



Ontario History

Scholarly Journal of The Ontario Historical Society Since 1899

Papers and Records [called *Ontario History* after 1946]

Volume X, 1913

Published by The Ontario Historical Society, 1913

The Ontario Historical Society

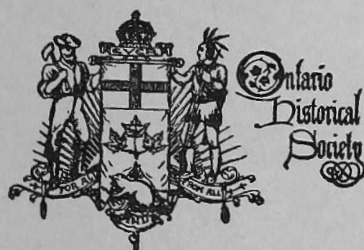
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PAPERS AND RECORDS

VOL. X



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NOTE.

The Editorial Committee assumes no responsibility for the accuracy of statements made, or for opinions expressed in the Papers contained in this volume.

ALEXANDER FRASER, *Secretary.*

I.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K.B.*

(Born 6th October, 1769; died 13th October, 1812.)

By J. A. MACDONELL, K.C., GLENGARRY.

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

It was with these glorious and inspiring words that Major-General Brock, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, concluded the speech with which on the 27th July, 1812, he opened the extra session of the Legislature of the Province, which he had summoned immediately following the declaration of war by the United States on the 18th of June.

He had been appointed Administrator, or President, as the office was then styled, on the 30th of September, 1811, assuming his government on the 9th of October, in the absence of Lieutenant-Governor Gore, who had left York (now Toronto) on the day previous. It was his fate nobly to fall at Queenston Heights on the 13th of the same month in the following year; he therefore held office for but a few days over a year. But that short time was sufficient to obtain for his name immortality, so long as the English language can narrate what in that brief period he accomplished, and to hold forth for succeeding generations of British subjects in Canada and throughout the Empire, the bright example of his genius and his gallantry, his indomitable spirit and extraordinary fertility of resource.

Isaac Brock was the eighth son of John Brock, Esquire, a gentleman of Guernsey, of good family and independent means, who, in his youth, had been a midshipman in the

*Read at the meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Napanee, Ont, 1912.

Born Oct.
6th, 1768.

Enters the
army at
fifteen years
of age.

1797.
Lieut.-Col.
49th Regt.,
at twenty-
eight years
of age.

Royal Navy, by Elizabeth De Lisle, his wife. He was born at St. Peter's Port, Guernsey, on the 6th of October, 1768, the same memorable year which gave birth to Wellington and Napoleon; and was thus but forty-three years of age at the time of his death. Singularly, and sadly enough, of all the eight brothers who reached maturity, no male descendant is now in existence to bear that honoured name. Brock is described as being always tall and robust for his age; with strength and determination, the best boxer and swimmer of his set, yet at the same time always of the most gentle and kindly nature. In more mature years he was a man of towering frame and commanding aspect. From a primary school at Southampton he was sent to complete his education and perfect his knowledge of the language, to a French pastor at Rotterdam. He entered the 8th Regiment as an ensign, when but little over fifteen; raising an independent company, he was gazetted captain, but shortly afterwards was placed on half-pay. In 1791, by purchase, he exchanged into the 49th Regiment, with which he was destined to be so long and honourably associated, and which took part in the Battle of Queenston Heights, when he died. He served with that regiment in Barbadoes and Jamaica, becoming major in 1795, and lieutenant-colonel in 1797, while yet but twenty-eight years of age. The regiment had fallen into bad habits and worse discipline, but under his command it soon regained its good character; the Duke of York, then Commander-in-Chief, declaring that Lieut.-Colonel Brock, from one of the worst, had made the 49th one of the best regiments in the service. While he exercised his command with vigour and strictness, his discipline was tempered by reason and justice. He possessed that happy quality which the French call "camaraderie," which has always been found in really great soldiers and than which nothing more endears a commanding officer to the men who are fortunate enough to serve under him—indeed, the secret of Brock's influence and success was that he really cared for his men, and that they recognized that such was his guiding principle. Under his command, the 49th served under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and subsequently Sir John Moore, in North Holland, in 1799, where Colonel Brock greatly distinguished himself. The regiment suffered severely at Egmont-op-Zee, where Brock himself was wounded.

In 1801, he was second in command of the land forces in the celebrated attack on Copenhagen by Lord Nelson.

In 1802, he came with his regiment to Canada, and Can-^{1802.}
 ada was happily destined to benefit by his untiring services ^{His advent to Canada.}
 for the following ten years, while here it was his lot to achieve
 imperishable renown. The first three years he spent on
 regimental duty, being quartered at different times with the
 49th at Montreal, York, Fort George (Niagara-on-the-Lake),
 and Quebec. In 1805 he became a full colonel and returned ^{1805.}
 to England on leave of absence. While there he laid before ^{Full Colonel.}
 the Commander-in-Chief the outline of a plan for the forma-
 tion of a veteran battalion to serve in Canada. <sup>Recom-
 mends for-
 mation of
 veteran
 battalion.</sup>

The Royal Canadian Volunteer Regiment of Foot, of two
 battalions, which had been raised and placed in 1796 on the
 regular establishment of the army, and the first battalion of
 which under Lieut.-Colonel the Baron de Longueuil had gar-
 risoned the posts of Lower Canada, and the second battalion
 under Lieut.-Colonel Macdonell those of the Upper Pro-
 vince, had, together with all Fencible corps in the army, been
 disbanded in 1802, during the short-lived Peace of Amiens.
 Both Provinces were therefore practically without regular
 local forces. But Britain at this time had her hands full
 with Napoleon; every available man was required in the
 Peninsula, and the British Government, seeing no reason
 or occasion for war with the United States, did not believe
 that war would take place, and Colonel Brock did not there-
 fore succeed in convincing the Home authorities of the neces-
 sity of establishing such a corps at the time. He received,
 though, the thanks of H.R.H. the Duke of York, Commander-
 in-Chief, for his communication and his very sensible and
 valuable observations respecting the distribution of troops
 in Canada, and the promise that his recommendations would
 be taken into consideration at a seasonable opportunity. In
 the light of events which transpired in the near future, the
 wisdom of Colonel Brock's proposal is apparent. His sug-
 gestion was that detachments of the proposed corps should
 be stationed at St. John's and Chambly in Lower Canada,
 (now the Province of Quebec), Kingston, York (now To-
 ronto), Fort George (Niagara), Amherstburg, and St.
 Joseph's Island, in the Upper Province.

While on a visit to his family and friends in Guernsey, ^{1806.}
 Colonel Brock deemed the intelligence from the United ^{Last visit home.}

States to be of so warlike a character that he resolved upon returning to Canada before his leave had expired; and such was his anxiety to be at his post that he overtook, at Cork, the *Lady Saumarez*, a German vessel, well manned and armed as a letter of marque, bound for Quebec, and left London on the 26th of June, 1806, never to return or to see home and kindred again.

Very soon after his arrival in Canada Colonel Brock succeeded to the command of the troops in both Provinces, with the pay and allowances of a brigadier. He resided in Quebec until the arrival in October, 1807, of that renowned soldier, Sir James Craig, as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, who appointed him a brigadier, which appointment was subsequently confirmed by the King.

1806.
Warns British Govt.
of hostility
of U. S.

In September, 1806, ever zealous, alert and watchful, he had deemed it his duty, immediately upon his return to Canada and on ascertaining the precarious and critical position of affairs, to address an urgent letter to the Imperial authorities in which he stated that it was impossible to view the late hostile measures of the American Government towards Britain, without considering a rupture between the two countries as probable to occur, if not indeed inevitable and imminent, and that he was in consequence most anxious that such precautionary measures should be taken as the exigencies seemed not only to justify, but to demand.

He warned the Government that even then the Americans were busily engaged in establishing and drilling their militia, and openly declared their intention of entering Canada, while the defenseless state of our frontiers constituted the strongest possible inducement to them so to do. He stated that the means at his disposal were too limited to enable him to oppose them with effect, and that unless he received assistance he would be obliged to confine himself to the defence of the Citadel of Quebec.

1807.
Recommends
formation of
Glengarry
Fencible
Regt. on
proposal of
Col. Mac-
donell.

Again in 1807 he returned to the subject, when forwarding to the War Office the proposal of Colonel Macdonell, formerly commanding the 2nd Battalion R. C. V. (which had been disbanded as we have seen in 1802), for the formation of a corps of Glengarry Fencibles. He strongly urged the establishment of such a regiment, to be raised among the Highland people in Glengarry. His wise suggestion was not at the time carried into effect, but when a few years

afterwards our relations with the United States had arrived at a crisis, the British Government hastened to adopt his plan, and the "Glengarry Light Infantry Regiment" was raised and placed upon the establishment of the army, that ubiquitous regiment which was to take part in almost every battle for the defence of the country in the War of 1812-14, and to amply justify Brock's selection of the Glengarry Highlanders as the men to face the emergency and rally to the defence of the country—and largely to save it.

But his efforts extended in all directions. The naval force and craft in Canada were then in an incipient and exceedingly unsatisfactory condition. General Brock was firmly impressed with the absolute necessity of our holding the control of the River St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes in the event of war, and shortly after taking over the command of the forces he turned his attention to that urgent and important subject and directed that the following number of boats, independent of those required for the Commissariat, should be kept in constant repair at the several posts for military service, viz: Quebec 6, Three Rivers 2, William Henry (Sorel) 1, Montreal 7, St. John 2, Kingston 4, Fort George 12, York 3, and Amherstburg 4, a total of 41.

In 1808 General Brock appears to have been stationed at Montreal, where, as elsewhere in Canada, he was a great social favourite. People instinctively recognized his worth, his work, his zeal and ability, and appreciated to the fullest extent the wholehearted manner in which he threw himself into the discharge of his every duty. Then, too, whatever the views and misconceptions of English statesmen, as to what was coming in the comparatively near future, there was no doubt whatever upon the part of the leading, observant and influential men in Canada. For years before war was actually declared by the United States, they were able to read the signs of the times and were convinced that Brock was the man for the occasion when we had to face the inevitable. These gentlemen, therefore, were naturally desirous of showing their appreciation of the services he was rendering in advance to face this great emergency and to forestall a dire catastrophe. These were the palmy days of the celebrated North-West Company, which for years "held a lordly

Prepares
naval craft
on river and
lakes.

1808.
Montreal.
Intimacy
with the
partners of
the North-
West Com-
pany.
Important
services of
the latter
during war.

The great
North-West
Company.

sway" over the wintry lakes and the boundless forests of the Canadas, almost equal to that of the East India Company over the voluptuous climes and magnificent realms of the Orient. The principal partners, Scotsmen, and mostly Highland gentlemen at that, resided at Montreal, where they formed a commercial aristocracy, and lived in a generous and most hospitable manner. Few distinguished travellers visited Canada, or leading military men stationed here, at this period, in the days of the MacGillivrays, the MacTavishes, the Mackenzies, the Frobishers and the other magnates of the North-West, when the company was in the zenith of its influence and activity, but must have often recalled in after years, the round of feasting and revelry kept up by those hyperborean nabobs. Then, too, they were at the head of what was practically an army of six hundred voyageurs, hardy, serviceable, intrepid, inured to danger, amenable to discipline and obedient to instructions. With these merchant princes, General Brock lived on terms of intimacy, and that intimacy was afterwards to be productive of the most important results. Not only did the North-West Company, when war occurred, immediately constitute themselves into one of the most useful, active and efficient regiments, the *Corps de Voyageurs Canadien*, in which, with scarcely an exception, the officers were Highland Scotsmen, partners and officers of the company, and every voyageur a French-Canadian, but also that Sir George Prevost, then Governor-General (and unfortunately Commander-in-Chief in Canada), was able to write a despatch informing Lord Liverpool that hostilities had commenced, was due to the zeal and patriotism of the principal partners of the North-West Company, who, foreseeing the inevitable, had taken extraordinary precautions and means to obtain early information of the declaration of war by the American Government.

War
declared by
U. S. 18th
June.
Prevost so
advised by
British
chargé
d'affaires on
26th July.

War was declared on the 18th of June. It seems almost incomprehensible that Prevost, then at Montreal, did not receive official intelligence of this momentous fact from Mr. Foster, who, up to that date, was British chargé d'affaires at Washington, until the 26th of July, fourteen days after General Hull's army had actually invaded Upper Canada,

and equally incredible that Mr. Foster did not see fit to find some means of conveying, also, official intelligence to General Brock, in command in that Province, and so hard beset there, leaving him to learn the news by the roundabout way of Montreal, when, with the greatest despatch, a fortnight further must in those days have elapsed for the intelligence by this channel to reach Fort George, the military headquarters, or York, then the seat of Civil Government. Thanks, however, to Brock's personal friends of the North-West Company, six days after the declaration of war at Washington (on the 18th of June), on the 24th day of that month, it was made known, both to Sir George Prevost at Montreal, and to General Brock at Fort George, when Prevost wrote a despatch to Lord Liverpool, and Brock took time by the forelock, with the result that in a very short space of time Hull's invading force of 2,500 men was being marched to Montreal, ragged and dejected prisoners of war, and Brock was in possession of Detroit and the whole State of Michigan, and had captured sufficient arms to arm the militia of Upper Canada. This prompt and invaluable service was rendered possible by the wise precautions and statesmanlike prescience of the North-West Company, who had despatched their own trusted emissaries to Washington with instructions to watch events, and had made all necessary arrangements so that the very moment war was declared, intelligence of that pregnant fact should immediately be rushed through to Canada by their voyageurs and Indian runners. It was due to them and thanks to them alone, that the first knowledge of actual hostilities was not conveyed at the cannon's mouth. Brock made no mistake in the selection of his friends! It was by vigour in our operations that the country was to be saved and not by the mere writing of despatches, and seldom indeed was more vigour shown or greater and more conspicuous service rendered than on this momentous and memorable occasion.

In 1810 Brigadier-General Brock was stationed as Com-mandant at Quebec, where he enjoyed the whole confidence of Sir James Craig, who, like himself, was every inch a soldier, though embarrassed with the difficult and unwelcome functions of Civil Government; but so thoroughly did Sir James trust and rely upon him, that, strongly impressed with

24th June
both Prevost
and Brock
advised by
North-
West
Company.

1810.
Assumes
command in
Upper
Canada.

the absolute necessity of having a military man of the first character and reputation take charge of affairs in the Upper Province, he despatched General Brock to Fort George with that object, and with the exception of a few months in 1811, during which he visited Lower Canada on duty, Brock continued in command of the troops in Upper Canada until his death, Lieutenant-Governor Gore at first administering the Government of the Province.

Applies for
active ser-
vice in the
Peninsula.

But during all this time great events were transpiring elsewhere. The Peninsula was the theatre of the greatest war in which Great Britain had ever been involved, and against the greatest leader the world had ever produced; honour and glory and professional reputation were there to be obtained; military advancement to a man of Brock's capacity was a certainty. Little wonder, therefore, that with the accounts of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos and Salamanca ringing in his ears, he found Fort George, its inactivity, its sombre life and dull environment, irksome in the extreme.

He had long wished for and sought active employment in the field, and looking with envy upon those gaining laurels for themselves and shedding lustre upon British arms in Portugal and Spain, had frequently applied to Sir James Craig for leave of absence. He had absolute assurance too from those who spoke with knowledge and authority, that his name had been mentioned at the Horse Guards in such a way as to indicate that no officer of his rank in the service stood higher in the estimation of the Commander-in-Chief and his military entourage.

Sir James Craig, however, wrote to him from Quebec, on the 4th of March, 1811, to say that though far from being indifferent to forwarding his interests and his wishes for active employment, he felt that, from the necessity of retiring from Canada himself, owing to the precarious condition of his health (which shortly after resulted in his death), it was indispensably necessary to leave this country in the best state of security he could, and that under existing circumstances he was obliged to decline Brock's request for leave; that he regretted extremely the disappointment General Brock would thus experience, but requested him to do him the honour to

Sir James
Craig pre-
sents him
with his
charger,
"Alfred."

accept, as a legacy and as a mark of his sincere esteem and regard, his favorite charger, "Alfred," satisfied that not elsewhere in America could he procure so safe and excellent a horse, and this war-horse met the fitting fate of a war-horse shortly after the death of his illustrious owner, as we will afterwards see.

At the close of the year His Royal Highness the Duke of York expressed his readiness to gratify General Brock's wishes for more active employment in Europe should he be still of the same mind, and Sir George Prevost was authorized to replace him by another officer. But when the permission reached Canada early in 1812, war with the United States was evidently near at hand, and Brock, with such a prospect, even a certainty, and with all the instincts of a soldier, was retained by honour, duty, and inclination, in this country.

On the 11th June, 1811, he had been promoted by the Prince Regent, to serve from that day as a Major-General on the staff of North America. Sir James Craig had left on the 19th of the same month, and after an interregnum of nearly three months, Sir George Prevost arrived at Quebec in September, to assume the Government and the chief command of the forces in British North America. I fear it is as a writer of despatches, disingenuous at that, that Sir George Prevost is best known to us.

As previously stated, Major-General Brock was appointed Administrator of Upper Canada, taking over the office on the 9th October. In addition to his pay as Officer Commanding in Upper Canada he had a salary of £1,000 a year as Administrator, but to add to the other embarrassments with which he now had to contend, at the very time he was appointed, he became involved in most serious monetary difficulties through the failure of a firm of London bankers and merchants of which his elder brother, Mr. William Brock, was senior partner. Mr. William Brock had advanced his brother Isaac at different times £3,000 for the purchase of his commissions in the 49th Regiment; but being then in affluent circumstances and having no children of his own, he had intended the money as a gift

Now declines offer of service in Peninsula.

Appointed Major-General 11th June, 1811, and Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, 30th Sept., 1811.

Becomes financially involved by failure of his brother's firm in London. His honourable conduct.

to a favorite and most promising brother. It had, however, been charged in the books of the firm, and Major-General Brock was now called upon by the creditors to repay the amount. He was a man of generous disposition, dispensing somewhat extensive hospitality, especially of recent years, since his appointment to his important military command in Canada, and had saved nothing. It came as a great blow. The high position to which he had just been elevated necessitated considerable outlay to keep up its proper dignity. But Brock was, above all things, a man of the most scrupulous honour, and immediately and instinctively determined upon the proper course, forwarding a power of attorney to London to enable his whole official salary as Lieutenant-Governor to be appropriated towards the liquidation of the debt, though he was aware that it would, to some extent, necessitate a loss of popularity, and, that people unacquainted with the circumstances would attribute the consequent and unavoidable frugality of his establishment to motives of parsimony and not to rectitude of principle and the dictates of the nicest and most chivalrous sense of honour.

Approach of
war.
Unprepared-
ness of
British
Government.

But events were hurrying on and all tending in the direction of war with our neighbors, who were evidently bent upon it. It is unnecessary now to discuss the pretext upon which they eventually declared it. It is sufficient to state that with Great Britain the war was purely defensive. She fought not for new conquests or to establish new claims, but for the protection of her colonies and the maintenance of rights which had received the solemn confirmation of time, while the Canadians fought for the protection of their hearths and homes and for the retention of those institutions which were inexpressibly dear to them; and those objects were completely secured; the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent by America was a tacit abandonment of every assumption against which the Government of Britain had contended; while Canada lost not one foot of soil and Canadians rejoiced in their self-respect and their connection with the Mother Land, with all which that implied.

The difficulties which now confronted General Brock and with which he had to contend and overcome as best he could,

were sufficient to appal a heart even as stout and to tax to the utmost a mind as versatile and resourceful as his. When we calmly consider them all it seems nothing short of marvellous, that any man should have been equal to circumstances so adverse, labour so incessant and arduous, anxieties so great and constant, perplexities and complications so manifold, and able to meet and overcome them all.

Pressed by European embroilments, fighting on the Continent with her back to the wall, pouring out her blood and treasure in her gigantic struggle with Napoleon, his marshals and his legions, Britain was naturally desirous of avoiding war with the United States, nor could its Government, failing to recognize any sufficient cause or justification for it, be brought to recognize and understand that war was inevitable, that the American President and Government were determined upon it, and only waited until Britain's embarrassments seemed such that the time was opportune to strike the blow.

In May, a month before the declaration of war, Prevost was informed that the Government apprehended no immediate hostilities, while even in July, Lord Liverpool wrote, acknowledging an address of the Legislature of Lower Canada, expressing the willingness of the people of that Province to defend their country, that he hoped there would be no necessity for the sacrifices which so willingly would be made, directed that all extraordinary precautions for defence should be suspended, and that the arrangements for the raising of the Glengarry Regiment should be abandoned; while further to show how great was their miscalculation of events, the Duke of York, as Commander-in-Chief, recommended that the 41st and 49th Regiments, then stationed in Canada, the latter Brock's own corps, brought by him to the highest state of efficiency, having had ten years' continuous service in Canada, and therefore thoroughly acquainted and acclimatized, should return to England and be replaced by one of the foreign regiments (then in the pay and service of the British Government), and one of the line.

In July, 1812, Home Govt. orders stoppage of all his preparations.

War had even then been declared and an American army had actually landed and taken post in Canada—temporarily,

however, for they had not reckoned upon Major-General Brock.

Sir George
Prevost
a blight
upon him.

Then, too, Sir George Prevost was a positive blight upon him. He was upon the ground and knew, or should have known, the circumstances, the position of affairs, the temper of the American people, and the intentions of their Government, unless wilfully blind to all the signs of the times, or utterly lacking in all those statesmanlike and military qualities and attributes so essential to the dual position he occupied as Governor-General of Canada and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces.

On the 2nd of December, 1811, General Brock wrote him: "I cannot conceal from your Excellency that unless a strong regular force be sent to this Province, to animate the loyal and overawe the disaffected, nothing effectual can be expected." Prevost answered, in February, that he could send him no reinforcement to Upper Canada, adding somewhat inconsequently, "Though anxious to afford you every efficient support in my power."

In the same month of December Brock communicated to him his plan of campaign, urged that on the commencement of war active operations should immediately be taken against Detroit, pointed out that Michillimackinac should also be attacked and taken, and had the sagacity to foresee and foretell that an overwhelming force would enter Canada, or attempt to do so, by crossing the Niagara River, and that the next invasion of the Province would take place from Ogdensburg, with a view to the descent of the St. Lawrence, and the attack and probable capture of Montreal; Prevost replied recommending precaution, acknowledged the advantage of striking rather than awaiting and receiving the first blow, but gave neither encouragement nor assistance to Brock's wise and timely suggestions. He derived consolation from the opinion conveyed to him by Mr. Foster, British chargé d'affaires at Washington, that war after all might possibly be avoided, and declared to Brock that it warranted him in recommending the most rigid economy in carrying on the King's service and in avoiding all expense that was not absolutely necessary.

Even when war had actually been declared, writing to Brock on the 10th of July, 1812, he held that offensive measures should not be speedily adopted and ventured upon the prediction that the attempt of the Americans on the Province would be but feeble, while two days afterwards Hull began the invasion of Canada (time and again to be renewed with unceasing vigour and larger force), at the head of 2,500 men and, as President Madison somewhat inaptly expressed it, "With the prospect of easy and victorious progress." Here again the President failed to take Major-General Brock into his calculations, or was unaware of the vigour with which that enterprising officer carried on his operations.

But it was not only the fact that the British Government was unprepared for war with the United States and had taken no precautions against it, and the supineness of Sir George Prevost, who disapproved of all energetic measures, that caused General Brock so much embarrassment, anxiety, care and trouble, in the grave emergency which he was now called upon to face. ^{Traitors within the gates.}

He had also to contend with traitors within his gates; internal disaffection, disloyalty, treason and treachery were rampant in many parts of the Province of Upper Canada.

A large proportion of its population even then were long known as "Proclamation men," Yankee settlers, who had taken advantage of Governor Simcoe's liberal system of land grants, and had come to Canada from purely mercenary motives, bringing with them their republican sentiments and anti-British proclivities, amounting in many instances to hatred.

This disloyal element was much more extensive than is now generally known or supposed, and came nigh to the undoing of the country. Brock's letters and despatches are replete with reference to the anxiety which their machinations and ill-concealed hostility caused him. After war had broken out he was obliged to issue a proclamation ordering all persons suspected of traitorous intercourse with the enemy to be apprehended and treated according to law; those who had not taken the oath of allegiance were ordered to do so or leave the Province. Many were sent out of the country, large numbers left of their own accord; those who refused the oath

or to take up arms to defend the country and remained in the Province after a given date, were declared to be enemies and spies, and treated accordingly; a large number of this disloyal element were arrested and imprisoned early in the war, as on the day of the battle of Queenston, October 13th, 1812, the jail and courthouse at Niagara as well as the blockhouse at Fort George were filled with political prisoners, over 300 aliens and traitors being in custody, some of whom were tried and sentenced to death during the war, and others sent to Quebec for imprisonment; indeed, even the militia were in some parts tampered with and disaffected. On the 3rd of August, Brock was compelled to declare to his Executive Council that "the enemy had invaded and taken post in the Western district, the militia in a perfect state of insubordination had withdrawn from the ranks on active service, had insulted their officers and some, not immediately embodied, had manifested, in many instances, a treasonable spirit of mutiny and disaffection, that in the Western and London districts several persons had negotiated with the enemy's commander, hailing his arrival and pledging their support, while the Indians on the Grand River had been tampered with, had withdrawn from their voluntary service and declared for a neutrality."

Disloyalty
in the
Legislature.

This disloyal element, too, was not without representation even in the Legislature of the Province, and there they endeavored to thwart all those prompt and effective measures which in the crisis were essential to the preservation of the country and were submitted to and urged upon it by Brock as Administrator. "The many doubtful characters in the militia," he stated in one of his despatches, "made me anxious to introduce the oath of abjuration into the bill. It was lost by the casting vote of the chairman. The great influence which the numerous settlers from the United States possess over the decisions of the Lower House is truly alarming and ought immediately by every practicable means to be diminished." The bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was also defeated in the session which opened on the 4th of February, 1812. The leaders of this disloyal faction in the Legislature were three men whose names should go down to posterity with infamy: Joseph Willcocks, the

leader of the Opposition; Benjamin Mallory and Abraham Markle. At the next session Willcocks and Markle, who were still members, were expelled from the House "for their disloyal and infamous conduct." Mallory had not been re-elected in 1812. Willcocks was killed at Fort Erie in 1814, in command of a regiment in the American army; Mallory served throughout the war as major in the same regiment.

After Hull had invaded the Province, Brock summoned the Legislature and on the 27th of July opened an extra session. In his speech he stated "a few traitors have already joined the enemy; have been suffered to come into the country with impunity and have been harboured and concealed in the interior. To protect and defend the loyal inhabitants from their machinations is an object worthy of your most serious deliberation."

Legislature summoned upon declaration of war, and proves recalcitrant. House dissolved and martial law proclaimed.

But notwithstanding that the state of the country required urgent and decisive measures, many members of the House of Assembly, under the baneful influence of the disloyal element, were seized with apprehension and endeavored to avoid incurring the indignation of the enemy. They again refused to repeal or suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and in consequence of these difficulties, Brock, knowing that General Hull's emissaries throughout the country were both numerous and active, called together his Executive Council. So serious and grave were the circumstances in which he felt himself placed, and feeling that but little could be expected from a prolonged session, he asked his constitutional advisers whether it would not be expedient to prorogue the Legislature and proclaim martial law. The Council adjourned until the next day, the 4th of August, for deliberation, and then unanimously adopted the legal opinion of Attorney-General Macdonell, and gave it as their advice that under the circumstances of the Province, the House of Assembly should be prorogued and that the General should proclaim and exercise martial law under authority of his commission from the King. Accordingly on the 5th, Brock prorogued the House and martial law prevailed.

This brought the traitors to time; large numbers immediately decamped to the States, among them Willcocks, Mallory

and Markle; the atmosphere was cleared and Brock became master of the situation. But what a situation!

Overwhelm-
ing odds
against him.
Militia
without
arms or
clothes.

Now let us consider for a moment Brock's position. For the defence of this Province his entire forces consisted, all told, regulars and militia, of 1,500 men.

In Lower Canada Sir George Prevost had about 3,000 regular troops. The total number of men capable of bearing arms in Upper Canada was about 11,000, the proportion available for constant, active service was 4,000.

Against this, at the beginning of 1812, the United States had a regular army of 5,500 men. On the 11th of January, 1812, five months before the declaration of war, an act of Congress was passed for raising 25,000 men for five years. In the next month an act was passed to organize 50,000 volunteers, and in April, 100,000 militia were called into active service. During the whole war the United States' regular army amounted to about 30,000. The whole militia force raised during the war was 471,622, making a grand total of over half a million men engaged in the effort to conquer Provinces containing a total population of 300,000.

Another great difficulty was the lack of military stores and supplies; Brock was obliged to ask the militia to clothe themselves; many of them were actually drilling in their naked feet. He was without a military chest, without money to buy provisions, blankets, or shoes. He had to borrow the money to fit out the expedition to Detroit. The militia were practically without arms until the capture of Detroit placed at his disposal 2,500 muskets of General Hull's army, and there he also captured a number of pieces of artillery which were of service in subsequent operations.

Proclama-
tion of
martial
law the
turning-
point.

The proclamation of martial law was the turning-point; indeed it may be said to have been the salvation of the Province. It would seem probable that Brock's intention to proclaim it had become known to the Legislature, for on the very day of prorogation the loyal party in the House succeeded in carrying a most spirited and patriotic address in which they called upon the people of Upper Canada to deem no sacrifice too costly which secured to them their happy constitution.

The change in the prospects within a few days was almost miraculous. The stirring address of the House of Assembly went forth to the people of the Province on the 5th of August, and on the 6th Brock left for Amherstburg accompanied by Attorney-General Macdonell, who now became his Military Secretary and Provincial aide-de-camp. They had with them some 40 regular soldiers and 260 militia.

Sets off on
his cam-
paign.
Capture of
Detroit and
State of
Michigan.

Hostilities had actually commenced on the 12th of July, when General Hull crossed the Detroit River to Sandwich, invading the Province with an army of 2,500 men and a blood-curdling proclamation. This fulmination was promptly answered by General Brock. The two productions might well be placed in parallel columns so that the vulgarity and fanfarronade of the one and the dignified and resolute tone of the other might be fully understood and appreciated.

General Hull had the insolence to announce to the Canadian people that "he was in possession of their country," to inform them that an ocean and wilderness isolated them from Great Britain, "whose tyranny he knew they felt," that his army was ready and anxious to release them from oppression, that they must choose between liberty and security as offered by the United States, and war and annihilation, the penalty of refusal.

Brock, in his counter-manifesto, properly characterized Hull's invitation to Canadians to seek protection from Britain under the flag of the United States as an insult. He cited the advantages of British connection and warned our people that secession meant the restitution of Canada to France, which was the price to be paid by America to that country for the aid given to the revolting colonies during the Revolutionary War. He reminded them of the constancy of their fathers, and urged upon them to repel the invaders and thus give their children no cause to reproach them with sacrificing the richest inheritance upon earth, participation in the name, character and freedom of Britons.

Upon his arrival at Amherstburg, Brock, for the first time, met Tecumseh, who was to prove such an invaluable ally, and soon so nobly to die! At the conclusion of their interview, the great Indian showed his estimate and apprecia-

tion of him when he turned to his warriors and declared to them, "This is a man!"

Nor was General Brock long in determining on his course. The Americans had evacuated Amherstburg and retired to their own side of the river, to Detroit, which was strongly fortified. His entire force now consisted of 330 regulars, 400 militia, and 600 Indians—Sioux, Wyandots and Dacotahs. "My force," he wrote to General Hull, "warrants my demanding the immediate surrender of Fort Detroit," and knowing Hull's dread of the Indians he warned him that they might possibly get beyond his control. Colonel Macdonell and Captain Glegg carried this summons across the river under a flag of truce, and shortly returned with the assurance from General Hull that "he was prepared to meet any force brought against him and accept any consequences." Brock thereupon issued orders to cross the river at dawn, while the Indians crossed under cover of the night. Upon landing, Brock mustered his men, deploying the Indians in the shelter of the woods, skirmishing to effect a flank movement, and advanced to the attack, while the battery of Sandwich threw a few shells into the American fort.

It seems almost incredible, particularly when we think of the proclamation! With the odds about ten to one in his favour, Hull's heart now failed him when he saw the advance of the British, and their field pieces trained upon the fort; the gunners awaited but the final command, when an officer bearing a white flag emerged from the fort, while a boat with another flag of truce was seen crossing the river to the Sandwich battery. Macdonell and Glegg galloped out to meet the messenger and returned with a despatch from Hull to General Brock, as follows: "The object of the flag which crossed the river was to propose a cessation of hostilities for an hour, for the purpose of entering into negotiations for the surrender of Detroit."

Again Macdonell and Glegg rode out and returned with the terms of capitulation signed by General Hull.

One general officer and 3,500 men of all ranks, who were to have conquered Canada, surrendered as prisoners of war, while with them were handed over 2,500 stand of arms, 33 pieces of cannon, the *Adams* brig of war, stores, and muni-

tions of war to the value of £40,000, and Detroit and 59,700 square miles of American territory—the whole State of Michigan—passed into the possession of General Brock.

Brock believed that it was by vigour in our operations that the war was to be won.

In nineteen days he had met and prorogued the Legislature, transported his small force 300 miles, 200 of which was by open boat, captured an army three times his strength, strongly entrenched in a well-protected fort, and 60,000 square miles of that enemy's territory.

By a strange coincidence his despatches with the colours he had taken reached London on the morning of the 5th of October, the anniversary of his birth. The despatches were immediately published in a "Gazette Extraordinary" and the clangour of bells and the booming of guns announced his victory. The Prince Regent expressed his appreciation of Brock's "able, judicious and decisive conduct" and bestowed upon him an extra Knighthood of the Order of the Bath in consideration "of all the difficulties with which he was surrounded during the invasion of the Province and the singular judgment, firmness, skill and courage with which he surmounted them so effectually."

But he never saw the insignia of his rank or learnt of the Sovereign's approbation. Ere that reached Canada, he had fought his last fight. The Battle of Queenston Heights was won, and all that was mortal of Sir Isaac Brock lay under a cavalier bastion in Fort George.

Having brought affairs to so satisfactory a conclusion in this quarter, and completed all necessary arrangements, Brock lost not a moment in returning to York to carry on that plan of campaign upon which he had determined. Quite apart, however, from the high considerations of public duty by which he was always animated, there may have been another reason why he and his Attorney-General, now associated with him in his capacity as military secretary and aide-de-camp, may have been desirous of reporting themselves at York. Both were young, Brock in the prime of manhood, being in his forty-fourth year, and the other but twenty-seven years of age; both were shortly to be married to young ladies then resident at York, General Brock to Miss Sophia Shaw, daughter of

Prevost's
armistice
destroys
his plans.

Major-General Aeneas Shaw, Adjutant-General of Militia, and amongst the many congratulations and felicitations which were showered upon him there were those from one especially which would necessarily and naturally be essentially dear and welcome to him. It was the fate of both these brave and ardent men, however,

“To change love’s bridal wreath,
For laurels from the hand of death.”

His intention was to proceed forthwith to Kingston and from thence to attack and destroy the American naval arsenal at Sackett’s Harbour on Lake Ontario, and that accomplished, to sweep the whole American frontier from Sandusky at the head of Lake Erie to St. Regis on the River St. Lawrence. But when crossing Lake Erie, he was met with the astounding and most distasteful and unwelcome news that Sir George Prevost had entered into an armistice with the American General, Dearborn. His mortification at this intelligence, which paralyzed all his plans, and went far to nullify all the advantages which his energy and enterprise had already accomplished, can easily be conceived. To make matters worse, General Sheaffe, in command at Fort George while Brock was in the west, had acceded to General Dearborn’s demand that the freedom of the lakes and rivers should be extended to the United States Government during the armistice, an opportunity of which the Americans did not fail to avail themselves to bring up reinforcements, provisions and all the necessary munitions of war, together with 400 boats and batteaux from Ogdensburg and other points to Lewiston, with a view to their contemplated attack on the Niagara frontier, which shortly took place at Queenston. General Sheaffe’s extraordinary conduct on this occasion was again to be repeated on the very afternoon when they were there defeated; instead of following up the victory which Brock’s wise precautions and glorious example had made possible, he agreed to another armistice.

Had the destruction of Sackett’s Harbour, as Brock had determined upon, been then accomplished, the Americans could not have built and equipped the fleet which subsequently gave them the ascendancy on Lake Ontario, and enabled them

twice in 1813 to capture the capital of Upper Canada. The project, however, had to be relinquished by express orders from the Commander-in-Chief. Prevost, indeed, in the following year, endeavored himself to accomplish what he had forbidden to Brock, and his ignoble fiasco at Sackett's Harbour was only to be equalled, even outdone, by his disgraceful failure at Plattsburg, where brave men broke their swords in the anguish of defeat, and for which he was called upon eventually to face court-martial, which he only escaped by the fortunate intervention of death occurring on the very eve of the assembly of the court which was to meet to try the charges Sir James Yeo had preferred against him. When we contrast the methods and the character and the fate of Sir Isaac Brock and Sir George Prevost we are perforce driven to a realization of the fact that men "are cast in different moulds, if not made of different clay."

But we are nearing the end of Brock's career—one more fight and we have done.

By the middle of October, the Americans had assembled on the Niagara frontier an army of 6,300 men, of which force 3,170 were at Lewiston under the command of General Van Rensselaer—with them he modestly announced to his government his intention "to cross the river in the rear of Fort George, take it by storm, carry the heights of Queenston, destroy the British ships at the mouth of the Niagara River, leave Brock no rallying point, appal the minds of the Canadians, and wipe away the past disgrace."

To oppose this somewhat extensive programme General Brock had part of the 41st and 49th Regiments, a few companies of militia and about 300 Indians, in all about 1,500 men, dispersed, however, at various points between Fort Erie and Fort George, so that only a small number was quickly available at any one point.

He knew that the attack was imminent, and with unwearied diligence he watched the movements of the enemy. During the night of the 12th October their troops were concentrated and embarked from Lewiston under cover of a battery which completely commanded the opposite shore. Suspecting the invasion, though not, of course, knowing the exact point at which it would take place, General Brock had that evening

Battle of
Queenston
Heights.
Death of
Brock.

called together his staff officers and given to each the necessary and final instructions. Before the break of day on the fatal 13th, hearing the cannonade which announced their landing on Canadian soil, he hastily dressed himself, and calling for his charger "Alfred," he galloped off, followed closely by Colonel Macdonell and Captain Glegg, his aides-de-camp.

His first impression is said to have been that the attack indicated by the firing was only a feint to draw the garrison from Fort George, and that an American force lay concealed in boats around the point on which Fort Niagara stands, ready to cross over as soon as they had succeeded. He, therefore, determined to ascertain personally the nature and extent of the attack ere he withdrew the garrison, and with this in view he galloped eagerly to the scene of action, stopping for a moment only, and without dismounting, at the residence of Captain John Powell, to take a cup of coffee, which was brought to him by Miss Sophia Shaw, his fiancée, who never again was to see the gallant man who loved her. Hastily pushing on, he was met by Lieut. S. P. Jarvis, of the York Militia, who was riding so furiously that he could not check his horse, but shouted as he flew by, "The Americans are crossing the river in force, sir." Jarvis wheeled and overtook the General, who, without reining up, slackened his speed sufficiently to tell the rider to hurry on to Fort George and order General Sheaffe to bring up his entire reserve, including Brant's Indians, leaving Brigade-Major Evans with sufficient artillery to batter Fort Niagara. He passed with his two aides up the hill at full speed in front of the light company, under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry from the American shore. On reaching the 18-pounder battery at the top of the hill they dismounted and took a view of passing events, but in a few minutes firing was heard which proceeded from a strong detachment of American regulars under Captain Wool, who had succeeded in gaining the crest of the heights in rear of the battery, by a fisherman's path up the precipitous rocks, which having been reported as impassible, was not guarded. These men charged down upon them, and Brock, with his aides, and the twelve men stationed in the battery, after spiking the gun, were obliged hastily to retire. On

regaining the bottom of the slope he sent Captain Derenzy, of the 41st, with an urgent message to General Sheaffe to hasten the advance of the battalion companies of the 41st and the flank companies of the militia and to join him without delay. Mounting his horse he galloped to the far end of the village where he held a hurried conversation with the few officers present, and despatched Macdonell to Vrooman's to bring up Heward's company of the York Militia, sending Captain Glegg to order Captain Dennis with the light company of the 49th, and Chisholm's company of the York Militia, and Captain Williams with his detachment to join him. When they arrived he took command with a view to the re-taking of the redan, satisfied that to wait for the arrival of the reinforcements under Sheaffe would but make the task more difficult, as it would enable the enemy to establish themselves in force, drill out the spiked gun and turn it upon his men. Under a heavy fire of musketry which did considerable execution they breasted the heights, Brock dismounting, and handing his horse to an orderly, placed himself at the head of his men, who, with the support which Macdonell brought up, numbered less than 190, with which he had to dislodge an enemy strongly entrenched and numbering upwards of 500, of whom 300 were regulars. As they advanced in this charge up the hill, Brock, conspicuous from his dress, his towering height, his position at the head of his men and the enthusiasm with which he animated his little band, was soon singled out by the American riflemen; a deflected bullet struck the wrist of his sword-arm, but he paid no attention to it, still urging on his men. They were now within fifty yards of the redan above them. He was calling to those nearest him to hold their fire for a moment, to prepare to rush the enemy and use their bayonets, when from a thorn thicket, an Ohio scout, Wilklow by name, singled him out, and taking deliberate aim, fired at him. The bullet entered his right breast, tore through his body, leaving a gaping wound. As he sank to the ground he begged that his fall might not be noticed, as it would disorganize his men, and thus he nobly died, with his face to the foe.

Death of
General
Brock.

Perhaps it is better that I should now give Mr. Walter Nursey's account of what immediately followed, rather than my own:

Col. Macdonell leads
forlorn hope.

"After he fell the handful of men who were with him, overcome by his tragic end, overwhelmed by superior numbers and a hurricane of bullets and buckshot, wavered and then fell back and retreated to Queenston Village. Here, about two hours after, Colonel Macdonell collected and reformed the scattered units, and made another bold dash to re-scale the heights and take the redan. With the cry of 'Revenge the General!' from the men of his old regiment, the 49th, Macdonell on Brock's charger, 'Alfred,' led the forlorn attack, supported by Dennis. At the same moment, Williams, with his detachment, emerged from the thicket; the two detachments then combined, and Macdonell ordering a general advance, they once more breasted the ascent. The enemy, over 400 strong, but without proper formation, fired an independent volley at the British as they approached to within thirty yards of the redoubt. This was responded to with vigour, and grenadiers and volunteers in response to Macdonell's repeated calls, charged fiercely on Wool's men, now huddled in disorder around the 18-pounder. Some of them started to run toward the river bank. One American officer, Ogilvie by name, of the 13th Regiment, thinking the situation hopeless, raised his handkerchief on his sword-point in token of surrender, when Wool, a brave soldier, tore it down, and a company of United States infantry coming up at that moment to his assistance he rallied his men.

Death of Col.
Macdonell.

"The momentary advantage gained by Macdonell's small band of heroes was lost, and in the exchange of shots that followed, Macdonell's horse, Brock's charger, 'Alfred,' was killed under him, while he—his uniform torn with bullets—was thrown from the saddle as the animal plunged in its death struggle, receiving several ghastly bullet wounds from which he died the following day, after enduring much agony. Williams, a moment later, fell, desperately wounded. Dennis, suffering from a severe wound in the head, at first refused to quit the field, but Cameron, having removed the sorely-stricken Macdonell, and Williams having recovered consciousness, the dispirited men fell back and, retreating down the mountain, retired upon Vrooman's battery. Here they waited unmolested, until two in the afternoon, for reinforcements from Fort George. The fight, though short, had been furious

and deadly; Americans and British alike were glad to take breath.

"Meanwhile, unobserved, young Brant, with 120 Mohawk Indians, had scaled the mountain east of St. Davids, outflanking the Americans, and hemmed them in until Captain Deny, of the 41st, and Holcroft, of the artillery, arrived with the car brigade from Fort George, and trained two field-pieces and a Howitzer upon the landing. Merritt, with a troop of mounted infantry at the same time reached the village by the Queenston road. This movement, which was a ruse, deceived the enemy, who at once disposed his troops in readiness for an attack from this quarter.

"The American commander was ignorant of the fact that General Sheaffe, with four companies of the 41st, 300 strong, the same number of militia and a company of negro troops from Niagara, refugee slaves from the United States, was at that moment approaching in rear of the Indians. The British advanced in crescent shaped formation, hidden by mountain and bush, and were shortly joined by a few more regulars and by two flank companies of the 2nd Regiment of militia from Chippewa—indeed many persons of all ranks of life, even veterans exempt by age, seized their muskets and joined the column to repel the invaders. The British of all ranks numbered less than 1,000 men.

"The United States troops, which had been heavily reinforced, consisted of about 1,000 fighting men, on and about the mountain. Their number was supplemented from time to time, by fresh arrivals from Lewiston, encouraged when they saw the American flag planted on the redan; nearly all the new arrivals were regulars. Colonel Winfield Scott, of Mexican fame, a tried soldier, six foot four in his stockings, was now in command, supported by a second field officer, and many sharpshooters. Van Rensselaer, narrowly escaping capture, had retreated by boat to Lewiston, nominally to bring over more troops. Finding the conditions unfavourable, he did not do so, but sent over General Wadsworth, as a vicarious sacrifice, to take command. The gun in the redan had been unspiked and the summit strongly entrenched, but as Scott's men betrayed strange lukewarmness, orders were given 'to shoot any man leaving his post.'

Indians
scale the
mountain
east of
St. Davids.

Arrival of
General
Sheaffe as
instructed
by Brock.

"Sheaffe's men, having rested after the forced tramp, a few spherical case shot by Holcroft drove out the American riflemen. His gunners had at last silenced the Lewiston batteries, and finding the range, sunk almost every boat that attempted to cross. The Indians were now ordered to drive in the enemy's pickets slowly. Scouting the woods, they routed the outposts.

Flight of the
Americans.

"About 4 p.m., Captain Bullock, with two flank companies of militia and 150 men of the 41st, advanced, charging the enemy's right, which broke in great confusion. A general advance was ordered, and with wild warwhoops from the Indians and cheers by the soldiers, the heights were rushed. Wadsworth's veterans were stampeded, the redan retaken at the point of the bayonet, and Scott's command forced to the scarp of the hill overhanging the river. The Americans now 'fled like sheep,' to quote their own historians, and scattered off in all directions. Some raced headlong down the main road, seeking shelter under the muzzles of Holcroft's guns; some sought refuge in the houses, others raced to the landing, only to find their boats no longer there—not a few, hot pressed by Brant's avenging Mohawks, threw themselves over the precipice, preferring death in that shape to the fate which otherwise awaited them, while others plunged into the Niagara, essaying to swim its irresistible eddies, only to be blown out of the green water by Holcroft's grapeshot, or sucked down by the river's silent whirlpools. One boat, with 50 struggling refugees, sank with its entire crew. Two others similarly laden were beached below the village, with only twelve out of one hundred souls still living. The river presented a shocking scene. On the surface of the water, many, maimed and wounded, fought and struggled for survival. This pitiable spectacle was actually taking place under the eyes of several thousand American soldiers on the Lewiston bank, who, almost impossible to believe, and to their lasting disgrace, refused even to attempt to succour their comrades.

Losses sustained by
both sides.

"In all 958 American soldiers were taken prisoners by the British, 'captured by a force,' as Colonel Van Rensselaer stated in an official despatch after the battle, 'amounting to only about one-third of the number of American troops.'

Captain Gist, of the United States army, placed their killed at 400.

"General Van Rensselaer's defeat was complete and overwhelming. His chagrin at his failure 'to appal the minds of the Canadians' was so great that ten days later he resigned his command.

"The account as between Canada and the United States at sundown on that day stood as follows:

Total American force engaged	1,600
Killed, wounded and prisoners	1,425
The total British force engaged (of whom 800 men were regulars and militia, and 200 Indians) was	1,000
Killed, including Major-General Brock and Colonel Macdonell	14
Wounded and missing	96
Total American loss	1,425
Total British loss	110

"The next day, General Sheaffe, Isaac Brock's successor, signed another armistice. The second armistice within a period of nine weeks!"

Brock's lifeless corpse lay for a time where he had fallen, about one hundred yards west of the road that leads through Queenston, and after the battle was borne by a few of his old Regiment to a house in the village occupied by Laura Secord; later in the day Captain Glegg, Brock's brave aide—Macdonell, the other aide-de-camp, lay dying of his wounds—hastened to the spot, and had it conveyed to Niagara. On the 16th of October, the bodies of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock and Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell were interred at Fort George. It is a tribute to the magnanimity of the Americans that during the funeral procession, minute guns were fired at every post on their side of the river, as their general orders stated, "as a mark of respect to a brave enemy."

Thus we have seen the last of Sir Isaac Brock, a fitting culmination to his career and a life devoted to the service of his King and country.

* * *

Amidst the lamentations of his comrades in arms, the respectful salute of his opponents, the tears and blessings of the Canadian people, with the posthumous honours of his Sovereign awaiting him and the gratitude of future generations of Canadians for all time attending him, in his soldier's grave, first at Fort George, and now under the monument on Queenston Heights erected to commemorate his fame, there let us leave him.

"Sound, sound the clarion, fill the fife,
To all the sensual world proclaim
One crowded hour of glorious life
Is worth an age without a name."

II.

ROMANTIC ELEMENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.*

BY REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL.D.,

Superintendent of Wisconsin State Historical Society.

Perhaps to some of my auditors it may at first seem a far cry from the field of Ontario history to that of the Mississippi Valley—from a consideration of Sir Isaac Brock, a master of modern warfare in this highly-developed centre of civilization, to those rude pioneers who, but improving the methods of savagery, rudely opened to civilization the vast wilderness of the trans-Alleghany. But the association of the annals of Ontario with those of our own Middle West is surely intimate enough to warrant this shifting of the scene.

With you, the roots of our history are deeply planted in the soil of New France. In this respect, at least, your history is warp and woof with our own—whether it be Minnesota, which once knew Du l'Hut and Hennepin; Wisconsin, claiming Jean Nicolet as her discoverer; Michigan, proud of her Cadillac; Indiana, having within her bounds the portage paths of La Salle; Ohio, with her memories of Céleron; Pennsylvania, where Washington met the French advance southward; New York, wherein Champlain slaughtered the raging Iroquois, and Jogues met retributive martyrdom; New England, with her century and a half of border turmoil by land and sea, long remembered with bitterness, but at this distance viewed with philosophic calm; or Louisiana, founded by Iberville and Bienville. Wherever French habitant leisurely toiled in sweet contentment, French explorer feverishly extended the bound of empire, French fur-trader wandered, cassocked priest said mass, white-frocked soldier kept watch and ward over the interest of the great Louis, ambitious miner found veins of copper and coloured earths, or English and French and Indian met in mortal combat on the frontiers of civilization, the history of New France (of which Ontario was once so important a part) is taught as the local tradition of every northern state of the Union, east of the River Missouri.

*Read at the meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Napanee, Ont., 1912.

I feel, therefore, that you will think it not incongruous if at this gathering, whose programme * is at least grimly suggestive of an international conference, I very briefly recite a few of the romantic elements (French and British, as well as American) in the historical drama, nearly three centuries in the acting, which has found its stage in the Valley of the Mississippi. From these elements of romance are to be fashioned those novels and poems of the future that shall give to this period and to this region that charm of literary association without which no annals can long endure in the heart and imagination of the people.

The advent of the Spanish explorers in our valley was meteoric in brilliancy and in suddenness of departure. But he who seeks rich color, will doubtless find the French régime the more entertaining. Entrenched with apparent security on the rock of Quebec, New France early despatched her explorers westward through the majestic trough of the St. Lawrence. With rare enterprise and bravery they gradually pushed their way up toilsome rivers, along westerling portage paths, and far over into the vast-stretching wilderness of the continental interior lying to the west and south of Canada.

Where are there finer examples of dramatic adventure than the great journey of Nicolet, sent by Champlain into Darkest America to discover a short route to China? Donning his diplomatic garb of figured damask, to meet supposititious mandarins, he encountered only naked Winnebago savages on the inland waters of Wisconsin. What more stirring incident in history than the famous expedition of Joliet and Marquette to discover the far-away Mississippi, which in stately curves glides unceasingly and with awesome power past eroded bluffs and through sombre forests southward toward tropic seas? Or, the far-distant roving of those masterful fur-trade adventurers, Radisson, La Salle, Tonty, Perrot, Du l'Hut, and a host of kindred spirits? Is there anywhere a nobler instance of self-sacrifice than the splendid martyrdom of the Jesuit missionaries, who, imbued with the proselyting zeal of mediæval saints, in their quest for souls often suffered the horrors of the damned?

Annual trading fleets of Indian canoes and batteaux from the far-distant regions of the Mississippi and the Upper Lakes, laboriously journeyed over a thousand miles to Montreal and to Quebec, to barter rich furs for colored beads and glittering trinkets fashioned in the

*The majority of the papers presented had reference to the War of 1812.

shops of Brittany and Paris. Piled high with bales of peltries, and propelled by gaily-appareled savages and voyageurs, the flotillas swept eastward down the broad rivers in rude procession, paddles flashing in the sun, the air rent with barbaric yells and the roaring quaver of merry boating songs.

We can hear and see the boisterous welcome from the garrisons of Lower Canada; the succeeding weeks of trade and mad carousal on the strand of Quebec or Montreal; and then the return of the copper-skinned visitors to the "Upper Country," tricked out in gaudy finery, bearing into the wilderness fresh stores of gew-gaws, and accompanied by another contingent of traders and explorers—often, also, by Jesuit missionaries bent on showing them, even against their will, the path to the White man's Manitou.

Away off in the then mysterious land of the Far West, were insignificant military outposts, bulwarks of the authority of New France—Detroit, Mackinac, Green Bay, Chequamegon Bay, Vincennes; and, ranged along the Mississippi, lay Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Chartres, and many another rude bankside fort or stockade, all the way from Lake Pepin to Natchez.

Around each of these little forest strongholds—of logs or of stone, as materials came best to hand—was clustered a tiny hamlet of habitants: boatmen, tillers of the soil, mechanics, according to bent or to necessity. At the head of society in this rude settlement was the military commandant. Next in social precedence was the Jesuit Father, whose scanty chapel lay just within the gate; perhaps of noble birth and training, inevitably a scholar, but bound by unalterable vows to a life of toilsome self-sacrifice for the winning of savage souls in these inhospitable wilds. Ever was the black-robe coming and going upon long and wearisome journeys among the tribesmen, his life often embittered by the jealousy of the commandant.

Frequent visitors at the frontier fort were wandering traders, each at the head of a band of rollicking voyageurs, jauntily clad in fringed buckskins and showy caps and scarfs, with a semi-savage display of bracelets, dangling earrings, and necklaces of beads. The *coureur de bois*, or unlicensed trader, accompanied by a sprightly party of devil-may-care retainers, occasionally called, upon unheralded expeditions here and there through the dark woodlands and along sparkling waters. He was in his day the most daring spirit and the widest traveller in North America.

Freely mingling with this varied and variegated company were bands of half-naked, long-haired savages and halfbreeds, glistening with oils, and tricked out with paint and feathers. For the most part the boon companions of the French, now and then would they smite their white allies with cruel treachery, suddenly converting into a charnel-house many a self-confident outpost of the far-stretching realm of the great Louis.

Upon this inviting amphitheatre of New France, we find a heterogeneous semi-feudal society, with many feudal manners and customs, and a never-ending variety of connections with the Old World. Social, political, and mercantile complications were multiplied by the adventurous and diversified aims and pursuits of the colonists, scattered as they were through thousands of miles of savage wilderness.

At last, one fateful summer, the men of the hamlets and wilderness stations, seigneurs and tenants, traders and voyageurs, commandants and soldiery, were summoned by Indian runners to hasten to the Lower St. Lawrence, to free New France from the English invaders, whose very existence was to not a few of these forest exiles virtually unknown. On the Plains of Abraham many a brave fellow from the Upper Lakes and the Mississippi Valley gave up his life for the *fleur de lis*. But all in vain, for the time had come to ring down the curtain on this gallant drama. New France was no more.

The English, however, won only that portion of the great valley lying eastward of the river; upon Spain, France by secret treaty bestowed New Orleans and the trans-Mississippi. But for a full century, English explorers, fur-traders, and settlers from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas had been trespassing on French preserves to the west of the Appalachians, and tampering with the Indian allies of the Bourbons. The temerity of these fearless over-mountain adventurers had directly incited the French and Indian War, which resulted in the downfall of New France.

Contemporaneously with the uprising of the American colonies against the Mother Land, there began a great transmontane irruption into our valley—buckskin-clad borderers (largely Scotch-Irishmen) laboriously crossing from the Atlantic uplands into Kentucky, whither Finley, Boone, the Long Hunters, and their several predecessors had led the way. This Arcadia of forests and glades and winding streams and incomparable game was won from savagery only after long years of sturdy warfare. The story of that winning is filled to the brim with

picturesque and tragic incidents. Cherokee, Catawba, and Shawnee, moved to vengeance by persistent pressure upon their hunting grounds, fought, after their own wild standards, and fought well, for what they held most dear; they would have been cravens not to have made a stand. The white man, pouring his ceaseless caravans through Cumberland Gap and down the broad current of the Ohio, brooked no opposition from an inferior race, for white man's might makes right, and struck back with a fury often augmented by fear. Such is the bloodstained story of our method of conquering the American wilderness.

To save backwoods Kentucky from devastating forays by the Indian allies of the British forces in Canada, George Rogers Clark, at the head of that now famous band of Virginia frontiersmen, many of whom were garbed in an airy costume combining that of the Highlander with that of the savage, undertook his hazardous but successful expedition against Kaskaskia and Vincennes; an event abounding in dramatic scenes that will doubtless live long in the history of the United States.

Kentucky, having at last quieted the aborigine by crushing him, now entered on a period of relative prosperity. Down the swift-rolling Ohio, through several decades descended a curious medley of oar and sail-driven craft, fashioned in the boatyards of the Allegheny, Youghio-gheny, and Monongahela—rafts, arks, broad-horns, flat and keel-boats, barges, piroques, and schooners of every design conceivable to fertile brain. These singular river fleets bore emigrants eager to found new commonwealths in the bounding West. Hailing from a thousand neighborhoods in the Eastern States and from many countries of Europe, they came with their children, their tools, their cattle, their household gods—lusty, pushing, square-jawed, unconquerable folk, suffering on the way and in the early years of their settlement privations seldom if ever surpassed among the tales of the border.

And now Kentucky's crops had become larger than her population could consume. She needed to convey them to the markets of the world, to barter them for the goods and products of other communities. But Spain held firm control of the mouth of the Mississippi, and of the rich lands beyond the broad river, and upon these lands our Westerners were beginning to look with hungry eyes. The federal authorities of that day were slow to realize that the free navigation of the Mississippi was a vital factor in the development of the West. Consequently there was active discontent among the leaders of Kentucky. Political uneasiness was fomented first by Spanish intrigues, and next by French—

for France was at last beginning to display some jealousy of the young republic whom she had assisted into life, and apparently she would fain have unofficially rejoiced both in Western secession and in the utilization of trans-Allegheny Americans in filibustering expeditions against Spanish Louisiana. Thus was the West, through twenty years of its formative period, in a state of secret ferment. The full story of this plotting is even yet unrevealed; but gradually the facts are being brought to light, and furnish fit material for historical romance.

Spain, fearing that an assault might be made on her trans-Mississippi possessions from British Canada, made flattering offers of land grants west of the river to American pioneers who should colonize her territory in that region and cast their fortunes with her people. Many discontented Kentuckians accepted these terms and moved on to Missouri, among them the wandering Boones, who, now that they might see from the nearest hill-top the fire-place smoke from neighboring cabins, were already sighing for "more elbow room"; glad enough were they to be rid of the crowds now coming to Kentucky, to get new and cheap lands in the farther West, to avoid taxes, to hunt big game, and once more to live an Arcadian life. I love to picture the great Daniel, transplanted in his old age to these fresh wilds westward of the great Mississippi, seated at the door of his little log cabin on Femme Osage Creek, dispensing justice at a Spanish syndie, by methods as primitive and arbitrary as those of an Oriental pasha. Caring little for rules of evidence as laid down in the books, saying he but wished to know the truth, the once mighty hunter oftentimes compelled both parties to a suit to divide the costs between them and begone.

By now, an incipient American empire had become established in the trans-Allegheny. Settlement had advanced slowly down the great eastern affluents of the Mississippi, as along the fingers of the hand—the broad and rich valley bottoms being occupied by a crude but hard-headed border folk, while the intervening highlands were as yet left untouched, save as farmer-hunters here roved for game to stock their larders.

The great Napoleon had meanwhile risen to power. Reflecting on the tragic story of the ousting of France from North America, he deemed it possible to rehabilitate New France to the west of the Mississippi, and at the same time to check the United States in its westward growth. He therefore coerced Spain into retroceding the far-stretching Province of Louisiana to its original European owner.

Now came another fateful move upon the political chess-board. Three years later, Napoleon was facing a probable war with Great Britain. He feared that his arch enemy might, in the course of the struggle, seize this far-away possession, he needed money with which to replenish his treasury, and at the same time he thought to checkmate England by allowing her growing American rival at last to expand her bounds. He therefore sold Louisiana to the United States—an event lacking but a year of two centuries after the first successful settlement of the French in Canada. Nine years ago, with joyous acclaim, we of the United States celebrated the hundredth anniversary of this epoch-making purchase that has helped to make the Union one of the mightiest nations of the earth. The history of the transaction is to-day, in our land, as household words.

But even had not the Louisiana Purchase been made just when it was, American acquisition of the trans-Mississippi was sure to have come. A river is no adequate boundary between nations, if on one bank be a people like the Kentuckians, feverish to cross, and on the other a lethargic folk, like the Spanish-French of Louisiana Province. The Valley itself is a geographical unit. Tens of thousands of Americans had by this time descended the eastern slope of the basin, and many had not even waited by the eastern riverside for a change in the political ownership of the western. Before the Purchase, Kentuckians had, uninvited as well as invited, settled on Spanish lands along the lower reaches of the Missouri River. The chief increase in the population of Upper Louisiana had, during the last two decades of the 18th century, been American borderers. They had settled on French lands near New Orleans; and there was a dense American centre at Natchez. The great Purchase only hastened and facilitated the national progress of the Americans.

The ever-fascinating and thrilling tale of Lewis and Clark, as under President Jefferson's masterly direction they broke the path for civilization all the long rugged way from the mouth of the Missouri to the estuary of the Columbia, is still ringing afresh in American ears, because of recent centennial observances.

While still the great expedition was upon its route, other official explorers were searching the valleys of the Red, the Arkansas, and the Republican, reaching out to Spanish New Mexico, and pushing on over the rich grazing plains of Nebraska and Kansas to the snow-capped peaks of the eastern Rockies. The golden age of American exploration

through the newly-acquired Territory of Louisiana, forms a splendid chapter in the annals of the Anglo-Saxon race. The names of Pike, Long, Frémont, Carson, recall many a rare adventure in the cause of scientific research. The records of the great rival fur-trading companies operating in the trans-Mississippi, with their picturesque annual caravans over the Santa Fé and Oregon trails, and the stories of roving bands of trappers and scouts who in following the buffalo discovered mountain passes that are to-day highways of the world's commerce, furnish thrilling scenes to grace the pages of a thousand romances.

In due time, the narrow paths of fur-traders, trappers, and explorers were broadened by emigrants, who throughout the nation's history have ever crowded toward our Farthest West. The great migration to Oregon in the forties of the last century was an event of supreme significance, and in some measure it is part and parcel of Canadian history also. Bold and restless pioneers set forth from the older settlements in wagons and on foot, with their women and children, with herds of cattle and horses, and after slowly traversing the broad plains, painfully crept over the mountain barrier and spread themselves into the verdant valleys of the Willamette and the Columbia.

Soon came the news that gold was discovered in California. Then followed another mighty westward rush over the transcontinental trails—within three years a hundred thousand men and women from both hemispheres crossed the Mississippi in their mad struggle to reach the El Dorado of Pacific tidewater. Ten years later, the Colorado hills also revealed the story of their hidden wealth. Up the long valleys of the Platte, the Smoky Hill, and the Arkansas, singly and in caravans, wearily toiled tens of thousands from all the corners of the earth, many falling by the way from fatigue, starvation, and the wounds of Indian arrows. Yet their experience in no wise checked the human tide that had set in the direction of the everlasting hills.

Overland stages and "prairie schooners" were quickly withdrawn upon the advance of the Pacific railways. The buffalo and grizzly soon disappeared from our Western plains. The Indian, stoutly standing for his birthright, was subdued at last. The cowboy succeeded the explorer and the trapper. Upon our great rivers—the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Missouri—the introduction of steamboats, and later the bankside railways, wrought a like transformation. The old river life with its picturesque but rowdy boatmen, its unwieldy produce-laden

flats and keels and arks, began gradually to pass away, and water traffic to approach the prosaic stage.

Prosaic, perhaps, because nearer our present vision. But in America, at least, we are ever in a period of transition. For example, now that the great northern forests in the Mississippi Valley have nearly been obliterated, and the day of the lumber raft is for us fast fading, and the "lumberjack" in his parti-colored Mackinac blouse is about shifting his career to new fields of activity in our South and in your Northwest, we can realize that he, too, has been a striking figure on our stage—worthy of a place beside the *coureur de bois*, the *voyageur*, the *habitant*, the buckskin-clad Scotch-Irishman of the Wilderness Trail, the flat-boat man, the scout of the plains, the Rocky Mountain trapper, the Oregon pilgrim, the California "forty-niner," and the cowboy.

In our story of the American West, also, we must leave many a page for the stout flood of agricultural settlement that poured into the trans-Allegheny during the quarter of a century just previous to the War between the States. New England and New York, and almost every hamlet of western and northern Europe, sent the choicest of their people. By thousands they came to found new fortunes on lands recently acquired by purchase from the tribesmen. Our local history is rich in stirring details of their migration, and in particulars of their privations and their hardihood. The pioneers have, in the order of nature, now all but left us, in the United States; we no longer possess a Western frontier; and we are just beginning to understand that the story of these frontiersmen is a splendid epic still waiting to be sung.

What may we not say, too, of the part our great Valley played in the war for the preservation of our Union? As in the earlier days of the giant struggle between France and England for supremacy in North America, control of this vast drainage system was hotly contested. Whatever might have been the result of operations on the Atlantic Coast, the power holding the interior valley must, in the end, surely have won. From the population to the west of the Appalachians came the great bulk of both Northern and Southern armies; nowhere was the struggle more nearly brought home to the people. Song and story will always find abundant theme in our local annals of the war.

Equally important has been the Valley's share in the subsequent development of our nation—the social, economic, political, industrial, intellectual forces of the interior are to-day dominating us as a people.

Such are some of the elements that lend to the annals of the Mississippi Valley dignity and national significance. Until the close of the Revolutionary War, they are in considerable measure, also, the annals of Canada. You Canadian historians will, I am sure, rejoice with us in their picturesque vitality, in the stirring visions which they bring, and will with us, in the spirit of that reciprocity that should everywhere exist between students of local history in North America, anticipate the time when the poet and the novelist shall find in them material for their art; for after all (to return, in conclusion, to my text), those annals that may live long in the minds of the people are only such as shall be interpreted to them by the masters of romance.

III.

COLLECTIONS OF HISTORICAL MATERIAL RELATING TO THE WAR OF 1812.*

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The subject assigned to me in your programme is "Collections of Historical Material Relating to the War of 1812."

Two constructions, I think, may fairly be put on the subject. It seems to call for an account of existing collections in public or private libraries relating to the War of 1812; it also may be treated with propriety by submitting an analysis of the material which makes up the literature of this subject. The first method of treatment would be brief; the second method, properly followed, would of necessity be long and elaborate. For our present purpose it appears best, first, merely to glance at the collections on this subject as contained in notable libraries, and secondly, to survey, so far as time permits, several phases presented in the general field of literature of this war.

I need hardly remind you that outside of books much "material" is to be found which has true educative value. Our historical museums are many of them rich in relics, pictures and other reminders of this war. This is specially true in communities which during that war were the scene of special activity. In New England, New York, throughout the seaboard States, especially at Baltimore and at New Orleans, are preserved many reminders of this conflict. The regions about Lake Champlain and the Great Lakes are peculiarly rich for the student, not only in relics preserved, but in associations. Buildings and battlefields are other sorts of "material" which teach, often more effectively than the document or the printed page. But it is not with this phase of the subject that I am to deal. My especial theme is the literature of the War of 1812.

I have made some effort to learn what is contained in great libraries on this subject. The replies from experienced librarians are those which all library workers would anticipate. I am told in effect by the Librarian of Congress, by Doctor Thwaites of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, by the Librarian of Harvard University,

* Read at the meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Napanee, Ont., 1912.

and by the custodians of other notable historical collections, that it is impossible to say with definiteness how much material they have on this subject. While every library has numerous works brought together under its classification system relating to the War of 1812, that same classification system refers to other headings and departments a vast amount of material bearing on the same subject. It is enough to remind you that all the general classifications of a large library, such as biography, individual or collected; periodicals; naval history; general military history; poetry, etc., would naturally embrace much material important to the student of the War of 1812 period. Hence it might follow that a library, the catalogue of which showed by title comparatively few books or pamphlets or papers on this subject, might still contain far larger and more important collections on the general subject than another library which had in its catalogue cards a larger list under the 1812 classification.

With this general reminder, it is hardly necessary to specify further along this line. Naturally the great libraries of our country are strongest in 1812 as in other collections. Perhaps first in any list should be named the Library of Congress, which is all-embracing. After that, and possibly the New York Public Library, the student of this subject would turn to the great New England depositories: the Carter Brown Library at Providence, the Library of Harvard University, the Boston Public, and the Antiquarian Society at Worcester. Other important regional literatures have been brought together by the Maryland Historical Society at Baltimore, and I believe by the Library of Tulane University at New Orleans. So far as I am aware, the best collection of periodical literature on this period is to be found at Madison.

It is a matter of record, to be mentioned now without comment or preachment, that two of the most notable collections on the subject, supposedly housed in secure depositories, were turned to smoke and ashes by the conflagrations in the Parliament Buildings at Toronto and the State Capitol at Albany. I had some acquaintance with these collections and am of the impression that both ranked high in value relating to the 1812 period.

There is in Buffalo a little library, not at all to be mentioned with the great book collections of America, in which is to be found an exceptionally comprehensive collection on the period we are considering. The Buffalo Historical Society had already a good representative collection on this subject when, a few years ago, there was turned over to it a larger collection, the formation of which had been for a long period one of my diversions. As a result, the Buffalo Historical So-

ciety now has what I believe to be one of the best collections on this subject. A card list which I prepared some time ago enumerates some nine hundred titles, not including perhaps twice as many entries of papers and studies of special phases of our subject contained in local histories, in periodical publications, and especially in the transactions of learned societies. While this does not tally accurately with the material in our possession, it is still fairly representative. As it is this collection I am best acquainted with, it seems appropriate for me to consider it in passing to the second phase of my subject.

Our collection, then, contains, as must any collection which aims to be comprehensive in the literature of the War of 1812, books and pamphlets which fall into the following classes: Events leading up to the war, especially the Embargo and non-intercourse; general naval histories of the United States and of Great Britain; general military histories; official gazettes, journals and like publications; periodicals, not official; special histories of the period of the war; biographies; memorials, including transactions of institutions relative to the erection of monuments and the observance of anniversaries; controversial publications, both political and personal, the latter as to the service of this or that officer, etc.; claims, either for Government promotion for service rendered, pensions, or for damages and losses sustained by non-combatants; sermons, in which political doctrines were promulgated in the guise of religious instruction; poetry, drama, fiction, juvenile literature, and, omitting much, modern philosophical studies in which it is explained how things might have been otherwise.

This list could still be considerably extended and classified. There are numerous works pertaining to our subject, which consider chiefly the financial aspect of the times. There are others dealing with special phases of the causes that led up to the war, as, for instance, the violation of neutral rights and the impressment of seamen. There is a considerable literature of wanderers' narratives, including some of the curiosities of our history; and there is also a considerable literature of brag and bluster, contributed to, perhaps, in equal proportions by all the contending parties.

That what is commonly referred to by American writers as "our second war with Great Britain" has enlisted the pens of able students is seen when we glance at the title pages of many of the best known works. To this period belong writings of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Fenimore Cooper, George Bancroft, A. J. Dallas, Richard Hildreth, Alexander H. Stephens, General James Wilkinson, Governor Daniel D. Tompkins, Major-General George W. Cullum, Henry A. S. Dearborn, George Cary Eggleston, Benson J. Lossing,

J. C. Gilleland, Solomon Hale, J. T. Headley, T. W. Higginson, Robert McAfee, R. B. Mitfee, Charles J. Ingersoll, Major A. L. Latour, T. O'Connor, James Parton, Theodore Roosevelt. These among the Americans. Among the English authors, very notably, William James, John Symons, Frederick Brock Tupper, Major-General Sir Carmichael Smith, G. R. Gleig, the Marquis of Wellesley, and many others.

Of Canadian authors in this field, again omitting many of note, I may mention G. Auchinleck, Robert Christie, Ernest Cruikshank, Captain F. C. Denison, Colonel George T. Denison, William Kingsford, William Kirby, Captain W. H. Merritt, D. B. Read, Charles Roger, Thomas Rideout and Matilda Edgar, and especially Major John Richardson, whose "Narrative of the Operations of the Right Division of the Army of Upper Canada, during the American War of 1812," printed at Brockville in 1842, is one of the rarest of Canadiana.

The student of this period cannot neglect certain very able chapters in works of wide scope, such as C. D. Yonge's "History of the British Navy," Von Holst's "Constitutional and Political History of the United States," G. Bryce's "Short History of the Canadian People," and numerous other works of general character.

Let us glance briefly at some of the books which we have referred to some of these classes. The literature which may be entitled "Causes leading up to the war," is surprisingly large and important. I do not need to remind this audience that no period in history can be separated from what has gone before, or what follows, and ticketed off as complete. To embrace all of the causes of this second war thoroughly and conscientiously would mean to include much of the story of America. For library purposes, however, it is possible to draw the lines with fair satisfaction, so that they shall include such studies as Alexander Baring's "Inquiry into the causes and consequences of the orders in council, and an examination of the conduct of Great Britain towards the neutral commerce of America," published in London in 1808. For some years earlier even than that date these subjects occasioned many pamphlets and many discussions in Parliament. Of importance, too, for this period is James Stephen's "War in Disguise, or the Frauds of the Neutral Flags," a London publication of 1807. Many others of this character might be mentioned.

Then we have a surprisingly large contemporary literature that might be gathered about the single word "Embargo," ranging, to mention only American authorship, from William Cullen Bryant's

juvenile work, "The Embargo," printed in 1808, to Thomas Jefferson's voluminous writings, ending with his life in 1826.

The personal phase of this period is picturesquely brought out in numerous narratives of impressment; such, for instance, as that by Joshua Davis, "who was pressed and served on board six ships of the British," etc.; or the harrowing tale of James McLean, who at Hartford, in 1814, published his "Seventeen years' history of Sufferings as an Impressed Seaman in British Service." There are numerous narratives of this character which, taken together, make up an exceedingly lively prelude to the war itself.

The political shelf of our 1812 library must contain, not only long series of debates in Parliament and speeches in Congress, but a number of important serial or periodical publications, some of them official, such as the London Gazette, which through many years contains in bulletin form precise data invaluable to the student; The Royal Military Calendar; Dodsley's Annual Register; and, in America, The United States Army Register; Nile's Register; The Portfolio; the periodical entitled "The War," and scores of others of varying value.

Of controversial works, especially pamphlets, there is no end, many of them illustrating, better than the fuller and more deliberate histories, the temper of the time. It was a period when for one reason or another anonymity was thought to be an essential of political discussion. Some of you no doubt can tell me who was the author of the letters of "Veritas," first published in the Montreal *Herald*, afterwards brought together and printed in Montreal in 1815, in which is given a narrative of the military administration of Sir George Prevost during his command in the Canadas, "Whereby it will appear manifest that the merit of preserving them from conquest belongs not to him." In the guise of "A New England Farmer," John Lowell, of Massachusetts, bombarded President Madison with numerous pamphlets. In earlier years, "Juriscola," in a series of fifteen letters, had done his best to annihilate Great Britain; and "Don Quixote," in a most remarkable publication, "Ichneumon," laboured as a patriot to settle internecine strife.

Perhaps better known are the papers of "Touchstone," who, it appears, was DeWitt Clinton. I could go on in this field at great length. It is a piquant and a tempting one to the bibliographer in its variety and its occasional discoveries.

I doubt if any period in our history has developed more literature that may be summed up as curios. Many of them are trifling in historical value, but our library must have them. Here, for instance,

is the treatise entitled "The Beauties of Brother Bull-us, by his Loving Sister, Bull-a." Who would think of finding essays on the War of 1812 hidden under such a title as C. W. Hart chose for his work printed at Poughkeepsie in 1816, "Colloquy between two Deists, on the Immortality of the Soul"? Better known and more amusing is the work ascribed to Israel Mauduit, "Madison Agonistes, or the agonies of Mother Goose," a political burletta represented as to be acted on the American stage. Among the *dramatis personæ* are Randolpho and Adamo, Members of Congress, etc. I may also mention "The Federal Looking Glass," published in 1812, which pictures General Hull's "surrender to the Devil."

Surely to this class belongs "The Adventures of Uncle Sam in Search After his Lost Honour," by Frederick Augustus Fidfaddy, Esq., who announced himself as "member of the Legion of Honour, Scratch-etary to Uncle Sam and Privy Counsellor to Himself." The title-page motto in "Merino Latin"—"*Taurem per caudem grabbo*"—sheds light on the serious character of the work.

More serious, but I think, also more amusing, is the work entitled "An Affecting Narrative of Louisa Baker, a Native of Massachusetts who in Disguise Served Three Years as a Marine on board an American Frigate." This is a Boston imprint of 1815, but is not unique as a record of a woman disguised serving in this war, for we have still another work with the following title: "The Friendless Orphan. An affecting Narrative of the Trials and Afflictions of Sophia Johnson, the Early Victim of a Cruel Stepmother, whose Afflictions and Singular Adventures probably exceed those of any other American Female living, who has been doomed in early life to drink deep of the cup of sorrow," etc., etc. Sophia experienced her sorrows in part at Buffalo, Fort Erie and elsewhere on the frontier disguised as a man, and lost an arm at the Battle of Bridgewater, of which an extraordinary engraving is given. Sophia, *sans* arm, is also portrayed.

I will merely mention G. Proctor's "Lucubrations of Humphrey Ravelin, Esq., Late Major in the * * * Regiment of Infantry." This is a London publication, giving some account of military life and Indian warfare in Canada during the 1812 period. Another curious work is Gilbert J. Hunt's "Historical Reader," of which numerous editions were published. The narrative is a poor imitation of the style of Chronicles and other historical books of the Old Testament.

Perhaps rarest of these curios, at least in the original edition, is "The War of the Gulls, an Historical Romance in Three Chapters," reputed to be by Jacob Bigelow and Nathan Hale, published at the

Dramatic Repository, Shakespeare Gallery, New York, in 1812. This work has been recently reprinted, an honour which it quite deserves.

Among the curios, too, should have place sundry plays and dramas based on the war. I mention but two of them: one by Mordecai Manuel Noah, a Hebrew journalist of New York, who undertook to establish a modern Ararat and Refuge City for the Jews on Grand Island, in Niagara River, but whose contribution to this field of letters is entitled: "She Would be a Soldier, or the Plains of Chippewa; an Historical Drama in Three Acts." Major Noah's play was enacted for a time on the New York stage. Half a century later Clifton W. Tayleure produced another play of this period, "The Boy Martyrs of September 12th, 1814," which with little literary merit and seemingly less dramatic possibilities, was staged for a time in New York.

Under the heading of "Prisoners' Memoirs" there are numerous publications relating to the war, which fall into two classes. First, the narratives of men who shared in Western campaigns, usually American pioneers who were taken by British and Indians. An example is the narrative of William Atherton, entitled "Narrative of the Sufferings and Defeat of the Northwestern Army under Gen. Winchester; Massacre of the Prisoners; Sixteen Months' Imprisonment of the Writer and others with the Indians and British," etc., a prolix title, the work itself printed at Frankfort, Kentucky, in 1842. Still other chronicles of this character are to be gathered.

A wholly different field of experience was that of Americans who underwent imprisonment at Dartmoor in England. Perhaps the best known of these memoirs is the volume by Charles Andrews, "Containing a Complete and Impartial History of the Entire Captivity of the Americans in England from the Commencement of the Late War * * * until all prisoners were released by the Treaty of Ghent. Also a particular detail of all occurrences relative to that horrid massacre at Dartmoor, on the fatal evening of the 6th of April, 1815." Andrews' tale was printed in New York in 1815.

The next year, at Boston, Benjamin Waterhouse published "A Journal of a Young Man of Massachusetts, late a Surgeon on board an American privateer, who was captured at sea by the British, in May, 1813, and was confined, first at Melville Island, Halifax, then at Chat-ham, in England, and last at Dartmoor prison."

In 1841 appeared "A Green Hand's First Cruise, Roughed out from the Log Book of Memory of 25 years standing, together with a residence of five months in Dartmoor." This two-volume work, one

of the scarcest books of the War of 1812, was published at Baltimore by "A. Younker," probably a pen-name.

As late as 1878 appeared still another contribution to this class of works: "The early life and later experiences and labours of Joseph Bates," who records that in early life he was a sailor, was captured by the English in the War of 1812 and confined in Dartmoor prison. In later life he became an anti-slavery agitator.

The phrase "Wanderers' Narratives" fairly describes numerous works which the student of our subject will encounter; books, for instance, like Richard J. Cleveland's "In the Forecastle; or Twenty-five Years a Sailor." His sailing days were from 1792 to 1817, and he saw much and records much of privateering during the War of 1812.

Another "wanderer" was Patrick Gass, whose "Life and Times," first published, I believe, at Wellsburg, Va., in 1859, has in recent years been reprinted. When he wrote his Memoirs, Gass claimed to be the sole survivor of the Lewis and Clark overland expedition to the Pacific of 1804 to 1806. He was also a soldier in the war with Great Britain, 1812 to 1815, and fought at Lundy's Lane. About fifty pages of his book relate to this war, mostly to events on the Niagara.

In this class may perhaps be mentioned a well-known work, Captain David Porter's "Journal of a Cruise made in the Pacific Ocean in the United States Frigate *Essex*, in the years 1812, '13 and '14."

Much less known is P. Finan's "Journal of a Voyage to Quebec in the Year 1825, with Recollections of Canada during the late American War, in the Years 1812, 1813." In the second part of his book Mr. Finan gives his personal experiences in the war. He was with his father, an officer, at the burning of Toronto, April 27th, 1813. As an eye-witness his record of that and other events is important.

I may dismiss this special phase of our subject with the mention of but one other work, "The Travels and Adventures of David C. Bunnell." After a life suspiciously full of romantic adventure, some none too creditable, Bunnell joined the American navy under Chauncey, served on Lake Ontario, 1812-13, and left Fort Niagara July 3, 1813, in Jesse Elliot's command, going from Buffalo to Put-in Bay in open boats. According to his narrative, he was on the *Lawrence* during the Battle of Lake Erie, and afterwards was put on the schooner *Chippewa*, as second in command, and ran her between Put-in Bay and Detroit "as a packet," being finally caught in a gale, blown the whole length of Lake Erie and driven ashore upon the beach about a quarter of a mile below Buffalo Creek. He landed safely, remaining in Buffalo until Perry and Barclay arrived and were given a public

dinner, on which occasion, he says, "I managed a field piece and fired for the toasts." His account of his services and adventures on the lakes appears to be veracious, which is more than can be said of some portions of his romantic but highly entertaining chronicle. It may be noted that his book was issued in the same year and apparently from the same press as the rare first edition of the Book of Mormon, being printed at Palmyra, N.Y., by Grandin in 1831.

A considerable shelf, perhaps "five feet long," could be filled with stories of the War of 1812. My studies of American history have well-nigh convinced me that that war was fought, not to maintain American rights on the high seas, but to stimulate the development of American letters by supplying picturesque material for budding romancers. The only drawback to that theory is that the straightforward unadorned record of the old sea duels, like that of the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*, has more thrills in it than the romancers can invent. But for well-nigh a century the novelists have hovered about this period, like bumble-bees in a field of clover. The war on the lakes and the Niagara frontier has had a share of their attention. There are boys' books with Perry for a hero—always with the introduction of things more or less impossible to the character. The events of 1812-14 on the Niagara have been much used by Canadian story-writers. There is "Hemlock," by Robert Sellars (Montreal, 1890), which follows many of the events of the war in our district and is none the less worthy of American readers because its point of view and sympathies are so notably Canadian. A work of greater merit is "Neville Trueman, the Pioneer Preacher, a Tale of 1812," by W. H. Withrow, published in Toronto in 1886. The fictitious characters mingle with the real, at Queenston Heights, Fort George, the burning of Niagara, Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. It is a simple tale, with no affectations; and it makes a record which we are glad to have of high character and worthy impulses. There were true patriots in Canada in those days, and it is wholesome to read of them, no matter on which side of the river one may live. In this class belongs Amy E. Blanchard's tale, "A Loyal Lass; a Story of the Niagara Campaign of 1814." The list might be much extended.

If this war has inspired the production of fiction, it has also proved, at least in the earlier years, an unfailing fount of inspiration for the poets. I do not know of much poetry produced in England on this account. The affair does not appear to have presented a poetic aspect to British authors. But to many an American, especially of the type easily fired to extravagant patriotic expression, it was provocative of

wonderful results. Some worthy poets produced true poetry with this war as the theme. Some of the patriotic songs of Philip Freneau deserve the place they have held in American literature for a century. Samuel Woodworth's "Heroes of the Lake," a poem in two books, contains excellent lines. So long a production could hardly fail of being good at intervals. Many of Woodworth's poems, odes, songs, and other metrical effusions were based on incidents in this war. So was John Davis' "The American Mariners," vouched for on the title page as "A moral poem, to which are added Naval Annals," a delightful combination of the flight of Pegasus and the most uninspired of statistics. This work, first published at Salisbury, England, in 1822, has had at least two or more editions.

I can only mention such works as the "Court of Neptune and the Curse of Liberty," New York, 1817; the "Columbian Naval Songster," and other collections, containing numerous songs celebrating the exploits of Perry, McDonough and others; and "The Battle of the Thames," being an extract from the unpublished work, entitled "Tecumseh," the author veiling his identity as "A Young American."

Thomas Pierce's "The Muse of Hesperia, a Poetic Reverie," appeared in Cincinnati in 1823. A note in Thomson's Bibliography of Ohio says of this work, "For this poem the author was awarded a gold medal by the Philomathic Society of Cincinnati College, in November, 1821, but he never claimed the prize." It relates mainly to the events of the War of 1812 in the Northwest, and contains notes relating to persons and events mentioned in the text.

In Halifax, in 1815, there appeared "A Poetical Account of the American Campaigns of 1812 and '13, with some slight sketches relating to Party Politics which governed the United States during the War and at its Commencement," dedicated to the people of Canada by the publisher, said publisher being John Howe, Jr.

"The Year," a poem in three cantos, by William Leigh Pierce, was published in New York in 1813. Appended to the poem are seventy pages of historical notes, the whole production being intended as a poetical history of the times, including the War of 1812 so far as it had then progressed.

A poetical curio is "The Bladensburg Races," written shortly after the capture of Washington City, August 24, 1814. The poem ridicules the flight of President Madison and household to Bladensburg, and the erudite author adds an illuminating note: "Probably it is not generally known that the flight of Mahomet, the flight of John Gilpin and the flight of Bladensburg, all occurred on the 24th of August."

The local bibliophile or collector would wish me to mention "The Narrative of the Life, Travels and Adventures of Captain Israel Adams who Lived at Liverpool, Onondaga County, N.Y., the man who during the last War [1812] Surprised the British Lying in the Bay of Quonti; Who Took by Strategem the Brig *Toronto* and Took Her to Sackett's Harbor, and for whom the British offered a Reward of \$500."

Of peculiar local interest to those of us who live on the Niagara is David Thompson's "History of the Late War," etc., published at Niagara, Upper Canada, in 1832; one of the earliest of Upper Canada imprints and a better one, I venture to say, than old Niagara could turn out to-day. It is not a soothing book for a thin-skinned American to read. If it should fall into the hands of such a singular, not to say exceptional, individual, he could find balm, if not, indeed, a counter-irritant, in James Butler's "American Bravery Displayed in the Capture of 1,400 vessels of war and commerce since the Declaration of War by the President." This volume of 322 pages, published in 1816, did not have the unanimous endorsal of the British press.

As I survey the literature of this period I find no bolder utterance, no fiercer defiance of Great Britain's "Hordes," than in the sonorous stanzas of some of our gentle poets. Iambic defiance, unless kindled by a grand genius, is a poor sort of fireworks, even when it undertakes to combine patriotism and appreciation of natural scenery. Certainly something might be expected of a poet who sandwiches Niagara Falls in between bloody battles and gives us the magnificent in nature, the gallant in warfare and the loftiest patriotism in purpose, the three strains woven in a triple pæan of passion, ninety-four duodecimo pages in length. Such a work was offered to the world at Baltimore in 1818, with this title page: "Battle of Niagara, a Poem without Notes, and Goldau, or the Maniac Harper. Eagles and Stars and Rainbows. By Jehu O'Cataract, author of 'Keep Cool.'" I have never seen "Keep Cool," but it must be very different from the "Battle of Niagara," or it belies its name. The fiery Jehu O'Cataract was John Neal, or "Yankee Neal," as he was called.

The "Battle of Niagara," he informs the reader, was written when he was a prisoner; when he "felt the victories of his countrymen." The poem has a metrical introduction and four cantos, in which is told, none too lucidly, the story of the battle of Niagara, with such flights of eagles, scintillation of stars and breaking of rainbows, that no quotation can do it justice. In style it is now Miltonic, now reminiscent of Walter Scott. The opening canto is mainly an apostrophe to the

Bird, and a vision of glittering horsemen. Canto two is a dissertation on Lake Ontario, with word-pictures of the primitive Indian. The rest of the poem is devoted to the battle near the great cataract—and throughout all are sprinkled the eagles, stars and rainbows. Do not infer from this that the production is wholly bad; it is merely a good specimen of that early American poetry which was just bad enough to escape being good.

A still more ambitious work is "The Fredoniad, or Independence Preserved," an epic poem by Richard Emmons, a Kentuckian, afterwards a physician of Philadelphia. He worked on it for ten years, finally printed it in 1826, and in 1830 got it through a second edition, ostentatiously dedicated to Lafayette. "The Fredoniad" is a history of the War of 1812 in verse. It was published in four volumes; it has forty cantos, filling 1,404 duodecimo pages, or a total length of about 42,000 lines. The first and second cantos are devoted to Hell, the third to Heaven, and the fourth to Detroit. About one-third of the whole work is occupied with military operations on the Niagara frontier. Nothing from Fort Erie to Fort Niagara escapes this metre-machine. The Doctor's poetic feet stretch out to miles and leagues, but not a single verse do I find that prompts to quotation; though I am free to confess I have not read them all, and much doubt if anyone, save the infatuated author, and perhaps a long-suffering proof-reader, ever did read the whole of "The Fredoniad."

I have already mentioned several very rare books and pamphlets; but if asked to designate the rarest of all on the War of 1812, I should name a fifteen-page pamphlet, published without title-page at the Regimental Press, Bungalow, India, dealing with the relations between British agents and Indians in the Northwest after the Treaty of Ghent. But twenty copies were printed. It contains letters from Lieut.-Colonel McDowell to His Excellency Sir F. P. Robinson, Drummond Island, September 24th, 1815, and later dates; and an account of the proceedings of a court of inquiry held to investigate charges, preferred by the United States Government, that the Indians had been stimulated by the British agents to a continuance of hostilities since the Peace. This publication, issued three-quarters of a century or so after the event, from a regimental press in India, is an effort to show that the Indians were not so stimulated; all the stimulus they received from the British agents, it may be presumed, was of an entirely different kind.

The field of biography in its relation to our general subject is vast. Around such figures as Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison

there has developed a mass of literature which, if thoroughly listed and analyzed, would constitute a considerable bibliography in itself. There are biographies and memoirs of most of the British admirals and other naval and military commanders in active service during this period. In our list must be included the life stories of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Lewis Cass, Joshua Barney, Commodore Bainbridge, Winfield Scott, Oliver Hazard Perry, Henry Clay, Josiah Quincy, John Quincy Adams, George Cabot, and many other makers of American history.

Of the British and Canadian officers we have admirable biographies, including those of General Brock, Admiral Broke, Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, and others.

The Treaty of Ghent is the subject of numerous publications. An excellent account of the proceedings of the commissioners, and especially of the difficulties met and overcome by the American representatives, is by Thomas Wilson, in the *Magazine of American History*, November, 1888. A most interesting work on this subject is the scarce quarto, published in London in 1850, entitled "*Mémoires d'un Voyageur qui se repose.*" It is the private journal and correspondence of a diplomatist in the secret service of England. He is here designated by the pseudonym of "Miller," and appears to have been entrusted with four separate special missions to America, one of which, in 1814-15, was to exchange the ratifications of the Treaty of Ghent. The volume contains a mass of private information on diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the United States, including a journal of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent.

A noticeable, not to say notable, feature of much of this literature is its partisanship. Especially in statistical matters, such as the numerical strength of the contending forces, the number of guns or the weight of metal—matters which one would suppose would have been settled by the official reports—there has existed for a century, and still exists, utterly irreconcilable divergence. The unbiased student of this period, who seeks only to learn the facts, is still bewildered and in doubt when he compares American with Canadian or English accounts. If the bitterness and rancour of the old books has abated in these later days of courtesy and fair speech, the divergence of record, though perhaps dispassionately stated, still exists. An instance is the battle of Lundy's Lane, which at last accounts was still being fought.

It may not be a wholly whimsical proposition to suggest, as a feature of our centenary of peace, the establishment of an international commission—by this Society, say, on the one hand, and the American

Historical Association on the other—whose task should be, if possible, the production of a simply-told history of the War of 1812, which should meet with equal commendation as a truthful and unprejudiced chronicle on both sides of the border. But perhaps I suggest the impossible.

I could say much of the ever-lengthening list of modern studies of this or that phase of the war; such, for instance, as Nicholas Murray Butler's "Influence of the War of 1812 upon the Consolidation of the American Union," Captain A. T. Mahan's "Sea Power in its Relation to the War of 1812," and very many others, usually revealing a better grasp of the significance of events than the earlier works, and usually, too, written in a better temper. Not least among these modern studies is the notable group of papers which at this meeting we listen to with great satisfaction.

IV.

DESPATCH FROM COLONEL LETHBRIDGE TO MAJOR-GENERAL BROCK.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL COLE, BROCKVILLE, ONT.

Kingston, August 10th, 1812.

Sir,—

My letter to Colonel Cartwright from Prescott will have apprised you of the reason of my sudden departure from this—and most grievously mortified I was on my arrival below to find the Julia Schooner had the singular good fortune of effecting her escape. My decided purpose was, in the event of our vessels being detained at Brockville by a westerly wind till the return of Lieut. Fitzgibbons with the bateaux from Kingston, to have attempted the Capture of the Julia by an attack on Ogdensburg—with our vessels—aided by a detachment on land—but my instructions to the Captains were that in case a strong easterly wind sprang up in the interim they were then to proceed to Kingston, having, of course, in my mind your directions for the Earl Moira to proceed to Niagara. An easterly wind did spring up and the vessels proceeded for this place.

The enclosed report of the deposition of a deserter from the enemy will in some degree illustrate their situation at Ogdensburg and I am much inclined to credit the material parts of it from the manner in which it was related. I proceeded down the river to Williamstown in Glengarry looking at the different corps of militia as I passed. Of the Counties of Grenville, Dundas, Stormont and Glengarry, I feel sincere satisfaction in noticing their uniform zeal to exert their best endeavours for the defence of their country though as yet almost in the infancy of discipline, with the execution of the manual and platoon exercise—owing to the general want of instructors. But their wants and privations are many, but notwithstanding that, at Prescott they were not only without blankets but even straw was not to be procured. The alacrity of both officers and men to assist in erecting a stockaded fort with three embrasures at each of two angles was highly meritorious, and as no allowance had been made for their trouble in any shape and under the privations it was represented to me they were

experiencing, I ventured to order an issue of rum of a pint per man. This issue I trust will meet with approbation under this singular case of His Excellency the Commander of the Forces and yourself. The Dundas and Stormont Militia are very desirous of having a troop of cavalry established and being persuaded of its utility, both as patrols and for the purpose of carrying dispatches along the communication, I am desirous of seconding their propositions. It seems a Mr. Forrester has been at York and made application on the subject, and was referred by you to Major General Shaw, who did not happen to extend his journey so far down. But though I should recommend Mr. Forrester for being one of the officers of the troop I do not feel encouraged by the accounts I hear of him (though no impeachment on his loyalty) to suggest his having the command of the troops.

The Dundas Militia are unhappily in a state of schism at least between the two field officers, Col. McDonnell and Major Mackay. The former certainly much advanced in years, the latter very shrewd and I believe extremely able and zealous, though inflexibly stern. I beg leave to propose my way of healing the breach,—the substitution of Colonel Thomas Fraser to the command of the Dundas Militia, an arrangement I have been assured would be agreeable to Col. McLean (?) and I dare say would not be ill taken by Major Mackay. The Cornwall Militia are very well attended to by Col. *. He has been obliged to hire a store for the accommodation of his men at the moderate rate of 20 per annum, which by properly dividing by berth, is adequate to contain the whole of their present number embodied; more arms will be supplied to him when our means are more abundant. No blankets, but a supply of straw. He has been obliged to purchase some camp kettles. The flank companies of the Glengarry Militia partly assembled at McLaughlin's. Colonel McMillan has been under the indispensable necessity, from the situation being destitute of other resources, of contracting for shed to cover his men, to build ovens, and I authorized his having a supply of kettles, a surgeon to attend the sick, and I have sanctioned his having the assistance of Mr. Wilkinson, from Cornwall until your pleasure is ascertained. I do intend removing a part of the flank companies of the Glengarry to Cornwall as a point more material to be guarded than the mouth of the River Le Raisin. I have been obliged to order them some kettles. There are four points in the river more vulnerable from musketry than others from five to eight hundred yards distant from the American shore between the Rapid Plat and Cornwall. The best defence for which would appear

*No name given.

to be two or three light pieces of flying artillery, which the inhabitants would undertake to furnish the horses for. But of this and the number of militia and the number of arms received, a more detailed report shall be forwarded to you at Niagara, to which place I apprehend you are now removed and will probably reach you before this. I confess I have had a most fatiguing week and request you will refer any inaccuracies in this to that cause.

I have the honor to transmit a plan of the proposed work at Point Henry which I am the more convinced of the utility of. You are, of course, apprised of the approach of some regular troops to those quarters which I shall permit to come on here in the first instance unless I receive any instructions from you to the contrary, I have no doubt that a proportion of those troops are intended for Prescott and I especially reported the necessity of a force there. The schooner Julia was lying very quietly in the secure harbor of Ogdensburg, and afforded not the least molestation to the large brigade of Batteaux under Lieut. Fitzgibbons on his return. Colonel McLean is erecting a block house on a point about twelve miles above Cornwall for accommodation for his men as a Central rendezvous for a part of them and an accommodation with all. The cost of which will be but trifling, it being done by the militiamen as far as labor is concerned.

There are, I am sorry to say, several exceptions to universal loyalty in the County of Leeds and I wish to be honored with your instructions in respect of men who have lived as peaceable inhabitants but who being called on refuse taking the oath of allegiance. To send them across the river is perhaps accomplishing the very object that they have at heart. I fell in with General Sheaffe at the mouth of the River Le Raisin and I returned here sooner, perhaps, than I should otherwise have done.

The Royal George is returned to this place; she had been some way down the river and very near cutting off the Three Durham Gun Boats. She will sail on the look-out to-morrow.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Your most H. Servant,

LETHBRIDGE, COLONEL.

To Major General Brock.

V.

MILITARY MOVEMENTS IN EASTERN ONTARIO DURING THE WAR OF 1812.*

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL W. S. BUELL, BROCKVILLE, ONT.

Although war was declared by the United States on 18th June, 1812, official notice was not received by Sir George Prevost, the Governor-General of Canada, until 7th July. Private messages from New York, however, arrived about 25th of June. On the 29th of June, eight schooners that were in Ogdensburg Harbor attempted to escape to Lake Ontario. Mr. Dunham Jones, who resided near Maitland, saw the movement, and fully appreciating the advantage which would result to the British interests if this fleet could be prevented from reaching Lake Ontario, gathered a company of volunteers and pursued them in rowboats, overtaking them at the foot of the islands just above Brockville, apparently about Big Island. Two of the vessels, the *Island Packet* and the *Sophia*, were captured; the crews were landed on an island and the vessels burned. The remainder of the fleet made their way back to Ogdensburg as fast as they could go.

At the opening of the war the American plan of campaign was to invade Canada with three great armies, viz., the Army of the West on the Detroit Frontier, the Army of the Centre on the Niagara Frontier, and the Army of the North from Lake Champlain.

The Army of the West under General Hull was captured at Detroit by General Brock; and the Army of the Centre, under General Van Rensselaer, was defeated at Queenston Heights. The Army of the North was the most pretentious of the three. It was composed of 10,000 troops and was commanded by General Dearborn, the Commander-in-Chief of the United States army. It mobilized at Lake Champlain with the evident intention of marching straight on Montreal. Nothing, however, was attempted further than a few unimportant and unsuccessful skirmishes and then it retired to safe winter quarters at Plattsburg.

Early in the winter of 1813 a detachment of the garrison of Ogdensburg, under Captain Forsythe, made a night attack upon Gananoque,

* Read at the annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Brockville, Ont., 1910.

which at that time consisted of a country tavern and a sawmill, with an adjoining log house. The enemy wounded a lady and carried off a few pigs and poultry. Yet the event was represented as a gallant action.

On the night of the 6th of February, 1813, Captain Forsythe, with 200 of his command and some so-called gentlemen volunteers, made an attack on Brockville, coming across from Morristown on the ice. At that time Brockville was but a struggling village. It was considered of no consequence from a military standpoint and there was posted there but one company of the Leeds Militia. I am sorry to say that the captain, officers and men of this company, excepting one sentry, were sound asleep in their beds when the attack was made. Forsythe had a six-pounder about the centre of the river on the ice. The sentry was wounded, the officers and about 20 militiamen were captured as were also about thirty residents. The detachment and gentlemen volunteers proceeded to break into and plunder the houses in the village and to throw open the jail. They carried off provisions, horses, and cattle. Among the residents captured were several veterans of the American Revolutionary War, who according to the custom of the time had been given honorary military titles by their neighbors. Forsythe consequently reported having taken as his prisoners so many Majors, Captains, etc., and so many rifles, leading his readers to infer that he had captured a large military force. As a matter of fact the bulk of the rifles he took were securely boxed up en route to the force at Prescott, to which force most of the able-bodied men of the village were attached.

The force at Prescott was about 500 strong, under the command of Colonel Pearson. He sent Major Macdonell of the Glengarry Fencibles, Light Infantry (known as "Red George"), to proceed with a flag of truce to Ogdensburg to remonstrate against such expeditions. Macdonell was received by the officers at Ogdensburg with extreme discourtesy, with taunts and boasting. Forsythe, the officer in command, was no whit behind his subordinates in insolence, and suggested that the two forces should try their strength on the ice. Macdonell replied that in two days he, himself, would be in command at Prescott and that then he would be happy to accommodate them.

Two days later Macdonell succeeded to the command at Prescott, but on that same evening Sir George Prevost arrived there on his way from Quebec to Kingston. The British Government had not even by this time relinquished the idea that the United States did not really intend to fight with their own kith and kin and had impressed their

views upon Prevost. Consequently, when Macdonell reported to him all that had taken place and asked authority to attack Ogdensburg, Prevost would not entertain his request, saying that he did not desire by any hostile acts to keep up a spirit of enmity.

Macdonell then tried another method, and a few hours later told Prevost that two men had deserted and gone over to Ogdensburg, and that in all probability Forsythe would by that time know of his, the Governor-General's, presence, in Prescott. He suggested that the Governor-General should at once start for Kingston with a small escort while he, Macdonell, would make a demonstration in force on the ice, to keep the enemy occupied. The Governor finally reluctantly consented and started at daybreak on 22nd February, 1813, for Kingston, and Major Macdonell at once commenced arrangements to meet Forsythe as promised.

Sir George Prevost evidently repented after leaving Prescott, for on arriving at Brockville he wrote a note (which he headed "Flint's Inn"), to Macdonell instructing him on no account to exceed his instructions and do anything of a hostile nature. This note he despatched by a galloper, who, fortunately, was too late. Macdonell received the note in Ogdensburg about eight o'clock a.m.

At Ogdensburg there was an old French Fort, once known as Fort Presentation. It was situated just south of where the lighthouse now stands. The village was on the east side of the Oswegatchie River, which flows into the St. Lawrence at that point, and protected by a battery of heavy field artillery stationed on an eminence near the shore. Forsythe had under his command at Ogdensburg between five hundred and one thousand men. His own report says five hundred, while Macdonell estimated them at one thousand.

Macdonell had a force of 480 officers and men. The composition of his force represented many portions of the Empire. Owing to the state of the ice, which is said to have been quite weak and dangerous for so many to cross at once, and owing also to the position of the enemy in the old Fort, the force was divided into two columns. The right, commanded by Captain Jenkins, of New Brunswick, was composed of a flank company of the Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles, and 70 Canadian Militia. Captain Jenkins' orders were to check the enemy's left and intercept his retreat, while the left column under Colonel Macdonell himself (who was now Lieutenant-Colonel, in command of the Eastern District of Upper Canada), moved towards his position in the village. This left column was composed of 120 of the King's Regiment (Liverpool), some of the 41st (Welsh), 40 of the Royal New-

foundlanders, and about 200 Canadian militia, among whom were some French-Canadians.

When approaching the south side of the river the snow was found to be very deep, and the advance of both columns was retarded and both became exposed, particularly the right, to a heavy cross-fire from the batteries of the enemy for a longer period than anticipated. But pushing on rapidly, the left column gained the right bank of the river under the direct fire of the enemy's artillery and line of musketry and their right was turned by a detachment of the King's Regiment, their artillery was captured by a bayonet charge, and their infantry driven through the town. Some escaped across the Oswegatchie into the fort, others fled to the woods or sought refuge in the houses; from whence they kept up such a volume of fire that it became necessary to dislodge them with our guns, which now came up from the banks of the river where they had stuck in the deep snow.

Macdonell had now gained the high ground on the east side of the Oswegatchie (or Black River, as it was then called), and was in a position to assault the fort, but his men were exhausted by the rapid rush across the river, through the snow and up the bank. He gained a breathing spell for them by sending in under a flag of truce a demand for unconditional surrender. To this Forsythe replied that there must first be some more fighting.

During this time Captain Jenkins had led on his column and had encountered deep snow, when he became exposed to a heavy fire from seven guns, which he at once attempted to take with the bayonet, although they were covered by 200 of the enemy's best troops.

Advancing as rapidly as he could through the deep snow he ordered a charge and had not proceeded many paces before his left arm was shattered by a grape shot; but still he undauntedly ran on at the head of his men, when his right arm was shot; still he ran on cheering his men to the assault until exhausted by pain and loss of blood he fell, unable to move. His company gallantly continued the charge under Lieutenant McAulay, but had come to a standstill, stuck in the snow just at the moment when Macdonell's column came swarming over the Oswegatchie river headed by a Highland company of militia under Captain Eustace and rushed the fort. The enemy retreated rapidly by the opposite entrance and escaped into the woods, our right column being unable to intercept them.

Among others mentioned in the despatch of Colonel Macdonell besides Captains Jenkins and Eustace we find Colonel Fraser, who was in command of the militia, an ancestor of Colonel R. D. Fraser,

a former well-known officer of Brockville. The British losses were 8 killed and 52 wounded, among the latter being Colonel Macdonell himself.

The American losses were 20 killed and 150 wounded, while four officers and 70 privates were taken prisoners. Eleven guns were captured, among them being two twelve-pounders, surrendered by Burgoyne in 1777. There was also a large quantity of ordnance and military stores of all descriptions. Two barracks were burned, also two armed schooners, and two large gun-boats, which being frozen in the ice, could not be moved. The honor of this action was not tarnished by any looting in spite of the way the Americans had plundered Gananoque and Brockville. Macdonell would not let his followers help themselves to so much as a twist of tobacco; he even paid American teamsters four dollars a day for their labor in hauling the military stores across to Prescott.

During the following spring and summer success varied. The Americans captured York (now Toronto), then suffered humiliating defeat at Stoney Creek and Beaver Dams. Again the United States Navy were successful on Lake Erie and their army followed it up by beating Proctor in the Battle of the Thames, where Tecumseh, the great Indian chief, is supposed to have been killed. Then they drove our forces in the Niagara Peninsula back to Burlington Heights.

Things looked gloomy for Canada.

The Americans had still their Army of the North at Lake Champlain, now under General Hampton. It had for nearly a year been constantly drilled under Major-General Izard, who had served two campaigns in the French army. These troops were all well uniformed and equipped, and the most efficient regular army which the United States were able to send into the field during the war.

At this time another army of from ten to twelve thousand (American reports admit ten thousand), were assembled at Grenadier Island, eighteen miles below Sackett's Harbor, with a huge fleet of boats called the Invincible Armada of the St. Lawrence.

It was planned that with the aid of their navy in Lake Ontario, under Admiral Chauncey, they were to capture Kingston, then come down the river, as a mere matter of detail take Prescott en route, and uniting with Hampton's army near St. Regis, sweep on to Montreal and so wind up matters. There was to be a triumphal entry into Montreal where they would take up comfortable winter quarters.

Such was the plan, but the best laid plans of mice and men gang aft alee.

First let us follow the fate of Hampton and his Army of the North. He was at Burlington, Vermont. His intentions were unknown to the British. It was supposed that they were to march up the valley of the Richelieu to Montreal. A corps of observation was sent out under Colonel de Salaberry with instructions to move parallel to the American army, breaking up and obstructing the roads in his front and molesting him in every possible way.

De Salaberry was a French-Canadian gentleman who had entered the British army at an early age and having served eleven years returned to Canada. He raised a regiment of Canadian Voltigeurs.

The Eastern Townships during the Old Régime remained an almost unbroken wilderness. During the "War of Independence" this wilderness proved an important barrier against invasion and in the War of 1812 materially retarded the operations of the hostile armies.

Colonel Macdonell (Red George), had lately been appointed to the command of a regiment of French-Canadian Fencibles, and was at Kingston organizing and drilling them. On October 20th, Sir George Prevost, then at Kingston, heard rumors of approaching activity on Hampton's part and determined to go down to the Beauharnois frontier to see how matters were. Just as he was about to start at noon he met Macdonell and asked him how soon he hoped to have his corps in shape for active service. "As soon as they have finished dinner, sir," was the reply, so Prevost ordered him to bring them down to the assistance of De Salaberry, telling him of the information which he had received; and Prevost started on his journey.

Macdonell promptly procured boats, embarked his regiment, ran down the river and rapids, crossed Lake St. Francis in a storm, then threaded twenty miles of forest in single file in the dead of night and arrived just in time to assist De Salaberry, having travelled 170 miles by water and twenty by land in sixty hours, actual travel, and not one man absent.

In the meantime Hampton had left Burlington and marched on and captured Odelltown in apparently a straight line towards Montreal, but instead of proceeding directly he turned partially back and then westerly until he arrived at Chateauguay Four Corners, just on the American side of the border. He arrived there on the 24th of September and awaited orders. Four roads converged at this point, running, one towards Lake Champlain, another westerly towards Ogdensburg, another followed the Chateauguay River northeasterly to the St. Lawrence at Chateauguay and another more easterly.

While Hampton remained at Four Corners, De Salaberry could not divine which route he was likely to take. Hampton received orders

on 21st October to move towards the St. Lawrence. De Salaberry, in order to reconnoitre, attacked Hampton's outposts and evidently obtained reliable information that Hampton meant to advance along the Chateauguay. Accordingly he took up a position on the northern bank of the Chateauguay along which the road ran, his left resting on the river, his front and right guarded by a series of natural ditches or ravines strengthened by rough barricades. He constructed an outwork of fallen trees across the road about a mile in advance of the main defences, in order to give a first halt to the advancing enemy. The weak point of the position was that just below it there was a ford, by which, if not securely guarded, the Americans, if they came down the south bank, could cross and take the defenders in the rear. But he placed a company of his Voltigeurs in a hidden spot on this bank.

On the 23rd and 24th Hampton had succeeded in establishing a line of communication with Ogdensburg, and having brought up his artillery and stores, on the 25th he matured his scheme of attack. One column was to cross the Chateauguay, to advance along its southern bank, to seize the ford and recross in rear of the enemy; the main force was to advance on the northern-bank through six or seven miles of open country into the woodland where De Salaberry was posted, and charge his position by a frontal attack. The column on the southern bank, 3,000 strong, under Colonel Purdy, started on the night of the 25th. On the morning of the 26th the main body of about 4,000, under General Izard, regarded as the ablest officer of the United States forces, moved slowly forward along the road on the northern bank of the river.

De Salaberry had under his immediate command 300 French-Canadians, composed of some of his Voltigeurs and some Beauharnois militia, and also fifty Indians under Captain Lamothe. In reserve he had Colonel Macdonell's Regiment of French-Canadian Fencibles, 600 strong. With the exception of Colonel Macdonell and Captains Ferguson and Daly there was not a person of British blood on the field.

De Salaberry was without artillery or cavalry at any time, while Hampton had 180 cavalry and ten field guns. Purdy's column was first engaged by a handful of Beauharnois militia, who were pushed back, and Purdy made for the ford, expecting to occupy it with little opposition, but a company of Colonel Macdonell's regiment under Captain Daly had been sent across the river and received him with a well-directed fire. It is stated that Macdonell had taught his men to shoot while kneeling—this was apparently something new in those days. On this occasion it appears to have worked well. Even so, however,

Daly had to retire before the Americans and was himself severely wounded. Immediately above the ford the river took a sharp bend towards the east, and it was just at this bend that De Salaberry had posted his company in hiding. Purdy was eagerly pressing Daly's company back when this company of Voltigeurs suddenly poured a volley into his flank. The surprise was perfect—his column stopped, and the firing on his front and flank became heavier; at the same moment many British bugles from many directions were heard blowing the advance, and loud Indian cries came floating across the river. He thought he was opposed by thousands, and believing it impossible to cross the ford against such opposition he ordered a retreat, but even when he got out of range of our forces the firing on his column did not cease, for an excited body of Americans on the other side of the river, mistaking their identity, fired several furious volleys into them before the mistake was apparent.

Meanwhile De Salaberry and his 300 Voltigeurs were out about a mile in advance to meet the main body of the enemy, and along they (the enemy) came with cavalry and artillery.

A small working party first met them and retired into a line of skirmishers; these made Izard deploy into line, and the working party then retired behind the abattis where De Salaberry was stationed. A heavy fire was opened on both sides. The Voltigeurs—300 of them against 4,000—at one time broke and started to bolt, all but one man and a boy. The man was De Salaberry, and the boy was a bugler whom De Salaberry had grabbed by the collar and forced to sound the advance. Macdonell, back in the reserve, heard the bugle, and, interpreting it as a demand for support, caused his own bugles to sound and his men to cheer; he sent the buglers through the woods with instructions to separate and to continue blowing; he also called upon the Indians to yell with all their strength, and he rushed forward with his Fencibles to De Salaberry's assistance, the Voltigeurs going back with him.

The opposition then put up against the United States force was so brisk that with the cries and bugle sounds they hesitated, then halted. In such a crisis to halt was to court defeat, and shortly afterwards they broke and retired, a vigorous fire following them. There was no attempt to reform or to return the attack. Hampton believed that he had been opposed by a force of 7,000. Upwards of ninety bodies and graves were found upon the right bank of the river, and also a considerable number of muskets, knapsacks, etc., showing the confusion

with which Hampton's column retreated. Twenty prisoners were captured. The Canadian loss was two killed and sixteen wounded. Hampton retreated with his full force to Chateauguay Four Corners harassed by the Canadians and Indians, 100 odd more of whom had arrived. On the 11th November Hampton retired to Plattsburg, and thus ended the invasion of Canada by the Army of the North.

Returning now to Grenadier Island, where Wilkinson had finally on 1st November mobilized his army of 10,000. He was in blissful ignorance of Hampton's defeat and was acting under the full belief that Hampton's army was advancing victoriously through Lower Canada to join him at St. Regis. Wilkinson had been greatly delayed by rough weather, which had for some time prevented some of his troops leaving Sackett's Harbor to join him at Grenadier Island.

On 1st November, while the United States fleet on Lake Ontario under Chauncey attempted to blockade the British squadron under Yeo at Kingston, Wilkinson moved his vanguard and artillery to French Creek, about twenty miles down the St. Lawrence on the south shore, where is now the town of Clayton. In spite of Chauncey's blockade, two sloops, two schooners and four gunboats got out of Kingston and attacked them at French Creek, doing much damage on the afternoon of the 1st and forenoon of the 2nd, when Chauncey's fleet arrived in force and the British boats drew off, eluded him and got safely away through the islands.

On 5th November Wilkinson started down the river with his Invincible Armada of the St. Lawrence. He had given up all idea of attacking Kingston, owing to his delay in starting, it is said, but perhaps also because of Chauncey's failure to keep the British boats bottled up in Kingston. Wilkinson had a force of 10,000, as shown by his own reports. He is said to have had eight Generals in his army. At any rate he had four Brigades, commanded by Generals Boyd, Brown, Covington and Swartout. He had upwards of three hundred boats and scows, as well as twelve heavy gunboats. He had two twenty-four-pounders mounted on scows, so that they could be fired in any direction, and he had all the St. Lawrence river pilots of the United States. It must have been a grand sight to one on the south shore, to see this enormous flotilla glide down our beautiful river, through the Thousand Islands, but it was not all peaceful gliding. Vigorous pursuit was at once instituted from Kingston. A force of 600 in eight gunboats with three field pieces eluded Chauncey's fleet and followed fast, under Captain Mulcaster, of the Navy. These boats were heavier and slower

than Wilkinson's batteaux and Durham boats. One of the British gunboats, the *Nelson*, required eighty men to row her, forty on each side. She had mounted a thirty-two-pounder and a twenty-four-pounder. Whenever it could prove effective, artillery and musketry were discharged at the Armada. Wilkinson, late that first night, reached a point on the American shore seven miles above Ogdensburg. There he remained throughout the 6th, and issued an address to the inhabitants of Canada offering protection to those who remained quiet at home, whilst those taken in arms would be treated as enemies.

Because of the batteries at Prescott the troops were landed with the ammunition, and on the night of the 6th the boats with muffled oars dropped down along the American shore, and on the following morning were rejoined below Ogdensburg by the army, which had marched by Ogdensburg overland. That day a force of about 1,200 men was landed on the Canadian side to march down parallel with the boats and clear the way, for the river is narrower and much damage could be done from the shore. On the 8th a further body of cavalry was landed on the same shore, and the next day the whole expedition reached a point near the head of the Long Sault Rapids. At the head of the rapids Brown's Brigade of 2,500 men were landed, and the next day marched down towards Cornwall, being delayed by a small militia force under Captain Dennis, who broke the bridges and held the Americans in check. In the meantime the flotilla was waiting at the head of the rapids for intelligence that Brown had cleared the bank, and most of the remaining force had been landed under General Boyd to protect the rear from the British force in their wake, which numbered about 600 when it left Kingston. It was made up of the 89th, under strength, and a portion of the 49th, and was under command of Colonel Morrison, of the 89th. With him was Colonel Harvey, D.A.G., the hero of Stoney Creek. At Prescott they picked up two more companies of the 49th, some Canadian Fencibles and some militia, a small party of Indians and another six-pounder gun—numbering, altogether, something over 800. On the morning of the 11th, while Wilkinson, having heard from Brown, was giving orders for the American flotilla to run the rapids, the British gunboats opened fire, and at the same time Boyd reported that Morrison was pressing him on land. Wilkinson accordingly instructed him to turn about and beat them off, and in the middle of the day the battle of Chrysler's Farm took place. Boyd had about 2,500 men, including cavalry, and later in the fight was further reinforced. His cavalry was posted on the road on his left.

Morrison, probably under Harvey's advice, had chosen his ground well. He rested his right on the river, his left on a pine wood, both flanks being thus protected by nature. The intervening distance of open ground was about seven hundred yards. Next the river were three companies of the 89th, with one gun; away in front, athwart the road, were the flank companies of the 49th, with some Canadians and a gun, under Colonel Pearson; on the left and in echelon thrown back and reaching to the wood, was the remainder of the regiment, with the third gun. In the wood were the Canadian Voltigeurs and Indians, whose duty it was to skirmish in advance and draw the Americans on to the main British position.

The fight began by the skirmishers being driven in on the British left, which was followed by an attack in force upon that side of the position about 2.30 p.m. The Americans came within range before they deployed, and during deployment regular volleys by platoons were poured into them and beat them off in disorder. General Covington then came on the field with his brigade, and an attempt was made to outflank and crush our right nearest the river. During this attempt General Covington was killed. The British gunboats immediately afterwards succeeded in firing some shrapnel into the ranks of the enemy. The advanced party of the 49th made a counter charge for one of the enemy's guns, but was pulled up by a threatened American cavalry charge. The 89th nearest the river then rushed forward in support, and together they beat off the dragoons and took the gun. This decided the battle. The Americans after two hours' fighting retreated, and their infantry was taken on board the boats and down the river, while the cavalry and artillery followed on land.

The Canadian casualties were 3 officers and 21 men killed, 8 officers and 137 men wounded, and 12 missing, in all 181 out of 800. American official reports put their casualties at 102 killed and 253 wounded, which included General Covington amongst those killed; 180 prisoners were taken and one gun captured. Colonel Harvey, D.A.G., in a letter dated Chrysler's, 12th November, says there were at least 4,000 Americans engaged, and he ascribes our success to the steady countenance of our men and to superiority of fire, our regiments firing regularly in volleys by platoons and wings, while the Americans' fire was entirely irregular. He says the enemy left 180 dead on the field.

The next day Wilkinson learned of Hampton's defeat and retreat to Lake Champlain, and he decided to give up all idea of attacking Montreal. Accordingly he took his forces across the river and went into winter quarters at French Mills and Malone. In February the

army was broken up. It had been always harassed by the Canadians. Thus failed the Invincible Armada of the St. Lawrence.

Before the end of the year, under General Gordon Drummond, who had taken command in Upper Canada, the Americans were driven out of the Niagara Peninsula, and Canada was free of them.

The next year Britain was able to spare more troops, and soon the seat of war was removed to the United States; and on 24th December, 1814, the Treaty of Ghent was signed.

VI.

DEFENCE OF ESSEX DURING THE WAR OF 1812.*

BY FRANCIS CLEARY, WINDSOR, ONT.

The Essex Historical Society determined last year to place a tablet on the River Canard Bridge to record the engagements which took place there between the British and American troops during the above war. This tablet has recently been completed and placed in position. It is of bronze, with raised letters, and is 19 by 24½ inches in size, and bears the following inscription :—

This marks the place
of several engagements
between
British and United States
troops in defence of
the River Canard Bridge,
where *First Blood* was
shed during the War of
1812-14.
July 24th, 1812.

At a meeting of the Essex Historical Society held at the Public Library here on May 3rd, 1911, a paper was read by one of the members, Mr. Gavin, containing a short account of the events which took place in and around this county during the war, part of which may be repeated here.

In the "Journal of an American Prisoner at Fort Malden and Quebec in the War of 1812," edited by G. M. Fairchild, Jr., and published at Quebec in 1909, after stating how the Journal came into his possession, in the preface or historical note he says: "Anticipating the formal declaration of war, President Madison during the winter of 1811-1812 commissioned Gov. Wm. Hull, of the Territory of Michigan, as a Brigadier General to command the Ohio and Michigan troops at Detroit, with the understanding that immediately upon the announcement of war he was

* Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Napanee, Ont., 1912.

to invade all that part of Canada contiguous to Detroit. On June 24th, 1812, General Hull, with several thousand troops, had arrived at Fort Findlay. Here he received despatches from Washington to hasten his forces to Detroit. When the troops arrived at the mouth of the Maumee River, Hull determined to relieve his tired men of as much baggage as possible by dispatching it by water. Accordingly a considerable portion of the stores, Hull's and his staff's personal baggage, and the trunk containing Hull's instructions and the muster rolls of the army, together with other valuable papers, and Lieut. Goodwin and Lieut. Dent, with thirty soldiers, were transferred to the *Cuyahoga* packet and an auxiliary schooner.

"On the morning of the 2nd July the *Cuyahoga* and the schooner entered the Detroit River, and while sailing past Fort Malden (Amherstburg), the British armed vessel *Hunter* went alongside the *Cuyahoga*, and vessel and cargo became a prize, while the crew, troops and passengers, forty-five in all, were declared prisoners of war. The schooner was also captured. Col. St. George, the commander at Fort Malden, had received the news of the declaration of war on the 30th of June, while General Hull received it only on the 2nd July, when he immediately sent an officer to the mouth of the River Raisin in Michigan to intercept the two vessels, but he arrived too late. In the capture of these two vessels, valuable stores and still more valuable information fell into the hands of the British."

On July 12th General Hull crossed with his army of 2,500 from Detroit and took possession of the Town of Sandwich, the few British troops stationed there retiring to Malden. It was at this time that General Hull pitched his tents on the Indian Reserve at Sandwich for his 2,500 soldiers, and remained there until shortly before the arrival of General Brock at Amherstburg, when he returned to the Fort at Detroit.

The Journal in question begins July 1st, 1812, and some of the events therein recorded, from such observations as were possible to a prisoner and from stray information, are worth mentioning in connection with what took place on this border at the time. The journey from Malden to Quebec is recounted almost day by day, until the prisoner with others was sent to Boston for exchange. Here are a few extracts (taking some liberties with the spelling and grammar).

"July 1st, 1812. After a long and tedious march, I, with the sick, went on board the *Cuyahoga* packet at Maumee. Doctor Edwards, Surgeon General of the North-Western Army, gave me charge of the hospital stores and sick to go by water to Detroit. We sailed about

4 p.m. At sunset we anchored for the night, and about 4 o'clock in the morning we weighed anchor and with a fair wind entered Lake Erie, thinking we should be at Detroit by 3 o'clock in the afternoon. To our surprise, as we were about to enter Detroit River, we saw a boat that hailed us and ordered our captain to lower sail. I thought it improper to make any resistance, as I had not been informed that war had been declared. Lieut. Goodwin, two other officers, three ladies and two soldiers' wives, making in all forty-five in number on board, it would have been imprudent in the highest degree to have attempted to resist a boat of eight well armed men and a captain, and another of five men who demanded us as prisoners of war when we were nearly under the cover of the guns of Fort Malden. We gave ourselves up, and were taken into Malden on July 4th. We were surrounded with savages singing and dancing their war dances through the town. O heavens! what a glory sun for independence! Can any person describe the feelings of a free born subject, to see the savages dancing their war dance and hooting about the town, and to be confined when we knew they were preparing to murder our fellow creatures.

"July 5th. Some gentlemen from our side came from Detroit with a flag of truce and brought news that our army had arrived there safe, and that the men were in tolerable health and spirits."

This no doubt refers to the fact that Col. Cass was sent to Malden with a flag of truce to demand the baggage and prisoners taken from the schooner. The demand was unheeded, and he returned to camp with Captain Burbanks of the British army.

"July 12th, Sunday. The American troops crossed the river into Sandwich and divested the people of their arms and sent them to their farms.

"July 16th. Captain Brown came to town with a flag of truce, on what express news we knew not, but could judge by the movements. Two top-sail vessels were sent out of the river and the people were moving out of the town at night.

"July 17th. The Indians were flocking into town all morning. It appeared by 10 o'clock that almost every person had left the town." Mr. Fairchild's footnote to this is to the effect that on the 16th Col. Cass of the American army, with a force of about 280 men, pushed forward to the Ta-ron-tee, or Riviere Aux Canards, about four miles above Malden, and engaged the British outposts guarding the bridge across the river. The British and Indians retreated. Hull retired the force to Sandwich, as he said the position was untenable with so small a force.

"July 19th, Sunday. There was considerable movement to-day; the Indians again passed armed, and about 2 p.m. we heard firing towards Sandwich."

The footnotes to this are as follows: "On the 18th July Gen. Hull issued an order for a general movement on Fort Malden. Col. McArthur, with a detachment of his regiment, joined Captain Snelling on the 19th at Petite Cote, about a mile from Aux Canards Bridge. A general skirmish ensued with the Indians under command of Tecumseh, and McArthur was compelled to fall back. He sent for reinforcements, and Col. Cass hastened to his aid with a six-pounder, but after another short engagement with the Indians and the British supports that had been hastened to their assistance, the American forces returned to Sandwich.

"Another engagement took place July 24th, When Major Denny and a considerable force of Americans were engaged with some Indians, and retreated in considerable confusion pursued by the Indians. Denny lost six killed and two wounded. This was the first blood shed in the war.

"August 2nd, Sunday. Nothing extra. The Indians commence to cross to Brownstown (now Trenton, Mich.), with British and officers." This is followed with short notes of what took place up to the following Sunday, viz.: "On 3rd soldiers and Indians crossed to Brownstown, twelve boats loaded; I should judge about 400 in numbers. On 4th the troops crossed the river as they did yesterday, and returned about 8 o'clock in the evening. 5th. The Indians crossed the river about 11 o'clock, and people appeared very much alarmed. A party of them returned about sunset, but the boats had few in them." Col. Proctor, who was then in command at Amherstburg, detached the Indians under Tecumseh across the river to intercept a convoy that Major Van Horne and a force of Americans had been sent to safely conduct within the American lines, and on the 5th August Tecumseh badly defeated Van Horne's force of Americans near Brownstown. This victory, however, was reversed on Sunday, 9th, at the battle of Magagua, where Col. Miller, in command of the Americans, defeated the British and Indians, and drove them to their boats, when they returned to Malden.

The Journal entries under dates of August 14th, 15th and 16th are shortly as follows: "Friday, 14th. There were five boats came up loaded with soldiers and five more this morning with from 15 to 20 men in each, making in all about 170 men; another boat arrived about 11 o'clock with 20 men; the new soldiers all appeared to leave town about sunset.

"Saturday, 15th. Foggy; the drums beat to arms about sunrise and the troops were all in motion. The citizens all entered boats for Detroit, as I am told. The Indians went by boats, by land 300. About sunset the cannons began to roar at Sandwich.

"Sunday, 16th. Pleasant weather but unpleasant news. We heard about noon that Hull had given up Detroit and the whole territory of Michigan. The Indians began to return about sunset, well mounted and some with horses."

This news was soon confirmed. As a matter of history it is known that Gen. Brock had left Niagara shortly before this date and joined Col. Proctor at Fort Malden on the night of the 13th August with 300 militia and a few regulars, and had marched the following day with the forces under his command and taken possession of Sandwich, which had been abandoned by the Americans. About 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 15th a general cannonading began between the British at Sandwich and the Americans at Detroit. Considerable damage was done by the British artillery, and several American officers were killed. Two guns on the British side were silenced by the American artillery. During the night the British crossed to the Detroit side of the river and prepared for an assault on the town. The guns at Sandwich opened a heavy cannonading and their range was so accurate that many were slain. The capitulation of Gen. Hull early followed; by the terms of surrender the American militia were paroled and allowed to return to their homes, but the regulars were declared to be prisoners of war and were sent on board the prison ships.

The American prisoner continues his narrative, giving a detailed account of the journey of the prisoners of war by sea and by land until they reached Quebec on the evening of the 11th September.

The next issue of the *Quebec Gazette* newspaper contains the following item: "The officers and regular troops of the American army taken at Detroit and which have no permission to return to their parole, arrived at Anse des Meres Friday afternoon, escorted by a detachment of the Regiment of Three Rivers. The prisoners, with the exception of the officers, were immediately embarked in boats for the transports. The officers were lodged in the city for the night, and the following day were conducted to Charlesbourg, where they will be domiciled on parole." And the *Quebec Mercury* of the 28th October, 1812, contains the following: "The prisoners taken at Detroit and brought down to Quebec are on the point of embarking for Boston for the purpose of being exchanged. Five cannon are now lying at the Chateau Court taken at Detroit."

In the diary of Wm. McCaw, a militiaman from Niagara, and who was with Gen. Brock at the taking of Detroit, Aug. 16, 1812, many of the items in the American Prisoner's Journal are corroborated.

In going through the Fort at Detroit after the capitulation he says he saw several of the soldiers who had been killed and a number of the wounded.

It is worthy of mention here that Captain Frederick Rolette played an important part in the capture of the *Cuyahoga* packet already mentioned, and also in many of the important events of this war which took place subsequently. Frederick Rolette was educated at the Quebec Seminary, and when a mere lad entered the Royal Navy. He saw much active service, and received no less than five wounds at the battles of Aboukir and Trafalgar. He returned to Canada in 1807, and shortly afterwards was appointed to the Provincial Marine. By commission of October 4th, 1808, he was nominated second lieutenant in His Majesty's Provincial Marine. In 1812 he received promotion to the rank of first lieutenant in H. M. Provincial Marine, and was given command of the brig *General Hunter*, commissioned to cruise on Lake Erie. During the early days of Hull's invasion of Upper Canada in 1812, the *General Hunter* was in Amherstburg harbor, when Rolette espied a United States vessel approach, and put out towards her in a boat with eight armed men. Boarding the stranger, he was surprised, but not alarmed, apparently, to find himself on the deck of a Government vessel, the *Cuyahoga* packet, with four officers and forty men of the United States army on board, besides her own crew.

His pluck and presence of mind did not desert him. Placing one of his sailors as a sentry over the arm-chest and others at the companion-way, he issued orders in a loud voice to shoot down the first man who showed any disposition to resist. For a time his boldness had the desired effect, but before long some of the United States officers, chagrined at their position, began to make menacing demonstration. At this time the prize was approaching Fort Malden. Rolette, in a menacing voice, ordered the *Cuyahoga* to be run in under the guns of the battery. This quelled all idea of an uprising on the part of the Americans, and reinforcements conveniently arriving, the prize, which proved to be of great value, was secured.

Rolette served ashore with distinction under Brock at the capture of Detroit, and in the operations with Proctor on the River Raisin, being seriously wounded while commanding a naval gun detachment at Frenchtown. During the war he served successively on the schooner *Chippewa*, the sloop *Little Belt*, and the nineteen-gun ship, *De-*

troit. In the action on Lake Erie at Put-in Bay, Sept. 10th, 1813, he assumed command, though wounded, of the *Lady Prevost*, after her captain was killed, and was again very dangerously wounded when the magazines blew up. He was taken prisoner of war and held in captivity for several months. Upon his return to Canada he was presented with a sword of honor by his classmates of the Quebec Seminary.

It is fitting that something should be said here of the services rendered to the British by Tecumseh, the brave Shawnee chief, in repelling the attacks made by the Americans on those defending the Essex frontier during this war. He was with the British with his Indian allies in many of the engagements, including the capture of Detroit. It was much against his will that he joined in the retreat with Proctor from Detroit in October, 1813. The particulars of the battle at Moravian-town, where he gave up his life, are too well known to be repeated here.

Surely something should be done to erect a monument or other suitable memorial in testimony of his services. The question of where this should be erected has been much discussed. Various suggestions have been made. We would respectfully submit that it should be at or near Thamesville, where he gave up his life in the defence of his country, or at the Town of Amherstburg, where he was an active participator in the many stirring events in and around its vicinity.

VII.

THE ECONOMIC EFFECT OF THE WAR OF 1812 ON UPPER CANADA.*

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In considering the economic conditions of any country, and especially of a new country, many considerations have to be taken into account besides a mere survey of prices, rates of profit, or volume of trade. Only when we know the social and economic atmosphere of the various districts, the conditions of transportation, labor, local production, etc., can we come to any rational conclusions. Thus, in dealing with the economic condition of Upper Canada before, during, and after the War of 1812, we require to know not only the isolated facts as to prices and values, but the general setting of the country, geographical, social and commercial.

In its early days there were two or three important general conditions which vitally affected the economic development of the Province of Upper Canada. In the first place, the frontier settlements of Ontario were planted much earlier than the corresponding regions of the adjoining states to the south of the lakes. The first settlers, being for the most part United Empire Loyalists, enjoyed the benefit of having been especially outfitted by the British Government and partially supported at its expense for several years. For various reasons, partly accidental and partly of an international nature, the Government established strong garrisons along the Canadian frontier, contributed largely to the support of the civil government, and undertook certain public works. The requirements of these establishments created very profitable local markets for the limited produce of the early settlers, much of which could not support the expense of shipment from the country. They furnished also a strong market for labor, so that during the first ten years of Upper Canada's existence as a separate province, the economic condition of the country was, on the whole, very satisfactory, especially along the frontier settlements, where the people had access to both local and central markets. The most important trade of the province in both exports and imports was conducted for a considerable time by Messrs.

* Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Napanee, Ont., 1912.

Cartwright and Hamilton, who were originally partners and always close business associates. In various capacities, the Honorable Richard Cartwright was associated with practically all the business of Upper Canada. These varied interests are fully represented in his commercial and general letter-books, which constitute the most extensive and accurate sources of information as to the more important affairs of Upper Canada, between the first settlement of the province in 1785 and the close of the War of 1812. This information is supplemented and confirmed by many special papers in the Canadian Archives, and by more fragmentary letters and records drawn from various private sources.

From these various sources we find that the early settlers of Upper Canada were by no means dependent upon their own resources for the establishment and development of the province. In other words, they were not compelled to pay for what they imported by furnishing exports to be disposed of in distant markets. Otherwise, their struggle for existence would have been much harder than it was, for few of them had much capital and not many of them had much experience in making their way in the wilderness. The most successful element from the point of view of individual resources, with a knowledge of agricultural conditions in a new country, were the subsequent American immigrants, such as the Quakers and others, who settled in Prince Edward County, and in other districts along the Bay of Quinte, the Niagara region, and at various points along the north shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie.

When the American settlers began to develop along the south shore of the lakes, they naturally depended upon the Canadians for the larger part of their food supplies, as well as for much of their imported European goods. These settlements proved to be very valuable and high-priced markets for Canadian produce. Thus it was, that, except for an odd year now and again, the greater part of the Upper Canadian agricultural produce found local markets. In such cases the price of agricultural produce in western Canada, instead of being determined by the price in Britain less the cost of transportation, insurance, commission and duty, expressed a local demand only, the limit of which was the price in Britain plus these items; because in those days, and occasionally in the future, Canada found it necessary to import food supplies from Europe.

It is a common mistake to suppose that since the forests have been largely cleared from the basin of the Great Lakes, the rainfall has been lessened and drouth is more common. The fact is that drouth was at least as common and the rise and fall of the lakes was as much commented upon over a hundred years ago as to-day. The period from 1794

to 1797 was an exceptionally dry one, and the people, with little past experience, were alarmed at the prospect of the permanent lowering of the Great Lakes. Crops suffered severely from drouth, as also from the ravages of the Hessian fly. In consequence, the harvests were light and prices high. At this time flour sold in Upper Canada at \$4.00 to \$4.50 per cwt., and on the American side of the lakes at even higher prices. Peas brought \$1.00 per bushel, and very inferior grades of salt pork cost \$26.00 per barrel. At the same time, the Government was importing food supplies from Europe to feed the troops in Lower Canada. When it is remembered that the cost of transporting a barrel of flour from Upper Canada to Montreal, up to 1802, had not been reduced below 80 cents, even when taken on rafts and scows, one can understand what difference it would make when the cost of transport was deducted from the price of provisions in Upper Canada. Cartwright summed up the situation very well when he said, "As long as the British Government shall think proper to hire people to come over to eat our flour we shall go on very well, and continue to make a figure, but when once we come to export our produce, the disadvantages of our remote inland situation will operate in their full force, and the very large portion of the price of our produce that must be absorbed by the expense of transporting it to the place of export, and the enhanced value which the same cost must add to every article of European manufacture, will give an effective check to the improvement of the country beyond a certain extent."

A few good harvests in the early part of the nineteenth century, and the rapidity with which the Americans brought their side of the lakes under cultivation, greatly changed the situation in Upper Canada. The price of wheat fell in the Upper Province because it had now to bear the cost of transportation to the Lower Province, and sometimes to England. It was estimated that between 1800 and 1810 the normal difference in the price of a barrel of flour as between Kingston and Montreal, including commission and freight, would range from \$1.00 to \$1.50. When, therefore, the price of grain fell, the people of Upper Canada turned their attention to the lumber and timber trade, and to the production of staves and potash. The timber, in particular, could be cheaply transported down the St. Lawrence.

The era of the Orders in Council, after 1808, and the increasing trouble with the United States before the outbreak of the war, coupled with returning short harvests, led to a revival of prices, between 1808 and 1811. Having regard to the price of wheat alone, one would infer that the province must have been increasingly prosperous during this

period, but such was not the case. Prices, it is true, in Upper Canada were practically the same as in Lower Canada, because there was little to export, the wheat crop having been particularly poor during 1810. Moreover, as indicated, agriculture had suffered considerably for the past few years on account of the settlers going in for lumber and staves, but now there was a severe fall in the prices of these articles, as also of potash. The high price of staves during the years 1808 and 1809 had induced many settlers to go into that line very extensively, but in 1810 prices fell from forty to sixty per cent.

Owing to the slowness and uncertainty of transport, and the closing of the Canadian ports in winter, merchants required to order their supplies of goods considerably in advance. The result was that in 1810 the merchants found themselves overstocked with European goods, which the public were unable to purchase, or for which the merchants could not secure returns. The commercial distress first manifested itself at Montreal, but spread more or less rapidly to the outlying districts dependent upon it, and especially to Upper Canada. As Cartwright put it, "The large returns heretofore made in lumber have occasioned an immense quantity of goods to be brought into this country, and sudden depression in the price of that article would occasion great deficiency in remittances." The reaction caused even the price of food to drop. Flour, which had been \$11 and \$12 per barrel in April, fell to \$8.40 in Montreal and \$7.50 in the Kingston district. As a natural consequence of the depression, specie became very scarce, while merchant bills were a drug on the market. For lack of a better medium of exchange, notes of hand were in circulation in local centres. Towards the latter part of 1811 things were looking very blue indeed in all parts of Canada. Montreal merchants could not collect their debts from their western correspondents, because they in turn could not collect from their debtors. Bills of exchange, accepted by the merchants, were not met when due, and the cost of protesting them was heavy. Early in 1812 Cartwright was offered pork at \$18.00 per barrel and flour at \$9.00. In June it could be had at \$8.00 delivered in Montreal. Early in July, however, it was learned that war had been declared and prices immediately took an upward turn. As the summer advanced, supplies of every description rapidly rose in price. In September flour had risen to \$12.00 per barrel and in November to \$13.00. In the spring of 1813 shipments of provisions down the St. Lawrence had quite ceased, everything available being in demand for the supply of the troops and others in the service of the Government. When the army bills went into circulation in August, 1812, they furnished an easy and safe means of meeting the

immediate obligations of the British Government without the danger of shipping specie to Canada, while their being convertible into bills of exchange enabled the merchants to meet their obligations in Britain without expense. Towards the close of 1812, we find Cartwright beginning to receive quite a stream of payments from all parts of the province in commissariat bills and army bills, which he, in turn, was sending down to Montreal to pay off his indebtedness there.

From the beginning of 1813 to the close of the war, there was little or nothing going down the river beyond furs from the west and an ever increasing stream of bills of exchange and army bills. The whole movement of commerce was up the river, and the rates of freight were correspondingly high. In 1814 freight from Montreal to Kingston amounted to \$12.50 per barrel of miscellaneous goods. The conditions referred to by Cartwright in the early nineties were reproduced in an exaggerated form. The British Government had sent large contingents of troops and marines to Canada, including Upper Canada. It was also employing men and horses wherever available from Cornwall to Detroit. It paid famine prices for all kinds of produce and hired men to consume it in the province. Owing to the great volume of exchanges drawn against Britain, the very unusual experience was realized, from the beginning of 1814, of Government exchange on Britain being at a discount. Thus we find Cartwright, in July, 1814, buying a bill of exchange on England for £61 2s. 2d. sterling for which he paid only £55 currency, a pound currency being rated at \$4.00. Real estate and other property in the frontier towns had gone up enormously in value.

As supplies on the Canadian side began to grow scarce during the last two years of the war, those who had to furnish provisions for the troops, particularly in the lines of flour and meat, found it necessary to devise means of obtaining supplies from the adjoining districts of the United States. This was accomplished, as a rule, by the connivance of people of influence, military and other, on both sides of the line. This trade, once established, continued very briskly for nearly a couple of years after the war; the Province of Upper Canada in particular having been practically stripped of everything saleable in the food line.

During the war, certain permanent changes were made in the methods of conducting business. Money being very plentiful in all parts of the province, trade brisk, and the returns rapid, the old system of long credits, extending to at least a year and over, were gradually abolished, and at the close of the war the business of the province was pretty well established on a cash basis. On this basis the purely commercial busi-

ness of the country remained, though in some of the newer sections and in minor retail trade, longer and more irregular credits once more prevailed. Again, in consequence of the universal employment of the army bills and the facilities which they afforded for effective exchange, the people had grown accustomed to the use of an efficient and reliable paper currency. Hence, when the war terminated and the army bills were withdrawn, the people were in a proper frame of mind for the establishment of banks. Thus, the Bank of Montreal appeared in 1817, and in the following year the Quebec Bank, the Bank of Canada at Montreal and the Bank of Upper Canada at Kingston.

On the other hand, there were certain unfortunate consequences which, if they did not originate from the exceptional prosperity of the war period, were at least greatly fostered by it. Merchants, wholesale and retail, transporters, laborers and farmers had all alike grown accustomed to obtaining large profits, good wages, and high prices, and all without any special enterprise, foresight, or industry on their part. When the fertilizing stream of British expenditure, all of it extracted from the pockets of the British taxpayer, had ceased to flow, the people could not believe that the prosperity which they had enjoyed must cease, and that they must henceforth largely depend upon their own exertions and enterprise for such wealth as they might acquire. Many people who had cultivated expensive tastes and who found it difficult to severely prune their expenditure, fell into financial difficulties and were ultimately ruined. Much wealth was, of course, left in the country when the war ceased, and so long as it lasted prices declined but slowly. Upper Canadian markets were therefore especially attractive to enterprising American producers. For fully three years the upper province imported quite abnormal amounts of American goods. Lastly, the war had not improved the social condition of the people. The lack of means to gratify their tastes accounted for the relative sobriety of a considerable element in the population during the early years of provincial history. Many of these persons, however, were quite unable to stand prosperity, hence drunkenness and other forms of vice flourished throughout the province in proportion to the diffusion of British wealth. Naturally, the later state of these people was much worse than the first, and the existence of a regular pauperized class dates from the close of the war.

It is difficult to determine whether Canada was, on the whole, benefited or the reverse by the exceptional period of prosperity which the war had brought to her doors. It may be said, however, that the more thrifty elements of the population and those who had not lost their heads

through sudden wealth, utilized their savings for the establishment of permanent enterprises, while for the more unbalanced and incapable the war period had proved their undoing. A great change, therefore, was observable in the personnel of the leaders in economic and social life after the war, as compared with the period before it. On one point, however, there is no doubt whatever, namely, that the War of 1812, instead of being the occasion of loss and suffering to Upper Canada as a whole, was the occasion of the greatest era of prosperity which it had heretofore enjoyed, or which it was yet to experience before the Crimean War and the American Civil War again occasioned quite abnormal demands for its produce at exceptionally high prices.