td>illegible</td>
<td>slight (poorly stamped)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G18B1-261</td>
<td>28.6 mm</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G22A1-42</td>
<td>28.2 mm</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G22P3-12</td>
<td>27.1 mm</td>
<td>1776 (?)</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G51A3-30</td>
<td>26.5 mm</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>heavy</td>
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Thirteen of these coins show a young bust of George III; three of the total sample exhibit a more mature bust with long hair similar to the one found on Irish coins of the same period. Another specimen (9G9K7-160) is unique in that its diameter is slightly larger than those of the other
coins and the bust is proportionately smaller with differences in detail including the arrangement of the hair in three ringlets over the ears. It may be a counterfeit. Another questionable coin is 9G22P3-12 which apparently has the numeral 6 as the last number in its date. Halfpennies of the type described above were issued only during the years 1770 to 1775 (Seaby 1968: 206), thus ruling out the appearance of 6 in any of the dates. The number may have been modified through wear and may have been interpreted incorrectly, or perhaps the coin is counterfeit.

5. North Wales token, copper (Bell 1966: 117); two specimens (Fig. 3a).

**Obverse:** A laureate male bust facing left surrounded by the legend GEORGE RULES.

**Reverse:** A crowned harp with the legend NORTH WALES above and the date below.

<table>
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<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
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<th>Wear</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G9J7-21</td>
<td>27.7 mm</td>
<td>1760</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G21A1-103</td>
<td>27.5 mm</td>
<td>1760</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
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These tokens superficially resemble the regal coinage in circulation in Ireland during the 18th century. The ubiquitous North Wales reverse has been found on tokens from England (Bell 1966: 117), Ireland (Dowle and Finn 1969: 99) and America (Yeoman 1970: 55). The legend probably had no significance but merely proved convenient in the making of concoctions or evasion pieces as these coins were called (Bell 1966: 117). By making tokens with designs that were similar to but still obviously different from legal coinage, the charge of counterfeiting could be evaded and concoctions were accepted readily by large numbers of illiterate workers who had difficulty in distinguishing the improvisations from the real thing (Bell 1966: 118). Most concoctions were
issued near the end of the 18th century (Dowle and Finn 1969: 99), consequently the date of 1760 on the two specimens described above may not be a true indication of the age of the coins.

6. Political token, copper (Spink & Son Ltd.: pers. com.); one specimen (Fig. 4b).

**Obverse:** A six-pointed radiating star upon which is written the legend **MAY/GREAT BRITAIN/EVER REMAIN/THE/REVERSE.** The whole is surrounded by a circle of leaves near the rim.

**Reverse:** In the centre a large square containing a human foot and the word **FIRE** in each of the four corners. Inside the square are the words **FRANCE** along the top, **GLORY** along the right side, **HONOR** along the bottom, and **RELIGION** along the left side. Between **FRANCE** and the foot is the word "throne" written upside down in script. Outside the square are the words **A MAP** along the left side, **OF** along the top, **FRANCE** down the right side, and the date 1794 upside down at the bottom.

**Edge:** An incised legend reading **PAYABLE AT C...OU...HER (?) OR IN DUBLIN.**

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<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
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<th>Wear</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G1B18-7</td>
<td>29.5 mm</td>
<td>1794</td>
<td>slight</td>
</tr>
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This coin is one of many in a series of tokens issued at the end of the 18th century relating to the political importance of the French Revolution to English society. It was intended to have an anti-French connotation, shown on the reverse side of the coin by the portrayal of France in a state of disorder, ruled over by the foot (Spink & Son Ltd.: pers. com.).
Irish Coins and Tokens

1. Irish halfpenny, copper (Dowle and Finn 1969: 94); four specimens.

**Obverse:** A mature laureate male bust facing right surrounded by the legend GEORGIVS III REX.

**Reverse:** A crowned harp with the word HIBERNIA above and the date below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G9D2-33</td>
<td>27.6 mm</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G15A1-140</td>
<td>27.8 mm</td>
<td>177- (?)</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G15B13-13</td>
<td>26.9 mm</td>
<td>illegible</td>
<td>very heavy (pitted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G26A4-256</td>
<td>28.0 mm</td>
<td>illegible</td>
<td>very heavy (corroded)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Coins with the mature bust of George III on them were minted in Ireland between 1774 to 1776 and in the years 1781 to 1782 (Dowle and Finn 1969: 94). Hibernia coins were unpopular in Ireland and therefore large numbers of them were shipped to the colonies (Yeoman 1970: 21).

2. Hibernian Mine Company halfpenny token, copper (Bell 1963: 219, 1792 Second Type); one specimen (Fig. 5a).

**Obverse:** Hibernia with harp seated facing left and surrounded by the legend INCORPORATED BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT 1792.

**Reverse:** In the centre a monogram formed from the letters HMCo. Beneath this the word HALFPENNY, and above, CAMAC KYAN AND CAMAC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G15V3-23</td>
<td>28.8 mm</td>
<td>1792</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Hibernian Mine Company issued tokens from 1792 to 1797 when commercial tokens became illegal. Along with a few other types of coins, these coins made up most of the
currency of Ireland at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries (Bell 1963: 218). CAMAC Kyan and CAMAC refers to the partners in the company (Bell 1963: 220).

3. Hibernian Mine Company token, copper (Bell 1963: 218); one specimen (Fig. 5b).

Obverse: Hibernia with harp seated facing left, with the legend PAYABLE AT ...BLIN (Dublin?) 1792.

Reverse: In the centre the Hibernian Mine Company monogram surrounded by the legend ...THE HONOUR AND...; the rest of the letters are worn away.

Number Diameter Date Wear
9G9U1-6 26.4 mm 1792 heavy

This token does not resemble any of the five types of Hibernian Mine Company tokens recorded by Bell; it may be a counterfeit.

4. Associated Irish Mine Company halfpenny token, copper (Bell 1963: 232); one specimen (Fig. 6a).

Obverse: A bust of St. Patrick facing right and wearing a cope and mitre; a small banner is attached to a pastoral staff on the right. The legend reads CRONEBANE HALFPENNY.

Reverse: A shield (from which the device has been worn) surmounted by a small windlass. The legend reads ASSOCIATED IRISH MINE COMPANY. The numbers of the date are separated by the shield so two numbers appear on either side of it.

Edge: An incised legend reading PAYBLE AT CRONEBANE LODGE OR IN DUBLIN.X.

Number Diameter Date Wear
9G8A1-17 29.2 mm 1789 heavy

The Associated Irish Mine Company was founded in 1787 and incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1789 (Bell 1963:}
The company's main mine was the Cronebane mine near Ballymurtagh in Wicklow county.

Spanish and Spanish-American Coins

1. Spanish-American one-half real, silver (Burzio 1958: Pl. 60, No. 435); one specimen (Fig. 7a). 
   **Obverse:** A laureate male bust facing right surrounded by the legend CAROLUS.III.DEI.GRATIA and the date 1774. Traces of a rim with crenellated inner edge. 
   **Reverse:** Almost completely worn away. Part of a crown can be seen near the top; the bottom corner of a pillar is also visible on the left. Of the legend, only the letter R can be made out at the foot of the pillar. Traces of a rim with crenellated inner edge.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G12A1-76</td>
<td>17.2 mm</td>
<td>1774</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Spanish Navarre, four maravedi, copper (Craig 1966: 547, No. 172); one specimen (Fig. 8b). 
   **Obverse:** In the centre, the last two letters of the CAR monogram can be seen surrounded by the legend, of which only CARO... can be discerned. The legend is written between two concentric circles of raised dots. The entire design is off-centre. There appears to be a crown above the monogram. 
   **Reverse:** A crown above the arms of Navarre (an escarbuncle or shield stiffener in the form of a chain rectangle with eight spokes). Beside the crown the letters NA... bordered on top and bottom by two curved lines of raised dots. Most of the design is obliterated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G51A3-38</td>
<td>19.0 mm</td>
<td>no date</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(max)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The coin is octagonal. Coins of this type were issued for Navarre during the years 1783 to 1789 (Craig 1966: 547).

3. Unidentified coin, silver, probably Spanish-American; one specimen.

**Obverse**: The design has been worn away. Partial legend reads ...US.VI...D.

**Reverse**: There appears to be a double wavy line around an illegible design in the centre. Only a few letters of the legend can be discerned: ...M...RE...6...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G51A3-39</td>
<td>20.0 mm</td>
<td>illegible</td>
<td>extremely heavy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A small hole has been drilled near the edge of the coin, as though to hang it on a chain or string. The condition of the coin makes definite identification impossible; however, the double wavy line on the reverse is similar to a design often found on Spanish or Spanish-American coins.

**Danish Coins**

1. Danish *skilling*, copper (Craig 1966: 82); one specimen (Fig. 7b).

**Obverse**: A crown over the double cypher of Christian VII formed from two intertwined Cs and two 7s.

**Reverse**: The numeral 1 flanked by two raised diamond shapes above the words SKILLING/DANSKE/K.M./1771.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G5B5-98</td>
<td>30.0 mm</td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>slight (damaged during excavation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
American Coins

1. Connecticut cent, copper (Yeoman 1970: 29); one specimen (Fig. 8a).

Obverse: Draped laureate male bust facing left surrounded by the legend AUCTORI:CONNEC: with small cinquefoils after AUCTORI, above the head of the bust and after CONNEC.

Raised rim with crenellated inner edge.

Reverse: A Britannia-like figure seated facing left with the legend INDE (flanked by two cinquefoils) ETLIB: (also flanked by cinquefoils). The date is in the exergue.

Raised rim with crenellated inner edge.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G1B3-15</td>
<td>28.6 mm</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>medium</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. American "Fugio" cent, copper (Yeoman 1970: 57); two specimens (Fig. 7c).

Obverse: A sun dial beneath a shining sun with pointed rays. Beneath the dial is the legend MIND YOUR BUSINESS; flanking it is the word FUGIO between two small cinquefoils on the left and the date 1787 between two cinquefoils on the right.

Raised rim with crenellated inner edge.

Reverse: A large circle formed of 13 interlocked smaller circles surrounding a circular label in the centre with the words WE ARE ONE in the middle and the words STATES UNITED around the rim on either side, separated at the top by a small, eight-pointed star. Raised rim with crenellated inner edge.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G4C14-89</td>
<td>28.2 mm</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>slight (some pitting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G7C1-136</td>
<td>28.5 mm</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>medium</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Fugio" cents were the first coins issued by authority
of the American government. One interesting note is that beneath the reverse design on one of the coins (9G7C1-136) can be seen the incuse mirror image of the design stamped on the obverse.

Canadian Coins and Tokens
1. Brock token, copper (Charlton 1969: 30, No. 105); three specimens (Fig. 9a).
   **Obverse:** A sailing ship facing right surrounded by the legend SUCCESS TO THE COMMERCE OF UPPr & LOWr CANADA. A raised rim with an inner border of dots.
   **Reverse:** The legend SIR ISAAC/BROCK BART/THE HERO OF/UPPER CANADA/WHO FELL AT THE/GLORIOUS BATTLE OF QUEENSTOWN HEIGHTS/ON THE 13 OCTr/1812. A raised rim with inner border of dots.
   Number Diameter Date Wear
   9G4A17-32 26.5 mm 1812 slight
   9G12A1-75 26.6 mm 1812 slight (pitted on reverse)
   9G51A3-31 26.4 mm 1812 heavy (corroded)

   The date 1812 refers to the occasion of the Battle of Queenston Heights. No date for the issuing of the token is available. The misspelling of Brock's name is a mistake on the part of the die-engraver (Charlton 1969: 30).

2. Brock token, copper (Charlton 1969: 30, No. 106); one specimen (Fig. 9b).
   **Obverse:** A representation of the original Brock monument flanked by two cupids and inscribed FELL OCT. 13 1812. The surrounding legend reads SIR ISAAC BROCK THE HERO OF UPPER CANADA. Raised rim with inner border of dots.
   **Reverse:** The date 1816 in the centre, sandwiched between two
rayed stars and surrounded by the legend SUCCESS TO COMMERCE & PEACE TO THE WORLD. Raised rim with inner border of dots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G15V3-22</td>
<td>26.5 mm</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>medium (pitted)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This token and the one described above were lightweight Upper Canada tokens issued in memory of Sir Isaac Brock (Charlton 1969: 30).

3. Britannia-Eagle token, copper (Charlton 1969: 55, No. 230); three specimens (Fig. 10a).

Obverse: An eagle with wings spread, a laurel leaf in one claw and a clutch of arrows in the other. Above the eagle the legend HALFPENNY TOKEN and below it the date. Raised rim with inner border of dots.

Reverse: Britannia seated facing left surrounded by a circle of oak leaves. Raised rim with inner border of dots.

Edge: Crenellated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G4A22-89</td>
<td>27.5 mm</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td>slight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G8A1-16</td>
<td>28.7 mm</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td>heavy (battered)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G12E1-100</td>
<td>27.5 mm</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>slight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first Britannia-Eagle tokens were issued in 1813 by a Boston merchant who had moved to Montreal. Lightweight local imitations of these tokens were made and dated 1813, 1814 and 1815 (Charlton 1969: 55).

4. Wellington halfpenny token, copper (Charlton 1969: 53, No. 215); three specimens (Fig. 10b).

Obverse: A laureate uniformed male bust facing left with the words WELLINGTON above and HALFPENNY TOKEN below. Raised rim with inner border of dots.

Reverse: The figure of Britannia seated facing left
surrounded by a circle of oak leaves. The date 1814 is in the exergue. Raised rim with inner border of dots.

**Edge:** Crenellated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G5B1-172</td>
<td>27.7 mm</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td>slight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G9D1-116</td>
<td>27.6 mm</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td>slight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G51A3-33</td>
<td>27.7 mm</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td>medium</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Wellington halfpenny token, copper (Charlton 1969: 53, No. 217); one specimen.

**Obverse:** A laureate uniformed male bust facing left with the legend THE ILLUSTRIOUS WELLINGTON. Raised rim, very worn.

**Reverse:** A crowned harp with the legend WATERLOO HALFPENNY above and the date 1816 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G22N2-13</td>
<td>26.5 mm</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>heavy (badly pitted)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This token and the ones above (No. 4) are part of the Wellington series commemorating the Duke of Wellington's victories over Napoleon. Some were originally issued in England and later sent to Canada, either directly or by way of British soldiers who used them as currency during the Peninsular campaign (Bell 1964: 178). Those coins struck in Canada tended to be lightweight varieties. Wellington tokens were most plentiful in Lower Canada although they spread into Upper Canada in the course of trade (Charlton 1969: 51).

6. Tiffin halfpenny token, copper (Charlton 1969: 50, No. 196); one specimen (Fig. 11a).

**Obverse:** A laureate male bust facing right surrounded by a circle of oak leaves. Raised rim.
Reverse: The figure of Commerce seated on a packing bale, facing left and bearing a cornucopia in her left arm and a balance in her outstretched right hand. A sailing ship is at her feet. Above is the legend HALFPENNY TOKEN; the date 1812 is in the exergue. Raised rim with inner border of dots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G15E3-141</td>
<td>27.6 mm</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>medium</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This token is one of a series called Tiffin tokens after the Montreal grocer who imported them from England (Charlton 1969: 50).

7. Token, copper (Charlton 1969: 58, No. 247); one specimen (Fig. 11b).
Obverse: A laureate male bust facing right with the date 1820 beneath. Raised rim with inner border of dots.
Reverse: The figure of Commerce similar to that described in No. 6 above, but without the legend or date. Raised rim with inner border of dots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G15C3-109</td>
<td>27.5 mm</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>slight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although in many ways similar to No. 6 above, this is apparently a miscellaneous token unrelated to tokens of the Tiffin series.

8. "Blacksmith copper," copper (Carroll: pers. com.); two specimens (Fig. 4a).
Obverse: A laureate male bust facing right, with the legend GLORIVS III VIS.
Reverse: A figure resembling Britannia seated facing left, with an indecipherable legend beginning with B. It does not, however, appear to be BRITANNIA.
These are the so-called "blacksmith coppers" which were produced, largely in the Montreal area, in the 1830s. They were crude counterfeits, in brass or copper, made to resemble worn British coins (Carroll: pers. com.).

9. "Blacksmith copper," copper (Carroll: pers. com.); one specimen (Fig. 3b).
   **Obverse:** An unidentified cuirassed male bust facing left; no trace of legend.
   **Reverse:** Britannia seated facing right instead of left, as is usual; no trace of legend or date.

10. Quebec Bank halfpenny token, copper (Charlton 1969: 14, No. 19); one specimen (Fig. 12a).
    **Obverse:** A habitant dressed in winter clothing, surrounded by the legend PROVINCE DU BAS CANADA.UN SOU. Raised rim with inner border of dots.
    **Reverse:** A coat-of-arms consisting of the following: CONCORDIA SALUS on an oval garter surrounding a St. Andrew's cross which separates a rose, a shamrock, a thistle, and a beaver. A pennant entwined through the garter bears the words QUEBEC BANK. Above the garter are the words BANK TOKEN and below it the date 1837. Below the date is the word HALFPENNY. Raised rim with inner border of dots.

Tokens similar to this were also issued by the Bank of
Montreal, la Banque du Peuple and the City Bank. The habitant on the reverse was popularly identified with Louis-Joseph Papineau although there was no authority for doing so (Charlton 1969: 14).

11. Banque du Peuple token, copper (Charlton 1969: 28, No. 97); one specimen (Fig. 12b).
Obverse: A bouquet of flowers surrounded by the legend AGRICULTURE & COMMERCE BAS CANADA. Raised rim with inner border of dots.
Reverse: A garland of 24 dentate leaves surrounding the words UN SOU. Above the garland the words BANQUE DU PEUPLE and below it, MONTREAL. Raised rim with inner border of dots.
Edge: Crenellated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G3G2-44</td>
<td>27.4 mm</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>very slight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the Lower Canadian government declared all lightweight and brass tokens illegal in 1835, the various banks were given the right to issue tokens to replace the obsolete coins. The token described above is similar to those issued by the Banque du Peuple in 1836 and 1837 (Charlton 1969: 27).

12. Bouquet sou, copper (Charlton 1969: 23, No. 60); one specimen (Fig. 12c).
Obverse: A bouquet of flowers surrounded by the legend AGRICULTURE & COMMERCE followed by a small cross and then the words BAS-CANADA. Raised rim.
Reverse: A garland of 16 leaves surrounding the words UN SOU. Above the garland is the word TOKEN and below it, MONTREAL. Raised rim with inner border of dots.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G15M3-539</td>
<td>27.1 mm</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>slight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This token is one of a series issued in imitation of the original Bank of Montreal bouquet sou of 1835. Proliferation of these imitations resulted in their suppression in 1838 (Charlton 1969: 22).

13. Bouquet sou, copper (Charlton 1969: 23, No. 73); one specimen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G1B3-19</td>
<td>26.7 mm</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>medium</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like No. 10 above, this coin is also an imitation of the Bank of Montreal token (Charlton 1969: 22).

14. Large one-cent piece, bronze (Charlton 1969: 64); one specimen (Fig. 6b).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G51A3-32</td>
<td>25.6 mm</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>slight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15. Small one-cent piece, copper (Charlton 1969: 66); three specimens (Fig. 7d).

Obverse: A laureate female bust facing right surrounded by the legend ELIZABETH II DEI GRATIA REGINA and a raised rim with inner crenellated border.

Reverse: Two maple leaves with the date to the left of the common stem. Above the leaves the legend 1 CENT and below the leaves CANADA. The raised rim has a crenellated inner edge.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G1A1-24</td>
<td>19.1 mm</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>slight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G5B3-57</td>
<td>19.1 mm</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>slight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G5B3-58</td>
<td>19.9 mm</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>slight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1961 cent is the most worn of the three.

Unidentified Coins

1. Token, copper; one specimen (Fig. 13a).

Obverse: The raised letters TL or TI stamped in a depressed rectangular area, somewhat off-centre.

Reverse: No design or legend.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G15B13-14</td>
<td>27.6 mm</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>medium (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the reverse side of the coin is a small round mark near the edge that may be the result of efforts to punch a hole through the token to make an initialed medallion. The position of the mark is such that the token would have hung with the initials right side up. The stamp mark has been made with a prepared die.

2. Disc, copper; one specimen (Fig. 13b).

Obverse: No design or legend is discernible.

Reverse: The letter B (for Britannia ?) can be seen near the
An irregular hole was in the centre; it looked as though a spike had been driven through the coin. The coin is probably a British halfpenny, but from which reign is impossible to know.

3. Disc, copper; one specimen.

Obverse: Traces of a profile facing right.
Reverse: No design or legend legible.

4. Unidentified coin, copper; one specimen.

Obverse: The outline of a profile facing right. No legend can be seen.
Reverse: No design or legend discernible.

5. Disc, copper; one specimen.

Obverse: A series of small dots around the rim. At intervals small lenticular notches have been made in the surface around the rim. No other design visible.
Reverse: No design or legend visible.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G9C2-63</td>
<td>26.4 mm</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>heavy (defaced)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a small hole through the coin near the centre. The rough edge that was pushed up when the hole was made has been flattened and smoothed. Both sides of the disc display numerous dents.

Blanks
1. Disc, copper; 20 specimens (Fig. 13c).

Obverse and Reverse: No design or legend.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Significant Marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9G6D2-113</td>
<td>26.8 mm</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G6D2-114</td>
<td>27.4 mm</td>
<td>Rectangular hole cut in centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G6E2-143</td>
<td>26.3 mm</td>
<td>Heavily pitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G6G1-87</td>
<td>27.2 mm</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G7E1-85</td>
<td>30.4 mm</td>
<td>Very thin; may have been beaten flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G7E1-86</td>
<td>26.8 mm</td>
<td>Poorly stamped; a narrow, rough rim remains around the edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G7G2-113</td>
<td>25.0 mm</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G8G1-20</td>
<td>27.5 mm</td>
<td>Some heavy scratches on both sides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G8R1-48</td>
<td>27.0 mm</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G9B1-101</td>
<td>27.3 mm</td>
<td>Metal is a yellowish colour; edges are smooth and unworn. Small V-shaped scratch near rim on one side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G9K7-158</td>
<td>27.7 mm</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G15C3-108</td>
<td>26.7 mm</td>
<td>Thin, roughened rim around edge from poor stamping.</td>
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</table>
The question of the date and purpose of these blanks is unresolved. It has been suggested that the presence of a hole through the middle of one of the discs indicates that they were intended for use as washers for nails (Folan: pers. com.); however, the hole may be merely the result of casual mutilation. Another possibility is that the blanks were used as tokens or counters in local trade although the ease with which they could be counterfeited makes this practice seem unlikely. A number of the blanks could be regular coins from which the design has been obliterated by intensive handling.
Archaeological Contexts

**The Canal**
The canal is one of the oldest structures on the site, having been completed by the end of 1780. It remained in use until the 1890s. By the 1920s only the bottom layers of use were present. Seven coins were recovered from the canal: two George III halfpennies of the 1770 to 1775 issue (9G1B18-8, 9G1C1-52); a one-cent piece from the state of Connecticut dated 1787 (9G1B3-15); a British political token dated 1794 (9G1B18-7); a bouquet sou from 1837 (9G1B3-19); a Canadian cent dated 1956 (9G1A1-24), and an unidentified copper coin of halfpenny size (9G1B3-17). With the exception of the Canadian cent, these coins were all in circulation for at least part of the time that the canal was in use.

**Octagonal Blockhouse**
The octagonal blockhouse was built some time between 1813 and 1815, and was occupied until the garrison was reduced in the 1820s. By the 1830s it was in ruins and in 1837 the building was destroyed by fire (Ingram 1966: Sect. 3, 1).

Two coins were recovered from this operation: a bouquet sou issued in 1836 or 1837 (9G3G2-44) and a George III halfpenny of the 1770 to 1775 issue (9G3G4-53). Because few alternate coins were available until 1812, George III halfpennies of this type presumably circulated in Canada at least until then. Thus, the dates of these coins are
consistent with the period of occupation of the structure. The 1836 coin was probably deposited sometime after the building burned down; there is no evidence from the condition of the coin that it had ever been in a fire.

Commanding Officer's Quarters
The commanding officer's quarters were probably constructed during the early stages of the War of 1812 and were destroyed by fire in 1870. A temporary wing to the rear of the building, built as an "officers' mess kitchen" in 1814, was burned down in 1815 (Ingram 1966: Sect. 18, 1-2).

Four coins were recovered from this operation. A George III halfpenny dated 1775 (9G4A7-14) was found just beneath the surface outside the western wall of the building. In a surface lot, extending downward to the top of the wall, in the western half of the north wing, an 1812 Brock token (9G4A17-32) was uncovered. The early date of the coin may indicate some mixing of material in the surface lot.

A Britannia-Eagle halfpenny token dated 1814 (9G4A22-89) was uncovered in a lot dug in an attempt to locate the remains of the temporary "officers' mess kitchen." The coin may have been deposited during the occupation of the temporary wing; however, it shows no evidence of having been exposed to fire.

An American penny dated 1787 (9G4C14-89) was found beneath a layer of burned wood from the floor. It was probably dropped through the floorboards some time prior to the fire of 1870.

Storehouse-Temporary Officers' Quarters
The storehouse-temporary officers' quarters was built during
the War of American Independence, probably at the same time as the storehouse-gunshed, stood until the 1820s and served as a commissariat storehouse until it was sold in 1872 (Ingram 1966: Sect. 10, 1).

Excavation of the second layer beneath the surface layer in the southeastern corner of the building, revealed one blank metal disc (9G6D2-114) with a rectangular hole in the centre; one heavily worn, unidentified copper coin (9G6D2-113), and one defaced copper coin with an irregular hole in its centre (9G6D2-115). A comparable layer in the suboperation to the south of the south western corner of the building also yielded a blank metal disc (9G6E2-143). The first layer after removal of the sod in the suboperation to the north of the southwestern corner of the building produced a blank metal disc (9G6G1-87) and a George III halfpenny from the 1770 to 1775 issue (9G6G1-88). The presence of the halfpenny is consistent with the occupation of the building. The purpose and date of the blanks is a matter of conjecture.

Storehouse-Gunshed
The storehouse-gunshed was apparently erected during the War of American Independence (1775 to 1783) and used until the 1820s (Ingram 1966: Sect. 11, 1).

A total of five coins was found during the excavation of this structure. The layer of sod covering the site of the storehouse-gunshed yielded a George III halfpenny of the 1770 to 1775 issue (9G5A1-182) and a Canadian "blacksmith copper" (9G5A1-181) produced in the 1830s.

The remaining coins were all found in a suboperation in the northwestern corner of the building which consisted of material deposited within the walls of the foundation after the building was constructed (Polan: pers. com.). The first
yielded a Wellington token dated 1814 (9G5B1-172) and the lot beneath it yielded two Canadian cents (9G5B3-57 and -58) dated 1961 and 1964 respectively. Because a Danish skilling dated 1771 (9G5B5-98) was deposited in one of the deepest layers, the coin was presumably dropped sometime during the period of occupation of the building, between 1776 and the 1820s. The 49th Regiment of Foot, which was present at the Battle of Copenhagen in 1801 (Warner 1965: 127), arrived at the fort at Coteau-du-Lac in 1802 (Price 1969: 4). Possibly the Danish coin came with them.

The rest of the coins were in reverse temporal sequence, indicating that deposition was extremely haphazard. They may have been thrown in with trash deposits or may have been part of material washed into the building foundation as a result of weathering and erosion (Folan: pers. com.). The modern Canadian one-cent pieces could have been dropped by casual tourists or people working on the excavation.

North Blockhouse
A blockhouse probably existed on this site from the time of the War of American Independence. Its purpose was originally defensive although it served periodically as a barracks and storehouse. The building was in ruins before 1834, but another structure seems to have been built on the same site before 1838. By the 1850s the blockhouse was no longer shown on plans of the fort at Coteau-du-Lac (Ingram 1966: Sect. 12, 1).

The excavation of a surface lot outside the southeast wall of the building revealed an American penny dated 1787 (9G7C1-136). The three coins found during the excavation of a retaining wall near the blockhouse were two unmarked blanks (9G7E1-85 and -86) and a Canadian "blacksmith copper"
(9G7E1-87) that is a counterfeit from the 1830s. Another blank metal disc was uncovered (9G7G2-113) near the surface in an area east of the blockhouse and retaining wall.

South Blockhouse
The history of the south blockhouse is very similar to that of the north blockhouse. It was probably constructed during the War of American Independence as well and also served for defence and as a barracks and storehouse. By the 1830s plans no longer showed a blockhouse on this site (Ingram 1966: Sect. 13, 1).

The surface layer of this operation contained intrusive material from earthworks dating from 1812, as well as mixed fill (Folan: pers. com.). It yielded two blanks (9G8G1-20) and (9G8R1-48). Despite the fact that the operation contained mixed and intrusive material from other parts of the site, datable coins found in the south blockhouse fall within the period of occupation of the building.

Hospital
The hospital was probably constructed during the War of American Independence period for use as a storehouse and converted to a hospital during the War of 1812. By 1815 the poor condition of the building prevented it from being used as a hospital and the structure probably lay in ruins by 1818 when it was apparently abandoned (Ingram 1966: Sect. 8, 1).

A total of 16 coins were excavated from the hospital, including one of the oldest coins recovered from the site. Appropriately enough, this coin was found in the "cellar" area of the building, which was probably constructed first
(Dewhirst: pers. com.). A layer containing artifacts trapped when the roof over the cellar collapsed yielded a William III halfpenny dated close to or between 1695 and 1701 (9G9K7-157); two George III halfpennies from 1770 to 1775 (9G9K7-159 and -160), and one blank (9G9K7-158). A comparable layer to the west of the above-mentioned layer contained a North Wales token from the reign of George II and dated 1760 (9G9J7-21). Above the cellar roof, in the layers of topsoil that filled the depression left by its collapse, were found a George II halfpenny dating before 1760 (9G9K3-46) and a 1771 George III halfpenny (9G9K3-47).

The southern part of the excavation apparently was an area occupied by a wing or porch which was added to the superstructure (Dewhirst: pers. com.). Only one coin was found in the topsoil from this area, a copper token of the Hibernian Mine Company dated 1792 (9G9U1-6).

A sub-operation which included the base of a chimney found in the northern corner of the building, as well as the room to the north of the chimney, yielded five coins. Four of these, however, are from lots to the east of the chimney base where excavation revealed no indication of a floor. These four coins were a George III halfpenny from the 1770 to 1775 issue (9G9D4-8); two more coins of the same type (9G9D2-31 and -32) dated 1774 and 1771 respectively, and an Irish halfpenny with the date 1775 (9G9D2-33). The last coin was from the surface layer inside the room and is a Wellington halfpenny token dated 1814 (9G9D1-116). The portion of the room to the west of the chimney base contained one unidentified, defaced copper coin (9G9C2-63).

A George III halfpenny dating from 1770 to 1775 (9G9S1-32) was found during excavations in the area of the sidewalk on the western side of the building. The lot outside the northern corner of the hospital yielded only a blank (9G9B1-101).
As already mentioned, the oldest coins in this operation were found in the oldest parts of the building, beneath or just above the cellar roof. The majority of coins date from the period when the structure was a storehouse; only one of them (the Wellington token, 9G9D1-116) can be definitely attributed to the years after 1812 when the structure was a hospital.

Cloverleaf Bastion
A blank (9G45C1-1) and a George II halfpenny dated 1740 (9G47L61-6) were recovered from the cloverleaf bastion. They may have been deposited during construction of the bastion; they were probably part of the fill brought from other areas of the site in 1813 to build up the bastion.

Gun Platform Near Guardhouse
This gun platform was probably built in late 1814 or early 1815; it was first shown on the plan of 1815 (Ingram 1966: Sect. 36, 1).

One lot was not part of the gun platform itself, but was the surface layer for part of the southwestern corner of the guardhouse, a building constructed in 1815 and sold with the other buildings in 1872. Excavation of this lot yielded a Brock token dated 1812 (9G12A1-75), a Spanish-American one-half real dated 1774 (9G12A1-76), and a George III halfpenny of the 1770 to 1775 issue (9G12A1-77). Such a variety of coins in a surface layer suggests that the material in the lot was mixed.

The presence of a Spanish-American coin is interesting. Spanish-American money at one time achieved a wide international circulation; the eight-real piece was legal currency in the United States until 1857 (Seidler 1965: 31).
The half-real may have reached the fort at Coteau-du-Lac by the slow process of general circulation or it may have been brought by men fresh from service in the West Indies. Part of the 60th Regiment of Foot arrived in Montreal from Barbados in 1787 (Stewart 1962: 258) and were stationed at the fort at Coteau-du-Lac in the early months of 1788 (Price 1969: 3). The soldiers of the regiment undoubtedly brought a number of Spanish-American coins to Canada with them.

Artifacts found in the general area of the gun platform included a Britannia-Eagle halfpenny token dated 1815 (9G12E1-100), a Quebec Bank halfpenny token dating to 1837 (9G12E1-101), and a Canadian "blacksmith copper" dating to the 1830s (9G12E1-102). These coins represent two entirely different periods in the history of Coteau-du-Lac and seem to indicate that material from the gun platform is mixed.

Northeast Gun Platform
A blank (9G55B1-20) was found in the northeast gun platform, built in 1814.

Stone Barracks
The stone barracks was built in 1813-14 to house the increased garrison during the war; it was sold for the material it contained in 1872, by which time its condition had deteriorated (Ingram 1966: Sect. 14, 1).

Only one coin was recovered from the surface layer: a George III Irish halfpenny probably dating from 1774-82 (9G15A1-140). Another coin of this type was found in a lot outside the structure (9G15B13-13) as was an unidentified token stamped TL or TI (9G15B13-14).

The remaining coins from the operation were found in
the interior of the stone barracks. In the southwestern corner of the building were found a token dated 1820 (9G15C3-109) and a blank (9G15C3-108). To the north of this lot a Tiffin token dated 1812 (9G15E3-141) and another blank (9G15E3-142) were found. Still further north was found one blank (9G15G3-123).

Excavation of the southern end of the stone barracks revealed only two coins: a bouquet *sou* from 1837 (9G15M3-539) and a blank (9G15N3-649). If these blanks were actually washers for nails, as has been suggested, then the blanks found inside the stone barracks possibly date close to 1819 when extensive repairs to the interior were found to be necessary (Ingram 1966: 14, 1).

Two other coins, a token of the Hibernian Mine Company dated 1792 (9G15V3-23) and a Brock token from 1812 (9G15V3-22), were also found within the stone barracks.

Of the 11 coins found in the stone barracks, five cannot be dated. Of the remaining six coins, the majority date from 1812 and later, consistent with the occupation period for the building. The two coins from the 18th century may be intrusive material, particularly the Irish halfpenny (9G15A1-140) found in the surface layer.

Guardhouse

The guardhouse was built in 1815 to replace an earlier structure nearby. After 1820 it may have been used for private accommodation and in the 1860s one of the mill hands occupied it. It was sold in 1872 (Ingram 1966: Sect. 36, 1).

In a lot which lay directly beneath the surface layer of sod and included a large part of the western half of the building were recovered an unidentified copper coin (9G21A1-104) and a North Wales token dated 1760.
(9G21A1-103). The unidentified coin may also be from the same period. The date of the token is somewhat early for it to have been deposited in the shallowest layer of a building constructed in 1815. It may have been part of a deposit of material from other areas of the site.

Bakehouse
The bakehouse was constructed in 1814 or 1815 and used until the 1820s when the garrison was reduced. By the 1850s it was falling into ruins (Ingram 1966: Sect. 35, 1).

The surface layer of this operation contained a George III halfpenny dated 1775 (9G22A1-42). A Wellington halfpenny dated 1816 (9G22N2-13) was found in the interior of the building, and in a deeper layer of an adjacent sub-operation another George III halfpenny of the same period was uncovered (9G22P3-12).

The finding of an 1816 coin in a layer above one containing an 18th-century coin is logical and both are consistent with the occupation span of the building; however, the presence of an early coin in the surface layer may indicate some mixing in surface deposits.

Retaining Wall Near North Blockhouse
This operation was situated near the retaining wall connected to the north blockhouse. An Irish coin of the halfpenny type issued during the years 1774 to 1776 and 1781 to 1782 (9G26A4-256) was found, but not enough information is available to assist in determining the date of the deposition of the coin.

Walkway
A blank (9G39B1-415) was found during the excavation of the
walkway which runs east and west of the canal.

Temporary Bakehouse and Canteen
The temporary bakehouse and canteen was probably constructed around 1813 although it may have been older. By 1815 it was no longer shown on maps of the site (Ingram 1966: Sect. 7, 1).

A suboperation was dug in an attempt to discover the eastern and western walls of the canteen. A George III halfpenny dated 1775 (9G18B1-261) was found in the surface lot, which extended approximately one foot below the surface. Taking into consideration the year in which the building was constructed and the fact that the coin was found in a surface lot, the date of the halfpenny seems somewhat early and points to mixing of the material in the lot.

General Area
Coins from the general area of the site give no specific information about the site, but do add to the over-all picture of the currency that circulated at Coteau-du-Lac. The oldest coin found at Coteau-du-Lac, a William III halfpenny dated 1695 (9G51A1-176), was from this area.

Artifacts of Unknown Provenience
The actual proveniences of artifacts in this lot have been lost since excavation; consequently such coins were grouped in this provenience and were used only to provide general information.

This grouping includes a variety of coins: a British
halfpenny dated 1775 (9G51A3-30); a Brock token from about
1812 (9G51A3-31); a large Canadian penny dated 1917
(9G51A3-32); a Wellington halfpenny token from 1814
(9G51A30-33); an unidentified copper coin (9G51A3-34); a
blank (9G51A3-37); a copper four-maravedi piece from Spanish
Navarre dating between 1783 and 1789 (9G51A3-38), and an
unidentified silver coin that may have a Spanish or
Spanish-American origin (9G51A3-39).

The presence of Spanish coins may be accounted for by
the fact that a number of regiments arrived in Canada
directly from Spain or Gibraltar. One example is the 7th
Regiment which reached Quebec in 1791 from Gibraltar
(Stewart 1962: 96) and reached the fort at Coteau-du-Lac in
1794 (Price 1969: 4). With the regiments came additions to
North American currency in the form of Spanish coins, and,
during the Peninsular War (1808 to 1814), Wellington tokens
which had been used as currency by British troops in Spain.

For a broad view of the distribution of coins received
at the fort at Coteau-du-Lac, see Table 1.
Summary and Conclusions

Because the dates of deposition of most of the coins from the fort at Coteau-du-Lac are so vague, drawing valid conclusions from the coins regarding the dating of excavated structures and features is difficult. However, considered on a broader scale, the coins recovered from the fort seem to reflect quite closely the history and population of the site fluctuations.

Of the coins found at the fort at Coteau-du-Lac, the most common type is the George III copper halfpenny which was first issued in 1770 and undoubtedly continued to circulate until well into the 19th century. These coins, with earlier British halfpennies from the reigns of William III and George II and the numerous copper commercial tokens sent from England in the 1790s, represent currency used at the fort during its early stages of occupation, from 1780 to the War of 1812. This period was a relatively busy one at the site, beginning with the construction of the canal and of the earliest buildings, and including a great deal of commercial activity as the number of settlers in Upper Canada increased. There are 35 British and Irish coins and tokens dating from this era and earlier. This is the largest class of coins from the site and it is logical to assume that they represent the major period of concentrated activity.

Seven coins from Ireland are among those mentioned above; they include four Irish halfpennies dating from 1774 to 1782 and three copper commercial tokens from Irish
mining companies. Their presence on the site may be due to the fact that a number of regiments were sent to Canada directly from Cork, Ireland. For example, the 41st Regiment of Foot, which served at the fort at Coteau-du-Lac in 1802 and again from 1809 to 1811 (Price 1969: 4), embarked for Canada from Cork in 1799 (Stewart 1962: 199); very probably the soldiers brought Irish coins with them and the coins would have soon spread throughout the colony. Irish commercial tokens were perhaps among those shipped over after 1797 when they were outlawed in Great Britain (Sullivan: pers. com.).

A number of foreign coins dating from the late 18th century, including money from the United States, Spanish America, Spain and Denmark, were also found at Coteau-du-Lac. These coins probably also represent the first 30 years of occupation of the site when coins were scarce and all available currency was used.

After the outbreak of the War of 1812, the garrison at the fort at Coteau-du-Lac was increased. This is clearly evidenced by the recovery of a relatively large number of copper tokens that were issued during and directly after the war. These 12 tokens are the second-largest group of coins on the site.

During the 1820s the number of batteaux and Durham boats passing through the canal was at its highest (Ingram 1968: 70). This period is represented by a colonial copper token dated 1820 which was found in the stone barracks. Early British coins and colonial tokens dating from the years 1812 to 1816 probably also constituted part of the circulating currency at this time.

No coins definitely from the late 1820s and early 1830s were found, reflecting a decline in the peacetime population. With the commencement of hostilities during the Rebellions of 1837 the garrison was once again increased and
maintained into the 1840s. This period is manifested by the presence of four bank tokens from 1836 to 1837. This was the final period of substantial population at Coteau-du-Lac. After the rebellion the importance of the canal gradually declined; the fort was no longer a military post after 1857 (Ingram 1968: 101). The lack of coins representing these years reflects this decline.

A Canadian coin from 1917 was recovered from the site. It was probably dropped by a casual passer-by. The most modern coins found were three Canadian one-cent pieces from 1956, 1961 and 1964. These can be considered as representatives of the period of activity during excavation of the site or they may have been left by visitors to the fort.

There is a further point of interest regarding the coins from the fort at Coteau-du-Lac. Almost without exception the coins that were dropped or mislaid are of the smallest denominations. The early coins and tokens are all halfpennies; not a single penny piece was recovered. Even the more modern coins are one-cent pieces. The only silver currency found consisted of a one-half real (also a relatively small denomination) and one unidentified silver coin. One is tempted to assume that the proportion of coins of high value in circulation at Coteau-du-Lac was rather low. Considering that the population there consisted largely of soldiers, batteaux-men and mill hands, this does not seem an illogical assumption. However, people are prone to spend more time looking for a lost coin of high value than for one of low value, with the result that coins of smaller denomination are more likely to be left lying around. This may account to some extent for their preponderance on the site.
Cinquefoil. An ornamental design in the form of a five-leafed clover

Coin Design. That type of coin in which the opposite side appears upside down when the coin is turned over horizontally from left to right (Williams 1959: 76)

Edge. The narrow surface of the coin running perpendicular to the obverse and reverse

Evasion Piece. A light-weight coin made to resemble regal coinage, but with obvious differences to prevent the coin maker from being charged with counterfeiting

Exergue. That part of the coin below the main design, usually separated by a horizontal line and normally occupied by the date (Seaby 1968: 12)

Flan. The whole piece of coin-metal after striking (Seaby 1968: 12)

Left. The left side of the coin; that is, the observer's left

Legend. The inscription on a coin (Seaby 1968: 12)

Medal Design. That type of coin in which the obverse and reverse are both in the upright position when the coin is turned over horizontally from left to right (Williams 1959: 76)

Obverse. That side of the coin which normally shows the monarch's head (Seaby 1968: 12)

Reverse. That side of the coin opposite to the one showing the monarch's head (Seaby 1968: 12)

Right. The right side of the coin; that is, the observer's
right

Rim. The area on both obverse and reverse sides of the coin closest to the edge
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<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>204</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Table 1. Distribution of Coins at the Fort at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provenience</th>
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<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<tr>
<td>William III Halfpenny (1695-1701)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>George II Halfpenny (1729-54)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>George III Halfpenny (1770-75)</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>North Wales Token (ca. 1760)</td>
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<tr>
<td>British Political Token (1794)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Irish Halfpenny (1774-76; 1781-82)</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Irish Commercial Token (1785-97)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spanish or Spanish-American Coin (ca. 1770-90)</td>
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<td>Danish Coin (1771)</td>
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<tr>
<td>American Coin (1787)</td>
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<td>Canadian Token (1812 Period)</td>
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<td>Canadian Token (1820 Period)</td>
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<td>Canadian Token (1830s)</td>
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<td>Canadian Token (1836 Period)</td>
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<td>Canadian Cent (1917; 1956-64)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unidentified Blank</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>204</td>
<td></td>
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ILLUSTRATIONS
1  a, obverse and reverse views of a 1695(?) William III halfpenny (9G51A1-176); b, obverse and reverse views of a 1750(?) George II halfpenny (9G47L61-6). (Photo by G. Lupien.)
2 a, obverse and reverse views of a George III halfpenny, date illegible (9G9S1-32); b, obverse and reverse views of a 1774 George III halfpenny (9G9D2-31). (Photo by G. Lupien.)
a, obverse and reverse views of a 1760 North Wales token (9G21A1-103); b, obverse and reverse views of a Canadian "blacksmith copper," date illegible (9G7E1-87). (Photo by G. Lupien.)
a, obverse and reverse views of a Canadian "blacksmith copper," date illegible (9G5A1-181); b, obverse and reverse views of a 1794 British political token (9G1B18-7). (Photo by G. Lupien.)
5  a, obverse and reverse views of a Hibernian Mine Company token, 1792, second type (9G-15V3-23); b, obverse and reverse views of a 1792, untyped Hibernian Mine Company token (9G9U1-6). (Photo by G. Lupien.)
6  a, obverse and reverse views of a 1789 Associated Irish Mine Company token (9G8A1-17); b, obverse and reverse views of a 1917 large Canadian bronze one-cent piece (9G51A3-32). (Photo by G. Lupien.)
7 a, obverse and reverse views of a 1774 Spanish-American half-real (9G-12A1-76); b, obverse and reverse views of a 1771 Danish skilling (9G5B5-98); c, obverse and reverse views of a 1787 American "Fugio" cent (9G4C14-89), and d, obverse and reverse views of a 1956 Canadian cent (9G1A1-24). (Photo by G. Lupien.)
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a, obverse and reverse views of an 1812 Tiffin token (9G15E3-141); b, obverse and reverse views of an 1820 token (9G15C3-109). (Photo by G. Lupien.)
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(Photo by G. Lupien.)
a, obverse and reverse views of a token stamped with the initials TL, no date (9G15B13-14); b, obverse and reverse views of a defaced token, no date (9G6D2-115), and c, obverse and reverse views of a defaced blank (9G-6D2-114). (Photo by G. Lupien.)
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15 Glimpses of Soldiering at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec - 1780 to 1856, by Karen Price; Beads from the Fort at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec, by Karlis Karklins; Table Glass from the Fort at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec, by Paul McNally; Coins from the Fort at Coteau-du-Lac, Quebec, by Ann Cunningham Falvey. 1977. $8.25; $9.90 outside Canada.