

THE
LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
MAJOR-GENERAL
SIR ISAAC BROCK, K. B.

“What booteth it to have been rich alive?
What to be great? What to be glorious?
If after death no token doth survive
Of former being in this mortal house,
But sleeps in dust, dead and inglorious?”

SPENCER'S "Ruins of Time."

EDITED BY HIS NEPHEW,
FERDINAND BROCK TUPPER, Esq.

SECOND EDITION, CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE first edition of this Memoir was compiled in a very few weeks, amid other avocations, and while attending the sick bed of my father, who died shortly before its completion; and owing to this want of preparation, as well as to the difficulty of obtaining materials after the lapse of so many years, and at so great a distance from the scene of Sir Isaac Brock's principal labours, I candidly confess that it did not satisfy my own mind. But its publication having happily drawn forth much valuable matter, which in a few years would otherwise have been lost, it will be seen, from a very cursory perusal of this volume, that it is a great improvement on its predecessor, as several errors, topographical and others, arising from the cause just mentioned, have been corrected—many additional letters from Sir Isaac Brock are introduced, while a few others to him of little interest are omitted—and some new and graphic anecdotes and incidents are interwoven in the course of the narrative.* Part of the new matter may, however, appear to the general reader as uninteresting and superfluous; but, conceiving that every detail, relating to the progress of a colony from its infant state, possesses a local and statistical value, I have thought such data worthy of being preserved. To Colonel

* The additional matter in this volume amounts to about one-third of the first edition.

Fitzgibbon, who served many years in the 49th, as well as to Chief Justice Robinson, of Upper Canada, who was an officer in the militia of that province during the war, I cannot sufficiently express my obligation for the very kind and handsome manner in which they complied with my request, and have come forward to my assistance. The first edition met with greater favor, particularly in Canada, than I anticipated; but having anxiously striven to amend this volume—having consulted every authority which could amplify or elucidate my subject, I submit my present work to the public with fewer apprehensions of inaccuracy or mis-statement. And I may add, that I have undertaken this edition because I felt it due to Sir Isaac Brock, and, above all, because I conceived that the people of Upper Canada, who have continued to evince an attachment for him which is as honorable to themselves as to its object, and who have raised a lofty column in stone to his memory, had a right to expect the erection of a literary monument, which should contain a faithful record of the services of him who died in their defence. This record was the more wanting—“considering the character of the distinguished chief who fell on the British side at the Queenstown battle, of him who undoubtedly was ‘the best officer that headed his troops throughout the war’” *—because the Quarterly Review for July, 1822—in a very able article on the Canadian Campaigns, which has since served as a guide to the historian, and the materials for which, I have been credibly informed, were partly furnished by Major-General Procter or his relatives—has ascribed to that officer the chief merit of the capture of Detroit and the American army, (see pages 308 and 442,) and has dismissed Sir Isaac Brock’s services with the meagre narration of scarcely a page and a half, his fall being mentioned without eliciting a single expression either of encomium or regret—

* James’ Military Occurrences. London, 1818.

although one would suppose that the reviewer would have delighted to seize so fitting a theme for graceful lament and generous praise—while General Procter's subsequent operations occupy no less than ten or eleven pages; the entire context, moreover, leading the reader to suppose that General Procter, and not General Brock, was "the hero of Upper Canada," by which term the latter is still fondly and honorably remembered in that province. In consequence, Sir Isaac Brock's character, gallantry, and exertions, are not sufficiently known or appreciated on this side of the Atlantic; but, happily, the Canadian people have in some measure repaired this cruel injustice—this want of common candour and generosity—by awarding to their hero that meed of fame which another sought to withhold, and which his deeds and untimely death should have secured to him.

In conclusion, I may be pardoned the addition of my regret that this Memoir was not undertaken many years ago by an officer, who, from having served on the personal staff of the general, both at Detroit and Queenstown, and long enjoyed his esteem and friendship, was in every way more qualified for the task than myself, especially as my editorial labours have been unaided by any notes or memoranda of Sir Isaac Brock, who unfortunately was not in the habit of committing to paper any private details of his life or services, with the exception of a few lines relative to the expedition to Detroit; and this regret will doubtless be shared by the reader on seeing the following extract of a letter, now before me, from that officer to Mr. William Brock, dated Fort Niagara, American Territory, 30th December, 1813: "When I am allowed to enjoy a little leisure, I shall not be unmindful of your request, and will send some anecdotes of the public and private life of my much lamented friend, which will do honor to his memory. At one time, I had thoughts of writing the first campaign, and prepared a preface, which I intended

should shew the wisdom and foresight of your illustrious brother ; but finding myself bound to relate so many strong facts affecting my superiors, I paused for reasons, which, in a military man, you will, I think, consider prudent." What these anecdotes were, or would have been, is now a matter of conjecture, as I fear that they are irrecoverably lost. Like the writer of this letter, I have experienced some hesitation in narrating facts, as I wished not to give either pain or offence, remembering the maxim : " On doit des égards aux vivans—on ne doit aux morts que la vérité ;" but my duty as a biographer has prevailed over every other consideration ; and if, as a civilian, I have laboured under a disadvantage in describing military events, I trust that that disadvantage is in some measure compensated by the greater freedom with which I have been enabled to write in illustration of my subject. This freedom will doubtless be displeasing to a few, who, or whose relatives, not having figured very creditably during the war in Canada, will arraign this work as written too much in accordance with a sentiment of the French historian Bodin—a sentiment ever uppermost in my mind while compiling it : " Autrefois on écrivait l'histoire à l'usage du dauphin ; aujourd'hui c'est à l'usage du peuple qu'il faut l'écrire."

F. B. T.

GUERNSEY, April, 1847.

P R E F A C E .

IN the early part of last year, a box of manuscripts and the trunks belonging to Sir Isaac Brock, which had remained locked and unexamined for nearly thirty years, were at length opened, as the general's last surviving brother, Savery, in whose possession they had remained during that period, was then, from disease of the brain, unconscious of passing events. With that sensibility which shrinks from the sight of objects that remind us of a much-loved departed relative or friend, he had allowed the contents to remain untouched; and when they saw the light, the general's uniforms, including the one in which he fell, were much motheaten, but the manuscripts were happily uninjured. On the return of the Editor from South America, in May last, he for the first time learnt the existence of these effects; and a few weeks after, having hastily perused and assorted the letters and other papers, he decided on their publication. Whether this decision was wise, the reader must determine. If, on the one hand, part of their interest be lost in the lapse of years; on the other, they, and the comments they have elicited, can now be published with less risk of wounding private feelings.

It has been the Editor's study to avoid all unnecessary remarks on the letters in this volume, so as to allow the writers to speak for themselves. But he has deemed it a sacred obligation due to the memory of Sir Isaac Brock, to withhold nothing descriptive of his energetic views and intentions, and of the

obstacles he experienced in the vigorous prosecution of the contest—obstacles which his gallant spirit could not brook, and which necessarily exposed “his valuable life” much more than it would have been in offensive operations. He regrets, however, that in the performance of this duty, he must necessarily give pain to the relatives of the late Sir George Prevost, of whose military government in Canada he would much rather have written in praise than in censure.

Brief memoirs are inserted, at the conclusion of the Appendix, of one of Sir Isaac Brock’s brothers, the bailiff or chief magistrate of Guernsey, and of two of their nephews, Lieutenant E. W. Tupper, R.N., and Colonel W. De Vic Tupper, of the Chilian service. The premature fate of these two promising young officers is, to those who knew them best, still a source of unceasing regret and of embittering remembrance.

The notices of the celebrated Tecumseh interspersed throughout the volume, and the connected sketch of him near its close, can scarcely fail to interest the reader; that sketch is drawn from various and apparently authentic sources, and the Editor believes that it is more copious than any which has yet appeared of this distinguished Indian chief.* A perusal will perhaps awaken sympathy in behalf of a much-injured people; it may also tend to remove the films of national prejudice, and prove that virtue and courage are not confined to any particular station or country, but that they may exist as well in the wilds of the forest, as in the cultivated regions of civilization.

GUERNSEY, January 15, 1845.

* I have since learnt that there is a memoir of Tecumseh in Thatcher’s Indian Biography, an American work, which I have been unable to procure.—F. B. T.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 22, line 8, <i>for</i> 1790, <i>read</i> 1791.
„ 144, „ 19, <i>for</i> 1811, <i>read</i> 1812.
„ 191, „ 16, <i>for</i> 18th of July, <i>read</i> 10th of July.
„ 223, „ „ <i>for</i> Chapter VIII, <i>read</i> Chapter X.
„ 246, „ 5, <i>for</i> Giveins, <i>read</i> Givens.
„ 334, „ 34, <i>for</i> 16 killed, <i>read</i> 18 killed.
„ 367, „ 14, <i>after</i> seamen, <i>add</i> supported by four guns and 600
Indians.
„ 414, foot note, <i>for</i> inverted, <i>read</i> inverted.
„ 434-36, head line, <i>for</i> Appendix A, Section 1, <i>read</i> Life and Corres-
pondence of.
N. B.—The name of <i>Proctor</i> to be spelt throughout <i>Procter</i> .

Page 281, additional foot note.—Mr. Russell was the American *chargé d'affaires* in London.

THE
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CHAPTER I.

THE Guernsey family of BROCK is probably of English origin, but we have been unable to ascertain the period of its first establishment in the island. The parochial register of St. Peter-Port extends only to the year 1563, soon after which it contains the name of Philip Brock. By "Robson's Armorial Bearings of the Nobility and Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland," eight families of the name of Brock appear to bear different arms, one of which was borne by all the Brocks of Guernsey—viz. azure, a fleur de lis or, on a chief argent a lion pass. guard. gu.—crest, an escallop or*—until the death of Sir Isaac Brock, when new and honorary armorial bearings were granted by the sovereign to his family. Brock † is the ancient Saxon name for badger, and as such is still retained in English dictionaries. ‡ Frois-

* With a slight variation, the field being gules instead of azure. Motto, Vincit Veritas.

† There is a rivulet Brock in Scotland, close to which Cromwell defeated General Lesley at the celebrated battle of Dunbar, in 1650.

‡ BROCK, *n. s.* [*broc*, Saxon; *broc*, Irish; *broch*, Welsh and Cornish.] badger.—*Johnson*, 1827.

BROCK, an old sword, or dagger.—*Bailey*, 1751.

sart,* in his *Chronicles*, makes mention of Sir Hugh Brock, an English knight, keeper of the Castle of Derval, in Brittany, for his cousin Sir Robert Knolles, who was governor of all the duchy, and resided in Brest, during the absence of the duke in England. The French overran Brittany at this period, and leaving 2,000 men near Brest, so as to prevent its receiving succours, sat down with "great engines" before the castle of Derval, to the siege of which came the constable of France, the Duke of Bourbon, the Earls of Alençon and of Perche, and a great number of the barony and chivalry of France. The castle being sore oppressed, Sir Hugh Brock was at length constrained to agree to surrender it at the end of two months, if not relieved by that time. Sir Robert Knolles, hearing this, also began to treat with the French, and agreed with Bertrand du Guesclin, the constable, that he would surrender the garrison of Brest in forty days, unless a sufficient force should arrive, and enable him to fight. Being reinforced, he set out from Brest, and relieved his Castle of Derval. These events occurred in the reign of Edward the Third, during the latter half of the fourteenth century, when the English were driven out of France; and as Guernsey is in the direct course between Brittany and England, may not one of Sir Hugh Brock's family, on his passage across the Channel, have visited the island and settled there?

The common ancestor of the present Guernsey family of the name of Brock was William Brock, Esq., a native of the island, who died in the year 1776, and was the grandfather of the subject of this volume. He had three sons and one daughter, who became connected by marriage with some of the principal and most ancient families of Guernsey; namely, William, married to Judith, daughter of

* Translation from the French by Lord Berners, vol. ii, chap. 39, 40. London Edition, 1815.—Also Johnes' translation, London, 1842.

James de Beauvoir, Esq. ;* John, married to Elizabeth De Lisle, † daughter of the then lieutenant-bailiff of the island ; Henry, married to Susan Saumarez, sister of the late Admiral Lord de Saumarez ; and Mary, wife of John Le Marchant, Esq. ‡ In giving this brief recital of Sir Isaac Brock's family and connexions, we feel pride in adding, that in Guernsey the law of primogeniture prevails happily to a very limited extent ; all the children, both sons and daughters, inheriting nearly alike. In consequence, the upper ranks belong to what in England would be called the middle classes of society, because property, both real and personal, is so divided at every generation, that wealth in families cannot be long preserved entire. But if there be no "eldest son," there is what the philanthropist will value much more highly—a moral and contented population of above 1100 souls to a square mile, with neither great riches nor extreme poverty, with neither luxurious landlords nor a degraded tenantry.

John Brock, Esq., born January 24, 1729, second son of the above-named William, had by his wife, Elizabeth De Lisle, a very numerous family of ten sons and four daughters, of whom eight sons and two daughters reached maturity. He died in June, 1777, at Dinan, in Brittany, whither he had gone for the benefit of the waters, at the early age of forty-eight years.§ In his youth he was a midshipman in the navy, and in that capacity had made a voyage to

* The name of this ancient family, second to none in wealth and station, became extinct in Guernsey, in 1810, on the death of Osmond De Beauvoir, Esq., when his large property was inherited by distant relatives.—*Duncan's History of Guernsey*.

† Sir John De Lisle was appointed governor of Guernsey on the 28th May, 1405, 6 Hen. IV., (vide Curtis' French Rolls, vol. ii, p. 189,) and proceeded to that island in July following.

‡ Major-General Le Marchant and his eldest son, a captain in the Foot Guards, who both fell in Spain during the late war ; and Captain Philip Saumarez, who was Lord Anson's first lieutenant in the Centurion, and was slain in 1747, while commanding the Nottingham, of 64 guns, were members of those families.

§ Brock street, at Bath, was named after him by the projector, in testimony of friendship.

India, which was then considered a great undertaking. As he was possessed of much activity of mind and considerable talent, his death was an irreparable loss to his children, who were of an age to require all the care and counsels of a father; the eldest, John, having only completed his seventeenth year. They were left in independent, if not in affluent, circumstances; but the fond indulgence of a widowed mother, who could deny them no enjoyment, tended, notwithstanding their long minority, to diminish their patrimony.

Isaac Brock, the eighth son, was born in the parish of St. Peter-Port, Guernsey, on the 6th of October, 1769, the memorable year which gave birth to Napoleon and Wellington. In his boyhood he was like his brothers, unusually tall, robust, and precocious; and, with an appearance much beyond his age, remarkable in his own family chiefly for extreme gentleness. He was, however, considered by his schoolfellows as the best swimmer and boxer in the school; and he used to swim from the mainland of Guernsey to Castle Cornet, a distance each way of nearly half a mile. This feat is the more difficult from the strong tides which run between the passage. In his eleventh year he was sent to school at Southampton, and his education was concluded by his being placed for a twelvemonth under a French Protestant clergyman at Rotterdam, for the purpose of learning the French language. His eldest brother, John, a lieutenant in the 8th, the King's, regiment, being promoted to a company by purchase, Isaac succeeded, also by purchase, to the ensigncy which consequently became vacant in that regiment, and to which he was appointed on the 2d of March, 1785, soon after he had completed his fifteenth year. He joined in England, and was quartered there in different places for a few years. Having entered the army at so early an age, he happily felt sensible of his deficiencies of education; and for a long period

he devoted his leisure mornings to study, locking the door of his room until one o'clock, to prevent intrusion. In 1790 he was promoted to a lieutenantcy, and was quartered in Guernsey and Jersey. At the close of that year he obtained an independent company, by raising the number of men to complete it, and was placed on half pay. He exchanged soon after, by giving the difference, into the 49th, which regiment he joined at Barbadoes, in 1791; and he remained doing duty there, and afterwards at Jamaica, until 1793, when he was compelled to return very suddenly to England on sick leave, having nearly fallen a victim to the pestilential effects of the climate, and an immediate embarkation being pronounced his only chance of recovery. His first cousin, Lieutenant Henry Brock, of the 13th foot, who was ill at the same time at Jamaica, died of the fever; and the survivor always thought that he was indebted for his life to the affectionate attentions of his servant, Dobson, whom he subsequently ever treated with the kindness of a brother, until he died in his service, shortly before himself, in Canada. The mention of the following trait of great determination of character may serve as a guide to other young officers, similarly circumstanced. When Captain Brock joined the 49th, the peace of the regiment was disturbed by one of those vile pests of society—a confirmed duellist. Captain Brock soon proved to his brother captain, who took advantage of being a dead shot, that he was neither to be bullied nor intimidated; and the result was a challenge from the latter, which was promptly accepted. On the ground, Captain Brock, who was very tall and athletic, observed that to stand at twelve paces was not to meet his antagonist on any thing like equal terms, and, producing a handkerchief, insisted on firing across it. This the duellist positively declined, and being in consequence soon after compelled to leave the regiment, the officers were thus relieved,

by the firm and resolute conduct of a very young man, of the presence of one with whom all social intercourse had previously been difficult and dangerous. On his return from Jamaica, Captain Brock was employed on the recruiting service in England, and afterwards in charge of a number of recruits at Jersey. On the 24th June, 1795, he purchased his majority, and remained in command of the recruits until the return of the regiment to England the following year. On the 25th of October, 1797, just after he had completed his twenty-eighth year, Major Brock purchased his lieutenant-colonelcy, and soon after became senior lieutenant-colonel of the 49th. This was very rapid promotion for one who had not only entered the army during a period of profound peace, but had been five years an ensign; and, having no interest excepting that which his own merit might have procured him, he was generally considered at that time as one of the most fortunate officers in the service. In a little more than seven years, he had risen from an ensign to be a lieutenant-colonel. Owing to some mismanagement and peculation on the part of his predecessor, who was in consequence recommended privately to sell out, if he did not wish to stand the ordeal of a court martial, the regiment was sadly disorganized; but the commander-in-chief, the late Duke of York, was heard to declare that Lieut.-Colonel Brock, from one of the worst, had made the 49th one of the best regiments in the service.

In 1798, the 49th was quartered in Jersey, whence it proceeded to England early the following year, to take part in the projected expedition to Holland, as in 1799 the British Government determined on sending a strong military force to that country, then in alliance with the French republic, which force was to be joined by a Russian army. The first English division, consisting of twelve battalions of infantry, among which was the 49th, and a small body of

cavalry, assembled at Southampton under Sir Ralph Abercromby, and, having embarked, finally sailed from the Downs on the 14th of August. On the 26th of that month, the fleet, consisting of fifteen ships of the line, from forty-five to fifty frigates, sloops, and smaller vessels of war, and one hundred and thirty sail of transports, anchored along the coast of North Holland, from the mouth of the Texel as far as Calants-Oge. Early the next morning, the flank companies were landed under the protection of the guns of the fleet. An engagement commenced as the British were about to march forward; but being continually reinforced by the arrival of fresh troops, they compelled the enemy to retreat. This warm engagement lasted till four o'clock in the afternoon, and cost the British about 1,000 men. Sir Ralph Abercromby, having become master of the point, or peninsula, of the Helder, completed his landing, entrenched his advanced posts toward the right, and occupied with his left the point of the Helder, and the batteries there which had been evacuated. In these positions he awaited the arrival of the second division, under the Duke of York, the commander-in-chief, which remained in England until news were received of the landing of the first on the coast of Holland. These two divisions were composed of thirty battalions of infantry, of 600 men each, 500 cavalry, and a fine train of artillery.* During this campaign, Lieut.-Colonel Brock distinguished himself in command of his regiment, which, on the 2d of October, in the battle of Egmont-op-Zee, or Bergen, had Captain Archer and Ensign Ginn, killed; and Major Hutchinson,† Captains Sharp and Robins, Lieutenant Urquhart and Ensign Hill, wounded; Lieutenant Johnston, missing.‡

* New Annual Register for 1799, page 395.

† The late General Sir William Hutchinson, K. C. H., Colonel of the 75th regiment.

‡ See the returns in the New Annual Register, for 1799, Principal Occurrences, page 143. Singularly enough, the loss of the non-commis-

Savery Brock, who was present, wrote from Egmont on the 4th of October: "The action has been a very hot one, and numbers have fallen. The 49th behaved well, very well, has 30 killed and 50 wounded, besides 30 missing, 110 in all, though we had not more than 391 rank and file in the field. Lord Aylmer was slightly wounded." In this action, Lieut.-Colonel Brock was also slightly wounded, although his name does not appear in the returns; and his life was in all probability preserved by his wearing, as the weather was very cold, a stout cotton handkerchief over a thick black silk cravat, both of which were perforated by a bullet, and which prevented its entering his neck: the violence of the blow was, however, so great, as to stun and dismount him. His holsters were also shot through. The following letter contains some interesting particulars relative to this campaign, and the part taken in it by the 49th.

Lieutenant-Colonel Brock, 49th regiment, to his brother, brevet Lieutenant-Colonel John Brock, 81st regiment, at the Cape of Good Hope.

"LONDON, November 26, 1799.

"I was pretty constant in my correspondence with you while the regiment was quartered at Portsmouth, and no opportunity offered from thence direct to the Cape without taking letters and newspapers from either Savery or myself, and often from both; but the very active and busy life I have passed since put an end to all such communications. Knowing, however, that you will be gratified in hearing from my own pen the various incidents which have occurred since that time, I proceed to give you the substance of them. You will have seen in the public prints that the 49th embarked among the first regiments under Sir Ralph Abercromby, and that the army,

sioned officers and privates in each corps is not given, but the casualties among the officers of the 49th exceeded those of any other regiment engaged on this day, with the exception of the 25th and 92d.

amounting to about 10,000 men, after beating the seas from the 8th to the 27th of August, effected a landing near the Helder; that the enemy most unaccountably offered no opposition to our landing; and that, after a well-contested fight of ten hours, he retreated, and left us in quiet possession of the heights, extending the whole length of the Peninsula. The 4th brigade under General Moore,* consisting of the Royals, 25th, 49th, 79th, and 92d, landed to the left, where the greatest opposition was expected, as it was natural to suppose that so essential an object as the Helder would be defended to the last, but, to our utter astonishment, the enemy gave us no annoyance; on the contrary, soon after the affair on the right had terminated, he evacuated the town, which we took quiet possession of the following morning, and with it the whole of the fleet. The garrison, consisting of 1,600 men, could easily have been intercepted had it not been for a large body of cavalry and a number of cannon, which completely commanded a plain of a mile and a half in breadth, necessary to be crossed to get to them: as we had neither one nor the other, it would have been the height of folly to attempt it. The regiments which distinguished themselves most on this occasion were the 23d, 27th, and 55th. The evening of our landing, a reinforcement of 5,000 men arrived, but could not disembark until two days after, owing to the badness of the weather. During all this time the troops lay exposed on the sand hills, without the least shelter to cover them from the wind and rain. At length the army moved forward eleven miles, and got into cantonments along a canal extending the whole breadth of the country, from the Zuyder sea on the one side to the main ocean on the other, protected by an amazingly strong dyke, running half a mile in front of the line. In this position we remained unmolested until the 10th of September, on

* Afterwards Sir John Moore, who fell at Corunna.

which day the enemy made a most desperate attack in three columns, two on the right and one on the centre of the line: he could not avoid being beaten, as it was the most injudicious step imaginable, and his loss was in proportion very great. The Guards, 20th, and 40th, acted conspicuous parts in this affair. The 49th was here again out of the way, with the exception indeed of Savery, whom nothing could keep from going to see what was doing on the right, and as it happened he proved of great use to Colonel Smith,* whom he assisted from the field after being wounded. The French soldier was taught to consider the British troops as the most undisciplined rabble in the world, and he advanced undconfident of conquest; but this affair, and others which followed, made him very soon change his opinion. Nothing remarkable occurred after this until the arrival of the Duke of York with the remainder of the British troops and 16,000 Russians, which increased the army to about 35,000 men. Continued rain, however, prevented any thing being done before the 19th, when the whole army was put in motion. Sir Ralph took 12,000, of which the 4th brigade formed a part, to the left on the evening preceding, and got possession of the city of Horn the following morning at daylight, without a shot being fired: 200 prisoners were taken. Horn is a very populous, handsome city, and evidently in the interest of the Prince of Orange. Nothing could exceed the joy of the inhabitants at our arrival, and in proportion as they rejoiced they mourned our departure, which took place before sun-set, in consequence of a fatal disaster which had befallen the Russians on the right. They of course threw the blame off their own shoulders, and wished to attribute the whole misfortune to the want of concert and a proper support on the part

* Lieut.-Colonel Smith, commanding the 20th, a native of Guernsey, afterwards Colonel Sir George Smith, aide-de-camp to the king. He died at Cadiz, in 1809, and was a distinguished officer.

of the British; but I verily believe the real fact to be this. After most gallantly driving the enemy before them as far as Bergen, where it was previously arranged they should halt, they dispersed for the sake of plunder;—the French hearing of this disorder, renewed the attack, and never gave the Russians an opportunity to form, but continued driving them with the bayonet until they encountered a body of English, under General Manners and Prince William, whose brigades suffered considerably. The Russians were, however, thus happily enabled to effect their retreat without further molestation; they were certainly the original cause of this disaster, but whether the British were sufficiently brisk in coming to their assistance is doubted. The Russians in their persons are rather short of stature, and very thick and clumsy; they have nothing expressive in their features, which resemble much the Chinese countenance. I remarked an exception to this rule in a grenadier battalion, who, with tall, elegant persons, possessed remarkably fine, commanding faces. The officers in general are the most despicable wretches I ever saw: accustomed, as they have always been, to fight with troops much inferior to themselves, they thought themselves invincible.* They take the field with an immense number of artillery, with which they cover their front and flanks, and thus never dreamed it possible, from their former experience, for troops to

* As this character of the Russian officers may be thought too severe, we give the following confirmation of its correctness: "The Russian was so humbled by the disaster at Bergen, that, in all the subsequent affairs in Holland, he seemed to be an unwilling actor. In advancing to the field, the soldiers dropped off occasionally from the advancing lines; even officers assumed the retrograde. One general literally ran away; another, wounded as it were by the first fire, retired."—*The Formation, Discipline, and Economy of Armies*, by Robert Jackson, M. D. Third Edition, London, 1845.

It is added that the former general was cashiered by the Emperor Paul, in a passion, and it is insinuated that the latter wounded himself. The general who was cashiered, instead of being shunned and despised by the Russian officers, was even regaled by them, prior to his return home, and walked about as if nothing had happened; thus affording a striking example of the trivial light in which military cowardice was then regarded in Russia.

rally after being once beaten. This fatal security was the cause of the misfortune which befel the allies on the 19th. After the retreat from Horn, the 4th brigade took its station on the right, preparatory evidently to its being actively employed ; accordingly, on the 2d of October, the weather not permitting it sooner, the brigade assembled before daylight at Petten, and formed the advanced guard of a column, consisting of 10,000 men, which was to proceed along the beach to Egmont-op-Zee. After every thing had been properly arranged, it moved forward, supported by 1,000 cavalry, under Lord Paget. It was intended that the reserve, under Colonel M'Donald, should cover our flank, and that the column should rapidly advance to Egmont, in order to turn the flank of the enemy at Bergen. This was, however, prevented by a strong body of the enemy, who engaged the reserve the moment it ascended the sand hills ; and although he retreated before the reserve, he constrained Colonel M'Donald to follow in a different direction to that intended, thereby leaving our left flank uncovered. But this did not impede our moving forward, and it was not until we had proceeded five or six miles that we found the least opposition. The enemy then appeared in small force, and the 25th was ordered up the sand hills, but, he having increased, the 79th followed, and it was not long before the 49th was also ordered to form on the left of that regiment. It is impossible to give you an adequate idea of the nature of the ground, which I can only compare to the sea in a storm. On my getting to the left of the 79th, I found that its flank was already turned, and that the ground which we were to occupy did not afford the least shelter : my determination was instantly taken. I had gone on horseback to view the ground, and on my return to the regiment, which I met advancing, I found the left actually engaged with the enemy, who had advanced much beyond our left. I, how-

ever, continued advancing with six companies, and left Colonel Sheaffe with the other four to cover our left: the instant I came up to the 79th, I ordered a charge, which I assure you was executed with the utmost gallantry, though not in the greatest order, as the nature of the ground admitted of none. The enemy, however, gave way on every side, and our loss would have been very trifling had the 79th charged straightforward; but unfortunately it followed the course the 49th had taken, thereby leaving our right entirely exposed. I detached Lord Aylmer* with the grenadiers, who, after charging different times, totally cleared our right. The 25th then advanced, and behaved with the greatest good conduct. The enemy after this never attempted to make a stand, but continued to retreat, and their loss on this occasion was very considerable. Nothing could exceed the gallantry of the 25th, 49th, 79th, and 92d. For my own part, I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of both officers and men, and no commanding officer could be more handsomely supported than I was on that day, ever glorious to the 49th. Poor Archer brought his company to the attack in a most soldier-like manner; and even after he had received his mortal wound, he animated his men, calling on them to go on to victory, to glory; and no order could be more effectually obeyed: he is an irreparable loss to the service. I got knocked down soon after the enemy began to retreat, but never quitted the field, and returned to my duty in less than half an hour. Savery acted during the whole of the day as aide-de-camp either to Sir Ralph or Moore, and nothing could surpass his activity and gallantry. He had a horse shot under him, and had all this been in his line, he must have been particularly noticed, as he

* The present General Lord Aylmer, G. C. B., formerly governor-general of British North America. He was then a captain in the 49th. See Appendix A, Sec. 1, No. 1.

has become the astonishment of all who saw him. We remained that night and the following on the sand hills; you cannot conceive our wretched state, as it blew and rained nearly the whole time. Our men bore all this without grumbling, although they had nothing to eat but the biscuits they carried with them, which by this time were completely wet. We at length got into Egmont, and on the following day (5th) into Alkmaar, where we enjoyed ourselves amazingly. Alkmaar is a most delightful city; but the inhabitants are rank patriots, and none of the higher class remained to welcome our arrival. The following day another engagement ensued, in consequence of the Russians advancing further than they were ordered to do: during this severe contest we were snugly in church. It is extraordinary that both parties were so beaten as to find a retreat necessary, as while we retreated to our old position, the enemy was also in full retreat. I shall say no more of the expedition to Holland, as what remains to be added, you will see fully detailed in the papers. I go to Norwich, where the regiment is quartered, this evening. Another expedition is talked of, under Lord Moira. Adieu."

A young Irishman of a family probably superior to his station, as his talents certainly were, joined the 49th on Barham Downs, near Canterbury, on the 6th of August, 1799, and was soon after present at the battle of Egmont-op-Zee, being the first affair in which he was seriously engaged. Colonel Brock quickly discovered his merits, and with a discrimination which does honor to both, appointed him sergeant-major two or three years afterwards, and in 1806 procured him an ensigncy in his own regiment, and made him adjutant, a promotion which his subsequent ability and gallantry as an officer fully justified. We trust that we do not betray the confidence of one for whom we entertain very sincere

esteem and respect, especially because he makes no secret of his lowly beginning, in giving the following particulars in, as nearly as possible, his own words :

“After the deployment of the 49th on the sand hills, I saw no more of Lieut.-Colonel Brock, being separated from him with that part of the regiment detached under Lieut.-Colonel Sheaffe. Soon after we commenced firing upon the enemy—and at intervals rushing from one line of sand hills to another, and behind which the soldiers were made to cover themselves, and fire over their summits—I saw, at some distance to my right, Savery Brock, the paymaster, passing from the top of one sand hill to another, directing and encouraging the men. He alone kept continually on the tops of the hills during the firing, and at every advance from one range to another, he led the men, and again was seen above all the others. Not doubting but that great numbers of the French soldiers would be continually aiming at him—a large man thus exposed—I watched from moment to moment to see him fall, but for about two hours, while in my view, he remained untouched.

“Being at this time only eighteen years of age, and not nine months from my parents’ fire-side in a remote village in Ireland, I did not venture to give any orders or instructions, although a sergeant, lest I should do wrong—but after witnessing Savery Brock’s conduct, I determined to be the first to advance every time at the head of those around me, and I soon saw that of those who were most prompt to follow me, fewer fell by the enemy’s fire than I witnessed falling of those more in our rear; and we repeatedly made the remark one to another. I made up my mind, therefore, to think no more, if possible, of my own life, but leave the care of it to Divine Providence, and strain every nerve to do my duty:—during a service of some extent in afterlife, I was abundantly confirmed in the wisdom of this decision.

“I make this statement to show that to the con-

duct of Savery Brock on that day, I was indebted for this valuable example and lesson. About 5 o'clock, p. m. on the same day, while over-heedlessly running too far ahead of my men, I was cut off by some French soldiers, who issued from behind a sand hill on my flank, and made me prisoner, alone.

“After my return from prison in January following, I heard the soldiers repeat Colonel Brock’s words to the paymaster, when he first saw him among the men in action on that day—“By the Lord Harry, master Savery, did I not order you, unless you remained with the general, to stay with your iron chest? Go back to it, sir, immediately,”—to which he answered playfully—“Mind your regiment, Master Isaac, you would not have me quit the field now?”—and the soldiers delighted in repeating this dialogue to their comrades, and also to the recruits and volunteers, from time to time, after their joining the regiment.”

In the victory of Egmont-op-Zee, seven pieces of cannon, a great number of tumbrils, and a few hundred prisoners, were taken, and the loss of the enemy was estimated as exceeding 4,000 men. But only four days after, in the battle of the 6th of October, in which the 49th was not engaged, the English and Russians, after gaining some advantage, were suddenly charged by the enemy’s cavalry and separated, so that they could neither support each other nor retain the ground which they had gained. The allied armies were repulsed beyond Baccum, after having sustained a very severe loss; and as they were unable either to advance or to draw any resources from the country in their possession, their supplies were necessarily obtained from the fleet. The Duke of York, therefore, assembled a council of war, whose decision was, that the allied forces should fall back and await the instructions of the British Government. As the season was so far advanced; as the approach of winter was daily making

the navigation of the coast more dangerous; and, as there was no time to effect diversions or to change the plan of operations, the Duke of York was ordered to evacuate the country. In the meanwhile, as the English and Russians concentrated themselves behind their entrenchments at the Zyp, the enemy pressed upon them, and the Duke of York sent a flag of truce to General Brune, proposing a capitulation on the basis of an armistice, or of the free embarkation of his army. This was agreed to at Alkmaar, on the 18th of October, and thus ended this memorable expedition, the most considerable that had been attempted in modern times up to that period. As the introduction of foreign troops into England was prohibited by the Bill of Rights, the Russians were sent to the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, the season not admitting of their return home. About 6,000 were quartered in the latter island, where a disease, contracted by exposure to the marshy grounds of Holland, carried off some hundreds, who were buried at the foot of the hill on which stands Vale Castle, and where their graves are still to be seen. Their conduct in Guernsey was at first peaceable and orderly;—the inhabitants were surprised at seeing them eat the grease from the cart wheels; they were also excessively fond of ardent spirits, and, having plenty of money, they indulged in them freely, swallowing large draughts in a raw state. But in June, 1800, while the transports were in the roads to convey them to Russia, a soldier, who was stealing vegetables on a small farm, which had been frequently plundered by his comrades before, was fired at, and wounded by the proprietor. This so exasperated the whole body, that apprehensions were entertained of their revenging themselves on the inhabitants generally; and as the British garrison was very small, it required all the tact and conciliation of the lieutenant-governor, Sir Hew Dalrymple, to prevent an outbreak. The Russians embarked, but in

such a sullen mood of mind, that the guns at Castle Cornet were kept shotted to prevent their relanding.*

The 49th, on the return of the expedition from Holland, after remaining a short time in England, was again quartered in Jersey, where the fine person and manly bearing of Lieut.-Colonel Brock are still favorably remembered. In return for the many attentions which he and his officers received in that island, he obtained an ensigncy in his own regiment for a young man resident there, whom he afterwards pushed forward in the service, and who died recently a major-general and a companion of the bath. While the regiment was quartered in Jersey, he was absent for a few months on leave, in the year 1800, during which period the junior lieutenant-colonel in command incurred the dislike of the men by his language and manner toward them. On Colonel Brock's return, he attended the first regimental morning parade on the sands in front of the barracks at St. Helier, the junior lieutenant-colonel accompanying him. The regiment was in open column, standing at ease. As soon as Colonel Brock was recognized by the men, they gave him three loud cheers! whereupon he instantly marched them into the barrack square, severely rebuked them for their most unmilitary conduct, and confined them to their barracks for a week.

We come now to the celebrated attack of Copenhagen by Lord Nelson, on the 2d of April, 1801, in which Lieut.-Colonel Brock was second in command of the land forces. On the 27th February of that year, the 49th regiment, then about 760 rank and file, embarked at Portsmouth on board Nelson's squadron there, which got under weigh at daylight the next morning, and proceeded to the Downs. The squadron next sailed for Yarmouth roads, where his lordship placed himself under Sir Hyde Parker,

* Duncan's History of Guernsey.

the commander-in-chief of the fleet destined for the Baltic. Nelson was anxious to proceed with the utmost dispatch, and with such ships as were in readiness, to the Danish capital, so as to anticipate by the rapidity of his movements the formidable preparations for defence which the Danes had scarcely thought of at that early season; but to his annoyance, the fleet, which consisted of about fifty sail, of which forty-one pendants, including sixteen of the line, did not leave Yarmouth roads until the 12th of March. The land forces were equally distributed on board of the line of battle ships. On the 15th the fleet was in some measure scattered by a heavy gale of wind, which prevented its reaching the Naze until the 18th. The next day the fleet appears to have been purposely detained off the Scaw, and did not reach Elsinore until the 24th. Here a few days were lost in deliberation, and it was not until the 30th of March that the fleet proceeded through the Sound with a topsail breeze from N. W. The semi-circular form of the land off Elsinore, which was thickly studded with batteries, caused the ships to pass in a form truly picturesque and nearly similar, but the forbearance of the Swedes, who did not fire a gun, happily enabled them to incline towards the Swedish shore, so as to avoid the Danish shot, which fell in showers, but at least a cable's length from the ships. The whole fleet came to an anchor about mid-day between the island of Huen and Copenhagen, and it was soon perceived that the various delays had enabled the Danes to line the shoals near the Crown batteries, and the front of the harbour with a formidable flotilla.* When the preparations for the attack were completed, Lieut.-Colonel Brock was appointed to lead the 49th in storming the principal Treckroner or Crown battery, in conjunction with five hundred seamen under Captain Fremantle, as soon as its

* Colonel the Honorable W. Stewart's "Narrative of Events connected with the Conduct of Lord Nelson in the Baltic, 1801."

fire of nearly seventy guns should be silenced; but the protracted and heroic defence of the Danes rendering the attempt impracticable, Colonel Brock, during the hard-fought battle, remained on board the *Ganges*, of 74 guns, commanded by Captain Fremantle, with the light company and the band; and at its close he accompanied Captain Fremantle to the *Elephant*, 74, Nelson's flag ship, where he saw the hero write his celebrated letter to the Crown Prince of Denmark. Savery Brock was also on board the *Ganges*, and while on one knee, in the act of pointing one of her quarter deck guns, his hat was torn from his head by a grape shot: a naval officer, who was present, afterwards described the scene which followed this narrow escape, in these words: "I now hear the Colonel exclaim, 'Ah! poor Savery is dead!' But Savery was not an instant on his back; in the same moment he rubbed his head, assured his brother that he was not injured, and fired the gun with as much coolness as if nothing had happened." The effect of the shot passing so near him was such that, although a remarkably powerful young man, six feet two inches in height, he was knocked backwards and stunned for the moment. We are indebted to the same officer, Captain Percy Grace, R. N., who was then a midshipman of the *Ganges*, for the following anecdote. In the early part of the action, when it was expected that the 49th would land to storm the batteries, Savery expressed his intention of going in the boats, and thus sharing the danger with his brother, who insisted on his remaining on board, observing—"Is it not enough that one brother should be killed or drowned?" Savery still persisted, and his brother begged of Captain Fremantle to use his authority to keep the paymaster on board, as he would not obey him. "My dear Brock," said the Captain, "you must remain—take charge of this gun—as captain of it, it will amuse you." Savery was fain to comply, and his narrow escape doubtless

tended to obliterate the unpleasantness of the discussion from the mind of the elder brother. Of the 49th, Captain Sharp was badly wounded on board of the *Bellona*, and Lieutenant Dennis was wounded on board of the *Monarch*, which ship had 55 killed and 155 wounded, exclusive of officers, but including 8 soldiers of the 49th killed, and 20 wounded. In addition to the 49th, a company of a rifle corps (subsequently the 95th regiment) 100 rank and file, was embarked under Captain Sidney Beckwith. Lieut.-Colonel the Honorable William Stewart,* of that corps, was senior officer of the troops embarked, and, as such, his name was included in the thanks of Parliament, of which he was a member at this time; but we cannot understand why a lieutenant-colonel, with only one company, was placed over the head of an officer of equal rank with his entire regiment, unless indeed the cause was that Lieut.-Colonel Brock was not an "honorable," and had not a seat in the House of Commons! We are not aware that he ever complained of what appears to us to have been an act of injustice to him, and we may therefore be wrong in our view of the subject.—The British loss, in killed and wounded, was 943, or 48 more than fell at the battle of the Nile. In mentioning the loss at Copenhagen, Southey, in his admirable *Life of Nelson*, says, on what authority we know not: "Part of this slaughter might have been spared. The commanding officer of the troops on board of one of our ships, asked where his men should be stationed? He was told that they could be of no use; that they were not near enough for musquetry, and were not wanted at the guns; they had, therefore, better go below. This, he said, was impossible—it would be a disgrace that could never be wiped away. They were, therefore, drawn upon the gangway, to satisfy this cruel point of honor; and there,

* Afterwards Sir W. Stewart, G. C. B., who commanded a division in the Peninsular war; he was a son of the Earl of Galloway.

without the possibility of annoying the enemy, they were mowed down! The loss of the Danes, including prisoners, amounted to about 6,000."

John Savery Brock, of whose gallantry mention is made in the preceding pages, was the next younger brother of Lieut.-Colonel Brock, and had been in the navy; but it being supposed that he was influential, in the year 1790, in inducing his brother midshipmen, of the fleet at Spithead, to sign a round robin against their being subjected to the practice of mast-heading—one having been hoisted up to the gaff end in an ignominious manner, because he refused to go to the mast head as a punishment—he was recommended privately to retire from the service.* Being at this time a tall and high spirited young man of eighteen, it is not surprising that he deemed such a punishment unnecessarily degrading to the feelings of an officer, and which has since been very properly abolished. Had it not been for this circumstance, it is the opinion of a naval officer of high rank, that Savery Brock would have distinguished himself and risen to eminence in the navy during the late revolutionary wars.—Some little time after this affair, being in Guernsey, he wished to go to England, and was offered a passage in the *Amazon*, frigate, Captain Reynolds, afterwards Rear-Admiral Reynolds, who perished in the *St. George*, of 98 guns, on her return from the Baltic, in 1811. The *Amazon*, bound to Portsmouth, left the roadstead late in the afternoon, and before she was clear of the small Russel—a dangerous passage—night overtook her. By some accident the pilot mistook the bearings, owing to the darkness and thick weather. Savery Brock, being acquainted with the intricate course,

* While the above was in type, the Duke of Rutland visited Guernsey in his yacht, and wrote the following note at Detroit, the residence of the once outcast middy, on whom, while we write this, the hand of death is but too apparent: "The Duke of Rutland called to pay his respects to Mr. Savery Brock, and sincerely regrets to find that he is so unwell. Saturday, July 13, 1844."

was on the fore yard looking out, when he suddenly espied a small cluster of rocks towards which the frigate was steering. There was no time for communication, and, without hesitating an instant, he cried out in true nautical style: "H-a-r-d up, h-a-r-d up." "H-a-r-d up it is," replied the helmsman. "H-a-r-d up," repeated Savery in a louder key. "Gently, young man," said the captain, who was standing forward. The ship fortunately bore away just in time to clear the rocks, and was thus saved by the prompt interference of her passenger. We have often heard him in his latter days tell the story with excusable pride, and he especially remembered how the crew pointed him out the next morning to each other, as the young man who had got the ship out of her danger. As he was without employment, his brother Isaac subsequently procured him the paymastership of the 49th, which he retained only three or four years, the office being one quite unfitted to his previous education and active mind. In 1808, his military zeal induced him to serve for a short time as an amateur aide-de-camp to Sir John Moore, in the Peninsula. He married and settled in Guernsey; and whether as a militia colonel, or in the exercise of a generous hospitality, or, above all, as a projector and zealous promoter of many public improvements in his native island, his memory will long live in the recollection of its inhabitants.

When Kean performed in Guernsey, two or three years before his appearance on the London boards, Savery Brock was enthusiastic in his admiration, and predicted the future eminence of that celebrated tragedian, in whose memoirs his name is gratefully mentioned.

CHAPTER II.

ON its return from Copenhagen to England, the 49th was collected at Colchester, and in the spring following, (1802,) the regiment sailed for Canada, which country was destined to bestow on it many additional laurels, as well as to be the scene of the fame and death of its commanding officer. At this period, desertion among the troops in both provinces was, as it has been of late years, very prevalent; and, attached as his men were to him, Lieut.-Colonel Brock could scarcely hope that they would escape the general contagion. He, however, lost only one man from the several posts under his personal command during the three years of his regimental service, in Montreal, York, Fort George, and, lastly, Quebec; and that man deserted from Montreal soon after his arrival there, in September, 1802. In the fall of that year, an educated soldier, named Carr, was observed by Colonel Brock to salute him with less apparent confidence and manliness than usual, and hence he inferred that Carr would desert as soon as the river St. Lawrence became frozen over. He ordered the sergeant-major—the same gallant Irishman whom we have mentioned in the last chapter—to bring the man before him, and he was produced forthwith. The colonel directly charged Carr with intending to desert, and told him that he would probably seduce other men to desert with him: he added, even if they should escape into the United States, that they would be there treated like wretched perjurers, which

in fact they would then be, and would curse the day on which they committed such a crime. "Manfully tell me the truth!" Carr hesitated, and stammered out a denial. The colonel quickly stepped up to him with his fist clenched, and said: "Don't prevaricate—tell me the truth, like a man—you know I have always treated you kindly!" The man confessed that he and certain others had agreed to desert. "Go, then," rejoined the colonel, "go and tell those deluded men all that has passed here—that notwithstanding what you have told me, I will still treat every one of you with kindness, and you may then all desert from me if you please."

In the summer following, Lieut.-Colonel Brock was stationed at York, from whence six of his men deserted, having been seduced by a corporal of the 41st regiment, who had been left there as an artificer. At midnight, the sergeant of the guard informed the sergeant-major that three of his men were missing, and that a boat was taken from a shed in charge of one of his sentries, who had also disappeared. The sergeant-major instantly reported the circumstance to the colonel, who ordered him to man a bateau immediately, with a sergeant and twelve privates of the light company, which was done; and at the same time the roll was called in the barrack rooms, when it was ascertained that three other men were also missing, as well as the corporal of the 41st. At half-past twelve, the colonel himself embarked in the bateau, taking his trusty sergeant-major with him. They pulled directly for Niagara, at this point thirty miles across. Fortunately, the weather continued calm, and they reached Niagara the following morning, whence Colonel Brock at once directed a lieutenant (Cheshire) and a party of the detachment stationed there, to proceed in a bateau along the American shore of Lake Ontario, while with his own boat he returned towards York, by coasting along the west end of the lake, so as to intercept the deserters,

should they have taken that course. They, however, had crossed the lake direct to the American shore, and were overtaken by the party from Niagara, every man being brought back. The manner in which the fugitives were captured deserves mention. The detachment sent in pursuit from Fort George was accompanied by an Indian, who, after some time, asked permission to land, that he might shoot on shore, keeping within a short distance of the boat as it coasted the lake. He unexpectedly met the deserters in their red jackets in the woods, and at once running to the lake, he hailed the officer, and informed him of what he had seen. The officer and his party immediately landed, and set out in pursuit; they walked a few miles on a very hot day, but were unable to discover the fugitives, and some of the party asked leave to go to the lake side to quench their thirst. While drinking, they saw two or three of the deserters approaching for the same purpose, and having secured them, they quickly overtook the remainder. Had the American government been aware of the circumstance, they probably would have considered it as a violation of their territory. No other desertions occurred from any post personally commanded by Colonel Brock in Canada. It was said that Lieut.-General Hunter, who commanded the troops in both provinces, and was then in York, expressed his displeasure to the colonel for his so rashly venturing in an open boat, which was never known to have crossed the lake before.

In the same summer of 1803, soon after the capture of these deserters, a very serious conspiracy was on the point of being carried into execution by the detachment of the 49th in garrison at Fort George, under the command of the junior lieutenant-colonel. The intention of the mutineers was to confine the officers in the cells, in which several deserters were then imprisoned, while they marched to Queenston, seven miles distant, and there crossed

over by the ferry to the State of New York. But it is the belief of an officer of the 49th, that had the mutineers succeeded, the life of Lieut.-Colonel Sheaffe would have been sacrificed. This design to effect their escape by force appears to have arisen partly from the harsh language and stringent regulations of the commanding officer, who, however, inflicted as little corporal punishment as possible; and partly from the natural impatience of the men under the restraints of discipline in a remote spot, which, from its proximity to the American frontier, seemed to invite desertion. The vigilance required to counteract this discontented feeling must have increased its intensity; but as Lieut.-Colonel Brock lost not a man when he assumed the command, it is evident that confidence and kindness would have been the better course. The manner in which the conspiracy was discovered and suppressed would seem to warrant the remark, that truth is often stranger than fiction; and the following details partake so much of romance, that we feel called upon to say that we have obtained them from an officer of the 49th, who was present on the occasion.

Major Wulff, of the Royal Artillery,* was quartered at this time at Niagara. His servant returning across the common from Fort George to his master's quarters in the town, met a soldier of the 49th, Fitzpatrick by name, running towards the fort, and was stopped and asked by him the hour of the day. On being told, Fitzpatrick exclaimed: "Thank God, I will not be too late for the roll call at dinner, for if I were, that tyrant, ——, would send me to knapsack drill for a week. But, by God!"—and he muttered something of a threatening character, too indistinct however for the servant to understand, as he ran off again towards the fort. The soldier's remark and manner made such an impression on the servant's mind, that he at once reported the circum-

* The present General Wulff, who entered the Artillery in 1779.

stance to his master, who immediately went over to the fort, distant about half a mile, and repeated to Colonel Sheaffe what his servant had told him. Fitzpatrick was instantly sent for; and, on being interrogated, shewed such symptoms of guilt, although he confessed nothing, that he was ordered to be put in irons, and shut up in one of the cells attached to the garrison guard-house. His confinement, and in irons, of course became quickly known in the garrison; and thereupon a soldier of the regiment, named Daly, a servant of Captain Dennis, confessed to his master that he was one of the conspirators, having become such through the persuasion of Sergeant Clarke. Now, Daly had been enlisted by this sergeant in Ireland the previous year, and had joined the regiment with him but a few weeks before. He stated that, some days antecedently, Sergeant Clarke had made known to him the existence of the conspiracy, and had invited him to join in it, when he answered: "For God's sake, do not make known to me any of your proceedings, for I must take care of myself for the sake of my wife and children." But the sergeant, who had not only employed Daly to serve him occasionally, but whose wife was his washerwoman, considered him as devoted to him, and insisted on his joining the conspirators, assuring him at the same time that he would make his wife and children much more comfortable in the United States than in the regiment. Daly's objections were thus overcome, and he attended the subsequent meetings, especially the last and most important one, held that very morning in Knox's tavern, in the town of Niagara, and from which Fitzpatrick was returning when he met the servant of Major Wulff.

On this disclosure, a meeting of the officers was immediately, but privately, called; and it was agreed that no public step should be taken until Colonel Brock was made acquainted with the particulars.

A report from Colonel Sheaffe was at once dispatched to York by a government schooner then in the Niagara river; and on the receipt thereof Colonel Brock hurried off in the same schooner, taking with him his young and devoted sergeant-major. The vessel arrived near the mouth of the river a little before noon, and at the colonel's request she was anchored below the town, under the bank of the lake, where he was landed alone, the sergeant-major by his orders remaining below deck out of view, until sent for. He then walked over the common to the east gate of the fort, the sentry at which, on seeing him approach, called out the guard, the usual compliment to a commanding officer. The day was very hot, and it being the soldiers' dinner hour, not an officer or man appeared out of doors. The colonel crossed the square to the guard, which he found commanded by Sergeant Clarke. Now, it was part of the plan that the mutineers were to take to their arms on some night when Sergeant Clarke and Corporal O'Brien were on guard, and the colonel by chance found them both on this guard.

On approaching the guard, which had already presented arms to him, Colonel Brock said: "Sergeant, let your guard shoulder arms," and it was done, when the colonel, who was a man of towering frame and commanding aspect, continued: "Come here, sergeant—lay down your pike;" pronounced in a tone which produced instant obedience. "Take off your sword and sash, and lay them down"—this was also done. "Corporal O'Brien, bring a pair of handcuffs, and put them on this sergeant, and lock him up in one of the cells, and bring me the key." This was soon done. "Come here, corporal, lay down your arms—take off your accoutrements, and lay them down also." It was done. "Come here, you grenadier," the right hand man of the guard, "bring a pair of handcuffs and put them on this corporal, and lock him up in another cell, and bring me the

key"—and it was soon done. "Drummer, beat to arms"—and it was done.

Up to this moment no one in the garrison, except the sentry and the guard, knew that the colonel was in the fort. The first person seen issuing from the officers' barracks, the nearest building to the guard-house, was Lieutenant Williams, with his sword and belt in his hand, to whom the colonel said: "Williams, go and instantly secure Rock, and if he hesitate to obey, even for a moment, cut him down." Lieutenant Williams commanded the light company, to which Rock had recently been transferred, after his reduction from sergeant in a battalion company at Montreal, a few weeks before. This officer ran up stairs, and called to Rock to come down with him, and Rock said: "Yes, sir, when I take my arms." "No, you must come without them." "I must have my arms, sir"—at the same time stretching out his hand towards his musket, in the arm-rack. "If you touch your musket, I will cut you down— instantly go down before me!" and at the same time he drew his sabre. Rock obeyed, and was with ten other conspirators put in irons, and the whole, with Fitzpatrick, were immediately embarked for York, in charge of a guard of the Royal Artillery—in number twelve conspirators, with a corporal and seven deserters, lately overtaken in the States and brought back—in all twenty.

Lieut.-General Hunter, then at Quebec, ordered that the delinquents should be tried in that garrison; and thither they were sent in September, Lieut.-Colonel Sheaffe being the prosecutor. In January following, the proceedings of the court martial were transmitted to the general at York, and he issued an order for carrying the sentence into execution, by which four of the mutineers (Clarke, O'Brien, Rock, and Fitzpatrick,) and three deserters (one each of the 6th, 41st, and 49th regiments) were condemned to suffer death. They were shot on the 2d of March,

1804, at Quebec, in the presence of the entire garrison, and a most solemn and affecting sight it was. At a quarter past ten, a. m., the procession moved off from the prison in the following order :

- Two Bugle Horns.
- Major Campbell, with a large party of the 41st as the advance guard.
- Artillery, with a Field-Piece.
- The Firing Party, fifty-six in number.
- Seven Coffins, borne by two men each.
- Escort with the Prisoners, attended by four Roman Catholic Clergymen, and the Rev. Mr. Mountain.
- Surgeons of the Garrison and Regiments.
- Band of Music of the 41st, playing a Dirge.
- Major-General Mann, R. E., and Staff Officers of the Garrison.
- Field-Piece.
- Lieut.-Colonel Glasgow, with the main body of the Artillery.
- Field-Piece.
- Lieut.-Colonel Proctor, at the head of the 41st Regiment, with the Colours.
- Major Muter, of the 6th, with the two flank Companies of that Regiment.
- New Brunswick Volunteers, about seventy in number, without arms.

At about half-past ten they arrived on the ground, when the sentence and warrant of execution were read; the prisoners about to suffer were then led to their coffins, upon which they respectively kneeled, and were kept nearly three quarters of an hour in prayer. During this time the wind was easterly, strong, and cold,—a thick drift of snow added to the gloom,—and, as if to increase the horror of the scene, a few of the firing party, instead of advancing to within eight yards of the prisoners, and firing in three divisions as was intended, owing to some mistake, commenced firing at the distance of at least fifty yards, on being ordered by the sergeants who commanded the divisions to make ready. The consequence was, that the unhappy wretches were only partially wounded, and dropped one after another. Nearly forty shots were fired before one poor fellow in the centre fell, although he was wounded through the abdomen by the first discharge. The men, who had reserved their fire, were at length ordered up, and, lodging the contents of their muskets in the breasts of the culprits, by that means put them out of torture. The unfortunate sufferers declared publicly

that, had they continued under the command of Colonel Brock, they would have escaped their melancholy end; and, as may be easily conceived, he felt no little anguish that they, who had so recently and so bravely fought under him in Holland and at Copenhagen, were thus doomed to end their lives, the victims of unruly passions inflamed by vexatious authority. He was now directed to assume the command at Fort George, and all complaint and desertion instantly ceased. Of the other prisoners tried at Quebec, one was pardoned, we believe, at the intercession of Colonel Brock; and the remainder, including a younger brother of Fitzpatrick, were sent to the West Indies for life. We willingly add, in justice to Lieut.-Colonel Sheaffe, that he profited by this fatal experience, and latterly became a good regimental commanding officer.* It must be also remembered, that at the period of the conspiracy, severity appears to have been too much the rule, and kindness the exception in the iron, we had almost said brutal, discipline of the British army,†—a regimental court martial, composed of only one captain and four subalterns, having then, and for many years subsequently, the power of inflicting at least 999 lashes! (“have mercy, Jesu,”)—and that numberless

* An old pensioner, who served many years in the 49th, and was at Fort George during the conspiracy, tells us that the men were displeased at objections being made to their visiting the town of Niagara; at their being allowed to fish only in their white trowsers; and at other petty sources of annoyance—moreover, that the four black holes were constantly full. He adds that Colonel Brock, on assuming the command, allowed the men, in proper uniform, to visit the town freely; to fish in their fatigue dresses; and even to use their muskets to shoot the wild pigeons, which flew over in countless numbers, on condition that they provided their own powder and shot.

† Proof 1.—It was then sometimes the practice to steep the cat in brine before, as well as during, the infliction of the punishment: this brutality is now strictly prohibited.

Proof 2.—A soldier was sentenced to receive 1,500 lashes for marauding. When brought to the halberts, he seized the drum-major's sword, and called upon his comrades to rescue him: they, however, did not interfere. He was forthwith flogged to the full extent of his sentence; subsequently he was tried for the above act of mutiny, found guilty, and shot!!!

Proof 3.—The infliction of a sentence at two, three, or even four different periods, when the victim was incapable of bearing the whole number of lashes at once, although the practice was illegal. There was also picketing, and other modes of torture.

officers too often forgot that even in the slavish obedience and passive suffering exacted from the soldiery of that day, there might be a limit, as there occasionally was, to human endurance.

In the fall of 1805, in October of which year he was made a full colonel, Colonel Brock returned to Europe on leave;* and early in the following year, "conceiving," as he said, "that it is the duty of every officer to suggest whatever may appear to him likely to prove beneficial to the service," he laid before his royal highness the commander-in-chief the outlines of a plan for the formation of a veteran battalion, to serve in the Canadas. The mutiny at Fort George, and its mournful consequences, were still evidently uppermost in his mind when he suggested a remedy for the evils he so clearly describes. In support of the plan he wrote :

"The advantages which may attend the establishment of a corps such as is here recommended, will be perhaps more clearly understood by first adverting to some of the causes that produce the inconvenience to which the troops occupying the frontier posts of that country are continually exposed.

"A regiment quartered in Upper Canada is generally divided into eight different parts, several hundred miles asunder, and in this situation it remains at least three years. Great as is the evil incidental to a state of separation, even where the mind is in no danger of being debauched, what may not be apprehended in a country where both the divided state of the regiment, and the artifices employed to wean the soldier from his duty, conspire to render almost ineffectual every effort of the officers to maintain the usual degree of order and discipline? The lures to desertion continually thrown out by the Americans, and the facility with which it can be

* We regret that we cannot discover a single letter from Lieut.-Colonel Brock during his first sojourn in Canada.

accomplished, exacting a more than ordinary precaution on the part of the officers, insensibly produce mistrust between them and the men, highly prejudicial to the service.

“The soldier, in his intercourse with the inhabitants, soon learns that many of them, who a few years before possessed no kind of property, are become opulent, by having obtained extensive grants of land. He will also find that these men, generally speaking, had no claim to favor, being either utter strangers, or known only as our enemies in the war of the rebellion.

“I am aware that this indiscriminate disposal of land has now ceased, but unfortunately the great influx of bad subjects into the country must long be productive of serious evils to the army. It being impossible to deprive men of reflection, the zeal of the old and faithful soldier suffers, as he naturally considers himself better entitled to protection than these unworthy intruders.

“The young and thoughtless give too much credit to what the designing are continually repeating to them—that they need only desert to secure an independence. The American service too is represented as enjoying many advantages over the British; and indeed to a superficial observer the following statement of the pay and allowances of an American soldier seems to justify the assertion.

[A table in detail follows of the monthly pay, annual clothing, and daily rations, by which it appears that sergeants received eight, corporals seven, musicians six, and privates five dollars per month, and, when employed on fortifications or roads, ten cents and one gill of spirits per day, in addition to their pay and rations; artificers of artillery excepted, whose pay was ten dollars per month. The daily rations were: $1\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of beef, $\frac{3}{8}$ lb. of pork,* 1 lb. 2 oz. of bread or flour, 1 gill of spirits; exclusive of 2 quarts of salt, 4 lb. of soap, 4 quarts of vinegar, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of candles per hundred rations. And it is added, that “the men are enlisted to serve for five years.”]

* To an Irishman brought up on potatoes and buttermilk, a daily allowance of 2 lb. of meat must have appeared very tempting.

“Experience has taught me that no regular regiment, however high its claims to discipline, can occupy the frontier posts of Lower and Upper Canada without suffering materially in its numbers. It might have been otherwise some years ago; but now that the country, particularly the opposite shore, is chiefly inhabited by the vilest characters, who have an interest in debauching the soldier from his duty; since roads are opened into the interior of the States, which facilitate desertion, it is impossible to avoid the contagion. A total change must be effected in the minds and views of those who may hereafter be sent on this duty, before the evil can be surmounted.

“Were a veteran battalion formed on the principles which I shall proceed to state, the disposable force would be stationed at Quebec—in fact, the only military post in the country: there it could be easily maintained in a state fit for service; desertion would in a great measure be stopped; and Canada, instead of being the ruin of part of the army, would become a most eligible quarter.

“What I would presume humbly to recommend, is the establishing of a corps composed of men deserving, by long and faithful services, of the most liberal protection and favor, whose interests would be so interwoven with the safety and prosperity of the country, as to ensure a continuance of good conduct.

“The men, in the first instance, might be selected from the veteran corps already established, and afterwards impartially from every regiment throughout the army. No officer, who has been any time in the command, but is sensible that every year men are discharged whom he could with propriety recommend, and these will be more than sufficient to keep up the establishment. On each of these men two hundred acres of good land might be settled.

“Ten companies, each of sixty rank and file, with the usual proportion of officers, distributed in the

following manner, would, I apprehend, prove equal to all the duty to which they might be liable.

Stations.	No. of Companies.
St. John and Chambly	1
Kingston	1
York	2
Fort George and dependencies	3
Amherstburg	2
St. Joseph	1

“A small force might be necessary at Montreal, which the garrison of Quebec could furnish by a detachment composed of men the least likely to desert.

[Lieut.-Colonel Brock next gives a scale of the number of years each soldier should serve in the veteran battalion, proportionate to his length of former service; and among other details he suggests that the men, on their discharge, should be located on a large tract of land on the river “Credit,” purchased by Lieut.-General Hunter from the Mississague Indians; recommending also that they should be furnished with implements of husbandry, and rations for a short period, the expense of which would in the end be inconsiderable, as on receiving the 200 acres they would forego all claim to Chelsea hospital, or to any other pension. And he concludes as follows:]

“The monthly returns of the regiments, which for the last ten years have occupied the frontier posts of the Canadas, will shew in part the mischiefs against which a remedy ought, in my opinion, to be provided. But recollecting the sensations produced on the mind of the old soldier by the promise of land made two years ago by officers recruiting for a Fencible corps, I would not recommend the raising of one in the usual indiscriminate manner for this duty.

“I have considered the subject only in a military point of view; the advantages arising from the introduction of a number of men into the country, attached to government by ties of interest and gratitude, and already acquainted with the use of arms, are too obvious in a political light to need any comment.

“It is highly gratifying to observe the comfortable state of the Loyalists, who, in the year 1784, obtained small tracts of land in Upper Canada: their conduct and principles form a perfect contrast to those practised and professed generally by the settlers of 1794 and 1795.

“It may be worthy of remark, that the land in Upper Canada cannot be estimated of any value to government, since any stranger, on paying, I think, six pence fees for every acre, may at this moment procure two hundred acres on condition of settling.”

In a letter from Lieut.-Colonel Gordon, dated Horse Guards, January 17, 1806, Colonel Brock received the Duke of York's “thanks for the communication of his very sensible observations respecting the distribution of the troops in Canada, which his royal highness will not fail to take into consideration at a seasonable opportunity.”*

While on a visit to his family and friends in Guernsey, Colonel Brock deemed the intelligence from the United States to be of so warlike a character, that he resolved on returning to Canada before his leave was expired; and such was his anxiety to be at his post, that he overtook at Cork the *Lady Saumarez*, a Guernsey vessel, well manned and armed as a letter of marque, bound to Quebec. He left London on the 26th of June, 1806, and hurried away from Europe never to return—never to revisit those who fondly loved him, not only from ties of kindred, but for his many endearing qualities; but he had the satisfaction of knowing that the commander-in-chief was much pleased by the zeal and devotion evinced by him on this occasion.

* The 10th Royal Veteran Battalion arrived in Canada the year following; and the Canadian rifle regiment, consisting of old soldiers, was formed a few years since, with the view of preventing desertion across the frontier.

CHAPTER III.

VERY soon after his return to Canada, Colonel Brock succeeded, on the 27th of September, 1806, to the command of the troops in the two provinces, with the pay and allowances of a brigadier, Colonel Bowes,* of the 6th Foot, having resigned that command on his departure for England. At this time, the civil government of the lower province was administered by Mr. President Dunn; and Colonel Brock resided at Quebec, in command of the forces, until the arrival, in October, 1807, of the governor-general, Sir James Craig, who appointed him to act as a brigadier, which appointment was confirmed by the king, to date from the 2d of July, 1808.

Colonel Brock to Lieut.-Colonel J. W. Gordon.

QUEBEC, September 28, 1806.

I have the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the commander-in-chief, that Colonel Bowes, preparatory to his departure for England, has resigned the command of his majesty's forces in this country, which, as the next senior officer, devolves on me.

I have great pleasure in reporting to his royal highness the good order and discipline which, much

* Afterwards Major-General Barnard Foord Bowes, slain on the 27th of June, 1812, while leading the troops to the assault of the forts of Salamanca. Monuments in St. Paul's, to the memory of Major-General Bowes and of Sir Isaac Brock, were voted in the House of Commons on the same day, 20th of July, 1813.

to the credit of Lieut.-Colonel Sheaffe, I found on my arrival to prevail among the eight companies of the 49th regiment, quartered in this garrison.

It has been the fate of the 49th to be divided for the last four years and a half, several hundred miles apart; and however anxious I must be to assemble the whole together, I have not, considering the youth of the 100th regiment, which alone affords me the means of effecting that measure, thought it prudent to withdraw the company stationed at St. John's and the other frontier posts of this province; but the one at Montreal will be relieved this autumn.*

Colonel Bowes having complied with Lieut.-Colonel Otway's† earnest application for leave to return to England, I have appointed Captain Ormsby, of the 49th regiment, an officer of approved merit, to act as deputy adjutant-general during his absence; an arrangement which, I presume to hope, his royal highness will be graciously pleased to sanction.

A few days after succeeding to the command of the troops, Colonel Brock issued very stringent regulations for the guidance of the deputy commissary-general, whose accounts appear, from the letters before us, to have been in great, if not in irretrievable, confusion, and against whom there existed a balance of £36,359 sterling, for which no warrants, to sanction the application, could be found in the proper office. The commissary, when called upon to

* The other military posts in Canada, with the names of their commandants, appear, by a circular dated 15th of December, 1806, to have been as follows: Montreal, Major Hamilton, 100th regiment; Kingston, brevet Major Mackenzie, 41st regiment; York, Captain Derenzy, 41st regiment; Fort George, Lieut.-Colonel Proctor, 41st regiment; Amherstburg, brevet Lieut.-Colonel Grant, 41st regiment; and St. Joseph, Major Campbell, 41st regiment.

† The present Lieut.-General Sir Loftus W. Otway, C. B., colonel of the 84th regiment. Lieut.-Colonel Otway being unable to obtain a desirable passage for England at Quebec, Colonel Brock advised his proceeding in the *Lady Saumarez* (the vessel which brought him out) to St. John's, Newfoundland, which he did, and there embarked in a vessel of war. How changed is Quebec now with her innumerable fall ships.

account for this large balance, objected, evidently with a view to procrastination, to the rank of Colonel Brock, and wrote to him, "that he conceived it was not expedient, or competent to any authority then in Canada, to give instructions, by which his duties and responsibility, under the instructions of the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, could be in any manner altered or affected." In reply, Colonel Brock repeated his positive injunctions for the observance of these regulations, and closed his communication to the commissary as follows: "In respect to the last paragraph of your letter, relating to the two characters* whom you consider as more competent than me to give you authorities, it will be time enough to investigate the question, when either of them shall express a wish to assume the command; but in the meanwhile I shall exercise it with promptitude and decision." That there were ample grounds for Colonel Brock's interference, will be seen in the following paragraph of his letter to the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, dated Quebec, November 28, 1806: "I can no longer dissemble from their lordships the difficulties which I much fear will follow any attempt of mine to enforce the periodical settlement of the deputy commissary-general's accounts, as I find that no examination has occurred in his store account since the 24th of December, 1788. The account of fuel is likewise in arrear since the 24th of December, 1796, and the account of provisions since the 24th of June, 1800.†

Colonel Brock to the Right Hon. W. Windham.

QUEBEC, 28th October, 1806.

Having long witnessed the many inconveniences which the troops in garrison at Quebec suffer for

* The president of Lower, and the lieutenant-governor of Upper, Canada.

† The officer in question was subsequently relieved, when he was found to be in a state of insolvency.

want of regular hospitals, I think it my duty to submit the following representation on the subject to your consideration.

The hiring of houses to serve as hospitals is at all times precarious; indeed, none can be procured but of a miserable description, situated in the midst of the town, and often so much out of repair, that a considerable expense is unavoidably incurred before they can be occupied.

The intense heat of the summer and the severity of the cold in winter, make thick walls of masonry particularly desirable in this country; but the sick are now lodged in small wooden buildings, and are subject to every change of temperature.

Herewith I have the honor of transmitting a plan for the construction of a building calculated to remove these disadvantages. Captain Bruyeres, commanding royal engineer, proposes to erect it on a site reserved for a barrack by Major-General Mann, in his project for the completion of the citadel, and so disposed as to answer the original intention equally well, should any other arrangement in regard to the hospital be hereafter found necessary.

The accompanying estimate* is made with every regard to economy.

In November of this year, (1806,) owing evidently to the want of a proper naval authority, Colonel Brock directed that Lieut.-Colonel Pye, the deputy quartermaster-general, should have the entire superintendence of the marine department, including the bateaux for the lakes and rivers of the Canadas, the building and outfit of the vessels, their repairs and navigating, and the issue and expenditure of the necessary stores, with the exception only of the bateaux at La Chine. Colonel Brock further directed that an assistant quartermaster-general should be

* £3,183 sterling for materials and workmanship.

stationed, one at Amherstburg and another at Kingston; the former to superintend the marine service on Lake Erie and its dependencies, and the latter on Lake Ontario and its dependencies; to whom the log books, journals, and all communications were to be transmitted. By the same order, the following number of boats was to be kept in constant repair at the several posts for military services, independent of those required for the commissariat, viz. Quebec, 6; Three Rivers, 2; William Henry, 1; Montreal,* 7; St. John's,* 2; Kingston,* 4; Fort George,* 12; York, 3; and Amherstburg, 4; total, 41. Although it may appear strange that a military officer should be nominated to the command in chief of the Canadian navy, which was then in a very incipient state, yet it would seem that this act of Colonel Brock, together with the wholesome regulations which he issued at the same time for the guidance of the deputy quartermaster-general, was the principal cause of the British supremacy on the lakes when the war broke out in the year 1812.

Colonel Brock to the Right Hon. the Secretary at War.

QUEBEC, December 25, 1806.

I have the honor to report that Mr. Thomas Faunce, town major of Quebec, died yesterday at a very advanced age; and I beg leave respectfully to submit for your indulgent consideration the enclosed memorial which I have received from Mr. Ross-Lewin.

This gentleman served with distinguished merit in the 5th regiment, for upwards of seventeen years, during which he attained the rank of captain; but in consequence of a most unfortunate accident, which deprived him of his left hand, he was compelled to retire from active service.

So sensible was the late Lieut.-General Hunter of his merit, that he strongly recommended him, three

* And dependencies.

years ago, for a situation in the barrack department, but the then secretary at war in the meantime disposed of the appointment.

Whilst earnestly soliciting your kind protection in the present instance, I discharge a pleasing task to myself, and fulfil also the intention of the late lieutenant-general, who always expressed every inclination to promote the interests of Mr. Ross-Lewin.

I have taken the liberty of appointing him to do the duty of town major to this garrison, until his majesty's pleasure can be notified.*

*Colonel Brock to Colonel Glasgow, Royal Artillery,
President of Board of Accounts.*

QUEBEC, 5th January, 1807.

The principles that determined the Board of Accounts to postpone the consideration of several articles of charge, brought forward by the deputy commissary-general of stores and provisions, meet with my entire approbation; and I have to request the Board to continue diligently to ascertain the sufficiency of every authority for the expenditure of the public money, before it sanctions the smallest charge.

Some unforeseen and necessary service may justify heads of departments to incur expense without waiting for the previous approbation of the officer commanding; but all such cases ought to be immediately reported, and a subsequent approval obtained, before the charge be admitted by the Board.

Although this regular course was not followed by the deputy commissary-general in several instances stated in his accounts, yet, considering that some came under the above description, I have authorized the military secretary to give them my sanction.

But when expense is incurred without the most urgent cause, and more particularly when large sums

* Mr. Ross-Lewin obtained the appointment, which he held many years, with the rank of ensign.

are stated to have been expended in anticipation of services not yet authorized, my duty strictly compels me to withhold my approval to all such irregular proceedings.

Colonel Brock to Mr. President Dunn.

QUEBEC, 5th January, 1807.

I beg leave to represent to your honor the serious inconvenience under which the public service labours, in consequence of the innumerable encroachments that have long been, and still continue to be, made upon the reserves of the crown; and respectfully to submit for your consideration the necessity of immediately adopting such measures as will effectually remove this alarming evil.

Those encroachments have been carried on to such a dangerous extent, that the defence of Quebec would, in the event of an attack, be materially and seriously impeded by them.

A great portion of the ground in question will, in all probability, be shortly required for the erection of new and extensive works, and no time ought, therefore, to be lost in ascertaining the actual boundary of the king's property.

I cannot refrain noticing also the unpleasant situation in which the officer commanding is often placed, by having to defend civil prosecutions for opposing attempts at encroachment, which, if tolerated, might at some future day endanger the very safety of the place.

These evils will continue until the king's prerogative over the land in the vicinity of fortified towns, together with his real property, be defined beyond the possibility of future disputes.

I shall only advert in this representation to those enclosures and buildings on the Glacis, and even on the covert way of the place, in front of St. John's gate. This ground is indisputably the property of

the crown, and as it is essential that these obstructions should be immediately removed, I have to request that the necessary instructions may be given to the civil officers, to enter into the usual legal process to effect this object.

The commanding engineer will be directed to furnish the necessary plans and descriptions of the encroachments essentially required for military purposes, and I shall be ready at all times to afford every other assistance and information within my reach to bring the business to a happy conclusion.

Colonel Brock to Lieut.-Governor Gore, at York.

QUEBEC, 27th January, 1807.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's dispatch (duplicate) of the 20th November last, the original of which has not yet come to hand.

Upon the subject of that dispatch, I beg leave to state, that finding Colonel Bowes had, during his temporary command here, given directions upon matters relating to the management of the Indian concerns in the province of Upper Canada, I felt it necessary to apprise your excellency that I meant to discontinue such interference, and strictly to follow his majesty's additional instructions of the 15th of December, 1796, which place the sole control of Indian affairs in that province in your hands, as lieutenant-governor thereof.

It consequently became unavoidable that all accounts which, under the Duke of Portland's letter to Lieut.-General Prescott, of the 13th of December, 1796, were to continue to be defrayed out of the army extraordinaries as usual, should previously receive your excellency's sanction and approval. I have, therefore, the honor to inform you, that any money will be advanced from the military chest for this service on the bare signature of your excellency.

Colonel Brock to the Right Hon. W. Windham.

QUEBEC, February 12, 1807.

I have the honor to transmit for your consideration a proposal of Lieut.-Colonel John M'Donald, late of the Royal Canadian Volunteers, for raising a corps among the Scotch settlers in the county of Glengary, Upper Canada.

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

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

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

The extent of country which these settlers occupy would make the permanent establishment of the staff and one sergeant in each company very advisable. I shall not presume to say how far the claims of the field officers to the same indulgence are reasonable and expedient.

In regard to the Rev. Alexander M'Donell,* I beg leave to observe, that the men being all Catholics, it may be deemed a prudent measure to appoint him chaplain. His zeal and attachment to government

* Afterwards R. C. Bishop, of Regiopolis, in Upper Canada. He died in England at an advanced age, in 1839 or 1840, and was through life distinguished by an ardent loyalty, and by his zealous and valuable efforts to animate his countrymen, the Irish, to a gallant discharge of their duty in defence of the crown.

were strongly evinced whilst filling the office of chaplain to the Glengary Fencibles, during the rebellion in Ireland, and were graciously acknowledged by his royal highness the commander-in-chief.

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

The following letter affords a good idea of the confidential report of a general officer on the state of a regiment after its periodical inspection.

Colonel Brock to the Adjutant-General of His Majesty's Forces.

QUEBEC, March 17, 1807.

In obedience to the commander-in-chief's commands, communicated to me in your letter dated 20th of November last, I shall proceed to state, for his royal highness's information, such observations as a strict attention to the conduct and interior economy of the 100th* regiment during the preceding six months has enabled me to make.

The greatest praise is justly due to Lieut.-Colonel Murray, who has commanded, with only a short interval, from the first formation of the regiment to the present time, for his unremitting care and attention to the several important duties of his office.

The good effects of his exertions and intelligence are strikingly visible in every department of the corps. He has been ably supported by Major Hamilton and the rest of his officers, who on all occasions

* On the passage of the 100th to Quebec, in 1805, one of the transports was wrecked in a violent gale on the 21st of October, on the coast of Newfoundland; and Major Bertram, three captains, six lieutenants, the assistant-surgeon, and about 260 men of the regiment, miserably perished. On the same day the battle of Trafalgar was fought, and it was probably the same gale which caused the loss of so many of the prizes.

evinced the utmost zeal for the service, and the highest respect and attachment towards his person. He has succeeded in establishing an interior discipline and economy, which I have never before witnessed in so young a corps, and scarcely seen surpassed by any, and in a way too the most satisfactory to the feelings of an officer.

Although I trust the garrison duty at Quebec is carried on with every regard to the safety of the place, together with the strictest attention to all prescribed forms and regulations, yet the winter has nearly passed without a single instance of neglect or misconduct having occurred among the 100th regiment; and it is a pleasing task to report, that so exemplarily have the men behaved, that, even regimentally, only one corporal punishment has been inflicted for the last three months.

I am now speaking of men who, being nearly all Irish, are of all others the most volatile and easily led astray. Should they, therefore, hereafter be seduced by the various temptations by which they are surrounded, I hope to escape the imputation of judging too hastily and partially. The men were principally raised in the north of Ireland, and are nearly all Protestants; they are robust, active, and good looking.

The troops in this country are precluded, by the severity of the climate during seven months in the year, from exercising out of doors: it cannot, therefore, be expected that the 100th regiment can, considering the little practice it has had in the field, and after such a long interval, be very expert in its manœuvres; but as Lieut.-Colonel Murray possesses both capacity and inclination, and as a good foundation is already laid, the most rapid progress may be expected so soon as the season enables him to commence his labours.

A large room has been allotted in the barracks to the purposes of drilling with arms, from which the garrison has derived essential benefit.

The clothing for the present year is all fitted, and appears very good. Every man is provided with a great coat, agreeably to his majesty's regulations; but as the great coat is necessarily worn on all occasions for six months in the year, it cannot by the strictest economy be made to last the specified time. Those of the 100th have been two years in wear, and are so far expended, that they will become wholly unserviceable before next winter. I know of no other alternative but supplying others at the charge of the men, which opinion I have given to Lieut.-Colonel Murray, who applied to me on the subject.

The messes have been all along abundantly provided. Indeed, the soldiers in this country live in a perfect state of luxury unknown any where else.

The non-commissioned officers and privates acknowledge to have received every thing which is their due in respect to pay and clothing. One man claims part of his bounty, which, he says, has been withheld. A regimental court martial has already decided against him, but the business shall again be investigated by a garrison court martial.

Lieut.-Colonel Murray has reported to me that there are several men in his regiment who claim bounty, but as only one complained at the inspection, the remainder must be satisfied that he is doing his utmost to recover what is actually their due.

The hospital is in as complete order as the house which has been hired for that purpose can admit. Indeed the troops in garrison are much inconvenienced for want of permanent hospitals. There were three cases of fever; the remainder of the patients were chiefly attacked with a disease too prevalent among young soldiers. Three men are unfit for service, being frost-bitten.

The men are supplied with necessaries in conformity to his majesty's regulations.*

* By the general returns of the 100th regiment, drawn up with surprising minuteness, and dated Quebec, 16th March, 1807, we find that only one

Colonel Brock to the Adjutant-General of His Majesty's Forces.

QUEBEC, 18th March, 1807.

The situation which I have the honor to hold in the 49th regiment will not allow me to enlarge further upon its merits in this confidential report, than most respectfully to assure his royal highness the commander-in-chief, that no exertion has been wanting on my part to bring it to such a state, both in regard to its interior economy and manœuvres in the field, as I feel confident will command applause after the most rigid inspection.

Lieut.-Colonel Sheaffe has always afforded me every possible assistance. I have equally every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the other officers, who are well instructed in their several duties, and who, I am happy to say, live together in perfect harmony.

The sergeants are well grounded in their duty, which they discharge much to my satisfaction.

The privates are, with very few exceptions, stout and well made; and capable of enduring great fatigue.

[The remainder of this letter refers to the clothing, messes, hospital, regimental books, &c.]

In the spring of the year 1807 a long and unpleasant correspondence passed between Mr. President Dunn and Colonel Brock, relative to a waste piece of ground adjoining the barracks at Quebec, and belonging to the crown, which ground the military imperatively required for a parade, as they could only exercise in the gorge of one of the bastions of the citadel, a small space totally inadequate to the

officer (Lieut.-Colonel Murray) was an Englishman; one (the assistant-surgeon) was a Scotchman; 26 were Irish; 8 not known, being absent on leave, or not having joined; and two vacant; total 38 officers.—Of the non-commissioned officers and privates, 9 were English, 1 Scotch, and 458 Irish, total 468, of whom only 5 sergeants and 1 private were six feet and upwards in height.

movement of more than 200 men. There was indeed an extensive field, nearly two miles distant, which occasionally served as a parade, but it was often inaccessible to the troops, in consequence of the badness of the roads in the spring and autumn, and of the excessive heats in summer. The Jesuits' barracks, as they are now called, and the ground in question, continue to be used by the military,—the property, known as the Jesuits' estates, having been seized upon by the crown, on the death of Father Cazot, the last of his order in Canada, in 1800, because the society was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV, in 1773. It will be seen by the report of Lord Gosford's mission to Canada, printed by the order of the House of Commons, that it was one of the leading heads of charge advanced by the French Canadians against the government, that this property had been appropriated to the use of the troops. The next two letters relate to this subject.

QUÉBEC, 7th May, 1807.

Colonel Brock has been honored with Mr. President Dunn's letter of yesterday, and observes with regret and surprise that his honor still persists in asserting that the ground, the cause of the present unpleasant discussion, was occupied by the military without his previous knowledge and consent.

That his honor should forget having given his assent to the measure is nothing extraordinary, but that he should persist in positively refusing his belief to the testimony of two officers, whose characters it is presumed are above suspicion, is what would not be expected from his known candour and liberality.

Whatever may be the views of those who advise a perseverance in so ungracious a proceeding, Colonel Brock is impressed with too high a sense of respect for the age, and still more for the private character, of the president, to express himself in any other way than to lament the necessity of the present communication.

Lieut.-Colonel Pye will have the honor of presenting this note, and he will take that opportunity of respectfully reminding his honor that he heard the promise in question unequivocally given.

Colonel Brock to the Right Hon. W. Windham.

QUEBEC, 8th May, 1807.

Mr. President Dunn having intimated his intention of communicating to you the correspondence which has lately passed between us, respecting some waste ground adjoining the barracks, I feel the necessity of troubling you with an explanation of my conduct.

Having long experienced the utmost inconvenience in this garrison for want of a sufficient space to parade and exercise the troops, I applied verbally to his honor some time since, to know whether he had any objection to my making use of the ground, formerly the garden of the Jesuits, whose college the military occupy at this moment. He expressed himself sensible of the benefit which would result to the troops, and lamented he could not officially allow it to be converted to the object proposed, but that he would shut his eyes, and in no way interfere with me, provided no injury were done to the premises.

In consequence of this promise, which I all along considered as a temporary accommodation, liable every instant to be recalled, I began, as early as possible in the spring, clearing the ground of the noxious weeds with which it was overgrown; and in a few days, after a sad interval of nearly seven months, paraded the troops there for the first time. No notice was taken of this for several days, when I received a letter from the president, signifying his disapprobation of my conduct, and his intention of making an official communication to you upon the subject.

Feeling that nothing had been done but what had

obtained his previous consent, I could not avoid, in answer, expressing my surprise at so unexpected a communication; and suspecting that he had been unwarily influenced by the voice of disaffection and private interest, I requested him not to mind a clamour thus raised. I was the more convinced that such was the case, when I found the president making use for the first time of language far from conciliatory, and that the disposition I have all along manifested to meet his wishes by no means warranted.

Perceiving by his reply that he was still desirous that the troops should not return to the ground, I immediately receded, and issued orders accordingly; but I must confess that this step, from the great sacrifice, was reluctantly taken, and adopted more out of personal respect to Mr. Dunn than from any apprehension of incurring censure for merely converting a useless waste, the property of the king, to purposes tending essentially to promote his service.

The president, in his letters, tenaciously denies having given his tacit assent to the measure; but as Lieut.-Colonel Pye, the deputy quartermaster-general, was present when it was given, and that too in a most unequivocal manner, he appeared, when personally addressed by that officer, to be sensible he had done me wrong in so suddenly adopting a line of conduct at once ungracious, and so contrary to his former practice and disposition.

A vast number of people expect to benefit by a division of the ground in question, and evince the utmost impatience upon every step which is taken likely to involve their interests, however greatly it may advance the public service. They are become more sanguine in their expectations now that the civil government is administered by a gentleman, unquestionably of the first respectability and nicest honor, but who, from his great age and long intimacy with the inhabitants, is more likely to be swayed by any representation their avarice may prompt them to make.

In regard to the immediate question of the ground adjoining the barracks, I beg leave respectfully to refer you to the late Lieut.-General Hunter's dispatch, addressed to Lord Hobart, No. 61, dated the 10th August, 1804. He there so fully demonstrates the great benefit the military would derive by being put in possession of the ground, that I shall only presume to add to it a plan of the premises, by which will be clearly seen the confined space at present allotted for the accommodation of 1,500 men, the number the barracks are calculated to contain, and which at this moment are occupied by nearly 1,000.

I have thus thought it my duty to state fully the motives by which I have been actuated in my late intercourse with Mr. President Dunn, and at the same time to shew respectfully the essential injury that must accrue to the military, should the premises adjoining the barracks be disposed of in the manner desired, if my information be correct, by the civil government.

Colonel Brock to Mr. President Dunn.

QUEBEC, 4th June, 1807.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date, and beg leave respectfully to remind you of the correspondence which has already taken place between us in regard to the payment of the Indian department, as I have reason, from the tenor of its contents, to believe that the whole has escaped your memory.

Finding, on my succeeding to the command, that large sums were expended by the military on account of the Indian department, without the smallest authority from the civil administration, although by the Duke of Portland's instructions it is to direct and control all expenditures incurred on that service; and that in consequence great inconvenience and much useless expense attended the system, I took the

liberty of submitting the following proposal for your consideration :

“ As the deficiencies of the civil revenue are, under instructions from his majesty’s secretary of state, made good from the army extraordinaries, I conceive with a view of simplifying the accounts that the disbursements, which hitherto have been made on account of the Indians by the military department, should in the first instance be paid by the civil government.”

To which your honor replied in the following words :

“ No alteration whatever appears to have been made by order of his majesty, with respect to the mode of paying the expenses of the Indian department in either of the provinces ; and I am inclined to think it was intended that the whole of the expense thereof, both in Upper and Lower Canada, should continue to be defrayed precisely in the same manner, after issuing the additional instructions of the 15th December, 1796, and 16th July, 1800, as it was before ; that is, out of the extraordinaries of the army, by warrants from the commander-in-chief, or the deputy paymaster-general of the forces. Finding, however, that this has not been the practice in Lower Canada, since the reception of the last-mentioned instructions, *I shall not hesitate to issue my warrant on the receiver-general whenever it becomes necessary, both for the salaries of the officers belonging to the Indian department in this province, and for the payment of any contingent expenses attending the same, which shall be regularly incurred.*”

After this unqualified assent on your part, all which I conceived remained for me to do, was to direct those under me to desist making further disbursements on account of the Indian department ; but at the same time to continue, in every other respect, to afford all possible assistance in carrying on the service. You must, sir, doubtless be aware that the immediate cause of my submitting this new arrangement for your approval, was in consequence of two Indian boys being nominally under tuition at the seminary, at a charge of upwards of £50 per annum, during a period the civil government thought they had ceased to be paid.

Such useless expenditures must inevitably occur under the old system.

I am bound by my instructions to provide the civil government with whatever money it may demand on account of the Indian department, but I am strictly restricted incurring the smallest expense on that service; and therefore, without your previous sanction, no payment can be made.

Your honor will find me at all times disposed to concur with you in any arrangement you may think necessary to adopt for the good of his majesty's service, but I cannot possibly consent to interfere in the expenditure of the public money in cases where I am deprived of all control.

I have only to add, that should your honor approve of the claim brought forward by the superintendent-general of Indian affairs for barrack allowances, and will signify to me the amount, the same will instantly be discharged; and I here beg leave to repeat, that feeling myself unauthorized to incur any expense on account of that department, and indeed being possessed of no means of ascertaining the correctness of any demand which might be made for that service, I must regulate my future conduct by the arrangement which has lately been adopted with your full concurrence and approbation.

In May, 1807, Mr. Barclay, the British consul-general at New York, informed Mr. President Dunn that in the fall of the preceding year a M. Cassins, who had been French consul at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, had returned to France, where he had an interview with the emperor and Talleyrand, who had ordered him back immediately to the United States—that he had since been at Washington, and was then on his way to Canada, with the ostensible object of purchasing furs at Montreal, but that his real errand was to tamper with the Canadians, for which purpose he had been sent out again. A description of his person was also given, and Colonel

Brock issued prompt instructions to the officers commanding posts in both provinces for his apprehension, in which case he was to be taken before a magistrate, and kept in safe custody until further orders. Monsieur Cassins probably did not enter Canada, as he does not appear to have been apprehended; and we mention the circumstance to show not only the vigilance of Mr. Barclay, but the supposed hostile feeling of the Canadians towards the British rule at this momentous period.

In this year, in consideration of the long and faithful services of Mr. R——, the deputy barrack-master at St. John's, who left his family in very indigent circumstances, Colonel Brock begged of Lieut.-Colonel Shank, of the Canadian Fencibles, to employ Mr. R——'s eldest son, an ensign in that regiment, on the recruiting service at William Henry, where he was to have the house formerly occupied by the commanding officer, with the view of affording relief to the widow and her remaining seven children, whose ages ranged from seventeen years to twenty months. Colonel Brock further admitted them upon the asylum at William Henry, and gave one ration to the mother and half a ration to each of the children, on condition of their residing at that place. He seems to have taken great interest in this unfortunate family, and to have availed himself of his temporary command to relieve them to the utmost of his power, although no one could be more careful of the public money, or more anxious to prevent its misappropriation.

Colonel Brock to brevet Major Mackenzie, 41st Regiment, at Kingston.

QUEBEC, 29th June, 1807.

When I directed you to assemble a court of inquiry to investigate the causes which had prevented the payment of the marine department, by which it

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became seven months in arrear, you were furnished with such documents as I considered made it impossible for you to err; but the result of your proceedings is so very unsatisfactory, and gives throughout such an appearance of inattention, that I feel myself compelled to desire the court to revive its inquiry, and at the same time to conform strictly to the directions herein contained.

Captain Frend, in his capacity of assistant deputy quartermaster-general, reported officially, on the 2d of April, that the marine department at Kingston was seven months in arrear, and that Mr. Commissary Ross assigned the want of cash as the reason.

Surprised at such a declaration, and wishing to establish the fact in a regular manner, I directed his last account with Mr. Deputy Commissary-General Craigie, ending the 24th September, 1806, at which time a balance of £160. 2s. 7½d. stood to his credit, to be transmitted to me. •

A list of bills was likewise forwarded, which Mr. Commissary Ross had subsequently drawn up to the 2d of April, amounting together to £1327. 10s. 6½d.; deducting therefrom the sum of £160. 2s. 7½d., due to Mr. Ross, there remained a balance of £1167. 7s. 10¾d. and I requested he might be called upon to state specifically before the court, in what manner that amount had been applied, so as to leave no money in his hands, with which to pay the marine department.

Every thing brought forward beyond the 2d of April was extraneous matter, and should not have been considered by the court.

I am perfectly aware that specie is often difficult to be procured at Kingston, but in the present case bills being drawn, the proceeds must consequently have been in Mr. Ross' possession, and the observation of the court on the subject is therefore improperly introduced.

Mr. Ross' instructions direct him to give at all times a preference to the marine department, but

should he in this instance have deviated from them, and paid less urgent demands, I am notwithstanding inclined to think ample means still remained in his hands for every other service.⁶ This point I wish you clearly to ascertain, and whether, at any period subsequent to the pay of the marine department becoming due, he had the means of discharging their arrears. For this purpose it will be necessary you should establish the dates at which payments were made on account of any other service, and to what extent, all of which you will have the goodness to transmit for my information.

Great discontent existed, during my stay in Upper Canada, among the marine department; and now that I possess the power, I am determined, as far as I can, to do it away. This act of justice cannot, however, be accomplished unless the officers in command will give their aid, and report every thing of the kind that occurs within their observation.

Captain Friend is stationed at Kingston for that particular purpose, and much is expected from his intelligence and exertions.

Colonel Brock to the Adjutant-General of His Majesty's Forces.

QUEBEC, July 1, 1807.

I have the honor to transmit herewith the inspection return of the 41st regiment for two distinct periods, viz. September 1, 1806, and March 1, 1807.

Some inaccuracies being found in the September return previously received, it was sent back to Lieut.-Colonel Proctor, at Fort George, for correction. This circumstance and the distance of the place, account for the delay which has occurred in complying, in the present instance, with the commands of his royal highness the commander-in-chief.

The very great distance of the quarters the 41st now occupy, has prevented my making personally

the periodical inspection of that regiment, required by my instructions. But its dispersed state and the many evils by which it is surrounded will, however great the zeal and intelligence of Lieut.-Colonel Proctor and the other officers, so far affect the discipline and morals of the men, as to justify my saying that both the one and the other must, without the possibility of a remedy, progressively suffer in proportion as the regiment remains stationed in the Upper Province. The 41st regiment, having a considerable number of old soldiers, is better calculated for that service than either the 49th or 100th regiments, and no change is therefore meditated.

Not being possessed with the means of making a more circumstantial report of the state of the 41st regiment, I have only to add, in justice to the officers commanding posts, that they evince in their communications with head quarters much attention and sound judgment.

Contemplating the probable arrival of a general officer, by the fleet daily expected from England, I have so far presumed to deviate from my instructions as to postpone making the periodical inspection of the regiments quartered in this garrison, conceiving that his royal highness the commander-in-chief would esteem a report coming from such a high source more satisfactory, than if I were to undertake the task in my present situation, which may naturally be supposed, in some degree, to bias my judgment.

On the 17th July, 1807, in consequence of an expected rupture between England and the United States, Colonel Brock addressed a letter to Mr. President Dunn, in which he said that the number of militia armed and instructed in the province did not exceed 300, while he thought that as many thousands could easily and with perfect safety be formed into corps; and that Quebec, the only military post in

the country, was not in a condition to make much defence against an active enemy, as the walls on the western side were old and decayed, and could not possibly sustain a continued heavy fire. He added, that he wished to throw up such works as would remedy this glaring defect; but as the garrison was totally inadequate to such an undertaking, he required from 600 to 1,000 men every day for six weeks or two months, besides a vast number of carts, &c., to complete the necessary defences of the citadel. This letter being submitted to the council, that body replied, that the only means by which assistance could be given by the civil government to the military, in the manner proposed by Colonel Brock, would be by embodying a proportion of the militia according to law, the men for which service must be taken from different parts of the province. And that as this measure had been only once resorted to in the province, on which occasion a decided disobedience was generally manifested, and was again to be anticipated, the council enquired of Colonel Brock whether he had the means, and would furnish them, to enforce the attendance of the militia, who, when embodied, were entitled to the same pay and allowances as the king's troops. The council further informed Colonel Brock that it would meet again the next day, for the purpose of taking into consideration any representation, in writing, which he might think proper to make in answer to their communication, and that, if convenient to him, they requested his personal attendance. His reply was as follows :

QUEBEC, 23d July, 1807.

Colonel Brock has perused with attention the proceedings of his honor the president in council, communicated to him by Mr. Ryland, and begs leave to observe, that in addressing his honor on the 17th instant, it was far from his intention to assume a political character.

His sole object was to state the assistance required by the military to remedy a glaring defect in the fortifications of Quebec, should his honor conceive that preparatory measures were necessary to be adopted in consequence of the event which recently occurred between his majesty's ship Leopard and the American frigate Chesapeake, but more particularly the subsequent aggressive provisions contained in the proclamation of the American government.

In thus complying with the dictates of his duty, Colonel Brock was not prepared to hear that the population of the province, instead of affording him ready and effectual support, might probably add to the number of his enemies; and he feels much disappointment in being informed by the first authority, that the only law in any degree calculated to answer the end proposed was likely, if attempted to be enforced, to meet with such general opposition as to require the aid of the military to give it even a momentary impulse.

Colonel Brock is therefore obliged to observe, that the officer commanding certainly would not choose the time when the troops may every instant be called upon for the defence of Quebec, to disperse them over the country in aid of the civil government, coercively collecting a body of men, which, under such circumstances, would be of more detriment than service to the regular army. Colonel Brock cannot, therefore, look for any assistance from that quarter; but, should an emergency arise, he is confident that voluntary offers of service will be made by a considerable number of brave and loyal subjects, and feels himself justified in saying, that even now several gentlemen are ready to come forward and enroll into companies men on whose fidelity they can safely rely.

It remains with his honor to determine the degree of countenance which ought to be given to such sentiments.

Colonel Brock will be at all times proud to attend deliberations of his honor in council.

Colonel Brock to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

QUEBEC, July 25, 1807.

I think it my duty to transmit for your lordship's information a copy of the communication that has passed between his honor the president and me, relative to the military situation of this country.

Your lordship will perceive from the minutes of the council, how very inadequate the militia law is to afford assistance to the regular force, and the degree of dependance that may be placed on the population of this province.

My own observations, however, enable me to assure your lordship, that a respectable force might be trained and rendered exceedingly useful on any exigency, were the least encouragement given to the spirit which at present pervades a certain class to volunteer their services.

To such characters, arms might be safely entrusted, but I certainly would consider an indiscriminate distribution to the militia, were it possible to collect it, as highly imprudent and dangerous.

What I stated to his honor the president respecting the weakness of the works along the whole of the west front of this garrison, is consonant to the opinion transmitted by the officers of engineers and artillery, in their half-yearly periodical report, to the master-general of the ordnance.

To a question from the president, viz. "Should the council conceive it necessary to call out the militia, whether I thought myself warranted to issue pay and provisions to them?" I answered, Certainly not: that in all British colonies, of which I had any knowledge, they on all such occasions defrayed their own expenses.

The consideration that there is about £30,000 in the civil chest, which cannot be applied to its object until next spring, and the ease with which the error I may have fallen into might be remedied, induced

me to be positive upon a subject, regarding which I am without instructions.

“Colonel Brock’s Orders.

“QUEBEC, 1st September, 1807.

“Notwithstanding the positive orders to the commissaries of posts in Upper Canada, to forward to Quebec periodically, every two months, statements of their accounts, Colonel Brock is sorry to find that some of the commissaries in Upper Canada, and particularly the commissary at Kingston, have evinced culpable neglect in not complying with his orders. He, therefore, adopts this public manner to express his determination of placing other persons to fill their situations, in case they continue, after this caution, inattentive to this most essential part of their duty.

“The want of specie can be no excuse for not complying with the order, as vouchers are only expected for such accounts as have been discharged; and an abstract of expenses incurred, but not actually paid, is to accompany the accounts.

“A. ORMSBY, Capt. 49th regt.

“Acting Deputy Adj.-General.”

Colonel Brock to Lieut.-Colonel J. W. Gordon.

QUEBEC, Sept. 6, 1807.

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

I have in consequence been anxious that such precautionary measures might be taken as the case seemed to justify; but his honor the president has not judged it proper to adopt any other step, than merely to order one-fifth of the militia, which amounts to about 10,000 men, to hold itself in readiness to march on the shortest notice.

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

Without considerable assistance from the militia, the few regulars which might be spared from this garrison could avail nothing against the force the Americans would suddenly introduce by various roads into this province.

The Canadians have unquestionably shewn a great willingness upon this occasion to be trained, and, I make not the least doubt, would oppose with vigour any invasion of the Americans—but how far the same sentiments would actuate them were a French force to join, I will not undertake to say; at any rate, I feel that every consideration of prudence and policy ought to determine me to keep in Quebec a sufficient force to secure its safety; the number of troops that could therefore be safely detached would be small, notwithstanding a great deal might be done, in conjunction with the militia, in a country intersected in every direction by rivers, deep ravines, and lined, at intervals on both sides of the road, by thick woods.

From every information I can receive, the Americans are busily employed in drilling and forming their militia, and openly declare their intention of entering this province the instant war is determined upon; they will be encouraged to adopt this step from the very defenceless state of our frontiers; the means at my disposal are too limited to oppose them with effect in the open field, and I shall be constrained, unless his honor the president make

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

I have hastened the completion of the works which enclose the upper town of Quebec, and I have thought myself justified in causing a battery of eight 36-pounders to be raised sixteen feet upon the cavalier in the centre of the citadel, which will effectually command the opposite heights.

Although these remarks may be premature, I yet conceive it my duty to give his royal highness the commander-in-chief a view of my real situation.

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

I have the honor to report, that at a recent interview I had at Montreal* with Lieut.-Governor Gore, it was judged expedient that his excellency should assume the command in the upper province. I regretted exceedingly that I could not, with propriety, detach troops in support of the spirited exertions which will be immediately made to place that country in a respectable state of defence. He has been supplied with four thousand muskets from the king's arsenal at Quebec, and with various military stores of which he stood in need: this leaves in my possession only seven thousand muskets for the use of the militia of this province, and to supply, as far as they will go, every other emergency.

* During Colonel Brock's stay at Montreal, Mr. W. M'Gillivray, an influential partner, we believe, of the North-West Company, wrote to him on the 28th of August, 1807, that several young gentlemen of that city had proposed to him to embody themselves into a troop of cavalry.

Lieut.-General Sir James Craig, K. B., to Colonel Brock.

H. M. S. Horatio, Oct. 16, 1807.

His majesty having been pleased to appoint me to the chief government of the British provinces in America, as well as to the command of his forces in these parts, I do myself the pleasure to announce to you my arrival in the river, to take these charges upon me.

Lieut.-Colonel Baynes, the adjutant-general, and Major Thornton, my secretary and first aide-de-camp, will deliver you this, and will inform you of the very miserable state of my health, which obliges me to write to Mr. Dunn, to intreat that he will permit my landing to be as private as possible. Of you I must make the same request. A salute may be proper, but I beg nothing more may be done: my object must be to get to the château as speedily and with as little fatigue as possible.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY in the year 1808, Colonel Brock, as we learn from his correspondence, was stationed at Montreal, doubtless in command of the troops there. These were the palmy days of the then celebrated North-West Company, "which for a time held a lordly sway over the wintry lakes and boundless forests of the Canadas, almost equal to that of the East India Company over the voluptuous climes and magnificent realms of the Orient." The principal partners resided at Montreal, where they formed a commercial aristocracy, and lived in a generous and hospitable manner. Few travellers who visited Canada at this period, "in the days of the M'Tavishes, the M'Gillivray, the M'Kenzies, the Frobishers, and the other magnates of the north-west, when the company was in all its glory, but must remember the round of feasting and revelry kept up among these hyperborean nabobs."* With these merchant princes, Colonel Brock appears to have lived on terms of intimacy.

Lieut.-Colonel Thornton † to Brigadier Brock, at Montreal.

QUEBEC, 7th April, 1808.

Your report of the state of the château at Montreal I have mentioned, but it is not thought right at present to make any considerable repairs to it. I am sorry for your being the sufferer, but I can venture

* Washington Irving's "Astoria."

† Afterwards Lieut.-General Sir William Thornton, K. C. B., &c.

to assure you that, however unfavorable the building may be, you ought never to feel uneasy about your friends, for in your kindness and hospitality no want of comfort can ever be felt by them: in this I am fully supported by all the accounts from Montreal, and I sincerely congratulate you upon the addition to your society there of Judge and Mrs. Reid, Sir I. Johnson, and Colonel Chabot.

In the way of news, I can only tell you that the newspapers are perfectly right in respect to the destination of Sir George Prevost. He is appointed lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia; given the local rank of lieutenant-general; and made second in command to Sir James Craig, in North America; so that General C. Campbell, who is senior major-general, *cannot* come out. The regiments that were to sail with Sir George are the first battalions of the 7th, 8th, 23d, and 13th, the last to proceed to Bermuda. The papers will also have informed you of the appointment of nine inspecting field officers of militia besides myself—six for the Canadas and four for Nova Scotia; and I hope we may be of as much service to the militia as our rank* and pay are to us.

Your speaking to M. Berthelot so completely secured me his favor, that in my interview with him I really was overpowered with bows and kindness. He begged that Mr. Frobisher and I would make what arrangements we pleased respecting his houses, and added, that our determination and pleasure would be his. Our plan of succession is Mr. Frobisher to your house, and your humble servant to his.

Brigadier Brock to his Brothers.

MONTREAL, July 20, 1808.

I have written to all of you since the navigation opened, and the only letters I have received from any of the family for several months came from Irving,

* Rank of lieutenant-colonel.

who, to do him justice, is infinitely the most attentive and regular correspondent among you.

My appointment to be brigadier I first announced by the March mail. Those who feel an interest in my prosperity will rejoice in my good fortune, as this distinguished mark of favor affords undeniable proof that my conduct, during the period of my command, was approved;—a great gratification, considering the many difficulties I had to encounter. I once thought I should be ordered to the upper province, but General Ferguson being among the newly appointed major-generals, will not now probably visit this country. In that case, I stand a very good chance of succeeding him, both in rank and in the command of Quebec, where it was intended he should be stationed.

What will be the result of our present unsettled relations with the neighbouring republic, it is very difficult to say. The government is composed of such unprincipled men, that to calculate on it by the ordinary rules of action would be perfectly absurd. We have completely outwitted Jefferson in all his schemes to provoke us to war. He had no other view in issuing his restrictive proclamation; but, failing in that, he tried what the embargo would produce, and there he has been foiled again. Certainly, our administration is deserving of every praise for their policy on these occasions. Jefferson and his party, however strong the inclination, dare not declare war, and therefore they endeavour to attain their object by every provocation. A few weeks since, the garrison of Niagara fired upon seven merchant boats passing the fort, and actually captured them. Considering the circumstances attending this hostile act, it is but too evident it was intended to provoke retaliation: these boats fired upon and taken within musket shot of our own fort; their balls falling on our shore, was expected to have raised the indignation of the most phlegmatic; fortunately, the commandant was not in the way, as otherwise it is

difficult to say what would have happened. A representation of this affair has been made at Washington, and, for an act certainly opposed to existing treaties, we have been referred for justice to the ordinary course of the law ! If our subjects cannot command impunity from capture under the guns of our own forts, it were better to demolish them at once rather than witness and suffer such indignity. By the treaties which have expired, the navigation of the waters that divide the two countries is regulated and stipulated to be still in force, although every other part should cease to be obligatory.

I get on here pretty well, but this place loses at this season the undoubted advantage it possesses over Quebec in winter. Great additions are making to the fortifications at Quebec, and, when completed, the Americans will, if I mistake not, think it prudent not to trouble the place, for they can have no chance of making any impression upon it during the short period which the severity of the climate only permits an enemy to lay before it. I erected, as I believe I told you before, a famous battery, which the public voice named after me ; but Sir James, thinking very probably that any thing so very pre-eminent should be distinguished by the most exalted appellation, has called it the King's Battery, the greatest compliment, I conceive, that he could pay to my judgment.* Not a desertion has been attempted by any of the 49th for the last ten months, with the exception indeed of Hogan, Savery's former servant. He served Glegg in the same capacity, who took him with him to the Falls of Niagara, where a fair damsel persuaded him to this act of madness, for the fellow cannot possibly gain his bread by labour, as he has half killed himself with excessive drinking ; and we know he cannot live upon love alone. The weather has

* In some book of Travels in Canada, Duncan's we think, it is stated that the highest battery in Quebec is called Brock's Battery : we know not whether it be that erected by Sir Isaac Brock.

been exceedingly hot the last week, the thermometer fluctuating from 94° to 100° in the shade. The embargo has proved a famous harvest to some merchants here. It is certainly the most ridiculous measure imaginable, and was evidently adopted with the view of pleasing France; but no half measure can satisfy Napoleon, and this colony has been raised by it to a degree of importance that ensures its future prosperity.

Brigadier Brock to his Brothers.

QUEBEC, September 5, 1808.

I have been here but a few days, having been superseded at Montreal by Major-General Drummond. I do not approve much of the change, as being separated from the 49th is a great annoyance to me. But soldiers must accustom themselves to frequent movements; and as they have no choice, it often happens that they are placed in situations little agreeing with their inclinations. My nominal appointment has been confirmed at home, so that I am really a brigadier. Were the 49th ordered hence, the rank would not be a sufficient inducement to keep me in this country. In such a case, I would throw it up willingly.

Curious scenes appear to have occurred in the Baltic. I fear very much that Sir James (Saumarez) may be induced to return to his retirement in Guernsey. Indeed, the navy has little left to do, while the army has now a glorious opportunity of distinguishing itself as much as the sister service. Valour the British troops always possessed, but unless they evince discipline, their fame will be blasted for a century to come.

Brigadier Brock to his Brothers.

QUEBEC, November 19, 1808.

Yesterday Irving's letter of the 19th September reached me. How very thankful I feel for his

attention. But I have not received that which he mentions Savery had written on the same day, giving an account of his proceedings in Spain and Portugal. This is a truly mortifying disappointment, as it is impossible to discover by the public prints the mystery by which the conduct of our officers has been influenced. The precaution which Irving took to transcribe a part of the letter has proved very lucky. Notwithstanding, I look for the original with unusual impatience, as Savery's opinion must be formed upon what he saw in the best disciplined army that ever, I imagine, left England. His observations are never thrown away.

I am still confined to my room, more indeed on account of the badness of the weather than any want of progress in my recovery. We have had very hard gales from the East. The *Iphigenia* frigate, with her convoy, could not have cleared the land, and the greatest apprehension is entertained for her safety. Her commander, Captain Lambert, is a friend of George Brock. I find him an exceedingly good fellow; and I have reason to think that he left us well satisfied with the attention he received from me.*

Sir James Craig has certain intimation of the appointment of Colonel Baron de Rottenburg, of the 60th, to be a brigadier in this country, and he is daily looked for. This most probably will make a change in my situation, as one must go to the Upper Province; and, as he is senior, he will doubtless have the choice. My object is to get home as soon as I can obtain permission; but unless our affairs with America be amicably adjusted, of which I see no probability, I scarcely can expect to be permitted to move. I rejoice Savery has begun to exert himself to get me appointed to a more active situation. I must see service, or I may as well, and indeed much

* "The young and gallant" Captain Henry Lambert, mentioned above, was mortally wounded in December, 1812, in command of *H. M. S. Java*, when she was captured by the American frigate *Constitution*, of greatly superior force.

better, quit the army at once, for no one advantage can I reasonably look to hereafter if I remain buried in this inactive, remote corner, without the least mention being made of me. Should Sir James Saumarez return from the Baltic crowned with success, he could, I should think, say a good word for me to some purpose.

Vincent* is doing extremely well. I however dread the severity of a winter upon his shattered frame. I must contrive to meet and dissipate the dull hours with my good friends of the 49th. I have prevailed upon Sir James to appoint Sergeant Robinson, master of the band, to a situation in the commissariat at Sorel, worth 3s. 6d. a day, with subaltern's lodging money and other allowances. He married a Jersey lass, whose relatives may inquire for him.

It will be seen by the next letter and a few others which follow, that Sir Isaac Brock was well aware of the existence among the French Canadians of a certainly natural spirit of disaffection, which, in 1837, broke out into open rebellion, the suppression of which earned Sir John Colborne (the present Lord Seaton) his peerage. The outbreak caused great loss of life, and considerable expense arising not only from the hurried dispatch to Quebec of a large body of troops from Nova Scotia and England, but from the retention in the Canadas of about 10,000 men for a few years, to overawe the disaffected, and to repress the piratical incursions of the citizens of the United States in their favor.

Brigadier Brock to his brother William.

QUEBEC, December 31, 1809.

You will long since have been convinced that the American government is determined to involve the

* The present General Vincent, colonel of the 69th foot. He was then major of the 49th.

two countries in a war; they have already given us legitimate cause, but, if wise, we will studiously avoid doing that for which they shew so great an anxiety. Their finances, you will perceive, are very low, and they dare not propose direct taxes. They must have recourse to loans at a time when they have only six frigates in commission, and about five thousand men embodied. To what a state of poverty and wretchedness would the accumulated expenses of war reduce them! But they look to the success of their privateers for a supply, and contemplate the sweeping away of all foreign debts as the means of reducing the calls upon their treasury. Whatever steps England may adopt, I think she cannot, in prudence, avoid sending a strong military force to these provinces, as they are now become of infinite importance to her. You can scarcely conceive the quantities of timber and spars of all kinds which are lying on the beach, ready for shipment to England in the spring: four hundred vessels would not be sufficient to take all away. Whence can England be supplied with these essential articles, but from the Canadas? Bonaparte, it is known, has expressed a strong desire to be in possession of the colonies formerly belonging to France, and now that they are become so valuable to England, his anxiety to wrest them from us will naturally increase. A small French force, 4 or 5,000 men, with plenty of muskets, would most assuredly conquer this province. The Canadians would join them almost to a man—at least, the exceptions would be so few as to be of little avail. It may appear surprising that men, petted as they have been and indulged in every thing they could desire, should wish for a change. But so it is—and I am apt to think that were Englishmen placed in the same situation, they would shew even more impatience to escape from French rule. How essentially different are the feelings of the people from when I first knew them. The idea prevails generally among them, that Napoleon

must succeed, and ultimately get possession of these provinces. The bold and violent are becoming every day more audacious; and the timid, with that impression, think it better and more prudent to withdraw altogether from the society of the English, rather than run the chance of being accused hereafter of partiality to them. The consequence is, that little or no intercourse exists between the two races. More troops will be required in this country, were it only to keep down this growing turbulent spirit. The governor will, it is foreseen, have a difficult card to play next month with the assembly, which is really getting too daring and arrogant. Every victory which Napoleon has gained for the last nine years, has made the disposition here to resist more manifest.

Brigadier Brock to his sister-in-law, Mrs. W. Brock.

QUEBEC, June 8, 1810.

It was my decided intention to ask for leave to go to England this fall, but I have now relinquished the thought. Several untoward circumstances combine to oppose my wishes. The spirit of insubordination lately manifested by the French Canadian population of this colony naturally called for precautionary measures; and our worthy chief is induced, in consequence, to retain in this country those on whom he can best confide. I am highly flattered in being reckoned among the number, whatever inward disappointment I may feel. Some unpleasant events have likewise happened in the upper country, which have occasioned my receiving intimation to proceed thither, whether as a permanent station, or merely as a temporary visit, Sir James Craig has not determined. Should, however, a senior brigadier to myself come out in the course of the summer, I shall certainly be fixed in the Upper Province, and there is every probability of such an addition very soon. Since all my efforts to get more actively employed

have failed ; since fate decrees that the best portion of my life is to be wasted in inaction in the Canadas, I am rather pleased with the prospect of removing upwards.

There is a lady living at Barnet for whom I feel much interested. If you should by chance drive that way, and do not object to form a new acquaintance, I wish you to call upon her. She is the wife of Captain Manners, of the 49th, and the daughter of the celebrated Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia. She has a most amiable disposition and genteel manners. Her sister, Mrs. Ross Cuthbert, a charming little creature, makes her husband—my most intimate friend, and with whom I pass a great part of my leisure hours—a most happy man.

I received the other day a long and exceedingly well written letter from Henrietta Tupper*—she is really a charming girl. What ! Maria,* (Potenger) do you begin to slacken in your attention to your poor devoted uncle ?

Brigadier Brock to his brother Irving.

QUEBEC, July 9, 1810.

I have a thousand thanks to offer you for the very great attention you have shewn in executing my commissions : the different articles arrived in the very best order, with the exception of the cocked hat, which has not been received—a most distressing circumstance, as, from the enormity of my head, I find the utmost difficulty in getting a substitute in this country.

I proposed writing to you early to-morrow, but Sir James having this instant intimated his intention of sending me upwards immediately, I avail myself of an hour's leisure to do that hastily which I would gladly have done quietly, and, consequently, more fully. If I am to remain in this country, I care little

* His niece.

where I am placed ; but going up, as I do now, without knowing whether I am to stay or return, is particularly awkward, and interferes materially in all my future arrangements : perhaps I shall be able to get the point settled before I commence my journey.

Every thing here remains in a state of perfect quietness. It is but too evident that the Canadians generally are becoming daily more anxious to get rid of the English. This they cannot effect unless a French force come to their aid, and I do not think that Bonaparte would risk the loss of a fleet and army for the chance of getting possession of the country. What infatuation ! No people had ever more cause to rejoice at their fate ; but they are not singular, as all mankind seems prone to change, however disadvantageous or productive of confusion.

Savery forwarded your pamphlet to me. You have taken a very proper view of the political dissensions which at this moment disgrace England. Those to whom I have allowed a perusal, and who are infinitely better judges than I can pretend to be, speak of the purity of the language in terms of high approbation. You have happily suited the style to the matter. Several copies have, within a few days, been in circulation here. Savery speaks of a letter you received, in consequence, from Lord Melville. I hope you will not fail in sending me a copy, as I am all anxiety for your literary fame. As you differ in sentiment from the Edinburgh Review, I hope that you have made up your mind to an unmerciful lashing.

I do not see the smallest prospect of my getting away from here, as the disposition manifested by the Canadians will occasion a large military force to be kept in the country, and it will serve as a plea to retain all at their posts. I wish that I could boast of a little more patience than I feel I now possess.

The fortifications of Quebec are improving pretty rapidly, but workmen cannot be procured in sufficient

number to proceed as fast as government would wish. Labourers now get 7s. 6d. a day, and artificers from 12s. to 15s. Upwards of three hundred vessels have already arrived—a prodigious number.

Brigadier Brock to his sister-in-law, Mrs. William Brock.

QUEBEC, July 10, 1810.

I cannot allow the frigate to depart without sending my affectionate love to you. A Guernsey vessel arrived a few days ago, which brought me a letter from Savery of 10th May, and nothing could be more gratifying than the contents. The May fleet, which sailed from Portsmouth the 24th, reached this in thirty days, but as it had not a scrape of a pen for me, its arrival did not interest me. We have been uncommonly gay the last fortnight: two frigates at anchor, and the arrival of Governor Gore from the Upper Province, have given a zest to society. Races, country and water parties, have occupied our time in a continued round of festivity. Such stimulus is highly necessary to keep our spirits afloat. I contributed my share to the general mirth in a grand dinner given to Mrs. Gore, at which Sir J. Craig was present, and a ball to a vast assemblage of all descriptions.

I mentioned in a former letter my apprehensions of being ordered to the Upper Province. I return this moment from waiting upon Sir James, who sent for me, to say he regretted he must part with me, as he found it absolutely necessary that I should proceed upwards without delay. I am placed in a very awkward predicament, as my stay in that country depends wholly upon contingencies. Should a brigadier arrive, I am to be stationary, but otherwise return to Quebec. Nothing could be more provoking and inconvenient than this arrangement. Unless I take up every thing with me, I shall be miserably off, for nothing beyond eatables is to be had there; and

in case I provide the requisites to make my abode in the winter in any way comfortable, and then be ordered back, the expense will be ruinous. But I must submit to all this without repining, and since I cannot get to Europe, I care little where I am placed. I have the most delightful garden imaginable, with abundance of melons and other good things, all of which I must now desert.

What am I to tell you from this out-of-the-way place. Your old friends of the 49th are well, but scattered in small detachments all over the country. They are justly great favorites at head quarters. I mentioned in a former letter my wish that, provided you could make it perfectly convenient, you would call upon Mrs. Manners, the wife of a captain of the 49th. I am satisfied that you would, after a short acquaintance, approve of her much—she is all goodness. By the last accounts they resided at Barnet.

I have no doubt that Maria and Zelia (Potenger, his nieces) continue to conduct themselves in such a manner as to reward you amply for the unbounded kindness you have all along shewn them. If I am able in the fall to procure handsome skins for muffs worth their acceptance, I shall send some to the dear little girls; they ought, however, to write to me. There are few here brought up with the advantages they have received; indeed, the means for education are very limited for both sexes in this colony. Heaven preserve you. I shall probably begin my journey upwards in the course of a few days.

Brigadier Brock accordingly proceeded to the Upper Province, Baron de Rottenburg having replaced him at Quebec; and, with the exception of a few months in 1811, during which he visited Lower Canada, he continued in command of the troops there till his death, Lieut.-Governor Gore at first administering the civil government.

Colonel Baynes, the Adjutant-General, to Brigadier Brock, at Fort George.

QUEBEC, September 6, 1810.

The Brigadier-General (Baron de Rottenburg) is Sir James' (Craig) senior in age by a year, but is still strong and active, and looks much younger. I am well pleased with the little I have seen of him, which by the bye is very little, for I only returned yesterday from Sorel. Mrs. de Rottenburg* has made a complete conquest of all hearts. She is in reality remarkably handsome, both in face and figure, and her manners uncommonly pleasing, graceful, and affable. There is, I fancy, a great disparity of years. They both speak English very fluently, and with very little foreign accent. Sir James (Craig) is remarkably well: we celebrated the anniversary of his sixtieth year yesterday at a very pleasant party at Powell Place. Our general court martial is over, and will be published in orders to-morrow. A soldier, who was under sentence of death for desertion from the 101st regiment, and transferred to the 8th, and a Jonathan of the Canadians, who is considered a ringleader, are sentenced to be shot; the others, a dozen in number, are to be transported to serve for life in the African corps.

Brigadier Brock to his Brothers.

FORT GEORGE, Sept. 13, 1810.

My good and dear friends,—I have been of late so much upon the move, that I had no thought of writing to you, and no letters of yours put me in mind that I should do so. Here I am stationed for some time, unless I succeed in the application I mean to make shortly for permission to visit England. At present, Vincent, Glegg, and Williams, 49th, enliven this lonesome place. They are here as

* The mother of the present Lady William Paget.

E*

members of a general court martial, and are soon to depart, when I shall be left to my own reflections. Should I be so lucky as to obtain leave, I shall not commence my journey to New York until after Christmas. Baron de Rottenburg, a senior brigadier, has arrived at Quebec, where he remains. His presence unquestionably diminishes my prospects in this country, and I should stand evidently in my own light if I did not court fortune elsewhere.

I have been as far as Detroit, a delightful country, far exceeding any thing I had seen on this continent.

I have not had a letter from Europe since May, and wish you to write to me by way of New York. I avail myself of an unexpected passenger to scribble this in the presence of many of the court, who tell me it is time to resume our labours; therefore, my beloved brothers, adieu. I shall write again in a few days, viâ New York.

Colonel Baynes to Brigadier Brock, at Fort George.

QUEBEC, October 4, 1810.

By yesterday's post, I was favored with your letter of the 23d ultimo. I regret that so much trouble should have been occasioned to so little purpose, the more so as I apprehend an example to be much called for in the 100th regiment. Murray seems sanguine that the regiment will go on better under his rule, and that he knows the men better. I hope his conjecture may prove well founded, but I fear they are too wild a set to thrive in Upper Canada.

As I felt at a loss how to introduce the subject of your personal views and wishes, I gave Sir James your letter to read; it did not, however, draw from him any remark on those topics. I know that he is very strongly impressed with the necessity of having a person like yourself for some time in the Upper Province, that a scrutinizing eye may correct the

errors and neglect that have crept in, and put all in order again; and, *in confidence between ourselves*, I do not think he would be more ready to part with you from that station, in consequence of the arrival of Colonel Murray, who is not at all to his taste, and has managed, by a most indiscreet and indecent conversation at his table, to blot himself out of his good opinion. The conversation was on the subject of Cobbett, and the colonel's the only dissenting voice, which he exerted with the more energy in proportion to the badness of his cause; and after defending him in a style and language highly indecorous, and reprehensible to be held at the table of the governor, he so completely forgot himself as to repeat and justify the very offensive and illiberal publications of Cobbett respecting the German troops and foreign officers, although sitting directly opposite to General de Rottenburg. Sir James, who was suffering extremely from the commencement of a very severe attack of illness, could contain himself no longer, and silenced Murray by a very severe but highly just rebuke. Rottenburg appeared much hurt, and said to me that he was very sorry to find that any officer, entrusted with the honor of commanding a corps, could take a pleasure in exposing such sentiments as he had heard from Colonel M. Colonel Kempt, who naturally feels much interested for his young cousin, (Mrs. Murray,) and who really deserves and merits it for her own sake, was much mortified and vexed at Murray's impropriety.*

The charms of Mrs. de Rottenburg have not effaced you from the recollection of your friends, who very sincerely regret your absence.

* Whatever may have been Colonel Murray's indiscretion on this occasion, he approved himself one of the most gallant and enterprising officers in Canada during the war, and particularly distinguished himself in the assault and capture of Fort Niagara, in December, 1813, where he was severely wounded. If Colonel Murray admired Cobbett's writings, he was not singular, as he was perhaps the most forcible political writer in the English language.

Lieut.-Colonel Thornton to Brigadier Brock.

QUEBEC, October 4, 1810.

I was yesterday favored with your letter of the 23d ultimo, and have not failed to communicate to Sir James your account and your charity towards the poor old fellow, formerly of the king's.* He has in consequence directed the allowance of the ration to be authorized and continued to him, for which purpose I must request his Christian name and the date of the first issue; but I am to remind you of the danger of establishing a precedent of this nature, and to request, in the general's, name that you will refrain as much as possible from indulging the natural benevolence of your disposition in this way, as he has hitherto resisted all applications of this sort.

Your successor, as commandant of Quebec, is certainly much to be esteemed—a good kind of man, and devoted to his profession—but it is vanity in the extreme to attempt to describe the general admiration and estimation of his *cara et dolce sposa*: she is young, (twenty-three,) fair, beautiful,—lively, discreet, witty, affable,—in short, so engaging, or rather so fascinating, that neither the courier nor my paper will admit of my doing her justice; however, from what I have said it is necessary further to add and explain, that it is not my opinion alone but that of the public.

Two hundred volunteers for Colonel Zouch, from other veteran battalions, have just arrived and landed: the regiment is to be completed in this manner to one thousand.

* Sir Isaac Brock was several years in the 8th regiment, but this old man had probably served with his brother, Lieut.-Colonel John Brock, who was many years in the 8th, in Canada, during and after the first American war, and who on his return home used to describe the dreadful state of solitude in which he lived while a subaltern on detachment in the upper country. The lieutenant-colonel of the 8th at this period amassed a considerable sum by dealing in furs, which he purchased at a cheap rate from the Indians.

Colonel Baynes to Brigadier Brock.

QUEBEC, October 11, 1810.

Sir James has conversed with me fully on the subject of your wish for leave, and prefaced it by declaring himself very desirous on his part to forward your views as far as he could do so with propriety, but that he had written in such strong terms, urging the necessity of a third general officer being kept constantly on the staff of the Canadas, and assigned as a principal reason the advantage of an officer of that rank being stationed in the Upper Province, that he does not conceive himself at liberty to overset an arrangement which he has been two years soliciting the means to carry into effect, and the absolute necessity of which he is highly impressed with. In reply to an observation of mine, that you regretted the inactive prospect before you, and looked with envy on those employed in Spain and Portugal, he said: "I make no doubt of it, but I can in no shape aid his plans in that respect; I would not, however, be the means of preventing them, and although from his local knowledge I should regret losing him in this country, yet I would not oppose it if he could obtain an appointment to the staff on service; but in that case I would ask for another general officer being sent in his place immediately to Upper Canada." I tell you this, my dear general, without reserve, and give you, as far as I can recollect, Sir James' words. If he liked you less, he might perhaps be more readily induced to let you go; as matters stand, I do not think he will, although I am convinced that he will feel very sincere regret in refusing you on a subject upon which you appear to be so anxious.

Brigadier Brock to Lieut.-Governor Gore.

FORT GEORGE, Jan. 6, 1811.

Having lately received a letter from Colonel Vesey, in which he urges me to ascertain whether it be pos-

sible to secure to his family some benefit from the grant of five thousand acres he has so long unprofitably held, I am encouraged by the disposition your excellency has uniformly evinced to serve him, to renew my earnest request that your influence may be now exerted in his behalf.

I am given to understand that there are extensive tracts of excellent land at the disposal of the crown on Lake Erie, and that a new township is undergoing a survey near the head of Lake Ontario. Were it possible to ensure Colonel Vesey eligible situations in those districts, he no longer would hesitate in incurring the necessary expense.

Your excellency having signified your intention of visiting England in the course of next summer, I am impelled to the present application by the consideration that, before your return, the land, which I have taken the liberty to point out, may be disposed of, and Colonel Vesey thereby lose the fair opportunity of acquiring property upon which he can confidently place some value.

Lieut.-Governor Gore to Brigadier Brock.

YORK, January 21, 1811.

Your letter of the 6th instant should have been earlier acknowledged, but that I was desirous to render my answer as satisfactory as possible, and it was necessary to refer to the offices, on the subject of the grant of land ordered for Colonel Vesey.

I am very sorry now to be constrained to tell you, that it is not in my power to comply with Colonel Vesey's wish in respect of the location, without a special order from the king, as in the case of Colonel Talbot.

The diagram, by which the town and clergy reserves are recorded, cannot be dispensed with, so that it is now impracticable to obtain in any township five thousand acres in a block.

The townships lately surveyed are partial exceptions to the general rule, for the express purpose of establishing roads through the province, and the locations in that exception are by an act of government expressly reserved for actual settlers.

The utmost in my power to do for Colonel Vesey is to adopt the latitude directed by his majesty in favor of General Arnold, which is to permit his representative to locate his land in any open township, and to pass the patent without his personal attendance.

Exclusive of my very strong desire to serve Colonel Vesey, I beg you will believe that I should have had a very particular gratification in promoting the success of any measure for which you are pleased to express an interest.

Brigadier Brock to his brother Irving.

NIAGARA, January 10, 1811.

I cannot sufficiently thank you for your constant attention to me ; you contribute largely to render my present sequestered abode tolerable, and let me entreat you to continue the practice you have lately adopted of sending me a letter every fortnight. In addition to the last daily paper, send me likewise the *Observer*, or any other weekly depository of domestic news. You, who have passed all your days in the bustle of London, can scarcely conceive the uninteresting and insipid life I am doomed to lead in this retirement. My situation obliges me to maintain some sort of establishment, otherwise I should, from inclination, confine my intercourse to a very limited circle. I have been for some days projecting a jaunt into the interior of the States, and I may probably visit New York before I return, but I shall weigh passing events well, ere I hazard so long a journey. The heavy rains which have fallen for the last ten days have delayed my progress, as I did not choose to undertake the journey on horseback. I by no means admire

travelling alone in so comfortless a manner, in which the gratification would not repay the inconvenience.

I purpose directing my steps in the first instance to Ballstown, a medicinal water of great celebrity, about twenty miles north of Albany. I then expect to be joined by James Brock, and probably by some others of the 49th. I shall wait ten days, not only to give him full time to come up, but likewise to try the efficacy of the waters, as I have an idea that they will be serviceable to me. I feel at this moment infinitely better, but am not quite the thing, without knowing what ails me. A sound jolting and change of air will produce wonders, and make me look once more upon a beefsteak with appetite. At present I live very abstemiously, and scarcely ever touch wine.

I mentioned in a former letter that the new arrangements deprived me of the comfort of a companion. Expecting to obtain leave to visit England, I thought it of little consequence, but now that such an indulgence is denied me, I feel sadly the want of a lively, communicative associate. I hardly ever stir out, and unless I have company at home, my evenings are passed solus. I read much, but good books are scarce, and I hate borrowing. I like to read a book quickly, and afterwards revert to such passages as have made the deepest impression, and which appear to me most important to remember—a practice I cannot conveniently pursue unless the book be mine. Should you find that I am likely to remain here, I wish you to send me some choice authors in history, particularly ancient, with maps, and the best translations of ancient works. I read in my youth Pope's Translation of Homer, but till lately never discovered its exquisite beauties. As I grow old, I acquire a taste for study. I firmly believe that the same propensity was always inherent in me; but, strange to tell, although many were paid extravagantly, I never had the advantage of a master to guide and encourage me. But it is now too late to repine. I rejoice that my nephews are more fortunate.

The president's address is sufficiently hostile, and if I thought that he would be supported to the extent of his wishes, I should consider war to be inevitable. Congress will hesitate before consenting to go the length he proposes. The taking forcible possession of West Florida may provoke a war sooner than any other act, but it is impossible to foresee how such a step may be viewed by the Cortes. We are at this moment in awful suspense—the king's illness, the proximity of the armies under Massena and Wellington, and the measures our government may deem proper to adopt to meet the hostile proceedings of the Americans, afford serious matter for contemplation.

I have seen "Thoughts on Political Fanaticism," in answer to your admirable pamphlet. The author appears to me to proclaim his servile attachment to Bonaparte, without in any degree refuting your arguments. When you tell me that Peter Tupper is a son of the jurat, and a member of the Junta of Valencia, you by no means satisfy my curiosity. Is he equal to fill the situation? Has he discretion, and is he distinguished by a strong mind and undaunted courage, as these are qualities that can alone be serviceable at such a crisis? I observed his name some little time back in the public prints, without knowing who he could be, and I suppose that he is my junior in age by several years.*

Colonel Kempt † (Quartermaster-General) to Brigadier Brock.

QUEBEC, January 17, 1811.

Baynes tells me that he has written to you repeatedly, and most fully and confidentially, on the

* Peter Carey Tupper, Esq., a native of Guernsey, British consul for Valencia at this time, and afterwards for Catalonia. He distinguished himself from 1808 to 1814, in encouraging the Spaniards to resist the invasion of Napoleon; and his name occurs repeatedly in the Duke of Wellington's dispatches, recently published, as also in the first and fourth volumes of Napier's Peninsular War. He died in Madrid, in 1825, in the prime of life. His youngest brother was British consul for Caraccas, and afterwards for Riga.

† The present General Sir James Kempt, G. C. B., &c., afterwards

subject of your application for leave. The letters, which I have received from home, explicitly state that the last brevet was made so extensive with the view of doing away with the appointment of brigadier, so that no general officer under the rank of major-general will be in future employed; independent of this circumstance, you have no reason, believe me, to dread being unemployed in any rank while you have a wish to serve—this opinion, my dear general, is not given rashly or upon slight grounds—before I came to this country I had, you must know, several opportunities of hearing your name mentioned at head quarters, both by General Calvert and Colonel Gordon, who unquestionably spoke the sentiments of the then commander-in-chief, and in such a way as to impress me with a thorough conviction that few officers of your rank stood higher in their estimation. In short, I have no manner of doubt whatever that you will readily obtain employment upon active service the moment that *you do get home*, and with this view I recommend you to express, through Baynes, your sense of his excellency's good intentions and wishes towards you in respect to leave of absence, and your hopes that when the circumstances of the country are such as will permit him to grant six months' leave to a general officer, that this indulgence will be extended in the first instance to you. I am very happy to find that you are pleased with Mrs. Murray: I have just received a long letter from her, giving me an account of a splendid ball given by you to the *beau monde* of Niagara and its

governor-general of British America, and subsequently master-general of the ordnance in Earl Grey's administration. Sir James is one of the most distinguished officers in the British army, having served in Holland and Egypt, at Maida, in Spain, and at Waterloo: he has received the Egyptian Medal, and a Cross and three Clasps for Maida, Badajos, Vittoria, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, and Toulouse. The editor of this memoir takes this opportunity of expressing his grateful remembrance of Sir James Kempt's attention and kindness to him during his lieutenant-governorship of Nova Scotia, when he, (the editor,) a very young man, was in that province upwards of twenty years ago. Neither can he forget the very gratifying manner in which Sir James spoke of his old friend, Sir Isaac Brock.

vicinity, and the manner in which she speaks of your liberality and hospitality reminds me of the many pleasant hours I have passed under your roof. *We have no such parties now*, and the indisposition of Sir James having prevented the usual public days at the castle, nothing more stupid than Quebec now is can be imagined.

Colonel Baynes to Brigadier Brock, at Fort George.

QUEBEC, February 14, 1811.

From the sincere and lively interest which I am sure you feel for our worthy chief, I am happy to announce to you that an important change has taken place in his disease, from which his medical attendants augur, with great confidence, most essential and permanent relief. On Sunday last I received a summons to immediately attend at the castle, where Kempt was also called, and, to our extreme astonishment, he informed us that he was then about to undergo the operation of tapping, as he fully coincided with his medical attendants who advised it. Sir James (Craig) proceeded with great calmness to give me some instructions as his executor, in the event of any fatal consequence following, which he did with a degree of composure, and even cheerfulness, which only a mind like his can assume. We were present, at his request, at the operation, which appeared to me painfully tedious—but not an expression, or even a look of impatience, escaped Sir James, whose manner absolutely inspired spirits and fortitude to those around. At the close, he stood up for several minutes to let the water drain from the higher parts of the body, and thirty-six pints, weighing nearly as many pounds, were altogether drawn off.

Sir James lately received accounts of the 14th of November, that his brother, General Peter Craig, was then so reduced and weak from a long and severe illness, that no hopes were entertained of him.

You will conceive what a severe shock this has been, the more so as Sir James never harboured a doubt that his elder brother, from his apparently stronger constitution, would have long survived him. Their mutual ties of relationship were in a manner concentrated in each other, for Sir James will have none left but of a very distant degree.

I am happy to find by a long letter from Mrs. Murray to Colonel Kempt, that you have found the means of enlivening the solitary scene that has so long prevailed at Fort George. I assure you that we miss you much here, and that the fascinating Mrs. de Rottenburg, with all her charms, has not effaced the very universal regret which your loss occasions in Quebec.

Brigadier Brock to his brother Irving.

NIAGARA, February 19, 1811.

Nothing can be more considerate, nothing more friendly, than your constancy in writing to me. Your last letter is dated the 26th of November. What can I say from this remote corner in return for the pleasure I experience at the receipt of your letters? I have already described my sombre kind of life, but I am sure you will rejoice to hear that my present quiet has been productive of the essential good of restoring my health. I now consider myself quite re-established; therefore, my good Irving, dispel all your alarms on my account. I once thought of visiting Ballstown, but, as a trial of the springs there was my chief motive, I gave up the journey the moment I found there was no medical occasion to undertake it. I do not admire the manners of the American people. I have met with some whose society was every thing one could desire; and at Boston and New York such characters are, I believe, numerous, but these are the exceptions. Politics run very high at this moment, but the French faction

have evidently the preponderance, and they style themselves republicans! Was ever any thing more absurd? A dreadful crash is not far off—I hope your friends have withheld their confidence in their public stocks. There have been many failures at New York, and the merchants there are in a state of great confusion and dismay.

I returned recently from York, the capital of this province, where I passed ten days with the governor, (Gore) as generous and as honest a being as ever existed. His lady is perfectly well bred and very agreeable. I found ample recompense in their society for the inconvenience of travelling over the worst roads I ever met with. The governor was formerly quartered with the 44th in Guernsey, and recollects vividly the society of those days.*

I seldom hear from James Brock, who dislikes writing to such a degree, that he hazards the loss of a friend rather than submit to the trouble; and what is strange, when he sets about it, he expresses himself happily, and is highly entertaining.

Sir James Craig has triumphed completely over the French faction in the Lower Province. By their conduct they have fully exemplified the character of their ancestors. The moment they found they could not intimidate by threats, they became as obsequious as they had been violent. The house of assembly passed every bill required of them; among others, one authorizing the governor-general and three councillors to imprison any one without assigning a cause. The state of the country makes such a measure highly necessary. Sir James has been very ill, and it is supposed that he cannot long survive the fierce and

* At the period alluded to, about the year 1790, Guernsey had comparatively little communication with England, and the chief characteristic of the insular society was its simplicity, the hours being early, and costly establishments being unknown. Yet there was much genuine hospitality, as the gentry maintained a constant social intercourse with each other, and with the officers of the garrison, very few other strangers then visiting the island. The upper ranks were content with their isolation and with this primitive mode of life, and it may well be questioned whether increased luxury and refinement have added to their happiness.

frequent attacks of his disorder. His death, whenever it comes, will be bewailed by all who possess the feelings of Englishmen in this country. He appears determined to keep me near his person, and I hardly know how to accomplish my grand object of visiting England in opposition to his wishes. You may well imagine the regret I feel in being obliged to submit to such a life of complete idleness—but fate will have it so.

We are all impatience and anxiety to learn the ultimate result of the king's indisposition, and the movements of the contending armies in Portugal. If we are to be governed by a regent, I trust that ambition, jealousy, or party interests, will not conspire to diminish or circumscribe his regal powers. These are not times to slacken the reins.

Colonel Murray, 100th, went home last year, married, and brought out a charming little creature, full of good sense and spirit. They dined with me yesterday, and she appeared a little dejected in consequence of an idle report of the regiment being destined for the West Indies.

Care ought to be taken to get William Potenger introduced into a quiet, well-behaved corps; the 49th would do very well, but I am not partial to Canada for a young soldier; the regiment has, however, been in it so long, that it cannot be continued many years. Throw him into the sea rather than allow him to join a wild Irish regiment.

This country is getting very populous and rich. Great emigration from the States; Quakers especially come in numbers, and bring with them large sums. Assure William of my eternal esteem.

Brigadier Brock to Sir James Craig, K. B.

NIAGARA, February 27, 1811.

I have this day been honored by the receipt of your excellency's letter, dated the 4th instant. The subject

to which it refers has occasioned serious reflection in my mind. If unfortunately the Indians be determined to commit acts of hostility in the spring, they are at too great a distance for us to succeed in any effort we may be disposed to make to avert so great a calamity. Therefore, the next consideration is the posture we are to assume in case of such an event; whether we are to remain in a state of strict neutrality, which doubtless the Americans will call upon us to observe, and thereby sacrifice our influence over the Indians; or, unmindful of the consequences, continue to them the accustomed supplies of food, arms, and ammunition.

I lament to think that the Indians retired from the council, in which they declared their resolution of going to war, with a full conviction that, although they could not look for active co-operation on our part, yet they might rely with confidence upon receiving from us every requisite of war.

Our cold attempt to dissuade that much-injured people* from engaging in such a rash enterprise could scarcely be expected to prevail, particularly after giving such manifest indications of a contrary sentiment by the liberal quantity of military stores with which they were dismissed.

I shall not fail in reporting every circumstance that may come to my knowledge relative to our connections with the Indians, which I think your excellency may desire to be acquainted with: I must look to officers commanding at the outposts for such infor-

* Washington Irving, in his "Astoria," mentions a Sioux Indian being killed by a shot wantonly fired at him by a white man across the banks of the Missouri, here fully half a mile broad, and he observes: "In this way outrages are frequently committed on the natives by thoughtless or mischievous white men; the Indians retaliate according to a law of their code, which requires blood for blood; their act, of what with them is pious vengeance, resounds throughout the land, and is represented as wanton and unprovoked; the neighbourhood is roused to arms; a war ensues, which ends in the destruction of half the tribe, and their expulsion from their hereditary homes. Such is too often the history of Indian warfare, which in general is traced up only to some vindictive act of a savage; while the outrage of the scoundrel white man that provoked it is sunk in silence."

mation, as the lieutenant-governor withholds from me all communications on the subject.

Mr. Elliot, who has the management of the Indian department at Amherstburg, is an exceedingly good man, and highly respected by the Indians; but, having in his youth lived a great deal with them, he has naturally imbibed their feelings and prejudices, and partaking in the wrongs they continually suffer, this sympathy made him neglect the considerations of prudence, which ought to have regulated his conduct. If he had delayed the issue of presents until he reported their mission to Lieut.-Governor Gore, they would have returned to their companions, carrying with them the positive sentiments of government.

*Brigadier Brock to Major Taylor, 100th Regiment,
commanding at Amherstburg.*

NIAGARA, March 4, 1811.

You omitted to report to me the important resolution which the Indians formally announced last autumn in council to have been adopted by the different nations, of going to war with the Americans. Having, however, received advice of the circumstance through other channels, I was enabled to communicate the interesting fact to head quarters, and now transcribe, for *your individual* information and future guidance, extracts of his excellency's *secret* and *confidential* answer, dated 4th ultimo :

“Although the conduct of our intercourse with the Indians is by his majesty's command vested in the civil government of the province of Canada, and consequently the interference of military officers, otherwise than by being present at such councils as may be held as they are directed to be, would be improper, I nevertheless desire that you will instruct the officers in command at the different posts, particularly at Amherstburg, to report confidentially to you what may pass at those councils, as well as any other transactions in which the Indians are concerned, and which may come to their knowledge; these reports you will forward to me occasionally, as you may think them of importance.”

The conduct which the military are expected to pursue in their intercourse with the Indian department is so explicitly stated in the above, that I need not say a word more on the subject. But I think it highly necessary to put you in possession of the policy which Sir James Craig is very anxious may be observed in the present uncertain state of our political affairs.

“ I am decidedly of opinion, that upon every principle of policy our interest should lead us to use all our endeavours to prevent a rupture between the Indians and the subjects of the United States. Upon these considerations, I think it would be expedient to instruct the officers of the Indian department to use all their influence to dissuade the Indians from their projected plan of hostility, giving them clearly to understand that they must not expect any assistance from us. The officers, however, should be extremely cautious in pointing out to them that it is for their own good only that this advice is given to them, and not from any dereliction of that regard with which we always view their interests; it will perhaps require some management to avoid exciting their jealousy or resentment; the doing so must be strongly recommended.”

I wish you to comprehend clearly the sentiments of Sir James upon this essential point; because although I entertain great respect for the personal character of Mr. Elliott, yet I should be unwilling to place entire dependance, in an affair of such manifest importance, upon a judgment biassed and prejudiced, as his is known to be, in every thing that regards the Indians. To act with due prudence, he participates in and feels too keenly the grievous wrongs they have suffered. Should you, therefore, perceive the smallest indication to depart from the line so strongly marked by his excellency for the government of the Indian officers, you will, without creating suspicion of an intention of controlling their measures, offer friendly advice, and even have recourse to written protests to deter them from persevering in any act that may have a tendency to irritate and expose the two nations to endless controversy. All this you, of course, will

do as coming from yourself, and you will be very regular in reporting circumstantially every occurrence that may come to your knowledge, to enable me to conform strictly with the instructions of the commander-in-chief.

Colonel Baynes to Brigadier Brock, at Fort George.*

QUEBEC, March 4, 1811.

Sir James desires me to tell you that he had fully intended writing to you himself by this day's post, but, from the arrival of the January mail and the departure of the Halifax courier to-morrow, he finds himself so much occupied that he has deputed me to explain to you the cause of his not announcing to you by his own pen the resolution he finds himself under the necessity of adopting, of returning to England early in the summer. I think it probable that he will leave this by the July fleet; indeed, the extremely weak and debilitated state of his health will not admit of his deferring his departure longer, lest it might involve him in inconveniences attendant upon an equinoctial or fall passage. It is with the deepest regret I observe that his strength is visibly sinking under his disease, although the latter has not increased in violence; on the contrary, for this fortnight past he seems in better spirits and to suffer less pain: the first probably arises from the prospect of his being speedily relieved from the weight and anxiety of his public charge, for with regard to himself, his mind is most perfectly made up, and resigned to a very speedy termination of all his sufferings; and

* Owing to the communication by post between Lower and Upper Canada being so slow at this period, we observe that many of Colonel Baynes' letters to Brigadier Brock, at Fort George, were transmitted through the United States. There was only a post once a fortnight between Montreal and Kingston, and in Upper Canada the post office was scarcely established. The military returns were sent from the Upper Province to Quebec once or twice in the winter of 1806-7, by an Indian hired for the purpose; and in the same winter the mail from England for Canada was lost by the upsetting of the canoe in which an Indian was conveying it.

his anxiety has been latterly much excited from the apprehension of his becoming too ill to be able to undertake the voyage, and being obliged to linger out the short remnant of his life in this country.

I assure you he is very far from being indifferent in regard to forwarding your wishes; but from the necessity of his retiring himself, and even without waiting for leave to do so, he feels it the more indispensably necessary to leave this country in the best state of security he can, and that, under existing circumstances, he cannot attend to your request for leave. He desires me to say, that he regrets extremely the disappointment you may experience; and he requests that you will do him the favor to accept, as a legacy and mark of his very sincere regard, his favorite horse, Alfred; and that he is induced to send him to you, not only from wishing to secure to his old favorite a kind and careful master, but from the conviction that the whole continent of America could not furnish you with so safe and excellent a horse. Alfred is ten years old, but being a high bred horse, and latterly but very little worked, he may be considered as still perfectly fresh. Sir James will give him up to Heriot, whenever you fix the mode of his being forwarded to you.

I have requested Sir James to allow me to accompany him home, a duty I should feel a most grateful pleasure in performing; but with a kind regard to what he thinks more to my interest, he will not accede to my wishes, but insists on my remaining here, as he thinks that my appointment will be considered permanent. Kempt goes home, his private affairs requiring his presence, and having strong ground to hope that he will be able to resign his staff for an active brigade; although his senior in years and length of service, I must still wait a long time before I can direct my ambition to so desirable an object.

You will have seen by Sir James' speech, the very complete triumph his firmness and energy have ob-

tained over the factious cabal of their most contemptible assembly. Bedard will be shortly released—that fellow alone of the whole gang has nerve, and does not want ability or inclination to do mischief whenever opportunity offers; the rest, old Papineau and the blustering B——, are all white-livered runagates to a man; but when Sir James' back is turned, they will rally and commence the same bullying attack on his successor, who, I trust, will follow his example.*

Colonel J. A. Vesey to Brigadier Brock.

HAMPTON COURT PARK, April 9, 1811.

I am bound to Sicily in about a fortnight, as a brigadier-general on the staff there, and I am told that Lord William Bentinck, who is destined to command the forces in that island, will be the bearer of instructions to insist upon the command of the Sicilian army likewise.

I thank you much for the interesting details of local politics, both military and civil, which your letter contains, for I feel a more than common wish to know what passes in Canada, although I am certainly not partial to that country—quite the reverse. It is a pity that the 49th should be detained there so long, as it will interfere materially with the promotion of your officers. I fear you will have passed a lonely winter at Fort George, notwithstanding the addition

* Part of the discontent of the French Canadians at this period arose from the Constitutional Act of 1791, which divided the two provinces, and gave to each a local legislature, consisting of an elective assembly, and a council of members appointed by the crown for life. These two bodies never harmonized, as the latter was composed of an exclusive class, consisting of office holders and a few wealthy merchants and land-holders; and the assembly, naturally enough, complained that nearly every measure, which it originated, was rejected by the legislative council. Thus the disaffection of the people was not entirely of a national character, or it was not solely a French and English quarrel; and no government will satisfy that race which has not a just share in its administration and councils. And now, notwithstanding the continued antagonism of the two races, both appear to unite in demanding responsible government not in form, but in substance; and Sir James Craig would indeed be astonished if he could arise from his grave, and witness the present relative positions of the governor-general and the house of assembly.

of my friend Murray and his nice little wife to your society. Pray remember me kindly to them and to my old friend St. George. Mrs. Vesey has charged me to call her to your recollection in the kindest manner; she and my six children are as well as possible, and a very nice little group they are, all as healthy as can be. I wish I had a daughter old enough for you, as I would give her to you with pleasure. You should be married, particularly as fate seems to detain you so long in Canada—but pray do not marry there.

Colonel Vesey to Brigadier Brock.

HAMPTON COURT PARK, May 9, 1811.

I received a few days ago your letter of the 22d February, for which I thank you very much. I am very much obliged to you for taking so much trouble about my grant of land, respecting which I have not taken any steps whatever here; neither shall I, so long as Lord Liverpool continues to direct the affairs of the colonial department, for he is not friendly to me; but I will reserve my claims for a more favorable moment. I am not the less thankful for your friendship on the occasion.

I quite feel for you, my good friend, when I think of the stupid and uninteresting time you must have passed in Upper Canada—with your ardour for professional employment in the field, it must have been very painful. I did not think Sir James (Craig) would have detained you so long against your will. Had you returned to Europe, there is little doubt but that you would immediately have been employed in Portugal; and, as that service has turned out so very creditable, I regret very much that you had not deserted from Canada. I take it for granted that you will not stay there long, and should the fortune of war bring us again upon duty in the same country, I need not say how I shall hail the event with joy.

If you come to England, I would wish you to call upon the Duke of Kent,* who has a high respect for you, and will be happy to see you.

It seems determined that the Duke of York shall return to the command of the army ; it would have taken place ere now, but for some ill-natured remarks inserted in some of the newspapers, produced by an over zeal on the part of his friends. Sir David (Dundas) will not be much regretted, and it surely is time that at his advanced period of life he should be relieved from the cares of office.

I am rejoiced to find that you live so comfortably with my friend Murray and his nice little wife. Mrs. Vesey and myself took a great fancy to her the morning she called here, on their way to Portsmouth.

* The father of her present majesty, Queen Victoria.—The queen visited Guernsey on the 24th August, 1846, and was received by the inhabitants with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of affection, loyalty, and gratitude. Her majesty is the first British sovereign, since the days of King John, who has landed in Guernsey, which in the reign of Edward the Second, and long subsequently, was termed "The Holy Isle."

CHAPTER V.

On the 4th of June, 1811, Brigadier Brock was promoted, and appointed by the prince regent to serve from that day as a major-general on the staff of North America. On the 19th of the same month, Sir James Craig embarked on board H. M. S. *Amelia* for England, leaving Mr. Dunn in charge of the government of the Lower Province, and Lieut.-General Drummond* in command of the forces in the Canadas, consisting of 445 artillery, 3,783 regular troops, and 1,226 Fencibles; in all, 5,454 men. He seemed disgusted with the cares of a government, in which he had experienced only crosses and mortification, as his administration was decidedly unpopular among the great mass of the French Canadians. His health had long been wasting away with a dropsy and other infirmities; and he doubted whether he should live to reach England, where he however survived several months, and met with a most gracious reception from his immediate superiors. Sir James Craig had been from his youth in the service of his country, and he owed to merit alone his rank and consideration in

* The present General Sir Gordon Drummond, G. C. B., colonel of the 49th foot. He succeeded to the command of the forces in Upper Canada in December, 1813. Lieut.-General Drummond was one step higher in rank than Major-General Brock, although he entered the army four years and a half after him; and as a proof of the gross favouritism and inequality which prevailed in the British army during the last century, we give the dates of General Drummond's commissions — viz. ensign, September 21, 1789; lieutenant, March 31, 1791; captain, January, 1792; major, February 28, 1794; lieut.-colonel, April 22, 1794; colonel, January 1, 1798; major-general, January 1, 1805; lieut.-general, June 4, 1811 — a general officer in little more than fifteen years!

the army.* He was corpulent in person, and rather below the middle stature; in society he was frank and affable. To a clear and comprehensive judgment, he united the best qualities of the heart; and though hasty in temper, a fault arising much from disease and suffering, he was easily reconciled to those who might involuntarily have incurred his resentment. Although many differed widely in opinion with respect to his government, yet few could deny him the merit of disinterestedness and integrity in the discharge of his public duties. He may have erred in the performance of the important and complicated functions of his post, but he was guided by sincerity; and it is due to his memory to add, that the objects of his administration, however erroneous the means he pursued for their attainment, were the concord, the happiness, and the prosperity of the people whom he governed for nearly four years.†

Major-General Vesey to Major-General Brock.

PORTSMOUTH, JUNE 10, 1811.

I congratulate you on your promotion, and you may return me the compliment. I did not expect to appear in the same brevet with you as a major-general; ‡ it has so happened, however, and I am

* Sir James Craig commanded from 3 to 4,000 British troops, who, with about 4,000 Russians, were sent at the close of 1805 to Naples for the protection of the then infamous Neapolitan government; but on the advance of the French, the Russians proceeded to Corfu and the British to Messina, where Lieut.-General Craig retired from ill health, and was succeeded in the command by Sir John Stuart, who a few months after gained the battle of Malda, 4th July, 1806. Major-General Craig was also second in command of the land forces at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1795.

† *Memoirs of the Administration of the Colonial Government of Lower Canada*, by Sir James Henry Craig and Sir George Prevost, from the year 1807 until the year 1815; comprehending the Military and Naval operations in the Canadas during the late War with the United States of America. By R. Christie, Quebec, 1818.

‡ The colonels of October 30, 1805, to all the colonels of 1808, were made major-generals on the same day, June 4, 1811, and Colonel Vesey was 79 on the list below Colonel Brock. This strikes us as very wholesale promotion, and as unjust to the senior colonels.

not at all sorry to go out to Sicily as major-general instead of a brigadier. You have such a lot of generals in Canada at present, that it is impossible to continue them all upon the staff. Your wish will be to come home, I dare say, and very glad I should be if you were in England at present, while all the arrangements are making. It may perhaps be your fate to go to the Mediterranean, but the Peninsula is the most direct road to the honor of the Bath, and as you are an ambitious man, that is the station you would prefer—so should I, but I have been advised not to solicit for it, but to go where I was ordered; therefore, am I proceeding. I need not say how rejoiced I should be if you were of the party.

The return of the Duke of York to the head of the army gives general satisfaction to all military people, and indeed to most others, I fancy: his old worn-out predecessor has long been superannuated. I still retain my appointment of deputy barrack master-general in Nova Scotia, to the astonishment of every body, because I suppose they do not like to take it from me *par force*, without giving me something in lieu of it. I have told the treasury that I would not give it up upon any other terms than for my lieutenant-colonelcy, but that they had the power of taking it from me if they chose to do me that injustice: I suppose they will as soon as my back is turned. Lord William Bentinck is expected down to-day; he goes to Sicily in the Caledonia, with Sir Edward Pellew. As it is possible you may have left Canada, I shall enclose this letter to our friend Bruyeres; bid him read it, and forward it if you are yet in that country.*

* Major-General Vesey died in Sicily, December 5, 1811.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock, at Montreal.

QUEBEC, August 3, 1811.

We were very much surprised on Thursday last by the arrival of the *Racoon*, sloop of war, from Jamaica, with the Duke of Manchester* on board, who is come with the view of visiting the lions of Canada previous to his return to England; he is gone, attended by General Drummond, to see the falls of Montmorenci, and the general desires me to let you know that his grace intends leaving this in the stage on Tuesday morning for Montreal. The duke has no attendant except a Colonel Gold, *ci-devant militaire*; he appears to be very affable, and perfectly *sans façon*; he particularly requested that no compliments or ceremony of any kind might be shown him, and that he might be permitted to indulge his fancy by going about as he pleased. His grace is not likely to have many volunteer aides-de-camp, for he treated those who formed his suite yesterday to a walk of half a dozen hours in the sun at mid-day round the works, the towers, plains, &c.; and from which he did not appear to experience the slightest inconvenience, being in the habit, we are told, of taking similar rambles even in the West Indies. The duke will pay you but a very short visit, being limited for time, and anxious to make his tour as extensive as possible. He seems to like a glass of Madeira, and would match any of the Canadian tribe in smoking cigars; he walks about with one in his mouth at all hours in the day. He begs you will have the kindness to secure for him a boat and a good Canadian crew to proceed to Kingston, and to facilitate his progress from that place, inasmuch as it may be in your power to do so. I apprehend that the movement of the troops may very materially interfere with him, but the duke will not object to embarking with any of the detachments if no other vessel can be spared.

* The governor of Jamaica.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock, at William Henry, Sorel.

QUEBEC, August 12, 1811.

I have to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of the 8th instant. I regret much that you did not find it convenient to remain at Montreal to receive the Duke of Manchester, as I think you would have felt gratified ; and if you could have reconciled to your own feelings the want of due preparation for the reception of so great a personage, I am sure, from the specimen we had of his grace here, that he would have been perfectly satisfied, and happy to have shared your fare. He does not appear to be a lady's man—perhaps a little too much the contrary, and I am confident that a dinner with a few gentlemen, and an invitation to smoke, would suit his taste in preference to a formal fête. On an excursion to the Chaudière, of which Mrs. Drummond and other ladies formed part, his grace appeared to be very little at his ease until he effected his escape out of the frigate's barge into one of the small boats that was in attendance with his *compagnon de voyage* and the commander of the sloop, when, with the aid of his favorite cigar, he appeared to be perfectly happy. I mention these traits in order that you may be prepared to receive him or not on his return, as you think best. I am sure he would prefer William Henry to sleep at in preference to Montreal.

After an inter-regnum of nearly three months, Sir George Prevost arrived at Quebec in September, and assumed the government of Lower Canada, having succeeded Sir James Craig in the chief command of the British North American provinces. His military character then stood high, as he had distinguished himself at the conquest of the island of St. Lucie, in 1803, and of the island of Martinique, in 1809 ; as

also in successfully opposing, with a small garrison, the attack made in 1805 by a numerous French force, upon the island of Dominica, of which he was lieutenant-governor; but his active service had been confined entirely to the West Indies, not a field sufficiently important to test the capabilities of a general-in-chief at a critical and momentous period; and he had been chiefly employed on the staff, having commanded a regiment only for a few months, a battalion of the 60th, composed at that time of foreigners. The known mildness of his disposition, and the popularity of his administration in Nova Scotia, from which he had just been promoted, afforded a hope that his government of Lower Canada would prove more auspicious to the internal union of the people than that of his predecessor. Sir George Prevost was, moreover, neither by birth nor parentage an Englishman, an advantage to him in ruling a country wrested scarcely fifty years from France; and, as his name indicates, his family was doubtless of French origin, a circumstance which the French Canadians could not fail to appreciate.* The inhabitants at this time were divided into two parties, termed the English and the Canadian, who viewed each other with considerable hostility; and as Sir James Craig had sided with the former, the latter hailed the appearance of his successor with evident gratification. Soon after Sir George Prevost's arrival, Major-General Brock, in addition to the command of the troops, was appointed president and administrator of the government in Upper Canada, being the sixth in succession of its rulers, to which office he succeeded on the 9th of October, 1811, in place of Lieut.-Governor Gore, who returned to England on leave. At the close of the year, his royal highness the Duke of York expressed

* Sir George Prevost was born at New York, May 19, 1767—his father, a native of Geneva, settled in England, and became a major-general in the British army—his mother was a daughter of M. Grand, of Lausanne. Sir G. Prevost was created a baronet in 1805, for his services in the West Indies.

at length every inclination to gratify Major-General Brock's wishes for more active employment in Europe, and Sir George Prevost was authorized to replace him by another officer; but when the permission reached Canada, early in 1812, a war with the United States, was evidently near at hand, and Major-General Brock, with such a prospect, was retained both by honor and inclination in the country.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, October 7, 1811.

I have a letter from Thornton of the 2d of August; the party arrived at Deal on the 27th of July. Sir James (Craig) bore the passage remarkably well, and he has received the most flattering and satisfactory assurances that his conduct, civil and military, has met with the most unqualified approbation. Kempt has experienced a very honorable reception; the duke told him he would give him a *carte blanche* as to his future destination; he has requested to have a brigade under Lord Wellington, and was preparing to go to the Peninsula. Thornton does not allude to the probability of its affecting his present post, as he says Kempt writes to you at length, and will tell you of himself. Ellice* has found great difficulty in effecting an exchange. Dalrymple, Sir Hew's eldest son, had no objection till he found that the duke set his face against the continued exchange of that post, and that he would not permit it to be made a mere stepping stone for the brevet rank. He in consequence declined it, and Ellice is on the hunt for a lazy married major of dragoons, who has no objection to obtain it as a fixture. Thornton has been appointed to a regiment, but he neglects to mention the number, although he enters into a long explanation respecting it, viz. that it is of two battalions, the second in Portugal and the first in the East Indies, but, by a recent

* Lieutenant-Colonel Ellice, deputy adjutant-general in Canada.

regulation, the senior lieutenant-colonel has the option of remaining in command of the second in Portugal if he chooses. Thornton has obtained leave to go, in the first instance, to his corps in Portugal, so as to endeavour to persuade his senior that India is a more desirable quarter: if he fails in his rhetoric, he expects shortly to travel that route himself.

The following paragraph is copied verbatim from Thornton's letter; he is connected with Torrens, and in habits of familiar intimacy, so that I am inclined to think he draws his inference from that quarter: "Pray give a hint in private to Generals Brock and Sheaffe, that if the former were to ask for a brigade at home, or on European service, and the latter to be put on the staff in Canada, I am almost certain they would succeed.

In June, 1811, a firm in London, in a rather extensive business as bankers and general merchants, and of which Mr. William Brock was the senior partner, failed. The previous senior partner, Mr. P——d, who was lord mayor of the city, had a few years before retired with a very large fortune. Mr. Brock had advanced his brother Isaac about £3,000 for the purchase of his commissions in the 49th regiment, but, having no children and being at the time in affluence, he never intended to exact the payment, although the money was charged in the books. To Major-General Brock, who was not aware of his name appearing as a debtor to the firm, the intelligence of the failure came like a thunderbolt, not so much for the difficulties in which it involved him, as for the distress to which it reduced his favorite brother. But he happily never knew that his brother-in-law, Mr. Tupper, who had then eleven children living, lost eventually between 12 and £13,000 by the failure. His brother Savery was also a sufferer, and the bankruptcy caused a coolness between Wil-

liam Brock and his brother Irving, who was connected with the firm, and to which their brother Isaac alludes in some of his subsequent correspondence, when he entreats of them to be united. The two following letters strike us as highly creditable to Major-General Brock, proving as they do his excellence of heart, integrity of purpose, and depth of fraternal feeling; and we have only to add, that the assignees cheerfully accepted his offer of the salary to which his civil situation entitled him as the means of liquidating his debt to the estate.

Major-General Brock to his brother Savery.

YORK, October 7, 1811.

I have this instant finished a letter to Irving. I attempted to write composedly, but found it impossible. The newspapers gave me the first intimation of the heavy misfortune we have all sustained. To this day, I am without a single line from any of the family on the subject. Let me know how William and Sally support the sad change in their affairs. I want to be at once apprized of the full extent of our misery. Why keep me in this horrid suspense?

I write merely to say, for really my poor head will not allow me to say more, that to-morrow I enter into the official duties of president of this province. The salary attached to the situation is £1,000, the whole of which, I trust, I shall be able to save, and, after a year or two, even more.

I go to Niagara next week, and shall again write through the States.

Yesterday was the first truly gloomy birthday I have ever passed. May you be happy. Glegg is with me, and I expect James Brock very soon.

Major-General Brock to his brother Irving.

YORK, October 30, 1811.

My dear friend,—I have at length heard from you. Your letter of the 3d August was only received this day. To what a state of misery are we fallen—poverty I was prepared to bear—but, oh! Irving, if you love me, do not by any action or word add to the sorrows of poor, unfortunate, William. Remember his kindness to me—what pleasure he always found in doing me service. Hang the world, it is not worth a thought—be generous, and find silent comfort in being so. Oh! my dear boy, forget the past, and let us all unite in soothing the griefs of one of the best hearts that Heaven ever formed. I can well conceive that the causes of his ruin were excited by too ardent a wish to place us all in affluence—his wealth we were sure to divide—why refuse him consolation?—it is all, alas! I can offer. I shall write to him the instant I feel sufficiently composed. Could tears restore him, he would soon be happy—every atom of resolution leaves me at the moment I require it most. I sleep little, but am constrained to assume a smiling face during the day: my thoughts are fixed upon you all, and the last thing that gives me any concern is the call which Savery prepares me to expect from the creditors. I did not think that I appeared in the books—the mistake was wholly mine. Let me know the sum. Are my commissions safe, or must they be sold? Can I not retain out of the wreck my two or three hundred a year? they would save us all from want, and we might retire to some corner, and be still happy. You know the situation to which I am lately raised. It will enable me to give up the whole of my salary, £1,000 yearly, and I shall enclose a power of attorney to enable you to receive it—do with it what justice demands—pay as fast as you receive, unless indeed want among any of you calls for aid; in that case make use of the

money, and let the worst come. I leave every thing to your sober discretion.

I wrote thus far last evening, and I shall now endeavour to proceed with less agitation. If you possibly can satisfy my creditors, do so—it is a pity Savery did not write to say what he was able to effect on the subject. I have been at £300 or £400 expense in outfits, which I fear will prevent my remitting any thing home this year, but the next I hope to spare to that amount. Depend upon my exercising the utmost economy; but I am in a situation which must be upheld by a certain outlay. Did it depend upon myself, how willingly would I live upon bread and water. Governor Gore is gone home with a year's leave. I think it probable he will not be required to return so long as the war continues. I ought not, however, to look to retain my situation above two years. I shall make all I can of it by every fair means, for be satisfied that even your stern honesty shall have no just cause to censure any one of my actions. But I cannot look to much popularity in the homely way I am constrained to proceed in the administration: much shew and feasting are indispensable to attract the multitude, especially in a colony like this, where equality prevails to such a degree that men judge of your disposition, of your frankness, by the frequency of the invitations they receive. At present, all classes profess great regard and esteem for me; but although I hope they may, I cannot expect such sentiments will continue long. If I retain the considerate and thoughtful, I shall be satisfied, and I shall strive to merit the good opinion of such men.

Henceforth I shall address you without reference to the past; we must only consider how to get on for the future. You have read much, and I trust will profit by the lessons philosophers inculcate. Exert, my honest fellow, every power of your mind, but never exclude prudence from any of your actions. Believe me yours till doomsday.

William Brock, Esq., to Major-General Brock.

STAMFORD HILL, October 31, 1811.

* * * * *

You have received, or will receive shortly, a letter from our assignees, desiring to be informed in what manner the debt, which appears in our books as owing by you, is to be liquidated. Too well do I know, my dearest Isaac, your inability to pay it of yourself; it now amounts to something above £3,000. The assignees will not, I believe, take any unpleasant steps to enforce the payment, yet it will be natural that they exact some sort of security from you. Some reports had, but very erroneously, been circulated that they had already commenced legal steps against you; and upon this report a young gentleman lately arrived from Canada, a Mr. Ellice,* called on Charles Bell to inquire if it were so, and told Bell that rather than any thing unpleasant should happen to you, he would contrive to pay the debt himself, so great was his esteem and friendship for you. I of course told Bell that the report was without foundation. This trait of friendship on this gentleman's part very much tended to reconcile me to my unfortunate situation, for besides his attachment to you, he assured Bell you were so beloved in Canada, that you would not want friends who would feel pleasure to assist you to any amount, if necessary. Let me conjure you, my dearest Isaac, not to refuse the offer of *such* friends, as you feel you would yourself oblige

* The present Right Honorable Edward Ellice, M.P. On the editor inquiring by letter of Mr. E. whether he were not the generous individual alluded to, he replied as follows: "Mr. E. has a very vivid recollection of the happy time he spent while travelling in Canada, in his earliest days, in the society of the late Sir Isaac Brock, to whom he was indebted for the greatest courtesy and kindness, and for whose character and virtues he has always entertained the most sincere respect and admiration. Mr. E. has also some recollection of the incident mentioned in Mr. T.'s letter, but he begs that no reference may be made to it in any future edition of the memoirs." The editor regrets that he cannot, without doing Sir Isaac Brock an injustice, suppress an incident which is so honorable to Mr. E., and he claims his indulgence for not complying with his request.

in a similar situation. I am sure you will believe that had circumstances authorized it, I would have cancelled your debt long since.

I know your love for me, and shall therefore say a little about myself. Savery was in London when the house stopped, (the 8th June,) and never shall I forget what I owe him for the warmth and interest he has uniformly shewn in this hour of sorrow. After every consideration, it was deemed most advisable that the house should be declared bankrupt, as the only means of extricating ourselves; for as an underwriter at Lloyd's there was no coming to any compromise, and the demands upon us would have been endless. At the time we stopped there were £27,000 sterling due to me for premiums of insurance, all of which will no doubt be swallowed up by the late seizures in the Baltic ports, and by many of my debtors becoming bankrupts themselves. These Baltic losses, and the house's former losses by bad debts,* may be said to be the cause of our failure, which has been accelerated by the preceding failure of our neighbours, Messrs. — — and of the two banks in Guernsey, circumstances which destroyed all confidence, and occasioned what is commonly called a run upon the house.

I am anxious for your return to England, if it were only that you introduce — to Lord Bridgewater. At present, I have not the means of keeping him at Oxford—he and William, and the two dear girls, are with us. I expect our brother Tupper next week from Guernsey, and I suppose the two boys will return with him. His eldest son, John, passed this way on his return to Guernsey from Spain. He is grown a very fine young man, with a strong judgment and an amiable temper. His countenance is pleasing, and in figure he is tall and athletic.

Do not, I pray you, my dearest Isaac, attribute

* By the failure of one person shortly before, the house lost nearly £30,000.

my former silence to any diminution of affection, but to a depression of spirits, which this final catastrophe has in some measure relieved—a reality of misfortune is probably less painful than the preceding anxiety of it. Let us pray that the prospect will again brighten. In you is all my present pride and future hope.

November 16, 1811.—Savery has within the last few days sent me a copy of your welcome letter of the 19th September from Montreal, and most cheering it is to our drooping spirits. May this find you well and hearty in your new honors at York. Surely, my dearest Isaac will not quit his enviable situation, when he has also a prospect of something more lucrative, for a mere major-general's appointment in Europe. I sent our friend, Charles Bell, an extract of your letter, that he might give it to your generous friend Ellice, who will rejoice at your promotion.

Lieut.-Colonel Torrens to Major General Brock.

HORSE GUARDS, October 17, 1811.

I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 6th of July, and I beg you will be convinced that I should derive much satisfaction from the power of complying with your wishes as far as my situation might enable me to facilitate the accomplishment of the object you have expressed of returning to England.

I have made known your wishes to the commander-in-chief, and his royal highness has expressed every inclination to comply with them. But until another officer shall join the station, you will be readily aware of the difficulty his royal highness would have in withdrawing you, by leave of absence or otherwise, during the present state of public affairs with the American government.

Should you wish, however, to quit the Canadian

staff with a view to serve in Europe, his royal highness will not object to your return to this country, under the arrangement of your being immediately succeeded by another officer. And as Major-General Sheaffe is on the spot, and has strong claims to employment on the staff, his royal highness will have no objection to furnish Sir George Prevost with an authority to employ that officer in your room, provided he has not left Canada.

I trust this arrangement may be acceptable to you. An official communication to the effect of this note will be made to Sir George Prevost.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

YORK, October 29, 1811.

Conceiving that the system, recently established with a view of securing the regular and prompt settlement of the accompts of the Indian department in this province, is liable to many objections, I beg leave to lay my sentiments on the subject before your excellency.

Sir James Craig, on the application of Lieut.-Governor Gore, procured the consent of the lords of his majesty's treasury to the appointment of a deputy commissary-general of accompts, for the purpose of bringing up all arrears in the accompts of the Indian department. But unless means be likewise taken to ensure an immediate examination of such accompts as accrue, the inconvenience, to which the service has long been exposed, will remain undiminished.

All documents, to which reference is to be had, are lodged with the storekeeper-general at La Chine.*

* La Chine is a village on the St. Lawrence, nine miles above Montreal. As the rapids of the river between the two places interrupt the navigation, all stores and goods, intended for the upper country, were then conveyed from Montreal to La Chine by land, and there put into flat-bottomed boats, called "bateaux," which were rowed up the St. Lawrence, with incredible labour, by Canadians. La Chine derives its name from the expeditions of M. de la Salle, which were fitted out at this place for the discovery of a North-West passage to China.

Mr. Lane, the officer appointed to investigate the accompts, has been stationed at Fort George, and during the year that he has been employed on this duty, he has proceeded as fast as the receipts of the accompts enabled him ; but he is frequently left idle, and at the slow rate he has gone on, it will require three or four years to complete the voluminous papers remaining for his examination.

I therefore deem it my duty to state these facts, and to entreat your excellency to cause the adoption of such measures as will ensure the speedy settlement of the accompts now under examination, in order that those daily accruing may be examined and audited during the continuance in office of the person under whose responsibility the expense is incurred. But this desirable object cannot be attained as long as the deputy storekeepers at the different posts are required to send their accompts to the storekeeper-general at La Chine, preparatory to their examination by the deputy accountant-general at Fort George.

The heavy defalcations, which I fear will be found in some of the accompts, argue strongly for a change of system, and nothing effectual will be done until a storekeeper-general be established in the Upper Province, to perform on the spot the duties which are now required from the storekeeper-general at La Chine.

The same arguments are equally applicable with regard to the secretary of the department, to whom all cash accompts are referred ; but as an assistant-secretary is already on the establishment of this province, no additional expense will be necessary.

It will appear evident to your excellency, that should the duties connected with the Upper Province be withdrawn from the storekeeper-general at La Chine, little will remain to be done by that officer. I therefore presume to suggest his removal to this province ; or should such an arrangement be thought inconvenient, I venture to recommend that the deputy assistant commissary-general at Fort George may,

with a reasonable addition to his salary, be nominated to execute that office. This is proposed solely with a view to economy, not being aware that the two situations can be incompatible.

The service would likewise, in my opinion, be greatly promoted, were the presents intended for the Indians in the Upper Province transmitted to Fort George without being delayed, as is customary, at La Chine, as they could be distributed to the different posts early in the spring, which would be the means, I confidentially assert, of saving an enormous expense, yearly incurred, in provisioning numerous bodies of Indians, who for weeks together await at Amherstburg and St. Joseph the arrival of the presents. This practice would likewise keep a supply within reach to meet any emergency. But at present, for instance, the stores are nearly exhausted, and such urgent calls may be made as will compel me to authorize purchases of articles at a high rate, whilst abundance of the same are unnecessarily detained at La Chine.

It was proposed by Lieut.-Governor Gore, and approved by Sir James Craig, to establish a board of accompts in the Upper Province similar to that at Quebec. But nothing has as yet been done, nor can I discover its utility under existing circumstances.

There is another point connected with the military expenditures, to which I request to call your excellency's attention. An extraordinary practice has obtained, ever since General Simcoe's administration, of submitting the accompts of the agent of purchases to the executive council of this province, to be audited. This office of agent of purchases was lately directed by the lords of the treasury to be discontinued as unnecessary, but at the joint representation of Sir James Craig and Lieut.-Governor Gore, the order was annulled. I am, however, led to believe that it was intended that his accompts hereafter should be examined by the deputy accomptant-general, and, like all other military expenditures, audited by a

board of accompts, but no directions have as yet been given on this subject. Mr. M'Gill, the agent of purchases, has a seat in the executive council, which of course occasions an awkwardness in the mode his accompts are audited. In justice, however, to Mr. M'Gill I must add, that a more upright character cannot be found, nor one better fitted for the office.

Your excellency having recently had an opportunity of getting every information respecting the state of this province from Lieut.-Governor Gore, I need only add that it remains perfectly tranquil.

Major-General Brock to Ensign N. Freer, Military Secretary,

YORK, November 8, 1811.

Having referred your letter of the 8th ultimo to the deputy superintendent-general of Indian affairs for explanation on the points alluded to, I have the honor herewith to transmit his answer, which I hope will prove satisfactory to the governor-in-chief.

The high integrity, the unremitting attention of Mr. Claus to his duty, and the strict regard to economy which Lieut.-Governor Gore constantly bestowed in the expenditure of the public money, convince me that the excess of provisions and rum in the requisition for 1811 was unavoidable. A similar demand has been made for the service of the ensuing year, and I cannot, consistently with my duty, recommend to his excellency the least diminution.

I avail myself of this opportunity to enclose an extract from the storekeeper-general's letter to Mr. Claus, by which it appears that the goods, for which application has been made by Lieut.-Governor Gore, and transmitted to England in the usual manner, had not been received at a late date; and that unless the goods arrived, the store was in no state to furnish the necessary supply for the ensuing spring.

I cannot be too urgent with his excellency in requesting that the storekeeper-general may be in-

structed to make the necessary purchases in case the articles demanded for the Upper Province do not reach Montreal before the close of the navigation.

I need not represent to his excellency the confusion which a disappointment would be sure to create among the Indians throughout the Province, and the great additional expense which must inevitably be incurred in provisioning the crowds that would assemble at each post, awaiting the arrival of the presents.

Major-General Brock to Ensign N. Freer, Military Secretary.

YORK, November 10, 1811.

Brigade-Major Evans, upon his arrival here, delivered to the receiver-general £3,000, which he reported to have received from the deputy paymaster-general at Quebec.

Conceiving that this sum was remitted in part of the £5,000, for which Lieut.-Governor Gore made application on the 27th March last to Sir James Craig, and repeated on the 30th of July to Lieut.-General Drummond, and which his excellency intended for the support of the civil expenditure of this province, I have directed its disposal accordingly.

The serious inconvenience to which this government will be reduced by the retention of the remaining £2,000, obliges me to request his excellency the commander of the forces to have the goodness to direct that sum to be forwarded by the first safe conveyance.

Major-General Brock to the Military Secretary.

YORK, November 10, 1811.

Until very lately two oxen were maintained at the public charge, for the purpose of assisting in clearing the vast quantity of heavy timber which grows close to this garrison, and in making roads; besides being usefully employed in other necessary service.

It appears very evident from the trifling progress made by the military in this essential work for some years past, that the oxen were either kept idle or employed for other purposes, which I believe occasioned their being sold.

Being anxious to continue the improvements begun by the late General Hunter, I have to request his excellency the commander of the forces will have the goodness to sanction the renewal of an establishment of such evident utility.

Major-General Brock to Colonel Baynes.

YORK, November 18, 1811.

The London Gazette, of the 6th August last, having announced the appointment of Mr. Æneas Shaw to an ensigncy in the Nova Scotia Fencibles, and the advanced state of the season precluding the possibility of his joining without incurring an expense which he can ill afford, I have presumed to anticipate his excellency's indulgent permission to his remaining here until the opening of the navigation, and to sanction in the meantime his doing duty with the 41st regiment. He is a deserving young man, the son of Major-General Shaw, whose high merit, I feel confident, will claim every indulgence from the commander of the forces.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, November 21, 1811.

We fortunately received yesterday the last batch of recruits for the 41st regiment, as from the present state of the weather and appearance of the river, I fear their situation would have been very desperate. They have, poor devils, been sixteen weeks and four days on their passage, and have suffered much from dysentery. Four men have died, and several are sick; but as the former detachment recovered fast

when landed and taken care of, I doubt not that these will also: they amount to three hundred, and are in general very fine young men. What a noble battalion they will make when brought together; and the officers say that about two hundred more were left at the depôt, for want of room in the transport.

What do you think of the president's speech? In any government more consistent, it would mean war. I think that he has committed himself more openly and more unjustifiably than could have been expected, in the relation of the affair of the Little Belt, by accusing that poor little sloop of a wanton act of aggression by attacking a huge American frigate, when Commodore Rodgers himself admits that he was for nearly eight hours the chasing vessel.

Governor Gore has revived the formation of the Glengary Fencibles, and I have shewn Sir George what passed on a former occasion. I hope the latter will be able to provide for his school-fellow, Major-General Sheaffe,* and he expresses himself very anxious to do so.

*Major-General Brock to Lieut.-General Sir G. Prevost,
Bart., at Quebec.*

YORK, December 2, 1811.

The information contained in the message of the president to congress, relative to the existing differences between England and the United States, will justify, I presume to think, the adoption of such precautionary measures as may be necessary to meet all future exigencies. Under this impression, I beg leave to submit to your excellency such observations as occur to me, to enable you to form a correct judgment of the actual state of this province.

The military force which heretofore occupied the frontier posts being so inadequate to their defence, a

* The present General Sir Roger H. Sheaffe, Bart., colonel of the 36th regiment, born at Boston, United States, 15th July, 1763, and entered the British army on the 1st May, 1778.

general opinion prevailed that, in the event of hostilities, no opposition was intended. The late increase of ammunition and every species of stores, the substitution of a strong regiment, and the appointment of a military person to administer the government, have tended to infuse other sentiments among the most reflecting part of the community; and I feel happy in being able to assure your excellency, that during my visit last week at Niagara, I received the most satisfactory professions of a determination on the part of the principal inhabitants to exert every means in their power in the defence of their property and support of the government. They look with confidence to your excellency for such additional aid as may be necessary, in conjunction with the militia, to repel any hostile attempt against this province.

I shall beg leave to refer your excellency to the communications of Lieut.-Governor Gore with Sir James Craig, for a correct view of the temper and composition of the militia and Indians. Although perfectly aware of the number of improper characters who have obtained extensive possessions, and whose principles diffuse a spirit of insubordination very adverse to all military institutions, I am however well assured that a large majority would prove faithful. It is certain that the best policy to be pursued, should future circumstances call for active preparations, will be to act with the utmost liberality, and as if no mistrust existed; for, unless the inhabitants give an active and efficient aid, it will be utterly impossible for the very limited number of the military, who are likely to be employed, to preserve the province.

The first point to which I am anxious to call your excellency's attention, is the district of Amherstburg. I consider it the most important, and, if supplied with the means of commencing active operations, must deter any offensive attempt on this province, from Niagara westward. The American government will be compelled to secure their western frontier from the

inroads of the Indians, and this cannot be effected without a very considerable force. But before we can expect an active co-operation on the part of the Indians, the reduction of Detroit and Michilimackinac must convince that people, who conceive themselves to have been sacrificed, in 1794,* to our policy, that we are earnestly engaged in the war. The Indians, I am made to understand, are eager for an opportunity to avenge the numerous injuries of which they complain. A few tribes, at the instigation of a Shawnese † of no particular note, although explicitly told not to look for assistance from us, have already commenced the contest. The stand which they continue to make upon the Wabash, against about 2,000 Americans, including militia and regulars, is a strong proof of the large force which a general combination of the Indians will render necessary to protect so widely extended a frontier.

The garrisons of Detroit and Michilimackinac do not, I believe, exceed seventy rank and file each; but the former can easily be reinforced by the militia in the neighbourhood, which, though not numerous, would be ample for its defence, unless assailed by a force much superior to any we can now command. The Americans will probably draw their principal force, either for offence or defence, from the Ohio,—an enterprising, hardy race, and uncommonly expert on horseback with the rifle. This species of force is formidable to the Indians, although, according to reports which have reached me by different channels, but not official, they lately repelled an attack of some magnitude. Unless a diversion, such as I have suggested, be made, an overwhelming force will probably be directed against this part of the province. The measure will, however, be attended with a heavy

* In this year the Indians, in a war with the Americans, were completely beaten near the Miami by General Wayne, and compelled to cede a large tract of their lands.

† Doubtless, the afterwards celebrated Tecumseh, or his brother.

expense, especially in the article of provision, for, not only the Indians who take the field, but their families, must be maintained.

The numeral force of the militia in the vicinity of Amherstburg exceeds by a trifle seven hundred rank and file; consequently, very little assistance can be derived from that source in any offensive operation. Should, therefore, the aspect of affairs hereafter give stronger indications of a rupture, I propose augmenting the garrison of Amherstburg with two hundred rank and file from Fort George and York. Such a measure I consider essentially necessary, were it only calculated to rouse the energy of the militia and Indians, who are now impressed with a firm belief, that in the event of war they are to be left to their fate. Great pains have been taken to instil this idea into the minds of the Indians, and no stronger argument could be employed than the weak state of the garrison.

The army, now assembled upon the Wabash with the ostensible view of opposing the Shawnese, is a strong additional motive in my mind in support of this measure; for I have no doubt that, the instant their service in the field terminates, a large portion of the regulars will be detached to strengthen the garrison of Detroit. I have prepared Colonel Proctor for such an event, and after weighing the inconvenience to which the service would be exposed if the district were placed under a militia colonel, (an event obvious, unless superseded by a regular officer of equal rank,) I have directed Lieut.-Colonel St. George to be in readiness to repair to Amherstburg and assume the command; and I hope his situation of inspector of militia will not be considered a bar to the arrangement. The state of the roads will probably stop this projected movement until the end of this month or beginning of the next; nor do I intend that the troops should leave their present quarters, unless urged by some fresh circumstances. I therefore look to receive your excellency's commands previous to their departure.

From Amherstburg to Fort Erie, my chief dependance must rest on a naval force for the protection of that extensive coast; but, considering the state to which it is reduced, extraordinary exertions and great expense will be required before it can be rendered efficient. At present, it consists only of a ship and a small schooner*—the latter of a bad construction, old, and in want of many repairs; yet she is the only king's vessel able to navigate Lake Huron, whilst the Americans have a sloop, and a fine brig† capable of carrying twelve guns, both in perfect readiness for any service. If, consequently the garrison of St. Joseph's is to be maintained, and an attack on Michilimackinac undertaken, it will be expedient to hire, or purchase from the merchants, as many vessels as may be necessary for the purpose. The Americans can resort to the same means, and the construction and number of their vessels for trade will give them great advantage: besides, their small craft, or boats, in which troops could be easily transported, exceed ours considerably; indeed, we have very few of that description.‡ I therefore leave it to your excellency's superior judgment to determine whether a sufficient number of gun-boats for both lakes, so constructed as to draw little water, ought not to be added to our means of offence and defence.§ It is worthy of remark, that the only American national vessel on Lake Ontario, built two years ago, and now lying in Sack-

* The ship Queen Charlotte, and schooner Hunter.

† This brig was the Adams, captured at Detroit.

‡ The Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, of January 10, 1846, gives a list of the vessels built by the Americans, in 1845, on Lake Erie and the waters westward to Chicago, with their description, names, tonnage, and cost, of which the following is an abstract, viz. 13 steamers, 4 propellers, 2 brigs, 27 schooners, and 2 sloops—together 48 vessels, admeasuring 13,207 tons, and the cost 659,000 dollars. In the event of hostilities, the United States would, we fear, possess the entire maritime supremacy of the Lakes, and especially of the upper ones, on which, previous to the year 1812, the principal employment of a few small vessels was the transport of salt and furs.

§ "The first vessel of force" that the British ever had on Lake Ontario was a schooner of 40 feet keel, with fourteen oars and twelve swivel guns, launched at Oswego, 28th July, 1755.—*Entick*.

ett's harbour, has remained without seamen until within the last fortnight, when the officers began to enter men as fast as possible. A lieutenant with a party came to Buffalo, a tolerably large village opposite Fort Erie, and procured several hands, but, not satisfied, a petty officer was sent to our side to inveigle others. The magistrates, hearing of this, sent to apprehend him; but he escaped with difficulty.

The strait between Niagara and Fort Erie is that which, in all probability, will be chosen by the Americans for their main body to penetrate with a view to conquest. All other attacks will be subordinate, or merely made to divert our attention. About three thousand militia could, upon an emergency, be drawn by us to that line, and nearly five hundred Indians could also be collected; therefore, with the regulars, no trifling force could hope for success, provided a determined resistance were made; but I cannot conceal from your excellency, that unless a strong regular force be present to animate the loyal and to control the disaffected, nothing effectual can be expected. A protracted resistance upon this frontier will be sure to embarrass the enemy's plans materially. They will not come prepared to meet it, and their troops, or volunteer corps, without scarcely any discipline, so far at least as control is in question, will soon tire under disappointment. The difficulty which they will experience in providing provisions will involve them in expenses, under which their government will soon become impatient.

The car brigade will be particularly useful in obstructing their passage; and I cannot be too urgent in soliciting the means, both as to gunners and drivers, and likewise as to horses, to render this arm complete for service. A small body of cavalry would also be absolutely necessary, and I have already offers from many respectable young men, to form themselves into a troop. All they seem to require are swords and pistols, which the stores below may probably be able to furnish.

The situation of Kingston is so very important in every military point of view, that I cannot be too earnest in drawing your excellency's attention to that quarter. The militia, from the Bay of Quinti down to Glengary, is the most respectable of any in the province. Among the officers, several are on half pay and still retain a sound military spirit. Those from the Bay of Quinti would be properly stationed at Kingston, but all downwards would naturally desire to be employed to resist any predatory excursions to which their property would be so much exposed from the opposite shore. Besides, I have always been of opinion that a strong detachment would follow the route of Lord Amherst, and attempt to enter the province by Oswegatchie.* The militia on the whole of that communication cannot, therefore, be more usefully employed than in watching such a movement; and should the enemy direct the whole of his force by St. John's, the greater part can with the utmost facility join the army acting upon that frontier.

The militia act, which I have the honor to enclose, provides for such an emergency, but your excellency will readily observe, that among many wise and salutary provisions, there are but few means of enforcing them. No exertions, however, shall be wanting in my civil capacity to place that body upon a respectable footing. Mr. Cartwright, the senior militia colonel at Kingston, possesses the influence to which his firm character and superior abilities so deservedly entitle him; but as I cannot possibly give the necessary attention to so distant an object, and as a regular officer will be indispensable to direct the operations, one of high rank ought, if possible, to be nominated

* An American fort on the river St. Lawrence, about seventy miles from Kingston, and one hundred and twenty-five miles from Montreal. Oswegatchie, now known as Ogdensburg, is opposite to the Canadian town of Prescott, and the St. Lawrence here is about 1300 yards across. It was in August, 1760, that General Amherst proceeded from Oswego, via Oswegatchie, to attack the French army at Montreal, and in September the whole of Canada was surrendered by capitulation to Great Britain.

to that command. So much will remain to be done, and such high expenses to be incurred in the quarter-master-general's department, that I cannot too earnestly request your excellency to select an officer who may be equal to discharge the various duties of that office. A head to the commissariat will be likewise indispensable.

I have trespassed greatly on your excellency's time, but I beg to be permitted to entreat your excellency to honor me with such advice and counsel as your experience may suggest, and be assured it will ever be my utmost pride to meet your views and to merit your approbation.

Major-General Brock to Lieut.-General Sir G. Prevost.

YORK, December 3, 1811.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's dispatch, dated the 11th ultimo, with its enclosures.

My first care, on my arrival in this province, was to direct the officers of the Indian department at Amherstburg to exert their whole influence with the Indians to prevent the attack which I understood a few tribes meditated against the American frontier. But their efforts proved fruitless, as such was the infatuation of the Indians, that they refused to listen to advice; and they are now so deeply engaged, that I despair of being able to withdraw them from the contest in time to avert their destruction. A high degree of fanaticism, which had been for years working in their minds, has led to the present event.

Major-General Brock to Lieut.-General Sir G. Prevost.

YORK, December 11, 1811.

I had the honor yesterday of receiving your excellency's letter of the 1st ultimo, stating your intention of establishing depôts of small arms, accoutrements

and ammunition, at the different posts in Upper Canada.

Since the settlement of the province, several hundred stands have been at different times issued to the militia, and I have given directions for collecting them, but in all probability great deficiencies will be found; indeed, it has already been ascertained that those delivered in 1795 by the late Lieut.-General Simcoe are wholly lost to the service. To obviate for the future such an extensive waste, I propose fixing upon proper places at each post, wherein the arms may be deposited after the militia have exercised; and I have to request your excellency's permission to direct the field train department to attend to their preservation, and keep them in a state of repair, in the same manner as those remaining in store. The expense cannot be great, and in all such cases the infant state of the country obliges the militia to have recourse to the military.

I have recently had occasion to report, for your excellency's information, the total want of stores at this post, beyond those immediately necessary for the commissariat. I shall consequently be much at a loss to find accommodation for the 2,329 French muskets which your excellency has directed to be sent here; and as the only magazine is a small wooden shed, not sixty yards from the king's house, which is rendered dangerous from the quantity of powder it already contains, I cannot but feel a repugnance to lodge the additional 13,140 ball cartridges intended for this post in a place so evidently insecure. But as these arrangements cannot conveniently take place until the opening of the navigation, there will be sufficient time to contrive the best means to meet your excellency's wishes.

Major-General Brock to the Military Secretary.

YORK, December 11, 1811.

I was yesterday honored with your letter of the 6th of last month, with its enclosure. Soon after the departure of Lieut.-Governor Gore, the Indian accompts, which Mr. Howden states in his letter to Mr. Thomson to have transmitted to his excellency, were forwarded to Mr. Lane, who immediately proceeded in their examination.

Nothing is more certain than that the examination of the cash accompts will best proceed at Quebec, but how far it may be advisable to send future accompts such a distance away from all explanation, is a consideration of some moment. I am naturally anxious that the examination should, in the first instance, be made on the spot; and if an accomptant were continued on the establishment of this province, and took up the accompts from a recent date, he would be able to proceed almost as fast as others occurred. Transactions fresh in the memory could be easily explained, and a temporary audit would secure such a degree of accuracy as to leave little to be done on their reaching Quebec.

I have ventured to recommend Mr. M'Gill to his excellency, as every way qualified to fulfil the duties of an accomptant; and as his bodily infirmities must limit his exertions to some sedentary employment, he cannot, I conceive, be more usefully occupied than in that situation in this province. Mr. Lane shall be directed to proceed to Quebec; but the roads are in so bad a state, that he cannot possibly travel for some weeks.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock.

[OFFICIAL.]

QUEBEC, December 12, 1811.

I am directed to transmit herewith a copy of proposals for raising a corps of Glengary Fencibles. The commander of the forces has selected an officer

of the king's regiment, a Captain George M'Donell,* an avowed Catholic, and a relation of the Glengary priest of that name, to attempt the formation of a small battalion, to be in the first instance under his command with the rank of major; and in case a more respectable body can be collected, a lieutenant-colonel commandant will be appointed. Captain M'Donell will leave this in a few days, and he will be directed to take an early opportunity of communicating with you as soon as he has felt his ground a little in Glengary, and is able to form a correct idea of the prospect and extent of success that is likely to attend his exertions.

I shall have the honor of sending you by the next post a regulation for the payment of clergymen performing religious duties for the troops at the different stations in Canada. The officiating clergyman at York will receive the garrison allowances of a captain, together with a salary of £70, army sterling, per annum.

[PRIVATE.]

Sir George will fill up the new Glengary corps with as many officers as he can from the line, with permanent rank, and I have availed myself of the opportunity to propose one, in whose advancement I know you feel an interest. He has allowed me to note Lieutenant Shaw, of the 49th, for a company; and you are at liberty to inform his father, the general, of Sir George's favorable intentions towards his son.

Sir George Prevost to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, December 24, 1811.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2d instant, which reached me by the courier on Saturday, and I have not failed to give

* This officer, as major commanding the Glengary Light Infantry, distinguished himself in the capture of Ogdensburg, in February, 1813.

it that consideration which the importance of the several points, to which it alludes, entitles it.

In addition to the president's message being full of gunpowder, the report made to congress by its committee on the state of the foreign affairs of the United States, conveys sentiments of such decided hostility towards England, that I feel justified in recommending such precaution as may place you in a state of preparation for that event; and with this view you must endeavour to trace an outline of co-operation, compensating for our deficiency in strength. I agree with you as to the advantages which may result from giving, rather than receiving, the first blow; but it is not my opinion war will commence by a declaration of it. That act would militate against the policy of both countries; therefore, we must expect repeated petty aggressions from our neighbours, before we are permitted to retaliate by open hostilities. It is very satisfactory to observe the professions of the inhabitants of Upper Canada in defence of their property, and in support of their government.

I will look into the correspondence you refer to, which took place between Sir James Craig and Lieut.-Governor Gore, in 1807, 1808 and 1809, respecting the temper and disposition of your militia, and the policy to be observed in your intercourse with the Indians.

Your views, in regard to the line of conduct to be observed towards the militia forces, notwithstanding some existing circumstances unfavorable in their composition, are in my estimation wise, and on such conceptions I have hitherto acted.

There are too many considerations to allow me to hesitate in saying we must employ the Indians, if they can be brought to act with us. The utmost caution should be used in our language to them, and all direct explanation should be delayed, if possible, until hostilities are more certain; though, whenever the subject is adverted to, I think it would be advisable

always to intimate that, as a matter of course, we shall, in the event of war, expect the aid of our brothers. Although I am sensible this requires delicacy, still it should be done so as not to be misunderstood.

I shall call the attention of the commissariat to the supply of provisions that may be required in the Upper Province; and I had, previously to the arrival of your letter, given the deputy quartermaster-general directions for the building of another schooner for Lake Erie.*

I am sorry to observe, both by your militia act and returns, (that) you are embarrassed with officers holding the rank of colonel. It is certainly desirable that no higher rank should exist than that of lieutenant-colonel commandant, else, in many cases, the officers of militia on service might be seniors to the officers of the line in command of regiments. It is, I am apprehensive, scarcely possible to revoke the commissions of colonel which have been issued to the commanding officers of battalions of militia, for that of lieutenant-colonel—therefore, if commissions cannot without serious dissatisfaction be withdrawn, you are authorized in that case, in order to preserve the command of the inspecting field officer, to direct Lieut.-Colonel St. George to act with the local rank of colonel in Upper Canada, giving at the same time (should circumstances make it necessary that the troops of the line and those of the militia be called to act together) a corresponding local brevet to such lieutenant-colonels serving in regiments of the line, immediately under your command, as may appear to you necessary to obviate the inconvenience that may be anticipated from their having junior rank to officers in command of militia regiments; but as this latter arrangement is not free from considerable objection, you must retard the measure as much as circumstances will permit.

[The remainder of this letter is of no interest.]

* This vessel, named the Lady Prevost, was employed on the Lake, in August, 1812.

CHAPTER VI.

Our memoir having now reached the year 1812, in which the United States of America declared war against Great Britain, we proceed to give a brief review of the causes which led to that event; and in doing so it will be necessary to go back to the commencement of the century.

The first president of America, the immortal Washington,* and his successor, Adams, entertained friendly sentiments towards the British government and people; but early in 1801, Jefferson succeeded the latter functionary as president, being elected by ten of the sixteen states then constituting the Union. Jefferson was as inimical to England as he was favorable to France, so was his secretary of state, and successor in the presidential chair, Madison. Although there were many intervenient heart-burnings, it was not until the year 1807, when Jefferson was a second time president, that the government of the United States assumed a decidedly hostile attitude towards Great Britain. The Berlin decree, in which the French ruler ventured to declare the British islands in a state of blockade, and to interdict all neutrals from trading with the British ports in any commodities whatever, produced fresh retaliatory orders in council, intended to support England's maritime rights and commerce, and to counteract Bonaparte's

* He died at Mount Vernon, on the 14th December, 1799, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, leaving a widow, but no issue.

continental system. The Berlin decree was a gross infringement of the law of nations, and an outrage on neutral rights, which especially called for resistance from the Americans, a neutral and trading people; but they neither resisted nor seriously remonstrated against it. Napoleon intended by this decree to prevent the trade of England with the continent, but his failure should be a lesson to those statesmen who seek to check the free current of an interchange of products among nations, as with all his power he could not succeed in stopping the trade by contraband. Other causes of dispute arose from the determination of the British government to exclude the Americans from the blockaded ports of France, and from that inexhaustible source of quarrel, the impressment of British seamen from American vessels, especially as the difficulty of distinguishing British from American seamen led occasionally to the impressment of American native born citizens. In June, 1807, the rencontre occurred between his majesty's ship *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake*, which terminated in the forcible extraction from the American frigate of four deserters from British ships of war. The British government instantly disavowed this act, and recalled Vice-Admiral Berkeley, who had given the order to search the *Chesapeake*. Jefferson, however, not only issued a proclamation interdicting all British ships of war entering the ports of the United States, but proposed to congress to lay an embargo on American vessels, and to compel the trading ships of every other nation to quit the American harbours—another wise expedient, like the Berlin decree, for the encouragement of smuggling across the frontier.* This proposition was warmly opposed by the federalists, or Washingtonians, but it was nevertheless adopted by large majorities. Thus matters remained, with subsequent slight modifications, from the month of December, 1807, to the declaration of war in 1812, an interval

* See conclusion of Brigadier Brock's letter, dated Montreal, July 20, 1808.

which the commercial classes in the United States spent in a hopeless struggle against bankruptcy and ruin. Attempts were not wanting on our part to arrive at a friendly accommodation, but Jefferson demanded, as a preliminary, the revocation of the British orders in council, and the entire exemption of American ships from any search, or from any question as to their crews or cargoes. The British government pledged itself to repeal the orders in council as soon as the French decrees should cease to exist. In 1809, Jefferson was succeeded as president by Madison, who was compelled to yield somewhat to the popular outcry, and to repeal the universal embargo, substituting a non-intercourse act with England and France, both which nations, it must be confessed, having, by restraints on their commerce, given the Americans just grounds for dissatisfaction. On the 21st of April, 1812, the prince regent in council engaged to revoke the obnoxious orders in council of the years 1807 and 1809, whenever the French government should repeal the Berlin and Milan decrees; and having received notice of such repeal, the orders in council were revoked on the 23d of June following, as far as regarded America, with a proviso that the revocation should be of no effect unless the United States rescinded their non-intercourse act with England. It has been thought that the revocation came too late, and that if it had been conceded a few weeks earlier, there would have been no war with America; but Madison had been treating with Bonaparte's government since the end of the year 1810, and the whole course of his conduct, with his evident desire to illustrate his presidency by the conquest of Canada, proved his determination to brave a war with England. He and his party nicely calculated on which side the greater profit was to be obtained—whether the United States would gain more by going to war with England than by hostility against Bonaparte and his edicts. "Every thing in

the United States," says James, in his naval history, "was to be settled by a calculation of profit and loss. France had numerous allies—England scarcely any. France had no contiguous territory—England had the Canadas ready to be marched into at a moment's notice. France had no commerce—England had richly-laden merchantmen traversing every sea. England, therefore, it was against whom the death-blows of America were to be levelled." The struggles of England against Napoleon enabled the American government to choose its own time. On the 14th April, congress laid an embargo on all ships and vessels of the United States during the space of ninety days, with the view of lessening the number that would be at the mercy of England when war was finally declared, and also of manning efficiently their ships of war and privateers. By the end of May their fastest merchant vessels were converted into cruisers, ready to start at a short notice. On the 18th of June, before the revocation of the orders in council was known in the United States, a declaration of war was issued by President Madison, in accordance with the decision of congress on the previous day, the votes in the senate being 19 to 13, and in the house of representatives 79 to 49; and its supporters being chiefly from the western and southern states to Pennsylvania inclusive, while the advocates for peace were principally from the northern and eastern states.* The American declaration of war reached London on the 30th July, but in the belief that the repeal of the orders in council would produce a suspension of hostilities, the British government simply ordered the embargo and detention of American ships and property; and it was not until the 13th of October, the day on which Sir Isaac Brock was slain, that it issued an order granting general reprisals against the ships, goods, and citizens of the United States.

* Pictorial History of England.

Sir George Prevost to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, January 22, 1812.

It is the opinion of the adjutant-general that you will not wish to avail yourself of the conditional leave of absence I have received authority to grant you. I shall hear with particular satisfaction that Baynes is not mistaken, as I value your services highly.

If it be the disposition of government to employ Major-General Sheaffe, the death of Major-General Balfour, at Fredericton, and the absence of Major-General Wilder, afford the opportunity of doing so without depriving me of your assistance at this critical period of affairs.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock, at York.

QUEBEC, January 23, 1812.*

Sir George Prevost has commissioned me to inform you that by the October mail, which arrived two days ago, he received a letter from the adjutant-general, authorizing him to permit your return to England for the purpose of being employed on the continent, and sanctioning his appointing Major-General Sheaffe to succeed you on the staff in Canada. But Sir George, viewing the intention of the commander-in-chief as instigated solely by a desire to promote your wishes and advantage, and having learnt from me that, from the tenor of your recent correspondence, I was led to believe that you would prefer retaining your present charge, he has directed me to inform you of the circumstance by a private letter, which will enable you to canvass the subject with more freedom than an official communication would admit of. Your decision to remain longer in Canada will be highly acceptable to him. Sheaffe, I have no doubt, will be very speedily provided for in this country, without

* This and a few of the subsequent letters from Colonel Baynes are partly in cypher of figures, but of course we have not the key.

depriving us of your services. Sir George has asked permission to appoint him in General Wilder's place, and there will be two vacancies in Nova Scotia to fill up in the spring.

Sir George has great pleasure in acceding to your request to be permitted to nominate one or two ensigns to the Glengary Fencibles; and, if you wish, young Shaw may be immediately provided for in that corps, and afterwards transferred to the line.

The cold here has been severer for the last eight days than has ever been recollected by the oldest inhabitant; the thermometer falling as low as 33° under cipher, accompanied with high wind, and never rising during all that time above 15° below—it is at this moment 20° under cipher: fortunate you, that are in a milder climate, for we are suffering dreadfully from excessive cold. By your description of your pastime in shooting wild pigeons, you certainly possess a very great advantage over us in these respects.* We have been much plagued with ophthalmia, which has been very general in the king's regiment, and the severe cold does not prevent the contagion.

Major-General Brock to the Military Secretary.

YORK, January, 1812.

I beg leave to observe, in answer to your letter of the 12th ultimo, that my sole object in making the representation contained in my letter of the 8th of November was to point out the necessity of authorizing the storekeeper-general to make purchases, provided the Indian presents did not reach this country before the close of the navigation—their subsequent arrival, however, removes every difficulty. I

* "Immense flocks of the passenger, or wild pigeon, frequent Upper Canada during spring and autumn; and myriads of them are killed by fire arms, or caught in nets, by the inhabitants, for they fly so close, and in such numbers, that twenty or thirty may sometimes be brought down at a single shot."—*Howison's Upper Canada.*

am truly sensible of his excellency's provident care and attention in directing the requisition for the ensuing year to be sent by land, as the early receipt of the presents is always, but particularly in these uncertain times, very desirable. The instructions of the 6th of May, 1790, issued by Lord Dorchester, have been continued in full force by my predecessor at the head of the civil administration, on whom the charge of the Indian department devolved in consequence of the Duke of Portland's letter to General Prescott, and the king's additional instructions, dated the 15th of December, 1796. How far this change from the military to the civil superintendence has tended to advance the service I am not prepared to say, but I rather incline to think that, considering the mode in which the expense of the department is defrayed, it is liable to produce confusion.

The instructions, a copy of which you transmitted, apply to such Indians as live a short distance from the several posts. Vast numbers resort every year, particularly to Amherstburg, from countries at such a great distance, that it is utterly impossible to regulate their attendance. I myself saw, in 1810, about eight hundred at Amherstburg, who had been there upwards of a month receiving rations, awaiting the arrival of the presents which the vessel, in which I embarked the middle of August, carried to that post; and I understand that this generally occurs every season. I find that in 1808 Lieut.-Governor Gore transmitted to England two requisitions, one amounting to £9,546. 16s. 3d. for the ordinary service of the Indian department, and the other to £23,795. 1s. 3d., which his excellency represented as necessary in the event of war. I am credibly informed within these few days that both requisitions have been complied with. The fact can be easily ascertained, and, if found correct, the whole of the goods of the war demand must be in store, for I have reason to believe that no call has been made upon it from this province.

Major-General Brock to Colonel Baynes.

YORK, January 26, 1812.

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

Understanding from Captain M'Donell that the commander of the forces had applied to the prince regent for permission to offer some of the waste land of the crown as an inducement to the Scotch emigrants to enlist, I stated the circumstance to council, and have much pleasure in assuring his excellency, that should he be of opinion the present aspect of affairs calls for prompt measures, and that a direct promise of land would accelerate the recruiting, this government will readily pledge itself to grant one, or even two, hundred acres to such as enlist on the terms proposed by his excellency. This will be deviating largely from the king's instructions; but in these eventful and critical times, the council conceives that an expression from his excellency of the necessity of the measure will be sufficient to warrant a departure from the usual rules. Should his excellency think it expedient to act immediately, and authorize a direct offer of land, I have no doubt that a number of young men might be collected between Kingston and Amherstburg, in which case his excellency may sanction the raising of two additional companies under my superintendance,

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

YORK, January 26, 1812.

The very serious inconvenience which the inhabitants of this province experience for want of a sufficient land communication with Lower Canada, induces me to trouble you on the subject. The Rev. Mr. M'Donell, of Glengary, the bearer of this letter, is so well qualified to explain the causes which have hitherto impeded the cutting of a road to connect the two provinces, that I need not detain your excellency, particularly as reference can be had to Lieut.-Colonel Bruyeres, who, having been employed by Sir James Craig to ascertain the grounds upon which a difficulty arose in the attainment of so desirable an object, can give every necessary information.

If, through your indulgent interference, this impediment can be overcome, a lasting obligation will be imposed on the inhabitants.

On the 4th February, 1811, Major-General Brock, accompanied by a numerous suite, opened the session of the legislature at York with the following speech to the legislative council and the house of assembly :

“Honorable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly.

“I should derive the utmost satisfaction, the first time of my addressing you, were it permitted me to direct your attention solely to such objects as tended to promote the peace and prosperity of this province.

“The glorious contest in which the British empire is engaged, and the vast sacrifice which Great Britain nobly offers to secure the independence of other nations, might be expected to stifle every feeling of envy and jealousy, and at the same time to excite the interest and command the admiration of a free people ; but, regardless of such generous impressions, the American government evinces a disposition calculated to impede and divide her efforts.

“England is not only interdicted the harbours of the United States, while they afford a shelter to the cruisers of her

inveterate enemy, but she is likewise required to resign those maritime rights which she has so long exercised and enjoyed. Insulting threats are offered, and hostile preparations actually commenced; and though not without hope that cool reflection and the dictates of justice may yet avert the calamities of war, I cannot, under every view of the relative situation of the province, be too urgent in recommending to your early attention the adoption of such measures as will best secure the internal peace of the country, and defeat every hostile aggression.

“Principally composed of the sons of a loyal and brave band of veterans, the militia, I am confident, stand in need of nothing but the necessary legislative provisions, to direct their ardour in the acquirement of military instruction, to form a most efficient force.

“The growing prosperity of these provinces, it is manifest, begins to awaken a spirit of envy and ambition. The acknowledged importance of this colony to the parent state will secure the continuance of her powerful protection. Her fostering care has been the first cause, under Providence, of the uninterrupted happiness you have so long enjoyed. Your industry has been liberally rewarded, and you have in consequence risen to opulence.

“These interesting truths are not uttered to animate your patriotism, but to dispel any apprehension which you may have imbibed of the possibility of England forsaking you; for you must be sensible that if once bereft of her support, if once deprived of the advantages which her commerce and the supply of her most essential wants give you, this colony, from its geographical position, must inevitably sink into comparative poverty and insignificance.

“But Heaven will look favourably on the manly exertions which the loyal and virtuous inhabitants of this happy land are prepared to make, to avert such a dire calamity.

“Our gracious prince, who so gloriously upholds the dignity of the empire, already appreciates your merit; and it will be your first care to establish, by the course of your actions, the just claim of the country to the protection of his royal highness.

“I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of announcing to you from this place, the munificent intention of his royal highness the prince regent, who has been graciously pleased to signify that a grant of £100 per annum will be proposed in the annual estimates, for every future missionary of the Gospel sent from England, who may have faithfully discharged, for the term of ten years, the duties of his station in this province.

“Gentlemen of the House of Assembly.

“I have no doubt but that, with me, you are convinced of the necessity of a regular system of military instruction to the militia of this province;—on this salutary precaution, in the event of a war, our future safety will greatly depend, and I doubt not but that you will cheerfully lend your aid, to enable me to defray the expense of carrying into effect a measure so conducive to our security and defence.

“I have ordered the public accounts to be laid before you, and have no doubt but that you will consider them with that attention which the nature of the subject may require.

“Honorable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly.

“I have, without reserve, communicated to you what has occurred to me on the existing circumstances of this province. We wish and hope for peace, but it is nevertheless our duty to be prepared for war.

“The task imposed upon you, on the present occasion, is arduous; this task, however, I hope and trust, laying aside every consideration but that of the public good, you will perform with that firmness, discretion, and promptitude, which a regard to yourselves, your families, your country, and your king, calls for at your hands.

“As for myself, it shall be my utmost endeavour to co-operate with you in promoting such measures as may best contribute to the security and to the prosperity of this province.”

The addresses of the provincial parliament in reply were highly satisfactory, and in answer Major-General Brock observed :

“The congratulations offered upon my appointment to the honorable station I hold in this province, and the confidence you so early repose in me, are, be assured, received with pride and heartfelt satisfaction.

“Impressed with the assurance of your support, I feel a most perfect reliance that the exertions of this province will be found equal to meet every emergency of this important crisis.”

The conclusion of the following letter is descriptive of Major-General Brock's views and intentions in the probable event of a war ensuing between Great Britain and the United States, and which a few months afterwards he carried into effect with a success that must have exceeded his most sanguine expectations.

Major-General Brock to Colonel Baynes, the Adj.-General.

YORK, February 12, 1812.

I received yesterday your letter dated the 16th and 23d ult. My attention was so much occupied with my civil duties during the stay of Captain Gray* at York, that some military points escaped consideration, and I shall now advert to them. As no mention is made of withdrawing the 41st from this province, I consider the proposed movement of the 49th as intended to give me an accession of strength; and the apprehension occasioned by Captain Gray's report to the contrary, is consequently dispelled. The assurance, which I gave in my speech at the opening of the legislature, of England co-operating in the defence of this province, has infused the utmost confidence; and I have reason at this moment to look for the acquiescence of the two houses to every measure I may think necessary to recommend for the peace and defence of the country. A spirit has manifested itself, little expected by those who conceived themselves the best qualified to judge of the disposition of the members of the house of assembly. The most powerful opponents to Governor Gore's administration take the lead on the present occasion. I, of course, do not think it expedient to damp the ardour displayed by these once doubtful characters. Some opposed Mr. Gore evidently from personal motives, but never forfeited the right of being numbered among the most loyal. Few, very few, I believe, were actuated by base or unworthy considerations, however mistaken they may have been on various occasions. Their character will very soon be put to a severe test. The measures which I intend to propose, are :

- 1.—A militia supplementary act. Sir George will hear the outlines from Captain Gray.

* Captain Gray was killed, while acting deputy quartermaster-general, at the attack on Sackett's Harbour, in May, 1813, and was much regretted. He served many years in Guernsey in the Staff Corps; and in 1816 an excellent topographical map of the islands of Guernsey, Sark, Herm, and Jethou, was published, which had been surveyed and drawn by him.

- 2.—The suspension of the habeas corpus—a copy of the act now enforced in the Lower Province.
- 3.—An alien law.
- 4.—The offer of a reward for the better apprehension of deserters.

If I succeed in all this, I shall claim some praise ; but I am not without my fears. I shall send you the militia act the moment it passes into a law. The more I consider the new provisions, the more I am satisfied (giving, of course, every proper allowance to the disposition of the people) they are peculiarly calculated to meet the local situation of the country. I have not a musket more than will suffice to arm the active part of the militia, from Kingston westward. I have, therefore, to request that the number of arms may be sent, according to the enclosed requisition, to the places therein specified, on the communication between Glengary and Kingston. Every man capable of carrying a musket, along the whole of that line, ought to be prepared to act. The members of the assembly from that part of the country are particularly anxious that some works may be thrown up as a rallying point and place of security for stores, &c., in the vicinity of Johnstown. I shall request Colonel M'Donnell to examine, on his return, the ground which those gentlemen recommend as best suited for that purpose. Being immediately opposite Ozwegatchie, some precaution of the sort is indispensable, were it only to preserve a free communication between the two provinces. I have been made to expect the able assistance of Captain Marlow. Should he be still at Quebec, have the goodness to direct his attention, on his way up, to that quarter. He had better consult Colonel Frazer and Captain Gilkinson, men of sound judgment, and well acquainted with the country. The militia will have, of course, to be employed on the works.

I must still press the necessity of an active, enterprising, intelligent commander, being stationed on that important line of communication. I wish Colonel Ellice* were here to undertake the arduous task, as it is wholly impossible that I can do so. Every assistance in my civil capacity I shall always be ready to give, and to that point my exertions must be necessarily limited. Niagara and Amherstburg will sufficiently occupy my attention. I deliver my sentiments freely, believing they will not be the less acceptable.

I discussed every point connected with Amherstburg so completely with Captain Gray, that I do not find any thing very essential was omitted. Colonel M'Donnell will be able probably to give us further insight as to the actual state of affairs there. He was to make every inquiry, and, as far as he was permitted, to judge himself of the relative strength of Detroit. Lieut.-Colonel ——† preceded him by some days, but in such a state of mind that forbids my placing any dependance on his exertions. When I first mentioned my intention of sending him to Amherstburg, he seemed diffident of his abilities, but pleased at the distinction. However, when he received his final instructions, his conduct in the presence of some officers was so very improper, and otherwise so childish, that I have since written to say, if he continued in the same disposition, he was at liberty to return to Niagara. I did not directly order him back, because at this time I consider an officer of rank necessary at Amherstburg, particularly during the absence of Messrs. Elliott and Baby, who are both here attending their parliamentary duties. You will imagine, after what I have stated, that it is the influence of his rank I alone covet, and not his personal aid. He has very fortunately given timely proof that he is in no way

* The present Lieut.-General Ellice, colonel of the 24th regiment of foot, mentioned at page 109.

† We suppress the name from consideration to his family—he died general officer.

ambitious of military fame, therefore unfit for so important a command. Should it please his excellency to place the 41st and 49th at my disposal, I propose sending the former regiment to Amherstburg, as we cannot be too strong in that quarter. I have already explained myself on that point, and Captain Gray is furnished with further arguments in support of the measure.

I have delayed to the last the mention of a project which I consider of the utmost consequence in the event of hostilities. I set out with declaring my full conviction, that unless Detroit and Michilimackinac be both in our possession immediately at the commencement of hostilities, not only the district of Amherstburg, but most probably the whole country as far as Kingston, must be evacuated. How necessary, therefore, to provide effectually the means of their capture. From Amherstburg it will be impossible to send a force to reduce Michilimackinac. Unless we occupy completely both banks, no vessel could pass the river St. Clair. What I therefore presume to suggest for his excellency's consideration, is the adoption of a project which Sir James Craig contemplated three years ago. The north-west company undertook to transport 50 or 60 men up the Ottawa, and I make no doubt would engage again to perform the same service. If, therefore, a war be likely to occur, at the time the canoes start from Montreal I should recommend 40 or 50 of the 49th light company, and a small detachment of artillery, embarking at the same time for St. Joseph's. Should hostilities commence, the north-west would not object to join their strength in the reduction of Michilimackinac; and should peace succeed the present wrangling, the 49th detachment could be easily removed to Amherstburg.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

YORK, February 12, 1812.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's letter of the 23d ultimo, with its enclosure, and in answer have to request you to lay my humble acknowledgments before his royal highness the commander-in-chief, for his gracious compliance with my solicitation to visit England. Being now placed in a high ostensible situation, and the state of public affairs with the American government indicating a strong presumption of an approaching rupture between the two countries, I beg leave to be allowed to remain in my present command.

The uniform confidence which your excellency has been pleased to repose in my endeavours to promote the king's service, permit me to assure you, is a strong additional motive with me for entreating permission to remain at this juncture under the immediate orders of your excellency.

Major-General Brock to the Military Secretary.

YORK, February 12, 1812.

I have directed the assistant deputy commissary-general at Amherstburg to purchase 2,000 bushels of Indian corn. Corn will be absolutely necessary in the event of war; and, should peace follow the existing discussions, the Indians will gladly receive it in lieu of other food. It is to be procured, if possible, on the American side, that our own stock may remain undiminished. Several agents have already arrived from the Lower Province, and made large purchases of flour; if, therefore, our contracts are not soon concluded, we shall be at the mercy of those gentlemen. I have not considered myself justified in interfering in the business of the commissariat. I have been informed very lately that my account has been charged with £20, for my portion of the expense of a canoe, employed in taking Governor Gore

and myself to York: perhaps his excellency may consider this sum a fair public charge.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, February 20, 1812.

Captain M'Donell has not clearly understood the purport of his mission to Upper Canada, and the general regrets that he should have proceeded the length he has done without having previously received your advice and instructions, to obtain which was the chief object of his visit to York. It is to be hoped, however, that sufficient patronage still remains open to meet your wishes, as the appointment of three of General Shaw's sons may be considered, from the sentiments of friendship and regard you have testified for that officer, to be almost equivalent to anticipating your own choice of them. And Sir George has directed me to inform you, that he readily accepts of your proposal to recruit two companies, to be added to the Glengary Fencibles; the nomination of the officers, viz. two captains, two lieutenants, and two ensigns, to rest entirely with you. The general has approved of the following quotas of men for the respective ranks; captains 30, lieutenants 15, and ensigns 20; the commissions to be issued on completing the quota, and such as complete their proportion quickest, or exceed in extra number of recruits, will have priority in regimental rank. I am not aware that Sir George purposes nominating a lieutenant-colonel; but I am sure that you will not feel less disposed to promote the formation of this corps, when I inform you that it is his intention to recommend me to the commander-in-chief for the appointment of colonel.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, February 22, 1812.

Sir George is much pleased with the favorable account Captain Gray has given him of your proceed-

ings. Your speech is highly approved of here, and we shall rejoice to find our house following so laudable an example as your commons have shewn them—but I am not sanguine; they have already commenced with great illiberality and violence to vent their spleen and resentment against Sir James (Craig) in votes of censure, and I fancy Sir George, with all his amiable, conciliatory manners, will hardly succeed in keeping them within bounds.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

YORK, February —, 1812.

I cannot permit Colonel M'Donnell to return home without giving your excellency a short account of our proceedings here.

I had every reason to expect the almost unanimous support of the two houses of the legislature to every measure the government thought it necessary to recommend; but after a short trial, I found myself egregiously mistaken in my calculations.

The many doubtful characters in the militia made me anxious to introduce the oath of abjuration into the bill: there were twenty members in the house, when this highly important measure was lost by the casting voice of the chairman.

The great influence which the numerous settlers from the United States possess over the decisions of the lower house is truly alarming, and ought immediately, by every practical means, to be diminished. To give encouragement to real subjects to settle in this province, can alone remove the evil. The consideration of the fees should not stand in the way of such a politic arrangement; and should your excellency ultimately determine to promise some of the waste lands of the crown to such Scotch emigrants as enlist in the Glengary Fencibles, I have no hesitation in recommending, in the strongest manner, the raising of a Canadian corps upon similar offers, to be hereafter

disbanded and distributed among their countrymen in the vicinity of Amherstburg. Colonel M^cDonnell being in full possession of my sentiments on this subject, I beg leave to refer your excellency to him for further information.

The bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus, I regret to say, was likewise lost by a very trifling majority. A strong sentiment now prevails that war is not likely to occur with the United States, which, I believe, tended to influence the votes of the members; I mean of such who, though honest, are by their ignorance easily betrayed into error.

The low ebb of their finances appears to stagger the most desperate democrats in the States, and may possibly delay the commencement of direct hostilities; but should France and England continue the contest much longer, it appears to me absolutely impossible for the United States to avoid making their election; and the unfriendly disposition they have for some years past evinced towards England, leaves little doubt as to their choice. Your excellency, I am sensible, will excuse the freedom with which I deliver my sentiments.

Every day hostilities are retarded, the greater the difficulties we shall have to encounter. The Americans are at this moment busily employed in raising six companies of Rangers, for the express purpose of overawing the Indians; and are besides collecting a regular force at Vincennes, probably with a view of reinforcing Detroit. Indeed, report states the arrival of a large force at Fort Wayne, intended for the former garrison. Their intrigues among the different tribes are carried on openly, and with the utmost activity; and as no expense is spared, it may reasonably be supposed that they do not fail of success. Divisions are thus uninterruptedly sown among our Indian friends, and the minds of many altogether estranged from our interests. Such must inevitably be the consequence of our present inert and neutral proceedings

in regard to them. It ill becomes me to determine how long true policy requires that the restrictions now imposed upon the Indian department ought to continue; but this I will venture to assert, that each day the officers are restrained from interfering in the concerns of the Indians, each time they advise peace and withhold the accustomed supply of ammunition, their influence will diminish, till at length they lose it altogether.

I find that ever since the departure of Priest Burke from Sandwich, the £50 per annum paid from the military chest to that gentleman have been withheld, on what account I have not been able to ascertain. The individual at present officiating is highly spoken of; and as several gentlemen of the Catholic persuasion have applied to me to intercede with your excellency to renew the allowance, I presume to submit the case to your indulgent consideration.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, March 5, 1812.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th of February, which I have communicated to Sir George, who is highly pleased to find you are satisfied to retain the important post you fill, and which you appear to govern under such very auspicious prospects. I sincerely trust you will be able to keep your subjects, and particularly your house of representatives, in the same good humour and sound principles which they have hitherto testified. You will perceive, in the main sentiments of Sir George's opening address, a perfect accordance with your own: the answer of the assembly led to a very violent and personal debate, which lasted with closed doors for nearly eighteen hours. It would have been more to their credit had they left out the allusion which has drawn from Sir George a very appropriate retort. Your friend, James Cuthbert,

was very warm and eloquent upon the occasion; and the demagogue party seemed sensible of the severity of his satire, when he compared the factious cabal to Æsop's fable of the ass kicking at the dying lion. Having vented their spleen, they will, I believe, prove a little more tractable: the militia bill has a prospect of being materially amended, and they will, I think, allow a proportion of about 2,000 men, or perhaps a few more, to be incorporated for two or three months, for three successive years; after the second year to be replaced by a new quota, and to be selected by ballot, and no substitutes permitted to serve in the place of a militiaman drawn by lot; this will be a great point gained.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

YORK, March 9, 1812.

As the transactions which have occurred in the house of assembly, in regard to the chief justice, may be represented at Quebec in a manner to excite wrong impressions, I deem it proper to furnish your excellency with a summary of the whole business.

The inordinate power assumed by the house of assembly is truly alarming, and ought to be resisted, otherwise the most tyrannical system will assuredly be pursued by men who suffer themselves to be led by a desperate faction, that stop at nothing to gratify their personal resentment.

Mr. Nichol* is a gentleman of education, and who, in the district in which he resides, has done essential good in opposing the democratic measures of a Mr. Willcocks and his vile coadjutors. The palpable injustice committed against his person, by dragging him at midnight, without any previous warning, one hundred miles from his home to the bar of the house, and then committing him to gaol

* Mr. Nichol was a lieutenant-colonel of militia, and quartermaster-general of that force at the capture of Detroit.

under the most frivolous pretences, has greatly alarmed the most reflecting part of the community. Efforts are to be made by several respectable characters to get into the next assembly; but such is the spirit which unfortunately prevails, that I much fear they will be foiled in their attempt. I was inclined to dismiss the house before the members passed such harsh resolutions against the chief justice, but his friends recommended that they should be allowed to proceed without interruption.

Major-General Brock to Colonel Baynes.

YORK, March 9, 1812.

I received yesterday your letter dated the 20th of February, and have to express my thanks to Sir George Prevost for his readiness in attending to my wishes.

His excellency having been pleased to authorize the raising of two companies under my superintendance, giving me the nomination of the officers, I have to acquaint you, for his information, that Alexander Roxburgh, Esq., has been appointed by me to raise men for a company, and William M'Lean, gentleman, for an ensigny.* The former is a gentleman strongly recommended to me by Mr. Cartwright, of Kingston; and the latter, the son of an officer formerly in the 25th regiment, who, having settled in this country, has become one of the most influential characters in it. He is a member of the house of assembly for the district of Frontenac. I have not yet determined in respect to the remaining commissions, but will report the instant the individuals are nominated.

Captain Dixon (royal engineers) proceeded four days ago to Amherstburg, with the gentlemen who were returning from their parliamentary duties.

* In the action with the enemy near Fort George, May 27, 1813, an Ensign M'Lean was killed, and Captain Roxburgh was wounded—both of the Glengary regiment.

I request you will have the goodness to inform me of the probable time I may expect the honor of seeing Sir George Prevost, as I shall consider it a duty, which I shall execute with the utmost pleasure, to meet his excellency at Kingston.

Major-General Brock to the Military Secretary.

YORK, March 9, 1812.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 20th ultimo, with its enclosures.

Not having received a statement of the Indian goods, which you inform me his excellency has been pleased to direct the storekeeper-general to forward to the Upper Province, I cannot say how far they are likely to meet the yearly consumption; but I make no doubt that they will be found sufficient to answer every demand, until the arrival of fresh supplies from England.

The storekeeper-general will receive by this opportunity a statement of such articles of Indian presents as I conceive indispensably necessary to be lodged, previous to the closing of the navigation, at the several posts in this province, should appearances continue to indicate an unfriendly disposition on the part of the United States.

Colonel Proctor reports the difficulty in which he is involved, owing to the scarcity of cash to pay the 41st regiment, and probably a supply from Quebec may be necessary. Major M'Pherson is under the same embarrassment at Kingston.

A contractor for building a schooner at this place has commenced with a strong party of workmen, and is likely, judging from the model, to complete a superior vessel.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, March 19, 1812.

I regret to find by your late letters to Sir George Prevost, that your expectations from your legislature have not been realised to the extent of your well grounded hopes. Sir George, who is well versed in the fickle and untractable disposition of public assemblies, feels more regret than disappointment. He has a very delicate card to play with his house of assembly here, who would fain keep up the farce of being highly charmed and delighted with his amiable disposition and affable manners: they have even gone the length of asserting, that these traits in his character have afforded them the most entire confidence that, in his hands, the alien act would not be abused. They have, however, taken the precaution of stripping it of its very essence and spirit, while last year they passed it without a division, when Sir James, (Craig,) on whose mild and affable disposition they did not pretend to rely, told them that it could only alarm such as were conscious of harbouring seditious designs. They have passed an amendment to the militia bill, which, though not affording all that was required, is still a material point gained: 2,000 men are to be ballotted to serve for three months in two successive summers; one of their strongest objections was the apprehension of the Canadians contracting military habits and enlisting into the service.

Sir George has directed me to inform you, that he will be ready to render you any assistance in his power to strengthen the Upper Province; but that unless reinforcements arrive from England, (in which case you may depend upon having a due proportion put under your immediate command,) his means of doing so are but very limited. His excellency is not sanguine in his expectation of receiving reinforcements this summer; on the contrary, the appearance of hostilities beginning to abate at Washington, and

the pledge held out in the prince regent's speech of supporting with energy the contest in Spain and Portugal, are likely to prevent more troops being sent to this quarter, unless a more urgent necessity of doing so should appear. I will not comment on American politics, in which we all appear to agree that the deep-rooted jealousy and hatred of that people must in the end lead to hostilities, and that it behoves us not to lose sight of an event which, if not prepared to meet, we shall find more difficult to repel;—under this impression, Sir George is disposed to promote the several plans you have recommended to him, relating to the general line of conduct you would wish to adopt in defence of the important province committed to your charge. If no additional forces be sent out, he will send up the strong detachment of the 41st, composed of uncommonly fine young men, and in very good order: the general has it also in view to send you a strong detachment of the Newfoundland regiment, selecting their seamen and marine artificers, who will be most useful in the proposed works to be carried on at York; and here I am apprehensive that the means of augmenting your strength must be bounded, unless the Glengary Levy can be rapidly formed, and Sir George is sanguine in his expectations of its being speedily placed upon a respectable footing: in that case, it could occupy Kingston and that line of communication between the provinces, which you deem so essential to be guarded. This corps will have the very great advantage of starting with a better selected body of officers than has fallen to the lot of any Fencible regiment in Canada. I hope you will feel inclined to bring forward Shaw as one of your captains, as without your countenance I fear he will find it an arduous task to provide for himself and his brother. The uniform of the corps is to be green, like that of the 95th rifles.

Sir George expressed himself very sensible of the

policy of the line of conduct you would wish to pursue respecting the Indians; but as other considerations of the greatest political delicacy are so minutely interwoven with them, and as the American government are already inclined to view every transaction with those people with a jealous and suspicious eye, he would recommend the utmost caution and forbearance, lest a different line of conduct might tend to increase the irritation between the two governments, which it is evidently the wish of Great Britain to allay.

Our weather has been, and still continues for the season, severer than ever was recollected by the oldest stagers, and has rather put our Halifax friends out of conceit with the fine climate of Canada, particularly as Lady Prevost's* health is delicate, and she is very sensible of cold.† Mrs. Cator and Mrs. Baynes beg to be most kindly remembered to you. General Bowes accompanied Kempt to Portugal in the end of December.

Major-General Brock to the Military Secretary.

YORK, March 24, 1812.

The deputy superintendent-general of Indian affairs having represented the serious inconvenience to which the service would be liable by adhering to the new regulations of the commissary-general, in regard to the mode of issuing provisions to Indians, I herewith enclose a copy of his letter for his excellency's consideration. His arguments on the subject I consider as conclusive, for unless he be allowed to use

* Lady Prevost was the eldest daughter of Major-General Phipps, of the Royal Engineers: she died in 1821.

† An opinion prevails in North America that the climate is undergoing a gradual change, in consequence of the continued clearing of the forests—that there is now less rain and less snow, and that the winters are milder and shorter than formerly; but this impression does not appear to be grounded on a careful course of observation, as in the winter of 1831-2 the ice was probably as thick, and the year before the snow as deep, as within the memory of man.—*America Geographically Described*. London, 1845.

his discretion, independently of the interference of the officer commanding the post, in supplying the Indians with provisions at any time that he may judge expedient, much mischief will accrue to the service. Lieut.-Governor Gore was so sensible of the necessity of such a discretion being lodged with the deputy superintendent-general, that he gave directions accordingly. It never was customary for the Indians to receive full rations—they have always been limited to flour and pork; and any attempt to issue the small articles to them, would only create an unnecessary waste. I have, on these grounds, taken upon myself to direct that no alteration shall take place in the usual mode of issuing provisions to the Indians, until his excellency's pleasure can be received to this communication.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, April 2, 1812.

Many thanks for the very kind and friendly note which accompanied your letter of the 9th ultimo, and I beg you to rest assured, that I am very sensible of your friendly disposition towards me, and feel particularly grateful and flattered by the kind manner in which you have the goodness to express it.

The American papers, under the head of English news, as late as the 20th January, give a circumstantial account of the death of Sir J. Craig, on Sunday, the 12th, at his house in Charlotte Street. There are too many circumstances corroborating an event which was so greatly to be apprehended, to leave a shadow of doubt of the severe loss that all, who were favored with his friendship, have sustained. To me, from my earliest youth, he has been the best and kindest friend, a steady and powerful patron; for few sons ever experienced more truly paternal care and affectionate regard from the best of fathers, than I have received at the hands of that best of men. The grief that I

cannot suppress is a selfish tribute to my own irreparable loss : his release from a state of cruel, lingering suffering, which, as I had so long witnessed, he bore with a degree of fortitude and patient resignation unparalleled, could have been no cause of regret to him, and therefore ought not to be so to those who most sincerely loved him ; but I have so long been accustomed to cherish the grateful and affectionate sentiments of a highly favored son to the best of parents, that, however I might have been prepared for this inevitable shock, I still feel that there are affections so rooted in our hearts, that this world's changes can never efface the impression. His memory will long be remembered with admiration by all who knew his merit. As a soldier he had few equals, and no knight had a fairer claim to the proud title of *sans peur et sans reproche* ; while the widow, the orphan, and every distressed object that claimed his aid, will testify the generous heart that once animated that good and honorable man.

The ladies of this house always beg to be remembered to you, with the sincerest good wishes for your health and happiness. Mrs. Baynes has been plotting with Mrs. Colonel Robertson to elope and pay you a visit, pressing Heriot* into their service as their knight errant.

*Major-General Brock to Lieut.-Colonel Nichol, Commanding
2d Regiment Norfolk Militia.*

YORK, April 8, 1812.

The power which is vested in the person administering the government, by the amended act of the militia, passed the last session of the provincial parliament, of forming two flank companies, to be taken indiscriminately from the battalions, being limited to the end of the ensuing session, would almost deter me from incurring public expense upon a system which

* The late Major-General Heriot, C.B., then Captain Heriot, of the 49th.

will cease to operate before its utility and efficacy can well be ascertained.

But being anxious at this important crisis to organize an armed force with a view of meeting future exigencies, and to demonstrate by practical experience the degree of facility with which the militia may be trained for service, I have to request you to adopt immediate measures for forming and completing, from among such men as voluntarily offer to serve, two companies, not to exceed one captain, two subalterns, two sergeants, one drummer, and thirty-five rank and file each, in the regiment under your command.

You will have the goodness to recommend two captains, whom you conceive the best qualified to undertake this important duty; the nominating of the subalterns is left to your discretion.

Such other regiments as are conveniently situated to receive military instruction, shall have an opportunity afforded them of shewing their ardour in the public service, which cannot fail of creating a laudable emulation among the different corps.

Assisted by your zeal, prudence, and intelligence, I entertain the pleasing hope of meeting with very considerable success, and of being able to establish the sound policy of rendering permanent, to the end of the present war, a mode of military instruction little burdensome to individuals, and every way calculated to secure a powerful internal defence against hostile aggression.

Printed rules and regulations, for your future guidance, are herewith forwarded: the most simple, and at the same time the most useful, movements have been selected for the practice of the militia.

Experience has shewn the absolute necessity of adopting every possible precaution to preserve in a proper state the arms issued to the militia, and of guarding against the heavy defalcations which have heretofore occurred.

You will make applications to the officer com-

manding at Fort Erie for the number of arms and accoutrements wanting to complete the men actually engaged to serve in the flank companies; and that officer will be instructed to comply with your requisition, upon your transmitting to him duplicate receipts, one of which is to be forwarded to head quarters, that you may become responsible for the articles delivered to your order: at the same time, the most liberal construction will be given to any representation, accounting for such contingencies as are incidental to the service.*

[The remaining details in this letter are omitted here.]

PROCLAMATION.

Province of Upper Canada.

Isaac Brock, Esquire, President, administering the Government of the Province of Upper Canada, and Major-General commanding his Majesty's Forces within the same,

To all whom these Presents shall come, greeting.

WHEREAS by an act passed in the forty-fourth year of his majesty's reign, intituled, "An act for granting to his majesty a certain sum of money for the further encouragement of the growth and cultivation of hemp within this province," altered and amended by several subsequent statutes, passed by the legislature of the said province, it is among other things enacted, that at any time or times after the passing thereof, it should and might be lawful for the governor, lieutenant-governor, or person administering the government of the said province, by and with the advice of the executive council thereof, to issue one or more proclamation or proclamations, and therein to name such and so many persons within the said province as to him shall seem meet, as commissioners for the purchasing of merchantable hemp, the growth of the said province. Now, know ye that I, the said Isaac Brock, esquire, president, administering the government of the said province, as aforesaid, by virtue and in pursuance of the said in part recited act, and by and with the advice and consent of the executive council of the said province, do hereby issue this my proclamation, and do nominate, constitute and

* The measure detailed in the preceding letter proved a very judicious one, as the flank companies were organized when the war broke out, and they were most useful in 1812-13.

appoint the Honorable James Baby, of Sandwich, Esquire, and the Honorable Richard Cartwright, of Kingston, Esquire, Thomas Talbot, of Port Talbot, Esquire, William Allan, of York, Esquire, Joseph Edwards, of Niagara, Esquire, and James Gordon, of Amherstburg, Esquire, in the said province, respectively, to be commissioners for the purchasing of merchantable hemp, the growth of this province, and for the carrying into effect the provisions of the said several acts of the legislature of this province.

Given under my hand and seal at arms, at York, in the province of Upper Canada, this eleventh day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve, and the fifty-second year of his majesty's reign.

(Signed) ISAAC BROCK, President.

By command of his honor,
WILLIAM JARVIS, Secretary.

Sir James Saumarez, Bart., to Major-General Brock.*

SPITHEAD, April 14, 1812.

Lientenant Le Couteur† being ordered to join his regiment in Canada, permit me to recommend him to your kind notice: he is a promising young officer, and being connected with our family, makes me interested for his welfare. I congratulate you upon your present distinguished appointment. A few weeks previous to my leaving town, I was informed by Lord Liverpool that Governor Gore had leave of absence, but that if he did not return to his command, he would be happy in taking your services into consideration. From what his lordship was pleased to add, I have no doubt of your succeeding to the government, in the event of Governor Gore obtaining any other situation.

I am on the point of returning to the Baltic, where there appears a strong disposition on the part of Russia and some of the other powers to resist the aggressions of Bonaparte—I trust with well-founded hopes of ultimate success.

* The late Admiral Lord De Saumarez, G.C.B., &c.

† The present Colonel Le Couteur, militia aide-de-camp to the queen, in Jersey. In the *United Service Journal* for October, 1831, Colonel Le Couteur has described the winter march of the 104th regiment, early in 1813, from New Brunswick to Canada.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

YORK, April 22, 1812.

I had the honor yesterday to receive your excellency's letter, dated the 21st ultimo, and I entreat you to believe that no act within my control shall afford the government of the United States a legitimate pretext to add to a clamour which has been so artfully raised against England.

We have received the account of the renewal of the embargo, and that the most rigorous measures have already been adopted to prevent the least infringement of it upon the Niagara river. Armed men, in coloured clothes, are continually patrolling along the shore. These troops are stated to have recently arrived, but I have not been able to ascertain whether they belong to the new levy or to the militia. They are reported to amount to about 300. Colonel Proctor has doubtless written fully on the subject, but unfortunately the letters, by some negligence, were left at Niagara. The accounts which have reached me are not, therefore, so satisfactory as could be wished. An idle boy is stated to have wantonly fired with ball at the guard opposite Queenstown, and it appears that the Americans were guilty of a similar outrage by firing during the night into a room in which a woman was sitting. Luckily no mischief followed. Being detained here upon civil business, I have sent Captain Glegg over to see how matters stand, and to arrange with both civil and military the best means of preventing a recurrence of a practice which may easily lead to serious consequences. I hope to be at Niagara myself the day after to-morrow.

I beg leave to assure your excellency, that I receive with no small degree of pride the praise bestowed on my endeavours to improve the militia system of this province; and as the bill underwent some alterations after the departure of Colonel M'Donnell, particularly in limiting its operation to the end of the ensuing

session, I shall have the honor to forward for your excellency's information the law as now enforced. I have, by partial and gentle means, already commenced to give it operation, and I make not the least doubt that a sufficient number will be found ready to volunteer to complete the flank companies; and I here beg leave to call your excellency's attention to the clause which authorizes the training of the flank companies six times in each month; but as no provision is made for remunerating the men, I presume to submit for your excellency's indulgent consideration, that the commissaries be instructed to issue rations for the number actually present at exercise. These companies I expect will be composed of the best description of inhabitants, who in most cases will have to go a great distance to attend parade; and, unless this liberal provision be allowed, will be liable to heavy expense, or be subject to considerable privations. According to my present arrangements, the number embodied will not exceed 700, and when the companies are completed throughout the province, they must be calculated at 1,800; and, as during harvest and the winter months few or no parades will take place, the total expense attending the measure can be of no material consequence in a pecuniary point of view, and may in a political light be productive, at this juncture, of considerable benefit.

I have likewise to request that such portion of clothing as your excellency can conveniently spare from the king's stores, may be forwarded, to enable me to clothe such companies as are the most likely to be called upon duty.

I am anxious to hear the real object of the embargo; should it be directed solely against England, the probability is that it leads to a war; but should France be included in its operation, nothing of the kind need be dreaded.

In the expectation of having the honor of seeing your excellency shortly at York, I limit, for the pre-

sent, the works of the military artificers at this place, to preparing a temporary magazine for the reception of the spare powder at Fort George and Kingston, and the excavation of the ditch for the proposed fortifications of the spot on which the government house stands.

I transmit, for your excellency's perusal, a detailed account of the transactions which led to the unjustifiable censure passed by the house of assembly upon Chief Justice Scott. It is written by Mr. Nichol himself; and the warmth with which he has expressed his indignation at the wanton exercise of a power yet undefined, as far as regards this province, is not therefore surprising. I am convinced that whenever the business is brought legally before the judges, they will refuse to sanction the enormous power, under the name of privilege, which the house arrogates to itself. The executive will in that case be placed in a very awkward predicament. Mr. Nichol, having commenced civil actions against the speaker and sergeant at arms for false imprisonment, will, should he succeed in obtaining damages, bring the question with double force on the *tapis*. The violence and ignorance which, in all probability, will mark the proceedings of the house, cannot fail of producing a dissolution. I apply forcibly to ministers for instructions, but should they be contrary to the opinion which the judges of the court of king's bench have formed of the law, I am led to believe they will not influence the members; therefore, one of two alternatives must be resorted to, either the appointment of more docile judges, or the decision of the question by a British act of parliament. I trust, for the tranquillity and prosperity of the province, that the latter mode may be preferred. I have thus freely, and perhaps with rather too much haste to be sufficiently explicit, stated the difficulties which in all likelihood I shall have to encounter at the next meeting of the legislature.

Should the effect of the embargo appear to be directed solely at Great Britain, I shall avail myself of the confidence placed in me, and order the purchase of horses, to enable the car brigade to act in case of necessity. This, being a service which requires infinite trouble and practice to bring to any degree of perfection, cannot be too soon attended to.

Major-General Brock to Ensign N. Freer, Military Secretary.

YORK, April 23, 1812.

I transmit herewith, for the information of the commander of the forces, a copy of a letter received from the Earl of Liverpool, authorizing an increase of £200 per annum to the salary of Colonel Claus, deputy superintendent of Indian affairs, to commence from the 1st of January last.

The inconvenience to which the public service has already been exposed, owing to a scarcity of specie; the likelihood of the evil being increased by the operation of the embargo; and the almost total impossibility, in the event of war, of getting a sufficient supply to defray the ordinary expenses of government, have led me to consider the best means of obviating so serious a difficulty. And having consulted with some of the principal merchants as to the practicability of introducing a paper currency with any probability of success, I think myself warranted in stating that such an arrangement would, particularly in the event of war, be generally supported throughout the province. The old inhabitants understand perfectly the circulation of paper as a substitute for specie; and having been formerly in the habit of receiving the notes of private individuals, they would not hesitate taking the more certain security of government, especially if convinced that payment could not be made in any other way.

The commissaries ought to be instructed to receive this paper as cash, giving bills in return on Quebec.

It is supposed that the circulation of 10 or £15,000 would answer every purpose. No note under 5s. or above £10 should be issued. The accompanying letter from Mr. Selby, the receiver-general, will fully elucidate the business.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st of April. The commissary-general will doubtless have been apprized that his instructions to Mr. M'Gill arrived in time to supersede those he received from me. Too great dependance ought not to be placed on the surplus of the several species of stores at the different posts. I have reason to think that at Amherstburg nearly the entire excess will be found damaged and unserviceable. Being desirous to ascertain the actual state of the stores at that post, I directed, a month ago, a regular survey to be taken of every article, and the moment I receive the report, it shall be forwarded to head quarters.

Flour has risen to eight dollars and one half per barrel. The effect of the embargo is not yet felt. Upwards of 40,000 barrels, the produce of the south of Lake Ontario, will be kept by it from the Montreal market.

Sir George Prevost to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, April 30, 1812.

I have just heard from Mr. Foster that the secretary at war, at Washington, has transmitted orders to Governor Tompkins, of New York, to send 500 of the state militia to Niagara; 500 to the mouth of the Black River, opposite to Kingston; and 600 to Champlain, in consequence of the hostile appearances in Canada. Mr. Foster is of opinion the government of the United States calculates that something will happen on the part of these men to produce a quarrel with the British troops, which may lead to retaliation on both sides, and occasion hostilities to commence, as in this way alone, it seems thought, an unjust war

can be forced on the American people, who are represented as really averse to it. We must, therefore, use every effort in our power to prevent any collision from taking place between our forces and the American.

I have also received information that the American garrison at Fort Chicago, not exceeding 60 men, has been ordered to Detroit, in consequence of apprehensions from the Indians.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Broch.

QUEBEC, May 14, 1812.

I have great satisfaction in telling you, that I have reported the Glengary light infantry* more than complete to the establishment of 400 rank and file, and have received Sir George Prevost's commands to recruit for a higher establishment; indeed, the quotas the officers have engaged to fulfil will nearly amount to double that number; and from the very great success that has attended our exertions, I have no doubt of succeeding by the end of this year. Two officers have divided Nova Scotia and New Brunswick for their hunting ground, and are permitted to recruit Acadians; and Lieutenant Ronald M'Donnell, of the Canadians, proceeds in a few days to Pictou and the highland settlements on the coast and gulf: he is an officer that appears to be eminently qualified for that service, and he is sanguine that the proffer of lands in the Scotch settlements of Upper Canada will induce great numbers to enter. I am assured from various channels that the men I have got are generally young, rather too much so, and of a good description, there being very few Yankees amongst them.

I have long letters from my friends at home, giving me a detailed account of the death of my excellent

* On the 27th of May, 1813, near Fort George, the Glengary regiment had 1 captain, 1 ensign, 1 sergeant, 24 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 3 sergeants, 20 rank and file, wounded; 1 lieutenant, 2 sergeants, 23 rank and file, wounded and missing.

and best of friends : the duke of York sat by his bedside for half an hour the day before he died, and, Somerville says, was extremely affected. Sir James, (Craig,) on the contrary, rallied from the pleasure he had experienced from this condescending kindness. Sir James had a codicil written fair for his signature, the chief object of which was to add a legacy for a female cousin whom he did not know to be in existence, and to direct the sale of the priory and freehold, which cost 12,000 guineas, to enable the payment of the legacies : this instrument, not having been executed, will lead to what he most deprecated and wished to avoid, a lawsuit. The heirs at law will possess the freehold ; and Wilkie, who, besides £6,000, is left the two houses in London, furniture, &c., as residuary legatee, will be stripped of the whole that is not given by special bequest, to make up the legacies : he will however, I believe, have at least £10,000 left—very ample payment for his services.

Sir George has announced his intention of recommending Battersby to be lieutenant-colonel of the Glengary corps, and ordered him to take the command of the recruits assembled at Three Rivers. Your major of brigade* will be recommended to succeed to his majority in the king's regiment.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

YORK, May 16, 1812.

I have this day been honored with your excellency's confidential communication, dated the 30th ultimo.

I have long since thought that nothing but the public voice restrained the United States government from commencing direct hostilities ; and it is but reasonable to expect that they will seek every opportunity to influence the minds of the people against England, in order to bring them the more readily into

* The present Major-General Thomas Evans, C.B., then a captain of the 8th foot.

their measures. It will be my study to guard against every event that can give them any just cause of complaint; but the proximity of the two countries will in all probability produce collisions which, however accidentally brought about, will be represented as so many acts of aggression. It would not surprise me if their first attempt to excite irritation were the seizing of the islands in the channel, to which both countries lay claim: such was represented to Sir James Craig on a former occasion to be their intention.

In addition to the force specified by your excellency, I understand that six companies of the Ohio militia are intended for Detroit. Our interests with the Indians will materially suffer, in consequence of these extensive preparations being allowed to proceed with impunity. I have always considered that the reduction of Detroit would be a signal for a cordial co-operation on the part of the Indians; and if we be not in sufficient force to effect this object, no reliance ought to be placed in them.

About forty regulars were last week added to the garrison of Niagara, and by all accounts barracks are to be immediately constructed at Black Rock, almost opposite Fort Erie, for a large force.

I returned three days ago from an excursion to Fort Erie—the Grand River, where the Indians of the Six Nations are settled—and back by the head of the lake. Every gentleman, with whom I had an opportunity of conversing, assured me that an exceedingly good disposition prevailed among the people. The flank companies, in the districts in which they have been established, were instantly completed with volunteers, and indeed an almost unanimous disposition to serve is daily manifested. I shall proceed to extend this system now I have ascertained that the people are so well disposed—but my means are very limited.

I propose detaching 100 rank and file of the 41st regiment to Amherstburg, almost immediately.

Major-General Brock to the Military Secretary.

YORK, May 16, 1812.

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 19th ultimo. I thought Mr. Gilmore premature in representing to Lieut.-Colonel St. George the necessity of entering into contracts for the purchase of flour and pork, and stated my opinion accordingly; but I did not imagine that the directions I gave for the purchase of Indian corn could be considered as authorizing and justifying the measure.

It was far from my intention to recommend that any officer of the Indian department should possess an unrestrained power in the issue of provisions; but I thought that partial issues, at the discretion of the head at Fort George and Amherstburg, such as Lieut.-Governor Gore sanctioned, might be continued without risk or detriment to the service. The case stands thus: an hour is fixed by the commander of the post for the issue of presents and provisions, his other avocations naturally precluding his further attendance during the day, unless something very extraordinary should arise. Such Indians, therefore, as arrive after that time, must either go without food, or be supplied by the officers of the department at their own cost. To obviate this individual inconvenience the order was given. I have not unfrequently witnessed every morsel of pork in Mr. Claus' house consumed by the subsequent arrival of Indians; and he would forfeit every claim to their good will if he allowed them to rest without a meal. I have been thus prolix, as I am unwilling that the commander of the forces should think I ever proposed that which was unreasonable, or likely to involve, by removing every degree of control, the safety of the troops.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, May 21, 1812.

Sir George has allowed me to make the following extracts from a dispatch of Mr. Foster's, dated the 28th April, which I do in the minister's own words: "The American government affect now to have taken every step incumbent on the executive as preparatory to war, and leave the ultimate decision to congress, as vested by the constitution in that body, which is fluctuating as the sea: there is a great party in the house of representatives for war, composed principally of the western and southern states—members who have little to lose, and may gain, while the northern and eastern states are vehement against it. The embargo seems to have been resolved upon, because at the moment they did not know what else to do. The cabinet wished only sixty days—the senate made it ninety. Our government leaves no room to expect a repeal of the order in council, yet they wait for the return of the *Hornet*. Something decisive must then be known; perhaps when they become completely convinced of Bonaparte's playing upon them, it will end in declaring against France. The question of adjournment was lost, notwithstanding there was an absolute majority known a few minutes before in its favor. The ruling party are split into many; the old revolutionists, jealous of younger men taking a lead. The army cannot, I conceive, soon be filled up—they get few recruits."

You will have heard, long ere you receive this, that the 49th regiment is ordered home; the 41st are by the same authority to return to Europe, but Sir George will not, under existing circumstances, attempt to relieve the posts in Upper Canada, so that there will be no immediate change in your quarter. Sir George regrets that he has not field officers of the description you require to command at Kingston and Amherstburg. The only prospect of relief in that

respect which he has in view, is from the arrival of the absent inspecting field officers.

The arrangement you propose respecting the unfortunate delinquents of the 41st regiment, will perfectly meet the approbation of Sir George, who approved of your not forwarding the resignation of the younger members, or indeed of any, if they are worthy of consideration.*

Kempt has brought his name into notice in the assault of La Picurina, an outwork at Badajoz, where he commanded, being on duty in the trenches. The Glengary levy goes on swimmingly.

Sir George Prevost to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, May 27, 1812.

I was much pleased to find, by your letter of the 22d ultimo, you had taken precautions to prevent any act occurring within your control that should afford the government of the United States a legitimate pretext to add to the clamour artfully raised by it against England.

The circumstance which happened to the guard stationed opposite to Queenstown, arrived here much exaggerated. Your account of it silenced the idle reports in circulation.

I agree with you in deploring the limitation, until the end of the ensuing session, in the operation of the militia act for Upper Canada; but as in the event of hostilities it might not be possible to convene the legislature, then the bill would in all probability continue in force during the war, provided you were not induced to make an exertion for a more perfect law.

* We learn from the United Service Magazine for March, 1846, p. 444, that some young officers of the 41st, having indulged at Fort George to a late hour at the mess table, got into a squabble amongst themselves, which was of course reported to General Brock. The offence was visited by the expulsion of one or two, and a severe reprimand to the remainder. But judging from the above letter, the general seems to have acted with every possible forbearance.

Colonel Baynes having informed me he had an opportunity of communicating with you more expeditiously than by post, I desired him to make you acquainted with the peaceful intelligence I had just received from Mr. Foster; but although it comes with a good deal of reservation, still it warrants me in recommending the most rigid economy in carrying on the king's service, and in avoiding all expense that has not become absolutely necessary, as it is with the utmost difficulty money can be raised for the ordinary service.

I am apprehensive that I cannot look forward to the pleasure of seeing you before the end of August, as my presence in the province is become indispensably necessary during the first operation of the new militia law.

Many thanks for the particulars of the transaction which led to the censure passed by the house of assembly on Chief Justice Scott.

CHAPTER VII.

It will be assisting the reader, ere we proceed to detail the operations at the commencement of hostilities, to give a brief description, not only of the lakes and straits which constitute the water boundaries of Upper Canada, and of the towns and military posts distributed along them, as existing in the year 1812, but also of the territory of Michigan, which was surrendered, with Detroit, to Major-General Brock. The distances are given in British statute miles.

The most remote piece of water on this frontier worthy of notice is Lake Superior, a body of fresh water unequalled by any upon the face of the globe. Lake Superior is of a triangular form; in length 370, in breadth 160, and in circumference about 1,550 miles. The water is nearly 800 feet deep, so that its bottom is about 170 feet below the surface of the Atlantic. It contains five large islands, one of which, *Isle Royale*, is said to be nearly 100 miles long by 40 broad. The lake is well stored with fish, particularly trout, white fish, and sturgeon. Out of Lake Superior a very rapid current flows, over immense masses of rock, along a channel of 40 miles in length, called St. Mary's River, into Lake Huron, at the head of which is the British island of St. Joseph, containing a small garrison. This isolated post is distant about 350 miles by water from Amherstburg, which contained the nearest British garrison.

Lake Huron is in length, from west to east, 220 miles; in breadth, 200, and in circumference, through

its numerous curvatures, about 1,100 miles. It is in many parts 450 feet in depth. Except the island of St. Joseph, and one or two trading establishments belonging to the north-west company, the shores of this lake were in a state of nature, or inhabited only by Indians. When the Americans were allowed to obtain the dominion of Lake Erie, which they did in 1813, it was determined at the close of the following year to create a naval force on Lake Huron in the ensuing season, (1815,) as possessing much greater security for the construction of vessels than Lake Erie, where the enemy could at any time destroy them, in the same manner as their vessels ought to have been previously destroyed by the British. Lake Michigan, which lies wholly within the United States, is connected with Lake Huron at its western angle by a strait 6 miles long by 4 miles wide, in the centre of which is the island of Michilimackinac, (usually called Mackinaw by the Americans,) belonging to the United States, and forming an excellent *point d'appui* for military or naval operations in that quarter. This island is about 3 miles long and 9 miles in circumference, and, like St. Joseph, its British neighbour, it possessed a small fort and garrison. Michilimackinac is very beautiful, and, when seen from a distance, has the form of a turtle sleeping on the water.* It possesses now no large or lofty timber, but a perpetual succession of low, rich groves. There is on the eastern coast a natural arch or bridge, where the waters of the lake have undermined the rock, and left a fragment thrown across a chasm 200 feet high. By the treaty of the 19th of November, 1794, Michilimackinac, Detroit, Fort

* "The land, in the centre of this island, is high, and its form somewhat resembles that of a turtle's back. Mackinac, or Mickinac, signifies a *turtle*, and *michi* (*mishi*), or *missi*, signifies *great*, as it does also, *several*, or *many*. The common interpretation of the word *Michilimackinac*, is the Great Turtle."—*Henry's Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, between the years 1760 and 1776.*

In Henry's time, fort Michilimackinac was situated on a strait, and distant about two leagues from the island of the same name.

Miami, Fort Niagara, and Oswego, were ceded to the Americans, as within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States; and they were given up in 1796, when Michilimackinac was strengthened and garrisoned by a detachment of General Wayne's army. While in the possession of the British, this island was the general rendezvous of the North-West traders, and the Indians they supplied. Here the outfits were furnished for the countries of Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, Lake Superior, and the North-West; and here the returns of furs were collected and embarked for Montreal. Lake Huron flows through the river St. Clair, which is in length about 33 miles, into Lake St. Clair, a small circular lake 30 miles in diameter. At the entrance of the river St. Clair, the Americans have now a fort (Gratiot) and garrison; and it is only recently (1845) that orders have been given to fortify Port Sarnia,* on the opposite or British side. The beautiful river Thames, in Upper Canada, opens into Lake St. Clair, and it was along the banks of this river that Major-General Proctor retreated in 1813. From Lake St. Clair, the stream, through the Detroit, navigable for vessels not drawing more than fourteen feet water, pursues a course of 29 miles into Lake Erie.†

Upon the western side of the Detroit is situate the American town of that name. Within 4 miles below Detroit, upon the opposite side of the strait, is the British village of Sandwich, then containing scarcely fifty houses; and 16 miles lower, and 3 from the termination of the strait, is the British village of Amherstburg, then containing about one hundred houses, and a fort where a small garrison was maintained, and where the principal vessels for the service

* Sarnia is the ancient name of the island of Guernsey, and the Upper Canadian Sarnia was so named by Sir John Colborne, (the present Lord Seaton,) who was formerly lieutenant-governor of Guernsey.

† "The mouth of the Detroit river, in which there are several islands, forms a safe and commodious harbour."—*Howison's Upper Canada*.

of Lake Erie were constructed. The fort, which was never completed, was above the town, and most injudiciously placed. The proper site for the fortifications is the island of *Bois Blanc*, immediately opposite to Amherstburg, as this island commands the mouth of the river, and the channel on either side. In the event of another war, or preparatory to it, this island should be fortified, as a battery at each end would prevent the American vessels from passing up and down the river.* The American village of Brownstown stands nearly opposite to Amherstburg, which is distant from Quebec by the nearest route fully 800 miles, from Fort Erie about 250 miles, and from York 310 miles, all by water.

Lake Erie, from Miamis Bay to the entrance of the straits of Niagara, is in length 257 miles, in breadth 64, and in circumference about 700 miles. The average depth of water is not more than seventy feet, but a very rocky bottom renders the anchorage unsafe in blowing weather. Except Amherstburg, the British had no harbour or naval dépôt upon Lake Erie, while the Americans had two or three excellent ones. *Presqu'île* harbour is situate on the southern side of the lake, not far from the entrance to the Niagara. It is a safe station, but has a seven feet bar at its entrance, as indeed have all the other harbours on this lake. The town, named Erie, is situate on the south side of the harbour, and contains a dock yard, in which the Americans built their Lake Erie fleet. To the eastward of the town stands a strong battery, and on the point of the Peninsula forming the harbour, a block-house, for the protection of this naval dépôt. The rivers Raisin, Sandusky, and Miami, (or Maumee,) the scenes of important operations during the war, discharge themselves into Lake Erie.

On the north-western side of the entrance to the Niagara river stood, at a distance of 560 miles from

* United Service Magazine, June, 1845.

Quebec, the British fort Erie, at best a very inconsiderable work.* Near to the same outlet from Lake Erie is Buffalo Creek, on the border of which is built the American village of Buffalo; and about 2 miles beyond it, Black Rock, where there was a battery, and a ferry, about 800 yards across, to Bertie, in Upper Canada. The Niagara proceeds at a quick rate past several small and one large island, called *Grande Isle*, 10 miles long; about 2 miles below which, on the American side, and distant 2 miles from the Falls, is the site of Fort Schlosser. At about the same distance from the Falls, on the opposite side, standing on the northern bank of the river Chippawah,† is the British village of the same name, distant from Fort Erie 17 miles. Chippawah consisted chiefly of storehouses; and near it was a small stockaded work, called Fort Chippawah. At the distance of 23 miles from the entrance to the Niagara, is Goat Island, about half a mile long, and which extends to the precipice that gives rise to the celebrated Falls. The larger body of water flows between Upper Canada and Goat Island, at the upper end of which island the *rapids*, or broken water, commence. Here the stream passes on both sides of the island, over a bed of rocks and precipices, with astonishing rapidity; till, having descended more than fifty feet in the distance of half a mile, it falls, on the British side 157, and on the New York side 162, feet perpendicularly. The roar of the waters can sometimes be heard at the distance of forty miles.

From the cataract, the river is a continued rapid, half a mile in width, for about 7 miles. At this point stand, opposite to each other, the villages of Queenstown and Lewistown. The latter, situate upon the American side, contained, till destroyed as a retaliatory measure, between forty and fifty houses.

* There is at present no defence or military station at Fort Erie, and the position has been abandoned for many years.

† Chippawah is the English corruption of the Indian tribe Ojibwah.

At about six miles and a half from Queenstown, near to the river side, stood Fort George, then constructed of earthen ramparts and palisades of cedar, and mounting no heavier metal than 9-pounders. It was a low square fort, without tower or block-house of any description, excepting log, loop-holed barracks; and it was so badly placed, that it could be enfiladed upon every face by the enemy's shot.* About half a mile below Fort George, and close to the borders of Lake Ontario, stood the beautiful and flourishing town of Niagara, or Newark, which was burnt by the Americans, and which, before York was built, was the seat of government for the province.

Directly opposite to Niagara, or Newark, upon a neck of land projecting partly across the mouth of the river, which is here 875 yards in width, stands the American fort Niagara, the scene of so many conflicts. It was built by the French in 1751; † taken by the English in 1759; ‡ and delivered to the United States in 1796. Fort Niagara, unlike any of the Canadian forts along that frontier, was a regular fortification, built of stone on the land side, with breast works, and every necessary appendage. It mounted between twenty and thirty heavy pieces of ordnance, and contained a furnace for heating shot.§

* Fort George is now in a very delapidated state, and can scarcely be said to be upheld as a military post, although a few soldiers are still quartered in it.

† According to Knox, (London, 1769,) Beatson, (London, 1790,) and James; but according to Buckingham, in 1725. There was probably a French trading post at Niagara even earlier than the last named period, and it was probably secured by pickets or other defences.

‡ Brigadier Prideaux, commanding the besieging army, was killed on the 19th July, while walking in the trenches, by a cohorn shot, "carelessly by his own gunner," and was the first British general officer slain in Canada. The French garrison, consisting of between 6 and 700 men, was sent to New York.

§ A little tract published in 1757, speaking of Niagara, says:

"Niagara commands, in a manner, all the interior parts of North America, and is a key, as it were, to that whole continent—opens or obstructs a communication with all the natives of North America, the Six Nations, Ohios, Shawanees, Miamis, Twightwies, Illinois, Pontewatimis, Nadouessians, Hurons, Utawas, Messesagues, and many others—awes and commands all those people—lies in the midst of the extensive terri-

The strait of Niagara is about 35 miles in length ; and its shores, on both sides, were, more or less, the scenes of active warfare during the whole period of hostilities. Lake Ontario, to which the strait leads, is in length, from west to east, 185, in breadth 50, and in circumference 460 miles. The depth of water varies much, it being in some places three or four, in others fifty fathoms : towards the centre, it is about 600 feet, or 100 fathoms in depth. York harbour lies on the north side of Lake Ontario ; is nearly circular, of about a mile and a half in diameter, and formed by a narrow peninsula extending to Gibraltar Point, upon which a block-house has been erected. The town of York, (now called Toronto,) the infant capital of Upper Canada, is in lat. $43^{\circ} 40'$ north, and long. $78^{\circ} 30'$ west, and is distant from Fort George by water about 30 miles. The public buildings consisted of a government house, the house of assembly, a church, court-house, and a gaol, with numerous stores belonging to government. In the spring of 1794, when the site was fixed upon for building the new capital, the spot contained a solitary Indian wigwam, and was covered by a dense forest. In six years from that time, York had assumed a respectable appearance, although in 1812 it did not contain above 800 inhabitants. In 1845, the population exceeded 20,000.

Kingston harbour is situate at the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario. It contains good anchorage in

tories of the Six Nations, and commands their beaver country entirely—secures their fur trade, and all the other inland trade of North America. “It commands all the great lakes, and secures the navigation of them, that extends 12 or 1,300 miles—prevents or secures the junction of the two French colonies in Canada and Louisiana—cuts off or maintains their passage to the river Ohio, Mississippi, Lake Erie, le Detroit, Sandoski, Miamis, Fort St. Joseph, Illinois, Kaskaskis, &c.—stops the farther progress of the English or of the French (whichever are possessed of it) in North America—lays our colonies open to the inroads and incursions both of the French and Indians—whilst it would secure them from both in our hands—and unite the frontiers of our northern and southern colonies together, for their mutual defence and security, which might all be secured by this one place, while they could not by many hundreds without it.”

three fathoms water, and was defended by a small battery of 9-pounders on Mississaga Point, and another, of the same metal chiefly, on Point Frederick. The town, which was the largest and most populous in the Upper Province, contained about 370 houses, including several buildings and stores belonging to government. Its direct distance from York is 155; from Montreal, in an opposite direction, 195; and from Quebec 375 miles. Opposite to, and distant about half a mile from, the town, is a long low peninsula, forming the west side of Navy Bay, the principal naval depôt of the British on this lake, and where the ships of war were constructed.

Of the American military posts on Lake Ontario, the principal one is Sackett's Harbour, distant from Kingston, by the ship channel, 35 miles. The harbour is formed by a peninsula of limestone rock, in many places not more than one rod wide, which perfectly shelters a sheet of water containing about ten acres. From the north-west runs out a low point of land, upon which was the dock yard with large storehouses, and all the buildings requisite for such an establishment. Upon this point there was a strong work called Fort Tompkins, having within it a block-house two stories high: on the land side it was covered by a strong picketing, in which there were embrasures; at the bottom of the harbour was the village, containing about seventy houses; and, to the southward of it, a large barrack, capable of containing 2,000 men, and generally occupied by the marines belonging to the fleet. Towards the middle of 1814, there were three additional works, Fort Virginia, Fort Chauncey, and Fort Kentucky, as well as several new block-houses; and the guns then mounted upon the different forts exceeded sixty.*

The great Canadian lakes lie in four terraces, differing in elevation, of which Lake Superior occupies

* James' Military Occurrences of the late War between Great Britain and the United States, 2 vols. London, 1818.

the highest, its surface being 627 feet above the sea level. The second terrace contains Lakes Michigan and Huron, which are 595 feet above the sea level. Lake Erie is on a terrace only 30 feet lower, but Lake Ontario is 330 feet lower than Lake Erie, its surface being only 234 feet above the sea. These lakes, as already stated, are connected by narrow channels; but it is only the channel between Lake Huron and Lake Erie that is navigable, as the bed of this channel descends only 30 feet in 90 miles. These inland seas are never entirely frozen over, and the islands with which they abound, as well as their shores, afford convenient harbours for those who navigate them, and they will one day be the scenes of an active commerce, and probably of fierce contests for naval supremacy or maritime rights.*

The greatest length of the Michigan territory, from south-east to north-west, is 500 miles, and its whole area is estimated at 59,700 square miles. The lake coast has been computed at 1,400 miles. The country was then chiefly in the possession of the Indians, and the white population amounted by the previous census to about 5,000. It is bounded on the south by Ohio and Indiana, and includes two peninsulas of unequal size, in addition to which are numerous islands, constituent parts of the territory. The most important of these islands is Michilimackinac, already described. Detroit, the chief town of the territory, is situated on the right bank of the strait, 10 miles below Lake St. Clair and 28 miles above Lake Erie, and is one of the oldest places in Canada, having been settled by the French in the year 1702. It then contained above two hundred houses, many of brick, and upwards of 1,200 inhabitants. In the rear of the fort was an extensive common, skirted by boundless and almost impenetrable forests. We learn from Morse's American Geography, on the acknowledged authority of Governor Hull, that Fort Detroit,

* *America Geographically Described.* London, 1845.

in 1810, was a regular work of an oblong figure, "covering about an acre of ground. The parapets were about twenty feet in height, built of earth and sods, with four bastions, the whole surrounded with pallisadoes, a deep ditch, and glacis. It stood immediately back of the town, and had strength to withstand a regular siege, but did not command the river." And as the American government had been for some time secretly preparing for war, it may be safely inferred, that in the meanwhile this fort had been rather strengthened than permitted to fall to decay; and that it was at least as tenable in 1812 as when Governor Hull, two years before, gave the preceding description of its defences. The town of Detroit is in lat. $42^{\circ} 15'$ north, and long. $82^{\circ} 33'$ west, and the winters are comparatively short.

About the year 1763, Detroit, then indeed the far west, and containing a garrison of 300 men, was nearly captured by stratagem by Pontiac, the celebrated Indian chief of that day, who waged war against the British, and whose alliance, before the capture of Quebec, by Wolfe, in 1759, was anxiously courted both by the French and English.

CHAPTER VIII.

The discussions which had been so long pending between Great Britain and the United States, assumed, during the winter of 1811-12, a very serious aspect. But many did not believe that the latter power was inclined to proceed to extremities; while others, who foresaw that it only awaited a favorable moment to invade the Canadas, which were supposed ripe for revolt, and would therefore fall an easy conquest, were prepared to expect what soon after followed, a declaration of war against Great Britain.

As this was not the first time that the American government had proceeded to menaces, and as the northern and eastern states were known to be averse to hostilities, the British ministry, unmindful that coming events usually cast their shadows before them, were deluded into a belief that peace would yet be maintained.* Mr. Foster, the English minister at Washington, seems to have partaken of this delusion, for it does not appear that he had taken any precautionary measures to convey to the governor of the British North American Provinces the earliest intelligence of the declaration of war, on the 18th June, 1812; and, had it not been for the prudent foresight of the agent of the British north-west company at New York, who sent the intelligence by express, it is possible that the first intimation would

* See post, Sir George Prevost's letter to Major-General Brock, September 14, 1812.

have been received from the mouths of the American cannon. To Upper Canada Mr. Foster transmitted no notice whatever of the war, and Major-General Brock was left to learn it officially through the circuitous and dilatory channel of the governor-general. Happily, individual diligence made up for this unpardonable neglect; and the war was known by private expresses at Montreal, in Lower, and at Fort George, in Upper Canada, on the 24th of June, or in six days after its declaration at Washington.

At this period the exigencies of the Peninsular war, which chiefly depended upon English arms and English money, required the almost undivided attention and energies of the British ministry, who are thus entitled to some excuse for their neglect of North American affairs; but they will still remain amenable to the charge of having been guilty of the folly of too much despising the new enemy arrayed against them at that most busy and critical moment. The want of a sufficient force for the protection of the Canadas* might have proved fatal, at least to the Upper Province, had not Major-General Brock, from the first moment of being placed at the head of his government, been convinced that war was inevitable; and that in consequence every exertion should be used to place the province in as respectable a state of defence as his very limited means would admit. The instant the navigation opened in the spring, a supply of ordnance and other stores was hurried up to fort St. Joseph; and its commandant, Captain Roberts, was instructed to be constantly on his guard. Similar precautions were adopted relative to Amherstburg, to which post Major-General Brock paid a visit early in

* At this time, the British regular force in the Canadas consisted of the 8th, 41st, 49th, and 100th regiments, a small detachment of artillery, the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion, and the Canadian, Newfoundland, and Glengary Fencibles; amounting, in the whole, to 4,450 men. These were distributed along the different posts from the telegraph station, about 250 miles below Quebec, to St. Joseph's, but so unequally divided, that, in the Upper Province, whose front extends to nearly 1,300 out of the 1,700 miles, there were but 1,450 men.—*James' Military Occurrences.*

June, and fortunately took with him a reinforcement of 100 men of the 41st regiment. But in the execution of his plans he had to encounter many obstacles, among which the subordinate nature of his command was not the least formidable. Even as late as the 27th of May, Sir George Prevost does not seem to have considered hostilities so near, as on that day he recommended to Major-General Brock the most rigid economy in carrying on the public service, and in avoiding all expense that was not absolutely necessary, on the plea of the great difficulty of raising money. Sir George has, however, been wrongly accused of not sending any instructions whatever to Major-General Brock for some weeks after he received intimation of the war, as he did so from Montreal on the 7th and 18th of July, or in less than a fortnight afterwards; but, either from his dispatches not being transmitted by express, or from some other unexplained cause, they did not reach their destination until the 20th of July, or exactly five weeks after the declaration of war was known in the Upper Province.*

On the breaking out of hostilities, the regular force in Upper Canada amounted to barely 1,500 men, including seamen, as under :

41st Regiment	900
10th Veterans	250
Newfoundland Regiment	250
Royal Artillery	50
Provincial Seamen	50
Total	<u>1,500.</u>

This force had to occupy the forts St. Joseph, Amherstburg, and Chippawah—Fort Erie and Fort George—and York and Kingston—to maintain the superiority on the lakes; to preserve the communication and escort convoys between Coteau de Lac and Kingston; and to defend an assailable frontier of

* Now intelligence could be transmitted from Quebec to Toronto in five days by the ordinary post, and in summer in three days.

nearly 800 miles, reckoning from the confines of Lower Canada to Amherstburg, and excluding the British coast from the Detroit to Fort St. Joseph. With this very inadequate force, it was the opinion of the highest authorities that the country could not be maintained. Major-General Brock was well aware that, in carrying the war along so extensive a frontier, uncovered by a single fortress of strength, and with such a handful of regular troops, he could only expect success in the aid and zealous co-operation of the people, whose numbers then, it is believed, did not exceed 70,000. But the province had long been torn by intestine disputes, and the prevailing faction—which had been originally established by one of the judges, and which after his departure was fostered by one of his zealous supporters—had been for years hostile to the measures of the government. We have already given Major-General Brock's speech to the provincial parliament, on his meeting it for the first time; the session, although obstructed by party dissensions and unlooked-for opposition, terminated better than was anticipated, as the rancorous spirit of many was subdued by his frank and conciliatory demeanour; and laws were passed which enabled him to organize the flank companies of the militia, unaccompanied, however, by the desired oath of abjuration, so as to exclude settlers from the United States and persons of doubtful loyalty. A troop of volunteer cavalry was also incorporated, and on his return to York from Amherstburg, about the 20th of June, Major-General Brock was gratified by the gratuitous offer of horses for the equipment of a car brigade, under Captain Holcroft, of the royal artillery, which offer he gladly accepted.

Major-General Brock was at York when he received intelligence of the war—an event which he had long anticipated, and which therefore did not take him by surprise. A few hours had scarcely elapsed before the two companies of the 41st regi-

ment, in garrison at York, were embarked in boats, and dispatched to the Niagara frontier. After assembling his council and summoning an extra session of the legislature, he hastened in a small open boat,* with his brigade major, Evans, and his aide-de-camp, Captain Glegg, to Fort George, on the Niagara frontier, where he immediately established his head quarters. It was at first his intention to capture the opposite American fort Niagara; but the high responsibility he was about to assume, of acting without instructions or an official communication, being represented to him, he confined himself to collecting and preparing his small force for offensive or defensive operations. Early in July, he procured a "National Intelligencer," which contained the act of congress declaratory of war and the message of the president accompanying it; and this information was, of course, decisive.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, June 25, 1812.

Sir George Prevost desires me to inform you, that he has this instant received intelligence from Mr. Richardson, by an express to the north-west company, announcing that the American government had declared war against Great Britain. This dispatch left New York on the 20th instant, and does not furnish any other circumstance of intelligence whatever. His excellency is induced to give perfect and entire credit to this report, although it has not yet reached through any official channel. Indeed, the extraordinary dispatch which has attended this courier, fully explains his not having received the minister's letters, of which he will not fail to give you the earliest intimation.

Mr. Richardson informs his excellency that it is

* He crossed this passage in an open boat at least twice during the war — an act which was then rare, as it is now, and considered dangerous.

the intention of the company to send six large canoes to receive their furs by the Grand River, (or Ottawa,) and, should it be thought expedient to reinforce the post of St. Joseph, that they will be able to carry six soldiers in each boat.* Anxious as Sir George feels to render you every aid in his power, and to afford every possible assistance and protection to the north-west company, who have on their part assured his excellency of their ready and active co-operation to the utmost of their ability, his excellency, nevertheless, does not think it advisable, under existing circumstances, to weaken the 49th regiment, which occupies so important and critical a station; nor can he hold out any certain prospect of any further reinforcement until the arrival of the troops he has been led to expect from England, but directs me to assure you of his cordial wish to render you every efficient support in his power.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

FORT GEORGE, July 3, 1812.

I have been anxiously expecting for some days to receive the honor of your excellency's commands in regard to the measures the most proper to be pursued in the present emergency.

The accounts received, first through a mercantile channel, and soon after repeated from various quarters, of war having been declared by the United States against Great Britain, would have justified, in my opinion, offensive operations. But the reflection that at Detroit and Michilimackinac the weak state of the garrisons would prevent the commanders from accomplishing any essential service, connected in any degree with their future security, and that my means of annoyance on this communication were limited to the reduction of Fort Niagara, which

* In answer to Major-General Brock's suggestions on the subject, see page 150.

could easily be battered at any future period, I relinquished my original intention, and attended only to defensive measures. My first object has been the calling out of the flank companies of militia, which has produced a force on this line of about 800 men. They turned out very cheerfully, but already shew a spirit of impatience. The king's stores are now at so low an ebb, that they scarcely furnish any article of use or comfort. Blankets, hammocks and kettles, are all to be purchased; and the troops, when watching the banks of the river, stand in the utmost need of tents. Mr. Couche has adopted the most efficacious means to pay the militia in paper currency. I cannot positively state the number of militia that will be embodied, but they cannot exceed, throughout the province, 4,000 men.

The Americans are very active on the opposite side, in the erection of redoubts; we are not idle on our part, but unfortunately, having supplied Amherstburg with the guns which that post required from Fort George, depending upon getting others from Kingston to supply their place, we find ourselves at this moment rather short of that essential arm. I have, however, every reason to think that they are embarked on board the *Earl Moira*, which vessel, according to Major M'Pherson's report, was to have sailed on the 28th ultimo. The Americans have, I believe, about 1,200 regulars and militia between Fort Niagara and Black Rock, and I consider myself at this moment perfectly safe against any attempt they can make. About 100 Indians from the Grand River have attended to my summons; the remainder promise to come also, but I have too much reason to conclude that the Americans have been too successful in their endeavours to sow dissension and disaffection among them. It is a great object to get this fickle race interspersed among the troops. I should be unwilling, in the event of a retreat, to have three or four hundred of them hanging on my flank. I shall

probably have to sacrifice some money to gain them over, and the appointment of a few officers with salaries will be absolutely necessary.

The Americans make a daily parade of their force, and easily impose on the people on this side in regard to their numbers. I do not think they exceed 1,200, but they are represented as infinitely more numerous.

For the last fortnight every precaution has been taken to guard against the least communication, and to this day we are ignorant whether the president has sanctioned the war resolutions of the two houses of congress; that is, whether war be actually declared.

The car brigade has been completed for service with horses belonging to gentlemen, who spared them free of expense.

I have not been honored with a line from Mr. Foster, nor with all my endeavours have I been able to obtain information of any consequence. The Prince Regent* made her first voyage this morning, and I purpose sending her to Kingston this evening, to bring such articles as are absolutely necessary, which we know have arrived from Quebec. I trust she will out-sail the Oneida brig.†

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock.

MONTREAL, July 4, 1812.

We have a report here of your having commenced operations by levelling the American fort at Niagara. The general is most anxious to hear good and recent intelligence from your quarter. There is no considerable assembly of troops in our neighbourhood as yet; the flank companies, embodied under Colonel Young, are on their march, and the 2,000 militia will form a chain of posts from St. John's to La Prairie. The town militia of this and Quebec, to the amount of 3,000 in each city, have volunteered being embodied

* This vessel had been built and equipped since the month of March preceding. See p. 158.

† American vessel of war.

and drilled, and will take their proportion of garrison duty to relieve the troops. The proclamation for declaring martial law is prepared, and will be speedily issued. All aliens will be required to take the oath of allegiance, or immediately to quit the province. Our cash is at its last issue, and a substitute of paper must per force be resorted to. This has been Sir George's principal object in calling the legislature together. You have a very arduous and difficult card to play, and have our sincere and confident wishes for your success. Sir George strongly recommends extreme moderation in the use of the Indians, and to keep them in control as much as possible.

[This letter contains the details of a large and armed assembly at La Chine, near Montreal, of French Canadians, who refused to serve in the embodied militia. They were dispersed by the light company of the 49th, and a detachment of artillery with two field pieces, under the command of Major Plenderleath, of the 49th, but not before one Canadian was killed, and another dangerously wounded.]

PROCLAMATION.

Province of Upper Canada.

Isaac Brock, Esquire, President, administering the Government of the Province of Upper Canada, and Major-General commanding his Majesty's Forces within our said Province.

To all whom these Presents shall come, greeting.

WHEREAS on the seventeenth day of June last the congress of the United States of America declared that war then existed between those States and their territories, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof; and whereas, in pursuance of such declaration, the subjects of the United States have actually committed hostilities against the possessions of his majesty and the persons and property of his subjects in this province: now, therefore, by and with the advice of his majesty's executive council in the affairs of the province, I do hereby strictly enjoin and require all his majesty's liege subjects to be obedient to the lawful authorities, to forbear all communication with the enemy or persons residing within the territory of the United States, and to manifest their loyalty by a zealous co-operation with his majesty's armed force in defence of the province, and repulse of the enemy. And I do further require and command all officers, civil and military, to be

vigilant in the discharge of their duty, especially to prevent all communication with the enemy, and to cause all persons suspected of traitorous intercourse to be apprehended and treated according to law.

Given under my hand and seal at arms, at York, in the province of Upper Canada, this sixth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve, and in the fifty-second of his majesty's reign.

ISAAC BROCK, President.

By command of his honor,
WILLIAM JARVIS, Secretary.

Sir George Prevost to Major-General Brock.

MONTREAL, July 7, 1812.

It was only on my arrival at Montreal that I received Mr. Foster's notification of the congress of the United States having declared war against Great Britain; the fact had been previously ascertained through mercantile channels.

I am convinced you have acted wisely in abstaining from offensive operations, which in their effect might have united a people governed by public opinion, and among whom too much division exists, at this moment, to admit of its influence in promoting vigorous measures against us.

The manner of the flank companies of militia turning out must have been very satisfactory to you. I hope your supplies of ordnance and ordnance stores, on their way from Kingston, have arrived safe.

I have caused arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, to be forwarded for the use of the Cornwall, Stormont, and Dundas battalions of militia. Camp equipage for 500 men shall be sent to you as soon as possible, together with muskets.

We are on the eve of substituting paper for bullion. I am aware of the Canadian prejudice against such a circulating medium, but it must give way to the imperious necessity of the times.

It is highly proper you should secure the services

of the Indians; but restrain and control them as much as you can. Whatever appointments you deem indispensably necessary, you are authorized to make, as well as the sacrifice of some money to gain them over. It is proper we should maintain our ascendancy over the Indians, and feed with proper food their predilection for us.

Colonel Lethbridge, an inspecting field officer, is under orders for Kingston, and there to wait your commands.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock.

MONTREAL, July 8, 1812.

I was highly gratified yesterday in receiving your letters of the 3d of July, for we have felt extremely anxious about you ever since we have learnt the unexpected declaration of war, which has been so long threatened that no one believed it would ever seriously take place; and even now it is the prevailing opinion that, from the opposition testified by the eastern states, offensive measures are not likely to be speedily adopted against this country. Sir George is inclined to let these sentiments take their course; and as little advantage would accrue by more active measures on our part, our present plans are all defensive.* General de Rottenburg is arrived, and the flank companies embodied are on their way: this corps, with the embodied militia, will form a chain from La Prairie to St. John's, with a light corps advanced in their front. We have reports of the 103d regiment being in a river, and, it is added, recruits for the 100th regiment.

Sir George has had applications from so many

* It shows an extraordinary want of correct information with the British minister at Washington, or a strange remissness in communicating it, that on the 9th of July Sir G. Prevost should think that offensive measures were not likely to be speedily adopted, as by the succeeding chapter, it will be seen that General Hull commenced his march for Detroit on the 1st of June, and was at this very period in the vicinity of that fortress, preparing to invade Upper Canada.

quarters for militia below Kingston, that to ensure a general arrangement and to adopt the best system that circumstances will admit, he has directed Colonel Lethbridge, the inspecting field officer here, to proceed through the line of settlements to see the several colonels and corps of militia, so as to fix their quotas, and afterwards to proceed to Kingston and assume the command of that post, if necessary: he will be placed under your orders, but you will perhaps not wish to bring him in contact with the 41st regiment, as he is senior to Colonel Proctor.

Sir George desires me to say, that he does not attempt to prescribe specific rules for your guidance—they must be directed by your discretion and the circumstances of the time: the present order of the day with him is forbearance, until hostilities are more decidedly marked.

Sir George Prevost to Major-General Brock.

MONTREAL, July 10, 1812.

Colonel Lethbridge's departure for Kingston affords me an opportunity of replying more fully and confidentially to your letter of the 3d instant, than I could venture to have done the day before yesterday by an uncertain conveyance. That officer has been desired to transmit to you, together with this dispatch, a copy of the instructions given to him for his guidance until the exigencies of the service make it necessary in your estimation to substitute others, or to employ the colonel in any other situation of command. In them you will find expressed my sentiments respecting the mode of conducting the war on our part, suited to the existing circumstances; and as they change, so must we vary our line of conduct, adapting it to our means of preserving entire the king's provinces.

Our numbers would not justify offensive operations being undertaken, unless they were solely calculated

to strengthen a defensive attitude. I consider it prudent and politic to avoid any measure which can in its effect have a tendency to unite the people in the American States. Whilst disunion prevails among them, their attempts on these provinces will be feeble; it is, therefore, our duty carefully to avoid committing any act which may, even by construction, tend to unite the eastern and southern states, unless, by its perpetration, we are to derive a considerable and important advantage. But the government of the United States, resting on public opinion for all its measures, is liable to sudden and violent changes; it becomes an essential part of our duty to watch the effect of parties on its measures, and to adapt ours to the impulse given by those possessed of influence over the public mind in America.

Notwithstanding these observations, I have to assure you of my perfect confidence in your measures for the preservation of Upper Canada. All your wants shall be supplied as fast as possible, except money, of which I have so little, as to be obliged to have recourse to a paper currency.

The adjutant-general has reported to you the aid we have afforded, in arms and ammunition, to your militia at Cornwall, Glengary, Dundas, and Stormont.

To prevent an interruption to the communication between the two provinces, it is fit a system of convoy should be established between Montreal and Kingston; and as Major-General de Rottenburg is to remain here in command of a cordon of troops, consisting of regulars and militia, (established in this neighbourhood to prevent an irruption for the plunder of Montreal,) whilst I attend to parliamentary duties at Quebec, on that subject you may communicate direct with the major-general, as he has my instructions to co-operate with you in preserving this important object.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

FORT GEORGE, July 12, 1812.

With the exception of occasional firing from the opposite shore, (the unauthorized act of an undisciplined militia,) nothing of a hostile nature has occurred on this communication since I last had the honor of addressing your excellency.

The enemy is busy constructing batteries at different points on the river, but he does not appear to have yet received cannon to place in them. We are doing all we can on this side to counteract his views, and the arrival of the *Royal George** and the vessels under her convoy, bringing various pieces of ordnance, will give us in this respect a decided superiority.

The militia, which assembled here immediately on the account being received of war being declared by the United States, have been improving daily in discipline; but the men evince a degree of impatience under their present restraint, that is far from inspiring confidence. So great was the clamour to return and attend to their farms, that I found myself in some measure compelled to sanction the departure of a large proportion; and I am not without my apprehensions that the remainder will, in defiance of the law, which can only impose a fine of £20, leave the service the moment the harvest commences. There can be no doubt that a large portion of the population in this neighbourhood are sincere in their professions to defend the country; but it appears likewise evident to me that the greater part are either indifferent to what is passing, or so completely American as to rejoice in the prospect of a change of government. Many, who now consider our means inadequate, would readily take an active part were the regular troops increased. These cool calculators are numerous in all societies.

* The British squadron on Lake Ontario consisted at this time of the ship *Royal George*, of 24 guns, the brig *Moira*, of 16 guns, and the *Prince Regent*, and two other schooners.

The alacrity and good temper with which the militia, in the first instance, marched to the frontiers, have tended to infuse in the mind of the enemy a very different sentiment of the disposition of the inhabitants, who, he was led to believe would, upon the first summons, declare themselves an American state. The display for several days of a large force was made, I have every reason to believe, in that expectation.

Nearly the whole of the arms at my disposal have been issued. They are barely sufficient to arm the militia immediately required to guard the frontier. Were I furnished with the means of distributing arms among the people, in whom confidence can be placed, they would not only overawe the disaffected, but prove of essential use in the event of invasion. The militia assembled in a wretched state in regard to clothing; many were without shoes, an article which can scarcely be provided in the country.

After the cannon, which have arrived this morning, are mounted, I shall consider my front perfectly secure. I do not imagine the enemy will hazard a water excursion with a view to turn my flanks. He probably will wait until winter, when the ice will enable him to cross with the utmost facility to any part between Fort Erie and as far as Long Point. My situation will then depend upon the force the enemy may bring to invade the province. Should the troops have to move, the want of tents will be severely felt.

A person, who left Sandwich yesterday week, pretends that the enemy was then in the act of cannonading the place. I have not heard from Lieut.-Colonel St. George since my last letter to your excellency.

An officer is so absolutely necessary to command in the eastern district, that I have consented to Major-General Shaw proceeding thither in that capacity. I have full confidence in his judgment, and his con-

duct in the field is undoubted. He of course will assume the command in virtue of his militia rank, and will be liable to be superseded by any lieutenant-colonel your excellency may be pleased to appoint.

The expense of defending this province will unquestionably be great; upon a rough calculation, and supposing that 4,000 militia be constantly embodied, it cannot be estimated at less than £140,000 per annum. However great the sum, it will be applied to very considerable advantage, provided your excellency be enabled to send reinforcements, as without them it is scarcely possible that the government of the United States will be so inactive or supine as to permit the present limited force to remain in possession of the country. Whatever can be done to preserve it, or to delay its fall, your excellency may rest assured will be exerted.

Having been suddenly called away from York, I had not time to close my dispatch, giving your excellency an account of my proceedings during my stay at Amherstburg. I now have the honor to forward two documents, detailing the steps taken by the Indian department to prevail on that unfortunate people to accommodate their differences with the American government.

Extract from an American Newspaper.

BUFFALO, July 14, 1812.

Major-General Brock is at present at Newark, superintending the various defences on the river. He is stated to be an able and experienced officer, with undoubted courage. He came from Little York soon after hearing the declaration of war, and, it was believed, with a serious intention of attacking Fort Niagara, but, contrary to what has been reported, he made no demand of a surrender.

Expecting a descent from the American army, the Canadians have, for ten days past, been removing their families and effects from the river into the interior. At Newark, Queenston, and other villages on the river, there are no inhabitants except a few civilians and officers and soldiers. It is even said, that an immense quantity of specie, plate, &c.,

from various parts of the province, have been boxed up, and destined for Quebec.

The British are understood to have about six or seven hundred regular troops stationed between the lakes, from Fort George to Fort Erie. These men are generally those who have "seen service" in various parts of the world. The militia of the province are ordered out *en masse*.

It is stated by gentlemen of intelligence at Lewistown, that the government of Canada have in their employment, under pay, about 250 Indians, armed complete: a part of them are mounted.

Brigadier-General William Wadsworth, from Genesee, commands the troops on our frontiers. His aids are Major Adam Hoops and Major W. H. Spencer. His head quarters are now at Lewistown. It is impossible to state the precise number of troops under his command, because the militia ordered on the lines are returning, and the companies composing the regiments under his command have not all arrived; but from what we learn, there are in regular troops, volunteers, and detached militia, above 4,000 stationed at Rock, Lewistown, Youngstown, and Fort Niagara. The troops are in excellent health, in good spirits, and well supplied. They appear quite impatient for want of employment. There has been some firing from the sentries on both sides of the river.

It was reported at Fort Niagara last week, that the British have sent from Little York every armed ship in pursuit of the brig Oneida.

The British armed ship Queen Charlotte, lying at Fort Erie, soon after the declaration of war was received, left her moorings and proceeded up the lake—is now understood to be at Fort Malden, the great depôt of Indian supplies. His majesty's sloop of war Hunter has gone up the straits of Mackina, and passed into Lake Michigan, and captured an American merchant vessel, said to be either the Mary or Salina. We understand an official account of the capture has been received at Fort Erie.

CHAPTER IX.

The American government, in anticipation of its declaration of war, had detached from the state of Ohio to the Michigan territory an army of about 2,000 men, under the command of Brigadier-General Hull, who, said President Madison in his message to congress, "possessing discretionary authority to act offensively, passed into Canada with a prospect of easy and victorious progress." The enemy evidently confided in the very limited defensive means of the Upper Province, and in the impossibility of its receiving early assistance from the mother country. They relied also on the supposed disaffection of many of its inhabitants, and they expected confidently that, weak and divided, it would fall an easy prey to the invaders; but they were soon undeceived. This army marched from Dayton, in Ohio, on the 1st of June, and arrived on the 7th at Urbana. On the 11th, Colonel M'Arthur's regiment of militia was detached to open a road as far as the Scioto river, on the south bank of which two block-houses, connected by a strong stockade, were erected, and named Fort M'Arthur. From this post to the rapids of the Miami (or Maumee) the distance is about 125 miles, and the route of the army was through a thick and almost trackless forest, as the north-western part of Ohio was at that time scarcely inhabited, so that it became necessary to open a road the whole way for the passage of the many baggage waggons. To

guard against the attacks of the hostile Indians at night, the plan of encampment was a hollow square, defended usually by a temporary breast-work of felled trees. On the 26th of June, General Hull received intelligence, by express from Chillicothe, of the declaration of war, and on the 30th the troops suddenly emerged from a gloomy wilderness to a full view of the broad Miami with a village on the opposite bank, when a beam of joy animated every countenance, and repaid the men for the fatigues of a long and dreary march. Here a small schooner was engaged to carry a quantity of baggage, belonging to the army, to Detroit; but she fell into the hands of the British near Amherstburg, while on her voyage. On the 4th of July, the army reached the Huron river, 21 miles from Detroit, and the next day encamped at Spring Wells, about 4 miles from that town. On the 8th, the encampment at Spring Wells was abandoned, and the army took up a position in the rear of Detroit, when it was joined by 600 of the Michigan militia, and the necessary preparations were made for the intended invasion. Having crossed his army over with several field pieces to the Canadian village of Sandwich on the 12th of July, Hull issued on that day the following insidious but able proclamation, which was doubtless indited at Washington. It will be seen that the American general was made to say, that he did not ask the assistance of the Canadians, as he had no doubt of eventual success, because he came prepared for every contingency with a force which would look down all opposition, and that that force was but the vanguard of a much greater!

Inhabitants of Canada!—After thirty years of peace and prosperity, the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain, have once more left them no alternative but manly resistance or unconditional submission.

The army under my command has invaded your country, and the standard of union now waves over the territory of

Canada. To the peaceable, unoffending inhabitant, it brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to *find* enemies, not to *make* them. I come to protect, not to injure you.

Separated by an immense ocean, and an extensive wilderness from Great Britain, you have no participation in her councils, no interest in her conduct. You have felt her tyranny, you have seen her injustice—but I do not ask you to avenge the one or redress the other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford you every security, consistent with their rights and your expectations. I tender you the invaluable blessings of civil, political, and religious liberty, and their necessary result, individual and general prosperity—that liberty which gave decision to our councils and energy to our conduct in our struggle for independence, and which conducted us safely and triumphantly through the stormy period of the revolution—that liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank among the nations of the world, and which has afforded us a greater measure of peace and security, of wealth and improvement, than ever yet fell to the lot of any people.

In the name of my country, and by the authority of my government, I promise protection to your persons, property, and rights. Remain at your homes—pursue your peaceful and customary avocations—raise not your hands against your brethren. Many of your fathers fought for the freedom and independence we now enjoy. Being children, therefore, of the same family with us, and heirs to the same heritage, the arrival of an army of friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of freemen.

Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance—but I do not. I come prepared for every contingency. I have a force which will look down all opposition, and that force is but the vanguard of a much greater. If, contrary to your own interests and the just expectation of my country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered and treated as enemies, and the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you. If the barbarous and savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages be let loose to murder our citizens, and butcher our women and children, this war will be a war of extermination. The first stroke of the tomahawk, the first attempt with the scalping knife, will be the signal of one indiscriminate scene of desolation. No white man, found fighting by the side of an Indian, will be taken prisoner—instant destruction will be his lot. If the dictates of reason, duty, justice, and humanity, cannot prevent the employment of a

force which respects no rights and knows no wrong, it will be prevented by a severe and relentless system of retaliation.

I doubt not your courage and firmness—I will not doubt your attachment to liberty. If you tender your services voluntarily, they will be accepted readily. The United States offer you peace, liberty, and security. Your choice lies between these and war, slavery and destruction. Choose, then, but choose wisely; and may He who knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in his hand the fate of nations, guide you to a result the most compatible with your rights and interests, your peace and prosperity.

W. HULL.

By the General,

A. F. HULL.

Capt. 13th Regt. U. S. Infantry, and

Aide-de-Camp.

Head Quarters,

Sandwich, July 12, 1812.

The following counter-proclamation* was published by Major-General Brock, “a proclamation as remarkable for the solid reasoning and dignity of its language, as that of the American for its presumption,”† and it had an immediate and most salutary effect.

The unprovoked declaration of war by the United States of America against the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and its dependencies, has been followed by the actual invasion of this province, in a remote frontier of the western district, by a detachment of the armed force of the United States.

The officer commanding that detachment has thought proper to invite his majesty’s subjects, not merely to a quiet and unresisting submission, but insults them with a call to seek voluntarily the protection of his government.

Without condescending to repeat the illiberal epithets bestowed in this appeal of the American commander to the people of Upper Canada, on the administration of his majesty, every inhabitant of the province is desired to seek the confutation of such indecent slander in the review of his own particular circumstances. Where is the Canadian subject who can truly affirm to himself that he has been injured by the government, in his person, his property, or his liberty? Where is to be found, in any part of the world, a growth so rapid in prosperity and wealth, as this colony exhibits?

* It will be seen in the sequel, that Mr. Justice Powell is believed in Upper Canada to have been the author of this counter-proclamation.

† Christie’s Memoirs, already cited.

Settled, not thirty years, by a band of veterans, exiled from their former possessions on account of their loyalty, not a descendant of these brave people is to be found, who, under the fostering liberality of their sovereign, has not acquired a property and means of enjoyment superior to what were possessed by their ancestors.

This unequalled prosperity would not have been attained by the utmost liberality of the government, or the persevering industry of the people, had not the maritime power of the mother country secured to its colonists a safe access to every market, where the produce of their labour was in request.

The unavoidable and immediate consequences of a separation from Great Britain must be the loss of this inestimable advantage; and what is offered you in exchange? To become a territory of the United States, and share with them that exclusion from the ocean which the policy of their government enforces; you are not even flattered with a participation of their boasted independence; and it is but too obvious that, once estranged from the powerful protection of the United Kingdom, you must be re-annexed to the dominion of France, from which the provinces of Canada were wrested by the arms of Great Britain, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, from no other motive than to relieve her ungrateful children from the oppression of a cruel neighbour. This restitution of Canada to the empire of France, was the stipulated reward for the aid afforded to the revolted colonies, now the United States; the debt is still due, and there can be no doubt but the pledge has been renewed as a consideration for commercial advantages, or rather for an expected relaxation in the tyranny of France over the commercial world. Are you prepared, inhabitants of Canada, to become willing subjects, or rather slaves, to the despot who rules the nations of continental Europe with a rod of iron? If not, arise in a body, exert your energies, co-operate cordially with the king's regular forces to repel the invader, and do not give cause to your children, when groaning under the oppression of a foreign master, to reproach you with having so easily parted with the richest inheritance of this earth—a participation in the name, character, and freedom of Britons!

The same spirit of justice, which will make every reasonable allowance for the unsuccessful efforts of zeal and loyalty, will not fail to punish the defalcation of principle. Every Canadian freeholder is, by deliberate choice, bound by the most solemn oaths to defend the monarchy, as well as his own property; to shrink from that engagement is a treason not to be forgiven. Let no man suppose that if, in this unexpected struggle, his majesty's arms should be compelled to yield to an overwhelming force, the province will be even-

tually abandoned ; the endeared relations of its first settlers, the intrinsic value of its commerce, and the pretensions of its powerful rival to repossess the Canadas, are pledges that no peace will be established between the United States and Great Britain and Ireland, of which the restoration of these provinces does not make the most prominent condition.

Be not dismayed at the unjustifiable threat of the commander of the enemy's forces to refuse quarter, should an Indian appear in the ranks. The brave bands of aborigines which inhabit this colony were, like his majesty's other subjects, punished for their zeal and fidelity, by the loss of their possessions in the late colonies, and rewarded by his majesty with lands of superior value in this province. The faith of the British government has never yet been violated—the Indians feel that the soil they inherit is to them and their posterity protected from the base arts so frequently devised to over-reach their simplicity. By what new principle are they to be prohibited from defending their property? If their warfare, from being different to that of the white people, be more terrific to the enemy, let him retrace his steps—they seek him not—and cannot expect to find women and children in an invading army. But they are men, and have equal rights with all other men to defend themselves and their property when invaded, more especially when they find in the enemy's camp a ferocious and mortal foe, using the same warfare which the American commander affects to reprobate.

This inconsistent and unjustifiable threat of refusing quarter, for such a cause as being found in arms with a brother sufferer, in defence of invaded rights, must be exercised with the certain assurance of retaliation, not only in the limited operations of war in this part of the king's dominions, but in every quarter of the globe ; for the national character of Britain is not less distinguished for humanity than strict retributive justice, which will consider the execution of this inhuman threat as deliberate murder, for which every subject of the offending power must make expiation.

ISAAC BROCK,

Head Quarters,
Fort George, July 22, 1812.

Major-Gen. and President.

By order of his honor the president.

J. B. GLEGG,

Captain and Aide-de-Camp.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

FORT GEORGE, July 20, 1812.

My last to your excellency was dated the 12th instant, since which nothing extraordinary has occurred on this communication. The enemy has evidently diminished his force, and appears to have no intention of making an immediate attack.

I have herewith the honor of enclosing the copy of two letters which I have received from Lieut.-Colonel St. George, together with some interesting documents found on board a schooner, which the boats of the Hunter captured on her voyage from the Miami to Detroit.

From the accompanying official correspondence between General Hull and the secretary at war, it appears that the collected force which has arrived at Detroit amounts to about 2,000 men. I have requested Colonel Proctor to proceed to Amherstburg, and ascertain accurately the state of things in that quarter. I had every inclination to go there myself, but the meeting of the legislature on the 27th instant renders it impossible.

I receive this moment a dispatch, dated the 15th instant, from Lieut.-Colonel St. George, giving an account of the enemy having landed on the 12th, and immediately after occupied the village of Sandwich. It is strange that three days should be allowed to elapse before sending to acquaint me of this important fact. I had no idea, until I received Lieut.-Colonel St. George's letter a few days ago, that General Hull was advancing with so large a force.

The militia, from every account, behaved very ill. The officers appear the most in fault. Colonel Proctor will probably reach Amherstburg in the course of tomorrow. I have great dependance in that officer's decision, but fear he will arrive too late to be of much service. The enemy was not likely to delay attacking a force that had allowed him to cross the river in open day without firing a shot.

The position which Lieut.-Colonel St. George occupies is very good, and infinitely more formidable than the fort itself. Should he therefore be compelled to retire, I know of no other alternative than his embarking in the king's vessels and proceeding to Fort Erie.

Were it possible to animate the militia to a proper sense of their duty, something might yet be done—but I almost despair.

Your excellency will readily perceive the critical situation in which the reduction of Amherstburg will place me.

I do not imagine General Hull will be able to detach more than 1,000 men, but even with that trifling force I much fear he will succeed in getting to my rear. The militia will not act without a strong regular force to set them the example; and as I must now expect to be seriously threatened, I cannot in prudence make strong detachments, which would not only weaken my line of defence, but, in the event of a retreat, endanger their safety.

I am now given to understand that General Hull's insidious proclamation, herewith enclosed, has already been productive of considerable effect on the minds of the people. In fact, a general sentiment prevails that, with the present force, resistance is unavailing. I shall continue to exert myself to the utmost to overcome every difficulty. Should, however, the communication between Kingston and Montreal be cut off, the fate of the troops in this part of the province will be decided. I now express my apprehensions on a supposition that the slender means your excellency possesses will not admit of diminution; consequently, that I need not look for reinforcements. It is evidently not the intention of the enemy to make any attempt to penetrate into the province by this strait, unless the present force be diminished. He seems much more inclined to work on the flanks, aware that if he succeed every other part must very soon submit.

My last official communication from the Lower Province is dated the 25th ultimo, when the adjutant-general announced the receipt of intelligence, by a mercantile house, of war being declared by the United States against Great Britain.

Major-General Sir Thomas Saumarez, Kt., to Major-General Brock.*

HALIFAX, July 22, 1812.

Being this moment informed that an express is to be dispatched immediately from hence to Quebec, I have great pleasure in having an opportunity to inquire after your health and welfare, and to acquaint you that your relation, Lady Saumarez, † and myself, arrived here about a month since. I assure you we consider ourselves particularly fortunate in not having fallen into the enemy's hands, as the Americans had declared war a week before we reached this. We came out in a very valuable ordnance store ship, which would have been a great acquisition to the enemy, at the breaking out of a war especially; and the loss to us would have been seriously felt here, as all the stores on board were very much required. Another ship with naval stores accompanied us; they were much wanted by our squadron, and possibly as much so by the ships of the enemy. Our squadron on this station has been very active. Prizes arrive here daily, I could almost say hourly. The *Emulous* brig brought in ten yesterday, and 30,000 dollars were found on board some of them. Mr. Foster, late ambassador to the American States, has been here nearly a week; he is to sail for England to-day. According to the best information we can

* General Sir Thomas Saumarez, then commandant at Halifax, and in 1813 president of the council and commander-in-chief of New Brunswick; now in his 85th year, and brother of the late Admiral Lord de Saumarez.

† Lady Saumarez was Harriet Brock, his first cousin. Another of his first cousins, Emily Brock, was the wife of Lieut.-General Sir John Cameron, K. C. B., colonel of the 9th foot, and a very distinguished officer in the Peninsular war.

obtain here, the Northern and Eastern States of America are extremely inimical to, and dissatisfied with, the war; so much so, that there is reason to suppose they will dissolve the Union shortly, and declare themselves totally independent of the Southern and Western States.

The American privateers are extremely numerous and daring in this neighbourhood; and, I am sorry to add, they have proved but too successful, having captured several of our vessels bound to Quebec and New Brunswick, and some to this port. I received a note about an hour ago from Lieut.-Colonel Pearson, who sailed from hence last Sunday, with his wife and family, for Quebec, being appointed inspecting field officer in Canada, to inform me that he had been made prisoner by an American privateer. Most of our ships are looking out for the squadron the Americans have at sea, under Commodore Rodgers, who is supposed to have sailed from New York with a view to intercept our West India fleet, homeward bound.

We are as busy here as possible in placing all our out-posts in the best state of defence. I suppose you are not less so.

A transport, with 140 men of the Royals, from the West Indies to Quebec, was boarded by the Essex, American frigate, about ten days ago, and permitted to proceed, on condition that the master of the vessel promised to pay a ransom of 12,000 dollars for her; and that the officer commanding considered himself on parole, and gave his assurance that the troops would not fight against the Americans during the war. The transport arrived here yesterday, and the remainder of the battalion is supposed to have reached Quebec.

You have probably heard of the many improvements in our little island. An excellent road was finished from town to Vazon Bay, and from Fort George to Rocquaine; also one from town to Lan-

cresse. The Braye du Valle is now under a state of cultivation. Roads of communication were nearly finished; one of them from what is called the Long Store passes Amherst Barracks and my house, and joins the great road to the Forest and St. Martin's: the opening of all these have discovered many beautiful views, which we did not know Guernsey possessed.

If there should be any thing I can do for you or my nephew, James Brock, I beg that you will afford me the pleasure of executing your commissions. I have not time to add more, but to assure you both of Lady S.'s and my best wishes and regards.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

FORT GEORGE, July 25, 1812.

Since my dispatch to your excellency of the 20th instant, I have received information of the enemy having made frequent and extensive inroads from Sandwich up the river Thames. I have in consequence been induced to detach Capt. Chambers* with about 50 of the 41st regiment to the Moravian town, where I have directed 200 militia to join him. From the loud and apparently warm professions of the Indians residing on the Grand River, I made no doubt of finding at all times a large majority ready to take the field and act in conjunction with our troops; but accounts received this morning state that they have determined to remain neutral, and they have consequently refused, with the exception of about fifty, to join Captain Chambers' detachment.

I meditated a diversion to the westward, the moment I could collect a sufficient number of militia, in the hope of compelling General Hull to retreat across the river; but this unexpected intelligence has ruined the whole of my plans. The militia, which I destined

* Senior lieutenant-colonel of the 41st regiment in India, in 1828, and a C. B.

for this service, will now be alarmed, and unwilling to leave their families to the mercy of 400 Indians, whose conduct affords such wide room for suspicion; and really to expect that this fickle race will remain in a state of neutrality in the midst of war, would be truly absurd. The Indians have probably been led to this change of sentiment by emissaries from General Hull, whose proclamation to the Six Nations is herewith enclosed.

I have not deemed it of sufficient consequence to commence active operations on this line, by an attack on Fort Niagara. It can be demolished, when found necessary, in half an hour, and there my means of annoyance would terminate. To enable the militia to acquire some degree of discipline without interruption, is of far greater consequence than such a conquest. Every thing in my power shall be done to overcome the difficulties by which I am surrounded; but without strong reinforcements, I fear the country cannot be roused to make exertions equal to meet this crisis.

I proceed immediately to York, to attend the meeting of the legislature, and I hope to return on Wednesday. The charge of this frontier will in the mean time devolve on Lieut.-Colonel Myers, who appears worthy of every confidence. The actual invasion of the province has compelled me to recall that portion of the militia, whom I permitted to return home and work at harvest. I am prepared to hear of much discontent in consequence; the disaffected will take advantage of it, and add fuel to the flame. But it may not be without reason that I may be accused of having already studied their convenience and humour to the injury of the service.

I should have derived much consolation in the midst of my present difficulties had I been honored, previously to the meeting of the legislature, with your excellency's determination in regard to this province. That it cannot be maintained with its present force is

very obvious; and unless the enemy be driven from Sandwich, it will be impossible to avert much longer the impending ruin of the country. Numbers have already joined the invading army; commotions are excited; and the late occurrences at Sandwich have spread a general gloom. I have not heard from Lieut.-Colonel St. George, or from any individual at Amherstburg, since I last had the honor of addressing your excellency, which makes me apprehensive that Colonel Proctor has been detained on his journey too long for the good of the service.

The enemy's cavalry, amounting to about fifty, are led by one Watson, a surveyor from Montreal of a desperate character. This fellow has been allowed to parade with about twenty men of the same description as far as Westminster,* vowing as they went along the most bitter vengeance against the first characters in the province. Nothing can shew more strongly the state of apathy which exists in most parts of the country; but I am perhaps too liberal in attributing the conduct of the inhabitants to that cause.

Mr. Couche has represented to the head of his department the total impracticability of carrying on the public service without a remittance of specie, or a government paper substitute. He was in expectation of making arrangements with some individuals that would have enabled him to proceed, but I much fear that the whole project has fallen to the ground. The militia on this communication were so clamorous for their pay, that I directed Mr. Couche to make the necessary advances, and this has drained him of the little specie in his possession.

My present civil office not only authorizes me to convene general courts martial for the trial of offenders belonging to the militia, but likewise the infliction of the sentence of death; whilst in regard to the military, my power is limited to the mere assembling of the court. I beg leave to submit to the consideration

* About 110 miles in the interior, or east of Sandwich.

of your excellency, whether in times like the present I ought not to be invested with equal authority over each service.

I herewith have the honor to transmit two letters, one from Captain Roberts, commanding at St. Joseph's, and the second from Mr. Dickson, a gentleman every way capable of forming a correct judgment of the actual state of the Indians. Nothing can be more deplorable than his description; yet the United States government accuse Great Britain of instigating that people to war. Is not the true cause to be found in the state of desperation to which they are reduced by the unfriendly and unjust measures of that government towards them?

On the 27th of July, 1812, Major-General Brock returned to York from Fort George, on which day, accompanied by a numerous suite, he opened the extra session of the legislature, and delivered the following speeches.

Honorable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and
Gentlemen of the House of Assembly.

The urgency of the present crisis is the only consideration which could have induced me to call you together at a time when public, as well as private, duties elsewhere, demand your care and attention.

But, gentlemen, when invaded by an enemy whose avowed object is the entire conquest of the province, the voice of loyalty, as well as of interest, calls aloud to every person in the sphere in which he is placed to defend his country.

Our militia have heard that voice, and have obeyed it; they have evinced, by the promptitude and loyalty of their conduct, that they are worthy of the king whom they serve, and of the constitution which they enjoy; and it affords me particular satisfaction, that while I address you as legislators, I speak to men who, in the day of danger, will be ready to assist, not only with their counsel, but with their arms.

We look, gentlemen, to our militia, as well as to the regular forces, for our protection; but I should be wanting to that important trust committed to my care, if I attempted to conceal (what experience, the great instructor of mankind,

and especially of legislators, has discovered,) that amendment is necessary in our militia laws to render them efficient.

It is for you to consider what further improvements they still may require.

Honorable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and
Gentlemen of the House of Assembly.

From the history and experience of our mother country, we learn that in times of actual invasion or internal commotion, the ordinary course of criminal law has been found inadequate to secure his majesty's government from private treachery as well as from open disaffection; and that at such times its legislature has found it expedient to enact laws restraining, for a limited period, the liberty of individuals, in many cases where it would be dangerous to expose the particulars of the charge; and although the actual invasion of the province might justify me in the exercise of the full powers reposed in me on such an emergency, yet it will be more agreeable to me to receive the sanction of the two houses.

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; yet the general spirit of loyalty which appears to pervade the inhabitants of this province, is such as to authorize a just expectation that their efforts to mislead and deceive will be unavailing. The disaffected, I am convinced, are few—to protect and defend the loyal inhabitants from their machinations, is an object worthy of your most serious deliberation.

Gentlemen of the House of Assembly.

I have directed the public accounts of the province to be laid before you, in as complete a state as this unusual period will admit; they will afford you the means of ascertaining to what extent you can aid in providing for the extraordinary demands occasioned by the employment of the militia, and I doubt not but to that extent you will cheerfully contribute.

Honorable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and
Gentlemen of the House of Assembly.

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

The invasion of the western district by Brigadier-General Hull, and the artful and threatening language of his proclamation, were productive at the outset of

very unfavorable effects among a large portion of the inhabitants of Upper Canada; and so general was the despondency, that the Norfolk militia, consisting, we believe, chiefly of settlers of American origin, peremptorily refused to march. The majority of the members of the house of assembly were impressed with the same gloomy forebodings, and that body appeared by its proceedings rather to court the favor of the enemy than fearlessly to perform its duty. It was, therefore, prorogued upon passing the money bills, as no advantage could result from its remaining longer in session. The state of the province required the most prompt and decisive measures for its preservation, and Major-General Brock considered its situation at this moment as extremely critical. With the concurrence of his counsel, to whom he represented his many difficulties, he is said to have resolved on exercising martial law whenever he should find it necessary, although the house of assembly had rejected its enactment, even in a modified form. Not only among the militia was a disposition evinced to submit tamely, but five hundred in the western district sought the protection of the enemy. It is true that the people there were far removed from the seat of government, and the more subject to hostile influence, as they were principally composed of French Canadians and of the natives of the United States, or their immediate descendants; but even the Indians, who were located on the Grand River, in the heart of the province, positively refused, with a few exceptions, to take up arms; and they announced their intention, after the return of some of their chiefs from General Hull, to remain neutral, as if they wished the authorities to believe that they could be tranquil in the midst of warfare. Major-General Brock had not long administered the government of the province, but where he was individually known, and where his personal influence extended, a better sentiment prevailed; and his counter-proclamation served not only

to animate the well-disposed, but to counteract the machinations of the disaffected. The confident tone of his address to the provincial parliament was also productive of the best effects, whatever inward misgivings he might have felt; and those who were dastardly enough to join the invaders of their native or adopted country, were quickly taught to repent of their baseness and treason. And the British general's emphatic assurance to the legislature, prophetic as it proved in this contest, should not be forgotten in a future war by those Canadians who seek to preserve "the richest inheritance of this earth—a participation in the name, character, and freedom of Britons."*

“BY UNANIMITY AND DISPATCH IN OUR COUNCILS, AND BY VIGOUR IN OUR OPERATIONS, WE MAY TEACH THE ENEMY THIS LESSON, THAT A COUNTRY DEFENDED BY FREE MEN, ENTHUSIASTICALLY DEVOTED TO THE CAUSE OF THEIR KING AND CONSTITUTION, CAN NEVER BE CONQUERED!”

* Major-General Brock's proclamation, in answer to that of General Hull, *ante*.

CHAPTER VIII.

We have mentioned that Major-General Brock had in the spring provided for the protection of Fort St. Joseph, a small British post, distant by water nearly 700 miles from York, and situate about 50 miles, also by water, to the north-east of the American island and fort of Michilimackinac, or as now often abbreviated, Mackinaw, which island is in latitude $45^{\circ} 30'$ north, and longitude $84^{\circ} 30'$ west ;* and one of his first cares, on hearing of the declaration of the war, was to send, on the 26th of June, a notification of it to Captain Roberts, who was stationed at St. Joseph with a detachment of the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion, accompanied by orders to make an immediate attack upon Michilimackinac, if practicable ; or, in the event of an attack by the Americans upon St. Joseph, to defend it to the utmost. Captain Roberts

* For a description of this island, see page 180.

"Fort Michilimackinac was built by order of the governor-general of Canada, and garrisoned with a small number of militia, who, having families, soon became less soldiers than settlers. Most of those, whom I found in the fort, had originally served in the French army.

"The fort stands on the south side of the strait which is between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. It has an area of two acres, and is enclosed with pickets of cedar wood ; (thuya occidentalis ;) and it is so near the water's edge, that, when the wind is in the west, the waves break against the stockade. On the bastions are two small pieces of brass English cannon, taken some years since by a party of Canadians, who went on a plundering expedition against the posts of Hudson's Bay, which they reached by the route of the river Churchill.

Within the stockade are thirty houses, neat in their appearance, and tolerably commodious ; and a church, in which mass is celebrated, by a Jesuit missionary. The number of families may be nearly equal to that of the houses ; and their subsistence is derived from the Indian traders, who assemble here, in their voyages to and from Montreal.—*Henry's Travels*, (1761,) cited *ante*.

received at the same time another letter from Major-General Brock, dated the 27th of June, suspending the orders for the attack from the uncertainty he was under of the declaration of war. In a third letter, dated Fort George, the 28th of June, Major-General Brock, being sufficiently informed of such a declaration, directed Captain Roberts to adopt the most prompt and effectual measures to possess himself of Michilimackinac, and for this purpose to summon to his assistance the Indians within his influence, as well as the gentlemen and dependants of the British fur companies near his post. On the day that Captain Roberts received this letter, another reached him from Sir George Prevost, dated Quebec, 25th of June, by which he was directed to take every precaution to secure his post against any attempt by the enemy, and in case of necessity to effect his retreat. Thus it would seem that the commander-in-chief had forgotten Major-General Brock's* advice a few months previously, and it never occurred to him that the best way to secure St. Joseph was to capture Michilimackinac. This contrariety of instructions from the two general officers did not fail to perplex Captain Roberts, who, however, with great promptitude and decision made preparations for the attack. By another dispatch of the 4th of July, from Major-General Brock, Captain Roberts was left at his own discretion to adopt either offensive or defensive measures, as circumstances might dictate. On the 16th of July, he accordingly set out with a flotilla of boats and canoes, in which were embarked 45 officers and men of the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion, about 180 Canadians, and nearly 400 Indians, the whole convoyed by the Caledonia brig, belonging to the North-West company; and on the ensuing morning, the British force effected a landing before Michilimackinac,† the garrison of which, consisting only of 61 officers

* See his letter of the 12th of February, 1812, to Colonel Baynes.

† See Captain Roberts' Dispatch, Appendix A, Sec. 1, No. 2.

and men, immediately surrendered by capitulation. A quantity of military stores and seven hundred packs of furs were found in the fort, and its surrender had a very favorable effect upon the Indians, a large number of whom now joined in open hostility against the Americans. It will be found by a letter of the 12th of August, from Sir George Prevost, who appears to have seen no safety but in defensive measures, that he would *not* have approved of the attack on Michilimackinac if it had occurred prior to Hull's invasion! And yet that officer, in his official dispatch relative to the capture of his army and the surrender of Detroit, attributed his disasters partly to the fall of Michilimackinac, which he said opened the northern hive of Indians against him!*

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

YORK, July 29, 1812.

I have the honor to transmit herewith a dispatch this instant received from Captain Roberts, announcing the surrender by capitulation, on the 17th instant, of Fort Michilimackinac.

The conduct of this officer since his appointment to the command of that distant post, has been distinguished by much zeal and judgment, and his recent eminent display of those qualities, your excellency

* In his dispatch to the Hon. W. Eustis, the American Secretary at War, dated Fort George, August 26, 1812, General Hull, who is however accused by his own countrymen with having greatly magnified his difficulties, said: "After the surrender of Michilimackinac, almost every tribe and nation of Indians, excepting a part of the Miamies and Delawares, north from beyond Lake Superior, west from beyond the Mississippi, south from the Ohio and Wabash, and east from every part of Upper Canada, and from all the intermediate country, joined in open hostility, under the British standard, against the army I commanded, contrary to the most solemn assurance of a large portion of them to remain neutral; even the Ottawa chiefs, from Arbocrotch, who formed the delegation to Washington the last summer, in whose friendship I know you had great confidence, are among the hostile tribes, and several of them distinguished leaders. Among the vast number of chiefs who led the hostile bands, Tecumseh, Marpolt, Logan, Walk-in-the-Water, Split-log, &c., are considered the principals."

will find, has been attended with the most happy effect.*

The militia stationed here volunteered this morning their services to any part of the province, without the least hesitation. I have selected 100, whom I have directed to proceed without delay to Long Point, where I purpose collecting a force for the relief of Amherstburg. This example, I hope, will be followed by as many as may be required. By the militia law, a man refusing to march may be fined £5, or confined three months; and although I have assembled the legislature for the express purpose of amending the act, I much fear nothing material will be done. Your excellency will scarcely believe that this infatuated house of assembly have refused, by a majority of two, to suspend for a limited time the habeas corpus.

The capture of Michilimackinac may produce great changes to the westward. The actual invasion of the province justifies every act of hostility on the American territory.

It was not till this morning that I was honored with your excellency's dispatches, dated the 7th and 10th instant. Their contents, I beg to assure your excellency, have relieved my mind considerably. I doubt whether General Hull had instructions to cross to this side of the river; I rather suspect he was compelled by a want of provisions. I embark immediately in the Prince Regent for Fort George. I return here the day after to-morrow, and shall probably dissolve the legislature.

Sir George Prevost to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, July 31, 1812.

I have received your letter of the 20th instant, accompanied by the copy of two letters from Lieut.-

* It strikes us as singular that Captain Roberts was not promoted to at least a brevet majority for the capture of this important post, although he had an overwhelming force, and took it without resistance. Was this promotion withheld because the capture was effected contrary to Sir George Prevost's orders?

Colonel St. George, who is in command at Amherstburg, and some interesting documents found on board a schooner, which had been taken by the boats of the Hunter.

In consequence of your having desired Colonel Proctor to proceed to Amherstburg, and of your presence being necessary at the seat of government to meet the legislature of Upper Canada, I have taken upon myself to place Major-General Sheaffe on the staff, to enable me to send him to assist you in the arduous task you have to perform, in the able execution of which I have great confidence. He has been accordingly directed to proceed without delay to Upper Canada, there to place himself under your command.*

I believe you are authorized by the commission under which you administer the government of Upper Canada, to declare martial law in the event of invasion or insurrection; it is, therefore, for you to consider whether you can obtain any thing equivalent to that power from your legislature. I have not succeeded in obtaining a modification of it in Lower Canada, and must therefore, upon the occurrence of either of those calamities, declare the law martial unqualified, and of course shut the doors of the courts of civil law.

The report transmitted by Captain Dixon, of the Royal Engineers, to Lieut.-Colonel Bruyeres, of the state of defence in which he had placed Fort Amherstburg, together with the description of the troops allotted for its defence, give me a foreboding that the result of General Hull's attempt upon that fort will terminate honorably to our arms.

If Lieut.-Colonel St. George be possessed of the talents and resources required to form a soldier, he is

* This accidental appointment gained Major-General Sheaffe a baronetcy a few weeks afterwards, and subsequently a regiment. Such is fortune! At this time Major-General Shaw, a senior officer to Major-General Sheaffe, was serving as a colonel of militia in Upper Canada. See page 203.

fortunate in the opportunity of displaying them. Should General Hull be compelled to relinquish his operations against Amherstburg, it will be proper his future movements should be most carefully observed, as his late march exhibits a more than ordinary character of enterprize.

Your supposition of my slender means is but too correct; notwithstanding, you may rely upon every exertion being made to preserve uninterrupted the communication between Kingston and Montreal, and that I will also give all possible support to your endeavours to overcome every difficulty.

The possession of Malden, which I consider means Amherstburg, appears a favorite object with the government of the United States. I sincerely hope you will disappoint them.

Should the intelligence, which arrived yesterday by the way of Newfoundland, prove correct, a remarkable coincidence will exist in the revocation of our orders in council as regards America, and the declaration of war by congress against England, both having taken place on the same day in London and at Washington, the 17th June.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, August 1, 1812.

Sir George yesterday received your letter of the 20th with its several enclosures, which are, I assure you, highly interesting to all, and doubly so to those who feel warmly and sincerely attached to you; and few, I believe, possess more friends and well wishers than yourself. 100 effective of the Newfoundland, and 50 picked men of the Veterans, left this in boats on Thursday, and, as it has blown a gale of east wind ever since, have I trust made great progress: they were intended to reinforce the garrison of Kingston, and to relieve the company of the 49th that escorted stores to that place. Sir George regrets extremely

his inability to render you a more efficient aid, but, under existing circumstances, he does not feel himself warranted to do more. I regret to find your militia at Sandwich so lukewarm, to call it by no harsher name; but I fear that little can be expected from those recently settled, or of American extraction, and with our Canadians we have found a very reluctant compliance. I trust we may still look to considerable reinforcements from home this year. We are led to expect the 1st battalion of the Royals from the West Indies immediately, destined indeed to relieve the 41st. I hope we shall not be disappointed, as our militia will feel bold if well backed; and I am sure Sir George will rejoice in receiving the means of rendering you further assistance. It appears to be credited that the orders in council were rescinded, in as far as regarded America, on the 17th June, the day the war vote was carried: this will strengthen the oppositionists in the States, and the timid will feel alarmed, not without reason, when they read the glorious and judicious exploit of Captain Hotham, in the Northumberland, 74, in destroying, under circumstances of great difficulty and peril, two French 44-gun frigates and a sloop, which received a superior degree of protection from batteries on the shore than can be afforded to Commodore Rodgers in any harbour of the States.

The Americans are forming depôts in the neighbourhood of the Montreal frontier and building bateaux on the lake, (Champlain,) but they have not brought forward any considerable shew of strength;—on this appearance of weakness we cannot rely, as it would answer no good end making a parade before they intended to attack. If they be serious in their views on this province, the attempt will be probably backed by predatory incursions on various points. A corps of militia is kept on the Point Levi side.

Our legislature meet this day to terminate the session. One great object has been accomplished in

the house, adding the provincial security to the army money note bill; the province pays the interest accruing upon the notes and the expense of the establishment, and they are constituted a legal tender. Without this step we were completely at a stand, for we could not obtain money to pay the last month's subsistence to the troops: great benefit is expected to accrue from the operation of the bill. The clergy have engaged to promote the circulation of the notes, all of which above twenty-five dollars bear interest, and all under are payable on demand.

Adieu, my dear general—may every success and good fortune attend you in the arduous task before you: we cannot command success, but I am sure you will not fail to merit it.

Lieut.-Colonel Bruyeres, Royal Engineers, to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, August 1, 1812.

I take the favorable advantage of this being delivered to you by General Sheaffe, to assure you of the sincere interest I feel in the very arduous and important position you are now placed in to protect and defend a chain of posts, and a country that has been so long neglected. This difficult task placed in any other hands, I should consider very discouraging; but I acknowledge that I look with a certain degree of confidence to your abilities and perseverance in surmounting every difficulty that must unavoidably occur in a service of this nature. I most fervently and earnestly hope that every possible success may attend all your proceedings. I trust that you will always meet with zeal and activity in the officers of my department, to perform every part of the duty allotted to their charge. It is very difficult at this distance to suggest any ideas that might be useful, as every operation in which you are engaged must depend so entirely upon local circumstances, and the

conduct which the enemy may pursue towards attaining the object he has in view. I am glad to find that the new arrival of the Royals, expected at Quebec to-morrow, will give you the reinforcement of the 49th regiment, which, with the detachments of the Newfoundland and Veterans, and gun-boat No. 7, will add something to your present strength.

Sir George Prevost to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, August 2, 1812.

Last evening an officer of the 98th regiment arrived here express from Halifax, the bearer of dispatches to me, dated on the 22d ultimo, from Mr. Foster, who was then in Nova Scotia.

I lose no time in making you acquainted with the substance of this gentleman's communication. He informs me that he had just received dispatches from England, referring to a declaration of ministers in parliament, relative to a proposed repeal of the orders in council, provided the United States government would return to relations of amity with us, the contents of which may possibly induce the American government to agree to a suspension of hostilities as a preliminary to negotiations for peace;—that he proposed sending his majesty's hired armed ketch *Gleaner* to New York, with letters to Mr. Baker, whom he had left at Washington in a demi-official capacity, with directions to communicate with the American minister, and to write to me the result of his interview. Should the president of the United States think proper to signify that hostile operations should cease on the American side, Mr. Foster suggests the expediency of my being prepared to make a similar signification on our part.

As I propose sending Colonel Baynes immediately into the United States, with a proposal for a cessation of hostile operations, I enclose for your information the copy of my letter to General Dearborn, or the commander-in-chief of the American forces.

Mr. Foster also submits the propriety of our abstaining from an invasion of the United States territory, as only in such an event could the American government be empowered to order the militia out of the States. I am led to believe from this, that General Hull, in possessing himself of Sandwich, has exceeded his instructions; particularly as Mr. Foster informs me that Mr. Monroe had told him Fort Malden (Amherstburg) would not be attacked, but that General Hull had stated to a friend of his, some time ago, that he would attempt it.

A report has been made to me that a frigate and six transports, with the Royal Scots (1st battalion) on board, from the West Indies, are just below Bic; in consequence of this reinforcement, I have ordered the company of the 49th regiment, sent to Kingston, to remain there; and in addition to the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, and a detachment of an officer and 50 Veterans most fit for service, now on their route to that station, I shall order Major Ormsby, with three companies of the 49th regiment, to proceed from Montreal to the same post, to be disposed of as you may find it necessary.

Lieut.-General Sir J. C. Sherbrooke has informed me that one of the transports, with part of the Royals on board, has been captured by the United States frigate, the Essex; that she has been ransomed and the officers and troops allowed to proceed, upon condition that they are not to serve against America until regularly exchanged. The vessel and troops had arrived at Halifax, and will shortly be sent hither.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

YORK, August 4, 1812.

I have the honor to enclose a statement made by me yesterday to his majesty's executive council, which will fully apprise your excellency of my situ-

ation. The council adjourned for deliberation, and I have no doubt will recommend the prorogation of the assembly and proclamation declaring martial law; but doubts occurred in contemplation of such an event, which I take the liberty to submit to your excellency, and request the aid of your experience and superior judgment.

1.—In the event of declaring martial law, can I, without the sign manual, approve and carry into effect the sentence of a general court martial?

2.—Can I put upon a general court martial, after martial law is proclaimed, any person not a commissioned officer in his majesty's regular forces? In other words, can officers of militia sit in conjunction with those of the line?

Sir George Prevost to Major-General Brock.

MONTREAL, August 12, 1812.

Your letter of the 4th instant, enclosing the proceedings of the executive council of the 3d; Captain Glegg's letter of the 5th instant, transmitting copies of letters from Colonel Proctor to you of 26th and 30th July, with the correspondence between Brigadier-General Hull and Lieut.-Colonel St. George, and the intercepted correspondence of the former, together with your letter to Colonel Baynes, of the 4th instant, were all delivered to me on my arrival at this place yesterday. The information they contain is highly interesting, and I lose no time in dispatching to you Brigade-Major Shekleton, as the bearer of this letter, and for the purpose of receiving whatever communication you may have to make in return. Being fully aware of the necessity of affording you such reinforcements as the exigencies of the service in other parts of the two provinces would permit, I had, previous to the receipt of your letter, made arrangements for that purpose.

Major Ormsby, with three companies of the 49th

regiment, protecting a considerable supply of ordnance and ordnance stores, left La Chine on the 6th instant for Kingston and Fort George, taking with him £2,500 for the payment of the regular and militia forces. Major Heathcote, with one company of the 49th regiment, about 110 men of the Newfoundland regiment, and 50 picked Veterans, are to leave La Chine on the 13th instant. With this detachment, an additional supply of ordnance stores and camp equipage for 500 men will be forwarded for Upper Canada; and as soon as a sufficiency of bateaux can again be collected at La Chine, Colonel Vincent is under orders to proceed to Kingston with the remainder of the 49th regiment, and a subaltern of the royal artillery and ten gunners, with two 3-pounders.*

When these reinforcements reach you, they will, I trust, enable you successfully to resist the internal, as well as external, enemies opposed to you, and materially aid the able measures you have adopted for the defence of Upper Canada.

With regard to the queries you have submitted to me on the subject of martial law, I have to observe, that it has not fallen within my experience to see martial law proclaimed, except in those places where it has been declared under the authority of a provincial legislature, which of course regulated the mode in which it was to be executed. As the martial law which you purpose declaring is founded on the king's commission, and upon the extreme case of invasion alluded to in it, I am inclined to think that whatever power is necessary for carrying the measure into effect, must have been intended to be given you by the commission, and consequently, that the power of assembling courts martial and of carrying their sen-

* The Canadians row at the rate of three miles an hour when the weather is perfectly calm, and, of course, rather more when they have a favorable breeze to assist them; but, at best, they never go further than thirty miles in twenty-four hours. The average length of the passage from La Chine to Kingston is seven days.—*Howison's Upper Canada*, 1821.

tence into execution, is included in the authority for declaring martial law. The officers of militia becoming themselves subject to martial law when it is declared, I conceive they may sit upon courts martial with officers of his majesty's regular forces; but upon both these points I desire not to be understood as speaking decisively—extreme cases must be met by measures which, on ordinary occasions, would not perhaps be justified. Your situation is such as to warrant your resorting to any step which, in your judgment, the public safety may require. I should therefore think that, after taking the best opinions you can obtain from the first law characters you have about you respecting the doubts you entertain on this subject, you need not hesitate to determine upon that line of conduct which you shall think will best promote the good of the service, trusting, if you do err, to the absolute necessity of the measures you may adopt, as your justification for them to his majesty's government.

Your letters of the 26th, 28th and 29th July, with the several enclosures and papers accompanying them, were received by me shortly previous to my leaving Quebec, the last containing Captain Roberts' official account of the capture of Fort Michilimackinac. Great credit is certainly due to that officer for the zeal and promptitude with which he has performed this service; at the same time I must confess, my mind has been very much relieved by finding that the capture took place at a period subsequent to Brigadier-General Hull's invasion of the province, as, had it been prior to it, it would not only have been in violation of Captain Roberts' orders, but have afforded a just ground for the subsequent conduct of the enemy, which, I now plainly perceive, no forbearance on your part would have prevented. The capture of this place will, I hope, enable the Indian tribes in that quarter to co-operate with you in your present movements against the enemy, by

threatening his flanks, a diversion which would greatly alarm him, and probably have the effect of compelling him to retreat across the river.

I send you enclosed a copy of the official repeal of the orders in council, which I received last night by express from Quebec. Although I much doubt whether this step on the part of our government will have any effect upon that of the United States, the circulation of the paper evincing their conciliatory disposition may tend to increase and strengthen the divisions which subsist amongst the people upon the subject of the war. I therefore recommend to you to have a number of copies struck off and distributed.

Colonel Baynes is still absent upon his mission to the enemy's camp. Your letter to him of the 29th ultimo was received at the same time with those I have last acknowledged. Colonel Lethbridge I have directed to return to Montreal.

The issue of army bills has taken place at Quebec, and I hope to be able shortly to send you a supply of them.

We have previously alluded (page 225) to that part of the preceding letter which relates to the capture of Michilimackinac. This capture appears to have been effected *contrary* to Sir George Prevost's orders, as Fort St. Joseph being nearly 350 miles from Detroit and Sandwich, and as the expedition left the fort only four days after Hull's invasion, it was scarcely possible that Captain Roberts was then aware of that circumstance. Neither in his letter to the adjutant-general, announcing the capture, does he excuse himself by stating that he had heard of the invasion. In his dispatch to Earl Bathurst, written exactly a fortnight after the preceding letter, and dated Montreal, August 26, Sir George Prevost, who ought now to have seen the impolicy of his half-way course, in communicating the surrender of

Detroit, expressed himself in very altered language, as he said :

“ In these measures he * was most opportunely aided by the fortunate surrender of Fort Michilimackinac, which, giving spirit and confidence to the Indian tribes in its neighbourhood, part of whom assisted in its capture, determined them to advance upon the rear and flanks of the American army, as soon as they heard that it had entered the province.”

Sir George Prevost to Earl Bathurst.

MONTREAL, August 4, 1812.

I have the honor to transmit herewith, for your lordship's information, the copy of a report which has been forwarded to me by Major-General Brock, of the surrender, by capitulation, of the American post of Michilimackinac to a detachment of his majesty's troops from St. Joseph's, under the command of Captain Roberts, of the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion. This report is accompanied by a return of prisoners taken, and of the stores which were found in the fort.

In addition to these, I have a further report of the crews of two vessels, to the number of forty-three, who were in the fort, having fallen into our hands, together with seven hundred packs of furs.

* Major-General Brock.

CHAPTER XI.

Whilst Major-General Brock impatiently lingered on the Niagara frontier, so as to give time to the legislature to assemble at York, he dispatched Colonel Proctor, of the 41st regiment, to assume the command at Amherstburg, where he arrived on the 26th July. Its garrison consisted of a subaltern's detachment of the royal artillery, of 300 men of the 41st regiment, and of about the same number of militia. Captain Chambers was also detached from Fort George, with 50 men of the 41st regiment, to the Moravian town, for the purpose of collecting the militia and Indians in the neighbourhood, and then advancing upon the left flank of the enemy. Of the same regiment, 60 men were further sent to Amherstburg, and 40 to Long Point, to collect the militia in that quarter. General Hull, after crossing to Sandwich, remained for some time nearly inactive, contenting himself with a *petite guerre* of out-posts, under the pretext of making preparations for the reduction of Amherstburg, or Malden, as the Americans called it, which lay but sixteen miles below him, and was not in a condition to withstand a regular siege.* During this pause, three detachments of his army were on three successive days foiled in attempts to cross the bridge at the river *Canard*,

* General Hull's head quarters were established at Mr. Baby's house, nearly opposite to Detroit, and around which most of his troops were encamped in a hollow square, a breast-work being erected on three sides, and the fourth, which bounded the river, being defended by artillery.

scarcely four miles from Amherstburg; and it was on one of these occasions that the afterwards celebrated Tecumseh first made himself conspicuous as a most valuable auxiliary on the British side, the enemy retreating before him. Michilimackinac had fallen since the invasion, and the Indians from that quarter were flocking to the British standard. Our naval force being superior on the lake, Colonel Proctor pushed over to Brownstown, an American village, about 25 miles from Detroit, and nearly opposite to Amherstburg, a small detachment of the 41st regiment, and some Indians under Tecumseh, who, with 70 of the latter, awaited in ambush near that village a party of 200 Americans, under Major Van Horne, on their march* from Detroit to the River Raisin, (40 miles south of Detroit,) to meet a detachment of volunteers from Ohio, with a convoy of provisions for Hull's army. The Indians, firing suddenly, killed 20, including 5 officers, and wounded about the same number of the Americans, who hastily retreated, and were pursued seven miles by the warriors alone, not a British soldier being engaged. In this affair, which occurred on the 5th of August, General Hull's dispatches and the correspondence of his troops fell into the hands of Tecumseh, and it was partly the desponding nature of their contents which afterwards induced Major-General Brock to attempt the capture of the American army. Foiled in the reduction of Fort Amherstburg; disappointed in his hope of a general insurrection of the Canadians; and, "above all, dismayed at the report of General Brock's resolution to advance against him," † Hull's schemes of conquest vanished; and he who, less than a month

* The captain of the spies was killed and scalped on the march. "Thus fell the brave, generous, and patriotic Mc Culloch, captain of the spies,"—and in a foot note a few pages before—"Captain Mc Culloch, of the spies, scalped an Indian, whom he killed in the engagement," in Upper Canada! We quote from Brown's American History, so it appears that at least one patriotic American could *scalp* as well as the Indians!

† Christie's Memoirs, before cited.

before, had landed in Canada boastful of his strength and breathing extermination, now saw no other alternative than a hasty return to Detroit, under the pretence of concentrating his forces; and after re-opening his communication with the rivers Raisin and Miami, through which he received his supplies, of resuming offensive operations. Accordingly, on the 7th and 8th of August the American army re-crossed the river, with the exception of a garrison of 250 men left in charge of a small fortification they had thrown up on the British side, a little below Detroit, and which they evacuated and destroyed before the arrival of Major-General Brock.* On the 9th of August, a body of 600 Americans, accompanied by a detachment of artillery with one 6-pounder and one howitzer, sent to dislodge the British from Brownstown and to open a communication with the Rivers Raisin and Miami, was met by the white troops and Indians under Captain Muir, of the 41st, at Maguaga, between Brownstown and Detroit; and here fell the first British soldiers who were slain in that war. The British force, consisting of 75 men of the 41st, 60 militia, and 190 Indians—total, 325 men—was compelled to retreat with some loss, but in such order that the enemy was content to encamp on the battle ground, from which he retraced his steps two days afterwards to Detroit. The Indians under Tecumseh, flushed by their recent success, fought with great obstinacy, and about 40 are said by the American historian, Brown, to have been found dead on the field; but this number of slain is doubtless grossly exaggerated.

From the moment that Major-General Brock heard of the invasion of the western district, he determined on proceeding thither in person after he had met the legislature, and dispatched the public business. Having expressed a wish of being accompanied by such of the militia as might voluntarily offer their services,

* Christie's Memoirs.

500, principally the sons of veteran soldiers who had settled in the province, cheerfully came forward for that purpose. The threatening attitude, however, of the enemy on the Niagara frontier, obliged the general to content himself with half this number; and he left York on the 6th of August for Burlington Bay, whence he proceeded by land for Long Point, on Lake Erie. In passing the Mohawks' village, on the Grand River, or Ouse, he desired the Indians there to tell him who were, and who were not, his friends; and at a council held on the 7th of August, they promised that about 60 of their number should follow him on the ensuing Monday, the 10th. At Long Point, 40 regulars and 260 militia embarked with him on the 8th of the same month in boats of every description, collected among the neighbouring farmers, who usually employed them for transporting their corn and flour. The distance from Long Point to Amherstburg is about 200 miles along the shore, which in many parts is a precipitous bank of red clay and sand, from one to two hundred feet high, with scarcely a creek for shelter. The little flotilla encountered heavy rain and tempestuous weather, but nothing could for a moment retard its progress, or diminish the confidence of the men in their indefatigable leader.* Among his general orders, from the commencement of hostilities, the only one relating to this voyage is the following, which, from the singularity of the circumstances attending it, is thought worthy of being preserved :

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS,
Pointe aux Pins, August 12, 1812.

It is Major-General Brock's intention, should the wind continue fair, to proceed during the night; officers com-

* "In consequence of the shallowness of Lake Erie, it becomes rough and boisterous when the wind blows strongly from any point of the compass. At these times, a very high and dangerous surf breaks upon its shores, which, in many places, resemble the beach of the sea, being strewed with dead fish and shells, and infested with aquatic birds of various kinds. Scarcely a summer passes in which there is not some shipping lost on Lake Erie."—*Howison's Upper Canada.*

manding boats will, therefore, pay attention to the order of sailing, as directed yesterday; the greatest care and attention will be required to prevent the boats from separating or falling behind. A great part of the banks of the lake, where the boats will this day pass, is much more dangerous and difficult of access than any we have passed; the boats will, therefore, not land except in the most extreme necessity, and then great care must be taken to choose the best place for beaching.

The troops being now in the neighbourhood of the enemy, every precaution must be taken to guard against surprise.

By Order.

J. B. GLEGG,
Aide-de-Camp.

[The manuscript copy gives the date as "Pointe au Prince," but this appears to be a misnomer either of Captain Glegg or of the copyist. Pointe aux Pins signifies literally in English, the Point of Pine Trees.]

After five days and nights of incessant exertion, the little squadron reached Amherstburg* shortly before midnight on the 13th, and in a rough sketch in the handwriting of Major-General Brock, he observed: "In no instance have I seen troops who would have endured the fatigues of a long journey in boats, during extremely bad weather, with greater cheerfulness and constancy; and it is but justice to this little band to add, that their conduct throughout excited my admiration." †

Soon after their landing at Amherstburg, the attention of the troops was suddenly roused by a strag-

* The American historian, Brown, observes: "In the meanwhile, Michilimackinac surrendered to the British without resistance. The indefatigable Brock, with a reinforcement of 400 regulars, arrived at Malden; and several Indian tribes, before hesitating in the choice of sides, began to take their ground and array themselves under the British standard." Vol. i, page 64.—400 regulars!

† "The bravery of the Canadian militia, which was brilliantly conspicuous on many occasions, has neither been sufficiently known, nor duly appreciated, on the other side of the Atlantic. The regular troops on foreign service have generally a good opportunity of securing to themselves all the glory that results from a successful campaign, although a part only may belong to them; as they are always inclined to undervalue the services of the militia, and often treat them with contempt and ridicule, merely because they have not been initiated into the minutiae of military discipline and parade. I am aware that the gallantry of the native battalions of Upper Canada has been kept in the back ground, by this want of generosity which prevails among the regular troops."—*Howison's Upper Canada*, 1821.

gling fire of musketry, which in a few minutes became general, and appeared to proceed from an island in the Detroit river. Colonel Elliott, the superintendent of the Indians, quickly explained that the firing arose from the Indians attached to the British cause, who thus expressed their joy at the arrival of the reinforcement under their white father. Major-General Brock, aware of his scarcity of the munitions of war, sent Colonel Elliott to stop this waste of powder, saying: "Do, pray, Elliott, fully explain my wishes and motives, and tell the Indians that I will speak to them to-morrow on this subject." His request was promptly attended to, and Colonel Elliott returned in about half an hour with the Shawanee chief, Tecumseh, or Técumphé, already mentioned. Captain Glegg,* the aide-de-camp, being present, had an opportunity of closely observing the traits of that extraordinary man, and we are indebted to him for the following graphic particulars: "Tecumseh's appearance was very prepossessing; his figure light and finely proportioned; his age I imagined to be about five and thirty; † in height, five feet nine or ten inches; his complexion, light copper; countenance, oval, with bright hazle eyes, beaming cheerfulness, energy, and decision. Three small silver crowns, or coronets, were suspended from the lower cartilage of his aquiline nose; and a large silver medallion of George the Third, which I believe his ancestor had received from Lord Dorchester, when governor-general of Canada, was attached to a mixed coloured wampum string, and hung round his neck. His dress consisted of a plain, neat uniform, tanned deer-skin jacket, with long trousers of the same material, the seams of both being covered with neatly cut fringe; and he had on his feet leather mocassins, much ornamented with work made from the dyed quills of the porcupine.

"The first and usual salutation of shaking hands

* Now Colonel Glegg, of Thursteston Hall, Cheshire.

† His age was then about forty.

being over, an allusion was made to the late firing of musketry, and Tecumseh at once approved of the reason given by Major-General Brock for its discontinuance. It being late, the parties soon separated, with an understanding that a council would be held the following morning. This accordingly took place, and was attended by about a thousand Indians, whose equipment generally might be considered very imposing. The council was opened by General Brock, who informed the Indians that he was ordered by their great father to come to their assistance, and, with their aid, to drive the Americans from Fort Detroit. His speech was highly applauded, and Tecumseh was unanimously called upon to speak in reply. He commenced with expressions of joy, that their great father beyond the great salt lake (meaning the king of England) had at length awoke from his long sleep, and permitted his warriors to come to the assistance of his red children, who had never ceased to remain steady in their friendship, and were now all ready to shed their last drop of blood in their great father's service. After some speeches from other chiefs, and replies thereto, the council broke up. General Brock, having quickly discovered the superior sagacity and intrepidity of Tecumseh, and his influence over the Indians; and not deeming it prudent to develop before so mixed an assemblage the views which were at that moment uppermost in his thoughts, and intended to be carried so quickly into execution, directed Colonel Elliott to inform this Shawanee chief that he wished to see him, accompanied by a few of the oldest chiefs, at Colonel Elliott's quarters. There the general, through the medium of interpreters, communicated his views, and explained the manner in which he intended to carry into execution his operations against Fort Detroit. The chiefs listened with the most apparent eagerness, and expressed their unanimous assent to the proposed plan, assuring General Brock that their co-operation, as

pointed out, might be depended upon. On General Brock asking whether the Shawanee Indians could be induced to refrain from drinking spirits, Tecumseh assured him that his warriors might be relied on, adding, that before they left their country on the Wabash river, they had promised him not to taste that pernicious liquor until they had humbled the "big knives," meaning the Americans. In reply to this assurance, General Brock briefly said: "If this resolution be persevered in, you must conquer."

From a general order issued at Amherstburg on the 14th of August, by Major-General Brock, in which his arrival in the western district was announced, we extract the following passages; the mention of the three brigades, none of which could have exceeded 250 men, reminding us of the equally weak divisions of Cortes, when he landed in Mexico, in the year 1519, with about 600 men.

"The major-general cannot avoid expressing his surprise at the numerous desertions which have occurred from the ranks of the militia, to which circumstance the long stay of the enemy on this side of the river must in a great measure be ascribed. He is willing to believe that their conduct proceeded from an anxiety to get in their harvest, and not from any predilection for the principles or government of the United States.

"He requests officers commanding corps to transmit to him the names of such militiamen as have remained faithful to their oaths and duty, in order that immediate measures may be taken to discharge their arrears of pay.

"Captains Muir, Tallon, and Chambers, 41st regiment; Captain Glegg, 49th regiment; Captain Mockler, Royal Newfoundland Regiment; and Captain Dixon, Royal Engineers, are appointed to the rank of majors, so long as the local service, on which they are employed, continues.

"The troops in the western district will be formed into three brigades.

"First brigade, under Lieut.-Colonel St. George, to consist of a detachment Royal Newfoundland Regiment, and of the Kent, and 1st and 2d regiments of Essex militia.

"Second brigade, under Major Chambers, to consist of 50 men 41st regiment, and the whole of the detachments of the York, Lincoln, Oxford, and Norfolk militia.

"Third brigade, under Major Tallon, to consist of the remainder of the 41st regiment.

"Colonel Proctor will have charge of the whole line under the orders of the major-general.

"James Giveins, Esq., late captain of the 5th regiment, is appointed provincial aide-de-camp, with the rank of major in the militia."

On the following day, the American commander was startled by a summons to surrender; and so resolute a demand seems to have struck him with dismay, as at the worst he had never contemplated a pursuit into his own territory.

Head Quarters, Sandwich, Aug. 15, 1812.

The force at my disposal authorizes me to require of you the immediate surrender of Fort Detroit.* It is far from my inclination to join in a war of extermination; but you must be aware that the numerous body of Indians who have attached themselves to my troops, will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences. You will find me disposed to enter into such conditions as will satisfy the most scrupulous sense of honor. Lieut.-Colonel M'Donell and Major Glegg are fully authorized to conclude any arrangement that may lead to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood.

ISAAC BROCK,
Major-General.

Brigadier-General Hull.

Hull refused to see Captain Glegg, who carried the summons, and, after detaining him upwards of two hours, returned the following answer:

Head Quarters, Detroit, Aug. 15, 1812.

I have received your letter of this date. I have no other reply to make than to inform you, that I am prepared to meet any force which may be at your disposal, and any consequences which may result from any exertion of it you may think proper to make.

W. HULL, Brigadier-General,
Commanding the N. W. Army of the U. S.

* The American historian, Thomson, in his "Sketches of the War," says that General Hull surrendered "to a body of troops inferior in *quality* as well as number!" and he adds: "When General Brock said that the force at his disposal authorized him to require the surrender, he must have had a very exalted opinion of the prowess of his own soldiers, or a very mistaken one of those who were commanded by the American general."

Nothing daunted, and contrary to the advice of Colonel Proctor and other of his officers, Major-General Brock at once determined on crossing the river, with the view of attempting, by a sudden and resolute attack, the annihilation of the enemy's power in that quarter. In the afternoon, a fire was opened from a battery of five guns, erected opposite to Detroit, under the direction of Captain Dixon, of the Royal Engineers: this cannonade was returned from seven 24-pounders, but the British general, perceiving that little effect was produced by either fire, gave orders that his should cease. The troops retired to their bivouac and lay on their arms, with orders to cross the strait, or river, which is here about three-fourths of a mile in width, on the following morning. Accordingly, at about six o'clock, on Sunday, the 16th of August, the fire from the British battery having been previously resumed, 330 regulars and 400 militia were embarked, with five pieces of light artillery, in boats and canoes of every description, and soon effected a landing, without opposition, near Springwell, four or five miles below Detroit. About 600 Indians, under Colonel Elliott, had crossed the river during the night, and were ordered to be so placed as to take the enemy in flank and rear, should he attempt to oppose the landing. The white troops marched towards the fort, while the Indians moved through the skirts of the woods, and covered the left flank, the right resting upon the river, and protected by the Queen Charlotte, colonial vessel of war. The enemy's effective force was estimated at nearly 2,500 men, and, supported as they were by a neighbouring fortress, it required no little daring to pursue them on their own ground with such unequal numbers. But the race is not always to the swift, or the battle to the strong, and perhaps at this moment the British general remembered the remark of the eloquent Tacitus: "*In rebus bellicis maxime dominatur fortuna.*" Contrary to Major-General Brock's expectation, the

Americans abandoned a commanding eminence, strengthened by pickets and two 24-pounders,* and retreated into the fort on the advance of the British, who halted in a ravine within a mile and a half, and, discovering the weakness of the works on the land side, prepared for its assault. While the various columns were forming for that purpose, a boat with a flag of truce was seen crossing the river to Sandwich, and soon after another flag, borne by Captain Hull, emerged suddenly from the fort—Lieut.-Colonel M'Donell and Captain Glegg accompanied him back; and at mid-day the British troops marched in with General Brock at their head, the American general having assented to a capitulation, by which the Michigan territory, Fort Detroit,† with thirty-three pieces of cannon,‡ the Adams brig of war, and about 2,500 troops, including one company of artillery, some cavalry, and the entire 4th U. S. regiment of infantry, with a stand of colours, were surrendered to the British arms. An immense quantity of stores and the military chest were also taken; and as there was a great deficiency of arms in the Upper Province wherewith to equip the militia, the 2,500 stand of American became a valuable acquisition. To this surrender the after preservation of Upper Canada, at least, may in a great measure be ascribed, as it caused a delay of nearly a whole year in the successful meditated invasion,§ and secured the support of some of the Indian tribes, who were hesitating as to the side they should espouse. The event indeed illustrated a maxim of Napoleon, “that, in war, the moral is to the physical force as three parts to one.”|| It was the more fortunate that Major-General Brock

* The 24-pounders were each loaded with six dozen grape shot.

† A description of Michigan and Detroit is given at page 187-8.

‡ Including two or three brass field pieces, captured with General Burgoyne, at Saratoga, in 1777, and which were retaken by the Americans, at the battle of the Thames, in October, 1813.

§ Appendix A, Section 2, No. 1. Jefferson's Correspondence.

|| Napier's Peninsular War, vol. i, page 141.

acted with so much promptitude and vigour, because large reinforcements were on their way to General Hull; and not only would that officer's reverse otherwise have been spared, but the western districts of Upper Canada would probably have fallen before the overwhelming numbers which would soon have been brought against them.

The surrender of Detroit was so unexpected, that it produced an almost electrical effect throughout the Canadas: it was the first enterprise in which the militia* had been engaged, and its success not only imparted confidence to that body, but it inspired the timid, fixed the wavering, and awed the disaffected. Major-General Brock from this moment became the idol of the great mass of those whom he governed; and when he returned to York, whither he arrived on the 27th of August, he was received amidst the heartfelt acclamations of a grateful people, rescued by his recent success from the ignominy of submitting to a conqueror. They remembered that in the short space of nineteen days he had not only met the legislature and settled the public business of the province under the most trying circumstances that a commander could encounter, but, with means incredibly limited, he had gone nearly 300 miles in pursuit of an invading enemy of double his own force and compelled him to surrender; thus, without bloodshed, extending the British dominion over an extent of country almost equal to Upper Canada.†

The conduct of the American general in so tamely surrendering is inexplicable, as Detroit contained an ample supply of ammunition and provisions for nearly a month, besides an abundance of wheat in the territory, with mills to grind any quantity into flour.

* In his general orders at Detroit, Major-General Brock expressed his admiration of the conduct of the several companies of the militia who had accompanied him; and he requested "Major Salmon, Captains Hatt, Heward, Bostwick, and Robinson, to assure the officers and men under their respective commands that their services had been duly appreciated, and would never be forgotten."

† Christie's Memoirs.

One of his officers, Colonel Lewis Cass,* in a long letter to the Honorable William Eustis, the secretary of war at Washington, said: "I have been informed by Colonel Findley, who saw the return of the quartermaster-general the day after the surrender, that their whole force, of every description, white, red, and black, was 1,030.† They had twenty-nine platoons, twelve in a platoon, of men dressed in uniform. Many of these were evidently Canadian militia. The rest of their militia increased their white force to about 700. The number of Indians could not be ascertained with any degree of precision—not many were visible. And in the event of an attack upon the town and fort, it was a species of force which could have afforded no material advantage to the enemy. . . . That we were far superior to the enemy—that upon any ordinary principles of calculation we would have defeated them—the wounded and indignant feelings of every man there will testify. . . . I was informed by General Hull, the morning after the capitulation, that the British forces consisted of 1,800 regulars, and that he surrendered to prevent the effusion of human blood. That he magnified their regular force nearly five-fold, there can be no doubt. Whether the philanthropic reason assigned by him is a sufficient justification for surrendering a fortified town, an army, and a territory, is for the government to determine. Confident I am, that had the courage and conduct of the general been equal to the spirit and zeal of the troops, the event would have been brilliant and successful, as it is now disastrous and dishonorable."‡ Hull's behaviour, then, can

* The same officer who, as General Cass and senator from Michigan, evinced so hostile a disposition towards Great Britain on the subject of the Oregon, in the session of Congress of 1845-6.

† Doubtless an error for 1330, the entire British force.

‡ Colonel Cass appeared to think the following couplet from the works of a poet, who flourished two centuries before, applicable to the general, whose unhappy destiny it was to render the lines singularly prophetic:

Or with pretence of chasing thence the Brock,
Send in a cur to worry the whole flock.

Ben Jonson, Sad Shepherd.

only be accounted for by the supposition that the boldness of his adversary's movements led him to believe he had to contend with a far greater proportion of regular troops; or, that having threatened to refuse quarter to the white man found fighting by the side of the Indian, he was apprehensive, in the event of defeat, that this threat would be visited with severe retaliation, particularly by the Indians, whose fury, in a successful assault, it might have been very difficult to restrain. To their honor, however, be it said, that although they took a few prisoners on the advance, the enemy sustained no loss of life beyond that caused by the British batteries; and in general orders, at Detroit, they were told, that in nothing could they testify more strongly their love to the king, their great father, than in following the dictates of honor and humanity by which they had hitherto been actuated.

“The news of the surrender of Detroit,” says the American historian, Brown, “was so unexpected, that it came like a clap of thunder to the ears of the American people. No one would believe the first report. The disastrous event blasted the prospects of the first campaign, and opened the northern and western frontiers of Ohio to savage incursions.

“Previous to the surrender of Detroit, the governors of Ohio and Kentucky, in obedience to the directions of the war department, had detached powerful reinforcements to the aid of General Hull. Had he deferred the capitulation but a few days longer, his army, Detroit, and the Michigan territory, would have been saved.

“The forces advancing to his support consisted of 2,000 militia, under Brigadier-General Payne, and a battalion of mounted riflemen, under Colonel R. M. Johnson, from Kentucky; a brigade of Ohio militia, under the orders of Brigadier-General Tupper; and nearly 1,000 regulars, under the command of General

Winchester. They had reached the St. Mary's river when the news of the capture of Detroit was received. But for the well-timed arrival of the above force, a wide scene of flight and misery, of blood and desolation, must have ensued. Nearly half of the territory of Ohio must have been depopulated, or its inhabitants fallen victims to the scalping knife."

"The chagrin felt at Washington," observes James in his *Military Occurrences*, "when news arrived of the total failure of this the first attempt at invasion, was in proportion to the sanguine hopes entertained of its success. To what a pitch of extravagance those hopes had been carried, cannot better appear than in two speeches delivered upon the floor of congress, in the summer of 1812. Dr. Eustis, the secretary at war of the United States, said: 'We can take the Canadas without soldiers; we have only to send officers into the provinces, and the people, disaffected towards their own government, will rally round our standard.' The honorable Henry Clay seconded his friend thus: 'It is absurd to suppose we shall not succeed in our enterprise against the enemy's provinces. We have the Canadas as much under our command as she (Great Britain) has the ocean; and the way to conquer her on the ocean is to drive her from the land. I am not for stopping at Quebec, or any where else; but I would take the whole continent from them, and ask them no favors. Her fleets cannot then rendezvous at Halifax, as now; and, having no place of resort in the north, cannot infest our coast as they have lately done. It is as easy to conquer them on the land, as their whole navy would conquer ours on the ocean. We must take the continent from them. *I wish never to see a peace till we do.* God has given us the power and the means: we are to blame if we do not use them. If we get the continent, she must allow us the freedom of the sea.' This is the gentleman who, afterwards, in the charac-

ter of a commissioner—and it stands as a record of his unblushing apostacy—signed the treaty of peace.”

Tecumseh, who was slain in the year following, headed a party of his warriors on this occasion, and in the rough sketch already mentioned, Major-General Brock remarked: “Among the Indians whom I found at Amherstburg, and who had arrived from distant parts of the country, there were some extraordinary characters. He who most attracted my attention was a Shawanee chief, Tecumseh, the brother of the prophet, who for the last two years has carried on, contrary to our remonstrances, an active war against the United States. A more sagacious or a more gallant warrior does not, I believe, exist. He was the admiration of every one who conversed with him. From a life of dissipation he has not only become in every respect abstemious, but he has likewise prevailed on all his nation, and many of the other tribes, to follow his example.” Previously to crossing over to Detroit, Major-General Brock inquired of Tecumseh what sort of a country he should have to pass through in the event of his proceeding further. Tecumseh, taking a roll of elm bark, and extending it on the ground, drew forth his scalping knife, and with the point presently edged upon the back a plan of the country, its hills, woods, rivers, morasses, and roads—a plan which, if not as neat, was fully as intelligible as if a surveyor had prepared it. Pleased with this unexpected talent in Tecumseh; with his defeat of the Americans near Brownstown; and with his having, by his characteristic boldness, induced the Indians, not of his own tribe, to cross the river prior to the embarkation of the white troops, Major-General Brock, soon after Detroit was surrendered, took off his sash and publicly placed it round the body of the chief. Tecumseh received the honor with evident gratification, but was the next day seen without the sash. The British general,

fearing that something had displeased the Indian, sent his interpreter for an explanation. Tecunseh told him, that not wishing to wear such a mark of distinction when an older, and, as he said, an abler warrior than himself was present, he had transferred the sash to the Wyandot chief, Roundhead.*

The unfortunate General Hull, on his return to the United States, was tried by a court martial and condemned to death; but the sentence was remitted by the president, in consideration of his age and services during the war of independence.† His name was, however, struck off the rolls of the army. He had evidently lost the energy of character which had marked his early career; and although it is most strange that he did not either meet the British in the open field, or try the effect of a few discharges of grape shot on their advancing column, yet it is due to him to add, that two or three 12 lb. shot fell into the fort from the British battery, killing and wounding a few officers and men,‡ and that the fort itself was much crowded, not merely with troops, but with the terrified inhabitants of Detroit, who sought refuge there from the Indians, believing that, with the beginning of the conflict, they would rush into the town, and commence an indiscriminate slaughter.§ Thus very few disapproved of the surrender at the critical moment, although so many were loud in condemning it afterwards. The general's son and aide-de-camp at Detroit, Captain Hull, was killed in July, 1814, in the hard-fought battle of Lundy's Lane, near the Falls of Niagara.

* James' Military Occurrences.

† For his revolutionary services, see Appendix A, Section 2, No. 2.

‡ Among the killed was Captain Hanks, the commandant of Michilimackinac at the time of its surrender.

§ General Hull in his dispatch, already quoted, said: "The fort at this time was filled with women, children, and the old and decrepit people of the town and country: they were unsafe in the town, as it was entirely open and exposed to the enemy's batteries. Back of the fort, above or below it, there was no safety for them on account of the Indians."

Major-General Brock's services throughout this short campaign, closed by an achievement which his energy and decision crowned with such unqualified success, were highly appreciated by the government at home, and were immediately rewarded with the order of the bath, which was then confined to one degree of knighthood only. He was gazetted to this mark of his country's approbation, so gratifying to the feelings of a soldier, on the 10th of October;* but he lived not long enough to learn that he had obtained so honorable a distinction, the knowledge of which would have cheered him in his last moments. Singularly enough, his dispatches, accompanied by the colours of the U. S. 4th regiment, reached London early on the morning of the 6th of October, the anniversary of his birth. His brother William, who was residing in the vicinity, was asked by his wife why the park and tower guns were saluting. "For Isaac, of course," he replied; "do you not know that this is his birth-day?" And when he came to town he learnt, with emotions which may be easily conceived—emotions rendered the more acute by his recently altered circumstances—that what he had just said in jest was true in reality; little thinking, however, that all his dreams, all his anticipations of a beloved brother's increasing fame and prosperity would that day week—one short week—be entombed near

"Where Niagara stuns with thundering sound."

In the first chapter (page 14) we have made mention of a gallant Irishman, who, in a very few years, rose from the ranks to the adjutantcy of the 49th; and as his example may serve as an incitement to young soldiers—especially now that merit among them is oftener rewarded by a commission than it

* "WHITEHALL, October 10, 1812.—His royal highness the prince regent has been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to nominate and appoint Major-General Isaac Brock to be an Extra Knight of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath."

was at that period—we give a few interesting particulars of his life, reiterating our hope that in doing so we do not betray his confidence. When we begged of him, soon after the first edition was published, to point out any errors, either of omission or commission, into which we might have inadvertently fallen, he replied: “I write this short note merely to acknowledge the receipt of yours, and to give you an assurance of my great desire to be at all instrumental, even in the humblest degree, in adding to the fame of my earliest and best benefactor. And if there were another man for whom I felt an almost equal degree of regard and gratitude, that man was John Savery Brock That I might do honor to the general’s memory, I have ever striven to serve my country well; and the Almighty has blessed my poor efforts more than in early life I had ever anticipated. The poor, uneducated, private soldier, raised up by Sir Isaac Brock until he held in turn his majesty’s commissions of ensign, lieutenant, and captain in the army, has been promoted in the civil service of Canada to a silk gown, which he has worn for the last eighteen years. In honor of the general’s memory I make this hurried statement, and not to gratify any personal feeling of my own.” Having subsequently received from him several letters, composed with singular perspicuity and elegance, and containing much valuable matter, as well as many incidents which were new to us, we could not forbear expressing to him our surprise that he should write so well, and he then said: “This too I owe to Sir Isaac Brock—when at York, in 1803, he told me that he intended to recommend me for the adjutantcy, adding: ‘I not only desire to procure a commission for you, but I also wish that you qualify yourself to take your position among gentlemen. Here are my books—make good use of them.’ The orderly room of the 49th I have sometimes called my grammar school, and the mess room my university. Lieute-

nants Stretton, Brackenbury, and Loring, were my kind teachers. The first died a colonel—he was last of the 40th regiment;—the second retired from the 17th Light Dragoons as a captain, and I know not what has become of him; he was the son of a clergyman in Lincolnshire, and was an accomplished scholar, and a noble fellow;—and the third is the present Colonel Loring, now residing in Toronto.” It was in August, 1802, at Quebec, that Lieut.-Colonel Brock made this “noble fellow” sergeant-major, to the surprise of the entire regiment, as he was then only in his twenty-second year, and he further tells us: “In September, 1802, at Montreal, Colonel Brock dictated to me while I wrote for him in the orderly room. On writing the last word, I had to pronounce it that he might proceed. Once the last word was “ascertain,” which I pronounced “ascerten,” when he turned to me (for he was walking to and fro in the room) and said: “Ascertain, young man!” At that time my ignorance of my deficiencies was very great, and I thought myself quite sufficient master of the language. But this discovery of one error roused me, and I went into town the same day and purchased a grammar and a dictionary, books which I had never even seen before, and on studying them I was amazed at my great ignorance of every thing which the grammar taught; for although I could write and speak pretty accurately, because I had read much, chiefly silly romances sold in Ireland to the peasantry, and some ancient history, yet of grammar technically I knew absolutely nothing.” He adds, that his father held a small farm of fourteen acres and a half, for which he paid in annual rent one guinea per acre, and that he worked on this farm until he enlisted into the 49th, as his brothers worked also. “Whether my success in the army stimulated them, I know not, but one of them is now a queen’s counsel in Ireland.” The gratitude of this gallant and self-taught veteran

to his early patron knows no bounds, as he writes "that he would think a long life well spent in manifesting his gratitude for all he owes to Sir Isaac Brock and to his family;" but we feel acutely that the manner in which he has so ably come forward to rescue some of his benefactors' best deeds from oblivion, has immeasurably repaid the obligation. And who that reads this episode does not think with us, that the *protégé* was well worthy of his patron, or does not entertain towards him, who was once "a poor, uneducated, private soldier," sentiments, as we do, of the highest regard and reverence?

Upon some occasion, at Quebec, in 1805, Colonel Brock asked his youthful sergeant-major why he had not done something he had ordered him to do. The sergeant-major replied that he found it impossible to do it, when the colonel exclaimed: "By the Lord Harry, sir, do not tell me it is impossible! Nothing should be impossible to a soldier; the word impossible should not be found in a soldier's dictionary!" Two years afterwards—in October, 1807—when the same sergeant-major was an ensign in the regiment, he ordered him to take a fatigue party to the bateau guard, and bring round to the lower town twenty bateaux, to embark troops suddenly for Montreal, an apprehension being then entertained that the Americans were about to invade the province, in consequence of the affair between the Leopard and Chesapeake. On arriving near the bateaux, the party discovered that the tide had left them, and that about two hundred yards of deep mud intervened between them and the water, over which the ensign thought it was impossible to drag the bateaux, which were large, heavy, flat boats. He therefore gave the word, "To the right face," intending to return and report that it was impossible to move the bateaux to the water. But it suddenly occurred to him, that in answer to his report the colonel would ask: "Did you try it, sir?" and that on replying in the negative, he would

sharply rebuke and send him back. He therefore gave the word, "Front," and said to the soldiers: "I think it impossible for us to put these bateaux afloat, but you know it will not do for me to tell Colonel Brock so, unless we try it; let us, therefore, try—there are the boats; I am sure if it be possible for men to put them afloat, you will do it: go at them"—and in half an hour the boats were afloat. The ensign then determined never after to consider any thing impossible, before trial, that was not manifestly so. And he tells us that it must be clear to any one reading this statement, that it was the spirit of Colonel Brock which led to the accomplishment of his orders, and which was, at the time, of some importance, as it enabled the troops to be embarked a day earlier than if the boats had not at once been conveyed round to the lower town. "In this way," he adds, "it is that the indomitable spirit of a military commander is, as it were, infused into the minds of all who serve under him."

While traversing the northern shore of Lake Erie in open Canadian bateaux, in August, 1812, on his way to Amherstburg, with reinforcements to attack General Hull, as already narrated, the bateau in which General Brock was ran upon a sunken rock. Oars and poles were immediately employed to shove her off, but, seeing that this was not quickly done, the general jumped overboard, and, as must be supposed, every one else in the boat was overboard instantly. The boat consequently floated at once, and the crew getting on board again, she proceeded on her way. The general then took his liquor case, and gave each man a glass of spirits, to prevent injury from their wet clothes. Several gentlemen, accompanying the expedition, mentioned frequently afterwards that this single act of the general in jumping overboard had the most animating effect upon all present, the greater part of the men being raw militia.

At Amherstburg, Major-General Brock assembled

a council of war, or perhaps we should rather say, he assembled his principal officers, to consult on the propriety of crossing the river to attack the American army and Fort Detroit. Only one of them agreed with him on the propriety of the decision he had already come to in his own mind. Lieut.-Colonel Nichol,* the quartermaster-general of the militia, eagerly seconded the general, telling him that, as he had resided for some time at Detroit, he knew every feature of the town and fort, and that he would lead the troops to any point selected for the attack. Upon this the general said: "I have decided on crossing, and now, gentlemen, instead of any further advice, I entreat of you to give me your cordial and hearty support."

When the troops had crossed over, the next morning, they formed and advanced in column, at whose head the general placed himself. On approaching the point where the guns of the fort would bear on the column, Colonel Nichol went up to him, and said: "Pardon me, general, but I cannot forbear entreating you not to expose yourself thus. If we lose you, we lose all; let me pray you to allow the troops to pass on, led by their own officers." To which the general answered: "Master Nichol, I duly appreciate the advice you give me, but I feel that in addition to their sense of loyalty and duty, many here follow me from a feeling of personal regard, and I will never ask them to go where I do not lead them." The general continued at the head of the column, and as the Americans retreated into the fort without firing their guns outside, the fears of the British for the safety of their chief were not realized.

Of this gallant Colonel Nichol we are enabled to give the following notice. In 1804, while Colonel Brock was commanding at Fort George, there resided

* "This was a splendid little fellow—I knew him well."—Colonel Le Couteur, already mentioned.

in the neighbourhood of Fort Erie an individual who kept what in Canada is termed a "store," that is, a shop for supplying such wares and merchandize as the farmers and other inhabitants require. It was a retail store of little consideration. With this individual, by name Robert Nichol—a smart little Scotchman—Colonel Brock somehow became acquainted, and, to the surprise of the officers of the 49th, invited him to the mess from time to time. During that year, Mr. Nichol drew up, at the colonel's request, a sketch of Upper Canada, shewing its resources in men, horses, provisions, &c.—its most vulnerable and assailable points were indicated—and it was, in fact, a military statistical memoir, embracing every detail which a commander of an army in the country could desire in the event of a war. Our informant adds: "Here is a curious instance of Sir Isaac Brock's foresight. I saw the document in 1813, and by that time every statement was proved to be most accurate and valuable."

On the calling out of the militia, in 1812, General Brock immediately appointed Mr. Nichol to be his quartermaster-general of that force, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, although the appointment gave great offence at the time to some of those high in station in the provincial government. The services of Colonel Nichol were, after the war, rewarded by a pension from the British government of £200 per annum for his life. He died in 1824.*

The following was related to our informant by one who was present when General Brock first met Tecumseh and his Indians:

* Colonel Nichol was really an extraordinary man—naturally eloquent, possessing a prodigious memory and great spirit, and, considering his opportunities, his acquirements were in many respects surprising. Vanity was his foible, which however impelled him, as it has done many others, to soar far above mediocrity. Lest he might be thought servile and dependent in consequence of his having a pension, he became, after the peace, the leader of the opposition in the house of assembly, and gave infinite trouble to the provincial government. It is believed by one who knew him well, that "he would have followed Sir Isaac Brock into the crater of Vesuvius," so great was his regard for his friend and patron.

Among other topics touched upon by the general in a brief speech, he observed to him: "I have fought against the enemies of our great father, the king, beyond the great lake, and they have never seen my back. I am come here to fight his enemies on this side the great salt lake, and now desire with my soldiers to take lessons from you and your warriors, that we may learn how to make war in these great forests." After a pause, Tecumseh, who was evidently struck with the commanding figure and fine countenance of the general, turning round to his people, stretched out his hand, and exclaimed with a long ejaculated—Ho-o-o-e: "This is a man!"

The general used to call Tecumseh "the Wellington of the Indians."

Captain Robinson, then a very young man, and an elder brother of the present chief justice of Upper Canada, commanded a militia rifle company, composed of the farmers' sons who lived around him, on the expedition to Detroit. Major-General Brock, being anxious to return from thence as expeditiously as possible, embarked in a small schooner, and took this company with him, partly as a guard on the voyage across Lake Erie. The general, who was always fond of young people, was pleased with the zeal and activity displayed by Captain Robinson, and evinced his satisfaction not only by his friendly and unreserved intercourse with the captain, but by his kind and benevolent deportment towards his men, so that he won golden opinions from them all. Among other remarks, the general is said to have observed to Captain Robinson: "If this war last, I am afraid that I shall do some foolish thing, for if I know myself, there is no want of courage in my nature—I hope I shall not get into a scrape."

In one of his letters to his brothers, (page 82,) Major-General Brock said that he had visited De-

troit, the neighbourhood of which was a delightful country, far exceeding any thing he had seen on that continent, and a cursory description of it, as it appeared in 1812, may prove interesting.

The Detroit river, which connects Lake St. Clair and Lake Erie, extends from about latitude $41^{\circ} 48'$ to $42^{\circ} 18'$ north, and divides that part of Canada from the United States. Possessing a salubrious climate, a productive soil, and a water communication with the upper and lower lakes and the river St. Lawrence, we can scarcely conceive any thing more favorable than the geographical position of the adjacent country. Michigan afforded a rich field for "fowling" and fishing, and its forests were plentifully supplied with various kinds of game. It was the opinion of a former governor of Upper Canada, Simcoe, that the peninsula of that province, formed by Lakes Huron, St. Clair, Erie, Ontario, Rice, and Simcoe, would alone furnish a surplus of wheat sufficient for the wants of Great Britain. The banks of the Detroit were in many places thickly peopled and in a fair state of cultivation.* The inhabitants on the Canadian side were chiefly of French origin, who began to occupy the country when Canada was still under the dominion of France. They still retained that urbanity of manners which distinguishes them from the peasantry of most countries. Further back, the country was settled principally by Americans, partial to the United States. Three or four years after the war, the houses upon the banks of the Detroit were so numerous and so close together, that there was an appearance of a succession of villages for more than ten miles. The farms were very narrow in front, extending a long way back, and were allotted in this

* "From Detroit, to the mouth of Lake Huron, is called a distance of eighty miles. From the fort to Lake St. Clair, which is only seven miles, the lands are cultivated on both sides the strait, and appeared to be laid out in very comfortable farms. In the strait, on the right hand, is a village of Hurons, and at the mouth of Lake St. Clair, a village of Ottawas." —*Henry's Travels*, 1764.

awkward and inconvenient form, that their respective occupants might be able to render each other assistance when attacked by the Indians, who were at one time very numerous and troublesome in this vicinity.

The banks of the river Detroit are the Eden of Upper Canada, in so far as regards the production of fruit. Apples, pears, plums, peaches, grapes, and nectarines, attain the highest degree of perfection, and exceed in size, beauty, and flavour, those raised in any other part of the province. Cider abounds at the table of the meanest peasant, and there is scarcely a farm that has not a fruitful orchard attached to it. The fineness of the fruit is one consequence of the amelioration of climate, which takes place in the vicinity of the Detroit river and Lake St. Clair. The seasons there are much milder and more serene than they are a few hundred miles below, and the weather is likewise drier and less variable. Comparatively, little snow falls during the winter, although the cold is often sufficiently intense to freeze over the Detroit river so strongly, that persons, horses, and even loaded sleighs, cross it with ease and safety. The springs are somewhat cold and lingering, in consequence of the ice on Lakes Huron and St. Clair breaking up late and floating down through the Detroit. In summer, the country presents a forest of blossoms, which exhale the most delicious odours; a cloud seldom obscures the sky, while the lakes and rivers, which extend in every direction, communicate a reviving freshness to the air and moderate the warmth of a dazzling sun; and the clearness and elasticity of the atmosphere render it equally healthy and exhilarating.*

The fort of Detroit was originally constructed to over-awe the neighbouring Indian nations, and its military importance as the key of the upper lakes appears to have been well known to them. But, neither possessing battering cannon nor understanding

* Howison's Upper Canada. London, 1821.

art of attacking fortified places, they could only reduce them by stratagem or famine, and Detroit could always be supplied with provisions by water. In the year 1763, the Indian chief, Pontiac, whose name has already appeared, (page 188,) formed a powerful confederacy of the different tribes, for the purpose of revenging their past wrongs and of preventing their total extirpation, which they were erroneously led to believe was contemplated. In a sudden, general, and simultaneous irruption on the British frontier, they obtained possession, chiefly by stratagem, of Michilimackinac,* Presqu'île, Le Bœuf, and Venango, with other smaller posts; but there still remained three fortresses formidable alike by their strength and position, which it was necessary the Indians should subdue before they could reap any permanent advantage from their successes. These were Detroit, Niagara, and Pittsburg;† and the first and last, although so remote from each other, were invested almost at the same moment. The consummate address which the Indians displayed in this alarming war, was supported by a proportionate degree of courage, determination, and perseverance; and never did they approve themselves a more stubborn and formidable enemy than in this final stand against the encroachments of European dominion and civilization in North America. General Amherst, sensible of the danger, sent

* The garrison of Michilimackinac was surprised, not being aware of the war, and the Indians massacred three-fourths of the English, in number about 100. The troops consisted of the commandant, Major Etherington, two subalterns, and ninety soldiers; and there were, moreover, four English traders there. Of these, Lieutenant Jemette, about seventy soldiers, and one trader, were killed; but the commandant, Lieutenant Leslie, and the remainder were preserved by the Ottawas, and restored at the peace in 1764. An English trader, Alexander Henry, whose travels in Canada are occasionally cited *ante*, having been concealed in the house of one of the French inhabitants, beheld the massacre from an aperture which afforded him a view of the area of the fort. He describes it as follows: "I beheld, in shapes the foulest and most terrible, the ferocious triumphs of barbarian conquerors. The dead were scalped and mangled; the dying were writhing and shrieking, under the insatiated knife and tomahawk; and from the bodies of some, ripped open, their butchers were drinking the blood scooped up in the hollow of joined hands, and quaffed amid shouts of rage and victory."

† The site of the old French post, Fort Duquesne, in Pennsylvania.

immediate succours to those two western garrisons, and thus prevented their fall. Captain Dalzell, after conducting, in July, a strong reinforcement to Detroit, was induced to think that he could surprise the Indian force encamped about three miles from the fort, and he sat out at night with 270 men, adopting the most judicious precautions for the secrecy and good order of his march. But the Indians, apprized of his design, were prepared to defeat it; and every step from the fort only conducted the English troops further into the jaws of destruction. Their advance was suddenly arrested by a sharp fire on their front, which was presently followed by a similar discharge on their rear, and then succeeded by destructive volleys from every side. In the darkness, neither the position nor the numbers of the Indians could be ascertained. Dalzell was slain early, and his whole detachment was on the brink of irretrievable confusion and ruin, when Captain Grant, the next in command, perceiving that a retreat, now the last resource, could only be accomplished by a resolute attack, promptly rallied the survivors, who, steadily obeying his orders, charged the Indians with so much spirit and success, as to repulse them on all sides to some distance. Having thus extricated themselves from immediate peril, the British hastily regained the shelter of the fort, with the loss of 70 killed and 40 wounded;* and the Indians, unable to reduce the fort by a regular siege, and pausing long enough to ascertain that the garrison was completely on its guard against stratagem and surprise, broke up their camp and abandoned for a short time the immediate vicinity of Detroit.

The Indians, thus grievously disappointed in their designs on Detroit and Pittsburg, now closely beleaguered Niagara, which they justly considered as not less important. They hoped to reduce it by

* The rivulet, near which they fell, is said to have run with blood, and it now bears the name of "The Bloody Run."

famine, and on the 14th of September, surrounding a convoy of provisions which had nearly reached its destination, they succeeded in making it their prey by a sudden attack, in which 70 of the British soldiers were slain. Shortly after, as a schooner was crossing Lake Erie with supplies for Detroit, she was attacked by a numerous fleet of canoes, in which were nearly 400 Indians. But this attempt was less successful; and, after a warm engagement, the Indian flotilla was repulsed with considerable loss, as, in a conflict with an armed vessel, they were exposed to the same disadvantages which attended their operations against fortified places. Niagara having at length been powerfully reinforced and well supplied, the Indians abandoned all hope of reducing it, and thenceforth confined themselves to their wonted predatory hostility.*

In July of the following year, (1764,) General Bradstreet proceeded with 3,000 men from Fort Niagara, for the threefold purpose of relieving Detroit, which was still blockaded by Pontiac, and defended by Major Gladwyn—of re-garrisoning Michilimackinac—and of compelling the Indians to sue for peace, or, in their phrase, to bury the hatchet. For the transport of the army on Lake Erie, barges had been built, capable of carrying 100 men each, with their provisions. The troops, having embarked at Fort Schlausser on the 14th, coasted the southern side of the lake, and on the fifth day reached Presqu'île, where the barges were dragged over the neck of land, probably with more loss of time than if they had been rowed round it. On the twentieth day the flotilla was off the mouth of the river, which falls into Sandusky bay, and it was determined in a council of war to attack the Indian villages on the Miami; but as the troops entered the river for that purpose, they were received by a deputation offering peace, and the chiefs agreed to meet the British general in

* Grahame's History of the United States.

fifteen days at Detroit, whither the army arrived on the 8th of August. The chiefs of the Miami were punctual, and the Indians being unable to contend with so overwhelming a force, a general peace was quickly concluded, the terms of which were dictated by the English, when Pontiac,* who was abandoned by his followers, and was unwilling to trust his fortunes with the white men, fled to the Illinois.† He and the Indians of his day appear to have been much attached to the dominion of France in North America; and it is well known that although that unfortunate aboriginal people now prefer the English to the Americans, they formerly preferred the French to the English. "Whatever may have been the cause," observed General Cass, previously mentioned—the governor of Michigan, and subsequently American minister at the court of Louis Philippe—"the fact is certain, that there is in the French character a peculiar adaptation to the habits and feelings of the Indians, and to this day the period of French domination is the era of all that is happy in Indian reminiscences."

* Pontiac appears subsequently to have joined the English, and to have received a handsome pension from them to secure his attachment. Carver, in his "Three Years' Travels" in North America, relates that in 1767 Pontiac held a council in the Illinois, in which he spoke against the English, and that in consequence an Indian, who was attached to their cause, plunged a knife into his heart, and laid him dead on the spot.

For a description of the deeds of Pontiac, or Pondiac, as she spells his name, see Mrs. Grant's "Memoirs of an American Lady," vol. ii. There is a life of him in Thatcher's Indian Biography, a work which we have been unable to consult, as it could not be procured by purchase in London.

† Henry's Travels and Adventures in Canada.

CHAPTER XII.

The following letters* relate chiefly to the enterprise against Detroit, and although not in the chronological order we have hitherto observed, will form, with some passing comments, the subject of this chapter.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

Head Quarters, Detroit, Aug. 16, 1812.

I hasten to apprise your excellency of the capture of this very important post: 2,500 troops have this day surrendered prisoners of war, and about 25 pieces of ordnance have been taken without the sacrifice of a drop of British blood. I had not more than 700 troops, including militia, and about 600 Indians, to accomplish this service. When I detail my good fortune, your excellency will be astonished. I have been admirably supported by Colonel Proctor, the whole of my staff, and I may justly say, every individual under my command.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

Head Quarters, Detroit, Aug. 17, 1812.†

I have had the honor of informing your excellency, that the enemy effected his passage across the Detroit river, on the 12th ultimo, without opposition; and

* We can discover none from Colonel Baynes on the subject.

† This dispatch was published in a Gazette Extraordinary, in London, on the 6th of October.

that, after establishing himself at Sandwich, he had ravaged the country as far as the Moravian town. Some skirmishes occurred between the troops under Lieut.-Colonel St. George and the enemy, upon the river Canard, which uniformly terminated in his being repulsed with loss. I judged it proper to detach a force down the river Thames, capable of acting in conjunction with the garrison of Amherstburg offensively; but Captain Chambers, whom I had appointed to direct this detachment, experienced difficulties that frustrated my intentions. The intelligence received from that quarter admitting of no delay, Colonel Proctor was directed to assume the command, and his force was soon after increased with 60 rank and file of the 41st regiment.

In the mean time, the most strenuous measures were adopted to counteract the machinations of the evil-disposed, and I soon experienced the gratification of receiving voluntary offers of service from that portion of the embodied militia the most easily collected. In the attainment of this important point, gentlemen of the first character and influence shewed an example highly creditable to them; and I cannot, on this occasion, avoid mentioning the essential assistance I derived from John M'Donell, Esq., his majesty's attorney-general, who, from the beginning of the war, has honored me with his services as my provincial aide-de-camp. A sufficiency of boats being collected at Long Point for the conveyance of 300 men, the embarkation took place on the 8th instant, and in five days we arrived in safety at Amherstburg.

I found that the judicious arrangements which had been adopted immediately upon the arrival of Colonel Proctor had compelled the enemy to retreat, and take shelter under the guns of his fort: that officer commenced operations by sending strong detachments across the river, with a view of cutting off the enemy's communication with his reserve. This produced two smart skirmishes on the 5th and 9th instant, in which

the enemy's loss was considerable, whilst ours amounted to 3 killed and 13 wounded ;* amongst the latter, I have particularly to regret Captain Muir and Lieutenant Sutherland,† of the 41st regiment ; the former an officer of great experience, and both ardent in his majesty's service. Batteries had likewise been commenced opposite Fort Detroit, for one 18-pounder, two 12 and two 5½-inch mortars, all of which opened on the evening of the 15th ; (having previously summoned Brigadier-General Hull to surrender ;) and although opposed by a well-directed fire from seven 24-pounders, such was their construction under the able direction of Captain Dixon, of the Royal Engineers, that no injury was sustained from its effect.

The force at my disposal being collected in the course of the 15th in the neighbourhood of Sandwich, the embarkation took place a little before daylight on the following morning ; and by the able arrangements of Lieutenant Dewar, of the quartermaster-general's department, the whole was in a short time, without the smallest confusion, landed at Spring Well, a good position, three miles west of Detroit. The Indians, who had in the mean time effected their landing two miles below, moved forward and occupied the woods, about a mile and a half on our left.

The force, which I instantly directed to march against the enemy, consisted of 30 artillery, 250 41st regiment, 50 royal Newfoundland regiment, 400 militia, and about 600 Indians, to which were attached three 6-pounders and two 3-pounders. The services of Lieutenant Troughton, an active and intelligent officer, commanding the royal artillery, being required in the field, the direction of the batteries was entrusted to Captain Hall and the marine department, and I cannot withhold my entire approbation of their conduct on this occasion.

* This loss does not appear to include that of the Indians on the 9th of August, at Maguaga.

† Lieutenant Sutherland died of his wounds.

I crossed the river, with an intention of awaiting in a strong position the effect of our force upon the enemy's camp, and in the hope of compelling him to meet us in the field; but receiving information upon landing that Colonel M'Arthur,* an officer of high reputation, had left the garrison three days before with a detachment of 500 men; and hearing, soon afterwards, that his cavalry had been seen that morning three miles in our rear, I decided on an immediate attack. Accordingly, the troops advanced to within one mile of the fort, and having ascertained that the enemy had taken little or no precaution towards the land side, I resolved on an assault, whilst the Indians penetrated his camp. Brigadier-General Hull, however, prevented this movement, by proposing a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of preparing terms of capitulation. Lieut.-Colonel J. M'Donell and Captain Glegg were accordingly deputed by me on this mission, and returned within an hour with the conditions, which I have the honor herewith to transmit. Certain considerations afterwards induced me to agree to the two supplementary articles.†

The force thus surrendered to his majesty's arms cannot be estimated at less than 2,500 men. In this estimate, Colonel M'Arthur's detachment is included, as he surrendered, agreeably to the terms of capitulation in the course of the evening, with the exception of 200 men, whom he left escorting a valuable convoy at some little distance in his rear; but there can be no doubt the officer commanding will consider himself equally bound by the capitulation.

The enemy's aggregate force was divided into two troops of cavalry; one company of artillery, regulars; the 4th United States regiment; detachments of the 1st and 3d United States regiments, volunteers;

* Colonel M'Arthur was second in command of the American army.

† In Appendix A, Section 1, No. 3, will be seen a copy of these documents, from the originals found among Sir Isaac Brock's papers.

three regiments of the Ohio militia ; one regiment of the Michigan territory.

Thirty-three pieces of brass and iron ordnance have already been secured.

When this contest commenced, many of the Indian nations were engaged in active warfare with the United States, notwithstanding the constant endeavours of this government to dissuade them from it. Some of the principal chiefs happened to be at Amherstburg, trying to procure a supply of arms and ammunition, which for years had been withheld, agreeably to the instructions received from Sir James Craig, and since repeated by your excellency.

From that moment they took a most active part, and appeared foremost on every occasion ; they were led yesterday by Colonel Elliott and Captain M^r Kee, and nothing could exceed their order and steadiness. A few prisoners were taken by them during the advance, whom they treated with every humanity ; and it affords me much pleasure in assuring your excellency, that such was their forbearance and attention to what was required of them, that the enemy sustained no other loss in men than what was occasioned by the fire of our batteries.

The high sense I entertain of the abilities and judgment of Lieut.-Colonel Myers,* induced me to appoint him to the important command at Niagara ; it was with reluctance I deprived myself of his assistance, but I had no other expedient ; his duties, as head of the quartermaster-general's department, were performed to my satisfaction by Lieut.-Colonel Nichol, quartermaster-general of the militia.

Captain Glegg, my aide-de-camp, will have the honor of delivering this dispatch to your excellency ;

* So bare was Major-General Brock of experienced officers at this time, that Lieut.-Colonel Myers, who had recently joined, was considered a most valuable acquisition ; nor could the general have left Niagara, had it not been for the confidence he reposed in Colonel Myers. Every enterprising staff officer, who could, was at this period serving under Lord Wellington, in the Peninsula.

he is charged with the colours taken at the capture of Fort Detroit, and those of the 4th United States regiment.

Captain Glegg is capable of giving your excellency every information respecting the state of this province, and I shall esteem myself highly indebted to your excellency, to afford him that protection to which his merit and length of service give him a powerful claim.* I have the honor to be, &c.

P. S.—I have the honor to enclose a copy of a proclamation which I issued immediately on taking possession of this country.

I should have mentioned in the body of my dispatch, the capture of the Adams; she is a fine vessel, and recently repaired, but without arms.

Sir George Prevost to Major-General Brock.

Head Quarters, Montreal, Aug. 30, 1812.

I received on the 25th, whilst at St. John's, your dispatch, by express from Detroit, of the 16th instant. I do most sincerely congratulate you upon the complete success which has attended your measures for the preservation of Amherstburg. The surrender of Detroit, the capture of General Hull's army with so large a proportion of ordnance, are circumstances of high importance to our country, and which have evinced your talents as an officer in command, and reflect honor upon you, and upon Lieut.-Colonel St. George and Colonel Proctor.

I propose sending an aide-de-camp to England with your short dispatch, together with such details as I am in possession of, respecting Brigadier-General Hull's previous invasion of Upper Canada, and of his foiled attempts to invade Amherstburg; but I shall delay his departure from hence until the 1st of September, in hopes of obtaining from you, before that

* Captain Glegg was made a brevet-major for the capture of Detroit. Sir George Prevost's aide-de-camp, Captain Coore, was also made a brevet-major for taking the dispatches to England.

time, further particulars of the operations which led to General Hull's disgrace.

Well aware of the difficulties you have surmounted for the preservation of your government entire, I shall endeavour to do justice to your merit, in my report to his majesty's minister upon the success which has crowned your energy and zeal.

A warrant, giving to you more extensive power over the sentence of such general courts martial as you may be called on to assemble, was signed by me ten days since, and has I hope reached you.

I am in hourly expectation of receiving from General Dearborn intelligence respecting the reception of the proposed suspension of hostilities, in consequence of the revocation of the orders in council, which are the plea for war in the American cabinet; and also whether Mr. Baker has been allowed to assume, *pro tempore*, the character of a chargé d'affaires at Washington, where Mr. Foster had left him in a demi-official capacity. I consider the arrangement entered into by General Dearborn with Colonel Baynes, requiring the confirmation of the president, to establish its sacredness.

The king's government having most unequivocally expressed to me their desire to preserve peace with the United States, that they might, uninterrupted, pursue, with the whole disposable force of the country, the great interest committed in Europe, I have endeavoured to be instrumental in the accomplishment of their views; but I consider it most fortunate to have been enabled to do so without interfering with your operations on the Detroit.

I have sent you men, money, and stores of every kind.

P. S.—I have addressed to you a public letter, containing my sentiments upon Major-General Sheaffe's alterations in the original conclusive and binding conditions transmitted to him by the adjutant-general.

Sir George Prevost to Major-General Brock.

Head Quarters, Montreal, Aug. 31, 1812.

I had scarcely closed the letters I addressed to you yesterday, when an aide-de-camp from Major-General Dearborn made his appearance, and delivered to me the dispatch herewith transmitted. It will expose to your view the disposition of the president of the United States on the provisional measure temporarily agreed upon between the American commander-in-chief and myself, in consequence of an earnest desire not to widen the breach existing between the two countries, the revocation of the orders in council having removed the plea used in congress for a declaration of war against Great Britain.

I am much disappointed that the particulars of the surrender of Detroit have not as yet reached me, particularly as my aide-de-camp, Captain Coore, is to leave Montreal this evening for Quebec, where a ship of war is on the point of sailing for Halifax, from whence I expect the admiral will give him a conveyance for England.

Being unacquainted with the conditions attached to the surrender of Brigadier-General Hull's army, and giving scope to your expressions of prisoners of war, I have made arrangements for increasing their security against any attempt to rescue them, by ordering Captain Gray to proceed with two flank companies to Prescott.

[The dispatch from General Dearborn, dated Greenbush, August 26, was to announce the discontinuance of the temporary armistice agreed to between him and Colonel Baynes, in four days after the receipt of the communication at the frontier posts in Canada. The American general added: "If a suspension of offensive operations shall have been mutually consented to between General Hull and the commanding officer of the British forces at and near Detroit, as proposed, they will respectively be authorized, at the expiration of four days subsequent to their receiving copies of this communication, to consider themselves released from any agreement thus entered into."]

As we have already commented on Sir George Prevost's management of the war, and shall have

occasionally to do so again, we gladly give him credit for the very handsome manner in which he spoke of Major-General Brock, in his dispatch to Earl Bathurst, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, announcing the surrender of Detroit, and dated Montreal, 26th of August, 1812.

“It was under these circumstances at this critical period, and when the enemy were beginning to consult their security by entrenching themselves, that General Brock entered Amherstburg with a reinforcement, which he was fortunately enabled to do on the 13th instant, without the smallest molestation, in consequence of our decided naval superiority on the lakes. To his active and intelligent mind, the advantages which his enemy's situation afforded him over them, even with his very inferior force, became immediately apparent; and that he has not failed most effectually to avail himself of those favorable circumstances, your lordship will, I trust, be satisfied, from the letter which I have the honor of transmitting.

“Having thus brought to your lordship's view the different circumstances which have led to the successful termination of the campaign on the western frontier of Upper Canada, I cannot withhold from Major-General Brock the tribute of applause so justly due to him for his distinguished conduct on this occasion; or omit to recommend him, through your lordship, to the favorable consideration of his royal highness the prince regent, for the great ability and judgment with which he planned, and the promptitude, energy, and fortitude with which he has effected, the preservation of Upper Canada, with the sacrifice of so little British blood in accomplishing so important a service.

“My aide-de-camp, Captain Coore, will have the honor of delivering to your lordship this dispatch; and as he is well qualified to give your lordship information respecting the military resources of this command, I shall beg leave to refer your lordship to him for further particulars.”

At the same time, truth compels us to add, that Sir George Prevost took credit to himself, to which he was not entitled, when he wrote to Lord Bathurst: "General Brock, relying upon the strong assurances I had given him of a reinforcement as prompt and as effectual as the circumstances by which I was placed by this new war would permit me to send, adopted the most vigorous measures for the safety of that part of the frontier which had been attacked." And again: "The certainty of the expected reinforcements, and the weakness of the enemy on the Niagara frontier, had in the mean time induced General Brock," &c.* The last dispatch which, we believe, Major-General Brock had received from Sir George Prevost, when on the 6th of August he left York for Detroit, was dated the 10th, and received on the 29th of July; and in that dispatch (see page 200) no reinforcements were promised, and indeed offensive operations were deprecated. The first reinforcement sent from Lower to Upper Canada, appears to have consisted of about 100 men of the Newfoundland regiment and 50 of the Veterans, who left Quebec on the 30th of July for Kingston, to strengthen that post; and the adjutant-general, on the 1st of August, (page 228,) wrote that Sir George Prevost regretted extremely his inability to render Major-General Brock more efficient aid. It was only on the 2d of August that Sir George Prevost promised an additional reinforcement of four companies of the 49th regiment, (page 232,) and on the 12th of the same month the remainder of the regiment. (page 234.) Mr. Justice Powell confirms this view of the subject, in his admirable letter, page 283. It will be seen in the sequel that, on the 13th of August, the adjutant-general

* In consequence of these assertions, Lord Bathurst wrote to Sir George Prevost on the 10th of October, 1812, in reply to his letter announcing the capture of General Hull: "I am further commanded by his royal highness to say, that in giving every credit to Major-General Brock, and the army under his command, he is fully sensible how much your exertions and arrangements have contributed to the fortunate conclusion of the campaign in Upper Canada."

wrote that he had strongly urged Sir George Prevost to send further reinforcements, as he was sure they could be spared. As to the remark relative to the weakness of the enemy on the Niagara frontier, we shall only mention that Major-General Brock states, in a MS. before us, that it was the strong American force on that frontier which compelled him to take with him to Detroit only half of the militia who volunteered.

Sir George Prevost to Earl Bathurst.

Head Quarters, Montreal, Sept. 1, 1812.

Since I had the honor of transmitting to your lordship my letter of the 26th ultimo, in charge of my aide-de-camp, Captain Coore, I have received from Major-General Brock a dispatch, of which the enclosed is a copy, containing the particulars of Brigadier-General Hull's invasion of Upper Canada, which has terminated most gloriously to his majesty's arms, in that officer's defeat and surrender as a prisoner of war, with the whole of the north-western army, together with the fort Detroit, and thirty-three pieces of ordnance.

I forward this dispatch express, in the expectation of its reaching Captain Coore previously to his leaving Canada, which, with the colours of the 4th United States regiment accompanying it, I trust that officer will have the honor of delivering to your lordship.

Earl Bathurst to Sir George Prevost.

DOWNING STREET, October 10, 1812.

I have had the honor of receiving your dispatch, dated the 26th of August, together with its enclosures, from Major-General Brock, and I lost no time in laying intelligence so important and satisfactory before his royal highness the prince regent.

I am commanded by his royal highness to desire you to take the earliest opportunity of conveying his

royal highness' approbation of the able, judicious, and decisive conduct of Major-General Brock; of the zeal and spirit manifested by Colonel Proctor and the other officers; as well as of the intrepidity of the troops under the command of Major-General Brock.

By the united exertions of this little army, the enterprise of the American army has been defeated; the territories of his majesty in Upper Canada have been secured; and on the enemy's fort of Detroit, important to that security, the British standard has been happily placed.

You will inform Major-General Brock that his royal highness, taking into consideration all the difficulties by which Major-General Brock was surrounded from the time of the invasion of the province by the American army, under the command of General Hull, and the singular judgment, firmness, skill, and courage, with which he was enabled to surmount them so effectually—has been pleased to appoint him an extra knight of the most honorable order of the bath.

Major-General Brock to his Brothers.

Head Quarters, Detroit, Aug. 16, 1812.*

My dear Brothers and Friends,—Rejoice at my good fortune, and join me in prayers to Heaven. I send you a copy of my hasty note to Sir George.

[Here follows his short dispatch of that day. See page 269.]

Let me hear that you are all *united* and happy.

[Chief Justice Robinson, of Upper Canada, who formed part of the reinforcement taken by General Brock to Detroit, and who also fought at Queenstown, in a letter to the editor, dated Toronto, 19th of January, 1846, writes: "There is something peculiarly touching in the short note of the good and noble general to his brothers, written, I suppose, within a few minutes after his glorious success. 'Join me in prayers to Heaven,' and 'Let me hear that you are all *united* and happy.' The union of such sentiments in his mind at the instant of victory, and amid the exciting and tumultuous scenes and feelings of such a moment, shew a heart

* This letter, addressed to his brother Irving in London, reached him, we believe, on the 13th of October, the very day on which the writer was slain.

worthy of all admiration and love. I am delighted to have seen these traits in his character. To those who cherish the recollection of him, this little note is invaluable. It shews how pure the joy was which he derived from his splendid achievement: gratitude to God, and the increased happiness of those he held most dear, were the thoughts uppermost in his mind. Among the interesting records of him, contained in this volume, this hasty letter to his brothers, and that of September 3, which follows, and his letter to Sir George Prevost, of 2d December, 1811, give us proofs, as it appears to me, that while General Brock possessed foresight, ability, judgment, and decision equal to great emergencies, he had also a heart that entitled him to the kindest regards of the world."]

William Brock, Esq., to his brother Savery, in Guernsey.

LONDON, Tuesday, October 13, 1812.

Since I sent you, on Tuesday last, the Gazette containing the dispatches, I have been so engrossed with the one all-exciting subject, as to be unable to attend to your business with C and B. As I well knew that Isaac would not consider his good fortune complete unless a reconciliation took place between Irving and myself, I went up to-day on seeing him and shook hands. He then shewed me two lines which he had just received from Isaac, and which he was going to send me. I give you the copy verbatim.

[Here follows a transcript of the short letter to his brothers, dated Detroit, August 16, as given *ante*.]

It is satisfactory to me that we shook hands before I was aware of the contents. I have written a long letter* to Isaac since the dispatches have arrived, and I have again seen Captain Coore, who told me that the prince regent had spoken to him about Isaac for nearly half an hour. His royal highness was pleased to say, that General Brock had done more in an hour than could have been done in six months' negotiation with Mr. Russell—that he had by his exploit given a lustre to the British army—that the dispatches had afforded him (his royal highness) more pleasure than any he had received for some time, &c. &c. &c.

* Unfortunately, we cannot find this letter.

Captain Coore also said that Mr. Vansittart* had expressed himself on the occasion with greater glee than even the other ministers; and certainly the very prompt manner in which the red riband has been conferred, confirms the flattering remarks of the prince, and proves the favorable impression of the ministry. I look forward to Isaac receiving the thanks of parliament when it meets again. Captain Coore thinks that he will next take Niagara.

What is your opinion of Isaac's proclamation, in answer to that of Hull, and of his dispatches to Prevost? I think them admirably written, and so does every person with whom I have conversed on the subject.

Let me know what effect the good news have had upon you all. I have scarcely slept for the last week, I can tell you.

May *Sir* Isaac long live to be an exemplè to your Julius,† and an honor to us all.‡ With my hearty congratulations, believe me, &c.

The following letter strikes us as singularly appropriate and pleasing, and as creditable to him who wrote it as it must have been gratifying to him who received it. Mr. Justice Powell, who was then the senior puisné judge of the court of king's bench, became chief justice of Upper Canada in the year 1816.§

* Then chancellor of the exchequer—created Lord Bexley, in 1823.

† Julius Brock, the only son of Savery, died in boyhood.

‡ How futile frequently is human hope. Sir Isaac Brock had fallen that very morning, and was then lying a bleeding corsè in a house in the village of Queenstown. Many need rejoice in trembling.

§ Chief Justice Powell retired from the bench in 1825, and died about ten years afterwards. His abilities were of a very superior order, and he is believed, in Upper Canada, to have been the author of General Brock's proclamation, in answer to that of Hull. He was at the time a member of the executive council, and, with his numerous duties, the British general would naturally avail himself of Judge Powell's talents on such an occasion. If so, the proclamation was the happy effort of one who, both in speaking and writing, usually acquitted himself with felicity. Its clear and logical language was justly admired, and it did much good both in and out of the Canadas. Mrs. Powell, the widow of the late chief justice, is still living; she is about ninety-two, and in the full possession of her faculties.

The Hon. William Dummer Powell to Major-General Brock.

KINGSTON, August 27, 1812.

I cannot persuade myself to offer my hearty congratulations through the medium of a third person, and hope you will believe that no one sympathizes more cordially than myself in your feelings on the late happy event. I shall never again regret little disappointments, when I consider to what they may lead: had your early representations been attended to, and produced their proper effect, you would probably not have to boast of the most brilliant success, with the most inadequate means, which history records. There is something so fabulous in the report of a handful of troops, supported by a few raw militia, leaving their strong post to invade an enemy of double numbers in his own fortress, and making them all prisoners without the loss of a man, that, although your report may be sanctioned by Sir George Prevost, it seems to me that the people of England will be incredulous until they see the exterminating boaster a prisoner in London. We find in a cover by General Sheaffe, that the first report of the cannon taken was one-third short of the real number. I shall hardly sleep until I have the satisfaction of hearing particulars of the wonderful excursion, for it must not be called a campaign. The *veni, vidi, vici*, is again the faithful report. Your good fortune in one instance is singular, for if your zeal had been thwarted by such adverse winds as frequently occur on the lake, the armistice might have intercepted your career.* That it did not, I heartily thank God, and pray that nothing may occur to damp the entire satisfaction of yourself and family in the glory so well earned. I am impatient to hear from Colonel M'Donell, but have no doubt that he justified your warmest expectations in every trial. May I beg to be presented to Glegg, and that you, Sir, will believe me, &c.

* "South-west winds prevail much" (on Lake Erie) "during a great part of the year, and often, for weeks together, prevent vessels from sailing westward."—*Howison's Upper Canada*.

Major-General Brock to his Brothers.

LAKE ONTARIO, Sept. 3, 1812.

You will have heard of the complete success which attended the efforts I directed against Detroit. I have received so many letters from people whose opinion I value, expressive of their admiration of the exploit, that I begin to attach to it more importance than I was at first inclined. Should the affair be viewed in England in the light it is here, I cannot fail of meeting reward, and escaping the horror of being placed high on a shelf, never to be taken down.

Some say that nothing could be more desperate than the measure; but I answer, that the state of the province admitted of nothing but desperate remedies. I got possession of the letters my antagonist addressed to the secretary at war, and also of the sentiments which hundreds of his army uttered to their friends. Confidence in the general was gone, and evident despondency prevailed throughout. I have succeeded beyond expectation. I crossed the river, contrary to the opinion of Colonel Proctor, —, &c.; it is, therefore, no wonder that envy should attribute to good fortune what, in justice to my own discernment, I must say, proceeded from a cool calculation of the *pours* and *contres*.

It is supposed that the value of the articles captured will amount to 30 or £40,000; in that case, my proportion will be something considerable. If it enable me to contribute to your comfort and happiness, I shall esteem it my highest reward. When I returned Heaven thanks for my amazing success, I thought of you all; you appeared to me happy—your late sorrows forgotten; and I felt as if you acknowledged that the many benefits, which for a series of years I received from you, were not unworthily bestowed. Let me know, my dearest brothers, that you are all again united. The want of union was nearly losing this province without even a strug-

gle, and be assured it operates in the same degree in regard to families.

A cessation of hostilities has taken place along this frontier. Should peace follow, the measure will be well; if hostilities recommence, nothing could be more unfortunate than this pause. I cannot give you freely an account of my situation—it is, however, of late much improved. The militia have been inspired, by the recent success, with confidence—the disaffected are silenced. The 49th have come to my aid, besides other troops. I shall see Vincent, I hope, this evening at Kingston. He is appointed to the command of that post—a most important one. I have withdrawn Plenderleath from Niagara to assist him. Plenderleath is sitting opposite to me, and desires to be remembered. James Brock is likewise at Kingston. I believe he considers it more his interest to remain with the 49th than to act as my private secretary; indeed, the salary is a mere pittance. Poor Leggatt is dead, and has left his family in the most distressing circumstances. His wife died last year.

Major Smelt and Captain Brown have sent me your letters, for which I thank you. Let Richard Potenger be assured that his letter afforded me the highest gratification. I trust in Heaven that the whole of his thoughts will be directed to study, and to qualify himself for the holy profession he has chosen. Ignorance is despised in most men, but more particularly in the clergyman educated at one of the universities, who must have neglected so many opportunities of acquiring knowledge.

I received the other day a long letter from Sir Thomas Saumarez, from Halifax. I regret the death of the two Harry Brocks.* I have likewise been particularly unfortunate in the loss of two valuable military friends.† I begin to be too old to form new

* Henry Frederick Brock, Esq., jurat of the Royal Court of Guernsey, and Lieutenant Henry Brock, R. N.

† Major-General Vesey, mentioned *ante*, was probably one.

friendships, and those of my youth are dropping off fast.

General Sheaffe has lately been sent to me. There never was an individual so miserably off for the necessary assistance. Sir George Prevost has kindly hearkened to my remonstrances, and in some measure supplied the deficiency. The 41st is an uncommonly fine regiment, but, with few exceptions, badly officered.* You mention John Tupper † in a manner as to leave hope that he may still be living. God grant it! He is a great favorite of mine, and I should lament any disaster happening to him. Perhaps Glegg may be sent home by Sir George, and in that case I hope he will allow you to see the colours taken from the 4th U. S. regiment. The generality of the English will esteem them very little: nothing is prized that is not acquired with blood.

KINGSTON, September 4.

I this instant receive your letters by Mr. Todd. So honest John Tupper is gone! I could not have loved a son of my own more ardently. Hostilities I this instant understand are to be renewed in four days; and though landed only two hours, I must return immediately to Niagara, whence I shall write fully.

Chief Justice Sewell, of Lower Canada, to Major-General Brock.

QUEBEC, Sept. 3, 1812.

In your present situation, I am perfectly sensible of your occupations, and know that your time is

* The only field officer with the 41st at this time was, we believe, Colonel Proctor; and owing to the long stay of the regiment in Canada, the promotion had been so slow, that two of the captains were brevet-lieutenant-colonels, and two others brevet-majors.

† His nephew, John E. Tupper, Esq., aged twenty, perished at sea in January, 1812, in the Mediterranean, the vessel in which he was a passenger from Catalonia to Gibraltar having never been heard of after sailing. He was educated at Harrow at the same time as Lord Byron, Sir Robert Peel, &c. Mention is made of this fine but ill-fated young man at page 115.

precious. Yet I take the liberty to intrude upon you with my congratulations upon the brilliant success which has attended the measures which you have pursued with so much judgment in Upper Canada; and the thanks of an individual who feels the benefits which he, in common with every other subject of his majesty in British America, derives from your exertions.

The next letter is from General Maitland,* who was colonel of the 49th foot from the 25th of May, 1768, to the period of his death, in February, 1820, or nearly fifty-two years!† Major-General Brock held this gallant veteran in high estimation, having received from him much attention and kindness, which were continued to some of his relatives after his fall, and it will be seen that the feeling was mutual.

General the Honorable Alexander Maitland to Major-General Brock.

TOTTERIDGE, October 8, 1812.

Yesterday being mail day for America, I dispatched my usual monthly letter to the regiment, and in which, as I always do, I desired to be remembered to you, with my best and warmest wishes for your health, happiness, and success. I had not then heard, but did a few hours after, of your *glorious victory* over our most unnatural enemies, (such an one as can hardly be equalled in the annals of history,) that of not only beating, but taking prisoners, more than double your numbers; and now that you have conquered them in the field, I trust that their wrong-headed government will be brought to reason and

* Created a baronet on the 30th of November, 1818.

† Although General Maitland was so many years colonel of the 49th, yet we find that the Marquis of Drogheda held a similar appointment for a longer period, being colonel of the 18th Hussars from the 3d of August, 1762, to October, 1821, when that regiment was disbanded, or above fifty-nine years!

peace ; for it will prove to them, if they persevere, that they will be forced to it, and terms dictated to them. Therefore allow me, Sir, with the warmest feelings of an old friend, to congratulate you, as I do the public, on the essential service you have done the country on the present occasion ; as I do my friend, your aide-de-camp, Captain Glegg, so far as the sphere of his duty could assist in the great work ; and *I glory to say you are both 49-thers*. I could write sheets on the subject, but, not to take up your valuable time longer than I have done to express my pleasure and feelings, I will stop by adding the sincere congratulations of all related to me here as well as elsewhere. But I cannot help now observing how prophetic I was in what I wrote to Colonel Vincent yesterday concerning you, which was, *that if you were properly supported, I thought the enemy would never cross the line of your command*, a proof of which I had a few hours afterwards.

When you see any of our friends of the 49th, pray remember me in the kindest manner to them, and I am sure they will thank you that they are safe and warm in their quarters, in place of having a winter campaign in so severe a climate. And now I will only add my warmest wishes for your health and happiness, and that the same good fortune that has hitherto attended you may continue ; and I beg that you will be so good as to convey the same to my friend, your aide-de-camp. Believe me to be, my dear general, &c.

P.S.—I send this after the mail, which left London last night, in hope it may overtake it at Falmouth, as I know the packet seldom sails for some days after her time.

*Major-General John Burnet to Sir Isaac Brock, K. B.**

STRABERRY, Ireland, Oct. 11, 1812.

There has existed too long and too sincere a friendship between us for me not to feel the most lively interest in the event which has added such *éclat* to your achievement at my old quarter, Detroit.†

To evince to you how much I regard you, and how much I have talked of you, a friend of mine at the Horse Guards enclosed me the Extraordinary Gazette, saying he knew how much I should be gratified: judge then, my friend, of my feelings that you had acquitted yourself with such address; and I feel some degree of pride that my opinion was so justly formed of your conduct, whenever you should have an opportunity to display your talents. Accept, then, the very sincere congratulations of an old friend on this occasion, and be assured of the happiness it gives me, as well as Mrs. Burnet, who is with me, and sends her love to you.

With respect to my situation, I offered my services to go to the Peninsula as soon as our promotion took place, and at one time flattered myself I should have gone there; but superior interest prevailed, and I was placed on the staff of Ireland. I first went to Londonderry, but have been here six months, as more central to the brigade under my command.

I have my hands full of business, and little time for private correspondence; but I could not resist the impulse on an occasion so highly to the honor of an old friend. Believe me, my dear Brock, &c.

P. S.—If Commodore Grant be still alive, pray remember me warmly to him and Mrs. Grant.

* This letter is apparently written with the left hand, as if the writer had lost his right.

† John Burnet was a lieutenant of the 6th (king's) regiment, in Upper Canada, during and after the first American war; and was captain lieutenant of that regiment when Isaac Brock entered it in 1785. Detroit was retained by the British until the year 1796, when it was given over to the Americans.—See pages 180, 181, *ante*.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Nichol, Quartermaster-General of
Militia, to Major-General Broch.*

DETROIT, August 25, 1812.

I have been just informed by Colonel Proctor that he intends sending an express to-morrow to Fort George, which gives me an opportunity to forward a few printed copies of your proclamation, and to inform you that, in order to carry it into effect, it has been found absolutely necessary to organize the civil government. Under existing circumstances, I have advised Colonel Proctor to assume the administration until your pleasure is known, to which he has agreed, and the necessary arrangements consequent thereto have been adopted and promulgated. In Judge Woodward, who has been appointed secretary *pro tem*, he will find an able coadjutor; and as your object undoubtedly was to tranquillize the public mind and to give the inhabitants a proof of the moderation and benevolence of his majesty's government, as well as to ensure the due administration of the laws, I do not think a more judicious choice could have been made. In all the discussions which took place on this subject, Colonel Proctor did me the honor to consult me; and I have no hesitation in saying, that I urged him to the step he has taken, of which I hope you will, as it is only temporary, approve. We have had much difficulty in collecting the public cattle and horses, and have suffered greatly from the predatory spirit of the Indians; indeed, their conduct has been infamous. There is hardly a house on either side of the river that has not been robbed by them; they have taken away the greater part of the captured horses and cattle, and without our being able to prevent it. It has not been in my power as yet to send a statement of all that we have captured, as the property is so scattered, but I hope to finish this week. We got upwards of £1,200 in money, and have sent down a hundred packs, worth,

I suppose, £1,500 more. I have reason to think the captured property will not be much under £40,000.

We have still 350 prisoners to ship off, but I hope to get rid of them in a few days. Public confidence seems to be partially restored; business is again going on, and I hope that the country will become perfectly quiet.

It is impossible for me to say when I shall get done here. I hope, however, it will not be long. I regret that we are not able to send you complete returns of every thing; but the captured property is in so many different places, and so scattered, that it cannot be done.

Extract from a Canadian Newspaper.

Montreal, September 12, 1812.

Last Sunday evening the inhabitants of this city were gratified with an exhibition equally novel and interesting.

That General Hull should have entered into our city so soon, at the head of his troops, rather exceeded our expectations. We were, however, very happy to see him, and received him with all the honors due to his high rank and importance as a public character. The following particulars, relative to his journey and reception at Montreal, may not be uninteresting to our readers:

It appears that General Hull and suite, accompanied by about 25 officers and 350 soldiers, left Kingston, under an escort of 130 men, commanded by Major Heathcote, of the Newfoundland regiment. At Cornwall, the escort was met by Captain Gray, of the quartermaster-general's department, who took charge of the prisoners of war, and from thence proceeded with them to La Chine, where they arrived about two o'clock on Sunday afternoon. At La Chine, Captains Richardson and Ogilvie, with their companies of Montreal militia, and a company of the king's, from Lower Chine, commanded by Captain Blackmore, formed the escort till they were met by Colonel Auldjo, with the remainder of the flank companies of the militia, upon which Captain Blackmore's company fell out and presented arms as the general and line passed, and then returned to La Chine, leaving the prisoners of war to be guarded by the militia alone. The line of march then proceeded to the town in the following order, viz.

1. Band of the king's regiment.
 2. The first division of the escort.
 3. General Hull in a carriage, accompanied by Captain Gray. Captain Hull and Major Shekleton followed in the second, and some wounded officers occupied four others.
 4. The American officers.
 5. The non-commissioned officers and soldiers.
- The second division of the escort.

It unfortunately proved rather late in the evening for the vast concourse of spectators assembled to experience that gratification they so anxiously looked for. This inconvenience was, however, in a great measure remedied by the illuminations of the streets through which the line of march passed. When they arrived at the general's house, the general was conducted in, and presented to his excellency Sir George Prevost, and was received with the greatest politeness, and invited to take up his residence there during his stay at Montreal. The other officers were accommodated at Holmes' hotel, and the soldiers lodged in the Quebec barracks. The general appears to be about sixty years of age, and is a good looking man; and we are informed by those who have had frequent opportunities of conversing with him, that he is a man of general information. He is communicative, and seems to bear his misfortunes with a degree of philosophical resignation that but few men in similar circumstances are gifted with. On Thursday last General Hull, with eight American officers, left this city for the United States, on their parole.

CHAPTER XIII.

After issuing a proclamation to the inhabitants of the Michigan territory, by which their private property was secured and their laws and religion confirmed, and leaving as large a force under Colonel Proctor as could be spared at Detroit, Major-General Brock hastened to return to the Niagara frontier; and while on his voyage across Lake Erie, in the schooner Chippawa, he was met on the 23d of August by the provincial schooner Lady Prevost, of 14 guns, the commander of which, after saluting the general with seventeen guns, came on board and gave him the first intelligence of the armistice which Sir George Prevost had unfortunately concluded with the American general, Dearborn. Major-General Brock could not conceal his deep regret and mortification at the intelligence, which he feared would prevent his contemplated attack on Sackett's Harbour.* Sir George Prevost, early in August, on hearing of the repeal of the British orders in council, which were the principal among the alleged causes of the war, had proposed a suspension of hostilities until the sentiments of the American government were received on the subject; and to this suspension General Dearborn readily agreed, with the exception of the forces under

* "Leaving Colonel Proctor in command on the Detroit frontier and in the newly acquired territory, General Brock hastened his return to the Niagara line, with the intention of sweeping it of the American garrisons, which he knew were then unprepared for vigorous resistance. But the first intelligence which he received on his arrival at Fort George paralyzed his exertions."—*Quarterly Review*.

General Hull, who, he said, acted under the immediate orders of the secretary at war. But, by the terms of the truce, General Hull had the option of availing himself of its provisions if he thought fit, and that he would gladly have done so there can be no doubt. Happily, however, owing to the rapidity of Major-General Brock's movements, the news of the armistice did not reach the belligerent commanders in time to prevent the surrender of the one, or to snatch well-earned laurels from the brow of the other. This armistice was attended with very prejudicial consequences, as it not only marred the attempt on Sackett's Harbour, but it rendered unavailing the command of the lakes, which was then held by the British.*

The successful commander, in transmitting by Captain Glegg his dispatches to the governor-general at Montreal, expressed, through his aide-de-camp, his intention of proceeding immediately to Kingston, and from thence to the attack of the naval arsenal at Sackett's Harbour, on Lake Ontario.† Had its destruction been accomplished—and no one can doubt that this was the proper period to attempt it, as the enemy, dispirited by the capture of Detroit, would probably have offered but a feeble resistance—the Americans could not, without much additional difficulty and future risk of destruction, have built and equipped the fleet which subsequently gave them the naval ascendancy on that lake, and enabled them, twice in 1813, to capture the capital of Upper Canada. The armistice, however, caused a delay of nearly a fortnight in the necessary preparations, as Major-

* See extract from Letters of Veritas on this point. Appendix A, Section 1, No. 4.

† The general's words to his aide-de-camp, as nearly as the latter can remember, were these: "You may inform Sir George that it is my intention to proceed immediately with the gallant little army, that has enabled me to capture Fort Detroit and the first invading force of the Americans, to the attack of the naval arsenal at Sackett's Harbour; and you may expect to hear of my arrival at Kingston soon after you reach Montreal, from whence an immediate report of my intentions shall be transmitted for approval to his excellency."

General Brock returned from Detroit to Fort George on the 24th of August, and the cessation of the truce was not known to him until his arrival at Kingston, on the 4th of September. The distance by water between Fort George and Kingston is about 160 miles, and from Kingston to Sackett's Harbour only 35 miles; so that the destruction of the arsenal might have been effected early in September, had not the armistice prevented the attempt. But, unhappily for the interests of his country and the credit of his own fame, Sir George Prevost disapproved of the proposition, and commanded Major-General Brock to relinquish all idea of the contemplated enterprise, although the official intelligence of the president's refusal to continue the suspension of hostilities reached him at Montreal on the 30th of August, a day or two *before* Captain Glegg, with the dispatches and trophies of the capture of Detroit. At the commencement of the war, a defensive attitude was perhaps excusable, especially as the British cabinet seems to have been anxious to accommodate the differences between the two countries; but *after* the American government had refused to continue the armistice, it appears to us that Sir George Prevost was pursuing a suicidal course in foregoing the advantages of his decided naval superiority, and forgetting the maxim of "*Non progredi est regredi,*" as to wait for the enemy till he shall have prepared his forces and passed your frontiers, to plunder your towns and ravage your country, is a very recent expedient recognized by no government, and practised by no people of ancient or modern times. But, notwithstanding the delay caused by the armistice, the proposed attack could still have been carried into effect after its cessation; and it was only relinquished by express orders from the commander-in-chief. We seek not to impugn his motives, as they probably originated in a mistaken sense of duty, and evidently from an impression that to attack the Americans again on

their own frontier would be to render the contest more popular among them. It was under this impression that, in a general order* issued at Montreal on the 31st of August, the commander-in-chief was weak enough to offer an indirect apology to the American people for the invasion of their territory at Detroit. Whether this continued defensive policy was such as, under all the circumstances, ought to have been observed, we leave it to others to determine; but certainly the result did not justify its expediency, and the tree is usually judged of by its fruit. Forbearance in war, where success is probable, strikes us as a positive evil that a very doubtful good may ensue—it is seldom properly appreciated; and the governor-general appears to have seen his error when too late, as in the following year he was himself ignobly foiled in an attack on Sackett's Harbour. We cannot understand why the attack under Sir George Prevost, in May, 1813, was more politic than it would have been in September, the year preceding, under Major-General Brock; and although Captain Glegg met with a very chilling reception from the former officer, yet we would willingly acquit him of any jealous feeling where such important interests were at stake. At the same time, it is due to the memory of this unfortunate officer to add, that his civil administration was as able as his military one in Canada was inglorious; and that although his conduct as a soldier was, on more than one occasion, the subject of much and just animadversion in England, yet he acquired the warm attachment of the French Canadians, who speak highly of him to this day. Those leading men who, during the administration of Sir James Craig, had been considered almost as enemies, were treated with confidence by his successor, who gradually appointed them to situations of trust, and by this wise measure secured their aid and

* Appendix A, Section 1, No. 5.

influence in the defence of the province.* Certain it is, on the other hand, that Major-General Brock did not approve of the defensive warfare to which he was restricted; and subsequent events too truly proved, that had he been permitted to pursue that course which his zeal and foresight dictated, his valuable life might have been spared, and a very different series of incidents in that war claimed the attention of the historian. The high-minded soldier could not brook a state of inaction with such promising prospects before him. His best feelings revolted at being compelled to languish within the strict pale of military obedience, when so rich a field for doing good service presented itself; and in place of becoming the assailant, he was soon doomed, by awaiting the attacks of his opponents, to sacrifice not only life, but, what is far dearer, the opening prospects of honorable ambition.

On the 16th of December, 1812, the inhabitants of the Niagara district addressed a spirited letter to Sir George Prevost, from which we copy the following extract, as confirming what we have already stated on the same subject: "Nevertheless, such was the popularity of the general, such the confidence he had inspired, that he was enabled to carry with him to Detroit, though under great privations, a large body of volunteers, which, in addition to the small regular force at Amherstburg, enabled him to capture an entire army of our invaders, with the fortress from which they had made their descent into Canada—a success unparalleled in the annals of war. Here, for

* On the other hand, the British Critic for May, 1823, in some observations upon the civil administration of Sir George Prevost, in Canada, asserts, among other allegations, "that his domestic management of the colony was no less censurable than his military conduct. That finding that the Canadian party gave him most trouble, his object was to obtain a temporary popularity for his own administration, and a peaceable residence for himself, by every possible species and degree of weak concession, which he dignified with the name of conciliation." These assertions are denied by his family, and we certainly think that Sir George Prevost was both wise and politic in conciliating the French Canadians, who had been too long treated as a conquered people.

the first time, we got a supply of good arms. The success of this first enterprise, in which the militia were engaged, acted like an electric shock throughout the country: it awed the disaffected, of whom there were many; it confirmed the timid and the wavering; and it induced the Six Nation Indians, who had until that time kept aloof, to take an active part in our favor. At that moment, such was the energy and confidence that had been excited by our illustrious chief and the success of his plans, that had *he* been permitted, he could, and would, have destroyed and laid waste the whole American frontier, from Sandusky to St. Regis.* Your excellency doubtless recollects the armistice which immediately preceded the capture of Detroit, which gave the enemy an opportunity to recover from their consternation, to fortify and strengthen their lines, to accumulate in security the means of annoying us at pleasure along our whole frontier, and which sent at least 800 of our Indian allies in disgust to their own homes."

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock.

MONTREAL, August 13, 1812.†

I wrote to you from Albany on the 8th instant, but as my letter was submitted to the inspection of General Dearborn, I of course confined myself to the sole subject of the armistice entered into with that officer. . . . A clause, admitting reinforcements to pass with stores, was readily agreed to on my part. General Dearborn told me that a considerable reinforcement with stores was on its way to Niagara, and that he could not delay or alter its destination. I informed him that we were also forwarding reinforce-

* From Sandusky, at the head of Lake Erie, to St. Regis, on the river St. Lawrence, the distance by water is about 550 miles.

† This letter was forwarded by Brigade-Major Shekleton with that of the 12th of August, (inserted *ante*), from Sir George Prevost, who doubtless wrote another the following day relative to the armistice, but we cannot find it among Major-General Brock's papers.

ments and stores, and that it would be advisable to agree that all movements of that nature on either side should be suffered to proceed unmolestedly by troops under instructions to preserve defensive measures. I am apprehensive that General Dearborn may not explicitly explain all these points; and I have, therefore, cautioned all the officers to whom I have communicated them, to act with the utmost caution, and to be prepared for all events that may arise. I feel extremely prepossessed in favor of General Dearborn, whose manners appear to evince great candour and sincerity: he assured me that no event of his life would afford him so much satisfaction and happiness as resigning his command, in consequence of our honorable adjustment of differences. He told me that General Hull was placed under his orders merely for form sake, but that he acted by particular instructions from the war department, and would not consider himself bound to obey any order that was not in conformity to them.

[Colonel Baynes describes at length the incipient state of military preparation for the invasion of Lower Canada, which he witnessed on his journey; and after mentioning that the Americans had sent the most efficient of their forces to the Niagara frontier, he adds:]

Under all these circumstances, which I have represented to Sir George, I have strongly urged his sending you further reinforcements, which I am sure can be spared: we are at present checked from the want of conveyance, but I trust after the corps, now on their route, are dispatched, that Sir George will be induced to send you further aid, and that of the best description. I think it of the highest importance, particularly if we are likely to arrange matters with the States, that the balance of military events should be unequivocally in our favor. I found a very general prejudice prevailing with Jonathan, of his own resources and means of invading these provinces, and of our weakness and inability to resist,

both exaggerated in a most absurd and extravagant degree—a little practical correction of this error would be attended with the best effects.

The 1st battalion of the royals are upwards of 1,100 strong, but sickly, having suffered from their long residence in the West Indies, and they are in consequence marked for the Quebec garrison.

Major-General Brock to Colonel Proctor.

FORT GEORGE, August 25, 1812.

I wrote to you yesterday, informing you that a cessation of hostilities had been agreed upon between Sir George Prevost and General Dearborn, and requesting you in consequence to postpone any attempt upon Fort Wayne, or any other post of the enemy. I consider the present forbearance may lead to such consequences, that I cannot refrain from sending a second express, to urge you to restrain the Indians likewise in their predatory excursions: this, however, ought to be done with the utmost caution, and on grounds foreign from the present considerations.

Colonel Myers tells me that he forwarded, on the 11th instant, a dispatch received from Sir George Prevost to me, in which his excellency so clearly stated the principles of moderation upon which he thought it expedient to act, that I fully expect, should you have received the dispatch and perused his sentiments, you will forbear from any hostile aggression; in fact, act completely upon the defensive.

Should every thing remain quiet in the vicinity of Detroit, you will proceed hither, bringing to Fort Erie the detachments which Captain Chambers and Lieutenant Bullock took to Amherstburg. All the spare ordnance is to be transported to Fort Erie.

I should also think that Lieutenant Troughton and a few of his men could be spared for some time from the duties at Amherstburg; in that case, you will have the goodness to order them to accompany you.

Major-General Brock arrived at Kingston, where he was greeted with a salute from the royal artillery and every demonstration of attachment, on the 4th of September, and left it on the 6th for Fort George. During this hasty visit he reviewed the militia, and expressed his satisfaction at its evolutions and appearance. He also received a flattering address from the magistrates, officers of militia, and other inhabitants; and in reply he told them with much tact, that it was the confidence inspired by the admirable conduct of the York and Lincoln regiments of militia which had induced him to undertake the expedition which terminated in the capture of Detroit; and that from the report of the officers of the garrison at Kingston, he relied with the same confidence on the bravery and the discipline of the militia of that district. In the same manner, to an address a few days before from the inhabitants of York, he replied: "Gentlemen, I cannot but feel highly gratified by this expression of your esteem for myself; but, in justice to the brave men at whose head I marched against the enemy, I must beg leave to direct your attention to them, as the proper objects of your gratitude. It was a confidence, founded on their loyalty, zeal, and valour, that determined me to adopt the plan of operations which led to so fortunate a termination. Allow me to congratulate you, gentlemen, at having sent out from among yourselves a large portion of that gallant band; and that at such a period a spirit had manifested itself, on which you may confidently repose your hopes of future security. It will be a most pleasing duty for me to report to our sovereign a conduct so truly meritorious."

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

KINGSTON, September 4, 1812.

Upon my arrival here an hour ago, Captain Fulton delivered me your excellency's dispatch, dated the

31st ultimo, enclosing a letter from General Dearborn, in which the president's disapproval of the armistice is announced. I am in consequence induced to return without loss of time to Fort George. Captain Fulton having expressed a wish to accompany me, I have the more readily consented, as he will be able to give you full information of our actual state. The enemy was very busy upon Fort Niagara, and appeared inclined to erect additional batteries. I may perhaps think it proper to stop their career.

I enclose several documents lately received from Colonel Proctor, at Detroit. That officer appears to have conducted himself with much judgment. I likewise transmit a memorial which I have received from some merchants in the Niagara district, but of course I cannot judge of its merits.

I shall be obliged to your excellency to direct the remittance of the £5,000, for which I sent a requisition some time ago, on account of the civil expenditure of this province, either in government paper or specie, as you may deem most convenient. I doubt not the former meeting a ready currency.

The very flattering manner in which your excellency is pleased to view my services, and your kindness in having represented them to his majesty's ministers in such favorable light, are gratifying to my feelings, and call for my grateful acknowledgments.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

FORT GEORGE, September 9, 1812.

I have been honored with your excellency's dispatch, dated the 24th ultimo, and have to thank you for ordering a company of the Glengary regiment to strengthen Colonel Lethbridge at Prescott, whose force you have been led to believe was weakened in consequence of my interference, but which, I beg leave to state, was done without my knowledge, and contrary to my intention.

The enclosed copies of letters will inform you of the state of affairs to the westward. It appears evident the enemy meditates a second attempt on Amherstburg. The greater part of the troops, which are advancing, marched from Kentucky with an intention of joining General Hull. How they are to subsist, even for a short period, in that already exhausted country, is no easy matter to conceive. This difficulty will probably decide them on some bold measure, in the hope of shortening the campaign. If successfully resisted, their fate is inevitable.

The Indians, it appears by the accompanying documents, were adverse to retreating without first making a trial of their strength. Taking, however, every circumstance into consideration, I am inclined to think that Captain Muir acted judiciously. Should the Indians continue to afford a willing co-operation, I entertain not the smallest doubt of the result that awaits this second attempt to turn my right; but your excellency will easily perceive that doubts and jealousies have already seized their minds. The officers of the Indian department will, I trust, be able to remove all such impressions. Although, from the daily observations of what is passing on the opposite shore, a single man can ill be spared from this line, I have notwithstanding determined to send the two flank companies of the royal Newfoundland regiment to Amherstburg. Fresh troops are daily arriving, supposed to belong to the Pennsylvania quota of 2,000 men, known to be intended for this frontier. After the whole arrive, an attack, I imagine, cannot be long delayed. The wretched state of their quotas, and the raggedness of the troops, will not allow them to brave the rain and cold, which during the last week have been so severely felt.

Between 200 and 300 Indians have joined, and augmented the force on the other side. Their brethren here feel certain that they will not act with any spirit against us—so I imagine, if we continue to shew a

bold front; but in the event of a disaster, the love of plunder will prevail, and they will then act in a manner to be the most dreaded by the inhabitants of this country.

I beg leave to recommend to your excellency's indulgent consideration, Colonel Proctor's application for an increase of pay as commanding a district, which I request may commence from the 16th of August last.

Colonel Baynes to Major-General Brock.*

MONTREAL, September 10, 1812.

Sir George writes to you so fully upon the several subjects to which your letters refer, that I have little left to communicate to you. Major Heathcote leaves this to-day, with all the small description of ordnance stores intended for Amherstburg, but we have detained the 12-pounders and shot: as you have helped yourself so amply at Detroit, it is imagined you do not now want them. I enclose a letter from Captain Roberts, who was, I suppose, induced to address himself direct to head quarters, by an opportunity of doing so offering itself at the moment. The North-West gentlemen are very urgent in recommending a reinforcement in that quarter; but Sir George has told them that their representations must be addressed to you, who will act as you deem proper.

Your friend, Mr. Isaac Todd,† is arrived, and looking much better for his trip; he was suffered to pass by Albany and the lake. He tells me that Mr. M'Donell is confirmed as attorney-general, and that the governor's salary is increased £1,000 a year. I sincerely trust that it will soon be your own. Sir

* Colonel Baynes became a major-general in June, 1814, and died in that rank, at Sidmouth, in 1829.

† Several letters in the collection written by Mr. Todd to Sir Isaac Brock's family after his death, prove him to have been a warm admirer and friend of the general. We learn in "Astoria," that the armed ship, "Isaac Todd," of 20 guns, was prepared by the North-West Company, in 1813, with which to form an establishment at the mouth of the Columbia river.

George has, in his official dispatches, after paying that tribute of praise so justly your due, stated as his confirmed opinion, that the salvation of the Upper Province has, in a very great measure, arisen from the civil and military authority being combined in able hands. The prisoners, with their general, arrived here on Sunday night; as they had not halted since they left Kingston, and were in a very dirty state, we kept them here on Monday, and they yesterday proceeded to William Henry, on their way to Quebec; the officers are to be on parole in Charlesbourg, and the men confined on board two transports in the river. Sir George has permitted most of the officers, who have families with them, to return on their parole; four of them are proposed to be exchanged for the officers of the Royal Scots, taken by the Essex, frigate. Sir George has also consented to allow General Hull to return upon his parole: he is loud in his complaints against the government at Washington, and the general thinks that his voice, in the universal cry, may be attended with beneficial effects, and has allowed him to return and enter the lists. General Hull appears to possess less feeling and sense of shame than any man in his situation could be supposed to do. He seems to be perfectly satisfied with himself, is lavish of censure upon his government, but appears to think that the most scrupulous cannot attach the slightest blame to his own immediate conduct at Detroit. The grounds upon which he rests his defence are not, I fancy, well founded, for he told us that he had not gunpowder at Detroit for the service of one day. Sir George has since shewn him the return of the large supply found in the fort; it did not create a blush, but he made no reply. He professes great surprise and admiration at the zeal and military preparation that he has everywhere witnessed; that it was entirely unlooked for, and that he has no doubt that his friend, General Dearborn, will share his fate, if he has the imprudence to follow his example. Hull seems cun-

ning and unprincipled: how much reliance is to be placed on his professions, time will shew.

General Dearborn has certainly left Albany for Skeensborough, at the head of the lake, where great preparations have been making in collecting boats and sending the regulars from Greenbush to the stations in our vicinity. Major Cotton, with about 300 men, half of the king's regiment, is stationed at Isle aux Noix,* and two gun-boats have been carried into that river, as the enemy's preparations seem to indicate that quarter as their point of attack. Colonel Murray commands at St. John's, and will give them a warm reception. I do not feel a doubt of Jonathan's complete discomfiture and disgrace, if he make the attempt: we could, I fancy, bring as many men as he will be able to persuade into the field, and of very superior stuff, for our militia have really improved beyond all expectation in discipline, and with it in spirit and confidence. This town would turn out 2,000 volunteer militia, a great proportion of whom are clothed and very tolerably drilled. We have destroyed all the roads of communication in our front, leaving open the water route only; and these woody positions will be shortly occupied by the Indians of this neighbourhood, and a corps of volunteer *voyageur* Canadians. The enemy's preparations, however, may be a feint to cover some plans in agitation against your province.

I send you a long letter from Kempt for your perusal, with a sketch of Badajos, though no longer recent news. I am sure the interest you take in the success of our arms, and in his share in particular, will induce you to read it with pleasure.

* "Coteau du Lac and Isle aux Noix are the keys of Lower Canada; the former completely commands the navigation of the St. Lawrence, between the Upper and Lower Provinces, and the latter had been so decidedly regarded as the barrier of Lower Canada from the Champlain frontier, that it excited the particular attention of the French engineers in the last defence of the country, and was afterwards fortified at considerable expense by General Haldimand, during the war of the American revolution."—*Quarterly Review*.

Colonel Proctor to Major-General Brock.

DETROIT, September 10, 1812.

I have just received your letter from Kingston, of the 4th instant, and shall act accordingly. Enclosed I send a return of the ordnance and ordnance stores sent in the Queen Charlotte; no shot were sent, because, as I understand, there is already a quantity of each calibre at Fort George. The remainder of the prisoners of war, excepting some sick and wounded, were also sent on board the Charlotte, with a guard of two subaltern officers and forty men of the 41st regiment, whom I now cannot afford to part with. I had ordered the deserters on board, but have had the dissatisfaction to find that they have not been sent. Annexed is also a list of provisions and stores captured on the 16th ultimo. I assented to the absence of Lieut.-Colonel Nichol for a short time, on the urgency of his private affairs, and the probability of the armistice continuing. Major Givens has been of great assistance to me in his department. I regret his going, but I could not detain him longer than there was a probability of my returning soon to Fort George. As you directed, a sergeant of the 41st regiment (Leonard Smith) has been appointed to act as deputy barrackmaster at this place. I shall be much gratified if it should be confirmed. I found on my arrival here, that the boats and the *engagés* of the South-West Company had been detained, and employed in the service. They have been under the direction of Lieutenant Bender, 41st regiment, and have been of the greatest use. They have been provisioned, and I suppose are entitled to pay as militia. I am sending a detachment of the 41st regiment and militia, with 3-pounders, to aid the Indians against Fort Wayne. It shall be conducted with every prudence and expedition. The Detroit will sail in a few days for Fort Erie: Judge Campbell goes in her. I have required 100 more of

the militia, making them 400, besides the 30 mounted, who are to keep up the communication with the Moravian town. 150 of the Mackina Indians are arrived; they met the express sixty miles on this side of Mackina: they are just in time for Fort Wayne. The Hunter shall sail without delay.

[Several months after our first edition was published, we heard from an officer, formerly of the 49th, that the materials relative to Colonel (afterwards Major-General) Proctor, in the "Campaigns in the Canadas"—*Quarterly Review*, No. 54, already cited—were furnished by Captain Proctor, his nephew and son-in-law. We had always suspected that they were the production of Major-General Proctor or of his friends, as they bear internal evidence of being so. In that article, comparatively little is said of Sir Isaac Brock, while General Proctor is unduly eulogized, and always cruelly at the expense of Sir George Prevost, because he saw fit to speak of the battle of the Moravian town with unqualified censure. In the same manner, more credit is given in the Review—(see extract in Appendix A, Section 1, No. 6.) with what justice the reader must determine—to Colonel Proctor, for the capture of Detroit, than to Major-General Brock, although the former advised the latter not to cross the river! and Tecumseh, by his capture of the American dispatches, certainly contributed far more to the success than Colonel Proctor. Captain Proctor furnished his materials ten years after Sir Isaac Brock's death, forgetting perhaps that although dead men tell no tales, their private letters sometimes do. Did Captain P— ever hear of an anecdote of Tecumseh, who used to remark in his broken English: "General Brock say, 'Tecumseh, *come* fight Yankee.' General Proctor say, 'Tecumseh, *go* fight Yankee.'"]

Sir George Prevost to Major-General Brock.

MONTREAL, September 14, 1812.

Captain Fulton arrived on the 11th instant with your letter of the 7th;* the intelligence you have communicated by it convinces me of the necessity of the evacuation of Fort Detroit, unless the operations of the enemy on the Niagara frontier bear a character less indicative of determined hostile measures against your line in their front, than they did when you last reported to me. You will, therefore, be pleased, subject to the discretion I have given you under the circumstances to which I have alluded, to take immediate steps for evacuating that post, toge-

* We cannot discover a copy of Major-General Brock's letter of the 7th September, to Sir George Prevost, to which the latter officer refers in his letter of the 14th. We may add, that we have given every letter of interest which passed between these two officers that we have found, but some letters from Sir George Prevost, especially those enjoining defensive measures, are evidently missing.

ther with the territory of Michigan ; by this measure you will be enabled to withdraw a greater number of the troops from Amherstburg, instead of taking them from Colonel Vincent, whose regular force ought not, on any account, to be diminished.

I have already afforded you reinforcements to the full extent of my ability ; you must not, therefore, expect a further supply of men from hence until I shall receive from England a considerable increase to the present regular force in this province ; the posture of affairs, particularly on this frontier, requires every soldier who is in the country.

In my last dispatch from Lord Bathurst, dated the 4th of July, he tells me, “ that his majesty’s government trusts I will be enabled to suspend with perfect safety all extraordinary preparations for defence which I may have been induced to make in consequence of the precarious state of the relations between this country and the United States ; and that as every specific requisition for warlike stores and accoutrements which had been received from me had been complied with, with the exception of the clothing of the corps proposed to be raised from the Glengary emigrants, he had not thought it necessary to direct the preparation of any further supplies.” This will afford you a strong proof of the infatuation of his majesty’s ministers upon the subject of American affairs, and shew how entirely I have been left to my own resources in the event which has taken place.

Judging from what you have already effected in Upper Canada, I do not doubt but that, with your present means of defence, you will be able to maintain your position at Fort George, and that the enemy will be again foiled in any further attempts they may make to invade the province.

I leave to your discretion to decide on the necessity of sending a reinforcement to Michilimackinac.

Major-General Brock to Colonel Proctor.

FORT GEORGE, September 17, 1812,

I have had before me your several communications to the 11th instant, addressed to myself and to Major-General Sheaffe. I approve of your having detached a party to aid in the reduction of Fort Wayne, not only because its destruction will render your position more secure, but also from the probable result of saving the garrison from sharing the fate of that of Chicago; but it must be explicitly understood, that you are not to resort to offensive warfare for purposes of conquest. Your operations are to be confined to measures of defence and security. With this view, if you should have credible information of the assembling of bodies of troops to march against you, it may become necessary to destroy the fort at Sandusky, and the road which runs through it from Cleveland to the foot of the rapids: the road from the river Raisin to Detroit is perhaps in too bad a state to offer any aid to the approach of an enemy, except in the winter; and if a winter campaign should be contemplated against you, it is probable that magazines would be formed in Cleveland and its vicinity, of all which you will of course inform yourself. In carrying on our operations in your quarter, it is of primary importance that the confidence and good will of the Indians should be preserved, and that whatsoever can tend to produce a contrary effect should be most carefully avoided. I, therefore, most strongly urge and enjoin your acting on those principles on every occasion that may offer, inculcating them in all those under your influence, and enforcing them by your example, whether in your conduct towards the Indians or what may regard them, or in your language when speaking to, or of, them. I am aware that they commit irregularities at times, which will make this a difficult task; but you must endeavour to perform it—attending, at the same time, to the means already suggested to you for pre-

venting, as much as possible, a repetition of disorderly conduct.

Colonel E—— is a respectable, gentlemanly man, but he by no means possesses the influence over the Indians which Captain M'K—— does. I recommend to you to promote, as far as in you lies, a good understanding with and between them, and to observe a conciliating deportment and language towards the latter, that his great influence may be secured and employed in its fullest extent for the benefit of your district, and for the general good. In conversation with him, you may take an opportunity of intimating, that I have not been unmindful of the interests of the Indians in my communications to ministers; and I wish you to learn (as if casually the subject of conversation) what stipulations they would propose for themselves, or be willing to accede to, in case either of failure or of success.

I understand that salvage has been demanded from individuals on several accounts, for property recovered or restored, for patents, &c. &c. I lament that such a course has been adopted, for it was my intention, and it is now my wish, that our conduct in those matters should be governed by the broadest principles of liberality. You will, therefore, be pleased to have returned to the several individuals the amount which each may have paid as salvage on any account.

With respect to calling out the militia, I am particularly desirous that it should not be resorted to but in cases of urgent necessity, and then only in such numbers as shall be actually required. It appears to me that the cavalry employed exceed the number that may be indispensably necessary: if, without risk or detriment to the public service, any of either of those corps can be spared, let them be dismissed.

I wish the engineer to proceed immediately in strengthening Fort Amherstburg, his plan for which I shall be glad to see as soon as possible.

Of the ordnance stores of every description, you

will reserve such proportions as may be absolutely required for the public service in your district, and cause the remainder to be embarked and sent down to Fort Erie with the least possible delay.

I cannot at present make the change in the distribution of the 41st regiment which you propose, but whenever circumstances may permit, I shall be happy to accede to your wishes.

Major-General S. V. Rensselaer to Major-General Brock.

Head Quarters, Lewiston, Sept. 17, 1812.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday evening; an extract of a letter addressed to you on the 15th instant by Captain Dyson, of the United States regiment of artillery; also a packet addressed to the Honorable Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury of the United States.

Colonel Van Rensselaer will have the honor to deliver this communication, and I have entrusted him to solicit your permission for an interview with Captain Dyson, for the purpose of ascertaining, particularly, the condition of the prisoners of war under his charge, to the end that they may be relieved from Fort Niagara, if practicable; and if not, that I may, without delay, state their condition to the government, that they may receive from the proper department the earliest possible supplies.

The women and children, and such other persons as have accompanied the detachment from Detroit, and ought to be here received, I will immediately receive at Fort Niagara, or such other convenient place as you may order them to be landed at.

In a communication which I some time since had the honor of receiving from Lieut.-Colonel Myers, he assured me that it had been the constant study of the general officer commanding on this line to discountenance, by all means in his power, the warfare of sen-

tinels; yet the frequent recurrence of this warfare within a few days past, would warrant the presumption that a different course has been adopted. I wish to be assured of this fact.

Major-General Brock, to Major-General S. V. Rensselaer.

Head Quarters, Fort George, Sept. 17, 1812.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date. Captain Dyson has obtained my permission to cross on his parole to the United States; he has, however, requested to remain till to-morrow, to settle with the men of his detachment. He shall in the mean time have an interview with Colonel Van Rensselaer.

Measures will be immediately taken to land the women and children at Fort Niagara.

It has been with the utmost regret that I have perceived within these few days a very heavy firing from both sides of the river. I am, however, given to understand, that on all occasions it commenced on yours; and from the circumstance of the flag of truce, which I did myself the honor to send over yesterday, having been repeatedly fired upon, while in the act of crossing the river, I am inclined to give full credit to the correctness of the information. Without, however, recurring to the past, you may rest assured on my repeating my most positive orders against the continuance of a practice, which can only be injurious to individuals, without promoting the object which both our nations may have in view.

We cannot find the dispatch from Sir George Prevost of the 7th of September, to which the next letter is an answer, but it could not have been of a very pleasing character.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

FORT GEORGE, September 18, 1812.

I have been honored with your excellency's dispatch, dated the 7th instant. I have implicitly followed your excellency's instructions, and abstained, under great temptation and provocation, from every act of hostility. The information received from a deserter, and which I had the honor to detail in my last, is far from correct, and, where credit is to be given, the facts apply solely to the regular force. The militia, being selected from the most violent democrats, are generally inclined to invade this province—provisions are in tolerable plenty—the only complaint arises from a want of vegetables. It is currently reported that the enemy's force is to be increased to 7,000, and that on their arrival an attack is immediately to be made. I am convinced the militia would not keep together in their present situation without such a prospect, nor do I think the attempt can be long deferred. Sickness prevails in some degree along the line, but principally at Black Rock.

The flank companies of the royal Newfoundland have joined me. A sergeant and twenty-five rank and file of the Veterans arrived at the same time, whom I propose sending to Michilimackinac.

The enclosed letter from Colonel Proctor will inform your excellency of a force having been detached, under Captain Muir, for the reduction of Fort Wayne.* I gave orders for it previous to my leaving Amherstburg, which must have induced Colonel Proctor to proceed, upon receiving intelligence of the recommencement of hostilities, without waiting for further directions. I regret exceedingly that this service

* Fort Wayne is situated at the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph rivers, which form the Miami of the lake, and not more than twelve miles from the navigable waters of the Wabash. This post is nearly in the centre of the Indian settlements on this side the Mississippi. Many Indian villages lay from twelve to sixty miles from this place.—*Brown's American History*. Auburn, 1815.

should be undertaken contrary to your excellency's wishes; but I beg leave to assure you, that the principal object in sending a British force to Fort Wayne is with the hope of preserving the lives of the garrison. By the last accounts, the place was invested by a numerous body of Indians, with very little prospect of being relieved. The prisoners of war, who know perfectly the situation of the garrison, rejoiced at the measure, and give us full credit for our intentions.*

The Indians were likewise looking to us for assistance: they heard of the armistice with every mark of jealousy, and, had we refused joining them in the expedition, it is impossible to calculate the consequences. I have already been asked to pledge my word that England would enter into no negotiation in which their interests were not included; and, could they be brought to imagine that we should desert them, the consequences must be fatal.

I shall be obliged to your excellency to direct £5,000 to be transmitted to the receiver-general, for the civil expenditure of this province. Army bills, I make no doubt, will answer every purpose.

This dispatch is entrusted to Lieut.-Colonel Nichol, quartermaster-general of this militia, whom I take the liberty to introduce to your excellency, as perfectly qualified, from his local knowledge and late return, to afford every information of the state of affairs in the western district. He is instructed to make extensive purchases of necessaries for the use of the militia, and I have to entreat your excellency to indulge him with the means of a speedy conveyance back to this place.

Major-General Brock to his brother Savery.

FORT GEORGE, September 18, 1812.

You doubtless feel much anxiety on my account. I am really placed in a most awkward predicament.

* Captain Muir, while on his march in the state of Ohio, was prevented from reaching Fort Wayne by the unexpected approach of a superior American force, and compelled to return.

If I get through my present difficulties with tolerable success, I cannot but obtain praise. But I have already surmounted difficulties of infinitely greater magnitude than any within my view. Were the Americans of one mind, the opposition I could make would be unavailing; but I am not without hope that their divisions may be the saving of this province. A river of about 500 yards broad divides the troops. My instructions oblige me to adopt defensive measures, and I have evinced greater forbearance than was ever practised on any former occasion. It is thought that, without the aid of the sword, the American people may be brought to a due sense of their own interests. I firmly believe I could at this moment sweep every thing before me between Fort Niagara and Buffalo—but my success would be transient.

I have now officers in whom I can confide: when the war commenced, I was really obliged to seek assistance among the militia. The 41st is an uncommonly fine regiment, but wretchedly officered. Six companies of the 49th are with me here, and the remaining four at Kingston, under Vincent. Although the regiment has been ten years in this country, drinking rum without bounds, it is still respectable, and apparently ardent for an opportunity to acquire distinction: it has five captains in England, and two on the staff in this country, which leaves it bare of experienced officers. The U. S. regiments of the line desert over to us frequently, as the men are tired of the service: opportunities seldom offer, otherwise I have reason to think the greater part would follow the example. The militia, being chiefly composed of enraged democrats, are more ardent and anxious to engage, but they have neither subordination nor discipline. They die very fast. You will hear of some decided action in the course of a fortnight, or in all probability we shall return to a state of tranquillity. I say decisive, because if I should be beaten, the province is inevitably gone; and should I be vic-

torious, I do not imagine the gentry from the other side will be anxious to return to the charge.

It is certainly something singular that we should be upwards of two months in a state of warfare, and that along this widely extended frontier not a single death, either natural or by the sword, should have occurred among the troops under my command, and we have not been altogether idle, nor has a single desertion taken place.

I am quite anxious for this state of warfare to end, as I wish much to join Lord Wellington, and to see you all.

Has poor Betsey recovered the loss of my young and dear friend, John Tupper?

Sir George Prevost to Major-General Brock.

MONTREAL, September 25, 1812.

It no longer appears, by your letter of the 13th, that you consider the enemy's operations on the Niagara frontier indicative of active operations. If the government of America inclines to defensive measures, I can only ascribe the determination to two causes: the first is, the expectation of such overtures from us as will lead to a suspension of hostilities, preparatory to negotiations for peace; the other arises from having ascertained, by experience, our ability in the Canadas to resist the attack of a tumultuary force.

In consequence of your having weakened the line of communication between Cornwall and Kingston, a predatory warfare is carrying on there very prejudicial to the intercourse from hence with Upper Canada. I have ordered a company of the Glengary to Prescott to strengthen Colonel Lethbridge, and, under present circumstances, you are not to expect further aid.

I agree in opinion with you, that so wretched is the organization and discipline of the American army, that at this moment much might be effected against them; but as the government at home could derive

no substantial advantage from any disgrace we might inflict on them, whilst the more important concerns of the country are committed in Europe, I again request you will steadily pursue that policy which shall appear to you best calculated to promote the dwindling away of such a force by its own inefficient means.

I shall receive with much satisfaction Colonel Proctor's report of having saved the garrison of Fort Wayne from the inhuman fury of the Indians. I am particularly anxious that class of beings should be restrained and controlled as much as possible, whilst there exists a pretence of implicating the national character in their cruelties.

The next letter not only explains the impolicy of obeying Sir George Prevost's provisional orders for the evacuation of Detroit and the Michigan territory, but also ably deprecates any abandonment of our Indian allies. With such leaders as its author and Tecumseh, what might not have been done in that war to obtain the security and regeneration of this much injured people? But, alas! these "kindred spirits" lived not long enough to plead their cause, and in the negociations for peace their interests were shamefully overlooked or cruelly forgotten;* although, in the first American war, the Indians had also, with few exceptions, taken part with Great Britain against the colonists in their contest for independence.† It is true that their mode of warfare is abhorrent to Europeans, as differing from the more

* "The Indians on this occasion" (the defence of Michilimackinac, in 1814,) "behaved with exemplary zeal and fidelity in our cause; and indeed their attachment throughout has been such as to make me blush for my country, in the dereliction of their interests in the negociations at Ghent, after so many promises made them, and so fair a prospect at the commencement of these negociations."—*Letters of Veritas*.

† In the life of Robert Jackson, M. D., inspector-general of army hospitals, who served in the first American war, it is stated, that "the colonial government acted with flagrant bad faith and injustice towards the Indian nations; nor has the republican government atoned for the transgressions of its parent, but added sins of its own."

honorable slaughter of *civilized* combatants, and as eschewing the courtesies and the formalities of modern strife ; but Sir Isaac Brock proved that they were to be restrained, and Tecumseh was as humane as he was brave. Moreover, we should not condemn their previous excesses without remembering the many injuries they had received. They knew from sad experience that they could place no faith in the whites, who had long considered them as legal prey, and too often treated them as the brute animals of the forest. Expelled from the coasts, and dispossessed of their hunting grounds, they had been gradually driven westward, until they had too much cause to apprehend that the cupidity of their invaders would be satisfied only with their utter extermination. "The red men are melting," to borrow the expressive metaphor of a celebrated Miami chief of the last century, "like snow before the sun," and their total extinction seems to be rapidly and irresistibly approaching. And we must not forget that the aboriginal denizens of the west were formerly numerous, moral, and happy, although they are now languishing and pining away before the inroads of civilization, until many nations have become nearly extinct ; and the present degenerate scions of the last of their noble race, shorn of their power, scarcely retain even a vestige of those honorable, virtuous, and manly traits of character, for which their ancestors were once so pre-eminently distinguished. Indeed, it is melancholy to reflect, that the aborigines of both continents of America have, from their first intercourse with Europeans or their descendants, experienced nothing but fraud, spoliation, cruelty, and ingratitude.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

YORK, September 28, 1812.

I have been honored with your excellency's dispatch, dated the 14th instant. I shall suspend, under

the latitude left by your excellency to my discretion, the evacuation of Fort Detroit. Such a measure would most probably be followed by the total extinction of the population on that side of the river, or the Indians, aware of our weakness and inability to carry on active warfare, would only think of entering into terms with the enemy. The Indians, since the Miami affair, in 1793, have been extremely suspicious of our conduct; but the violent wrongs committed by the Americans on their territory, have rendered it an act of policy with them to disguise their sentiments. Could they be persuaded that a peace between the belligerents would take place, without admitting their claim to an extensive tract of country, fraudulently usurped from them, and opposing a frontier to the present unbounded views of the Americans, I am satisfied in my own mind that they would immediately compromise with the enemy. I cannot conceive a connection so likely to lead to more awful consequences.

If we can maintain ourselves at Niagara, and keep the communication to Montreal open, the Americans can only subdue the Indians by craft, which we ought to be prepared to see exerted to the utmost. The enmity of the Indians is now at its height, and it will require much management and large bribes to effect a change in their policy; but the moment they are convinced that we either want the means to prosecute the war with spirit, or are negotiating a separate peace, they will begin to study in what manner they can most effectually deceive us.

Should negotiations for peace be opened, I cannot be too earnest with your excellency to represent to the king's ministers the expediency of including the Indians as allies, and not leave them exposed to the unrelenting fury of their enemies.

The enemy has evidently assumed defensive measures along the strait of Niagara. His force, I apprehend, is not equal to attempt an expedition across the

river with any probability of success. It is, however, currently reported that large reinforcements are on their march; should they arrive, an attack cannot be long delayed. The approach of the rainy season will increase the sickness with which the troops are already afflicted. Those under my command are in perfect health and spirits.

I have the honor to transmit the purport of a confidential communication* received in my absence by Brigade-Major Evans from Colonel Van Rensselaer. As your excellency's instructions agree with the line of conduct he is anxious I should follow, nothing of a hostile nature shall be attempted under existing circumstances.

D. G. O.

FORT GEORGE, September 22, 1812.

The major-general commanding returns his particular thanks to the militia for the handsome manner in which they have, on all occasions, volunteered their services for duties of fatigue, and is pleased to direct that, for the present, service for such duty shall be dispensed with.

By Order.

THOMAS EVANS, B. M.

* This communication, of which we have no particulars, is the more singular, as Colonel Van Rensselaer commanded the advance of the American attacking party on the 13th of October, when Sir Isaac Brock lost his life. Colonel Van Rensselaer was severely wounded on that day.

CHAPTER XIV.

“ He bleeds, he falls, his death-bed is the field !
His dirge the trumpet, and his bier the shield !
His closing eyes the beam of valour speak,
The flush of ardour lingers on his cheek ;
Serene he lifts to heaven those closing eyes,
Then for his country breathes a prayer, and dies ! ”

Mrs. HEMANS.

The Americans, burning to wipe away the stain of their discomfiture at Detroit, and apparently determined to penetrate into Upper Canada at any risk, concentrated with those views, along the Niagara frontier, an army consisting, according to their own official returns, of 5,206 men, under Major-General Van Rensselaer, of the New York militia ; exclusive of 300 field and light artillery, 800 of the 6th, 13th, and 23d regiments, at Fort Niagara ; making a total of 6,300 men. Of this powerful force, 1,640 regulars, under the command of Brigadier Smyth, were at Black Rock ; 386 militia at the last named place and Buffalo ; and 900 regulars and 2,270 militia at Lewistown, distant from Black Rock 28 miles. Thus the enemy had, along their frontier of 36 miles, 3,650 regulars and 2,650 militia.* To oppose this force Major-General Brock, whose head quarters were at Fort George, had under his immediate orders part of the 41st and 49th regiments, a few companies of militia, amounting to nearly half these regulars, and from 200 to 300 Indians—in all about 1,500 men—but so dispersed in different posts at and between

* James' Military Occurrences.

Fort Erie and Fort George, (34 miles apart,) that only a small number was quickly available at any one point. With unwearied diligence the British commander watched the motions of the enemy; but under these circumstances it was impossible to prevent the landing of the hostile troops, especially when their preparations were favored by the obscurity of the night.

On the 9th of October, the brig *Detroit*, of 200 tons and 6 guns, (lately the U. S. brig *Adams*,) and the North-West Company's brig *Caledonia*, of about 100 tons, having arrived the preceding day from *Detroit*, were boarded and carried opposite Fort Erie, before the dawn of day, by Lieutenant Elliott, of the American navy, with 100 seamen and soldiers in two large boats. This officer was at this time at Black Rock, superintending the equipment of some schooners, lately purchased for the service of Lake Erie. But for the *defensive* measures to which Major-General Brock was restricted, he would probably have destroyed these very schooners, for whose equipment, as vessels of war, Lieutenant Elliott and 50 seamen had been sent from New York. The two British brigs contained 40 prisoners, some cannon and small arms, captured at *Detroit*, exclusive of a valuable quantity of furs belonging to the South-West Company, in the *Caledonia*. Joined by the prisoners, the Americans who boarded numbered 140, and the crews of the two brigs, consisting of militia and Canadian seamen, amounted to 68. After the capture, Lieutenant Elliott succeeded in getting the *Caledonia* close under the batteries at Black Rock, but he was compelled by a few well-directed shots from the Canadian shore, to run the *Detroit* upon Squaw Island. Here she was boarded by a subaltern's detachment from Fort Erie, and the Americans soon after completed her destruction by setting her on fire. Some lives were lost on this occasion, and among the Americans a Major Cuyler was killed by a shot from Fort Erie, as he was riding along the

beach on the opposite side of the river. It will be seen by the following letter that Sir George Prevost is tacitly reproached for having, by his instructions, prevented the destruction, or at least the attempt, of the incipient American navy on Lake Erie, and which the following year wrested its command from the British. But Sir Isaac Brock's hands were tied, and he was doomed to "the bitterest of all griefs, to see clearly and yet to be able to do nothing."

Sir Isaac Brock to Sir George Prevost.

FORT GEORGE, October 11, 1812.

I had scarcely closed my dispatch to your excellency, of the 9th, when I was suddenly called away to Fort Erie, in consequence of a bold, and, I regret to say, successful attack by the enemy on his majesty's brig Detroit, and the private brig Caledonia, which had both arrived the preceding day from Amherstburg. It appears by every account I have been able to collect, that a little before day a number of boats full of men, dropped down with the current unobserved, boarded both vessels at the same moment, and, cutting their cables, were proceeding with them to the American shore, when Major Ormsby, who witnessed the transaction, directed the batteries to open upon them, and soon compelled the enemy to abandon the Detroit, which grounded about the centre of Squaw Island, a little more than a mile below Black Rock. She was then boarded by a party of the 49th regiment; but as no anchor remained, and being otherwise unprovided with every means by which she could be hauled off, the officer, throwing her guns overboard, after sustaining a smart fire of musketry, decided to quit her. A private, who is accused of getting drunk, and a prisoner of war, who was unable from his wounds to escape, with about twenty prisoners brought by the Detroit from Amherstburg, remained however behind; these it became

necessary to remove before the vessel could be destroyed, and Cornet Pell Major, of the provincial cavalry, offered his services. Being unfortunately wounded as he was getting on board, and falling back into the boat, a confusion arose, during which the boat drifted from the vessel, leaving on board two of the 41st, who had previously ascended. In the mean time the Caledonia was secured by the enemy, and a cargo of furs, belonging to the South-West Company, landed.

The batteries on both sides were warmly engaged the whole of the day, but I am happy to say no mischief was sustained by the enemy's fire. I reached the spot soon after sun-set, and intended to have renewed the attempt to recover the Detroit, which I had every prospect of accomplishing, assisted by the crew of the *Lady Prevost*, which vessel had anchored a short time before; but before the necessary arrangements could be made, the enemy boarded her, and in a few minutes she was seen in flames.

This event is particularly unfortunate, and may reduce us to incalculable distress. The enemy is making every exertion to gain a naval superiority on both lakes, which if they accomplish I do not see how we can retain the country. More vessels are fitting out for war on the other side of Squaw Island, which I should have attempted to destroy but for your excellency's repeated instructions to forbear. Now such a force is collected for their protection as will render every operation against them very hazardous. The manner our guns were served yesterday, points out the necessity of an increase, if possible, of artillerymen to our present small number of regulars. The militia evinced a good spirit, but fired without much effect. The enemy, however, must have lost some men; and it is only wonderful that, in a contest of a whole day, no life was lost on our side. The fire of the enemy was incessant, but badly directed, till the close of the day, when it began to improve.

Lieutenant Rolette, who commanded the *Detroit*, had, and I believe deservedly, the character of a brave, attentive officer. His vessel must, however, have been surprised—an easy operation where she lay at anchor; and I have reason to suspect that this consideration was not sufficiently attended to by the officers commanding on board and on shore.*

We have not only sustained a heavy loss in the vessel, but likewise in the cargo, which consisted of four 12-pounders, a large quantity of shot, and about 200 muskets, all of which were intended for Kingston and Prescott.

The only consolation remaining is, that she escaped the enemy, whose conduct, after his first essay, did not entitle him to so rich a prize. The enemy has brought some boats over land from Schlosher to the Niagara river, and made an attempt last night to carry off the guard over the store at Queenstown. I shall refrain as long as possible, under your excellency's positive injunctions, from every hostile act, although sensible that each day's delay gives him an advantage.

Sir Isaac Brock to Colonel Proctor, at Detroit.

The unfortunate disaster which has befallen the *Detroit* and *Caledonia* will reduce us to great distress. They were boarded whilst at anchor at Fort Erie and carried off: you will learn the particulars from others. A quantity of flour and a little pork were ready to be shipped for Amherstburg; but as I send you the flank companies of the Newfoundland, no part of the provisions can go this trip in the *Lady Prevost*. It will be necessary to direct her to return with all possible speed, bringing the *Mary* under her convoy. You will husband your pork, for I am sorry to say there is but little in the country.

* Sir Isaac Brock was much displeased, and justly, at the want of precaution which allowed these two vessels to be captured under the guns of Fort Erie; and, we believe, that he immediately entrusted its command to Lieut.-Colonel Myers, in whom he had great confidence.

An active, interesting scene is going to commence with you. I am perfectly at ease as to the result, provided we can manage the Indians and keep them attached to your cause, which in fact is theirs.

The fate of the province is in your hands. Judging by every appearance, we are not to remain long idle in this quarter. Were it not for the positive injunctions of the commander of the forces, I should have acted with greater decision. This forbearance may be productive of ultimate good, but I doubt its policy—but perhaps we have not the means of judging correctly. You will of course adopt a very different line of conduct. The enemy must be kept in a state of constant ferment. If the Indians act as they did under Tecumseh, who probably might be induced to return to Amherstburg, that army will very soon dwindle to nothing. Your artillery must be more numerous and effective than any the enemy can bring, and your store of ammunition will enable you to harass him continually, without leaving much to chance.

I trust you will have destroyed every barrack and public building, and removed the pickets and other defences around the fort at Detroit.

You will have the goodness to state the expedients you possess to enable us to replace, as far as possible, the heavy loss we have sustained in the Detroit. Should I hear of reinforcements coming up, you may rely upon receiving your due proportion. Nothing new at Montreal on the 25th ult. Lord Wellington has totally defeated Marmont, near Salamanca.* I consider the game nearly up in Spain. May every possible success attend you.

[The preceding letter is transcribed from a rough copy in the general's handwriting, and, not being dated, may not have been transmitted, as it was written only a day or two before his death.]

* "It is also creditable to the military character of the little island of Guernsey, that of the five British generals killed in action in 1812, two, whose names follow in the obituary of the *Annual Army List* for 1813, were Major-General Le Marchant, 6th Dragoon Guards, at the battle of Salamanca, and Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K. B., 49th foot, in America."—*Duncan's History of Guernsey*.

Major-General Brock to Sir George Prevost.

October 12, 1812.

The vast number of troops which have been this day added to the strong force previously collected on the opposite side, convinces me, with other indications, that an attack is not far distant. I have in consequence directed every exertion to be made to complete the militia to 2,000 men, but fear that I shall not be able to effect my object with willing, well-disposed characters. Were it not for the numbers of Americans in our ranks, we might defy all their efforts against this part of the province.

[The above letter is also from a copy written hurriedly by Sir Isaac Brock only a few hours before his death, and it may not have been forwarded. This was probably the last time he ever wrote.]

A day or two prior to the battle of Queenstown, Major-General Brock wrote copious instructions for the guidance of the officers commanding at the different posts on the Niagara river, in the event of their being attacked, and he explained the probable points which he thought the enemy would select for accomplishing his descent. He evidently entertained a high opinion of the discipline and prowess of the British soldier, as in these instructions he observed: "If we weigh well the character of our enemy, we shall find him more disposed to brave the impediments of nature, when they afford him a probability of accomplishing his end by surprise, in preference to the certainty of encountering British troops ready formed for his reception." The original draft of these instructions in the general's writing, contains scarcely an erasure or correction.

On the 4th of October, an American spy was sent to the British side, and returned with information that Major-General Brock had proceeded to Detroit with all the force that could be spared from the Niagara frontier. Encouraged by these false news,

which perhaps the American general circulated to induce his troops to cross over, every preparation was made for a descent upon Queenstown. On the morning of the 11th, the enemy assembled a force at Lewistown, opposite to Queenstown, with the view of making an immediate attack on the latter; but, through some mismanagement in conducting the boats to the place of embarkation, the attack was delayed. Early on the morning of Tuesday, the 13th, the enemy's troops were again concentrated and embarked in thirteen boats at Lewistown, under cover of a commanding battery of two 18 and two 6-pounders, which, with two field-pieces, completely commanded every part of the opposite shore, from which musketry could be effectual in opposing a landing. The only British batteries from which the enemy could be annoyed in the passage were one, mounting an 18-pounder, upon Queenstown Heights, and another, mounting a 24-pound carronade, situate a little below the village. Three of the boats put back, while the remaining ten, with 225 regulars, besides officers, struck the shore a little above the village of Queenstown, and immediately returned for more troops. The British force in Queenstown consisted of the two flank companies of the 49th regiment and the York volunteer militia, amounting in all to about 300 rank and file. Of these about 60, taken from the 49th grenadiers, and Captain Hatt's company of militia, under Captain Dennis,* of the 49th, advanced at four o'clock, a. m., with a 3-pounder against the first division of the enemy, under Colonel Van Rensselaer, who had formed his men near the river, and was awaiting the arrival of the next boats. The Americans were driven with some loss behind a steep bank, close to the water's edge, where they were reinforced by a fresh supply of troops, and whence they returned the fire of the British. In the mean time, the re-

* The present Colonel Sir James Dennis, K. C. B., lieut.-colonel 3d foot: an officer of above fifty years full-pay service, and several times wounded.

mainder of the 49th grenadiers and of the militia company joined Captain Dennis; while the 49th light company, under Captain Williams, with Captain Chisholm's company of militia, stationed on the brow of the hill, fired down upon the invaders.

Sir Isaac Brock for some days had suspected this invasion, and the evening preceding it he called his staff together, and gave to each the necessary instructions. Agreeably to his usual custom, he rose before daylight, and hearing the cannonade, awoke Major Glegg and called for his horse, Alfred, which Sir James Craig had presented to him. 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 the *ruse* had succeeded. He, therefore, determined to ascertain personally the nature of the attack ere he withdrew the garrison; and with this view he galloped eagerly from Fort George to the scene of action, passing, with his two aides-de-camp, 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, which at that moment appeared highly favorable. But in a few minutes a 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 rocks, which, being reported as impassable, was not guarded. Sir Isaac Brock and his aides-de-camp had not even time to remount, but were obliged to retire precipitately with the twelve men stationed in the battery, which was quickly occupied by the ene-

* This officer is, we believe, the American general of that name, now engaged in the war against Mexico.

my. He now dispatched orders to Major-General Sheaffe to hasten up with the troops from Fort George, and also for the battering of the American fort Niagara.* Captain Wool having sent forward about 150 regulars, Captain Williams' detachment, of about 100 men, advanced to meet them, personally directed by the general, who, observing the enemy to waver, ordered a charge, which was promptly executed; but as the Americans gave way, the result was not equal to his expectations. Captain Wool admits that he reinforced his regulars, "notwithstanding which the whole were driven to the edge of the bank." † Here some of the American officers were on the point of hoisting a white flag, with an intention to surrender, when Captain Wool tore it off, and reanimated his dispirited troops. They now opened a heavy fire of musketry; and conspicuous from his dress, his height, and the enthusiasm with which he animated his little band, the British commander was soon singled out, and he fell about an hour after his arrival, the fatal bullet entering his right breast and passing through his left side. He had that instant said: "Push on the York volunteers;" and he lived only long enough to request that his fall might not be noticed or prevent the advance of his brave troops, adding a wish, which could not be distinctly understood, that some token of remembrance should be transmitted to his sister. ‡ He died unmarried, and on the same day a week previously, he had completed his forty-third year. The lifeless corpse was immediately conveyed into a

* This was done with so much effect by Brigade-Major Evans, who was left in charge, that its fire was silenced, and its garrison was compelled to abandon it.

† See Captain Wool's letter, Appendix A, Section 2, No. 3.

‡ An old pensioner, mentioned in the second chapter, and now residing in Guernsey, who was in the light company of the 49th, at Queenstown, tells us that he was close to the general when he was shot—that he fell on his face, and that on one of the men running up to ask him if he were hurt, he answered: "Push on, don't mind me." The pensioner also says, that he never saw so many gentlemen and ladies shed tears as at General Brock's funeral, and that even the Indians and their wives wept bitterly.

house at Queenstown, where it remained until the afternoon, unperceived by the enemy. His provincial aide-de-camp, Lieut.-Colonel M'Donell, of the militia, and the attorney-general of Upper Canada—a fine promising young man—was mortally wounded soon after his chief, and died the next day, at the early age of twenty-five years. Although one bullet had passed through his body, and he was wounded in four places, yet he survived twenty hours; and during a period of excruciating agony, his thoughts and words were constantly occupied with lamentations for his deceased commander and friend. He fell while gallantly charging, “with the hereditary courage of his race,” up the hill with 190 men, chiefly of the York volunteers, by which charge the enemy was compelled to spike the 18-pounder in the battery there; and his memory will be cherished as long as courage and devotion are revered in the province.

The flank companies of the 49th having suffered severely, and both their captains being wounded, the disputed ground was lost soon after the death of the general, and the troops retreated in front of Vromont's battery, where they awaited the expected reinforcements. The Americans remained in quiet possession of the heights of Queenstown for some hours, during which they were but partially reinforced, as their militia, who a day or two before were so anxious to invade Canada—having heard from the wounded men sent back what they must expect if they came in contact with the 49th, “the green tigers,” as they called them from their green facings—could not now be induced, either by threat or entreaty, to cross the river. Indeed, the flank companies of the 49th, in the excitement arising from the loss of their late beloved colonel, are said to have fought with such animosity throughout the day, as to have fully supported this new title. In the meanwhile, Major-General Sheaffe arrived from Fort George with nearly 400 of the 41st regiment, under Captain

Derenzy, from 2 to 300 militia, and 250 Indians; and—after being joined by the remnant of the 49th flank companies and the militia, engaged in the morning, and leaving two field-pieces with 30 men in front of Queenstown, to prevent its occupation by the Americans—he proceeded by a circuitous route to the right, to gain the crest of the heights upon which the enemy was posted, and thus took them in flank. Here he was reinforced by the arrival of the 41st grenadiers and some militia from Chippawah, the whole of the British and Indian force thus assembled rather exceeding 1,000 men of all grades, of whom nearly 600 were regulars. In numbers the Americans were about equal—courage they had, but they wanted the confidence and discipline of British soldiers. The undoubted prowess of the latter needs not to be raised at the expense of truth; and in common justice it must also be added, that the enemy had only one field-piece, a 6-pounder, while General Sheaffe in his dispatch, observed: “I am particularly indebted to Captain Holcroft, of the royal artillery, for his judicious and skilful co-operation with the guns and howitzers under his immediate superintendence; their well directed fire contributed materially to the fortunate result of the day.”*

The Indians, being more active than the white troops in ascending the hill, first came, at about two

* In a brief record of Sir Roger Sheaffe's services, in Hart's Annual Army List, it is stated, that at Queenstown the American general surrendered himself and his surviving troops, “their numbers far exceeding the assailants.” We cannot reconcile this statement with that of “James,” a very correct writer, or with Major-General Sheaffe's own dispatch, dated Fort George, October 13, but written deliberately a day or two afterwards, as, after mentioning that “many officers, with 900 men, have been made prisoners,” he adds: “I have not been able to ascertain yet the number of (our) troops, or of those of the enemy engaged; ours, I believe, did not exceed the number of the prisoners we have taken.” Thus, a day or two after the battle, General Sheaffe *believed* that his troops engaged amounted to *at least* 950 men, including probably only the rank and file, and, if so, about 1050 of all ranks. And, notwithstanding, in the *United Service Gazette* of November 22, 1845, it is asserted, apparently on the authority of Sir R. Sheaffe, that “the force under his command amounted, by *official* returns, to 740 men, not one half of whom were regulars, and the prisoners captured to 950”!! If this assertion be correct, which we much doubt, every authority that we have consulted, not excepting the above dispatch, is singularly at fault.

o'clock in the afternoon, in contact with the enemy, and drove him before them; but the Americans soon rallied and repulsed their assailants, who fell back upon the main body. The British, after a little firing, and setting up a shout, which was accompanied by the war-whoop of the Indians, advanced at the double quick or running pace, when the enemy, perceiving the hopelessness of resistance, fled down the hill after a very feeble contest.* The slaughter was unhappily protracted, because the Indians could not at first be restrained. The Americans, who attempted to escape into the woods, were quickly driven back by the Indians; and many, cut off in their return to the main body, and terrified at the sight of these exasperated warriors, flung themselves wildly over the cliffs, and endeavoured to cling to the bushes which grew upon them; but some, losing their hold, were dashed frightfully on the rocks beneath; while others, who reached the river, perished in their attempts to swim across it. Such, alas! are the dreadful horrors too often arising from human warfare! A flag of truce soon came from the American commander, with the offer of an unconditional surrender; and Brigadier Wadsworth, and about 950 officers and privates, were made prisoners. Of these a large proportion were officers, there being, by an American list before us, in which the names and ranks are given, 51 officers (exclusive of two sergeant-majors) of the New York militia, and 20 only of the regulars; total, 71 officers. The death of the British general is said to have cost the invaders many a life on that day, which otherwise had been spared. Their loss was 90 killed and about 100 wounded, while that of the British and Indians was 16 killed and 69 wounded.† Nearly, if not, the whole of these were killed

* "The Americans sustained but a short conflict, ere they fled with precipitation towards the point at which they had first landed."—*James' Military Occurrences.*

† Major-General Sheaffe, in his dispatch of 13th October, eulogizes Captains Dennis and Williams, of the 49th; Captains Derency and Bul-

or wounded early in the morning. The victory, though easily won, was complete; but it was felt by the conquerors as a poor compensation for the loss of the British chieftain, thus prematurely cut off in the pride of manhood and in the noon-tide of his career; while the sorrow manifested throughout both provinces proved that those who rejoiced in the failure of this second invasion, would gladly have forgone the triumph, if by such means they could have regained him who rendered the heights of Queens-town memorable by his fall.

Joy's bursting shout in whelming grief was drowned,
 And Victory's self unwilling audience found;
 On every brow the cloud of sadness hung,—
 The sounds of triumph died on every tongue!

“The news of the death of this excellent officer,” observed the Quebec Gazette, “has been received here as a public calamity. The attendant circumstances of victory scarcely checked the painful sensation. His long residence in this province, and particularly in this place, had made him in habits and good offices almost a citizen; and his frankness, conciliatory disposition, and elevated demeanour, an estimable one. The expressions of regret as general as he was known, and not uttered by friends and acquaintance only, but by every gradation of class, not only by grown persons, but young children, are the test of his worth. Such too is the only eulogium worthy of the good and brave, and the citizens of Quebec have, with solemn emotions, pronounced it on his memory. But at this anxious moment other

lock, of the 41st; Brigade-Major Evans, Colonel Claus, Captain Vigoreaux, R. E., Captains Powell and Cameron, of the militia artillery; Lieutenants Crowther and Fowler, 41st regiment; Captain Glegg, aide-de-camp; Lieutenant Kerr, Glengary Fencibles; Lieut.-Colonels Butler and Clark, and Major Merritt, of the militia; and Captains Hatt, Durand, Rowe, Applegarth, James, Crooks, Cooper, Robert Hamilton, M'Even, and Duncan Cameron; and Lieutenants Richardson and Thomas Butler, commanding flank companies of the York and Lincoln militia; Captain A. Hamilton; Volunteers Shaw, Thomson, and Jarvis, attached to the flank companies of the 49th regiment; and the Indian chief, Norton.

feelings are excited by his loss. General Brock had acquired the confidence of the inhabitants within his government. He had secured their attachment permanently by his own merits. They were one people animated by one disposition, and this he had gradually wound up to the crisis in which they were placed. Strange as it may seem, it is to be feared that he had become too important to them. The heroic militia of Upper Canada, more particularly, had knit themselves to his person; and it is yet to be ascertained whether the desire to avenge his death can compensate the many embarrassments it will occasion. It is indeed true that the spirit, and even the abilities, of a distinguished man often carry their influence beyond the grave; and the present event furnishes its own example, for it is certain, notwithstanding General Brock was cut off early in the action, that he had already given an impulse to his little army, which contributed to accomplish the victory when he was no more. Let us trust that the recollection of him will become a new bond of union, and that, as he sacrificed himself for a community of patriots, they will find a new motive to exertion in the obligation to secure his ashes from the pestilential dominion of the enemy."

A Montreal newspaper of the day also contained the following observations: "The private letters from Upper Canada, in giving the account of the late victory at Queenstown, are partly taken up with encomiastic lamentations upon the never-to-be-forgotten General Brock, which do honor to the character and talents of the man they deplore. The enemy have nothing to hope from the loss they have inflicted; they have created a hatred which panteth for revenge. Although General Brock may be said to have fallen in the midst of his career, yet his previous services in Upper Canada will be lasting and highly beneficial. When he assumed the government of the province,

he found a divided, disaffected, and, of course, a weak people. He has left them united and strong, and the universal sorrow of the province attends his fall. The father, to his children, will make known the mournful story. The veteran, who fought by his side in the heat and burthen of the day of our deliverance, will venerate his name.”*

In his dispatch to Sir George Prevost, dated Fort George, October 13, Major-General Sheaffe said: “On receiving intelligence of it, (the attack on Queenstown,) Major-General Brock immediately proceeded to that post; and, I am excessively grieved in having to add, that he fell whilst gallantly cheering his troops to an exertion for maintaining it. With him the position was lost. . . . Our loss I believe to have been comparatively small in numbers: no officer was killed besides Major-General Brock, one of the most gallant and zealous officers in his majesty’s service, whose loss cannot be too much deplored, and Lieut.-Colonel M’Donell, provincial aide-de-camp, whose gallantry and merit render him worthy of his chief.”† And Sir George Prevost, in transmitting this letter, observed: “His majesty and the country have to deplore the loss of an able and most gallant officer in Major-General Brock, who fell early in the battle, at the head of the flank companies of the 49th regiment, whilst nobly encouraging them to sustain their position in opposition to an infinitely superior force, until the reinforcements he had ordered to advance to their support would arrive.” The remarks of both generals strike us as somewhat tame and hackneyed;‡ but it is not every Nelson

* “Death and Victory:” a sermon under this title was preached by the Rev. William Smart, at Brockville, Elizabethtown, November 15, on the death of Major-General Brock, and published at the request of the officers stationed at that post, and of the gentlemen of the village. The text was: “How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle.”

† Lieut.-Colonel M’Donell died on the 14th of October.

‡ Brigadier Townshend, who, in consequence of the death of Wolfe and the wounds of Brigadier Monckton, wrote the dispatch announcing the

whose death in battle is recorded by a Collingwood, and the sentiments of the British government on the melancholy occasion were far more appropriately and elegantly expressed in a dispatch from Earl Bathurst, the secretary of state for the colonies, to Sir George Prevost, dated December 8, 1812: "His royal highness the prince regent is fully aware of the severe loss which his majesty's service has experienced in the death of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock. This would have been sufficient to have clouded a victory of much greater importance. His majesty has lost in him not only an able and meritorious officer, but one who, in the exercise of his functions of provisional lieutenant-governor of the province, displayed qualities admirably adapted to awe the disloyal, to reconcile the wavering, and to animate the great mass of the inhabitants against successive attempts of the enemy to invade the province, in the last of which he unhappily fell, too prodigal of that life of which his eminent services had taught us to understand the value."*

His lordship added: "His royal highness has been also pleased to express his regret at the loss which the province must experience in the death of the attorney-general, Mr. M'Donell, whose zealous co-operation with Sir Isaac Brock will reflect lasting honor on his memory."

The Montreal Herald of April 29, 1815, blames Sir George Prevost for having suppressed all but the

victory near Quebec, 13th September, 1759, has been justly accused of an ungenerous indifference to the memory of the great man who led him to victory, because in that dispatch, dated 20th September, or a week after the victory, the only mention he made of the hero was the following: "Our troops reserved their fire till within fifty yards, which was then so well continued, that the enemy every where gave way. It was then that our illustrious general fell at the head of Bragge's and the Louisburg grenadiers, advancing with their bayonets; and about the same time Brigadier-General Monckton received his wound at the head of Lascelles."

* The prince regent, afterwards George the Fourth, told the late John Julius Angerstein, Esq., who was a friend of one of Sir Isaac Brock's brothers, that if the general had survived the battle of Queenstown, his royal highness would have made him a baronet, and conferred upon him a pension of, we think, £1,200 a year.

first sentence of Lord Bathurst's letter relating to Sir Isaac Brock, which sentence only was given in his general order to the army of 10th March, 1813, "because the sentiments expressed by the prince are those of the loyal people of Upper Canada, who would be glad to have seen them soon after the official letter arrived in Canada." And "considering the character of the distinguished chief who fell on the British side at the Queenstown battle,"* we certainly do think that this very handsome acknowledgment of his services and eloquent tribute to his memory should, even as a matter of policy, have been immediately published without mutilation.

The Canadian boat songs are well known for their plaintive and soothing effect, and a very beautiful one was composed on the death of Major-General Brock. The writer of this memoir, while sailing one evening in the straits of Canso, in British North America—the beautiful and picturesque scenery of which greatly increased the effect of the words—remembers to have heard it sung by a Canadian boatman, and he then thought that he had never listened to vocal sounds more truly descriptive of melancholy and regret. Even the young in Canada invoked the Muse in expression of their sympathy, and the following lines were indited by Miss Ann Bruyeres, described as "an extraordinary child of thirteen years old," the daughter of the general's friend, Lieut.-Colonel Bruyeres, of the Royal Engineers, who died not long after him in consequence of disease contracted in the field :

As Fame alighted on the mountain's † crest,
 She loudly blew her trumpet's mighty blast ;
 Ere she repeated Victory's notes, she cast
 A look around, and stopped : of power bereft,
 Her bosom heaved, her breath she drew with pain,
 Her favorite Brock lay slaughtered on the plain !
 Glory threw on his grave a laurel wreath,
 And Fame proclaims "a hero sleeps beneath."

* James' Military Occurrences.

† The mountain above Queenstown, where Major-General Brock was slain.

As if to complete the double allusion to Fame in the preceding lines, singularly enough the mournful intelligence of Sir Isaac Brock's death was brought from Quebec to Guernsey by the ship *FAME*, belonging to that island, on Tuesday, the 24th November, two days before it was known in London.

Sir Isaac Brock, after lying in state at the government house, where his body was bedewed with the tears of many affectionate friends, was interred on the 16th of October, with his provincial aide-de-camp, at Fort George.* His surviving aide-de-camp, Major Glegg, recollecting the decided aversion of the general to every thing that bore the appearance of ostentatious display, endeavoured to clothe the distressing ceremony with all his "native simplicity." But at the same time there were military honors that could not be withheld, and the following was the order of the mournful procession, "of which," wrote Major Glegg, "I enclose a plan; but no pen can describe the real scenes of that mournful day. A more solemn and affecting spectacle was perhaps never witnessed. As every arrangement connected with that afflicting ceremony fell to my lot, a second attack being hourly expected, and the minds of all being fully occupied with the duties of their respective stations, I anxiously endeavoured to perform this last tribute of affection in a manner corresponding with the elevated virtues of my departed patron. Conceiving that an interment in every respect military would be the most appropriate to the character of our dear friend, I made choice of a cavalier bastion in Fort George, which his aspiring genius had lately suggested, and which had been just finished under his daily superintendence."

* The survivors of the flank companies of the 49th were marched from Queenstown to be present at the funeral, and they were severally admitted to view the coffin, which contained the remains of their late beloved commander.

Fort Major Campbell.
 Sixty Men of the 41st Regiment, commanded by a Subaltern.
 Sixty of the Militia, commanded by a Captain.
 Two Six-Pounders—firing minute guns.
 Remaining Corps and Detachments of the Garrison, with about 200 Indians, in reversed order, forming a street through which the procession passed, extending from the government house to the garrison.
 Band of the 41st Regiment.
 Drums, covered with black cloth, and muffled.
 Late General's Horse, fully caparisoned, led by four Grooms.
 Servants of the General.
 The General's Body Servant.
 Surgeon Muirhead. Doctor Kerr.
 Doctor Moore. Staff Surgeon Thom.
 Reverend Mr. Addison.

(The Body of Lieut.-Colonel M'Donell, P. A. D. C.)

Capt. A. Cameron.

Lieut. Jarvis.*

Lieut. J. B. Robinson.†

Lieut. Ridout.

J. Edwards, Esq.

Capt. Crooks.

Supporter,
 Mr. Dickson.

Supporter,
 Captain Cameron.

Chief Mourner.
 Mr. M'Donell.

(The Body of Major-General Brock.)

Supporter,
 James Coffin, Esq., D. A. C. G.

Supporter,
 Captain Williams, 49th Regt.

Capt. Vigoreaux, R. E.

Major Merritt, L. H. Lin. Mil.

Capt. Derenzy, 41st Regt.

Lieut.-Col. Clark, Lin. Mil.

Capt. Dennis, 49th Regt.

Lieut.-Col. Butler.

Capt. Holcroft, R. A.

Colonel Claus.

Supporter,
 Brigade-Major Evans.

Supporter,
 Captain Glegg, A. D. C.

Chief Mourners.

Major-General Sheaffe.
 Ensign Coffin, A. D. C.

Lieut.-Colonel Myers, D. Q. M. G.
 Lieut. Fowler, A. D. Q. M. G.

The Civil Staff.
 Friends of the Deceased.
 Inhabitants.‡

* Lieutenant: (afterwards Colonel) Jarvis of the militia, accompanied Major-General Brock to Amherstburg, and fought bravely at Queenstown.

† Lieutenant Robinson also accompanied the general to Amherstburg, and fought gallantly at Queenstown; he is now the eminent chief justice of Upper Canada.

‡ Extracted from the York Gazette, October 24, 1812.

Such was the esteem in which Sir Isaac Brock was held by the enemies of his country, for he had or could have no personal enemies, that Major-General Van Rensselaer, in a letter of condolence, informed Major-General Sheaffe that immediately after the funeral solemnities* were over on the British side, a compliment of minute guns would be paid to the hero's memory on theirs!!! Accordingly, the cannon at Fort Niagara were fired, "as a mark of respect due to a brave enemy."† How much is it then to be regretted that we should ever come into collision with those who possess the same origin and the same language as ourselves, and who, by this generous feeling and conduct, proved that they are a liberal, as they undoubtedly are a gallant, people; and may the future rivalry of both powers be, not for the unnatural destruction of each other, but for the benefit of mankind. No words can better express the favorable opinion entertained by the Americans of the deceased than the language of their president, Madison, who, alluding to the battle of Queenstown in his annual message to congress, observed: "Our loss has been considerable, and is deeply to be lamented. That of the enemy, less ascertained, will be the more felt, as it includes amongst the killed the commanding general, who was also the governor of the province."‡

* *Extract from D. G. O. for the Funeral.*

The officers will wear crape on their left arms and on their sword knots, and all officers will, throughout the province, wear crape on their left arm for the space of one month.

Captain Holcroft will be pleased to direct that minute guns be fired from the period of the bodies leaving government house until their arrival at the place of interment; and also, after the funeral service shall have been performed, three rounds of seven guns from the artillery.

By order.

THOMAS EVANS, B. M.

† "I well remember the tribute of respect paid by the enemy, and the melancholy satisfaction it afforded to those who were so bitterly lamenting their irreparable loss. General Brock was not only admired and respected by the American people; but he was in truth very kindly regarded by them. In his arrangements consequent on the capture of Fort Detroit, they had an opportunity of observing that honest frankness, and warm benevolence of heart, which characterized him. He showed the greatest liberality and most indulgent consideration in dealing with and disposing of the various descriptions of force which surrendered to him on that occasion. I believe no man ever heard either friend or foe speak unkindly of General Brock."—*Chief Justice Robinson.*

Ere we proceed to delineate the person and character of this able soldier and excellent man, we shall transcribe the sketches of two strangers,* lest the portrait of a relative should be deemed too highly coloured. That portrait has been drawn by them with a master hand, especially the first; and although feelingly alive to our incompetency for the task, we also must endeavour, with a trembling pen, to do justice to the memory of the hero.

“Thus ended in their total discomfiture,” says Christie in his *Historical Memoirs*, already cited, “the second attempt of the Americans to invade Upper Canada. The loss of the British is said to have been about 20 killed, including Indians, and between 50 and 60 wounded. The fall of General Brock, the idol of the army and of the people of Upper Canada, was an irreparable loss, and cast a shade over the glory of this dear-bought victory. He was a native of Guernsey, of an ancient and reputable family, distinguished in the profession of arms. He had served for many years in Canada, and in some of the principal campaigns in Europe. He commanded a detachment of his favorite 49th regiment, on the expedition to Copenhagen with Lord Nelson, where he distinguished himself. He was one of those extraordinary men who seem born to influence mankind, and mark the age in which they live. Conscious of the ascendancy of his genius over those who surrounded him, he blended the mildest of manners with the severity and discipline of a camp; and though his deportment was somewhat grave and imposing, the noble frankness of his character imparted at once confidence and respect to those who had occasion to approach his person. As a soldier, he was brave to a fault, and not less judicious than decisive in his measures. The energy of his character was strongly expressed in his countenance, and in the robust and

* For brief extracts relative to Sir Isaac Brock from other authors, see Appendix A, Section 1, No. 7.

manly symmetry of his frame. As a civil governor, he was firm, prudent, and equitable. In fine, whether we view him as a man, a statesman, or a soldier, he equally deserves the esteem and respect of his contemporaries and of posterity. The Indians who flocked to his standard were attached to him with almost enthusiastic affection, and the enemy even expressed an involuntary regret at his untimely fall. His prodigality of life bereft the country of his services at the early age of forty-two years. The remains of this gallant officer were, during the funeral service, honored with a discharge of minute guns from the American, as well as the British, batteries; and with those of his faithful aide-de-camp, Lieut.-Colonel M'Donell, were interred in the same grave at Fort George, on the 16th October, amidst the tears of an affectionate soldiery and a grateful people, who will cherish his memory with veneration, and hand to their posterity the imperishable name of BROCK."

"General Brock was killed at the battle of Queens-town heights," observes Howison in his Sketches of Upper Canada, "and the place where he fell was pointed out to me. The Canadians hold the memory of this brave and excellent man in great veneration, but have not yet attempted to testify their respect for his virtues in any way, except by shewing to strangers the spot on which he received his mortal wound. He was more popular, and more beloved by the inhabitants of Upper Canada, than any man they ever had among them, and with reason; for he possessed in an eminent degree those virtues which add lustre to bravery, and those talents that shine alike in the cabinet and in the field. His manners and dispositions were so conciliating as to gain the affection of all whom he commanded, while his innate nobleness and dignity of mind secured him a respect almost amounting to veneration. He is now styled the Hero of Upper Canada, and, had he lived, there is no

doubt but the war would have terminated very differently from what it did. The Canadian farmers are not over-burthened with sensibility, yet I have seen several of them shed tears when an eulogium was pronounced upon the immortal and generous-minded deliverer of their country.

“General Brock was killed close to the road that leads through Queenstown village, and an aged thorn bush now marks the place where he fell, when the fatal ball entered his vitals. This spot may be called classic ground, for a view of it must awaken in the minds of all those who duly appreciate the greatness of his character, and are acquainted with the nature of his resources and exertions, feelings as warm and enthusiastic as the contemplation of monuments consecrated by antiquity can ever do.”

Nature had been very bountiful to Sir Isaac Brock in those personal gifts which appear to such peculiar advantage in the army, and at the first glance the soldier and the gentleman were seen. In stature he was tall,* erect, athletic, and well proportioned, although in his latter years his figure was perhaps too portly; and when a young man, at the head of his company of grenadiers, he attracted general observation by his martial presence. His fine and benevolent countenance was a perfect index of his mind, and his manners were courteous, frank, and engaging, although both denoted a fixedness of purpose which could not be mistaken. In society he was a modest man, greatly disliking parade or ostentation, and one who knew him well never remembers him to have made an illnated remark. Brave, liberal, and humane; devoted to his sovereign, and loving his country with romantic fondness; in command so gentle and persuasive, yet so firm, that he possessed the rare faculty of acquiring both the respect and the attachment of all who served under him. When, in

* In height about, or nearly, six feet two inches.

July, 1805, he resigned the charge of the troops in Quebec to Colonel Bowes, it was remarked how much the discipline of the garrison had improved under his command. Had his talents been exerted on a European field, there is every reason to suppose that his sphere of fame, if not of usefulness, would have been greatly extended; but as his memory is warmly cherished by the people among whom he fell, his fate, premature as it was, is still enviable, notwithstanding that their applause fell on "the dull, cold ear of death." If his anxiety ever to shew a good example by being foremost in danger, induced him to expose himself more than strict prudence or punctilio warranted, it must be remembered that every thing depended on that example, as he had scarcely a staff officer of trust and experience with him, enterprising officers of that day striving to serve in the Peninsula—that of his two regular regiments, the 41st was then with few exceptions badly officered, and the 49th had five captains in England—and that the militia required to be led and animated. But even if he erred on this point, his error was that of a soldier.* Elevated to the government of Upper Canada, he reclaimed many of the disaffected by mildness, and fixed the wavering by the argument of success; and having no national partialities to gratify, that rock on which so many provincial governors have split, he meted equal favor and justice to all. British born subjects soon felt convinced that with him their religion or their birth-place was no obstacle to their advancement. Even over the minds of the Indians Sir Isaac Brock gained, at and after the capture of Detroit, an ascendancy altogether

* When Nelson—although a rear-admiral and a knight of the Bath, and he had so distinguished himself at the battle of St. Vincent—with his barge's crew of eleven men, exclusive of Captain Fremantle and himself, engaged a Spanish armed launch, carrying an officer and twenty-six men, near Cadiz, in 1797, and captured her after a desperate hand to hand fight with swords, in which eighteen of the Spaniards were killed, and all the rest wounded, he might equally have been charged with rashness, had he failed or fallen.

unexampled, and which he judiciously exercised for purposes conducive equally to the cause of humanity and to the interests of his country. He engaged them to throw aside the scalping knife, implanted in their breasts the virtues of clemency and forbearance, and taught them to feel pleasure and pride in the compassion extended to a vanquished enemy. In return they revered him as their common father, and while under his command were guilty of no excesses.* Indeed his letters shew how warmly he espoused their cause and how deeply he commiserated their wrongs and misfortunes, well knowing that in their natural state they possess many of the virtues, with few of the vices, of civilization.† He felt for them as if they were human beings entitled to all the rights and immunities of an aboriginal race, and he thought it not meet that they should be exterminated because “the scoundrel white man” chose first to deprive them of their lands, and next warred upon them to punish outrages which his own perfidy and cupidity had provoked. And for no official act of Sir Isaac Brock do we honor him more than for his earnest representation of the expediency of including the Indians as allies, yea, as allies in the negotiations for peace, that they might not be “exposed to the unrelenting fury of their enemies.” It is well known that this untutored people, the children of the forests, value personal much more highly than mental qualities, but the union of both in their leader was happily calculated to impress their haughty and masculine minds with respect and admiration; and the speech delivered by Tecumseh, after the surrender of De-

* For council of condolence, see Appendix A, Section 1, No. 8.

† “I fearlessly assert to the world, and I defy contradiction, that the North American Indian is every where, in his native state, a highly moral and intellectual being, endowed by his Maker with an intuitive knowledge of some great Author of his being, and the Universe; in dread of whose displeasure he constantly lives, with the apprehension before him of a future state, where he expects to be rewarded or punished according to the merits he has gained or forfeited in this world.”—*Catlin's North American Indians*, third edition. London, 1842.

troit, is illustrative of the sentiments with which he had inspired these warlike tribes. "I have heard," observed that chief to him, "much of your fame, and am happy again to shake by the hand a brave brother warrior. The Americans endeavour to give us a mean opinion of British generals, but we have been the witnesses of your valour. In crossing the river to attack the enemy, we observed you from a distance standing the whole time in an erect posture, and, when the boats reached the shore, you were among the first who jumped on land. Your bold and sudden movements frightened the enemy, and you compelled him to surrender to half their own force."

Of all the good qualities which adorned this accomplished soldier none was more prominent than his decision, and it was ever under the guidance of a sound judgment. His strong attachment to the service, and particularly to his regiment, formed another distinguishing feature in his character. Having, while in command at Fort George, received a letter announcing the execution of the mutineers and deserters at Quebec, as related in the second chapter—the last act of that mournful tragedy—he ordered every man under arms that he might read to them the contents of the letter. Having done so with visible emotion, he proceeded to address the men, and said: "Since I have had the honor to wear the British uniform, I have never felt grief like this, as it pains me to the heart to think that any members of my regiment should have engaged in a conspiracy which has led to their being shot like so many dogs!" Here he, who a few months before had secured the ringleaders with such singular coolness and decision, was so affected as to be utterly unable to continue; but the involuntary pause had more effect than the most persuasive eloquence, as the soldiers, who beheld the glistening tear and heard the faltering voice of their colonel, were equally moved

by this touching scene, so that, as our informant, who was present, assures us, there was not a dry eye among them all. Indeed, there was a correspondence of regard between him and his officers, and even the non-commissioned officers and privates, that, with this solitary exception, produced the picture of a happy family. Those extremities of punishment, which the exactions of discipline will sometimes occasion, rarely reached his men. And yet shortly before he succeeded to the command of the regiment, it was in a sad state of disorganization, from the causes already explained. (Page 6.) During the mutiny on board the fleet at the Nore, in May, 1797, the 49th was quartered on the borders of the river Thames; and as the privates evidently sympathized with the seamen, Major Brock not only seldom went to bed till nearly daylight, but slept with loaded pistols, while during the day he frequently visited the mess-rooms, to tear down or erase such inscriptions as "The Navy for Ever." But soon after he became the lieutenant-colonel, by happily blending conciliation with firmness, and bringing to a court martial one or two officers, whose misconduct could not be overlooked, he quickly restored the discipline of the corps. Having effected this, he afterwards governed it by that sentiment of esteem which he himself had created, and the consolation was given him to terminate a brief but brilliant course in the midst of his professional family. A part of the regiment assisted at his last obsequies; and those who knew the commander and his men will be convinced, that on the day of his funeral there was an entire detachment in tears.*

It deserves to be recorded as an instance of good fortune, unprecedented perhaps in military annals,

* The officers of the 49th, after his death, instructed the regimental agent in London to procure them a likeness of Sir Isaac Brock, that it might be placed in their mess-room, and allotted a handsome sum for this purpose. The agent applied to the family for a copy, but unfortunately they possessed no good likeness of the general.

and especially in a country where the advantage and facility of escape were so great, that from the 6th of August, the day on which Major-General Brock left York for Detroit, to the period immediately preceding the battle of Queenstown, the force under his personal command suffered no diminution in its numbers either by desertion, natural death, or the sword.* This comprehended a period of nearly ten weeks, during which an army and fortress were captured, and a journey of several hundred miles, by land and water, accomplished with extreme rapidity.

In compiling this memoir, we have been much struck with the swiftness of Major-General Brock's movements: he appears to have been everywhere, and, as Veritas observed of him, to have "flown, as it were." To-day at York, engaged in his civil and military duties—to-morrow at Fort George, superintending the defences of the Niagara frontier, or at Kingston, reviewing and animating the militia. To-day at Fort George, watching the enemy—the next at York, dissolving the legislature—and a fortnight after, on his return from the capture of Detroit! To-day at Fort George again—a few hours after at Fort Erie, endeavouring to retake the brigs Detroit and Caledonia. And yet this most active and energetic officer was compelled, by his *defensive* instructions, tamely to look on the *offensive* preparations of the Americans for the invasion of the province committed to his charge!

In conclusion, it is due to the memory of this excellent man to declare that, eminent and undisputed as were his public virtues, he was no less estimable in private life. At the time of his death, a youth of about nine years of age had been residing under his roof and protection for nearly two years, it being the general's intention to provide for him: he was the

* It is the more remarkable that no disease occurred, when it is considered that the expedition took place at a season when the heat is excessive, and that circumstances admitted of but little preparation being made for the comfort of the men.

illegitimate son of Captain Hercules E——, of the 49th, who was unfortunately drowned on his passage from Canada to England two or three years previously, the vessel in which he embarked having never been heard of after sailing.* In his own family Isaac Brock was the object of the warmest affection, and his servants carefully preserved relics of their “dear master,” as they styled him to their dying day. His cares and anxieties had no reference to the wealth he should amass, but to the sum of human misery he might relieve; and towards the close of his brief career, as the prospect of increasing honors and emoluments opened to his view, it will have been seen that he contemplated his good fortune only as the means of diffusing felicity, of drying the tear of affliction.† Some of his nearest relatives have since been cut off more prematurely, and far more cruelly, than himself; but those who still survive him possess the never-failing consolation which arises from the remembrance of his virtues, and from the reflection that, although his blessed spirit fled early from this world, they may meet again in the mansions of futurity.

Though the dead heed not human praise, yet the living act wisely in commemorating the fall of a distinguished chief—the example is never thrown away—and on this occasion it is gratifying to reflect, that every posthumous honor was paid to the memory of one who had merited the distinction so well. A public monument,‡ having been decreed by the imperial parliament, was raised a few years since in St. Paul’s, and a view of it is said to have awakened in an astonished Indian more surprise and admiration than any thing he witnessed in England.§ In con-

* After the general’s fall, Major Glegg kindly took charge of the youth, and sent him to school, but we know not what has since become of him.

† The salary attached to the civil government of Upper Canada was increased, we believe, shortly before his death to £3,000 a year.

‡ By an official return, it appears that this monument cost £1,575 sterling. For inscription, &c., see Appendix A, Section 1, No. 9.

§ See Appendix A, Section 1, No. 10.

sequence of an address* from the commons of Upper Canada to the prince regent, a munificent grant of 12,000 acres of land in that province was bestowed on the four surviving brothers of Sir Isaac Brock, who, in addition, were allowed a pension of £200 a year for life, by a vote of the imperial parliament. To "the Hero of Upper Canada," † as he is still affectionately termed in that country, the provincial legislature erected a lofty column ‡ on Queenstown Heights, to which his remains, and those of his gallant aide-de-camp, were removed from Fort George in solemn procession, on the 13th of October, 1824. § Although twelve years had elapsed since the interment, the body of the general had undergone little change, his features being nearly perfect and easily recognized, while that of Lieut.-Colonel M'Donell was in a complete mass of decomposition. One of his regimental companions, Colonel Fitzgibbon, in transmitting a detail of the ceremonies of the day, thus pathetically expressed himself: "Nothing, certainly, could exceed the interest manifested by the people of the province upon the occasion; and numbers from the neighbouring state of New York, by their presence and conduct, proved how highly the Americans revere the memory of our lamented chief. Of the thousands present not one had cause to feel so deeply as I, and I felt as if alone, although surround-

* For the address, see Appendix A, Section 1, No. 11.

† The following is a description of two copper halfpenny tokens, in circulation in British North America a few years ago. One of the coins bears on the obverse a sepulchral urn standing on a pedestal, on which are inscribed, "FELL OCTOBER 13, 1813." Two winged genii hover over the urn, and crown it with a wreath of laurel: the whole is surrounded with the legend, "SIR ISAAC BROCK, THE HERO OF UPPER CANADA." The reverse bears the date 1816, with the legend, "SUCCESS TO COMMERCE, AND PEACE TO THE WORLD."

The other coin bears on the one side a three-masted ship in full sail, with the legend, "SUCCESS TO THE COMMERCE OF UPPER AND LOWER CANADA; and on the other side, "SIR ISAAC BROCK, THE HERO OF UPPER CANADA, WHO FELL AT THE GLORIOUS BATTLE OF QUEENSTOWN HEIGHTS, ON THE 13TH OCTOBER, 1812."

‡ This column cost nearly £3,000, Halifax currency. See acts of the provincial legislature, Appendix A, Section 1, No. 12.

§ For the details of the re-interment, see Appendix A, Section 1, No. 13.

ed by the multitude. He had been more than a father to me in that regiment which he ruled like a father, and I alone of his old friends in that regiment was present to embalm with a tear his last honored retreat. What I witnessed on this day would have fully confirmed me in the opinion, had confirmation been wanting, that the public feeling in this province has been permanently improved and elevated by Sir Isaac Brock's conduct and actions while governing its inhabitants. These, together with his dying in their defence, have done more towards cementing our union with the mother country than any event or circumstance since the existence of the province. Of this our leading men are aware, and are careful to seize every opportunity of preserving recollections so productive of good effects." The ceremony of interment was indeed a most imposing one, and it was attended by the lieutenant-governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, and other officers of rank, the judges, the members of the executive and legislative councils and of the house of assembly, the Indian chiefs of the Five Nations, the entire 76th regiment, several regiments of militia, &c. &c. "The time occupied in moving from the fort to Queenstown, a distance of nearly seven miles, was about three hours, including stoppages. Being arrived opposite the spot where the lamented hero received his mortal wound, the whole procession halted, and remained for a few minutes in solemn pause!" The height of the column,* which commanded a view of the surrounding country for about fifty miles, was from the base to the summit 135 feet, and from the level of the Niagara river, which runs nearly under it, 485 feet. It was built with grey coloured limestone of primitive formation, and approaching to white, all the exterior being

* It was a Tuscan column on a rustic pedestal, with a pedestal for a statue; the diameter of the base of the column was seventeen feet six inches, and the abacus of the capital was surrounded with an iron railing. The centre shaft, containing the spiral wooden staircase, was ten feet in diameter.

executed with cut stone of superior workmanship. The following inscription was engraven on this splendid tribute to the unfading remembrance of a grateful people : *

UPPER CANADA
HAS DEDICATED THIS MONUMENT
TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K.B.
PROVISIONAL LIEUT.-GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER OF THE FORCES
IN THIS PROVINCE,
WHOSE REMAINS ARE DEPOSITED IN THE VAULT BENEATH.
OPPOSING THE INVADING ENEMY,
HE FELL IN ACTION NEAR THESE HEIGHTS,
ON THE 13th OCTOBER, 1812,
IN THE 43rd YEAR OF HIS AGE,
REVERED AND LAMENTED
BY THE PEOPLE WHOM HE GOVERNED,
AND DEPLORED BY THE SOVEREIGN
TO WHOSE SERVICE HIS LIFE HAD BEEN DEVOTED.

The cataract of Niagara is supposed to have commenced on the heights of Queenstown, and to have gradually receded, or worn its way backwards to its present site, seven miles above, near Chippawah, the banks of the river on both sides between the two spots being perpendicular, 250 to 300 feet in height, chiefly of solid rock, and of the same level as the fall. †

“The village of Queenstown is beautifully situated at the foot of a hill, and upon the side of the Niagara river, the bank of which is high and precipitous. The imagination is agreeably struck with the first view of the place. On one side of the village is a mountain covered with a shrubbery and verdure;—behind, a rich and cultivated plain extends backwards, which

* We speak in the past tense, because the column, as will be seen in the sequel, was so much injured in 1840 as to require its reconstruction.

† Mr. Bakewell estimates the recession during the present century at three feet per year, while Mr. Lyell, the celebrated geologist, thinks one foot a more probable estimate, and computes that it must have taken at least 35,000 years to wear away the intervening space !!

is bounded in every direction by luxuriant woods ; while in front, the Niagara river glides in majestic stillness, and may be traced, with all its windings, till its waters are swallowed up in the vast expanse of Lake Ontario. The soil around Queenstown consists chiefly of a red clay, the bright colour of which, upon the roads and declivities where it is exposed, forms a singular contrast, during summer, with the pure green of the trees and fields in the vicinity

“ Queenstown must infallibly acquire magnitude and importance when the province becomes populous and flourishing, for it is situated at the commencement of a portage which never can be evaded by any improvement in the navigation, it being rendered necessary by the falls of Niagara ; therefore, all vessels containing goods and stores destined for the western parts of Upper Canada must unload and leave their cargoes at Queenstown, that they may be conveyed overland to Chippewa, where the Niagara river again becomes navigable. Even now, a good deal of this carrying business goes on during the summer months. The North-West Company forward a considerable quantity of stores to the Indian territories by this route, and the country merchants receive annual supplies of goods from Montreal, and send down pork, flour, staves, and potash, in return.*

“ The environs of Queenstown are beautifully picturesque and romantic, and nothing can be finer than the prospect up the Niagara river. Immediately above the village its channel narrows very much, and the banks rise to the height of 300 feet perpendicular, while at the same time they become wild and rocky, and are thickly covered with trees of various kinds. In some places they partly over-arch the river, and throw an appalling gloom upon its waters, now dashed into turbulence and impetuosity by the ruggedness of their sloping bed.

* The construction of the Welland canal has since furnished better means of transport between the two lakes by another route, and Queenstown has in consequence lost the advantage which it once possessed.

“At the ferry, the Niagara river is 1,250 feet in breadth, and from 200 to 300 in depth. The current is very rapid, and the wreathing and perturbed appearance of the water shews that its course is much impeded by the narrowness of the channel, which must be entirely composed of rocks; for, otherwise, the continual and rapid attrition of such a large river as that which flows through it, would undermine and wear away the banks, and thus gradually enlarge and widen its course.

“The prospect from the top of Queenstown mountain is the finest and most extensive that Upper Canada affords, and, in an eminent degree, combines the beautiful and the magnificent. The wild and majestic precipices which engulf one part of the Niagara river, the windings and mirrored expanse of that noble body of water, the dim and undiscoverable extent of Lake Ontario, together with the verdant orchards, thick forests, and improved fields, glowing beneath a pure sky, collectively form a scene of admirable effect and composition. Even York, which is 36 miles distant, and lies very low, can be seen from the summit of this hill during clear weather.”*

ON THE DEATH OF MAJOR-GENERAL BROCK.

Low bending o'er the rugged bier
 The soldier drops the mournful tear,
 For life departed, valour driven,
 Fresh from the field of death to heaven.

But time shall fondly trace the name
 Of BROCK upon the scrolls of Fame,
 And those bright laurels, which should wave
 Upon the brow of one so brave,
 Shall flourish vernal o'er his grave.

J. H. R.

* Howison's Sketches of Upper Canada. London, 1821.

CHAPTER XV.

(HISTORICAL.)

“If I might give a short hint to an impartial writer, it would be to tell him his fate. If he resolves to venture upon the dangerous precipice of telling unbiassed truth, let him proclaim war with mankind—neither to give nor to take quarter.”

DE FOE.

Sir Isaac Brock was succeeded in his civil and military commands in Upper Canada by Major-General Sheaffe,* who was created a baronet for the dearly bought victory of Queenstown, which was scarcely achieved ere he agreed, on the same afternoon of the fatal 13th of October, to a cessation of firing for three days, on condition of the Americans destroying their bateaux, which they complied with; and the truce was prolonged on the 16th to an indefinite period.† After the battle, General Wadsworth and some of the principal American officers were paroled, the remainder proceeding to Quebec. Among the prisoners, 23 were found to be deserters from English regiments, and British born subjects; and

* Both the Canadas were now governed by British officers, born in the United States.

† “D. G. O. Fort George, 13th October, 1812.—A cessation of firing having been agreed on by Major-General Sheaffe and Major-General Van Rensselaer, commanding the American troops at Lewistown, &c., for three days, ending on Friday, the 16th instant, at four o'clock, p. m., the officers commanding the several posts on the line will regulate their conduct accordingly.

THOMAS EVANS, B. M.”

“D. G. O. Fort George, 16th October, 1812.—A prolongation of the cessation of hostilities having been agreed upon between Major-General Sheaffe and Major-General Van Rensselaer for an undefined period, the officers commanding posts along the line will strictly govern themselves accordingly until further orders. By order. THOMAS EVANS, B. M.”

they were sent to England for trial as traitors. This caused a retaliation upon British prisoners in the United States, and an equal number were put by the American government into close confinement as hostages for the security of the traitors.

On the 18th of October, General Smyth assumed the command at Niagara, and applied to the British general for an armistice; and notwithstanding the well-known prejudicial effect of the former one proposed by Sir George Prevost, it was also agreed to by Major-General Sheaffe! * This unaccountable proceeding, as might easily have been foreseen, proved of material detriment to the British on Lake Erie, as the Americans availed themselves of so favorable an occasion to forward their naval stores unmolested from Black Rock to Presqu'île by water, which they could not otherwise have effected but with immense trouble and expense by land, and equipped at leisure the fleet which the next year wrested from us the command of that lake. When the enemy was prepared for a third invasion of Upper Canada, General Smyth did not fail to give the thirty hours notice required for the cessation of the armistice, which terminated on the 20th of November.

“After the surrender of Detroit,” said the inhabitants of Niagara in their spirited letter to Sir George Prevost, already quoted, (page 297,) “the enemy were suffered unmolested to concentrate a large force on the Niagara, at Sackett’s Harbour on Lake Ontario, and at Ogdensburg on the St. Lawrence; they were not interrupted in bringing forward to these places a large quantity of field and heavy artillery, with the requisite supplies of ammunition, and in equipping a flotilla, to dispute with us the superiority of the lakes. When their preparations

* “But General Sheaffe, like his superior, was a lover of armistices, and after the action he concluded one of his own with the American general, for which no reason, civil or military, was ever assigned.”—*Quarterly Review*, July, 1822; article, “Campaigns in the Canadas.”

were complete—when our regular and militia forces were nearly exhausted with incessant watching and fatigue, occasioned by the movements of the enemy, which kept them constantly on the alert by uncertainty as to the point of attack—they at length, on the 13th of October, attacked our line at Queenstown. The behaviour of both regulars and militia on that memorable occasion is well known to your excellency, and added another wreath to the laurels they had gained at Detroit: the glories of that day were, however, obscured by the death of our beloved and now lamented chief, whose exertions had prepared the means of achieving this great victory. This was another triumph for the militia; they had fairly measured their strength with the enemy, and derived additional confidence from the glorious result. Here was another opportunity that slipped away without being improved: Fort Niagara was abandoned by the enemy, and might have been with the greatest ease destroyed, and its guns brought away by a trifling force. It is neither necessary, nor do we feel inclined to enter into the causes why it was not done; we have, however, the strongest reason to believe that, had General Brock survived, it would have been attempted.* In addition to this (as we consider it) capital error, Major Mullaney, and other natural born subjects of his majesty, actually taken in arms as commissioned officers in the service of the United States, were released and allowed to return on parole to that country; and a partial armistice was agreed to, liable to be broken off at thirty hours notice, which could be productive of no real advantage to us, nor give any repose to our harassed and suffering militia, though it enabled the enemy to recruit his

* "Such was the dismay of the enemy at the result of the action at Queenstown, that had General Sheaffe, who commanded after the death of Brock, crossed over immediately afterwards, as it is said he was strongly urged by his officers to do, the fort of Niagara, which its garrison had even evacuated for some time, might have been captured, and the whole of that line cleared of the American troops."—*Quarterly Review*.

strength and organize at will the means of attacking us anew. He was observed busily and actively employed, throughout a great part of the month of November, collecting boats on the Fort Erie end of the line; and when his preparations were complete, he gave notice of the termination of the armistice on the 20th."

"When General Wilkinson complains," observes the British historian, James, "that the executive has not rendered 'common justice to the principal actors in this gallant scene,'—not exhibited it to the country 'in its true light, and shewn what deeds Americans are still capable of performing,'*—who among us can retain his gravity? 'It is true,' says the general, 'complete success did not ultimately crown this enterprise; but two great ends were obtained for the country: it re-established the character of the American arms;'—it did indeed!—'and deprived the enemy, by the death of General Brock, of the best officer that has headed their troops in Canada throughout the war;'—truth undeniable!—'and, with his loss, put an end to their then brilliant career;'—yet the capture of General Wadsworth took place in less than five hours afterwards.

"The instant we know what the Americans expected to gain, a tolerable idea may be formed of what they actually lost by the attack upon Queenstown. General Van Rensselaer, in a letter to Major-General Dearborn, written five days previously, says thus: 'Should we succeed, we shall effect a great discomfiture of the enemy, by breaking their line of communication, driving their shipping from the mouth of this river, leaving them no rallying point in this part of the country, appalling the minds of the Canadians, and opening a wide and safe communication for our supplies; we shall save our own land—wipe

* From an American work—Major-General James Wilkinson's "Memoirs of my own Time," published in 1816.—ED.

away part of the score of our past disgrace—get excellent barracks and winter quarters, and at least be prepared for an early campaign another year.’

“It is often said, that we throw away by the pen what we gain by the sword. Had General Brock been less prodigal of his valuable life, and survived the Queenstown battle, he would have made the 13th of October a still more ‘memorable’ day, by crossing the river and carrying Fort Niagara, which, at that precise time, was nearly stripped of its garrison. Instead of doing this, and thus putting an end to the campaign upon the Niagara frontier, Major-General Sheaffe, General Brock’s successor, allowed himself to be persuaded to sign an armistice.”

Having given these two extracts, we think it due to Major-General Sheaffe and to truth to add, that as regards the attack on Fort Niagara, much allowance should be made for his being so suddenly and unexpectedly called to the chief command, even if such an attack had been prudent and feasible, which, however, admits of much doubt. But of the impolicy of the armistice there can, we conceive, be no question; and we are assured, on the best authority, that it excited very general disgust at the time.

In November, the Americans were already in command of Lake Ontario,* Commodore Chauncey having sailed from Sackett’s Harbour on the 6th with one brig and six schooners, mounting altogether 40 guns, and carrying 430 men, including marines; and their fleet, after chasing the Royal George into Kingston, captured on the 12th the transport sloop Elizabeth, on board of which was Mr. Brock,† paymaster

* “But the most fatal and palpable error of the commander-in-chief was his neglect to preserve that ascendancy on Lakes Erie and Ontario which was actually enjoyed by the British at the opening of the contest. The command of these lakes is so evidently an object of primary consideration in the defence of the Canadas, that it is perfectly inconceivable how any man in Sir George Prevost’s situation could have been so infatuated as to disregard the importance of maintaining his superiority.”—*Quarterly Review*.

† James Brock was first a lieutenant of the 89th regiment, and next paymaster of the 49th, in which situation he died of cholera at Benares,

of the 49th. He was paroled by Commodore Chauncey, who, to his credit be it said, immediately restored "the plate and effects belonging to his late illustrious relative," which he was conveying from Fort George to Kingston. The box of letters and other papers, from which this little work has been principally compiled, was, we believe, among these effects; and we gladly seize this opportunity to express the obligation of Sir Isaac Brock's family to the commodore for his generosity on this occasion.* The propriety of Major-General Brock's intention of attacking Sackett's Harbour only two months before must now be manifest, as had it fallen, as is probable, this very squadron would doubtless have been found in the course of preparation, and the whole of the vessels brought off or destroyed.

Sir Roger Sheaffe appears to have been so alarmed by the ascendancy of the enemy on Lake Ontario, that he proposed immediately to Sir George Prevost to abandon the Niagara frontier, and, as a natural consequence, the whole of Upper Canada west of either York or Kingston, probably the latter. The governor-general seems to have lent a willing ear to this proposal, and to have given instructions to save the troops at all hazards; but General Sheaffe was happily restrained from his purpose by the pressing remonstrances of the militia field officers and other leading men of the frontier, who urged him to main-

in India. Five other Brocks, first cousins of the general, were in the army; among them was Major James Brock, of the 16th Light Dragoons, who died young, and the present Colonel Saumarez Brock, who served as a captain of the 43d Light Infantry throughout the Peninsular war and at New Orleans, and has a pension for wounds. Another first cousin, Philip Brock, midshipman of H. M. S. Echo, was overtaken on shore by a snow storm in Newfoundland, and frozen to death.

* "It has already been noticed, that a vessel captured on Lake Ontario, in which was Captain Brock, had on board, among other valuable articles, 12,000 dollars in specie. This appears to have been the private property of the late Major-General Brock; and the fact being made known to our sailors, they unanimously agreed to relinquish it. Thus do our tars beat the enemy, as well in generosity as in gallantry."—*Niles' Weekly Register*, Baltimore, December 12, 1812.—Not one word of truth as regards the specie, and three-fourths of the tars were probably British subjects.

tain his position, and to evince a firm determination of resistance to the last. The inhabitants of the district were naturally indignant at the intention of being thus hurriedly abandoned; and in their letter of December 16, 1812, already twice cited, they expressed themselves in terms which, however displeasing to the two commanders, became free and gallant men, anxious to defend their homes and properties. On the other hand, the situation of the British troops, both on the Niagara and Detroit, must have been one of much anxiety, as had the enemy possessed sufficient enterprise to embark a strong land force on board their squadron, and to debark it on the Canadian shore in the rear of Sir Roger Sheaffe's division, the latter might not only have been taken in reverse, but placed between two fires; and the retreat of Colonel Proctor's little army have been equally endangered or cut off.

On the 27th of April, 1813, York was captured by Major-General Dearborn, with about 1,700 American troops, embarked in fourteen sail of armed vessels, that post being occupied by 650 regulars and militia, with from 40 to 50 Indians, the whole under the immediate command of Sir Roger Sheaffe. In resisting the enemy, the grenadier company of the 8th (the king's) regiment greatly distinguished themselves, losing their captain, M'Neal, and being nearly annihilated.* By an explosion of the powder magazine, to which a train had been laid, 260 of the Americans were killed or wounded, including Brigadier Pike among the former; and they were thrown into such confusion,† that an immediate and resolute attack

* There were only two companies of the 8th engaged at York, and they had 1 captain, 1 sergeant-major, 3 sergeants, 40 rank and file killed—total, 45 killed and 49 wounded, partly, however, by the explosion of a wooden powder magazine—an unusually severe loss and little known, because their gallantry was exerted on an unfortunate occasion. At the battle of Maida, the entire loss of the British army in killed was precisely the same as that of these two companies, viz. 1 officer, 3 sergeants, and 41 rank and file.

† “General Sheaffe has been much blamed, first for the injudicious position of the troops, by which the grenadier company of the 8th regi-

would probably have sent them back to their ships. The British general "drew off his regulars and left the rest to capitulate within the town, wherein considerable public stores were lost;"* and the Americans, having secured their booty, re-embarked and sailed on the 2nd of May for Niagara. The inhabitants of York do not appear to have been satisfied with the conduct of Major-General Sheaffe in this affair; and, although it was not ascertained whether his removal was the result of the displeasure of the commander-in-chief, he was replaced in June or July by Major-General de Rottenburg, and on his arrival in the Lower Province he assumed the command of the troops in the district of Montreal.† As the number of the American troops, although all were not landed, exceeded that of the British in proportion of nearly three to one, the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants of York certainly does seem, at this distance of time, to have been unreasonable; and if this were the only cause for removing Sir Roger Sheaffe, we conceive that he was treated with harshness and injustice; although, on the other hand, we believe that he was in the same category as very many other officers, who, however well they may discharge subordinate duties, are unequal, in an emergence like this, to the complicated functions of the command of an army and the government of a province. A few months after, the Baron de Rottenburg was in his turn succeeded by Lieut.-General Gordon Drummond, who commanded in Upper Canada to the end of the war, having been sent out from England expressly for that purpose in the *Ethalion* frigate, with a strong convoy for Quebec, in the autumn of 1813, and accompanied by Major-General Riall, as his second in command.

ment, who behaved with great gallantry, were exposed to be cut to pieces in a wood, and again for not returning to the attack, after the explosion of a powder magazine had destroyed 250 of the enemy, and thrown them into confusion."—*Quarterly Review*.

* Pictorial History of England.

† Christie's Memoirs, before cited.

We have alluded (page 296) to the discomfiture of Sir George Prevost before Sackett's Harbour, that naval arsenal whose destruction Major-General Brock was so unfortunately prevented from undertaking. The governor-general having proceeded in May, 1813, from Montreal to Kingston with Sir James Yeo, who had just arrived from England to command the British naval forces on the lakes—the squadron on Lake Ontario now consisting of two ships, a brig, and two schooners—the public was on the tiptoe of expectation for some decisive dash on the enemy's flotilla on that lake. An attack upon Sackett's Harbour, in the absence of their fleet at Niagara, was resolved upon, so as to destroy "the forts, the arsenals, and the dock-yard, where the Americans had a frigate almost ready for launching, and several other vessels; but when this wavering and spiritless general reconnoitred the place, he would not venture an attack, and returned across the water towards Kingston. Then he changed his mind and went back to Sackett's Harbour; and (but not without more wavering and loss of time) our troops, about 750 strong, were landed. The Americans were presently driven at the bayonet's point into some loop-holed barracks and forts; and so panic-stricken were they, that they immediately set fire to their new frigate, their naval barracks and arsenal, and destroyed a gun-brig and all the stores which had so recently been captured at York. While the arsenal was in flames, while the Americans were flying through the village, and when the complete success of the assailants was certain, Sir George Prevost sent a precipitate order for retreat, merely because a momentary resistance was offered by a party of Americans, who had taken refuge in the log-barracks! The British troops reluctantly obeyed their general's order and returned to their boats, men and officers being acutely sensible to his folly, and wondering by what means so incompetent a commander had been placed over

them. If Sir George Prevost had studied the history of the war of the American revolution, it could only have been with an eye to copy all the indecisions and blunders of the formalising, badly instructed English generals of that period. But the Howes, Clintons, and Burgoynes, were at least always ready to fight. As soon as the Americans could believe that the English were really abandoning their enterprise at the moment that it was all but completed, they rushed back to stop the conflagration: they were too late to save the stores which had been brought from York, the navy barracks, or the brig, but the frigate on the stocks, being built of green wood, would not easily burn, and was found but little injured. If the destruction at Sackett's Harbour had been completed, we should have deprived the Americans of every prospect of obtaining the ascendancy on the lake."* And, as if to crown this miserable failure, the details were narrated by the adjutant-general, in a dispatch to Sir George Prevost, as if Colonel Baynes had commanded in chief, and the governor-general had been present as a mere spectator!†

From these humiliating occurrences on Lake Ontario, we turn to the captured post of Detroit, which, it will be remembered, was left by Major-General Brock in charge of Colonel Proctor. No sooner had intelligence of the surrender of Hull reached Washington, than the renewal of the North-Western army for the recovery of the Michigan territory became the anxious object of the American government. That army, which eventually outnumbered the former

* Extract from the Pictorial History of England.

† "Sir George Prevost was beyond all doubt the immediate commander of this expedition. But he found it convenient not to appear in that character; and the only detail of operations was in the shape of a dispatch from the adjutant-general to himself, obligingly communicating what was already sufficiently known to him. By this ingenious device, he in some measure averted the exposure of miscarriage from himself, and generously yielded his laurels, such as they were, to his grateful and submissive follower."—*Quarterly Review*.

one, was placed under the command of Major-General Harrison, (who died a few years since, while president of the United States,) and in September was in full march for the Miami (or Maumee) rapids, the spot assigned as the general rendezvous. In January, 1813, Colonel Proctor received information that a brigade of that army, under Brigadier Winchester, was encamped at Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, 40 miles south of Detroit. The British commander, although he had orders not to act on the offensive, promptly determined to attack this brigade before it was reinforced by the main body, a few days march in the rear; and with his disposable force, consisting of 500 regulars, militia, and seamen, he made a resolute assault, at dawn on the 22d, on the enemy's camp, which was completely successful. In this affair, the Americans lost between 3 and 400 men killed; and Brigadier Winchester, 3 field officers, 9 captains, 20 subalterns, and upwards of 500 men, in prisoners. This gallant exploit secured Detroit from any immediate danger, but the day after it was sadly tarnished by the straggling Indians, who massacred such wounded prisoners as were unable to walk, the guard left for their protection deserting their charge on a false alarm of General Harrison's approach. This success, for which Colonel Proctor was immediately promoted to the rank of brigadier, together with the spoil obtained at Frenchtown, brought down several warlike tribes of Indians from the river Wabash, and even from the more distant Mississippi, to join the British standard. Towards the end of March, Proctor learnt that General Harrison intended to commence active operations for the recovery of the Michigan territory, on the arrival of considerable reinforcements, which he was expecting. Resolved to try the issue of another attack before the enemy, already much superior in numbers, gained a fresh acquisition of strength, Proctor embarked at Amherstburg with 520 regulars and 460 militia, and made for the mouth of the Miami,

(or Maumee,) which falls into Lake Erie. He ascended that river, about 1,200 Indians co-operating with him, and landed his troops, stores, and ordnance, on the 28th of April, near Fort Meigs, (about twelve miles from its mouth,) mounting eighteen guns, which he cannonaded from both banks of the Miami. On the 5th of May, the enemy's long-expected reinforcements, under Brigadier Clay, came suddenly down the river; they were 1,300 strong, but newly-raised militia; and as the boats drew near, Harrison ordered Clay to storm the British batteries on the opposite or north side of the river, while a sortie was made from the fort for the purpose of capturing the three British guns on the southern bank. For a short period, the British batteries on both sides were in the hands of the enemy, but they were quickly regained by bayonet charges; and on the north bank Colonel Dudley, after spiking the captured guns, having marched with 400 men to attack the British camp, was drawn into an ambuscade by the Indians, and himself and about half his men were slain. Of the Americans, about 550 men were made prisoners, and their killed and wounded were estimated at nearly as many more. The far-famed Tecumseh* buried his tomahawk in the head of a Chippawah chief, whom he found actively engaged in massacring some of the prisoners. But as the Indians retired, as is their wont after success, to enjoy their plunder, Tecumseh and less than twenty warriors only remaining; and as half of the militia also returned to their homes, Proctor was compelled to raise the siege of Fort Meigs. Having re-embarked his small force of regulars, chiefly of the 41st (the Welsh) regiment, and the whole of his ordnance and stores, he proceeded to Sandwich; while General

* "Among the Indians that joined General Proctor from the Wabash, was the highly gifted and celebrated chief, Tecumseh, who united in his person all those heroic qualities which romance has even delighted to attribute to the 'children of the forest,' and, with them, intelligence and feelings that belonged not to the savage. He possessed such influence among his brethren, that his presence was an acquisition of the utmost importance."—*Quarterly Review*, 1822.

Harrison abandoned all intention of advancing against Detroit until the American squadron had gained the command of Lake Erie.

Major-General Proctor having determined to recommence his attacks against the American North-Western army, whose head quarters were then at Seneca-town, near Sandusky Bay, on Lake Erie, he landed a second time near Fort Meigs late in July, which he blockaded for a few days, in the hope that Major-General Harrison would advance to its relief; but the latter was too wily to trust to the issue of a conflict with the Indians in the woods, which surrounded the fortress. A stratagem was then tried by the Indians under Tecumseh, to provoke the garrison to a sortie, by firing briskly for some time, and then retreating, as if a reinforcement from Sandusky was endeavouring to fight its way into the fort; and so well was the *ruse* managed, that General Clay could scarcely prevent his men from sallying out to assist their supposed friends. The Indians were now convinced that nothing was to be done against Fort Meigs, and many of them hastily returned to Amherstburg. Proctor next re-embarked his troops, and landed on the 1st of August near the Sandusky river, investing immediately, with nearly 400 regulars and between 200 and 300 Indians, Fort Stephenson, about eighteen miles from its mouth. On the 2d, a fire was opened from two 6-pounders and two 5½-inch howitzers against the fort, which appears to have possessed only one masked 6-pounder, and to have been garrisoned by about 180 men, under Major Croghan; but as the fire produced no impression, the place was ordered to be stormed. The assailants reached the ditch which was raked by the masked gun, and sustained in consequence so severe a loss, that they retreated precipitately, having their gallant leader, Brevet Lieut.-Colonel Short, of the 41st, with 3 officers and 52 men, killed or missing, besides 3 officers and 38 men wounded; while the Americans

had only 1 killed and 7 slightly wounded; and notwithstanding some of their historians have been bombastic enough to compare the defence of this little fort to that of the pass of Thermopylæ, probably conceiving also Major Croghan to be another Leonidas. The Indians did not assist in the assault, withdrawing to a ravine out of gun shot. Thus foiled, Proctor retired on the 3d, and after abandoning "considerable baggage and a gun-boat laden with cannon ball," he returned to Amherstburg. The attack is said, even by the British, to have been "ill digested," and the expedition to have ended with "some disgrace." *

Towards the end of August, (1813,) the American squadron, under Commodore Perry, became too powerful for the British, under Captain Barclay, who now remained at Amherstburg to await the equipment of the Detroit, recently launched. The British forces in the neighbourhood falling short of various supplies, for which they depended chiefly upon the fleet, Captain Barclay had no other alternative than to risk a general engagement. With this purpose he sailed on the 9th of September, with his small squadron wretchedly manned, and the next day encountered the enemy. For some time the fate of the battle poised in favor of the British, as the principal American ship, the *Lawrence*, struck her colours; but a sudden breeze turned the scale against them, and the whole of their squadron was compelled to surrender, after a desperate engagement of upwards of three hours. Captain Barclay was dangerously wounded; Captain Finnis, of the *Queen Charlotte*, killed; and every commander and officer second in command was either killed or wounded.

Major-General Proctor's army was deprived, by this disastrous defeat, of every prospect of obtaining

* "The retreat of Proctor was precipitate. It is difficult to account for his leaving a gun-boat in the possession of the victors, as it was not exposed to the fire of the fort."—*Brown's American History*.

its necessary supplies through Lake Erie, and a speedy retreat towards the head of Lake Ontario became inevitable. Stung with grief and indignation, Tecumseh at first refused to agree to the measure; and in a council of war held at Amherstburg on the 18th of September, he delivered his sentiments against it in the following extemporaneous oration, which combines so much pathos and dignity mingled with sarcasm and reproach—so affecting a recital of past injury and correct an apprehension of future abandonment—such a religious fervour and resignation to the Divine will—that it must command for this unlettered chief the love and respect of the good and brave; and yet the harangue, simply eloquent as it is, suffers under all the disadvantages of translation, and is indeed but the shadow of the substance, because the gestures and commanding presence, the intonation and rounded periods of the speaker, are neither heard nor seen :

Father, listen to your children! you have them now all before you.

The war before this, our British father gave the hatchet to his red children, when our old chiefs were alive. They are now dead. In that war our father was thrown on his back by the Americans, and our father took them by the hand without our knowledge; and we are afraid that our father will do so again at this time.

The summer before last, when I came forward with my red brethren, and was ready to take up the hatchet in favor of our British father, we were told not to be in a hurry,—that he had not yet determined to fight the Americans.

Listen! When war was declared, our father stood up and gave the tomahawk, and told us that he was then ready to strike the Americans; that he wanted our assistance; and that he would certainly get us back our lands, which the Americans had taken from us.

Listen! You told us, at that time, to bring forward our families to this place, and we did so; and you promised to take care of them, and that they should want for nothing, while the men would go and fight the enemy; that we need not trouble ourselves about the enemy's garrisons; that we knew nothing about them, and that our father would attend to that part of the contest. You also told your red children

that you would take good care of your garrison here, which made our hearts glad.

Listen! When we were last at the Rapids, it is true we gave you little assistance. It is hard to fight people who live like ground hogs.*

Father, listen! Our fleet has gone out; we know they have fought; we have heard the great guns; but we know nothing of what has happened to our father with that arm. Our ships have gone one way, and we are much astonished to see our father tying up every thing and preparing to run away the other, without letting his red children know what his intentions are. You always told us to remain here and take care of our lands; it made our hearts glad to hear that was your wish. Our great father, the king, is the head, and you represent him. You always told us that you would never draw your foot off British ground; but now, father, we see you are drawing back, and we are sorry to observe our father doing so without seeing the enemy. We must compare our father's conduct to a fat dog, that carries its tail upon its back, but, when affrighted, it drops it between its legs, and runs off.

Father, listen! The Americans have not yet defeated us by land; neither are we sure that they have done so by water: *we therefore wish to remain and fight our enemy, should they make their appearance.* If they defeat us, we will *then* retreat with our father.

At the battle of the Rapids, last war, the Americans certainly defeated us; and, when we retreated to our father's fort in the neighbourhood, the gates were shut against us. We were afraid that it would again be the case; but, instead of closing the gates, we now see our British father preparing to march out of his garrison.

Father! You have got the arms and ammunition which our great father sent for his red children. If you intend to retreat, give them to us, and you may go, and welcome for us. Our lives are in the hands of the Great Spirit. We are determined to defend our lands, and if it be His will, we wish to leave our bones upon them.

The bulk of General Harrison's army, amounting altogether to fully 6,000 men, was transported in boats on the 21st and 22d of September from the mouth of the Portage river to *Put-in-Bay* island, 16 miles distant, while Colonel Johnson's mounted regiment, consisting of upwards of 1,000 horsemen,

* Metaphor apart—people who secure themselves by deep entrenchments.

proceeded from Fort Meigs by land to Detroit. The troops were detained two days in *Put-in-Bay* by unfavorable winds, but they re-embarked on the 25th, and in the evening reached a small island containing only three or four acres, called the *Eastern Sister*, 18 miles from Amherstburg and 7 from the coast. On the 26th it blew so fresh, that it became necessary to haul up the boats, to prevent their staving. The next day the troops proceeded in 16 vessels of war and about 100 boats, and landed at 4 o'clock, p. m. three miles from Amherstburg, which they immediately occupied, Proctor having previously fallen back upon Sandwich, after setting fire to the navy yard, barracks, and public stores at the former place. The British general, seeing the enemy determined to follow up his first success by an immediate attack upon Detroit,* and being unable with his very inferior numbers to dispute the occupancy of that post, evacuated it and Sandwich on the 26th, also destroying the public property at both posts; and commenced his retreat on the evening of the 27th, along the river Thames, with scarcely 900 officers and privates, chiefly of the 41st regiment. In this reverse of fortune, Tecumseh still adhered to the British standard with unswerving fidelity, and with the Indians covered the retreat. On the 2d of October, General Harrison proceeded from Sandwich in pursuit with about 3,500 men, accompanied part of the way by three gunboats and a number of bateaux up the Thames, which is a fine deep stream, navigable for vessels of a considerable burthen. On the 3d and 4th, the Americans succeeded in capturing a few prisoners, a large number of muskets, and two 24-pounders, with a quantity of balls and shells—this exclusive of three boats

* "No place in the United States presents such a series of events interesting in themselves, and permanently affecting, as they occurred, both its progress and prosperity. Five times its flag has changed; three different sovereignties have claimed its allegiance; and since it has been held by the United States, its government has been thrice transferred: twice it has been besieged by the Indians, once captured in war, and once burned to the ground."—*Historical Sketches of Michigan.*

laden with arms and ordnance, and other stores, which were set on fire by the British. On the morning of the 5th, the pursuit was eagerly renewed, and before nine o'clock two gun-boats, and several bateaux, were captured, with which the American army was enabled to cross over to the right or opposite bank of the river, when it was ascertained that the British were halted in a position twelve miles higher, and scarcely two miles from the Moravian village, (an Indian settlement, eighty miles from Sandwich,) to prevent, if possible, the further advance of the enemy. Proctor's entire force now mustered barely 850 regulars, including nearly 100 in the hospital, and perhaps 1,000 Indians.* The former were drawn up in a straggling wood, in open files and in two lines, their left secured by the river, a gun flanking the road, and their right extending towards the Indians, who were posted where the wood thickened, so as to form a retiring angle with them, and to turn the enemy's flank on their advance. The extreme right of the allies was, moreover, covered by an impassable swamp, and, thus flanked, the position was calculated to render the immense superiority of the pursuing force in a great degree unavailing. This description of the battle field was apparently furnished by Major-General Proctor, or his friends, to the Quarterly Review, and it is confirmed by an American account before us; but, on his court martial,† he was found guilty of having "neglected to

* The Quarterly Review says, that not more than 500 warriors remained with Tecumseh. General Harrison states, in his dispatch, that there were considerably upwards of 1,000 Indians in the action; and Sir George Prevost mentions, that 1,200 Indian warriors accompanied the British army on its retreat—so difficult is it to arrive at the truth. The Quarterly Review estimates Proctor's force at only 500 *effectives*, whereas 600 regulars were made prisoners, and 246 escaped!

† By the court martial held at Montreal, in December, 1814, and January, 1815, on Major-General Proctor, he was adjudged "to be publicly reprimanded, and to be suspended from rank and pay for the period of six calendar months." Owing to some informality in the proceedings, the prince regent only confirmed the former part of the sentence, but conveyed at the same time his high disapprobation of Major-General Proctor's conduct.

occupy the heights above the Moravian village, although he had previously removed his ordnance, with the exception of one 6-pounder, to that position, where, by throwing up works, he might have awaited the attack of the enemy, and engaged them to great advantage; and that after the intelligence had reached him of the approach of the enemy on the morning of the said 5th of October, he halted the said division, notwithstanding it was within two miles of the said village, and formed it in a situation highly unfavorable for receiving the attack." The enemy commenced the attack at four o'clock, p. m., with a regiment of mounted riflemen, the *élite* of their army, formed into two divisions of 500 men each, one of which charged the regulars with great impetuosity, while the other advanced with a company of foot against the Indians. The regulars, dissatisfied by fancied or real neglect, and dispirited by long continued exposure and privation, made but a very feeble resistance; their ranks were pierced and broken, and, being placed between two fires, they immediately surrendered, with the trifling loss of 12 killed and 22 wounded, the British general and a part of the troops seeking safety in flight.* But the Indians carried on the contest with the left of the American line with great determination, and did not retreat until the day was irretrievably lost, and 33 of their numbers had been slain, including the noble Tecumseh—a warrior not less celebrated for his courage than for his humanity, his eloquence, and his influence over the different tribes.† The Americans returned to Sandwich immediately after the action, in which they

* "The ardour which had, till the fatal 5th of October, distinguished the 41st regiment, affords a strong belief it was not cowardice that made that corps surrender so tamely, no matter to what superiority of force. The privations the troops had undergone, and the marked neglect which had been shewn at head quarters to the representations of their commander, had probably possessed them with an idea, that any change would be an improvement in their condition."—*James' Military Occurrences.*

† "Had the men of the 41st regiment at all emulated the Indians, the fate of the day might have been changed."—*Ibid.*

had only 7 killed and 22 wounded. Proctor, who until this retreat possessed the reputation of an active and zealous officer, is accused of leaving entire the bridges and roads in the rear of his retiring army, of encumbering it with a cumbrous quantity of his own personal baggage, and of unnecessarily halting the troops for several whole days; and certain it is that his defeat led to the harshest recrimination between Sir George Prevost and himself. The general order of the former on the subject was of unparalleled severity, as he said: "On this disgraceful day upwards of 600 officers and soldiers were taken prisoners almost without a struggle, of whom but very few appeared to have been rescued by an honorable death from the ignominy of passing under the American yoke, nor are there many whose wounds plead in mitigation of this reproach." * The fugitives made the best of their way to Ancaster, at the head of Lake Ontario; and on the 17th of October they numbered there 246, including the general and 17 officers. The consequence of these disasters was the relinquishment, by the British, of the Michigan territory, with the exception of Michilimackinac; the abandonment of the posts in Upper Canada to the westward of the Grand River, or Ouse; and the loss of the services of the whole of the north-western Indians, with the exception of 200 or 300, who subsequently joined the centre division of the army.†

General Harrison, after garrisoning Detroit and Amherstburg, and discharging his Ohio and Kentucky

* Killed, wounded and missing, in the retreat and in the action of the 5th of October, 1813: 1 inspecting field officer, 1 deputy assistant quartermaster-general, 1 fort adjutant, 1 hospital mate, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 6 captains, 12 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 1 paymaster, 1 assistant-surgeon, 34 sergeants, 13 drummers, 559 rank and file, 46 horses; total, officers and privates, 634.

† "The reader now sees the fatal consequences; first, of not having, in the autumn of 1812, destroyed the two or three schooners which were equipping at Buffaloe by Lieutenant Elliott; secondly, of not having, in the spring of 1813, secured the possession of Sackett's Harbour; thirdly, of not having, in the summer of the same year, captured or destroyed the whole American fleet, as it lay, unmanned, in Presqu'île Harbour."—*James' Military Occurrences.*

volunteers, embarked on the 22d of October, with his disposable regular force, on board of Commodore Perry's squadron, to join the troops on the Niagara frontier. About the same time, the prisoners taken at the Moravian-town were transported by water from Detroit to the *portage* on Lake Erie, distant 45 miles, and thence marched to Franklin-town, 130 miles further. Here they were sent in boats 100 miles down the Scioto to Chillicothe, at which place some of the sergeants and privates were detained. The remainder of the prisoners again proceeded by the Scioto to Cincinnati on the Ohio, where, and at Newport-town, a military depôt, half a mile across the river, nearly all the remaining non-commissioned officers and privates were retained. The small remnant, consisting almost wholly of commissioned officers, proceeded to the ultimate point of destination, Frankfort in Kentucky, 600 miles from Detroit, and about the same distance from the nearest Atlantic port.*

Fort George was taken in May, 1813, by a large American force, under General Dearborn, which compelled Brigadier Vincent to withdraw his troops from Fort Erie and Chippawah, and to retreat to Burlington Heights, at the head of Lake Ontario, the British losing 52 killed, besides upwards of 300 wounded and missing. Immediately after the capture of Fort George, General Dearborn pushed forward to Stoney Creek a body of 3,000 infantry, with nine field pieces and 250 cavalry, for the purpose of dislodging Brigadier Vincent from his position. Lieut.-Colonel Harvey,† the deputy adjutant-general, and a very zealous and intelligent officer, proposed a night attack on this body, which was approved; and with the 49th, under Major Plenderleath, and five companies of the 8th, under Major Ogilvie, (the whole only 704 firelocks,) he led the attack in gallant

* James' Military Occurrences.

† The present Major-General Sir John Harvey, K. C. B.

style; and at two o'clock on the morning of the 6th of June, the British, with fixed bayonets, rushed into the centre of the American camp. The enemy, although completely surprised, evinced a highly creditable state of order and discipline in repeatedly forming, though compelled as often to disperse before the resistless power of the British bayonet. Two brigadiers, (Chandler and Winder,) 7 other officers and 116 men, with three guns and one brass howitzer, were taken in this intrepid attack, which, as it reduced the Americans from offensive to defensive operations, was of the greatest importance to the salvation of the Upper Province. The enemy, however, occupied Fort George till the month of December, when they were compelled to evacuate it and retreat across the Niagara.* In that month, Colonel Murray surprised, and very gallantly captured by a night assault, Fort Niagara, which was retained by the British till the end of the war.

From July to September, 1814, the Canadian bank of the Niagara became the theatre of a succession of obstinate and sanguinary conflicts; but the struggle finally closed by leaving the contending armies in the same positions they had occupied in the preceding spring. The details of these operations are very interesting, but we must content ourselves with stating, that Upper Canada was again invaded on the 3d July by General Brown, who landed with two strong brigades near Fort Erie, which post was garrisoned by only 70 men under Major B——, of the 8th, (the king's,) more with a view of causing a temporary check to an invading force than of defending it against a regular siege, of which it was incapable. But it was tamely surrendered without firing a shot, or even a shew of resistance. The battles of Chippawah and

* While the Americans retained Fort George, the graves of Sir Isaac Brock and Lieut.-Colonel M'Donell, in the cavalier bastion there, remained sacred, and were also respected.

Lundy's Lane* followed in the same month, (July,) in the latter of which the Canadian militia was conspicuous for its bravery. But "it still remains a doubt to whom the victory" at Lundy's Lane belonged, as the Americans were allowed to return unmolested to Fort Erie the next day, and the British general has been blamed for not pursuing them sharply, as he might have reached the fort almost as soon as the enemy, and thus repossessed himself of it without the loss of life and time attendant on a siege.† On the night of the 14th August, the British attempted to retake Fort Erie by storm, and, after a desperate conflict, succeeded in making a lodgment, through the embrasures of the demi-bastion. But a tremendous explosion ensued, by which nearly all the troops who had entered the fort were dreadfully mangled; and a panic being the consequence, the assailants were compelled to retire after a very severe loss, Colonels Scott and Drummond being included among the killed. In September, the Americans were repulsed in a sortie from Fort Erie, after which General Drummond raised its investment, and fell back upon Chippawah. General Brown, on finding that the American squadron on Lake Ontario was incapable of co-operating with him, evacuated Fort Erie in November, and retired to his own territory, thus leaving the long harassed inhabitants of the Niagara district once more to tranquillity and repose.

The recovery of Michilimackinac had long been seriously contemplated by the American government, and would have been attempted in the fall of 1813 but for the lateness of the season, when the expulsion of the British from the banks of the Detroit had opened the passage into Lake Huron. On the other hand, the necessity of retaining a post so favorably situated, if in possession of an enemy, for annoying

* The latter called by the Americans the battle of Bridgewater.

† A correspondent in the United Service Magazine, June, 1845.

the British north-western trade, pressed itself on Sir George Prevost; and in April, 1814, a reinforcement of about 90 men, under an active and zealous officer, Lieut.-Colonel M'Douall, was forwarded with military stores and provisions, by a back route to Michilimackinac. They embarked in twenty-four bateaux from Nottawasega Bay on Lake Huron, distant 260 miles from Michilimackinac, and, after a very tempestuous passage of twenty-five days, reached the fort on the 18th of May. On the 26th of July, an American expedition from Lake Erie, consisting of three brigs and two schooners of war, under Captain Sinclair, with nearly 800 troops on board, appeared off Michilimackinac, and a landing was effected by them on the 4th of August. The British force on the island amounted to only 190 men, including regulars, militia, and Indians, with which Lieut.-Colonel M'Douall repulsed every effort of the Americans to approach the fort; so that they were glad to re-embark the same evening in the utmost haste and confusion, leaving 17 dead on the ground, while the garrison had only one Indian killed. Captain Sinclair stated, what does not appear to have been known to Lieutenant Hanks, when he surrendered the island in 1812 to Captain Roberts, "that Michilimackinac is by nature a perfect Gibraltar, being a high inaccessible rock on every side, except the west, from which to the heights you have nearly two miles to pass through a wood so thick, that our men were shot in every direction, and within a few yards of them, without being able to see the Indians who did it." Michilimackinac remained unmolested to the end of the war, when it was restored, by the treaty of peace, to its former possessors.

It has already been mentioned, that among the prisoners taken at the battle of Queenstown, 23 were sent to England for trial as British born subjects and deserters, and that the American government had

placed an equal number of British soldiers into close confinement as hostages. In consequence, Sir George Prevost, by a general order of the 27th of October, 1813, made known that he had received the commands of the prince regent to put 46 American officers and non-commissioned officers into close confinement, as hostages for the 23 soldiers confined by the American government. He at the same time apprized that government, that if any of the British soldiers should suffer death by reason of the guilt and execution of the traitors taken in arms against their country, he was instructed to select out of the American hostages double the number of the British soldiers who might be so unwarrantably put to death, and to cause them to suffer death immediately. The governor-general also notified to the American government, that in the event of their carrying their murderous threat into execution, the commanders of the British forces, by sea and land, were instructed to prosecute the war with unmitigated severity against all the territory and inhabitants of the United States.

On the 10th of December, Sir George Prevost received a communication from Major-General Wilkinson by flag of truce, stating that the American government, adhering unalterably to their previously declared purpose, had placed 46 British officers into close confinement, there to remain until the same number of American officers and non-commissioned officers were released. Among the officers thus confined, Lieut.-Colonels Evans and Warburton, and Captains Muir and Chambers were, with other officers taken prisoners at the Moravian-town, and to the disgrace of the American executive, imprisoned in the penitentiary at Frankfort, in Kentucky, with forty convicts therein incarcerated for murder and other heinous crimes! In retaliation, the governor-general ordered all the American officers, prisoners of war, without exception of rank, to be placed into close confinement as hostages, until the number of 46

was completed over and above those already in confinement. In pursuance of this order, Brigadiers Winder, Chandler, and Winchester, were confined in a private house at Quebec, with as little inconvenience as their security would admit.

On the 15th of April, 1814, after some negotiation, opened at the solicitation of the American government, a convention was entered into at Montreal, by which it was agreed to release the hostages and to make an exchange of prisoners, the American government relinquishing its pretensions to retaliate for the prisoners sent to England for legal trial as traitors to their country. This convention was ratified in July, at Champlain, near the lines; but, whether by previous agreement or tacit understanding, the traitors, we believe, escaped the just punishment of their crime.

The remaining events of the war in Canada during the campaigns of 1812, 13, and 14, do not fall within the scope of this memoir. Some we might chronicle with pride, but a few we could not record without shame; and, on the whole, we cannot but think that the same withering influence, which bound the hands and repressed the energies of "him who undoubtedly was the best officer that headed our troops throughout the war,"* was visible to the termination of the contest—a contest in which we are satisfied the result would have been very different, "if a man of military genius, courage, quickness, and decision, had held the supreme command."† Indeed, when we reflect upon the management of that eventful war, we are often forcibly reminded, in the fatal loss of Sir Isaac Brock, of the pathetic lament of the gallant highlander, who contrasting the irresolution of his present general with the deeds of his former chief, the re-

* James' Military Occurrences.

† Pictorial History of England.

nowned Grahame,* Viscount Dundee, mournfully exclaimed:

Oh ! for one hour of Dundee !

During the progress of the war, the British government made several overtures for a reconciliation ; and at length, when Napoleon's disasters commenced, and the Eastern States were threatening to dissolve the union, Madison expressed a wish to treat with England, even at the end of 1813. The negotiations were commenced in earnest at Ghent, in August, 1814, at a time when Great Britain, being at peace with the remainder of the world, was in a condition to prosecute the contest with all her energies ; but her people wished for repose after the long and arduous struggle in which they had been engaged ; and a treaty of peace, signed at Ghent on the 24th of December, was ratified by the two governments, the plenipotentiaries on both sides waiving every question at issue before the war, and restoring every acquisition of territory during its progress.† Thus the Americans had only the Canadian and defenceless side of the Detroit to give in exchange for their fortress of Niagara and their key possession of Michilimackinac.

Should Great Britain unfortunately be driven into another American war, as is too probable amid so many elements of discord, added to the reckless pretensions of the Southern, and more especially of the Western States of the Union, it is to be hoped that

* John Grahame, of Claverhouse, was mortally wounded at the pass of Killierankie, in 1689, and died the next day. With him expired the cause of James the Second in Scotland, as, although the war languished in the highlands for two years after, nothing of importance occurred. When William was urged to send more troops into Scotland, he replied : " It is unnecessary, the war has ended with Dundee's life."

† 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. And these 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 this country had contended.—*Quarterly Review*, July, 1822.

the British government will profit by the fatal experience of the past, and that it will not again seek to entwine the olive branch around the sword. The prophetic words of Sir Isaac Brock should be remembered when, alluding to the deadly armistice of 1812, he said: "A cessation of hostilities has taken place along this frontier. Should peace follow, the measure will be well; if hostilities recommence, nothing can be more unfortunate than this pause."* But *pax in bello* is not the shortest path to peace, and, as might have been foreseen, peace did not follow "this pause." If the North-Eastern States, whose interests and natural sympathies incline them to the British alliance, cannot avert hostilities—because the Whigs, as the American conservatives are termed, have lost their proper influence, and the dominant party of the Union is no longer to be found in New York or New England—let them sever a connection which they cannot control. But if they hesitate to do this—if they prefer submitting to the rule of the lawless denizen of the west, or of the more aristocratic slaveholder of the south—let then the British lion be let loose on them with his wonted strength, and let not the Northerners be spared, who, with superior wealth and intelligence, permit the backwoodsman to provoke a war, of which the calamities cannot reach him. While Great Britain preserves her naval preponderance—and may she long preserve it for righteous purposes—both the Northern and Southern States can be easily assailed; the former through their commercial marine, the latter in arming and assisting their slaves to acquire freedom, which would indeed be a holy work. Unless, however, a better policy and truer economy obtain in England's councils, her navy will be shorn of half its power, by her seamen being again driven from their country by their only fear, impressment, that national stain of former wars, and fighting under the American banner

* See page 285.

of "free trade" and "seamen's rights." But if they be no longer treated with injustice and oppression, and their pay and rewards be wisely commensurate with the fair and marketable value of their services—and surely the seaman of all men is most worthy of his hire,—then may Britons be "confident against a world in arms," and the sea board of the Union will quickly acknowledge the majesty of Britain's strength. And to ensure the hearty co-operation of the colonists in this vigorous course, as well as to preserve their affection and allegiance, let them be taught to feel that they are not excluded from the influences of self-government, or from the distribution of colonial patronage—until recently their great causes of complaint—and that they enjoy more substantial liberty than in the United States, where the air is tainted with slavery, Lynch or mob-law obtains, and the fair discussion of adverse opinions is prevented by ruthless attacks on life and property. The colonists cannot desire to incorporate themselves with a people who retain three millions of their fellow men in bondage, and who breed slaves in one State for the supply of another, even permitting the parent to sell his child! The entire Union participates in the guilt, and in vain does a single State boast of its liberties, while such are a federation's unhallowed offerings at the shrine of freedom.

Early in 1815, Sir George Prevost was directed to return to England for the purpose of meeting accusations relative to his conduct at Plattsburg, which had been preferred by Commodore Sir James Yeo, who, after some delay, produced his charges in legal form; and to afford time for the arrival of the necessary witnesses from Canada, the general court martial was postponed to the 12th of January, 1816. In the mean time the health of the late governor-general, naturally of a delicate cast, became seriously affected, partly from anxiety of mind; and he died in his 49th

year, in London, on the 5th of January, exactly a week preceding the day appointed for his trial, leaving a widow, one son, and two daughters. Previously to his departure from Lower Canada, the commons, or French party, voted him the munificent sum of £5,000 for the purchase of a service of plate, as a tribute of respect, which vote was approved of by the prince regent; but the legislative council, or English party, refused their assent to a bill for that purpose. As Sir George was probably aware of this hostile feeling towards him on the part of the British race, he should have at once declined the doubtful gift, and asked his supporters, as Phocion did in Athens, "Of what indiscretion have I been guilty?"

Sir George Prevost was of slight, diminutive person, and unsoldierlike appearance; his manners are represented as unassuming and social, and his temper as placid and forgiving. His public speeches or addresses are said to have partaken of even classical elegance, and his dispatches and general orders also afford proofs of his literary acquirements. Discredit can only be thrown on his character as a general; and indeed his best friends must admit that his defensive policy at the commencement of the war, and his subsequent irresolution and infirmity of purpose, did not tend either to raise the glory of England, or to advance his own fame, and that of every enterprising officer who served under him. And yet soon after his death, notwithstanding that the lamentable failures at Sackett's Harbour and Plattsburg were fresh in the public recollection, new and honorary armorial bearings, with supporters, were solicited and obtained by his family, in seeming approbation of his services in Canada, the supporters being two grenadiers of the 16th foot, of which regiment Sir George was colonel, each bearing a flag, gules; the dexter flag inscribed, "West Indies"—the sinister, "Canada"! If these distinctions were conferred in honor of his civil administration, which we have already eulogized, although

others have stoutly denied him any merit even on this point, they were, we believe, justly bestowed; but if they were intended as an approval of his military conduct during the contest, certain it is that his contemporaries indignantly refused to concede his claim to them, and that no historian has as yet admitted that claim.* It was unfortunate for Sir George that he was called upon to wage war against the United States, as his natural and excusable sympathies in favor of a people among whom he had been born, and at least partly educated, may have influenced his judgment without any conscious betrayal of the great charge entrusted to him; and this remark applies with double force to his schoolfellow, Sir Roger Sheaffe, whose entire family and connexions were American. In any case, it was hard on Sir Isaac Brock, after being retained in Canada by Sir James Craig, when he was so anxious to serve in the Peninsula, because that officer could not spare him,

* While these remarks were in type, we heard accidentally of a large monument, in the cathedral at Winchester, to the memory of Sir George Prevost, with a laudatory inscription, for a copy of which we immediately wrote to a friend, and which we now transcribe without comment, as we respect the feelings of conjugal affection by which the epitaph was evidently dictated.

“Sacred to the Memory of Lieut.-General Sir George Prevost, Baronet, of Belmont, in this County, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in North America; in which command, by his wise and energetic measures, and with a very inferior force, he preserved the Canadas to the British Crown from the repeated invasions of a powerful enemy. His constitution at length sank under incessant mental and bodily exertions, in discharging the duties of that arduous station; and having returned to England, he died shortly afterwards in London, on the 5th of January, 1816, aged 48, thirty-four years of which had been devoted to the service of his Country. He was interred near the remains of his father, Major-General Augustus Prevost, at East Barnet, in Hertfordshire. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to evince in an especial manner the sense he entertained of his distinguished conduct and services during a long period of constant active employment, in stations of great trust, both Military and Civil, was pleased to ordain, as a lasting Memorial of His Majesty's Royal Favor, that the names of the Countries where his Courage and Abilities had been signally displayed—the West Indies and Canada—should be inscribed on the Banners of the Supporters, granted to be borne by his Family and Descendants. In testimony of his Private Worth, his Piety, Integrity and Benevolence, and all those tender, domestic virtues, which endeared him to his Family, his Children, his Friends, and his Dependants, as well as to prove her unfeigned Love, Gratitude, and Respect, Catherine Anne Prevost, his afflicted Widow, caused this Monument to be erected. Anno Domini 1819.

and after at length obtaining leave to return to Europe for that purpose—it was hard, we repeat, when hostilities did at last break out in America, that his energies should have been so cramped by the passive attitude of his superior. Remembering, however, the maxim, *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, the editor has refrained from transcribing aught reflecting on the memory of that superior when he could do so consistently with truth, although he feels acutely that the death of Sir Isaac Brock—hastened, as he believes it was, by the defensive policy and mistaken views of Sir George Prevost—was an irreparable loss to his many brothers,* who were at that period just rising into manhood, and in consequence required all the interest for their advancement which their uncle would probably have possessed. One especially, who closely resembled him both in appearance and character, and who would have been an ornament to any service, was compelled to embrace the profession of arms, for which he had been educated, under the banners of a foreign and far distant country. In that country, Chile, Colonel Tupper cruelly fell at the early age of twenty-nine years; and if the reader will turn to the memoir of this daring soldier in the Appendix, necessarily brief as it is, he will probably agree with the British consul who wrote, that he had “for many years looked upon his gallant and honorable conduct as reflecting lustre upon the English name;” and he will think with the French traveller, who, after highly eulogizing him, said: “N’est-il pas déplorable que de tels hommes en soient réduits à se consacrer à une cause étrangère?”

* Including the editor, ten; viz. two died young, of scarlet fever, and were buried in the same coffin; two drowned at different times; two slain; two died at sea, while passengers on board his majesty’s packets from Rio de Janeiro to Falmouth, on the same day of the same month (15th August) in different years, 1833 and 1837! and only two still survive.

CHAPTER XVI.

(TECUMSEH.)

As the heroic and undaunted Tecumseh* was so conspicuous in the annals of this war for his fidelity and devotion to the British crown, and as his name has occurred so often in these pages, a chapter, with a concluding and connected notice of him, will surely be deemed but an act of justice to his memory.

This renowned aboriginal chief was a Shawanee, and was born in 1769 or 1770, about the same year as his "brave brother warrior," Sir Isaac Brock. He may be said to have been inured to war from his infancy, as the Indian nations continued in hostility against the United States after their independence was achieved, alleging that they infringed on their territories. In 1790, about which period Tecumseh first gave proofs of that talent and daring which so distinguished his after-life, General Harmer was dispatched with a competent force to punish the predatory incursions of the Indians; but he was glad to return, with the loss of many of his men. In the following year, General St. Clair proceeded with another army to ravage the Miami and Shawanee settlements, and was even more unfortunate than his predecessor, as the Indians boldly advanced to meet him on the way, attacked his encampment, and put his troops to a total rout, in which the greater part were cut off and destroyed. In 1794, however, a

* "Tecumseh was pronounced *Tecumthé*, and is said by some to have signified a *crouching panther*; by others, a *falling star*."—*Note in Tecumseh, a Poem, by G. H. Colton. New York, 1842.*

much more formidable expedition, under General Wayne, entered the Indian territory; the warriors gradually retired as the Americans advanced, but at length imprudently determined on making a stand. In the battle which ensued, the Indians were so completely discomfited, that, the following year, they agreed to the treaty of Greenville, by which they were compelled to cede a large tract of country as an indemnity for *past injuries*! As Tecumseh had then scarcely completed his twenty-fifth year, and as the Indians pay great deference to age, it is not probable that he had any hand in this treaty, the more especially as, from that period to 1812, he laboured incessantly to unite the numerous aboriginal tribes of the North American continent in one grand confederacy, for the threefold purpose of endeavouring to regain their former possessions as far as the Ohio, of resisting the further encroachments of the whites, and of preventing the future cession of land by any one tribe, without the sanction of all, obtained in a general council. With this object he visited the different nations; and having assembled the elders, he enforced his disinterested views in strains of such impassioned and persuasive eloquence, that the greater part promised him their co-operation and assistance. But, to form a general alliance of so many and such various tribes, required a higher degree of patriotism and civilization than the Indians had attained. From the numbers, however, who ranged themselves with Tecumseh under the British standard, on the breaking out of the war in 1812, it is evident that he had acquired no little influence over them, and that his almost incredible exertions, both of mind and body, had not been altogether thrown away.

About the year 1804, Els-kwà-ta-wa, brother of Tecumseh, proclaimed himself a prophet, who had been commanded by the Great Spirit, the Creator of the red, but not of the white, people, to announce to his children, that the misfortunes by which they were

assailed arose from their having abandoned the mode of life which He had prescribed to them. He declared that they must return to their primitive habits—relinquish the use of ardent spirits—and clothe themselves in skins, and not in woollens. His fame soon spread among the surrounding nations, and his power to perform miracles was generally believed. He was joined by many, and not a few came from a great distance and cheerfully submitted to much hardship and fatigue, that they might behold the prophet, and then return. He first established himself at Greenville, within the boundary of the United States; but the inhabitants of Ohio becoming alarmed at the immense assemblage of Indians on their frontier, the American authorities insisted on his removal. Accordingly he proceeded, in 1808, to the Wabash, and fixed his residence on the northern bank of that river, near the mouth of the Tippecanoe. Here his popularity declined, but, through the influence of Tecumseh, he was again joined by many among the neighbouring tribes. The prophet's temporal concerns were conducted by Tecumseh, who adroitly availed himself of his brother's spiritual power to promote his favorite scheme of a general confederacy.

In 1811, Tecumseh, accompanied by several hundred warriors, encamped near Vincennes, the capital of Indiana, and demanded an interview with the governor of that state, Major-General Harrison, the same officer who, in 1813, commanded the victorious troops at the battle of the Thames, in which Tecumseh lost his life. The interview was agreed to, and the governor inquired whether the Indians intended to come armed to the council. Tecumseh replied that he would be governed by the conduct of the white people; if they came armed, his warriors would be armed also; if not, his followers would come unarmed. The governor informed him that he would be attended by a troop of dragoons, dismounted, with their side arms only, and that the Indians might bring their

war clubs and tomahawks. The meeting took place in a large arbour, on one side of which were the dragoons, eighty in number, seated in rows; on the other, the Indians. But besides their sabres, the dragoons were armed with pistols. The following incident is said to have occurred at this interview. Tecumseh looked round for a seat, but not finding one provided for him, he betrayed his surprise, and his eyes flashed fire. The governor, perceiving the cause, instantly ordered a chair. One of the council offered the warrior his chair, and, bowing respectfully, said to him: "Warrior, your father, General Harrison, offers you a seat." "My father!" exclaimed Tecumseh, extending his hand towards the heavens, "the sun is my father, and the earth is my mother; she gives me nourishment, and I will repose on her bosom." He then threw himself on the ground. When the governor, who was seated in front of the dragoons, commenced his address, Tecumseh declared that he could not hear him, and requested him to remove his seat to an open space near himself. The governor complied, and in his speech complained of the constant depredations and murders which were committed by the Indians of Tippecanoe; of the refusal on their part to give up the criminals; and of the increasing accumulation of force in that quarter, for the avowed purpose of compelling the United States to relinquish lands which they had fairly purchased of the rightful owners. Tecumseh, in his answer, denied that he had afforded protection to the guilty, but manfully admitted his design of forming a confederacy of all the red nations of that continent. He observed, that "the system which the United States pursued, of purchasing lands from the Indians, he viewed as a *mighty water*, ready to overflow his people, and that the confederacy which he was forming among the tribes, to prevent any tribe from selling land without the consent of the others, was the *dam* he was erecting to resist this mighty water." And

he added, "your great father, the president, may sit over the mountains and drink his wine, but if he continue this policy, you and I will have to meet on the battle field." He also admitted, that he was then on his way to the Creek nation, about 600 miles distant from the Wabash, for the purpose he had just avowed, and he continued his journey two days after, with twelve or fifteen of his warriors. Having visited the Creek and other southern tribes, he crossed the Mississippi, and continued a northern course as far as the river Demoins, whence he returned to the Wabash by land. But a sad reverse of fortune awaited his return; he found his town consumed, his bravest warriors slain, and a large deposit of provisions destroyed. On his departure, the settlement at Tippecanoe was left in charge of his brother, the prophet, with strict injunctions to prevent all hostile incursions, as they might lead to extremities before his plans were matured. Els-kwà-ta-wa, however, wanted either the inclination or the authority to follow these injunctions; and the Americans assert, that murder and rapine occurred now so frequently, that they were compelled, in their own defence, to punish the delinquents. Accordingly, General Harrison proceeded with nearly 1,000 men to Tippecanoe, and on his approach, in November, 1811, was met by about 600 warriors; a battle ensued, in which the Indians, deprived by the absence of their chief of his counsel and example, were defeated, but with nearly equal loss on both sides. Assured by the prophet that the American bullets would not injure them, they rushed on the bayonets with their war clubs, and exposed their persons with a fatal fearlessness. But Els-kwà-ta-wa himself remained during the battle in security on an adjacent eminence; he was chaunting a war song, when information was brought to him that his men were falling.* "Let them fight on, for my pre-

* "Els-kwà-ta-wa was tall, but too slight to be well proportioned, with a keen eye and a thin gloomy visage. 'Tecumseh,' says Thatcher in

diction will soon be verified," was the substance of his reply, and he resumed his song in a louder key!

The hostility of Tecumseh to those whom he had ever considered as the spoilers of his country, was, if possible, redoubled by this severe act of retaliation. General Harrison, in particular, incurred his personal enmity, and he declared openly that he would seek for vengeance. Nor was he backward in putting his threats into execution.* Early in 1812, the Indians renewed their hostile incursions, but they were now treated with unusual forbearance, in the hope that they would remain neutral in the war with Great Britain, which the American government well knew was near at hand. On its declaration in June, however, Tecumseh eagerly embraced the opportunity which it afforded, not only to promote his long meditated public views, but to avenge his private injuries; and, hastening with his warriors to Upper Canada, he had soon the gratification of witnessing, at Detroit, the surrender of the 4th U. S. infantry, (or heroes of Tippecanoe, as they were then denominated,) which regiment claimed the principal merit of having, the preceding year, defeated his followers and destroyed his settlement. After the surrender, Major-General Brock desired Tecumseh to prevent the Indians from ill-treating the prisoners, and the chief promptly replied: "I despise them too much to injure them."

Previously to the battle of the Thames, already noticed, the position chosen to await the attack of the American army, and the disposition of the British

his excellent biography, 'was frank, warlike, persuasive in his oratory, popular in his manners, irreproachable in his habits of life. *Els-kwa-ta-wa* had more cunning than courage; and a stronger disposition to talk than to fight, or exert himself in any other way. But he was subtle, fluent, persevering, and self-possessed.' They were, however, well formed to scheme and execute their plans together. The one became a prophet, crafty and cruel, haranguing wherever he could get a hearer; the other carried out his designs, thus supported, into boldness and energy of action."—*Note in Tecumseh, a Poem*, already cited.

* "By whom are the savages led?' was the question, for many years, during the wars between the Americans and Indians. The name 'Tecumseh' was itself a host on the side of the latter."—*James*.

force, were approved of by Tecumseh, and his last words to General Proctor were: "Father, tell your young men to be firm, and all will be well." He then repaired to his people, and harangued them before they occupied their post. While the white troops were so quickly overcome, Tecumseh and his warriors almost as rapidly repelled the enemy; and the Indians continued to push their advantage in ignorance of the disaster of their allies, until their heroic chief, who had previously received a musket ball in the left arm, fell by a rifle bullet, while in the act of advancing to close with Colonel Johnson, who was on horseback, commanding his regiment of mounted riflemen.*

Of the many Indian chiefs who distinguished themselves in the wars of the whites, Tecumseh was undoubtedly the greatest since the days of Pontiac. Sir Isaac Brock has expressed his warm admiration of him, and it is well known that the feeling was mutual; but it is said that after the death of his friend and patron, Tecumseh "found no kindred spirit with whom to act." † In early life he was addicted to inebriety, the prevailing vice of the Indians; but his good sense and resolution conquered the habit, and, in his later years, he was remarkable for temperance. Glory became his ruling passion, and in its acquisition he was careless of wealth, as, although his presents and booty must have been of considerable value, he preserved little or nothing for himself. In height he was five feet ten inches, well formed, and capable of enduring fatigue in an extraordinary degree. His carriage was erect and commanding, and there was an air of hauteur in his countenance, arising from an elevated pride of soul, which did not forsake it when life was extinct. He was habitually taciturn, but,

* "It seems extraordinary that General Harrison should have omitted to mention, in his letter, the death of a chief, whose fall contributed so largely to break down the Indian spirit, and to give peace and security to the whole north-western frontier of the United States."—*James*.

† Lieutenant Francis Hall's Travels in Canada, in 1816 and 1817.

when excited, his eloquence was nervous, concise, and figurative. His dress was plain, and he was never known to indulge in the gaudy decoration of his person, which is the common practice of the Indians. On the day of his death, he wore a dressed deer-skin coat and pantaloons. He was present in almost every action against the Americans, from the period of Harmer's defeat to the battle of the Thames — was several times wounded — and always sought the hottest of the fire.* On the 19th of July, 1812, he pursued, near the river *Canard*, in Upper Canada, a detachment of the American army under Colonel M'Arthur, and fired on the rear guard. The colonel suddenly faced about his men and gave orders for a volley, when all the Indians fell flat on the ground with the exception of Tecumseh, who stood firm on his feet, with apparent unconcern! After his fall, his lifeless corpse was viewed with great interest by the American officers, who declared that the contour of his features was majestic even in death. And notwithstanding, it is said by an American writer, that "some of the Kentuckians disgraced themselves by committing indignities on his dead body. He was scalped, and *otherwise disfigured*." He left a son, who fought by his side when he fell, and was then about seventeen years old. The prince regent, in 1814, as a mark of respect to the memory of the father, sent a handsome sword as a present to the son. A nephew of Tecumseh and of the prophet, (their sister's son,) who was highly valued by the Americans, was slain in their service, in November, 1812, on the northern bank of the river Miami. Having been brought up by the American general, Logan, he had adopted that officer's name. He asserted that Tecumseh had in vain sought to engage him in the war on the side of the British.

* "Few officers in the United States' service were so able to command in the field as this famed Indian chief. He was an excellent judge of position; and not only knew, but could point out, the localities of the whole country through which he had passed." — *James*.

CHAPTER XVII.

(MISCELLANEOUS.)

Thomas Porter, a faithful servant of Sir Isaac Brock, was sent to England with his effects, and at the request of the family, was discharged from the 49th regiment, in which he was borne as a soldier, and in which he had an only brother; their father having been killed, while also in the regiment, on board the Monarch, at Copenhagen. The commander-in-chief readily sanctioned the discharge of Porter, "as a small tribute to the memory of a most gallant and valuable officer."

His Royal Highness the Duke of York to W. Brock, Esq.

HORSE GUARDS, December, 1815.

The prince regent having been graciously pleased to command, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, that the officers present at the capture of Detroit should be permitted to bear a medal commemorative of that brilliant victory, I have to transmit to you the medal* which would have been conferred upon the late Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, and which the prince regent has been pleased to direct should be deposited with his family, as a token of the respect which his royal highness entertains for the memory of that officer.

I am, Sir, yours,

FREDERICK,
Commander-in-Chief.

* The medal is a very large and beautifully executed gold one, made to suspend from the neck. On the obverse is, "Detroit;" on the reverse, the figure of Britannia; and round the rim, "Major-General Sir Isaac Brock." The medal was given only to the principal officers.

In the year 1817, Mr. Savery Brock visited the United States and Canada, and, while in the latter country, received the grants of the 12,000 acres of land voted by the legislature of the Upper Province to the four brothers of Sir Isaac Brock. The letters written by him during his travels were highly prized at the time, and the following are brief extracts from them :

YORK, Upper Canada, Aug. 20 to 25, 1817.

I travelled with three gentlemen from New York as far as Fort George, where they left me on their return by Montreal. We crossed at Buffalo on the 9th instant, at which place we arrived half an hour before the President; and although one of our party (Mr. Gouverneur) was his nephew, we did not delay our journey to have a view of his countenance, and came over to Fort Erie, or, properly speaking, its remains. Seven miles from the fort, we stopped the next morning to breakfast at a house where Isaac had lived six months, and the landlord told me with tears: "He was a friend and a father to me. I was close to him when he was shot;"—with these words, unable from his feelings to add more, he walked away quickly up his orchard. . . . On paying my respects to Mrs. Powell, the lady of the present chief justice, and to Mrs. Claus, they were greatly affected, and shed tears; and Mr. Scott,* on whom I called yesterday, was equally so. Every one here is most kind—Isaac truly lived in their hearts: from one end of Canada to the other, he is beloved to a degree you can scarcely imagine—his memory will long live among them. "To your brother, Sir, we are indebted for the preservation of this province," is a sentiment that comes from the heart, and is in the mouths of too many to be flattery. This is pleasing, no doubt, to me, but it is a mournful pleasure, and recalls to me the past. I dine at five with the gen-

* The then late chief justice.

tllemen of this town, and I see a splendid table laid out up stairs—the garrison is invited. I found no way to avoid these marks of respect to Isaac's memory. I assure you that it is truly unpleasant to me to see so many persons putting themselves in some degree out of their way to gratify me, as I think it, though I am aware that they do it to satisfy their own feelings. I should also mention, that last Saturday I dined at Fort George, by invitation of the gentlemen there and its environs; we were *forty-nine* in number, and it was the anniversary of the capture of Detroit! I was invited, without their remembering the day of the month—it was a curious coincidence. The clergyman, who was of the party, made allusion during divine service next morning to Isaac, and to my being in the church. I mention these particulars, that you may fully judge of the kindness of all. After the service, three fine young farmers came up to me and wished to shake hands, having been at Detroit and Queenstown. Nothing could exceed their marks of attachment. Every body, they said, connected with Isaac would always be seen with pleasure: they were, like myself, most sensibly affected.

I hear of such misconduct on the part of most of the generals, of such negligence that was occasioned by it on the part of other officers, that it is only surprising we retained the country. Every general required so much urging to permit an attack, that it was really a favor for any enterprising officer, who grieved that nothing was done, to be allowed a handful of men to beat the enemy with. Poor York! how miserably defended; but I shall not enter into particulars; as no interest is now entertained for these affairs.

MONTREAL, October 24.

I have had 7,000 acres granted in East and West Flamborough, at the head of Lake Ontario, about twelve miles from its margin; this is the best of our

land, but not a house within eight or nine miles of it; 1,200 acres in Brock township, on Lake Simcoe; 3,000 acres in Monaghan, on the Rice Lake; and 800 acres in Murray, on Lake Ontario.

I crossed from York to Kingston in a steam boat of 722 tons, 150 feet keel, and 30 feet beam—in a bateau to La Chine, and reached Montreal on the 13th instant. On the 16th I left this at six o'clock a. m. in a steamer of 610 tons, and reached Quebec the next day (Friday) at about one o'clock, p. m., having anchored all night, the channel being too narrow to pass in the dark. I remained until Tuesday night at Quebec, and arrived here last evening at seven o'clock—this is quick and pleasant travelling—the cabin of these boats is good, and the meals, four a day, excellent—passage, including board and wine, 24 dollars down and up.

The principal gentlemen of this place have formed a committee of eight persons, and waited on me to fix a day to dine with them. Tuesday is named. So very civil is every one, that I am quite overcome with their politeness. Colonel M'Bean, of the 99th, and all his officers, have also called. Isaac's memory is so cherished—all loved him sincerely. At Quebec, I dined with Sir John Sherbrooke, &c., visited the falls of Montmorenci, &c., and was much pleased with my trip there.

October 25.—The name of Isaac is highly venerated, and it is most gratifying to me to find it so universally so, whilst the names of many other generals, who commanded during the war, are spoken of with much indifference.*

* On Mr. Brock's return home in January, 1818, he brought the model of a steam vessel which he had had constructed at New York, steam navigation being then in its infancy in England. He exhibited this model at the admiralty, post office, and treasury, and strongly urged the first-named board to construct and employ a steamer in the suppression of smuggling. In an interview at the admiralty with one of the naval lords, Mr. Brock was asked by him if he thought the people of England would ever suffer a ship of war to be navigated without canvass, and gave this answer: "Sir, do you believe that the people of England can ever prevent the sun shining upon them? for as surely as they cannot, so surely will

Extract from the Montreal Herald of November 1, 1817.

On Tuesday, the 28th ultimo, the principal inhabitants of Montreal gave a public dinner at the Mansion House, to John Savery Brock, Esq., of the island of Guernsey, as a tribute of respect justly due to the memory of his late brother, the deceased Major-General Sir Isaac Brock.

Sir John Johnson, Bart., took the chair at six o'clock, supported by Messrs. Forsyth and St. Dizier, vice-presidents, who conducted the arrangements of the table in a manner worthy of the occasion which the company had assembled to commemorate.

After the cloth was removed, a series of appropriate toasts were given from the chair. When "the memory of the late Major-General Sir Isaac Brock" was pledged and drunk, Mr. B. availed himself of the universal silence it created to address the company. In a short speech, he expressed his acknowledgments for the very flattering and distinguished manner they were pleased, through him, to testify their veneration for the memory of his deceased brother, whose public and private qualities, he was proud to observe, were so highly appreciated by the inhabitants of Montreal, in whose society he had for a period been domesticated, and of whose kindness and hospitality he always retained a grateful remembrance.

At the commencement of the American war, Mr. B. observed, an arduous command devolved upon his brother; he had to protect an extensive frontier with very limited means, and those means, feeble as they were, shackled by the trammels of superior authority; the advance of an hostile army, however, upon our provincial territory, developed the resources of his military genius, and afforded him a glorious opportunity of proving to his country what he *might* have achieved under different circumstances. Mr. Brock apologized to the company for detaining them a few minutes longer, in reading some extracts of letters he had received from the late general, at different times, previous to the battle of Queenstown. These extracts corroborated what Mr. B. had previously stated; and it is remarkable that in one of them, with a spirit almost prophetic, the hero foretold the issue of that eventful day, when the hand of victory was destined to mingle the cypress and the laurel over his grave. Mr. Brock's feelings were a good deal affected in addressing so numerous an assemblage of his late brother's personal friends; and we may venture to add, that never were feelings

steam boats navigate the British channel." Although foiled and unheeded at this time, Mr. Brock lived to witness the fulfilment of his views and proposals, which were then treated as visionary.—(See *Guernsey and Jersey Magazine*, vol. v. p. 117.) He was a man of great decision and energy of character, of which many interesting anecdotes are related.

of the same description more sacredly participated than those of Mr. B. on this occasion. Mr. B. concluded his speech by drinking the health of the company, and "success and prosperity to the city of Montreal."

At eleven o'clock the president retired, and was succeeded in the chair by the Hon. W. M'Gillivray, who immediately proposed the health of the worthy baronet, with three times three.

The band of the 99th regiment attended and played a variety of beautiful airs, which, in addition to a number of excellent songs given in the course of the evening, seduced the party to remain until the "little hours" stole upon them.

We regret that want of room prevents us from noticing as we could wish the neat and soldierlike address of thanks from Lieut.-Colonel M'Bean, on behalf of the garrison of Montreal, or of recording a translation of the figurative speeches, delivered in the Indian language by Lieut.-Colonel M'Kay and A. Shaw, Esq., excited from those gentlemen by a recurrence to the co-operation of the gallant warrior, Tecumseh, with the lamented chief whose immortal memory forms the subject of this article.

*Irving Brock, Esq., to his niece, Miss Caroline Tupper.**

LONDON, April 12, 1825.

I went to Windsor on Wednesday last with the four Indians, accompanied by my friend Mr. W——, to shew them the castle, Frogmore, &c.; but the chief object, which I had secretly in mind, was to have them introduced to his majesty. Sir John C——, the late mayor of Windsor, assisted me very effectually, and the upshot of the matter is, that the king expressed his desire to see the Indian chiefs, although every body treated this as a most chimerical idea. They wore, for the first time, the brilliant clothes which Mr. Butterworth had had made for them, and you cannot conceive how grand and imposing they appeared.

The king appointed half-past one on Thursday to receive our party at the royal lodge, his place of residence. We were ushered into the library; and now I am going to say somewhat pleasing to your uncle

* The present Mrs. De Beauvoir De Lisle.

Savery. As Sir John C—— was in the act of introducing me, but before he had mentioned my name, Sir Andrew Barnard* interrupted him, and said: “There is no occasion to introduce me to that gentleman—I know him to be General Brock’s brother—he and Colonel Brock, of the 81st, were my most intimate friends—I was in the 81st with the colonel. There was another brother whom I also knew—he who was paymaster of the 49th—he was a gallant fellow. By the bye, sir, I beg your pardon; perhaps I am speaking to that very gentleman.”

In the library there was also present, Marquess Conyngham, Lord Mount Charles, Sir Edmund Nagle, &c. &c. We remained chatting in the house above half an hour, expecting every moment to see the king enter; and I was greatly amused to observe Mr. W—— and Sir John C—— start and appear convulsed every time there was a noise outside the door. We were admiring the fine lawn when the Marquess Conyngham asked the Indians if they would like to take a turn, at the same time opening the beautiful door that leads to it. The party was no sooner out than we saw the king standing quite still, and as erect as a grenadier on a field day, some forty yards from us. We were all immediately uncovered, and advanced slowly towards the handsomest, the most elegant, the most enchanting man in the kingdom; the Indians conducted by Marquess Conyngham, Sir Edmund Nagle, Sir Andrew Barnard, Lord Mount Charles, &c. &c. The range of balconies was filled with ladies. Sir John C——, Mr. W—— and I, allowed the party to approach his majesty, while we modestly halted at a distance of twenty yards. It was worth while being there only to see the benign countenance of the greatest monarch in the world, and to witness his manner of uncovering his head. The four chiefs fell on their knees. The king desired them to rise, and entered into a great deal of prelimi-

* The present Lieut.-General Sir Andrew Barnard, G. C. B.

nary conversation. I saw him turn towards the marquess, and after a few seconds he said, with his loud and sonorous voice: "Pray, Mr. Brock, come near me—I pray you come near me." I felt a little for my companions who continued unnoticed, and especially for Sir John C——, to whom I was principally indebted for the royal interview.

The king addressed the Indians in French, very distinctly, fluently, and loud: "I observe you have the portrait of my father; will you permit me to present you with mine?" The marquess then produced four large and weighty gold coronation peer medallions of his majesty, suspended by a rich mazarine blue silk riband. The chiefs, seeing this, dropped again upon their knees, and the king took the four medallions successively into his hand, and said: "Will some gentleman have the goodness to tie this behind?"—upon which Sir Edmund Nagle, with whom we had been condoling on account of the gout, while waiting in the library, and who wore a list shoe, skipped nimbly behind the chiefs, and received the string from the king, tying the cordon on the necks of the four chiefs. We were much amused to observe how the royal word can dispel the gout. The instant the grand chief was within reach of the medallion, and before the investiture was completed, he seized the welcome present with the utmost earnestness, and kissed it with an ardour which must have been witnessed to be conceived. The king appeared sensibly affected by this strong and unequivocal mark of grateful emotion. The other chiefs acted in a similar way, and nothing could have been managed more naturally, or in better taste. After this ceremony, the king desired them to rise and to be covered. They put on their hats, and, which appeared extraordinary to me, his majesty remained uncovered all the time. Here it was that the grand chief, as if incapable of repressing his feelings, poured out in a most eloquent manner, by voice and action,

the following unpremeditated speech in his native Indian tongue. I say unpremeditated, because that fine allusion to the sun could not have been contemplated while we were waiting in the library, the room where we expected the interview to take place. I was pleased to find that the presence of this mighty sovereign, who governs the most powerful nation upon earth, did not drive from the thoughts of the pious chief, the King of kings and the Lord of lords.

The instant he had finished, the chief of the warriors interpreted in the French language, and I wrote down the speech as soon as I left the royal lodge. It should be observed, that the chiefs had been previously informed by me that, according to etiquette, they should answer any questions which his majesty might be pleased to ask, but not introduce any conversation of their own. The sun was shining vividly.

THE SPEECH.

I was instructed not to speak in the royal presence, unless in answer to your majesty's questions. But my feelings overpower me. My heart is full. I am amazed at such unexpected grace and condescension, and cannot doubt that I shall be pardoned for expressing my gratitude. The sun is shedding his genial rays upon our heads. He reminds us of the great Creator of the universe—of Him who can make alive and who can kill. Oh! may that gracious and beneficent Being, who promises to answer the fervent prayers of his people, bless abundantly your majesty. May He grant you much bodily health, and, for the sake of your happy subjects, may He prolong your valuable life! It is not alone the four individuals, who now stand before your majesty, who will retain to the end of their lives a sense of this kind and touching reception—the whole of the nations, whose representatives we are, will ever love and be devoted to you, their good and great father.

His majesty felt deeply every word of the speech, when interpreted by the chief of the warriors. The king answered, that he derived high satisfaction from the sentiments they had expressed, and assured them that he should always be much interested in the happiness of his North American subjects, and would

avail himself of every opportunity to promote their welfare, and to prove that he was indeed their father. After acknowledging in gracious terms the pleasure which the speech of the grand chief had afforded him, he mentioned, in an easy and affable manner, that he had once before in his life seen some individuals of the Indian nations, but that was fifty-five or fifty-six years ago. He inquired of their passage to this country, the name of the ship and of the master, and was persevering in his questions as to the treatment they had experienced at his hands, whether they had been made comfortable in all respects, and if he had been polite and attentive.

While the grand chief was delivering his speech in the Huron language, it seemed as if it would never end; and, observing the king look a little surprised, I informed the Marquess Conyngham, in a loud whisper, that this was the mode in which they expressed their sense of any honor conferred, and that the chief of the warriors would interpret the speech in the French language. The king asked me to repeat what I had been saying, and George and Irving conversed for some time. His majesty, on another occasion, asked me under what circumstances the Indians had been introduced to me. I answered that they were recommended to my notice, because they had been invested with the medallions of his late majesty by my brother.

His majesty hoped the Indians had seen every thing remarkable in Windsor, and told us we were welcome to see the interior of the lodge and pleasure grounds, that Sir Andrew Barnard would accompany us everywhere, to his stables, menagerie, aviaries, &c., and afterwards he trusted we would partake of some refreshment. He also offered us the use of his carriages. The refreshment was a truly royal repast—we eat on silver—the table groaned, as Mr. Heathfield would say, under the king's hospitality. We made a famous dinner—pine apple, champagne,

claret, &c.—servants in royal liveries behind our chairs. After dinner the Indians gave us the war song, when, (in your uncle Savery's poetry about Maria Easy,)

“ Though the dogs ran out in a great fright,
The ladies rushed in with much delight.”

[NOTE.—These four Indians came to England for the purpose of endeavouring to recover lands which had been given to their tribe by Louis the Sixteenth, but it appears that they did not succeed. They were very pious Roman Catholics, and those who saw them were much amused with their simple and primitive manners.—Ed.]

Extract of a Letter from Walter Bromley, Esq., dated London, 15th April, 1825.—From a Halifax N. S. newspaper.

The Indian chief, who accompanied me to England, sailed in the Ward, for New Brunswick, a few days ago, loaded with presents to his family and people. I think his appearance here has been more beneficial than if volumes had been printed on Indian civilization, and I am in hope that on both sides of the Atlantic a general sympathy has been excited. The four Canadian chiefs have attracted much attention, and have been presented to his majesty by the brother of the late General Brock; they are the most interesting characters I ever saw—are extremely polite—and speak French fluently.

Mrs. (Lieut. Colonel) Eliot to her sister, in Guernsey.*

QUEBEC, January 12, 1831.

With my kindest love to the Tupper's tell them that I often see Colonel Glegg, who was Sir Isaac Brock's aide-de-camp: he is now Lord Aylmer's civil secretary, and we meet very often. He speaks affectionately of his old patron, and has made many inquiries relative to the family: the tears come into his eyes when he talks to me of old times. He and George (Lieut.-Colonel Elliott) were a great deal together during the war in the Upper Province. The other day, at dinner at the château, he told me that he had had a visit from Sir Isaac's old housekeeper, who is still living here in a similar situation to the House of Assembly, and gets £50 a year salary. He knew her directly, and seemed quite affected when telling me that she had brought her credentials

* Her husband, who distinguished himself in Upper Canada during the war, was then serving on the staff in Lower Canada.

with her in case he had not recognized her, as many years had elapsed since they met; and she opened a pocket book carefully, which she had in her hand, and took a piece of a shirt with the initials of General Brock's name, which she said she had cut off when the body was brought in to be buried at Fort George, and preserved it as a relic of her dear master. This little, trifling, affectionate remembrance of the old creature, shews her real attachment. Colonel Glegg gave her a new snuff box, filled with snuff from Paris, and told her to come again to see him. Perhaps the Tupper's will be pleased to hear this little anecdote.

[Mrs. Eliot, whose maiden name was Jane M'Crea, is the daughter of an American loyalist and a gallant field officer, now deceased, and the niece and namesake of the unfortunate Jane M'Crea, whose tragical fate in the American revolutionary war excited so much commiseration, and gave rise to a correspondence between the American general, Gates, and General Burgoyne. The former wrote: "Miss M'Crea, a young lady, lovely to the sight, of virtuous character and amiable disposition, engaged to an officer of your army, was with other women and children, taken out of a house near Fort Edward, carried into the woods, and there scalped and mangled in a most shocking manner . . . The miserable fate of Miss M'Crea was particularly aggravated by being dressed to receive her promised husband, but met her murderer employed by you." The latter, in his reply, stated, that "two chiefs, who had brought her off for the purpose of security, not of violence to her person, disputed which should be her guard, and in a fit of savage passion in one, from whose hands she was snatched, the unhappy woman became the victim."]

We have in a preceding chapter described the monument, on Queenstown Heights, to the memory of Sir Isaac Brock, a monument which "the popularity of the general had caused to be regarded with more affectionate veneration than any other structure in the province." On Good Friday, the 17th of April, 1840,* a miscreant, of the name of Lett, introduced a quantity of gunpowder into this monument with the fiendish purpose of destroying it; and the explosion, effected by a train, caused so much damage as to render the column altogether irreparable. Lett, who was by birth an Irishman and by settlement a Canadian, had been compelled to fly into the United States

* On the same day, ten years previously, Sir Isaac Brock's nephew, *ex sorore*, Colonel Tupper, was slain in Chile.

for his share in the recent rebellion; and "well knowing the feeling of attachment to the name and memory of General Brock, as pervading all classes of Canadians, he sought to gratify his own malicious and vindictive spirit, and at the same time to wound and insult the people of Upper Canada" by this demon's deed. The universal indignation of that people was aroused, and a public meeting was appointed to be held on Queenstown Heights, on the 30th of July following, for the purpose of adopting resolutions for the erection of another monument, the gallant Sir Allan Mac Nab* especially making the most stirring exertions to promote this great object. The gathering, as it was called, was observed in Toronto (late York) as a solemn holiday; the public offices were closed and all business was suspended, while thousands flocked from every part of the province to testify their affection for the memory of one who, nearly thirty years before, had fallen in its defence! History, indeed, affords few parallels of such long cherished public attachment. "Steam vessels, engaged for the occasion, left their respective ports of Kingston and Coburg, of Hamilton and Toronto, in time to arrive at the entrance of the Niagara river about ten o'clock in the forenoon. The whole of these, ten in number, then formed in line, and ascended the river abreast, with the government steamer, containing the lieutenant-governor, Sir George Arthur,† and his staff, leading the way. The British shore was lined with thousands, and the fleet of steamers filled with hundreds, each shouting and responding to the cheers of welcome from ship to shore, and from shore to ship again. The landing being effected, the march to the

* "Sir Allan Mac Nab, a native of Canada, is the son of a British officer, who, decorated with thirteen wounds, accompanied General Simcoe to the Upper Province when it was a dense and unpeopled wilderness."—*Sir F. B. Head's recent work, The Emigrant.*

† Colonel Sir George Arthur, knight, with the local rank of major-general in Canada—he was created a baronet in 1841, and in June, 1842, took his seat as governor of Bombay, which office he vacated through ill health, in August, 1846.

ground was accompanied by military guards and a fine military band. The public meeting was then held in the open air, near the foot of the monument, and Sir George Arthur was in the chair. The resolutions were moved, and speeches made, by some of the most eminent and most eloquent men, holding high official stations in the province;* and considering that amidst this grand and imposing assemblage, there were a great number of veteran officers of the Canadian militia, who had fought and bled with the lamented chief, whose memory they were assembled to honor, and whose monument they had come to re-establish over his remains, the enthusiasm with which the whole mass was animated may easily be conceived; while the grand and picturesque combination of natural objects of scenery, beheld from the heights on which they were met, and the brightness of the day, added greatly to the effect of the whole." The gathering† was attended by about 8,000 persons, and the animation of the scene was increased by a detachment of the 1st dragoon guards, with their bright helmets glittering in the sun; and by the 93d regiment, (Highlanders,) in full costume.

There were altogether eleven resolutions, of which the fifth was the following:

Resolved,—That we recall to mind, with admiration and gratitude, the perilous times in which Sir Isaac Brock led the small regular force, the loyal and gallant militia, and the brave and faithful Indian warriors, to oppose the invaders—when his fortitude inspired courage, and his sagacious policy gave confidence, in despite of a hostile force apparently overwhelming.

* Exclusive of the chief justice and Mr. Justice Macaulay, the speakers were: His Excellency Sir George Arthur; Sir Allan Mac Nab; Mr. Thorburn, M. P. P.; Colonel the Hon. W. Morris; Colonel R. D. Fraser; Colonel Clark; Mr. W. H. Merritt, M. P. P.; Lieut.-Colonel J. Baskin; Lieut.-Colonel Sherwood; Colonel Stanton; Colonel Kerby; Colonel the Hon. W. Draper; Colonel Angus M'Donell; the Hon. Mr. Sullivan; Lieut.-Colonel Cartwright; Colonel Bostwick; Colonel M'Dougal; the Hon. Mr. Justice Hagarman; Colonel Rutton; Lieut.-Colonel Kearnes; Lieut.-Colonel Kirkpatrick; H. J. Boulton, Esq.; and Lieut.-Colonel Edward Thomson.

† A public meeting of the inhabitants of Montreal was also held in that city, for the same purpose as that on Queenstown Heights.

We cannot refrain from transferring to these pages parts of the long and eloquent speech of the chief justice, Robinson,* who on advancing to the front of the hustings to move the sixth resolution, was received amid the most enthusiastic cheers.

If it were intended by those who committed this shameful outrage, that the injury should be irreparable, the scene which is now before us, on these interesting heights, shews that they little understood the feelings of veneration for the memory of Brock which still dwell in the hearts of the people of Upper Canada. No man ever established a better claim to the affections of a country; and, in recalling the recollections of eight and twenty years, there is no difficulty in accounting for the feeling which has brought us together on this occasion. Among the many who are assembled here from all parts of this province, I know there are some who saw, as I did, with grief, the body of the lamented general borne from the field on which he fell—and many who witnessed, with me, the melancholy scene of his interment in one of the bastions of Fort George. They can never, I am sure, forget the countenances of the soldiers of that gallant regiment which he had long commanded, when they saw deposited in the earth the lamented officer who had for so many years been their pride; they can never forget the feelings displayed by the loyal militia of this province, when they were consigning to the grave the noble hero who had so lately achieved a glorious triumph in the defence of their country: they looked forward to a dark and perilous future, and they felt that the earth was closing upon him in whom, more than in all other human means of defence, their confidence had been reposed. Nor can they forget the countenances, oppressed with grief, of those brave and faithful Indian warriors, who admired and loved the gallant Brock, who had bravely shared with him the dangers of that period, and who had most honorably distinguished themselves in the field, where he closed his short but brilliant career.

* * * * *

It has, I know, Sir, in the many years that have elapsed, been sometimes objected, that General Brock's courage was greater than his prudence—that his attack of Fort Detroit, though it succeeded, was most likely to have failed, and was

* Chief Justice Robinson is, from all we hear of him, the most eminent and talented man in British America. Sir Francis Head, who, in his work *The Emigrant*, most highly, and, we believe, most justly eulogizes his public and private worth, states that he is a native born Canadian, and is the son of a British officer, who served during the first American war, and accompanied General Simcoe to Canada.

therefore injudicious—and that a similar rashness and want of cool calculation were displayed in the manner of his death.

Those who lived in Upper Canada while these events were passing, can form a truer judgment; they know that what may to some seem rashness, was, in fact, prudence; unless, indeed, the defence of Canada was to be abandoned, in the almost desperate circumstances in which General Brock was placed. He had with him but a handful of men, who had never been used to military discipline—few, indeed, that had ever seen actual service in the field; and he knew it must be some months before any considerable reinforcement could be sent to him. He felt, therefore, that if he could not impress upon the enemy this truth, that—wherever a major-general of the British army, with but a few gallant soldiers of the line, and of the brave defenders of the soil, could be assembled against them—they must retire from the land which they had invaded, his cause was hopeless. If he had begun to compare numbers, and had reserved his small force in order to make a safer effort on a future day, then would thousands upon thousands of the people of the neighbouring States have been found pouring into the western portions of this province; and when at last our mother country could send, as it was certain she would, her armies to our assistance, they would have had to expend their courage and their strength in taking one strong position after another, that had been erected by the enemy within our own territory.

And at the moment when the noble soldier fell, it is true he fell in discharging a duty which might have been committed to a subordinate hand; true, he might have reserved himself for a more deliberate and stronger effort; but he felt that hesitation might be ruin—that all depended upon his example of dauntless courage—of fearless self-devotion. Had it pleased Divine Providence to spare his invaluable life, who will say that his effort would have failed? It is true his gallant course was arrested by a fatal wound—such is the fortune of war; but the people of Canada did not feel that his precious life was thrown away, deeply as they deplored his fall. In later periods of the contest, it sometimes happened that the example of General Brock was not very closely followed. It was that cautious calculation, which some suppose he wanted, which decided the day against us at Sackett's Harbour—it was the same cautious calculation which decided the day at Plattsburg; but no monuments have been erected to record the triumphs of those fields—it is not thus that trophies are won.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Macaulay, in moving the third resolution, thus elegantly expressed himself:

It was not my good fortune to serve in the field under the illustrious Brock, but I was under his command for a short period when commandant of the garrison of Quebec, thirty years ago, and well remember his congratulating me upon receiving a commission in the army, accompanied with good wishes for my welfare, which I shall never forget. I feel myself a humble subaltern still when called upon to address such an auditory, and upon such a topic as the memory of Brock. Looking at the animated mass covering these heights in 1840, to do further honor to the unfortunate victim of a war now old in history, one is prompted to ask, how it happens that the gallant general, who has so long slept the sleep of death, left the lasting impression on the hearts of his countrymen which this scene exhibits; how comes it that the fame of Brock thus floats down the stream of time, broad, deep, and fresh as the waters of the famed river with whose waters, it might be almost said, his life's blood mingled? In reply, we might dwell upon his civil and military virtues, his patriotic self-devotion, his chivalrous gallantry, and his triumphant achievements. (Here one of the auditors added, "and that he was an honest man"—an attribute most warmly responded to one every side, for an honest man is the noblest work of God.) Still it might be asked, What peculiar personal qualities predominated and gave him the talismanic influence and ascendancy over his fellow men, which he acquired and wielded for his country's good? I answer, Are there any seamen among you? (Yes, yes, answered from the crowd)—then I say it was the Nelsonian spirit that animated his breast; it was the mind intuitively to conceive, and the soul promptly to dare, incredible things to feeble hearts—with a skill and bearing which infused this chivalrous and enterprising spirit into all his followers, and impelled them energetically to realise whatever he boldly led the way to accomplish. It displayed itself too, not only in the ranks of the disciplined soldiers, but in those also of the untrained militia of Upper Canada, as was amply proved on this memorable ground. Such were the shining and conspicuous qualities of the man that have rendered very dear his memory and his fame. Gentlemen, the resolution which I hold in my hand is expressive of the indignation felt throughout the province at the lawless act, the effects of which are visible before us.

After the resolutions had been carried by acclamation, and the public proceedings had terminated, 600 persons sat down to dinner in a temporary pavilion erected on the spot where the hero fell, "Chief Jus-

tice Robinson presiding; and at this, as at the morning meeting, great eloquence was displayed in the speeches, great loyalty evinced in the feelings, and great enthusiasm prevailed." After the queen's health had been drunk, the chief justice rose and said :

I have now to propose the memory of the late gallant Sir Isaac Brock, of Colonel M'Donell, and those who fell with them on Queenstown Heights. That portion of you, gentlemen, who were inhabitants of Upper Canada while General Brock served in its defence, are at no loss to account for the enthusiastic affection with which his memory is cherished among us. It was not merely on account of his intrepid courage and heroic firmness, neither was it solely because of his brilliant success while he lived, nor because he so nobly laid down his life in our defence; it was, I think, that he united in his person, in a very remarkable degree, some qualities which are peculiarly calculated to attract the confidence and affection of mankind—there was, in all he said and did, that honesty of character which was so justly ascribed to him by a gentleman who proposed one of the resolutions—there was an inflexible integrity, uncommon energy and decision, which always inspire confidence and respect—a remarkable union in his whole demeanour of benevolence and firmness—a peculiarly commanding and soldierlike appearance—a generous, frank, and manly bearing—and, above all, an entire devotion to his country. In short, I believe I shall best convey my own impression, when I say it would have required much more courage to refuse to follow General Brock, than to go with him wherever he would lead.

"The meeting presented a proud display of high and noble feelings, honorable to the memory of the dead, and equally so to the character of the living. It was conducted with great dignity and judgment, and no accident occurred to interrupt the pleasures of the day; the steam vessels re-embarking their passengers soon after sun-set, and conveying back the individuals composing this congregated multitude to their respective homes in safety."*

It having been resolved by the meeting that the most suitable monument, to replace the shattered

* The extracts given in inverted commas are from "Buckingham's Canada," that gentleman being at Toronto at the time, but unable from illness to attend the "gathering."

column, would be an obelisk on the site of the mutilated structure, the committee offered a premium for a design, which, in February, 1843, was awarded to Mr. T. Young, architect to the university of king's college, Toronto. The style of the intended obelisk is the simplest and purest Egyptian, the artist having strictly avoided all minuteness of detail in order that the massive proportions of the design might harmonize with the bold and beautiful scenery by which it will be surrounded. The total height of the base, pedestal, and obelisk, will be 175 feet. The obelisk will measure at the lower base 16 feet 6 inches square, diminishing to 10 feet at the base of the upper, the proportions of that known as Cleopatra's needle having been strictly adhered to. The estimated cost of this obelisk is about £5,000 currency, the materials of the old monument being used as far as possible; and as above £4,000* have already been contributed, it is expected that the new structure will be commenced in the spring of 1845. †

A concluding notice of Sir Isaac Brock's favorite regiment will scarcely be deemed superfluous, although, as the records of the 49th were destroyed at the evacuation of Fort George, in May, 1813, we cannot give many further details of its services previous to that period. It served in the American revolutionary war, as, by the records still existing, the flank companies were to be permitted to wear, the grenadiers a black, and the light company a red, feather, for services at Bunker's Hill; but the books being lost, the regiment cannot shew the authority, and consequently is not allowed this distinction. The 49th was repeatedly engaged in Upper Canada, and was especially distinguished at the battles of Stoney Creek and Chrystler's Farm. The presence of mind and resolution of one of the subalterns in that country

* In 1841, the Six Nations of Indians had contributed the (for their diminished numbers and limited means) large sum of £167.

† See Appendix A, Section 1, No. 14.

deserve a brief notice. In June, 1813, soon after the affair of Stoney Creek, Lieutenant Fitzgibbon,* of the 49th, was allowed at his own request to range in front of the enemy with fifty chosen men of that regiment. An American force of about 600† officers and men, including 50 cavalry and 2 field pieces, were detached under Colonel Boerstler from Fort George, on the 23d of June, to cut off Lieutenant Fitzgibbon's party, then near the Beaver Dam, about 16 miles from that fort. The next morning, they encountered in the woods about 200 Indians, who fired upon them. Hearing the firing, Fitzgibbon rode forward to reconnoitre, and soon after sent for his party, consisting of Lieutenant Winder, 3 sergeants, and 43 rank and file. He found the enemy, whose force he distinctly ascertained, occupying an eminence cleared of timber; and by the time his party came up, the Indians were beginning to retire, but fortunately unknown to the enemy. Fearing that the Americans would now be permitted to move off without further molestation, Fitzgibbon conceived the idea of summoning them to surrender; and, after passing their front with his men under a discharge which did no execution, he placed his small force in the woods with the apparent intention of cutting off the enemy's retreat. He then shewed a white handkerchief as a flag of truce, and soon after a white flag was hoisted over one of the enemy's guns, when a captain of artillery came out to meet Lieutenant Fitzgibbon. The latter magnified the British force, and spoke of the impossibility of restraining the Indians in the event of an attack. After some little parley, during which the 49th detachment was joined by Captain Hall and 14 provincial dragoons, Colonel Boerstler was finally allowed only five minutes for a definite answer; and, although he had previously sent to Fort George for reinforcements, he then agreed to surrender. Major de Haren,

* The present Colonel Fitzgibbon, already mentioned.

† James, in his "Military Occurrences," says 673 officers and men.

of the Canadian Fencibles, soon after came up with about 220 men, but the entire merit of thus capturing 23 officers and 490 non-commissioned officers and privates of the regular army, (exclusive of 28 militiamen, who were paroled,) with two field pieces and a stand of colours, belonged to Lieutenant Fitzgibbon and his small detachment; and he was accordingly promoted to a company.* In alluding to this event, the gallant officer wrote to a friend: "When I brought in these 500 prisoners and delivered them up to General Vincent, I then thought I would have given the world's wealth that General Brock were alive, that I might say to him: 'Here, sir, is the first instalment of my debt of gratitude to you for all you have done for me. In words I have never thanked you sufficiently, because words could never express my gratitude for such generous protection as you have hitherto unceasingly extended to me.'"

In 1815, the regiment returned to England, after an absence of above thirteen years; and in January, 1816, "in consequence of its doing duty over her royal highness the princess Charlotte of Wales, at Weymouth, she was graciously pleased to nominate it her regiment." In December, 1821, the 49th embarked for the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1828 proceeded on to Bengal. In April, 1840, the regiment embarked for China, where it distinguished itself; and suffered much from climate. In gaining possession of the heights which overlook the city of Canton, on the 25th of May, 1841, "as the two brigades advanced together, there was some little rivalry between the 49th and 18th regiments, as to which should have the honor of commencing the attack upon the two forts. The 49th, having the advantage of a shorter and perhaps rather better road, got the lead, which they maintained; so that the left brigade carried BOTH the eastern forts before the 18th

* The particulars of this exploit are abridged from "The Soldier's Companion, or Martial Recorder."

came up, and with little loss."* In February, 1843, after the Chinese had been coerced into a peace, the 49th returned to Calcutta, and in the following month embarked for England, where the head quarters arrived on the 24th of August, after an absence of nearly twenty-two years—an example of the arduous service in which the British infantry of the line is constantly engaged. The 49th, (the Princess Charlotte of Wales,) or Hertfordshire regiment, bears on its colours and appointments the distinctions of Egmont op Zee, Copenhagen, Queenstown, the Dragon, and China.

Of Sir Isaac Brock's brothers, the eldest, John,† a brevet lieutenant-colonel in the 81st regiment, was killed in a duel, in July, 1801, at the Cape of Good Hope, by Captain M——,‡ in consequence of his having, as steward of a public ball, very properly resisted the introduction, by his antagonist, of a female of disreputable character. The second brother, Ferdinand,§ a lieutenant of the 60th regiment, was slain in the defence of Bâton Rouge, on the Mississippi, 21st September, 1779, at the early age of nineteen. The third brother, Daniel De Lisle, a man of distinguished ability, was bailiff and president of the States of Guernsey. No chief magistrate of the island was ever so beloved, honored, and regretted, as Mr. Brock; and so universal was the feeling of admiration for his talents and services, that the Royal Court decreed him a public funeral at the public expense—a tribute of respect never previously paid by that body to any individual.|| The ninth

* Bernard's Narrative of the combined Naval and Military Operations in China. London, 1844.

† While an ensign in the 8th regiment, he was quartered at Fort Niagara, in July, 1777.

‡ Captain M——, the son of a baronet, fell as a major and aide-de-camp to Lord Lake, at the siege of Bhurtpore, in 1805.

§ Ensign 8th February, 1776; Lieutenant 25th December, 1778.

|| For a brief memoir of him, see Appendix B.

brother, Savery, who died on the 7th August, 1844, has been already noticed; and the tenth, Irving, who deceased in 1838, at Bath, was "the accomplished translator of Bernier's Travels in India," and a powerful amateur writer in support of the government in 1810, at a very eventful and critical period.* Singularly enough, of the eight brothers of this family of the Brocks who reached maturity, no male descendant of their name is now in existence. Of their two sisters, who grew to womanhood, the elder, Elizabeth, now the only survivor of the family and in her 81st year, married John E. Tupper, Esq., of Guernsey; and the younger, Mary, was the wife of Thomas Potenger, Esq., of Compton, in Berkshire, first cousin to the Countess of Bridgewater.

Of the five nephews and one great nephew of Sir Isaac Brock, who have hitherto embraced the profession of arms, not one survives, four of the former and the latter having sadly and prematurely perished, viz: first, Midshipman Charles Tupper, of his majesty's ship *Primrose*, drowned at Spithead, in 1815, by the upsetting of the boat in which he was accompanying his commander from Portsmouth to the ship; second, Lieutenant E.W. Tupper,† his Majesty's ship *Sybill*, mortally wounded in action with Greek pirates, near Candia, on the 18th of June, 1826; third, Lieutenant William Potenger, adjutant 22d regiment, died on the 19th November, 1827, of the fever, at Jamaica; fourth, Colonel W. De Vic Tupper,‡ of the Chilian service, slain in action, near Talca, on the 17th April, 1830; and, fifth, the great nephew, Ensign A. Delacombe Potenger,§ of the 5th Bengal Native Infantry, while in command of the light company, was killed by a bullet which entered his breast, in the dis-

* One of his pamphlets went through four editions.

† For a short memoir, see Appendix C.

‡ For a memoir, see Appendix D.

§ The only son of the Rev. Richard Potenger, mentioned *ante*. With this fine young man expired the last hope of his family, and the continuation of his line.

astrous retreat of the British army from Cabool, in January, 1842. The remaining nephew, Captain Eugene Brock, of the 20th regiment, died at Bermuda, in January, 1844. And to this melancholy catalogue may be added the name of another nephew, John E. Tupper, who perished at sea in the Mediterranean in 1812, and of whom mention has been made in the preceding pages.

Our memoir is concluded, and even if in its progress we have but feebly and imperfectly narrated the career and portrayed the character of him who is the subject, we trust that our labour has not been in vain, because we feel that we have rescued much from oblivion, relative to his services in Canada, that was hitherto unknown and unrecorded. To preserve the memory of so good a man—to prolong, as it were, a career which, unhappily for the interests of his country, was too brief—to hold up his benevolence in command as an example to other officers—to prove to them that military discipline can be better maintained by humanity and kindness than by harshness and severity—seemed to us little less than a duty. Such were the feelings which prompted us to undertake this work; and, in completing our task, we are not without hope that the simple language of soberness and truth will be preferred to a memorial composed with more art, but dictated by less sincerity. It has been well observed by Doctor Johnson, “that there has rarely passed a life, of which a judicious and authentic narrative would not be useful;” and perhaps this will not be thought the exception. And should we in the course of these pages have inadvertently fallen into undue panegyric, that very common error of biographers, our excuse must be, that we could scarcely avoid eulogizing one of whom it was written, soon after his untimely fall, by a bosom friend: “General Brock was indeed a hero,

a hero in the only true and in the most extensive sense, resembling what history or fable has represented, rather as the offspring of the imagination than a personage that could have real existence, so entirely was every great and good quality comprehended in his character.”

[SUPPLEMENTARY.]

The three letters following were received too late to be inserted in their proper places :

Colonel Brock to James Cuthbert, Esq., Berthier, District of Montreal.

QUEBEC, October 12, 1807.

You may well suppose that the principal subject of conversation at head quarters is the military state of this country. I have been careful, in justice to you, to mention to Sir James Craig the public spirit you have manifested in forming a company from among the inhabitants of your seigneurie without the least pecuniary aid, or any other assistance from government.

His excellency is exceedingly pleased to find a principle in some measure established by your individual exertions, the basis of which he means to pursue in forming an extensive, and, he trusts, an efficient system of defence ; and he requests you to state the nature of the engagements under which the men assemble for exercise, and the degree of service they are under promise to perform.

You must be aware that in any future general arrangement it will become an essential object with government to secure a more substantial hold on the services of the men than their mere promise ; and as

it is intended to give every possible latitude to their prejudices, and to study in every thing their convenience, it is thought no regulation to that effect can operate to diminish the number of voluntary offers.

As you have been the first to set such a laudable example, Sir James thinks it but just that Berthier should take the lead in any new project he may adopt, and he desires me to ask your opinion in regard to the following points.

Government will undertake either to provide or give an allowance for clothing.

Arms and accoutrements must, for obvious reasons, be provided as far as practicable by the individuals themselves.

One shilling will be allowed every time the volunteer assembles for exercise, not to exceed thirty days during the year.

The men to be bound to attend drill whenever ordered, and to be in constant readiness to march to any part of the province in case of emergency, at the discretion of the governor-general. From the moment they receive the order to march, to be placed precisely upon the same footing with his majesty's regular troops in regard to pay and allowances.

Such are the chief conditions which I understood Sir James to say he wished might be adopted: he, however, will be always ready to attend to any suggestion that tends to improve, and give spirit to, the object in view.

A proportionate number of non-commissioned officers will unquestionably be allowed.

I can say nothing in regard to the officers—they, of course, will not be forgotten in the arrangement, but they cannot expect to be exalted to such a height as to interfere with the just pretensions of the regulars.

Being in some measure pledged for the success of the experiment, I shall be under considerable anxiety until I hear your sentiments.

Every consideration of policy ought to makè the

proposal to appear to come from yourself; therefore, when you consult those around you, it will be unnecessary to state your having received a communication on the subject.

Colonel Brock to James Cuthbert, Esq., Berthier.

QUEBEC, December 13, 1807.

You will do me the justice to believe that I did not lose a moment in laying the clear and satisfactory statement you sent me, of the constitution and character of the volunteer company under your command, before the governor.

His excellency has likewise seen your letter of the 7th instant, and I cannot more strongly express the sense he entertains of your exertions, or more clearly point out the line he wishes you to pursue, than by transcribing the note he wrote to me in consequence.

“Colonel Brock is requested to reply to Mr. Cuthbert’s letter, that the governor has by no means lost sight of his object, but that some legal difficulties have arisen which are now under discussion, and which he trusts will be got over immediately. Arms, such accoutrements as we have, and a supply of ammunition, are in readiness, and shall be forwarded as soon as the business is brought to a conclusion; but Mr. Cuthbert must send a return of his people, that the number requisite may be ascertained: more than is indispensably necessary cannot be spared.

“Mr. C—— is requested to take every measure for keeping up the spirit his people have hitherto manifested, and he may assure them that the governor will not be unmindful of it. “(Signed) J. H. C.”

That something will shortly be done there is no doubt, although the prevailing idea here is against a war with our neighbours: they imagine the Americans will not dare to engage in the contest, but as I consider their councils to be directed solely by French influence, it is impossible to say where it will lead them. The true interests of that country will be little consulted in their decision.

Colonel Brock to James Cuthbert, Esq., Berthier.

MONTREAL, July 7, 1808.

It was only yesterday I received your letter of the 15th ultimo. I was exceedingly glad to hear young A—— had been reinstated. I do not understand that any transport is intended to proceed from this country to England; such transports as do come are merely chartered out, and the moment they get rid of the men, they have done with the service. Should I, however, hear of a conveyance in which the ensign may embark free of expense, I shall not fail interfering in his behalf, but do not calculate upon such good fortune.

Be assured the general has very substantial reasons for objecting to any issue of arms at this time. Were your corps the sole consideration, be satisfied he would not hesitate a moment; but he cannot shew you such marked preference without exciting a degree of jealousy and outcry, which might occasion unpleasant discussions.

I am sorry you have deprived yourself of the very handsome dagger your partiality induced you to send me. No such proof was required to convince me of your friendship, and this additional instance can in no degree aid to keep alive the fixed sentiments of regard I entertain for you.

We have not a word of intelligence here, more than what the Quebec papers give. The Americans appear to me placed in a curious and ridiculous predicament. War with that republic is now out of the question, and I trust we shall consider well before we admit them as allies.

What can be the object in appointing you a justice of the peace for Three Rivers? Ross ought, I should think, to have been nominated; but you at such a distance can be of very little good. A few dismissals in that district would have been productive of considerable benefit; but it is a delicate affair to meddle

with the independence of a judge. Oh! he is as vile
a fellow as ever filled the chair! Best regards and
high respects.

[The Honorable James Cuthbert, the father of James and Ross Cuthbert, Esqs., mentioned in this volume, served in early life in the navy as lieutenant in the flag ship at the siege of Carthage, and carried home the intelligence of its fall; he was afterwards appointed to the command of one of the Independent Companies at Inverness, called the Highland Watch, and was appointed to the 42d at its formation. He was present, in the 15th regiment, at the capture of Louisburg, and served under Wolfe at Quebec, conveying to England the dispatches of Brigadier Murray, to whom he was aide-de-camp. He was appointed by Lord Dorchester one of the members of the first legislative council after the conquest, having left the army and become a settler in Canada. During the American revolutionary war, he was particularly active, visiting the enemy's camp at Sorel to obtain information, and in consequence he was seized upon at Berthier by the Americans, who sent him in irons to Albany, burnt the manor house, and destroyed his property to a considerable amount.]

THE LAUREL OF GLORY.

Elegiac Stanza, on the Death of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock.

The laurel of glory eternal shall bloom,
Triumphant, and branch o'er the warrior's tomb!
O'er the patriot, that battled his country to save,
The laurel of glory shall circle his grave.

Nor climate, nor season, nor time's iron hand,
E'er injure or sap it, in Britain's proud land;
O'er the manes of the soldier, for ever shall wave
The laurel of glory, the meed of the brave!

Nor envy, nor faction's fell venom be seen,
To wither a leaf of its beautiful green!
Like the life buds of spring shall new verdure e'er find,
And wave o'er the worth of the hero enshrin'd.

Tho' age after age may moulder away,
The fame of the patriot can never decay;
Like the oak of the forest, each tempest can brave,
And the laurel of glory wave over his grave.

CHAPTER XVIII.

(JUSTIFICATORY, &c.)

SIR GEORGE PREVOST, BART.

While the first sheet of this, the second, edition was in the press, I accidentally met with "Some Account of the Public Life of the late Sir George Prevost," published by his family in the year 1823, in reply to the strictures on his military character, contained in the Quarterly Review for July, 1822. Of the existence of this volume I was previously ignorant, and I think that it successfully refutes some of those strictures, the vituperative spirit of which is much to be regretted, the more so as that spirit has been copied by later writers with increased acrimony, —one dismissing this unfortunate officer with the following cruel malediction: "Disease and a natural death saved him from the vengeance of military law; but as a warning and example may shame and infamy rest upon his grave!"* It is true that, unhappily for his fame as a soldier, he sought to oppose the *vis inertiae*, to the enemy's insatiable thirst for the conquest of the Canadas, a mode of defence only suited to arid deserts or a pestilential climate; but the Quarterly and its copyists do not appear to have been aware that the British government approved of Sir George Prevost's pacific policy at the commencement of the war, as on the 1st of October, 1812, or *before* the refusal of the American president to ratify the

* Pictorial History of England.

armistice was known in England, Earl Bathurst wrote to the governor-general: "The desire which you have unceasingly manifested to avoid hostilities with the subjects of the United States, is not more in conformity with your own feelings than with the wishes and intentions of his majesty's government, and therefore your correspondence with General Dearborn cannot fail to receive their cordial concurrence." Giving, however, Sir George Prevost every benefit of this approval, my opinion, as expressed in this memoir, of his defensive course *after* the rejection of the armistice, and while the British were in the ascendant on the lakes, remains unchanged. That he was an able provincial governor, as well as an amiable man in private life, and that in his military station he anxiously exerted himself to the best of his ability, I see reason to believe; but although I think that his friends labour in vain in attempting to convince the public that he was either a skilful or an energetic commander, or that the deplorable affairs of Sackett's Harbour and Plattsburg were not disgraceful to the British arms, yet they may justly urge his early services, his limited force at the outset of the American war, and his redeeming qualities in a civil capacity, as entitling him to the indulgent, if not to the favorable, judgment of posterity.—F. B. T.

SIR ROGER HALE SHEAFFE, BART.

Having ascertained from this officer himself, after the sheet containing the account of the afternoon conflict at Queenstown had been struck off, that his force on that occasion amounted to only 740 men, including less than 50 Indians, his evidence as to this disputed point would of course be quite conclusive, if unfortunately he had not forgotten whether the officers are included in this number, so that he evidently is not in possession of the *official* returns. I therefore feel

called upon, in my own justification, to cite the authorities on which I have stated that force as "rather exceeding 1,000 men of all grades, of whom nearly 600 were regulars," (see page 333,) not thinking it just to enumerate the entire force on the American side, and to deduct a tithe on that of the British, by including rank and file only.

1.—Major-General Sheaffe's own dispatch, as quoted in foot note at page 333. He moreover mentions *twelve* officers as commanding flank companies of the Lincoln and York militia, which, at only 35 men per company, would give 420 militia.

2.—James, the celebrated naval historian—who, in his "Military Occurrences" of the second American war, appears to be singularly accurate in his statements, although often minute to tediousness—after mentioning that about 50 Indians, under the chief Norton, attacked the Americans, and that they retired, after a sharp conflict, "towards the reinforcement of regulars and militia, under Major-General Sheaffe, which had just arrived from Fort George, adds: "This reinforcement, consisting of about 380 rank and file of the 41st regiment, under Captain Derenzy, and about 300 militia, accompanied by one 3-pounder, joined the remnant of the 49th flank companies; and the whole proceeded to the heights, by a route through the enclosures; the Indians pointing out to the troops the best track for ascending the mountain. As soon as the British column had reached a field adjoining the road to the falls, about 60 of the 41st, under Captain Bullock, and a party of militia, arrived from Chippawah. The whole British and Indian force, thus assembled, did not amount to 1,000 rank and file, of whom about 560 were regular troops."

3.—"General Sheaffe soon came up with a reinforcement of 300 men of the 41st regiment, two companies of militia, and 250 Indians. Reinforcements having also arrived from Chippawah, the British gene-

ral collected his whole force, amounting to upwards of 800 men," &c.—*Christie's Memoirs*.

4.—A militia officer, in a MS. copy of a long letter before me, dated Brown's Point, Niagara, October 15, 1812, after describing both the morning and afternoon conflicts at Queenstown, in the former of which he was wounded, says: "But General Sheaffe arriving from Niagara with a detachment of the 41st of about 300 men, some militia, and about 250 Indians, and being joined by all that he could collect of the troops who were originally engaged, they ascended the mountain some distance to the right of the Americans," &c.

5.—A correspondent in the United Service Magazine for March, 1846, page 441, who was serving in Canada with the 41st regiment when the battle of Queenstown was fought, remarks: "It is no disparagement to the gallantry of the 49th regiment to say, that they were beaten at Queenstown, but it is nevertheless true that, unable to keep their ground, they were driven down the mountain, and did not resume the offensive until, when the enemy were in full possession of the heights, the 41st (400 strong) made their appearance from Fort George, under Captain Derenzy, and the grenadier company, mustering nearly 100 bayonets, under Captain Bullock, from Chippawah."

With these authorities before me, I estimated, and I think reasonably, Major-General Sheaffe's *total* force as follows:

From Fort George, 41st foot	400
Militia	250
,, Chippawah, 41st grenadiers	90
Militia	40
Remnants of 49th flank companies	100
,, of militia, engaged in the morning	100
Exclusive of the Indians	<u>980</u>

Sir Roger Sheaffe having evinced so much courtesy and good feeling in a correspondence between us relative to this Memoir, which he commenced by sending me various documents, "being willing to believe that I was in search of truth," I gladly seize this opportunity of recording my sense of the gentlemanly manner and tone of his communications, which have indeed fully justified the opinion entertained of him by one of my informants, who is "as gallant an officer as ever lived," (I quote this character of my informant from the *Naval and Military Gazette*,) and who, after detailing the causes of the deplorable mutiny of the 49th regiment at Fort George, in 1803, writes: "But he at length became a good commander of a regiment, for he was at heart kind, benevolent, and religious; but these sentiments were, in his earlier days of command, nearly, if not entirely, overruled by his extreme ideas of military authority, and by his high opinion of his talent for drill, and of his unqualified zeal in the public service." In justice to Sir Roger Sheaffe, I also willingly add, that another gallant officer of the 49th, Lieut.-Colonel Plenderleath, who was present at Fort George when the mutiny was suppressed, and from whom I sought information on the subject, in his reply expressed "the high regard he entertained of Sir Roger Sheaffe's great benevolence and love of doing kind offices," and his conviction "that no officer ever had more at heart the good of the soldier." Having done this justice to Sir Roger Sheaffe, I may perhaps be permitted, as "the moping owl does to the moon complain," to mourn that this love of doing kind offices was not, alas! extended to a youth who had not only some claim on his kindness, but possessed many of the characteristics of "the admirable Crichton," and whose cruel disappointment and untimely fate have been one of the embittering circumstances of my existence. My present emotions on this painful subject are, however, more those of sorrow than of resent-

ment, because Sir Roger Sheaffe has written to me with a feeling which does him honor, that, "being unable to assist my brother, he would derive comfort from the belief that Sir Isaac Brock's nephew could need no aid from him." It has been asserted, and may again be urged, that what I conceive to have been the ungenerous treatment of my brother has prompted me to speak disparagingly of Sir Roger Sheaffe's services in Upper Canada; but while I candidly admit that this impression has enabled me to write more impartially of General Sheaffe than I could have done had I felt under obligation to him, I unequivocally deny that I have narrated one word which my authorities did not bear me out in believing to be strictly true. When I informed Sir Roger Sheaffe that the second edition was in the course of publication, I told him: "In that edition Mr. Tupper thinks it due to Sir Roger to tell him candidly that he has not hesitated to narrate what he believes to be facts;" and indeed I hold that truth is not always to be withheld because its expression may wound the feelings of public men, whose official acts have subjected them to public censure—if it were, history and biography would cease to be guiding stars, and, above all, would offer no wholesome restraint to the cruel, or corrupt, or incompetent exercise of authority. Had I thrown the *whole* blame of the conspiracy at Fort George on the unfortunate sufferers, so as to exonerate their commander, and shield myself from personal responsibility, I should have written what I believed to be false, and, to spare the living, have committed a gross injustice on the memory of the dead. It is, however, very probable that the mutineers were not altogether blameless, as the proximity of the United States possibly rendered them impatient of discipline and desirous of change; but certain it is, that at their trial they urged Colonel Sheaffe's rigour in extenuation of their guilty design, and I am assured by an officer of the 49th, that they

were in a great measure the victims of language and annoyance, which were too prevalent in the British army in those days, but which would not now be tolerated for a moment.

F. B. T.

41ST, (THE WELSH,) REGIMENT.

In the United Service Magazine for March, 1846, there is an able but plausible commentary on Sir Isaac Brock's unfavorable opinion of the officers of the 41st regiment in 1812, as expressed in the preceding correspondence. This commentary, signed in the Welsh motto of that regiment, "GWELL AUGAU NEU CHWILYDD," is, however, descriptive of great admiration of the general, as among other tributes of praise, the author observes: "That no soldier, who has ever had the honor of serving under him, could entertain a higher opinion of General Brock than I do, will be made sufficiently apparent to the compiler," &c. The author states himself to have been a young volunteer, serving with the 41st for his commission at the capture of Detroit; and he asserts, that not only is the charge of that regiment being badly officered an erroneous one, but "that a finer body of officers was never united in the same corps." In proof of this assertion, he gives several instances of their personal intrepidity, and adds that, as "General Brock was never more correct than when he described the men as an uncommonly fine regiment," so "the officers were not less remarkable for the manliness and elegance of their appearance."

It is very possible that Sir Isaac Brock may have been mistaken in his estimate of the officers of the 41st; but it must be borne in mind, that Colonel Proctor was the only regimental field officer with the corps at that time, and that, owing to its having been so long in Canada, the promotion had been unusually slow, two of the captains being brevet lieutenant-colo-

nels, and two others brevet majors. Even these brevet officers appear to have been absent, as they were not at Detroit; and at Queenstown nearly 500 men of the 41st were commanded by a captain. These disadvantages, added to the dispersed state of the regiment for many years, were sufficient to repress the energies of the most zealous, and to account for the inexperience and inefficiency of any body of officers.

My assailant—I use the term because I cannot conveniently designate him by his long signature—thinks it very ungrateful in Sir Isaac Brock to have held the opinion he did of officers to whom he was principally indebted for his knighthood of the Bath at Detroit; but he forgets to add, that the general crossed the river to attack the enemy, contrary to the opinion of Colonel Proctor, of the 41st; and that of the British force, composed of 1330 regulars, militia, and Indians, only 250 men belonged to that regiment, or less than one-fifth of the whole number! Surely, the detachments of the royal artillery and Newfoundland regiment, the 400 militia, and the 600 Indians, (among them the noble Tecumseh,) are entitled to some credit on this occasion. Not having stated in the Memoir that the battle of Queenstown was gained by Sir Isaac Brock, I cannot comprehend how he, as my assailant insinuates, was again chiefly indebted to the 41st for a victory which he never won. There were two conflicts at Queenstown, the morning and the afternoon; in the former, Sir Isaac Brock and his gallant provincial aide-de-camp, Lieut.-Colonel M'Donell, fell; and I have often wondered that the American general, seeing the backwardness of his troops in crossing over to reinforce their companions on the British side of the river, and well knowing the irreparable loss which the latter had inflicted, did not recall the invaders, as he must have expected that they would be quickly attacked by at least equal numbers. In the second or afternoon conflict, the invaders were so completely crest-fallen by the rough

handling they had experienced in the morning, and by the refusal of their comrades to join them, that on the advance of the British they fled and surrendered with the utmost precipitation. Certain it is that the 41st had not more than two men killed throughout the day; and as Lieutenant Crowther, of that regiment, who was acting as an artillery officer in the morning, had probably a few of his own corps with him as gunners in the batteries, these two men may have fallen in the first engagement.

I have too high a conception of the matchless prowess of British soldiers to exult much in such a victory as that of Queenstown, and especially when I feel that the loss far exceeded the gain, but of its successes at Frenchtown and Miami the 41st may be fairly proud; and, as far as my limits would admit, I have endeavoured to do justice to its gallantry on those occasions. Would that I could throw a veil over its unfortunate surrender at the Moravian town, in October, 1813, just a year after the death of Sir Isaac Brock; but as this surrender is matter of history, and rendered more notorious by Sir George Prevost's general order, (see page 376,) I may be permitted to tell my assailant that before he attempts to impugn Sir Isaac Brock's opinion, he should first establish the incorrectness of that general order, one which I believe has no parallel for severity in the British army. Indeed, it goes far to prove General Brock's penetration and judgment, as perhaps the reader will think with me that the officers were in some measure to blame for a defeat which called forth so much censure and reproach.

My assailant accuses me of want of "good taste and sound judgment" in not omitting the remarks relative to the officers of the 41st; but after the lapse of thirty-three years, when I knew that not an officer of 1812 remained in the regiment, I saw no necessity for suppression; and yet he does not hesitate to ascribe the surrender at the Moravian town to the

“*incapacity*” of Major-General Proctor, who was so long lieutenant-colonel of the 41st, and who led the regiment to its trophies at Frenchtown and Miami. Sir Isaac Brock wrote generally, and “with few exceptions”—my assailant names an officer long deceased, whose *incapacity*, if the charge be well founded, would afford an additional argument against himself, on the principle of “like master like man,” or on that of a good colonel making good officers, and a bad one the reverse.

I am really not aware, as my assailant accuses me, of having drawn any invidious comparison between the 41st and 49th regiments, and it was certainly never my intention to do so: they both did good service in Upper Canada, and if the character of the former suffered at the Moravian town, it has since amply redeemed its reputation in Ava and Candahar, at Ghuznee, and in Cabool.

I cannot conclude this reply without adding how sincerely I respect the motives which have induced my assailant to come forward with so much tact and ability to the rescue of his former companions in arms; and he perhaps will do me the justice to believe, that in this reply I seek not so much to vindicate my editorial labours as to uphold the memory of one whom he highly eulogizes and yet indirectly arraigns, as failing in discrimination and gratitude.

F. B. T.

We trust that we shall not be deemed guilty of a breach of confidence in giving extracts from a very long letter from Chief Justice Robinson, in reply to our solicitation that he would have the goodness to point out any error which he might discover in the first edition of this work. Although this letter was written in haste, and certainly not intended for publication, it does no little credit to the head and heart of its author.

Chief Justice Robinson to F. B. Tupper, Esq.

TORONTO, January 19, 1846.

The perusal of the Life of Sir Isaac Brock has certainly convinced me that he only required a more enlarged sphere of action to have risen rapidly to an eminence which few men are permitted to attain. Though I was old enough to be upon the expedition to Detroit, and in the action at Queens-town, I was too young to be in a position to know more of General Brock than could be observed by seeing him in public, but I retain a very distinct recollection of his person and manner. I had always thought of him, more exclusively I now see than was just, as a man admirably qualified to distinguish himself as a soldier; but it is quite evident from his correspondence that he valued highly the endowments of the mind, and was ardently bent on improving them. He was master too of a style clear, accurate, and pleasing. If he had been thrown, in the course of his service, into situations which required the application of various powers of the mind, he would have earned, I am persuaded, no small portion of such praise as has been awarded to the great and good Lord Collingwood. It is manifest from what was seen of him in his brief but most arduous service here, that besides his heroic courage, he possessed most, if not all, of those great qualities which can alone enable a man to maintain a difficult and highly responsible station with credit. He was not only clear and decided in his plans, but rapid and fearless in their execution, and could direct his attention to various points at the same moment, foreseeing difficulties, and preventing them by timely application to details. Providence placed him here in a position in which his services were of immense value, filling, at a moment of great peril, a post which scarcely another man could so nobly have sustained—but he was formed for greater things

I do most sincerely believe that no person whom I have ever seen could so instantly have infused, under such discouraging circumstances, into the minds of a whole people, the spirit which, though it endured long after his fall, was really caught from him. His honesty, firmness, frankness, benevolence—his earnest warmth of feeling, combined with dignity of manner, and his soldierlike appearance and bearing—all united to give him the ascendancy which he held from the first moment to the last of his command. It seemed to be impressed upon all, and at once, that there could be no hesitation in obeying his call, and that, while he lived, all was safe. The affection with which the memory of General Brock has ever been regarded in this province is as strong as the feeling of admiration, and these feelings still pervade the whole population.

APPENDIX A.

SECTION I.—BRITISH AUTHORS.

No. 1. Page 13.

Lieut.-General Lord Aylmer, Governor-General of British North America, to J. Savery Brock, Esq.

SOREL, Lower Canada, August 23, 1834.

I received yesterday your letter of the 19th March. . . . The sight of your handwriting reminded me of old times, and brought back the recollection of scenes which almost appear to have taken place in another state of existence. . . . I made a tour in Upper Canada last summer, and visited with a feeling of love and reverence the monument at Queenstown, erected to the memory of one who was as brave as he was good, and a better man never breathed; to have enjoyed his friendship and good opinion, is to me a source of pride and satisfaction. Yours, my dear Savery, very sincerely,

AYLMER.

[*Extract of a note from Lord Aylmer to the Editor.*—“LONDON, August 5, 1844.—I am very glad to learn by your letter that a work is shortly to appear, intitled ‘The Life and Correspondence of Sir Isaac Brock,’ for sure I am that the more of him that is made known to the public, the more highly will his valuable services be appreciated.”]

No. 2. Page 224.

From Captain Roberts to the Adjutant-General.

Fort Michilimackinac, July 17, 1812.

On the 15th instant I received letters, by express, from Major-General Brock, with orders to adopt the most prudent measures either for offence or defence, which circumstances might point out; and having received intelligence from the best information, that large reinforcements were expected to be thrown into this garrison, with the thorough conviction that my situation at St. Joseph’s was totally indefensible, I determined to lose no time in making the meditated attack on this fort.

On the 16th, at ten o'clock in the morning, I embarked my few men, with about one hundred and eighty Canadians, and two iron 6-pounders. The boats arrived without the smallest accident at the port of rendezvous, at three o'clock the following morning: by the exertions of the Canadians, one of the guns was brought up a height commanding the garrison, and ready to act about ten o'clock. A summons was then sent in; a copy of the capitulation which followed I have the honor to enclose. At twelve o'clock, the American colours were hauled down, and those of his majesty were hoisted. A committee has been appointed to examine into the state of the public stores.

Enclosed also are the returns of the ordnance and military stores found in the fort, and the strength of the garrison. The greatest praise is due to every individual employed in the expedition; to my own officers I am indebted, in particular, for their active assistance in carrying all my orders into effect.

No. 3. Page 272.

General Brock.

Detroit, 16th Aug. 1812.

I propose a cessation of hostilities for one hour, to open a negociation for the surrender of Detroit.

I am, &c.

[Address.]

Sandwich.

WILLIAM HULL,
Br. Gen. Com.

Sir,

Detroit, 16th Aug. 1812.

The object of the flag, which passed the river, was to propose a cessation of hostilities for one hour, for the purpose of entering into a negociation for the surrender of Detroit.

am, &c.

General Brock.

WILLIAM HULL,
Br.-Gen. Com.

Camp of Detroit, 16th August, 1812.

Capitulation for the surrender of Fort Detroit entered into between Major-General Brock, commanding his Britannic majesty's forces on the one part, and Brigadier-General Hull, commanding the north-western army of the United States, on the other part.

1st. Fort Detroit, with all the troops, regulars as well as militia, will be immediately surrendered to the British forces under the command of Major-General Brock, and will be considered prisoners of war, with the exception of such of the militia of the Michigan territory who have not joined the army.

2d. All public stores, arms, and all public documents, including every thing else of a public nature, will be immediately given up.

3d. Private persons and property of every description will be respected.

4th. His Excellency Brigadier-General Hull having expressed a desire that a detachment from the State of Ohio, on its way to join his army, as well as one sent from Fort Detroit, under the command of Colonel M'Arthur, should be included in the above capitulation—it is accordingly agreed to. It is, however, to be understood, that such part of the Ohio militia as have not joined the army will be permitted to return to their homes, on condition that they will not serve during the war; their arms, however, will be delivered up, if belonging to the public.

5th. The garrison will march out at the hour of twelve o'clock this day, and the British forces will take immediate possession of the fort.

J. MACDONELL, Lt.-Col. Militia,
P. A. D. C.

J. B. GLEGG, Major, A. D. C.

JAMES MILLER, Lt.-Col.
5th U. S. Inf.

E. BRUSH, Col. Com.

1st Reg. Michigan Militia.

Approved.

W. HULL, Br.-General,
com. the N. W. Army.

ISAAC BROCK,
Major-General.

An Article supplemental to the Articles of Capitulation, concluded at Detroit, the 16th of August, 1812.

It is agreed that the officers and soldiers of the Ohio militia and volunteers shall be permitted to proceed to their respective homes, on this condition—that they are not to serve during the present war, unless they are exchanged.

W. HULL, Br.-General,
Com. N. W. Army, U. S.

ISAAC BROCK, Major-General.

An Article in addition to the Supplemental Article of the Capitulation, concluded at Detroit, the 16th of August, A. D. 1812.

It is further agreed that the officers and soldiers of the Michigan militia and volunteers, under the command of Major Witherell, shall be placed on the same principles as the Ohio militia and volunteers are placed by the supplemental article of the 16th instant.

W. HULL, Br.-General,
Com. N. W. Army, U. S.

ISAAC BROCK, Major-General.

No 4. Page 294.

Extracts from "*The Letters of Veritas*;"* containing a succinct Narrative of the Military Administration of Sir George Prevost during his command in the Canadas, whereby it will be manifest that the merit of preserving them from conquest belongs not to him. 8vo. Montreal, July, 1815.

Then or before, was communicated to him (Major-General Brock) the information of that deadly armistice concluded by Sir George Prevost with General Dearborn, which had so fatal an effect upon all the future operations, and which tied up the hands of the gallant Brock from executing his intended plan of sweeping the American posts to Sackett's Harbour, inclusive—an operation that most certainly would have been then effected.

This armistice, proposed by Sir George Prevost, merits serious consideration, from its operation being so greatly in favour of the enemy at that time, and so disadvantageous to us. A period most precious to us, if we had profited by it with vigour, was thereby lost in inaction, and the enemy in consequence allowed to recover from the panic into which they were thrown by Hull's capture.

The transport of the American stores, ordnance, and provisions, of each of which they were much in want, not being prohibited by that armistice, was accordingly protected and facilitated by it on Lake Ontario and along the Niagara frontier beyond the enemy's most sanguine hopes, whilst their then only disposable and invading force, under General Hull, on the Detroit frontier, was left at full liberty to profit by circumstances, the armistice as to him being at his option.

Most fortunately, however, Hull's business was settled by capitulation before the armistice was known to General Brock or him; but had it reached him in time, he of course would gladly have accepted it, to gain delay for the arrival of reinforcements and a supply of provisions, from which would

* "The 'Letters of Veritas' were originally printed in a weekly paper published at Montreal, in Lower Canada, and subsequently collected into the little volume before us. Within a small compass these unpretending letters contain a greater body of useful information upon the campaigns in the Canadas than is any where else to be found. They are, we believe, the production of a gentleman in Montreal, of known respectability. Though not a military man, he enjoyed the best opportunities for acquaintance with the circumstances of the war; and as these letters, which excited great attention in the Canadas, appeared in successive papers while Montreal was filled with almost all the officers of rank who had served in the country, it may reasonably be presumed that his errors, had he committed any, would not have escaped without censure. Yet no reply was ever attempted to his statements, no doubt ever expressed in the provinces, of the correctness of his assertions."—*Quarterly Review*, July, 1822.

have resulted the salvation of his army, the prejudicial consequences whereof to us are incalculable; for, had a knowledge of it reached the Indian nations at that time, such a disgust and distrust would have been thereby excited as could never have been removed; and the first effect of which would have appeared in the immediate dispersion of the Indians, whose powerful and indispensable aid at that early period of the contest would have been totally lost to us.

Madison's rejection of this armistice was followed by that *chilling defensive system* which General Brock was instructed by Sir George to follow, and which palsied his operations until his country had to mourn over his fatal loss at the battle of Queenstown, on the 13th of October, 1812.

Such, however, was the impulse he had given, and the valour and zeal wherewith the regular troops, militia, and Indians, had been inspired, that the valuable effects thereof survived him; and gave a brilliant victory on that day to his successor, General Sheaffe, a lover of armistices also, who, in proof thereof, made *one of his own*, which threw away most of the advantages of that victory; for he neglected (although strongly urged thereto) to take Fort Niagara, which could have been done on the afternoon of the day of the Queenstown battle, without loss, as the enemy had entirely, or almost entirely, then evacuated it; had he done this, and at the same time crossed over a part of his force to Lewistown, as he was urged to do, and as Brock would have done had he survived, the whole Niagara line would have been cleared of the enemy, and all our after disasters in that quarter prevented.

It has been urged in favor of Sir George's timid defensive system, that it was proper in order to avoid irritating the enemy, and thereby uniting them; as also, that his force was inadequate to offensive warfare. Now, no positions were ever more untenable, for to think of conciliating an enemy by leaving to him the full benefit of maturing in security all his means of annoyance against you, and at the same time muzzling yourself, is a most extraordinary doctrine; surely, to do so must ensure success to that enemy, as we know that success will unite discordant parties and interests, whilst defeats promote disunion, and would have strengthened the anti-war party in the States by furnishing to them unanswerable arguments when depicting the folly and impolicy of the war, which had been so wantonly declared by the Madisonian party.

Were facts in support of this view of the subject necessary, they would be found in the effects upon the public mind in that country, produced by the capture of Michilimackinac and Detroit, with Hull's army. Did these events irritate and

unite the enemy against us? No, they increased irritation, it is true, but against their own government.

(In his tenth or concluding letter, Veritas recapitulated his preceding arguments, and observed :) That to General Brock's zeal and energy, left as he was without orders, along with other causes independent of Sir George, the preservation of Upper Canada, in the first instance, and of Lower Canada as a consequence, are mainly to be ascribed.

No. 5. Page 296.

Extract from Sir George Prevost's General Order, Montreal, August 31, 1812, in announcing the refusal of the American President to continue the armistice.

The invasion of the Upper Province, undertaken so immediately after the declaration of war, shews in the strongest manner how fully they had prepared themselves for that event, and how highly they had flattered themselves with finding it an easy conquest, from the supposed weakness of the force opposed to them, and the spirit of disaffection which they had previously endeavoured to excite amongst its inhabitants. Foiled as they have been in this attempt by the brave and united efforts of the regular forces, militia, and Indians of that province, under the command of their distinguished leader, their whole army with its general captured, and their only remaining fortress and post in the adjoining territory wrested from them, it is not to be doubted but that the American government will keenly feel this disappointment of their hopes, and consequently endeavour to avail themselves of the surrender of Detroit, to term it an invasion of their country, and to make it a ground for calling upon the militia to march to the frontiers for the conquest of the Canadas. A pretext so weak and unfounded, though it may deceive some, will not fail to be received in its proper light by others; and it will be immediately perceived by those who will give themselves the trouble to reflect on the subject, that the pursuit of an invading army into their own territory, is but a natural consequence of the first invasion; and the capture of the place, to which they may retire for safety, a measure indispensably necessary for the security and protection of the country originally attacked.

No 6. Page 308.

“Early in the year 1812, the American government had assembled a force near the Detroit frontier, with the intention of invading Canada; and as soon as their projected declaration of war was issued, 2,500 men crossed the Detroit under General Hull, and took possession of the British village of

Sandwich. Upon the garrison of Amherstburgh, however, under Lieutenant-Colonel St. George, who shut himself up in total inaction, the American general made no attempt. As soon as General Brock learnt the entrance of Hull into Canada, he sent up Colonel Procter from the Niagara frontier to assume the command at Amherstburgh, and that officer's operations were so prompt and judicious, that Hull hastily recrossed the strait, and encamped under the walls of fort Detroit, against which Colonel Procter, advancing to Sandwich, threw up batteries on the British side. Here, General Brock arriving with a reinforcement, the enemy, already reduced to extremities before his appearance,* capitulated on the 16th of August, to the number of 2,500 men, with 33 pieces of cannon. The fort of Detroit, its ordnance, stores, and a fine vessel in the harbour, fell into the hands of the victors. * * * * *

"Hull certainly evinced great incapacity after his passage of the Detroit, in not immediately marching upon Amherstburgh with his whole force, for he would, in all probability, have carried the place had he made the attempt before Colonel Procter's arrival. By lingering, however, at Sandwich until that officer took the command, cut off his communications, and closed the Indians on his rear, he could not subsequently effect a retreat."—*Quarterly Review*, July, 1822.

In the "Preface to the Second Edition of Travels in Canada and the United States, in 1816 and 1817, by Lieutenant Francis Hall, 14th Light Dragoons, H. P.," the author observes, in allusion to Major-General Procter :

Soon after the publication of these travels, the author received an anonymous communication, charging him with misrepresenting the conduct of the officer who succeeded Sir Isaac Brock in the command of our forces in Upper Canada. The passages complained of are : the expression, (p. 227,) that Tecumseh, after that general's death, "found no kindred spirit with whom to act ;"—the passages of Tecumseh's speech, quoted in the note ;—and the expression he is said to have subsequently used, "Tell the dog," &c.†

* This is incorrect—Hull was not reduced to extremity ; he was on his own territory, in the neighbourhood of a fortress, with an ample supply of provisions, stores, &c., and his troops had suffered no essential check or privation. And if the American general were reduced to such extremity, why did Colonel Procter advise Major-General Brock not to cross the strait to attack him ?—F. B. T.

† This passage is contained in a foot note in Lieutenant Hall's Travels, and is as follows : "On another occasion, when by way of pacifying his remonstrances with a metaphor, in the Indian manner, our commander professed his readiness to lay his bones by his side, 'Tell the dog,' said the angry warrior, 'he has too much regard for his carcass to lay his bones any where.'"

The only insinuation intended to be conveyed by the terms "no kindred spirit," was, that the general who succeeded Sir Isaac Brock was inferior to him in talents, and was so considered by Tecumseh. This is a mere matter of opinion; but such as the author conceives every man is free to deliver, with respect to the conduct of an individual employed in a public capacity; nor, however he may be unfortunate enough to differ in it from his correspondent, does he believe it would, by any means, be considered a singular opinion by the officers who, at that time, served in Upper Canada.

His correspondent denies that Tecumseh *ever* used the expressions, "Tell the dog," &c.; upon which the author cannot forbear observing, that, as he has stated *no particular occasion* on which they were used, it seems scarcely possible his correspondent, unless he was never from Tecumseh's side, can have the means of proving they were never uttered at all. The author conceives his authority on this point to be such, as fully to warrant him in believing his statement to be correct; at the same time, he would be understood as drawing no conclusion from it to the disparagement of the officer in question; he quoted it merely to shew the nature of the Indian chieftain's feelings, and the light in which he regarded measures, on the propriety of which the author wishes to be considered as stirring no controversy.

No. 7. Page 343.

"To Colonel Brock, of the 49th, who commanded at the fort, I am particularly indebted for his kindness to me during the fortnight I remained at Niagara. Among many pleasant days which I passed with him and his brother officers, that of our visit to the Tuscorora Indians was not the least interesting. They received us in all their ancient costume; the young men exhibited for our amusement in the race, the bat game, &c., while the old and the women sat in groups under the surrounding trees, and the picture altogether was as beautiful as it was new to me."—*Note in Moore's Epistles, Odes, &c.*

"At Queenstown the battle was fought in which General Brock fell, and the inhabitants point out a thorn bush at the bottom of the heights, where it is said he received his mortal wound. His career was a short but a brilliant one; and had the direction of the affairs of the Upper Province, after his death, been characterized by an equal degree of courage, prudence, and humanity, a very different series of subsequent events would have claimed the attention of the historian."—*Duncan's Travels in the United States and Canada, in 1818 and 1819.*

“Close to the spot where we landed in Canada, there stands a monument to the gallant General Brock, who was killed during the battle of Queenstown, in the act of repelling an invasion of the frontier by the Americans, during the late war. . . . The view from the top of the monument extended far over lake Ontario, and showed us the windings of the Niagara, through the low and woody country which hangs like a rich green fringe along the southern skirts of that great sheet of water.”—*Captain Basil Hall's Travels in North America, in 1827 and 1828.*

Travelling in the state of New York, the author observes: “The late Sir Isaac Brock was, by some accident, mentioned. The canal agent spoke of him in terms of great respect, as the best commander the British had ever sent to Canada—equally regretted on both sides of the St. Lawrence.

“From Niagara Falls we proceeded by the stage first to Queenstown, (seven miles,) near which a monument has been erected to the memory of Sir Isaac Brock, from the top of which, about 120 feet high, there is a noble view of Lake Ontario and the adjoining country, and thence to the village of Newark, (seven miles,) formerly called Fort George, on the Niagara river.”—*Stuart's Three Years in America.*

“Immediately above Queenstown stands Brock's monument, on the heights where the battle was fought in which that hero was killed. His body was removed to it from Fort George, in 1824. The view from this fine column is probably the most beautiful in Upper Canada.”—*M^rGregor's British America, vol. ii.*

“Seven miles south of Fort George, and at the foot of the romantic heights of the same name, which have become famous in Canadian history as the scene of a battle wherein General Brock fell, is the village of Queenstown, pleasantly situated on the Niagara, and opposite to the American village of Lewistown. The monument, built to the memory of the gallant general and his companions, on the loftiest part of these heights, forms a prominent object to the numerous *voyageurs* who are constantly arriving at this portage, in elegantly fitted up steam boats, from York and Kingston, to view the neighbouring falls of the Niagara. The village contains a church, court house, large government stores, and a population of between 400 and 500 inhabitants.”—*The Canadas, by Andrew Picken.*

“Leaving a garrison in Detroit sufficiently strong to keep the inhabitants in awe, General Brock lost no time in quitting the conquered post and hastening to Niagara—a

command he had only relinquished for the purpose of undertaking an achievement which the gallantry and determination of his character could alone have crowned with such unqualified success.

“The month of October was marked by an event of the most melancholy nature—the death of General Brock, who fell a victim to the intrepidity and daring of his character. . . . The loss of their leader, however, cast a gloom over every English brow, and an advantage thus purchased was deemed at too high a price. General Brock was beloved by the soldiery, particularly the 49th, of which he had long been lieutenant-colonel, and the indignation of their grief for his loss cost the Americans many a life on that day, that had otherwise been spared. At Amherstburg, the account of his death was received with heartfelt concern, and not a man was there of those he had lately led to victory who failed to pay that tribute to his memory, which the gallantry and magnanimity of this glorious chief were so every way calculated to awaken in the breast of the soldier.”—*A Canadian Campaign, by a British Officer, in the New Monthly Magazine for December, 1826, and February, 1827.*

“Immediately opposite the town of Prescott, on the shore of the United States, is the town of Ogdensburg; and twelve miles higher up, on the Canadian shore, stands the delightful village of Brockville, so called in honour of the late lamented Sir Isaac Brock. This enchanting little spot unites in its situation every beauty of nature. In front of it flows the river St. Lawrence, interspersed with numerous islands, variously formed and thickly wooded; behind it is an assemblage of small hills rising one above another in ‘gay theatric pride;’ and on each side are a number of well cleared farms, in an advanced state of cultivation. Every thing combines to render it pre-eminently beautiful. The dwellings are built of wood, and tastefully painted; and the court house, in an elevated situation at the back of the village, seems, from its superior size, to be the guardian of the villagers—an idea of my fancy, which I did not seek to confirm by entering within its doors. Brockville contains 450 souls. It has a parsonage house, but no church has hitherto been erected.”—*Five Years in Canada, by E. A. Talbot.*

“We remained an hour or two at Brockville, the village of palaces; and few villages have I seen more attractive than this one. It is situated on a shelving bank, with a southern aspect, and groves of trees round it. The houses and churches are built of grey stones, and, being covered with tin, have a light and pleasant appearance.” *Alexander's Transatlantic Sketches.* London, 1833.

[NOTE.—Brockville contained in 1846 about 2,000 inhabitants. There is also a township named Brock, and another large district of the same name in Canada.]

No. 8. Page 347.

At a General Council of Condolence, held at the Council House, Fort George, 6th November, 1812.

Present—The Six Nations, Hurons, Potawatimies, and Chippawahs.

William Claus, Deputy Superintendent-General.

Captain Norton.

Captain J. B. Rosseaux, and several others of the Indian Department.

Kasencayont Cayonga Chief, Speaker.

Brothers,—The Americans have long threatened to strike us, and in the beginning of the summer they declared war against us, and lately they recommenced hostility by invading the country at Queenstown. In this contest, which, with the help of God, terminated in our favor, your much lamented commander and friend, General Brock, his aide-de-camp, Colonel M'Donell, and several warriors, have fallen.

Brothers,—We therefore now, seeing you darkened with grief, your eyes dim with tears, and your throats stopped with the force of your affliction, with these strings of wampum we wipe away your tears, that you may view clearly the surrounding objects. We clear the passage in your throats that you may have free utterance for your thoughts, and we wipe clean from blood the place of your abode, that you may sit there in comfort, without having renewed the remembrance of your loss by the remaining stains of blood.

Delivered eight strings of white wampum.*

Brothers,—That the remains of our late beloved friend and commander, General Brock, shall receive no injury, we cover it with this belt of wampum, which we do from the grateful sensations which his kindness towards us continually inspired, as also in conformity with the customs of our ancestors; and we now express, with the unanimous voice of the chiefs and warriors of our respective bands, the great respect in which

* Wampum is the current money among the Indians. It is of two sorts, white and purple: the white is worked out of the insides of the great Congues into the form of a bead, and perforated so as to be strung on leather; the purple is worked out of the inside of the muscle shell. They are wove as broad as one's hand, and about two feet long; these they call belts, and give and receive them at their treaties, as the seals of friendship. For less motives, a single string is given; every bead is of a known value; and a belt of a less number is made to equal one of a greater, by so many as are wanted being fastened to the belt by a string.—*Buchanan's North American Indians.*

we hold his memory, and the sorrow and deep regret with which his loss has filled our breasts, although he has taken his departure for a better abode, where his many virtues will be rewarded by the great Dispenser of good, who has led us on the road to victory.

A large white belt.

Brothers,—We now address the successor of our departed friend, to express the confidence we feel that his heart is warmed with similar sentiments of affection and regard towards us. We also assure him of our readiness to support him to the last, and therefore take the liberty to speak strong to all his people to co-operate with vigour, and, trusting in the powerful arm of God, not to doubt of victory.

Although our numbers are small, yet, counting Him on our side, who ever decides on the day of battle, we look for victory whenever we shall come in contact with our enemy.

Five strings of white wampum.

(Signed) W. CLAUS, D. S. G.

No. 9. Page 351.

Extract from a Description of St. Paul's Cathedral.

In the western ambulatory of the south transept is a tabular monument to the memory of Sir Isaac Brock, by the same artist (Westmacott).

A military monument, on which are placed the sword and helmet of the deceased; a votive record, supposed to have been raised by his companions to their honored commander.

His corpse reclines in the arms of a British soldier, whilst an Indian pays the tribute of regret his bravery and humanity elicited.

ERECTED AT THE PUBLIC EXPENSE
TO THE MEMORY OF
MAJOR-GENERAL
SIR ISAAC BROCK,
WHO GLORIOUSLY FELL
ON THE 13th OF OCTOBER,
M.DCCC.XII.
IN RESISTING AN ATTACK
ON
QUEENSTOWN,
IN UPPER CANADA.

No. 10. Page 351.

“This chief of the branch of the once great tribe of the Hurons visited England some time ago. I afterwards saw him in Quebec, and had a good deal of conversation with him. When asked what had struck him most of all that he had seen in England, he replied, without hesitation, that it was the monument erected in St. Paul’s to the memory of General Brock. It seemed to have impressed him with a high idea of the considerate beneficence of his great father, the king of England, that he not only had remembered the exploits and death of his white child, who had fallen beyond the big salt lake, but that he had even deigned to record, on the marble sepulchre, the sorrows of the poor Indian weeping over his chief untimely slain.”—*Hon. F. F. De Roos’ Travels in North America, in 1826.*

No. 11. Page 352.

To His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

The humble address of the Commons of Upper Canada,
in Parliament assembled,

May it please your Royal Highness,

We, his Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects the Commons of Upper Canada, in Provincial Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer to your Royal Highness the homage of our unfeigned attachment to his Majesty’s sacred person and government, and of our filial reverence for the great and magnanimous nation of which we have the honor to form a part.

While we pray your Royal Highness to accept of our most cordial congratulations on the splendid achievements of his Majesty’s forces, and of those of his allies in various parts of the globe, and in particular on the extraordinary successes which, under Divine Providence, have attended his Majesty’s arms in this portion of his dominions; we should do injustice to the memory of our late truly illustrious president, Major-General Brock, under whose auspices the latter were during his lifetime principally achieved, did we omit to accompany them with feelings of the most poignant sorrow for his fall.

He had endeared himself to us by his able, virtuous, and disinterested administration of the civil government, and by the zeal, military talent, and bravery, which characterized and marked his conduct in the field.

To his energy, his promptitude, and his decision, do we feel ourselves in a great degree indebted, for having at this

moment the happiness of enjoying the privileges of his Majesty's subjects. His disinterested and manly conduct aroused the spirit of the country, and called it forth for self-defence against a most insidious foe.

In appreciating, as we do, his talents and eminent services, most deeply do we lament our inability to bestow on them any other reward than our praise. Without revenue for even the ordinary purposes of the government, we have no funds from whence to reward merit, however exalted and deserving.

We derive, however, much pleasure from beholding that the services of our ever-to-be-lamented president and general have been appreciated by your Royal Highness; and while we feelingly regret that he did not survive to enjoy the high honors conferred upon him by your Royal Highness in his Majesty's name, we, with all humility, would beg to suggest that a grant to his family of a portion of his Majesty's most valuable waste lands in this province would be most gratifying to us. It would, we doubt not, be acceptable to them, and it would be the means of perpetuating the connection that had taken place between us, as well as the name of Brock, in a country in defence of which the general so nobly fell!!! and which his exertions had so eminently contributed to save.

That your Royal Highness may long be preserved to fill the exalted station to which you have been called for the advancement of the happiness, honor, and glory of the British nation, is the fervent prayer of his Majesty's faithful subjects, the Commons of Upper Canada.

Passed the Commons House of Assembly, the Sixth Day of March, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirteen.

No. 12. Page 352.

An Act to provide for the erection of a Monument to the memory of the late President, Major-General Sir Isaac Brock.

[Sixth Parliament, 55th Geo. III.]

[Passed 14th March, 1815.]

Most Gracious Sovereign,

Whereas at the declaration of war by the United States of America against Great Britain, the government of this province was administered with great uprightness and ability by the late Major-General Sir Isaac Brock; And whereas by the wisdom of his councils, the energy of his character, and the vigor with which he carried all his plans into effect, the inhabitants of this province, at a time when the country was almost destitute of regular troops, were inspired with the

fullest confidence in him and in themselves, and were thereby induced most cordially to unite with and follow him in every operation which he undertook for their defence; And whereas after having achieved the most brilliant success, and performed the most splendid actions, that truly illustrious commander contending at the head of a small body of regular troops and militia, against a very superior force of the enemy, devoted his most valuable life; And whereas the inhabitants of this province, reverencing his character, feel it a tribute due to his memory to express the same by a public and lasting testimonial, &c.

[Preamble. £1000 granted for the constructing a monument to the memory of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock.]

An Act to grant a further sum of money for the completion of the Monument to the memory of the late Major-General Sir Isaac Brock.

[Passed 30th January, 1826.]

Most Gracious Sovereign,

Whereas it has been represented by the surviving commissioner appointed under an act of the parliament of this province, passed in the fifty-fifth year of his late majesty's reign, intituled, "An act to provide for the erection of a monument to the memory of the late President, Major-General Sir Isaac Brock," that a further sum of money is required to complete the said monument upon a scale which appears to the commissioner worthy of the object: And whereas the legislature of this province are happy in testifying on this occasion to your majesty the continued veneration with which they regard the memory of the late Sir Isaac Brock: May it please your majesty that it may be enacted, &c.

[£600 granted to complete the monument to the memory of the late Major-General Sir Isaac Brock.]

No. 13. Page 352.

Anniversary of the Battle of Queenstown, and the reinterment of the late much-lamented Major-General Sir Isaac Brock.

There is something so grand and imposing in the spectacle of a nation's homage to departed worth, which calls for the exercise of so many interesting feelings, and which awakens so many sublime contemplations, that we naturally seek to perpetuate the memory of an event so pregnant with instruction, and so honorable to our species. It is a subject that in other and in older countries has frequently exercised the pens, and has called forth all the descriptive powers of the

ablest writers.* But here it is new; and for the first time since we became a separate province, have we seen a great public funeral procession of all ranks of people, to the amount of several thousands, bearing the remains of two lamented heroes to their last dwelling on earth, in the vaults of a grand national monument, overtopping the loftiest heights of the most magnificent section of one of the most magnificent countries in the world.

“The 13th of October, being the anniversary of the battle of Queenstown, and of the death of Brock, was judiciously chosen as the most proper day for the removal of the remains of the general, together with those of his gallant aide-de-camp, Lieutenant-Colonel M'Donell, to the vaults prepared for their reception on Queenstown heights.†

“The weather was remarkably fine, and before ten o'clock a very large concourse of people, from all parts of the country, had assembled on the plains of Niagara, in front of Fort George, in a bastion of which the bodies had been deposited for twelve years.‡

“One hearse, covered with black cloth, and drawn by four black horses, each with a leader, contained both the bodies. Soon after ten, a lane was formed by the 1st and 4th regiments of Lincoln militia, with their right on the gate of Fort George, and their left extending along the road towards Queenstown, the ranks being about forty paces distant from each other: within this line was formed a guard of honor of the 76th regiment, in parade order, having its left on the fort. As the hearse moved slowly from the fort, to the sound of solemn music, a detachment of royal artillery began to fire the salute of nineteen guns, and the guard of honor presented arms.

“On moving forwards in ordinary time, the guard of honor broke into a column of eight divisions, with the right in front, and the procession took the following order:

* It is impossible here to forget (however different were the circumstances and character of the two warriors) that fine passage by the splendid historian of Rome, wherein he immortalizes the death and funeral of the ferocious Attila, in language at once musical and sublime, and which is probably without an equal in the whole range of English literature: “His body was solemnly exposed in the midst of the plain, under a silken pavillion; and the chosen squadrons of the Huns, wheeling round in measured evolutions, chaunted a funeral song to the memory of a hero, glorious in his life, invincible in his death, the father of his people, the scourge of his enemies, and the terror of the world.”

† The monument itself is not yet finished; we shall therefore defer our description of the edifice until it is completed.

‡ It is remarkable that, on inspecting the remains, the body of Colonel M'Donell was found to be almost entirely decomposed,—whilst that of the general was still firm and nearly entire; some of the flesh and lineaments of his martial countenance being yet visible.

A Staff Officer.
 Subdivision of Grenadiers.
 Band of Music.
 Right Wing of the 76th Regiment.
 THE BODY.
 Aide-de-Camp to the late Major-General Sir ISAAC BROCK.
 Chief Mourners.
 Relatives of the late Colonel M'DONELL.
 Commissioners for the Monument.
 Heads of Public Departments of the Civil Government.
 Judges.
 Members of the Executive Council.
 His Excellency and Suite.
 Left Wing of the 76th Regiment.
 Indian Chiefs of the Five Nations.
 Officers of Militia not on duty—junior ranks—First forward,
 Four deep.
 Magistrates and Civilians,
 With a long Cavalcade of Horsemen, and Carriages of every
 description.

"As the procession passed along the lane of militia, the latter wheeled inwards by subdivisions in succession, as soon as its own front was clear, and followed the procession. At a certain distance from Fort George the quick march was taken up, and arms were sloped; the members of the procession then took their carriages, preserving as nearly as possible the order abovementioned, and the whole proceeded on the road to Queenstown. The 2d and 3d regiments of Lincoln militia, in like manner, formed a lane, its left resting on the heights, near the entrance to the monument, and extending along the road towards the village of Queenstown. On reaching the commencement of this lane, the procession resumed its formation, all horses, carriages, &c., keeping in the rear; and when the head of the column approached the monument, it inclined to the right, to allow the body to proceed direct to the entrance. The guard of honor then halted and formed in parade order; the 2d and 3d Lincoln regiments following the procession in like manner as the 1st and 4th.

"The time occupied in moving from the fort to Queenstown, a distance of nearly seven miles, was about three hours, including stoppages. Being arrived opposite the spot where the lamented hero received his mortal wound, the whole procession halted, and remained for a few minutes in solemn pause. It then ascended the heights, and to the spectator who had his station on the summit near the monument, nothing could be finer than the effect of the lengthened column winding slowly up the steep ascent in regular order, surrounded by scenery no where surpassed for romantic beauty. On the bodies being removed from the hearse and deposited in the vault, the guard of honor presented arms, whilst the artillery, (which had been taken from the enemy during the

last war,) posted on the heights, fired a salute of nineteen guns. The troops then marched in ordinary time round the monument, and immediately separated to their respective parades.

“All those who were inclined to visit the interior of the vault were then permitted to enter in small parties. The remains of the brave M'Donell lie to the left of those of the general. On the general's coffin, which is otherwise quite plain and covered with black cloth, are two oval plates of silver, each six inches by four, one above the other. On the first is the following inscription :

Here lie the earthly remains of a brave
and virtuous hero,
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK,
Commander of the British Forces,
and President administering
the Government of Upper Canada,
who fell, when gloriously engaging the enemies
of his country,
at the head of the Flank Companies
of the 49th Regiment,
in the town of Queenstown,
on the morning of the 13th October, 1812,
Aged 42 years.

J. B. GLEGG, A. D. C.

“And on the second plate the following additional inscription is engraved :

The remains of the late
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K. B.
removed from Fort George to this vault,
on the 13th of October, 1824.

“Upon a similar plate, on the lid of the aide-de-camp's coffin, was engraved :

The remains of
LIEUT.-COL. JOHN M'DONELL,
Provincial Aide-de-Camp to the late
MAJOR-GENERAL BROCK,
who died on the 14th of October, 1812,
of wounds received in action the day before,
Aged 25 years.

“Several printed papers, having the following extract from the government dispatches of the day, were handed about :

[See dispatch from Earl Bathurst to Sir George Prevost, page 338.—ED.]

“Besides which, on large placards, to the number of several hundreds, copies of the inscription to be placed on the tablet, over the entrance of the monument, were distributed amongst the assembled multitudes, and which is as follows :

“The Legislature of Upper Canada has dedicated this Monument to the very eminent civil and military services of the late Sir Isaac Brock,

Knight of the Most Hon. Order of the Bath, Provisional Lieutenant-Governor, and Major-General commanding the Forces in this Province, whose remains are deposited in the vault beneath. Having expelled the North Western Army of the United States, achieved its capture, received the surrender of Fort Detorit, and the territory of Michigan, under circumstances which have rendered his name illustrious, he returned to the protection of this frontier; and advancing with his small force to repel a second invasion of the enemy, then in possession of these heights, he fell in action, on the 13th of October, 1812, in the forty-third year of his age, honoured and beloved by the people whom he governed, and deplored by his Sovereign, to whose service his life had been devoted."

REMARKS.

"By the best computation we could make, and avoiding all exaggeration, at the time the procession reached the monument there could not be less than five thousand persons present, many of whom were from the United States. General Brock, indeed, was a man no less esteemed by the enemy than he was admired and almost adored by his friends and soldiery; and we heard several Americans say, who had served against him and saw him fall, that they lamented his death as much as they would have done that of any of their own generals, on account of his humanity, and the great attention he had uniformly shewn to his prisoners.

"His excellency the lieutenant-governor (Major-General Sir Perigrine Maitland, K. C. B.) was in full dress, and, we are happy to say, appeared in good health after his late fatiguing journey of inspection to the Lower Province. The two M'Donnells and Captain Wilkinson, of the 2d Glengary regiment, relatives of the deceased Lieut.-Colonel M'Donnell, in the highland costume, appeared in the procession to great advantage, and seemed to excite much attention.

"But among the assembled warriors and civilians, none excited a more lively interest than the chiefs of the Indian nations from the Grand River, whose warlike appearance, intrepid aspect, picturesque dress and ornaments, and majestic demeanour, accorded well with the solemn pomp and general character of a military procession—amongst these, young Brant, Bears Foot, and Henry, were distinguished. In our mind we never saw a dress more elegant in its kind, and fit for active service in the woods, than that worn by young Brant, who, with his tomahawk in hand, was a perfect resemblance of all that could be imagined of the accomplished Indian warrior.

"Amongst the numerous gentlemen in the procession, we observed that old veteran, Lieutenant M'Dougall, of his majesty's 8th (the king's) regiment, who, like a brave and loyal man, came from Sandwich to attend the re-interment."
—*Upper Canada Gazette, October, 1824.*

“ We had the melancholy pleasure of attending, on Wednesday last, the removal of the mortal remains of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, and those of his deceased aide-de-camp, Lieut.-Colonel M'Donell, from Fort George to the monument at Queenstown Heights.

“ The day was remarkably fine—the persons who attended to pay this last tribute of respect to their memories were highly respectable and numerous. There could not be less than 10,000 persons present.

“ His Excellency, Major Hillier, Ensign Maitland, Colonels Fosters, Coffin, and Fitzgibbon, appeared on the ground half an hour before the procession moved from Fort George.

* * * * *

“ About the hour of 10 o'clock, the 1st and 4th regiments of Lincoln militia, were formed in lines 40 yards apart at Fort George. Within the lines was a guard of honor, consisting of a company of the 76th regiment. On the hearse being brought out of the fort, the guard presented arms, and the royal artillery fired a salute of nineteen guns.

“ The procession moved in the following order :

Captain Brown, 37th Regiment.
Grenadiers of the 76th Regiment.
Band of do.
Right wing of 76th Regiment.
Isaac Swayze, Esq.
THE HEARSE,
Drawn by four Black Horses.
Chief Mourners : — Colonel Givens, of the West York Militia, and
Colonel Donald M'Donell.
Supporters to the Chief Mourners : — Lt.-Colonel Duncan M'Donell, and
Capt. Wilkinson, of the Glengary Regiment, in full uniform.
Commissioners for the Monument.
Gentlemen of the Press.
Barristers.
Medical Gentlemen.
Members of the House of Assembly.
Members of the Legislative Council.
Sheriffs, Coroners, and Magistrates.
Officers of the Army and Navy on half pay.
Heads of public Departments.
Judges of the Court of King's Bench.
Members of the Executive Council.
His Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland and Suite.
Colonels Wardlaw and Leonard.
Left Wing of the 76th Regiment.
Officers of the West York Militia, under the command of
Lieut.-Col. Bakie.
Captain George Dennison, of the York Dragoons.
Officers of the East York Militia, under the command of
Lieut.-Colonel Heward.
Colonel John Beverley Robinson and Major Radenhurst, of the second
East York Militia.
Chiefs from each Tribe of the Five Nations : — Captain Brant,
Ahyonwaeghs, Tehanagarene, Tewaserake, Skayentakaen,
Thalotatro, Kaghnitake, Teyothorewen.

Markham Cavalry :—Captain and Lieutenant Button.
 Gore Militia :—Colonel James Crooks, Captain M. Crooks,
 Lieutenant Findlay, and Dr. Hamilton.
 Oxford Militia :—Colonel Horner and Dr. Cornish.
 560 Gentlemen on horseback.
 285 Carriages, Gigs, and pleasure Waggon, filled with well dressed
 Ladies and Gentlemen.

“The pedestrians were numerous.

“The procession ascended the mountain ten minutes after two o'clock, and marched through a lane formed by the 2d and 3d regiments of Lincoln militia, to the monument.

“Upon the bodies being taken from the hearse and deposited in the vault within the monument, the guard presented arms, and the artillery, posted on the heights, fired a salute of nineteen guns.”—*York Observer*, October 18, 1824.

No. 14. — Page 415.

“Queenstown, at which place the steam boats start for Toronto, is situated in a delicious valley, through which the Niagara river, in colour a deep green, pursues its course. It is approached by a road that takes its winding way among the heights by which the town is sheltered, and, seen from this point, is extremely beautiful and picturesque. On the most conspicuous of these heights stood a monument, erected by the provincial legislature in memory of General Brock, who was slain in a battle with the American forces, after having won the victory. Some vagabond, supposed to be a fellow of the name of Lett, who is now, or who lately was, in prison as a felon, blew up this monument two years ago; and it is now a melancholy ruin, with a long fragment of iron railing hanging dejectedly from its top, and waving to and fro like a wild ivy branch or broken vine stem. It is of much higher importance than it may seem that this statue should be repaired at the public cost, as it ought to have been long ago; first, because it is beneath the dignity of England to allow a memorial, raised in honor of one of her defenders, to remain in this condition, on the very spot where he died; secondly, because the sight of it in its present state, and the recollection of the unpunished outrage which brought it to this pass, are not very likely to soothe down border feelings among English subjects here, or compose their border quarrels and dislikes.”—*Dickens' American Notes*, vol. ii., pp. 187, 188.

SECTION II.—AMERICAN AUTHORS.

No. 1.—Page 248.

*Extract from Jefferson's Correspondence.—Monticello,
October 1, 1812.*

“I fear that Hull's surrender has been more than the mere loss of a year to us. Besides bringing on us the whole mass of savage nations, whom fear, and not affection, had kept in quiet, there is danger that, in giving time to an enemy who can send reinforcements of regulars faster than we can raise them, they may strengthen Canada and Halifax beyond the assailment of our lax and divided powers. Perhaps, however, the patriotic efforts from Kentucky and Ohio, by recalling the British force to its upper posts, may yet give time to Dearborn to strike a blow below. Effectual possession of the river from Montreal to Chaudière, which is practicable, would give us the upper country at our leisure, and close for ever the scenes of the tomahawk and scalping knife.”

No. 2.—Page 254.

*“Revolutionary Services of General Hull, as taken from his
Defence before the Court Martial, in March, 1814.*

“For more than half a century I supported a character without reproach. My youth was devoted to the service of my country; I fought her battles in that war which achieved her liberty and independence, and which was ended before many of you, gentlemen, who are my judges, were born. If upon any occasion a man may speak of his own merits, it is at such a time as this: and I hope I may be permitted to present to you, in very few words, a narration of my life, while I was engaged in scenes which were calculated to prove a man's firmness and courage. I shall do it with less reluctance, because the testimony I have offered of the venerable men who served with me in the revolutionary war, will vouch for all I have to say. In the year 1775, at the age of about twenty-one years, I was appointed a captain in one of the Connecticut regiments; during that campaign, and until March, 1776, when the enemy evacuated Boston, I served with the army at Cambridge and Roxbury, and in the immediate command of General Washington. I was with that part of the army, in March, 1776, which took possession of Dorchester heights—the movement which compelled the enemy to evacuate Boston. The next day, the regiment to

which I belonged marched for New York. I was on Long Island when the enemy landed, and remained until the night the whole army retreated. I was in several small skirmishes, both on Long Island and York Island, before the army retired to the White Plains. I then belonged to Colonel Charles Webb's regiment, of Connecticut.

"This regiment was in the severest part of the action on Chatterdon's Hill, a little advanced of the White Plains, a few days after the main body of the army abandoned New York. This battle is memorable in the history of our country; and the regiment to which I belonged received the particular thanks of General Washington, in his public orders, for its bravery and good conduct on the occasion. It was particularly distinguished from all the other troops engaged in the action. I received a slight wound by a musket ball in my side, but it did not prevent me from remaining at the head of my company.

"I was in the battle of Trenton, when the Hessians were taken, in December, 1776; and, being one of the youngest captains in the army, was promoted by General Washington the day after the battle, to a majority, for my conduct on that occasion. The 1st of January, 1777, I was in the battle of Princeton. In the campaign of the same year, the regiment to which I belonged served in the northern army. I was early in the spring ordered to Ticonderoga, and commanded the regiment (being the senior officer present) under General St. Clair, and I was with that officer in his retreat from that post.

"After General St. Clair's army formed a junction with General Schuyler's army on the North River, at Fort Edward, the regiment to which I belonged was detached, and marched to Fort Schuyler, and relieved that post, which was besieged by General St. Leger.

"On the retreat of General Schuyler's army from Fort Edward, I commanded the rear guard of the army; and, being two miles in the rear, was attacked by a large body of British troops and Indians at daylight in the morning, in which action were killed and wounded between thirty and forty of my guard. And I received the particular thanks of General Schuyler for my conduct on the occasion.

"I was in the two memorable battles, on the 19th of September and the 7th of October, on Bemis' heights, against General Burgoyne's army, previous to its surrender. In the action of the 19th of September, I commanded a detachment of three hundred men, who fought the principal part of the afternoon, and more than one half of them were killed or wounded.

"On the 7th of October, I likewise commanded a detachment from the Brigade which assisted in attacking the enemy on the left of our position, defeated him, followed him to the

right of his lines, stormed his entrenchments, and took and held possession of the right of his position, which compelled him to retreat to Saratoga, and there to capitulate.

“After the memorable event of the capitulation of General Burgoyne’s army, the regiment to which I belonged was ordered to Pennsylvania, to join the army under the command of General Washington. I remained with the army the winter of 1777, at Valley Forge; and in the spring of 1778, when the British army evacuated Philadelphia, I was in the battle of Monmouth.

“From December, 1778, to May, 1779, I commanded the American posts in advance of the White Plains, near Kingsbridge, during which time I had various skirmishes with the enemy. In May, 1779, the principal part of the British army advanced up the North River to Verplank’s and Stoney Point, and I was ordered to retreat before them to West Point.

“I then joined the light infantry, under the command of General Wayne, and was in the memorable attack on Stoney Point, with a separate command of four hundred light infantry.

“For my conduct on this occasion I received the particular thanks of General Wayne, General Washington, and congress.

“In the summer and autumn of 1780, I commanded the advanced posts of the army; and in December of that year, I commanded an expedition against the enemy, stationed at Morrissina, which was successful, and for which I received the thanks of General Washington, in his general orders to the army, and likewise the thanks of congress. General Washington, in his orders, I well remember, made use of these words: ‘He thanked me for my judicious arrangements in the plan of operations, and for my intrepidity and valour in the execution.’

“From the conclusion of the revolutionary war I have lived with the respect of my countrymen, and have enjoyed repeated marks of their confidence in the offices which have been bestowed upon me. When I found that the independence, for which I had so often fought, was assailed,—that again my country must appeal to arms to avenge her wrongs, and to protect her rights,—I felt that I might yet do her some service. For though many years had passed since I had fought under her standard, and though my own arm might not have had its wonted strength, yet my spirit was unbroken, and my devotion to her unimpaired. I thought in the field, where there could be but few who had any military experience, what I had learned in the most active scenes of a seven years’ war, might be useful. I fondly hoped that in my age, as well as in my youth, I might render services that should deserve the gratitude of my country—that if I fell by the sword of her enemies, my grave would be moistened with the tears of my countrymen; that my descendants would be proud of my

name and fame. But how vain is anticipation! I am now accused of crimes which would blast my former honors, and transmit my memory with infamy to posterity. And in that hideous catalogue, there is none from the imputation of which my nature and my feelings have more recoiled than from that of cowardice, to which I am to answer."

"The appearance of General Hull was venerable and prepossessing. Beneath snowy locks, of nearly sixty winters' bleaching, he exhibited a countenance as fresh and blooming as a youth of eighteen. His eloquence was perspicuous and graceful."—*American History*.

No. 3.—Page 331.

Letter from Captain Wool to Colonel Van Rensselaer.

"BUFFALOE, October 23, 1812.

"I have the honor to communicate to you the circumstances attending the storming of Queenstown battery, on the 13th instant; with those which happened previously you are already well acquainted.

"In pursuance of your order, we proceeded round the point and ascended the rocks, which brought us partly in rear of the battery. We took it without much resistance. I immediately formed the troops in rear of the battery, and fronting the village, when I observed General Brock with his troops formed, consisting of four companies of the 49th regiment, and a few militia, marching for our left flank. I immediately detached a party of one hundred and fifty men, to take possession of the heights above Queenstown battery, and to hold General Brock in check; but in consequence of his superior force they retreated. I sent a reinforcement; notwithstanding which, the enemy drove us to the edge of the bank; when, with the greatest exertions, we brought the troops to a stand, and ordered the officers to bring their men to a charge as soon as the ammunition was expended, which was executed with some confusion, and in a few moments the enemy retreated. We pursued them to the edge of the heights, when Colonel M'Donell had his horse shot from under him, and himself was mortally wounded. In the interim, General Brock, in attempting to rally his forces, was killed, when the enemy dispersed in every direction. As soon as it was practicable I formed the troops in a line on the heights fronting the village, and immediately detached flanking parties, which consisted of Captain Machesney, of the 6th regiment, Lieutenant Smith and Ensign Grosvenor, with a small detachment of riflemen, who had that moment arrived; at the same time, I ordered Lieutenant Ganesvoort and Lieutenant Randolph, with a detachment of artillery, to drill out an 18-pounder which had been previously spiked, and, if

possible, to bring it to bear upon the village. The wounded and prisoners I ordered to be collected, and sent to the guard-house. About this time, which was about three or four o'clock in the afternoon, Lieut.-Colonel Christie arrived, and took the command. He ordered me across the river to get my wounds dressed. I remained a short time. Our flanking parties had been driven in by the Indians; but General Wadsworth and other officers arriving, we had a short skirmish with them, and they retreated, and I crossed the river."

[NOTE.—Captain Wool, in stating that he was opposed to four companies of the 49th, *only* doubled the number of companies; but this exaggeration is a trifle compared with the following gross and *hudiabastic* mis-statements, relative to the battle of Queenstown in "Ramsay's History of the United States," viz. "The 49th British regiment, signalized in Egypt under Colonel, since Lieutenant-General, Brock, and usually called the 'Egyptian Invincibles,' was among the prominent corps, and was led by its favorite commander. In the second engagement, this regiment of British regulars, 600 strong, encountered a body of 320 American regulars, supported by a few militia and volunteers, the whole under Colonel Chrystie. They mutually resorted to the bayonet, and after a bloody conflict, the famous invincibles yielded to the superior energy of their antagonists, although the latter were so far inferior in numbers. They were rallied by Lieut.-General Brock, who was killed in conducting them a second time to the charge. The American prisoners were kindly treated by this brave regiment, who, after the battle was over, acknowledged they had never opposed more gallant adversaries."—The 49th, not having been with the British army in Egypt, could not be called the "Egyptian Invincibles;" and instead of this regiment, 600 strong, being led by Major (not Lieutenant) General Brock, only the flank companies were present, with a small body of militia, together about 300 men. In fact, four companies of the 49th were at Kingston, 160 miles distant, and the remaining four battalion companies were, we believe, at Fort Erie, 27 or 28 miles from Queenstown; and therefore, the assertion that the "famous invincibles" yielded to far inferior numbers, is something worse than ridiculous. Such, however, is the correctness of this American historian on the subject, and with such materials is history too often compiled.—ED.]

"REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF QUEENSTOWN"—(Extracts.)

"Captain Wool discovered the British troops forming at Queenstown, and formed the troops under his command in line. General Brock was at the head of the British troops, and led them round about to the heights in the rear of the battery. Captain Wool detached 160 men to meet the British; this detachment was driven back, reinforced, and the whole driven to the brink of the precipice, forming the bank of the Niagara river, above Queenstown.

"At this moment some of the officers put a white handkerchief on a bayonet to hoist as a flag, with intention to surrender. Captain Wool inquired the object. It was answered that the party were nearly without ammunition, and that it was useless to sacrifice the lives of brave men. Captain Wool tore off the flag, ordered the officers to rally

the men, and bring them to the charge. The order was executed, but in some confusion. The boasted 49th could not stand the American bayonet. The British troops were routed, and Major-General Brock, in gallantly exerting himself to rally them, was killed. His aid, Colonel M'Donell, fell mortally wounded at the same time.

"The British being completely driven from the heights about ten o'clock, the line was reformed and flanking parties sent out."—*Niles' Weekly Register*, 1812.

Extracts from Niles' Weekly Register, Baltimore, 1812.

"Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Detroit to his friend in Pittsburg, dated July 7, 1812.—'General Hull is making preparations to cross the river this evening or to-morrow, and it is expected that an immediate attack is contemplated on Malden (Amherstburg). The army are all in health and good spirits, and wait with anxiety to be put on the other shore: they are certainly as fine looking men as I ever saw.'"

"We have several reports of the capture of Fort Malden. General Hull has sent expresses to the governors of Ohio and Kentucky for further supplies of troops, supposed for the purpose of maintaining the ground he may take, and to keep the allies in check. We trust he may religiously adhere to his proclamation, whatever General Brock may say, and give no quarters to the white savages when found fighting by the side of the Indians, for whose extensive murders the British should be made responsible."

APPENDIX B.

DANIEL DE LISLE BROCK, Esq.

BAILIFF OF GUERNSEY.

This able magistrate, the third son of John Brock, Esq., was born in Guernsey on the 10th of December, 1762, and closed a long and useful career on Saturday evening, the 24th September, 1842, at the age of 79 years and nearly 10 months. After receiving such rudiments of education as the island

could furnish in those days, he was placed at Alderney, to learn the French language, under M. Vallatt, a Swiss protestant clergyman, and a man of talent, who was afterwards rector of St. Peter-in-the-Wood, in Guernsey. From Alderney he was sent to a school at Richmond, in Surrey, where he remained only two years, as at the early age of fourteen he went to Dinan with his father, who died there. The premature death of his parents was an irreparable loss to the son, as it was the cause of his not returning to school, where he had already shown that he possessed a vigour of intellect much beyond his years. His two elder brothers were in the army, and the pardonable fondness of his mother induced her to retain at home the only one of her sons, who could in some measure replace the counsels of her husband.

In 1785, he went by sea to the Mediterranean, and spent upwards of a year in visiting Spain, Malta, Sicily, Italy, Switzerland, and France. In 1798, he was elected jurat of the Royal Court; and the greater part, if not the whole, of the public documents of that body, were from that period written by him. In 1821, he obtained the high and responsible appointment of bailiff, or chief magistrate, of Guernsey.

"It has been truly said that the history of Guernsey, for the last fifty years, was, in fact, the history of Daniel De Lisle Brock. So exclusively has the better part of Mr. Brock's life been devoted to the service of his country—so completely have his affections been wrapped up in her welfare—so ardently, so zealously, and so unceasingly has he laboured to promote her prosperity and to protect her privileges—and so intimately has he been connected with all the important occurrences of the period alluded to—that in reading the history of the island, we read the history of this, the most able and devoted of its friends."

Between the years 1804 and 1810, Mr. Brock was deputed by the States and Royal Court of Guernsey no less than four times, as their representative to government, in matters connected with the trade and privileges of the island; and he also went once to Jersey, to confer with the Royal Court there on the same subject. In these missions, Mr. Brock distinguished himself by his luminous and argumentative papers,* and the authority of the Royal Court was happily preserved intact by his representations and unremitting exertions. In one of his official visits to London, he became known to the Duke of Northumberland, at whose table he was an occasional guest. The Duke mentioned to him that his grandfather, who had been Governor of Guernsey (a sine-

* "There are some of the public papers written by Mr. Brock which may be profitably studied as models of this kind of composition."—*Guernsey Star*, September 26, 1842.

cure) from the year 1742 to his death in 1750, had expressed his surprise that, during that period, he had never been asked for a single favor by any inhabitant of the island. In those days the natives, with their simple habits and moderate wants, were happily more independent of the smiles or frowns of power than they are at present, as, possessing no parliamentary influence, they have little chance in the distribution of government patronage.

"In 1821, an act of parliament having been passed prohibiting the importation of foreign corn into the Channel Islands, whenever its entry for consumption was prohibited in England, to wit, until it reached the price of 80s. per quarter, Mr. Brock was again deputed to London to contend against a measure fraught with such fatal consequences to the islands, and at the same time to obtain some modifications in the navigation laws. Mr. Brock, who was essentially assisted in this business by Mr. James Carey, jurat, succeeded in both these objects. The obnoxious corn law was repealed so far as the Channel Islands were concerned, and some important privileges conceded to their trade and navigation, especially in granting them free intercourse with the British colonies, and the American continent and islands. So highly were these last services appreciated, that when Mr. Brock returned to Guernsey, on the 24th July, 1822, he was received with unexampled enthusiasm. On landing in the morning, he was saluted with deafening cries of "*Brock for ever!*" "*Long may he live!*" &c. The public joy was manifested on this occasion in many different ways. The shipping in the harbour hoisted their flags; crowns and garlands of flowers, flags, loaves of bread, with ears of corn, were tastefully arranged, and suspended in almost every street; mottoes and devices, expressive of unbounded gratitude, were exhibited in every direction, and in the greatest variety; and the church bells throughout the island rang merry peals during the day. Bands of music paraded the town, followed by crowds, on whose happy countenances "Mirth, admit me of thy crew," was expressed. The musicians wore various coloured bands round their hats, with the motto of "*Long live Bailiff Brock!*" They surrounded a banner crowned with flowers, bearing the following inscription:

"The grateful inhabitants of Guernsey, to the worthy Bailiff,
DANIEL DE LISLE BROCK.

Happy is he who labours to promote the happiness of his fellow-citizens. He will secure their eternal gratitude. They will unceasingly exclaim: "May God preserve our friend, our benefactor, and our parent."

"This inscription, having been borne in triumph in every part of the town, was presented to the object of well-merited praise, and accepted. Preparations had been made by the

militia bands to receive this distinguished patriot at the landing place; but their good intentions were thwarted, in consequence of the early hour at which the arrival took place. At a public meeting of the inhabitants, it was determined to present a piece of plate to Mr. Brock, as a testimony of the value attached to his public services, and in the hope that this faint evidence of their attachment might serve to stimulate others to follow his steps, and might descend as a memorial to his posterity. Upwards of £300 were quickly raised for this purpose, and other less valuable, but not less gratifying, testimonials were presented to him. Nor was Jersey less grateful, as a public meeting was held in the town of St. Helier, when the thanks of the island and a handsome piece of plate were unanimously voted to him."

In 1826, General Sir John Doyle, Bart. and G. C. B., for many years lieutenant-governor of Guernsey, visited the island; and at a public dinner, given to him on the 29th August, at the Assembly Rooms, he rose and spoke as follows :

"Gentlemen,—Having received permission from the chair, I rise to propose a toast which would be well received in any society where the enlightened individual is known. But here I anticipate it will be met by acclamation and enthusiasm. I do not propose his health, merely because he is my friend, although I feel truly honored by his friendship; and the more so, as I know that it originated and was cemented by his conviction of my honest zeal for the public good, and the deep interest I took in the welfare of his native land. But I give him as a public man, who, to a sound, vigorous, and cultivated understanding, joins a liberal and enlightened mind—an innate love of justice, and hatred of oppression—an inflexible adherence to that which appears to him to be right—a man too wise to be cunning. Armed with the '*mens conscia recti*,' he marches straightforward to his object, nor turns into the devious path of crooked policy, and left-handed wisdom. To these qualities are added indefatigable industry, and a patience not to be exhausted. This is the man, who, as a public magistrate in high station, I offer for your acceptance. Of his private worth, I dare not say all that I feel. He is present. You know him, and can duly appreciate his value. You will have anticipated that I mean the bailiff of Guernsey. I now propose to you 'The health of the bailiff, and unalloyed happiness to the island of Guernsey.'"

"In 1832, one of the most ancient and vital privileges of Guernsey—the right of the inhabitants to be tried in their own local court—was placed in peril, it being assailed by no less a character than Lord Chief Justice Tenterden, who sought to extend the power of the writ of *habeas corpus* to this island. The history of this event would occupy much more space than we can now devote to it. Suffice it here to say, that after much correspondence on the subject, Mr. Brock and Mr. Charles De Jersey, the king's procureur, were deputed to London, to act in conjunction with the bailiff and procureur of Jersey in opposing the measure. The mission

was successful, and the independence of the insular jurisdictions was maintained.

“The last occasion on which Mr. Brock went to England in the service of his native island, was in the year 1835, when the Channel Islands were menaced with being deprived of the privilege of sending their corn into England, duty free. An idea had obtained ground that this privilege was abused; and, in consequence, a bill was brought into parliament to deprive the islands of this important branch of their trade. Deputies were therefore appointed by the islands to proceed to London, for the purpose of advocating their rights, and Mr. Brock was again fixed on as the representative of Guernsey. Owing to the remonstrances of this deputation, a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the matter, and the result was that the bill was withdrawn. So highly were Mr. Brock’s services on this occasion valued by both islands, that the States of Jersey voted him a piece of plate of the value of £100, whilst the States of Guernsey voted that portrait which now adorns the interior of the court-house, and which will afford to succeeding generations the means of contemplating the intellectual countenance and venerable form of one whom they will ever remember as the firmest friend, and ablest administrator of his country.

“From the period here alluded to, until within a few days of his death, Mr. Brock was unremittingly engaged in labouring for the public good. The records of the island will show how indefatigably he devoted himself to its service; and it may be truly said of him, that to his latest moment the desire to secure its welfare was the reigning impulse of his heart.”

Mr. Brock left one son, Eugene, a captain in the 20th regiment, since deceased, unmarried; and one daughter, now also unmarried. In countenance and robustness of frame, although not so tall, as well as in vigour of intellect and decision of character, the bailiff strongly resembled his brother, Sir Isaac Brock; and when a friend of the latter, Sir James Kempt, visited Guernsey, in his official capacity as master-general of the ordnance, he was struck with the personal resemblance, notwithstanding that Mr. Brock was then in his 71st year.

The Royal Court, having met on the 26th September, to appoint a judge delegate to replace *pro tempore* the late bailiff, unanimously requested the family of the deceased to allow him to be buried at the expense of the States of Guernsey, and the funeral was in consequence a public one. “For though Mr. Brock had enriched his country with numerous and inappreciable benefits—though he bequeathed to it an inestimable heritage in his deeds and in his example—he

died in honorable and ennobling poverty, resulting from his disinterestedness, his integrity, and his patriotism.* The public, we say, were pleased, were gratified, were proud in seeing that their representatives and rulers so promptly and so handsomely anticipated and fulfilled their wishes, and they looked forward to the moment of paying to their departed benefactor the last mournful honors with feelings in which complacency was not unmingled with their grief.

“Some hours before the time appointed for the ceremony, the inhabitants of the country parishes, mostly clothed in respectable mourning, were seen thronging into town; and by eleven o’clock a considerable crowd was collected in the front of Mr. Savery Brock’s house, from whence the procession was to issue. Punctually at the time appointed, (twelve o’clock,) the authorities and other gentlemen invited to take part in the ceremony, together with a large number of persons who attended spontaneously to pay the last mark of respect to the deceased, were assembled; and having been marshalled by the deputy sheriffs and the special constables, in the manner laid down in the programme, the mournful *cortège*, comprising nearly five hundred persons, issued into the Grange Road in the following order of procession :

Four Assistant Constables,
(each with his Staff of office.)
Two Deputy Sheriffs.—Deputy Greffier.—Deputy Sergeant.
Deputy Harbour Master.—Postmaster.
Surveyor of Works.
Receiver of Impost.—Assistant Supervisor.—Harbour Master.
The Principal Officer and the Comptroller of
Her Majesty’s Customs.
Deputy Judge Advocate.—Barrack Master.
Ordnance Storekeeper.
Fort Major.—Government Secretary.
Officers of the five Regiments of Guernsey Militia.
Officers of the 48th Depot.
Officers of the Royal Artillery.—Colonel Moody, R. E.
Clerk of the Town Parish.—Clerk of St. Martin’s Parish.
Rev. W. Le Mottée. Rev. Henry Benwell.
Rev. E. Guille. Rev. George Guille.
Rev. F. Jeremie. Rev. Peter Carey.
Rev. Daniel Dobrée. Rev. W. L. Davies.
Rev. William Guille. Rev. W. J. Chepmell.
Rev. Thomas Brock. The Very Rev. the Dean.

* “Mr. Brock was no doubt ambitious, but his ambition was gratified in beholding the advancement of his country. Personal advantage — individual distinction — were things that never occurred to his imagination, or occurred only to be contemned. He might have had an augmentation of salary — he might have received the honour of knighthood — he might have had the sources of fortune opened to him — but these would have brought no advantages to Guernsey, and he rejected them.”—*Guernsey Star*, September 26, 1842.

Frederick Mansell, Jurat.

Hilary O. Carré, Jurat.

John Hubert, Jurat.

John Le Messurier, Jurat.

James Carey, Jurat.

John Guille, Jurat.

Rev. R. Potenger.	} Mourners.	{	F. B. Tupper.
John Carey, Jun.			Henry Tupper.
Lieut.-General Sir James Douglas.—His Excellency Major-General			
W. F. P. Napier, Lieut.-Governor.—Lieut.-General Ross.			
Peter B. Dobrée.	} Jurats.	{	T. W. Gosselin.
Thomas Le Retilley.			H. Dobrée, jun.
The Queen's Procureur.—The Queen's Comptroller.—Her Majesty's			
Receiver-General.—Greffier.—Sheriff.			
The Advocates of the Royal Court.			
The late Bailiff's Medical Attendants.			
The Douzeniers of each parish, headed by their respective			
Constables, four abreast.			
Relatives, with Hat Bands, four abreast.			
The Order of Rechabites in full procession.			
A Deputation of the Total Abstinence Society,			
headed by Mr. Edmund Richards.			

“The procession proceeded in solemn order down the Grange Road, until it reached the College, when it turned to the left, and passed on to the eastern entrance of the new burying ground, and from thence proceeded to the grave, near the opposite extremity of the cemetery, which was destined to be the final resting place of the aged patriot. The persons who composed the *cortège* having been formed in order round the grave, the sublime and solemn ritual of the Church of England was read in a feeling and impressive manner by the Very Reverend the Dean, the coffin being at the proper period of the service committed to the bosom of the earth in profound and solemn silence. When the service was concluded, a great many persons approached the border of the grave to take a farewell look at the narrow tenement which now contained the remains of a man who, but a few short hours back, had occupied so prominent a position in his native land. Many a sigh was breathed, many a tear was shed upon that grave; and many and various were the expressions of affection and regret which there found utterance, and which seemed to say

‘We ne'er shall look upon his like again.’

“On no similar occasion had there ever been collected so large a concourse of persons in this island. Some pains were taken to ascertain the number of those who entered the

burial ground, and it is believed that they considerably exceeded 4,000. An equal, or perhaps a larger number, were dispersed, as spectators, in the Grange Road and adjacent parts. Every house that commanded a glimpse of the procession, or the interment, was crowded. The windows, even to the attics, were peopled; whilst walls, gardens, and every spot from which any thing could be seen, were in like manner occupied. Notwithstanding the extraordinary number of persons collected, a very creditable degree of order and decorum was maintained throughout the whole of the proceedings.*

The union jack was hoisted half mast at Fort George and Castle Cornet from the day succeeding the bailiff's death to that of his funeral, on which days also the bells of the parish church of St. Peter-Port were tolled, and the flags of the vessels in the two harbours and roadstead were hoisted half mast. On the day of the interment, the shops in St. Peter-Port were entirely closed until the mournful ceremony was completed.

The lieutenant-governor of the island, Major-General Napier, the celebrated historian of the Peninsular war, evinced, in a manner as creditable to his feelings as it was gratifying to those of the family, an anxious desire to pay every respect to the memory of the deceased, his excellency, with the officers of his staff, and Lieut.-General Ross, and Lieut.-General Sir James Douglas, ex-lieutenant-governors, attending the funeral in full uniform, as did all the officers of the five regiments of militia. All the civil and military authorities, as well as the whole of the clergy of the island, were present.

The following remarks are extracted from a long and most ably written article of nearly two columns, in the *Guernsey Star* of Monday, September 26, 1842, in which the last moments and character of Mr. Brock were feelingly portrayed by the editor, an English gentleman :

“Mr. Brock's career, his talents, his services, and his amiable qualities, are so familiar to every native and inhabitant of Guernsey—they have, as it were, become so much the common property of the community—they have been so much the objects of their study—so constantly the theme of their praise and admiration—that it may seem almost a work of supererogation in us to make any observation on them on the present melancholy occasion. We cannot, however, allow the grave to close upon him without strewing it with some of those offerings of respect and praise which spontaneously spring to our hand as we pen the notice of his death. We feel that we enjoy considerable latitude on this occasion, because, from having been for years the political antagonists of Mr.

* The extracts in inverted commas are from the *Guernsey Star* of Thursday, 29th September, 1842.

Brock, and having braved his hostility when living, our tribute to his memory cannot be looked on as other than the genuine offspring of our feeling and our judgement.

“Mr. Brock was not an ordinary man. He was constituted of materials which would have led their owner to distinction in whatever sphere he might have been placed. Indebted but little to early education, he possessed within himself a faculty of extracting knowledge from every thing that came within his observation; and, gifted with a powerful memory, a reflecting mind, and the art of methodizing and arranging the ideas and information which he acquired, he was enabled at all times to bring a mass of well digested and pertinent knowledge to bear upon and illustrate any subject which he was required to discuss. He had a singular talent for comprehending principles and for seizing information, and arranging and applying it; so that there were few subjects upon which he entered, on which he could not lay down sound principles, and illustrate and maintain them by sound arguments. Too confident of his strength, and perhaps over-elated with his many victories, he would sometimes venture on untenable ground, and expose himself to the inroads of an able enemy; but these indiscretions were of rare occurrence, and the memory of his temporary checks was generally cancelled by the skilfulness of his retreats.

If Mr. Brock was thus distinguished for his mental powers, he was no less so by the strength and felicity of his style of writing. He had the rare talent of putting proper words in their proper places. He wrote English with English plainness and English force. There was nothing affected or *modish* in his manner. He gave his readers an impression that he was clear in the conception of his own meaning, and he made it equally so to them. He aimed at no ornament: the beauty of his writings consisted in their perspicuity and strength. A verbal critic might discover inaccuracies in his compositions, but the man of sense would find in them nothing unmeaning—nothing useless—nothing vapid. He was not a turner of fine periods—he was not a *fine writer*—but he wrote with strength, precision, and lucidity; and his compositions, even where they failed to produce conviction, could never be read without creating respect for the masculine talents of their author.

“But the main ground on which the memory of Daniel De Lisle Brock must rest its claims on the affection, the respect, and the gratitude of his fellow-countrymen, is the devoted—the engrossing love which, during his whole life, he bore to his native land. Every thought, every wish, every feeling of pride or ambition, centered in his beloved Guernsey. She was the idol of his affections—the object of all his solicitude—the glory of his inmost heart. His endeavours for her welfare may occasionally have been misdirected—his objections to change in her institutions may have been ill-founded—but his motives have ever been beyond the reach of suspicion or reproach. They were concentrated in the desire for her good. Her people, her soil, her laws, her customs, nay, even her prejudices, were dear to him—they were his household gods. He worshipped them, he lived for them, and he would have died for them.

“The private character of Mr. Brock presents an embellishing and graceful adjunct to his public qualities. Bold even to temerity in his acts; firm even to obstinacy in his opinions; entertaining an exalted estimate of the office that he filled, and of the interests that he embodied or represented in his person, he was, at the same time, simple, courteous, and benevolent in his private manner, to a degree that was as honorable to himself, as it was gratifying to those who came in contact with him. Mr. Brock on the bench, and Mr. Brock in private, were distinct characters. In the former position, conscious, probably, of his talents and his authority, he was firm, and sometimes, though rarely, in appearance even imperious; in the latter, resigning himself to the feelings of the gentleman, he was affable, kind, and even diffident. In his privacy he displayed all the attributes of a superior mind. He was entirely devoid of pride and ostentation: his mind was superior to the weakness they

denote. He disdained the conventional habits of society, for nature had created him a gentleman, and he needed not the aid of art. He mingled not in that society where he might have received the homage to which his talents were entitled. He spent his time in study, or working for the public welfare; his relaxations being in his fields and garden, or in the conversation of casual visitors who, uninvited, occasionally resorted to his unceremonious and hospitable roof. Ardent as he was in political discussions, prone as he was to enter into controversy, the feelings of animosity which he expressed died in their utterance. The adversary of to-day was the welcome guest of the morrow. The hand which had distilled the gall of disputation at one moment, was readily extended in kind fellowship the next. Mr. Brock was probably not exempt from failings, but he had certainly nothing of littleness about him. He respected an honorable and open adversary, more than a flattering and servile friend. His hostility was strong, but it was shortlived: his enmity was vigorous, but it had no memory. In other respects, too, he evinced a generous and benevolent heart. At all seasons and under all circumstances, his time and attention were willingly devoted to those who sought his assistance or advice. He was the friend and counsellor of all. Many is the angry feeling he has allayed—many the lawsuit he has prevented—many the family division he has closed. His kind offices were at the command of all. No labour was too great for him, when called on for his assistance; but if at any time he found himself obliged to reject a claim which was made on him, he so softened his refusal with courtesy and kindness, that the disappointed seldom left him without experiencing a sense of obligation.

“ Possessing these characteristics, which are hastily sketched by the pen of a political opponent, Mr. Brock, it must be admitted, was a distinguished man. His sphere of action was limited, but within that sphere he acted an honorable, a useful, and a noble part. Had he been cast upon a wider stage, there can be little doubt that his talents and his resolution would have acquired for him a more extensive reputation; but, even as it is, his fate is enviable. He sought the welfare of his country, and desired its respect and gratitude as his reward. Both objects have been attained; and he now sleeps, at the close of a long and honorable life, regarded by all his countrymen as the most able, the most useful, the most disinterested, and the most patriotic of the rulers to which its destinies have ever been committed. No man has been more beloved and respected in his life, and none more regretted at his death. *Peace to his manes!* ”

APPENDIX C.

LIEUT. E. WILLIAM TUPPER, R. N.

This young officer was descended from John Tupper, Esq., who was the common ancestor of the Guernsey family of his name, having married and settled in the island about the year 1592. He was an English gentleman, of German extraction, his forefather, it appears, having, about the year 1525, fled from Cassel during the religious persecution in the

reign of Charles the Fifth. The elder son of this John Tupper married Elizabeth, daughter of Hilary Gosselin,* procureur du roi, or attorney-general — the younger removed to England.

In the memorable year of 1692, John Tupper, Esq., (the grandson of the said John Tupper and Elizabeth Gosselin,) at some expense and risk of capture, conveyed to Admiral Russell, who commanded the combined English and Dutch fleets lying at St. Helen's, the intelligence that the French fleet, under Admiral Tourville, was in the channel. This intelligence led to the battle of La Hogue: and as a reward for this patriotic service, Mr. Tupper was presented by his sovereigns, William and Mary, with a massive gold chain and medal, which are now in possession of his heir male; his descendants being permitted to bear them as an honorable augmentation to their arms and crest.†

The elder son of John Tupper, who acquired the medal, by his wife, Elizabeth Dobrée, of Beaugard, had three sons, of whom the eldest died without issue, the second was Elisha, a much-respected jurat of the Royal Court, who died in 1802, leaving five surviving children; ‡ and the youngest was John, who obtained, in 1747, a commission, by purchase, in General Churchill's regiment of marines, that corps being then differently constituted to what it is now. He served as a captain at the celebrated defeat of the French fleet in Quiberon bay, by Sir Edward Hawke, in 1759; as a major and commandant of a battalion at Bunker's Hill, in 1775,§ where he was slightly wounded, and where the marines, having greatly distinguished themselves, won the laurel which now encircles their device; and as a lieutenant-colonel in Rodney's victory of the 12th of April, 1782, having been especially sent from England to command the marines in the fleet, about 4,000 men, in the event of their being landed on any of the enemy's West India islands. At his decease, in January, 1795, he was a major-general in the army, and commandant-in-chief of the marines. Had the honors of the Bath been extended in those days to three degrees of

* Eldest son of N. Gosselin, Esq., jurat, one of the clerks of the council to Queen Elizabeth, by his wife, a daughter of Lewis Lemprière, Esq., bailiff of Jersey — and grandson of Hilary Gosselin, bailiff of Guernsey in four reigns, Henry the Eighth to Elizabeth.

† Duncan's History of Guernsey, page 124.

‡ Viz. two sons — Daniel, married Catherine, daughter of John Tupper, Esq., jurat; and John, married Elizabeth, daughter of John Brock, Esq. — and three daughters, Emilia, wife of Sir P. De Havilland, bailiff; Elizabeth, wife of W. Le Marchant, Esq.; and Margaret, wife of I. Carey, Esq.

§ Major Tupper succeeded to the command of the marines, of whom there were two battalions at Bunker's Hill, after the fall of the gallant Major Pitcairn, and was honorably mentioned in the general orders of the day.

knighthood as they have been since, he would doubtless have been a knight commander of that order.

The fatality which has attended the sons and grandsons of the two brothers just named, will appear in the following brief summary :

1.—Lieutenant Carré Tupper, of his majesty's ship *Victory*, only son of Major-General Tupper, slain at the siege of Bastia, 24th April, 1794. He was made a lieutenant in 1782, at seventeen, and after distinguishing himself at Toulon, in 1793, was killed in the *Victory's* pinnace, while endeavouring to land at night in a volunteer, and most desperate attempt to obtain information of the state of the garrison. His lifeless corpse was carried on board his ship, and afterwards buried under the walls of Bastia.*

2.—William De Vic Tupper, (son of E. Tupper, Esq.) mortally wounded in 1793, in a duel in Guernsey, with an officer of the 27th regiment, and died the day following. Five of his nephews also perished prematurely, viz.

3.—John E. Tupper, aged twenty, perished at sea, in 1812, in the Mediterranean, the vessel in which he was a passenger, from Catalonia to Gibraltar, having never been heard of since.

4.—Charles James Tupper,† aged sixteen, captain's midshipman of his majesty's 18-gun brig *Primrose*, drowned on the 17th August, 1815, at Spithead, by the upsetting of the boat in which he was accompanying his commander, Captain Phillott, to the ship.

5.—Lieutenant E. William Tupper, of his majesty's ship *Sybill*, aged twenty-eight, mortally wounded in her boats, June 18, 1826, in action with a strong band of Greek pirates, near the island of Candia.

6.—Colonel William De Vic Tupper, Chilian service, aged twenty-nine, slain in action near Talca, in Chile, April 17, 1830. The four last were sons of John E. Tupper, Esq.

7.—Colonel William Le Mesurier Tupper, of the British Auxiliary Legion in Spain, and a captain in the 23d, or Royal Welsh Fusiliers, mortally wounded near San Sebastian, May 5, 1836, and died the 13th, aged thirty-two.‡

* See *United Service Journal* for 1840, pages 174, 341, and *Duncan's History of Guernsey*, page 598.

† The *Primrose*, while this young officer was serving in her, was actively employed during the war, and in one engagement had fifteen officers and men killed and wounded. In 1815, he accompanied Captain Phillott, in the boat expedition up the river St. Mary, in the United States, in which that officer was wounded.

‡ "Colonel Tupper was a man of the most daring courage, and an excellent officer. Though his loss is deeply regretted, yet his death may be said to have been expected, as almost every one who saw him, and amongst those the Spanish officers at Vittoria, prophesied that he would fall in the first serious affair in which he should be engaged."—*Times*. London, May 23, 1836.—See *Duncan's History*, page 623, and *United Service Journal*, July, 1836, page 431.

E. William, third son of John E. Tupper, Esq., by Elizabeth Brock, his wife, was educated at Harrow, and commenced his naval career in 1810, in the *Victory*, of 110 guns, under the care and patronage of the late Lord de Saumarez, with whom he continued some time in the Baltic. He served on the American coast during the latter part of the war, in the *Asia*, 74, and was present at the disastrous attack of New Orleans, in January, 1815, forming one of a party landed from the fleet, to co-operate with the army. On the night of the storm, this party, in conjunction with the 85th light infantry, under Colonel Thornton,* attacked some fortified works on the right bank of the Mississippi, and were completely successful; but the failure of the main assault rendered this success unavailing. In the same year he joined the flag ship of Sir Thomas Fremantle, who, having been a friend of his late uncle, Sir Isaac Brock, kindly assured him of his influence and support; but peace taking place before he had attained the requisite age for promotion, all the bright prospects with which he entered the service were blighted. In November, 1817, on his return in the *Active* frigate, Captain Philip Carteret, from the Jamaica station, he passed at the naval college at Portsmouth, and was one of four midshipmen complimented as having undergone a superior examination. In 1823, he was appointed to the *Revenge*, Sir Harry Neale's flag ship, in the Mediterranean, and placed on the admiralty list for advancement. Early in 1826, he was at length promoted into the *Seringapatam* frigate; but Sir John Pechell, under whom he had previously served for a short time, prevailed upon the admiral to transfer him to his own ship, the *Sybille*, of 48 guns, "a crack frigate," in a high state of discipline, the crew of which was remarkable for its skill in gunnery.

The *Sybille* was at Alexandria, when intelligence arrived there of the plunder of a Maltese vessel, under atrocious circumstances, by a nest of Greek pirates, on the southern coast of Candia. Sir John Pechell set sail immediately in quest of these lawless and desperate men. On Sunday, the 18th of June, 1826, at daylight, two misticoes were observed under sail, near Cape Matala, standing towards the frigate; but on discovering their mistake, they made for the land, and were followed by the *Sybille*, into the narrow creek formed by a rocky islet and the mainland of Candia. On this islet were posted from 200 to 300 armed Greeks, chiefly the crews of three or four piratical misticoes at anchor in the creek; and in a desperate attempt to cut out these misticoes, with the boats, Midshipman J. M. Knox and twelve men were killed; and the first lieutenant, Gordon, dangerously;

* The same officer whose letters have been given in this volume.

Lieutenant Tupper, mortally; Midshipmen William Edmonstone and Robert Lees, both very severely; and twenty-seven men were wounded, of whom five died in a few days. Two of the misticoes were afterwards sunk, and many of the pirates were killed and wounded by the frigate's guns.*

Lieutenant Tupper commanded the launch, and although severely wounded in three places, he stood up the whole time, and retained the command of her until he returned to the ship. The bullet, which proved fatal, entered his right breast, and was extracted from under the skin over the false ribs. Having gone into action with his coat and epaulette, he was doubtless particularly aimed at, as the four midshipmen, H. M. E. Allen, the Hon. Frederick Pelham, Robert Spencer Robinson, and the Hon. Edward Plunkett (now all captains) who were in the launch, escaped unhurt. He lingered until the 26th June, when he breathed his last, in a state of delirium, on board the *Sybille*, at Malta, where his remains were interred, and a monument was erected to his memory by his captain and messmates. In person he was rather above the middle height, with a pleasing and intelligent countenance; and when his brother Charles and he were midshipmen together in the *Victory*, in the Baltic, they were designated on board as the handsome brothers.†

The surgeon of the *Sybille*, in a letter to the family in Guernsey, wrote of Lieutenant Tupper:

"When I first saw him, he was firm and cool. He asked me to give my opinion without reserve, and knowing him to be possessed of great fortitude, I told him that the wound in the chest was of a most *dangerous* nature, but not *necessarily* fatal. He had by this time lost a great deal of blood, but the internal hemorrhage, though the most alarming, was slight. He remained so low for three days, that it was expected he would have sunk, though he still continued collected and firm. On the fourth day he rallied, his pulse became more distinct, and he evidently encouraged hopes. Need I say that I felt myself incapable of destroying them—indeed I was not altogether without hope myself. The principal danger was from hemorrhage upon the separation of the sloughs, and my fears were fatally verified, for on the 25th, at noon, it commenced and increased internally, until his lungs could no longer perform their functions, and he died at about three o'clock on the morning of the 26th. During the whole time he was resigned, evincing the greatest strength of mind . . . As it was with unfeigned sorrow that I saw a fine and gallant young man fall a victim to such a cause, so it was with admiration that I witnessed his heroic bearing when the excitement was past, and hope itself was almost fled. I have seen many support their firmness amidst danger and death, but it belongs to few to sustain it during protracted suffering, which is indeed a trial often too severe for the bravest, but through which your lamented brother came with a spirit and resignation which reflected lustre upon himself and family, and endeared him to all his shipmates."

* See "United Service Journal," March, 1841, pp. 332-3.

† By a singular coincidence, the two brothers commenced their career in the same ship, the *Victory*, to which their near relative, Lieutenant Carré Tupper, belonged when he was killed in the Mediterranean, in one of her boats, and all three lost their lives in boats!

APPENDIX D.

COLONEL WILLIAM DE VIC TUPPER.

..... My beautiful, my brave!

Ah! who can tell how many a soul sublime
Has felt the influence of malignant star,
And waged with Fortune an unequal war!

This highly gifted young man was a brother of the subject of the preceding memoir, their father having had ten sons and three daughters. He was born in Guernsey, on the 28th of April, 1800, and derived his Christian names from a paternal uncle who fell in that island in a duel with an officer of the 27th regiment. Having received an excellent education in England, partly under a private tutor at Dosthill, in Warwickshire, he was sent, on the restoration of the Bourbons, in 1814, to a college in Paris, in which he continued until the arrival of Napoleon from Elba, when he was gratified by a glimpse of that extraordinary man. When he landed in France, although he had barely completed his fourteenth year, his stature was so tall and athletic as to give him the appearance of a young giant; and on being asked his age at the police office, that it might be inserted in his passport, his reply was received with a smile of astonishment and incredulity, which afforded much subsequent amusement to his elder fellow-travellers. At the age of sixteen, his strength and activity were so great that few men could have stood up against him with any chance of success. On his return to Guernsey, every interest the family possessed was anxiously exerted to indulge his wish of entering the British army, but owing to the great reductions made after the peace of 1815, he was unable to obtain a commission, even by purchase. Those relatives who could best have forwarded his views, had been slain in the public service; and in that day, few claims were admitted, unless supported by strong parliamentary influence. In January, 1816, he attended the levee of the commander-in-chief, in deep mourning for his next elder brother, Charles, a midshipman, who had been drowned in

the navy a few months before: his royal highness promised to take his memorial into early consideration, and it was hoped by the family that his tall and strikingly handsome person would have had some influence; but unfortunately the youth, then under sixteen, waited alone on the Duke of York, and had no one to plead his cause or to promote his wishes. He was accompanied as far as the Horse Guards by the late Lieut.-Colonel Eliot, (mentioned *ante*.) who there, or in the neighbourhood, introduced him to Sir Roger Sheaffe, whom they met accidentally: but the general took little or no notice of the nephew of one to whom he was under much obligation, and whose fall had been his rise! It is true that Sir Roger Sheaffe was also about to solicit an ensigncy for his own nephew, whose brother had a few months previously (September, 1815,) received one in the 49th regiment; but sure we are, that had Sir Isaac Brock met the nephew of a gallant predecessor under similar circumstances, he would have presented him to the commander-in-chief, and urged his claims with all the warmth of companionship and gratitude. And is it not mortifying to think, that two nephews of Sir Roger Sheaffe obtained that *without* purchase, which was withheld from the nephew of Sir Isaac Brock, even *by* purchase—and that nephew of as noble a spirit as ever breathed? But while we freely mention Sir Roger Sheaffe's coldness and indifference, we appreciate, highly appreciate, his paternal solicitude for these two nephews, who had previously lost their father, a surveyor of the excise at Mallow, in Ireland. Had, however, Sir Isaac Brock been as careful of his person as were one or two general officers that we could name,* who served during the war in Canada, he would, doubtless, have also obtained an ensigncy for his nephew; but he was dead, and the dead trouble not. This treatment of his nephew, a perfect counterpart of himself,† certainly reflects no credit on the military authorities of that day, over whom the mantle of Pericles had, alas! not been thrown, as the Athenians—like the British, a naval people—were moved by him, in a funeral oration, which remains to this time a fitting testimonial of his eloquence and his gratitude, to set apart a stipend for the widows and orphans of their countrymen, who had fallen in the first campaign of the Peloponnesian war. And be it remembered that Sir Isaac Brock left neither widow nor children, and that his only surviving sister, who had a very numerous family of sons, had

* Or as Chief Justice Robinson expressed it in more courtly language at "the gathering" on Queenstown Heights, in July, 1840: "In later periods of the contest, it sometimes happened that the example of General Brock was not very closely followed." (See *ante*.)

† Sir Thomas Fremantle was struck with De Vic Tupper's resemblance to Sir Isaac Brock, when he saw him in Guernsey, in 1815.

derived no benefit whatever from his death. But young Tupper might then have uttered this reproach.

“Man wrongs, and time avenges, and my name
May form a monument not all obscure.”

He remained in Guernsey for nearly two years in the vain hope of a commission, and, being thus cruelly disappointed, he proceeded in December, 1817, in his eighteenth year, to Catalonia, of which province a relative, P. C. Tupper, (mentioned *ante*,) was British consul. He travelled through France at a time when there was a very hostile feeling towards the English, as the army of occupation was then in that country, and we learn from his fellow-traveller, who was a few years older than himself, that they met frequently at the *tables d'hôte* with French officers, with whom Tupper had warm discussions, as they were any thing but friendly or civil, and boasted that they had beaten the British army in almost every engagement. “We beat you at Salamanca and Vittoria, at Toulouse and Waterloo,” was the retort; the officers looked fierce and curled their mustaches, but they probably liked not the gigantic frame and resolute bearing of the young Englishman, as they abstained from personal insult. On one occasion, the officers omitted to pass down the viands to the two travellers, who were sitting below them,—the waiter came in with a roast duck,—“Garçon, apportez-moi ce canard,” said Tupper, authoritatively, and cutting it in two, he gave half to his companion, and kept the other half for himself. The officers were evidently much annoyed, but contented themselves with calling twice or thrice for the duck; and the elder companion tells us that he was very glad to cross the frontier with his young friend, safe and sound, into Spain, as he was in daily dread of a hostile rencontre between the disputants.

In Catalonia young Tupper spent two or three years, and at Barcelona, where he was well known and an especial favorite, he received the public thanks of the municipality for having boldly exposed his life to extinguish a conflagration which threatened to destroy a whole barrier of the city. Here his vanity was constantly excited by exclamations, in the streets, on the manly beauty of his person. There was at Barcelona at this time a Spanish lieutenant-colonel of cavalry, who had served in South America, and was in the habit of bullying both the military and civilians. In going one evening to his seat in the pit at the opera, young Tupper had to pass this officer, who sat with his feet so extended as to reach the opposite bench. Tupper begged of him to draw in his feet—“pass over them!” was the answer. Tupper asked him a second time, and received the same reply, upon which he kicked the officer's feet out of his way, and passed on. The

officer followed, and said he wished to speak to him outside. Tupper immediately rose, and in going out, beckoned to an English gentleman, who was sitting in the boxes, and from whom we have the particulars, to come out also. It was quickly agreed that they should find themselves at a certain coffee-house the next morning at eight o'clock, each with a friend, to choose the weapons and fix the place of meeting, young Tupper telling the Spaniard that he might choose either broad or small sword, or the pistol, as, although he was a civilian, either weapon was indifferent to him. And he was, in fact, an excellent shot and an equally good swordsman. The next morning the two Englishmen went punctually to the coffee house, which was soon crowded with military and civilians, anxious to know the result of the meeting, as the colonel was much disliked. Nine and ten o'clock came, and no colonel, when Tupper asked the officers present whether they thought he was in honor bound to remain any longer. They replied that he was not, and Tupper and his friend returned home. The same day the former met the colonel on the public walk with two ladies—he went up and said that he wished to speak to him alone. The colonel left the ladies, and having walked some little distance, Tupper asked him why he had not kept his appointment, upon which he made some frivolous excuse, when Tupper horsewhipped him, and lastly applied his foot once to the bully's seat of honor. Another Spanish officer, whom the colonel had previously insulted with impunity, soon after upbraided him with his cowardice on this occasion, and the colonel was glad to leave Barcelona. We could give several other anecdotes of similar daring in young Tupper, but these must suffice; and in truth we must add, that in his early days his disposition, like that of his uncle and namesake, was somewhat too pugnacious, the disputes of both being generally, however, with military men, who presumed as such. He was now a junior partner in a British commercial house in Catalonia, but with his adventurous spirit and boiling courage he was unfitted for any pursuit excepting the profession of arms. His father, who, although a younger son, had inherited nearly £25,000 sterling, was at this period labouring under heavy losses and the expenses of his large family; and young Tupper preferred seeking his fortune in South America to continuing in business, or becoming a burthen on his parent, and he embarked in Guernsey in October, 1821, for Rio de Janeiro, whence he proceeded to Buenos Ayres, and thence over-land to Chile, then struggling for her independence of Spain. His family was averse to his joining the patriot cause, as it was then termed, and he arrived at Santiago a mere soldier of fortune—without, we believe, a single letter of introduction to those in authority.

But his appearance and manners, and a perfect knowledge of three languages, English, French, and Spanish, all of which he spoke fluently, soon procured him friends and active military employment. The Italian, in a less degree, was also another of his acquirements, and he was a fair classical scholar. He rose rapidly, and his deeds have been compared to those of the renowned Sir William Wallace.

In this necessarily brief memoir, it is, however, quite impossible to depict the career of young Tupper in the land of his unhappy adoption; and we have only space for a few details of his services. Soon after his arrival in Chile, the garrison of Valdivia having revolted, Colonel Beauchef, who had served in Europe, and who led with Major Miller the troops in the successful attack of that fortress by Lord Cochrane, was sent from the capital to endeavour to bring the mutineers to submission; and he requested that young Tupper might accompany him. They landed there alone, and, with great personal risk, succeeded in securing the ringleaders, who had ordered their men to fire on them as they approached in a boat; but, Colonel Beauchef having previously commanded them and obtained their regard, the men fortunately refused to proceed to extremities with their old commander. Young Tupper is also said to have excited their astonishment by the manner in which he seized on one of the ringleaders, a very athletic and powerful man, and led him captive to the boat. For this service, and for his conduct in a campaign against the fierce Araucanians, whom the Spaniards had never been able to subjugate, he was made in January, 1823, over the heads of all the lieutenants, captain of the grenadier company of battalion No. 8, commanded by the same gallant Frenchman, Colonel Beauchef. This company consisted of upwards of 100 exceedingly fine men, and accompanying the battalion shortly after in an expedition to Arica, it excited the surprise of the comparatively diminutive Peruvians, and to which its captain appears not a little to have contributed. This expedition was soon recalled from Peru to proceed under the director, General Ramon Freire, against the islands of Chiloe, so long and so bravely defended by the Spanish governor, Quintanilla. On the return voyage from Arica to Coquimbo, the vessel, which conveyed the grenadiers of No. 8, was short of both provisions and water, and of the latter only a wine glassful was at last served out in twenty-four hours to each individual. Although the heat was intense, and two of the grenadiers died, the company, when drawn up to receive the scanty draught, invariably refused to touch it until their captain had tasted of each glass; and one dying soldier would confess himself to no one but his captain, so strong a hold had he already gained on the affections of those he commanded, notwithstanding their difference of religion.

We have just said that an attempt was about to be made to wrest the islands of Chiloe from the dominion of the Spaniards. In pursuance of this object, battalion No. 8 was embarked at Coquimbo in January, 1824, and landed on the small island of Quiriquina, in the bay of Talcahuano, where it remained until the preparations were completed. The troops were formed into three divisions, and Captain Tupper was named second in command of the third, but the nomination giving great umbrage to several majors and lieutenant-colonels who had been passed over, this arrangement was annulled, and battalion No. 8 was directed to take the advance. The expedition reached Chiloe on the 24th of March, and the next day battalion No. 8 gained possession of the fort of Chacao, which offered but a slight resistance. On the 31st, a detachment consisting of two battalions, Nos. 7 and 8, and the grenadier company of No. 1, disembarked at Delcague, and at noon on the 1st of April commenced its march, through a very woody and broken country, towards the town of San Carlos. Two companies of grenadiers, under Captain Tupper, formed the vanguard of this detachment. A strong Spanish force awaited them in ambush at Mocopulli, which is an immense bog surrounded by underwood, having a masked gun on an adjacent eminence. The grenadiers and No. 8 marched through the mouth of the defile perfectly unconscious of their danger, and when within a few paces of the enemy so murderous a fire was opened upon them that they were thrown into the utmost confusion. The enemy was invisible, and in a short time 200 of the patriots had fallen, while No. 7 halted in the rear and refused to advance. Captain Tupper is represented as having behaved here with the most devoted heroism, charging twice into the thickets with the few grenadiers who would follow him to so perilous a service. In the second charge three men only accompanied him, one of whom was killed and another received a bayonet wound in the face, while Captain Tupper was himself slightly wounded in the left side by a bullet—another perforated his cap—and a Spanish sergeant made a blow at him with a fixed bayonet, which he struck down with his sabre, and it went through his leg. The bushes, however, favored their escape, and, after being nearly surrounded, they rejoined the battalion, which had retreated a short distance. Colonel Beauchef, as a “*dernier ressort*,” now boldly resolved on attacking the enemy in close column. Animated by their gallant commander, the men formed, although they were previously in complete disorder and No. 7 had retreated, and carried the position at the point of the bayonet, pursuing the royalists for about half a mile. But the field was dearly purchased, the detachment engaged, of scarcely 500 men, having 320 killed and wounded, including 13 out of 18 officers,

and 71 of 136 grenadiers composing the vanguard. The division having thus suffered so severely, and the nature of the country being so favorable to its defenders, Colonel Beauchef returned next day to the ships; and the lateness of the season, added to the intelligence of the arrival in the Pacific, from Spain, of the *Asia*, of 64 guns, and *Achilles*, brig, compelled the squadron to sail for Chile. Captain Tupper was rewarded with a brevet majority for his conduct in this disastrous affair, and he wrote nearly two years afterwards, in allusion to some remarks relative to the Chile troops, as follow: "The observations in F—'s letters, respecting our troops; are not at all just; the Chile soldiers are as fine a class of men as I have ever seen, extremely brave and very capable of fatigue, indeed to a degree of which your English soldiers have no idea. Moreover, they are very robust, and so contrary to what F— supposes, we have not a single black in the regiment. The discipline is tolerable now, and the clothing is superior to any I have seen in Spain. I perhaps speak passionately, as I dote on all my brave fellows, particularly on my old company of grenadiers, with the fondness of a brother; the feelings of absolute adoration with which they regard me, and of which so many have given me such melancholy proofs, are surely sufficient to draw my heart towards them. I wish you could see my gallant servant as he now stands before me—his dark and sparkling eye intently fixed on my countenance, his sun-burnt visage, his black mustachoes, and his athletic figure, altogether forming as fine a soldier as can well be seen."

The decisive battle of Ayacucho having, with the solitary exception of the fortress of Callao, effected the liberation of the whole continent of Spanish America, it was resolved to renew the attempt to drive the Spaniards from the islands of Chiloe, which form the natural keys of the Pacific when approached from Cape Horn. Another expedition in consequence, commanded again by the director in person, set sail from Valparaiso in November, 1825, and, after touching at Valdivia, reached Chiloe in January, when barely 2,000 men were disembarked. Major Tupper commanded the grenadier companies of Nos. 6 and 8, forming part of the advanced division, and was left by its commander, Colonel Aldunate, chiefly to his own direction. The enemy, in force considerably above 3,000 men, including 400 cavalry, occupied a strong entrenched position, his right flank resting upon the sea, his left guarded by impenetrable woods, his front palisaded and strengthened by a deep and muddy rivulet, which offered but two passes, one near the wood defended by 300 men, the other on the beach. On the 14th, Colonel Aldunate, with six flank companies, took the beach, while Major Tupper, with his two companies, carried the pass near the wood in a

few minutes, with little loss, by jumping over the palisade, when he escaped almost miraculously, as, before his men could join him, he was exposed to a tremendous discharge of musketry, which covered him with mud, and shot away one of his epaulettes. The royalists having been driven also from a second position, their cavalry attempted a charge, but were completely routed by the grenadier company of No. 8. The enemy now retreated to his last and strongest position on the heights of Bella Vista on the road to Castro, the principal town of the island, and was attacked unsuccessfully three different times by five flank companies. Colonel Aldunate then called Major Túpper, and, pointing to the royalists, said: "The glory is reserved for you—dislodge the enemy immediately." This was a most desperate service, as the road, or rather path, was so narrow as to admit of only three or four men abreast; but taking a flag in his left hand, Major Túpper ordered his grenadiers to follow him without firing a shot. By running quickly, he reached the crest of the heights with the loss of only six men killed behind him, his escape appearing so astonishing to the survivors that they were convinced he wore a charm. Here he encountered a Spanish officer, named Lopez, commanding we believe the rear guard, who resolutely maintained his ground; a personal combat ensued, and the Spaniard was killed by a sabre cut, which nearly clove his head in two. There was unhappily no alternative, as the gallant Lopez would neither surrender nor give way. In the mean time fourteen or fifteen of the Spaniards having fallen by the bayonet, the remainder fled, and were vigorously pursued for about a league on the road to Castro, when orders were brought to the grenadiers to halt. In this pursuit a colonel and about 50 men were made prisoners. The action lasted altogether nearly four hours, and on the whole the enemy, whose troops consisted partly of militia, shewed but little conduct or courage, having indeed been routed by the eight companies, which were the only troops seriously engaged on the side of the patriots, whose entire loss did not exceed 175 men in killed and wounded. A gallant North American, Lieutenant Oxley, of the navy, was killed in an attack on two gun-boats, the stronger of which was taken. Major Túpper, having volunteered, assisted at its capture, although, as a Chileno officer of his regiment, from whom we derive the information, writes: "It was not necessary that he should, as an officer of the army, seek to fight by sea, particularly when he was not ordered." The surrender of the island was the immediate consequence of these successes, and Major Túpper was rewarded with a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy, although much more was promised him when the impression, which his behaviour left, was fresh in the mind of the director.

Colonel Aldunate, having been appointed as governor of Chiloe, remained there with No. 4; but in May following that battalion revolted in favor of O'Higgins, and compelled the governor to embark for Valparaiso. Lieut.-Colonel Tupper volunteered to accompany him back, and they left Valparaiso with less than 300 men on the 25th. of June, 1826, the greatest danger apprehended being from the winter season, during which the gales of wind on the coast are very violent.

"In horrid climes, where Chiloe's tempests sweep,
Tumultuous murmurs o'er the troubled deep."—*Campbell.*

On the 12th of July, the *Resolution*, transport, in which were Tupper and most of the troops, was nearly wrecked on a very dangerous reef, and the lives of all on board were for some time in imminent danger. During the night of the 13th and 14th, Tupper landed with 100 men in the cove of Remolinos, and before daylight surprised and captured the garrisons of two batteries, when he marched towards the port of Chacao, and took the battery there. Colonel Aldunate having landed the next afternoon with the remainder of the troops, the insurgents submitted without further difficulty; and on his return from Chiloe to Santiago in August, Tupper learnt that he had been made lieutenant-colonel effective for his recent services. In December, he joined at Talca the army of the South, and commanded one of three divisions employed to destroy a horde of bandits, composed chiefly of Indians and of nearly a thousand strong, who ravaged the province of Concepcion in summer, retiring on the approach of winter to the eastern side of the Cordillera. Their leader was Pincheira, the son of a European by an Indian mother, who held the rank of colonel in the Spanish service, and committed his depredations under the Spanish standard. With a squadron of dragoons, Tupper passed the Cordillera, parallel with the town of Chillan, in pursuit of the bandits, and went to the eastward as far as the river Nanken, in the province of Mendoza. Pincheira contrived, however, to elude all pursuit, and, soon after his return to Santiago, Tupper was appointed, on the 1st May, 1827, by General Pinto, who had replaced General Freire as president, first aide-de-camp to the supreme government—an honorable and responsible office, in which he was actively engaged in suppressing two or three dangerous revolts, incited by a party, whose private interests had suffered by many exclusive privileges being abolished. On the retirement of Colonel Beauchef in June, 1829, Tupper unfortunately accepted the command of his old battalion, No. 8, and on the following month he was made full colonel. This command necessarily embroiled him in the civil warfare which almost immediately ensued; and a few weeks before hosti-

lities commenced, with a presentiment which was too soon to be realized, he thus wrote to his family in Guernsey :

“ I naturally cannot consider my life of long duration ; I am too immediately acted upon by every revolution in this country not to be prepared for death, and to be perfectly resigned to it when the day shall arrive ; even in my time how many foreign officers have not perished by climate and by the sword. I shall have lived long enough if I leave my children a subsistence and a name unblemished. My late elevation in rank is an earnest of my rising reputation, and I have perhaps reason to hope that when I fall, my rank and the circumstances of my death will place an obligation on Chile towards my family, which she may be willing to acknowledge.”*

In June, 1829, General Pinto was re-elected president of the republic for five years, but unfortunately he declined the office, and this unexpected refusal not only compromised his best friends, but was the main cause of all the bloodshed which followed. In the subsequent crisis General Freire's conduct was inconsistent and vacillating ; and General Prieto, under the guise of obtaining the recall and return to power of the exiled Director O'Higgins, whose aide-de-camp he had formerly been, having marched his troops from Concepcion towards the capital, a coalition of the disaffected there was formed to support him, and through his means to seize on the reins of government. The mob, ever fond of change, was induced by large bribes and the hope of plunder to act under this coalition, which, if at first weak in numbers, was very formidable in resources. General Freire attempted to assume the command of the garrison of Santiago, but the field officers of the different corps refused to obey his orders, and resolved to acknowledge only the existing authorities. Thus foiled, he introduced himself into the barracks of No. 8, during the absence of the colonel, and ordering the battalion under arms, he endeavoured in an insidious harangue to gain over the soldiers to his own purposes, well knowing that their defection, as composing the finest battalion in the service, would prove fatal to the constitutional cause. Colonel Tupper, being quickly informed of the attempt, mounted his horse and galloped furiously to the barracks. He rushed in, and the difficulty of his situation will be easily conceived—a foreigner opposed singly to a native of the highest present military and late civil rank, and beloved also by the soldiery—but the result will best prove the attachment of his men towards him. Addressing them in Spanish, he spoke briefly to this effect : “ Soldiers ! the captain general has led

* By his wife, Maria I. de Zegers, a native of Madrid, grand-daughter of Manuel de Zegers, Count de Waserberg, in Flanders, he left two infant daughters, and a posthumous son, born a few weeks after his death.

you to victory—your colonel has also led you to victory; whom do you obey, your colonel or General Freire?" The whole battalion instantaneously responded as one man, "We obey our colonel—Viva el Coronel Tupper!" and General Freire and his suite, among whom was Admiral Blanco, were happy to escape unhurt, the soldiers having, we believe, levelled their muskets at them. On their way to the barracks they were followed by a large mob, who attempted to force the gates, but on hearing Colonel Tupper order the guard to prime and load, the people, well knowing his resolute character, dispersed in a moment. This attempt was the more dangerous, as battalion No. 1 was quartered in the same barracks, and would have immediately followed the secession of No. 8. Freire, on his return home, was taunted by his wife with the baseness and inconsistency of his conduct on this occasion. Her family belonged to the constitutional party, and this beautiful young woman told her husband that the soldiers had acted like men of honor, and in her indignation she threw a plate on a marble table, whence it glanced off and shattered a large and valuable mirror into pieces. She was probably the cause of his returning to that party which he should never have forsaken. It may be added here that Colonel Tupper, during his short command, had been enabled, from his personal influence with the president, to do much for the welfare of his battalion, which, having been repeatedly distinguished in battle, was proud and jealous of its reputation; and the officers, who were principally very young men of the first families in the country, adhered to their colonel to the last with inviolable fidelity. He had established a school in the regiment, and whenever the pay of the men was in arrear, he borrowed money on his own responsibility from his friends, and discharged the claims of his soldiers.

Amid the distrust and confusion which prevailed during this eventful period in Santiago, General Prieto arrived by easy marches in the neighbourhood, and encamped his army on some heights within a league of the city. General Lastra, an old man and without experience, having served chiefly in the navy, being a native Chileno, was appointed to command the constitutional troops, and daily skirmishes preceded the general action of the 14th December. In that action, in which Colonel Tupper bore a very conspicuous part, the rebel troops were beaten; but owing to the weakness or treachery of Lastra, Prieto gained that by perfidy which he could not effect by the sword; and when Colonel Tupper resigned in disgust, the earnest entreaties of his old commander, Freire, who by mutual consent had succeeded to the command of both armies, unhappily induced him to accept the government of Coquimbo. He was at Valparaiso, preparing to

embark for that province, when Freire arrived, Prieto having, as Colonel Tupper had all along apprehended, attempted to take him prisoner, and compelled him to seek security in flight from the capital. In this manner Prieto obtained possession of a fine park of field artillery, and incorporated the constitutional cavalry with his own. This gross treachery compelled Colonel Tupper to resume the command of his regiment; and on the 26th January, 1830, two days before he embarked with it for Concepcion, which province was favorable to the liberal cause, he clearly described in a long but hurried letter to his brother—the last which his family in Europe ever received from him—the origin of the contest, the objects of the different leaders, the battle of the 14th of December, and the part which he took in this trying moment, but we regret that we have only room for a very short extract.

“I was at this time quartered with my corps in Santiago, and I considered it my duty to support the government and congress, because I think that the case is extremely rare in which a military man can with honor do otherwise, and because I was satisfied that the matter in question was not one in which the interference of the military was at all called for, the greatest grievance urged by the rebels being confined to the allegation that the letter of the law had not been adhered to in the election of the vice-president. I knew moreover that all parties, whatever their avowed object might be, only sought the furtherance of their private views—that they all wished to be in place, and to plunder the country at discretion—and above all, I considered that no free government or orderly state could exist an hour if the military were once allowed to throw the sword into the scale, and decide points of legislation by the force of arms, as is now too generally the case in South America. Fortunately the chiefs, who were in garrison in the capital, were much of this opinion. We determined to give Prieto battle in support of legitimate authority, and the several corps therefore left Santiago.”

On the voyage to Concepcion, Colonel Tupper touched at Juan Fernandez for water, and in February, while commanding at Talcahuano, he narrowly escaped with life in attempting to carry by boarding at night the Achilles, a 20 gun brig of war, in possession of Prieto's party, and then blockading the harbour. In ascending the side, his left hand was pierced by a pike, a bullet perforated his sleeve, and he was knocked overboard by a violent contusion on the breast, but being an admirable swimmer, he reached a boat at some distance, and was lifted in completely exhausted. He was soon after equally exposed in attacking by assault, on the night of the 9th March, the garrison of Chillan, as he was among the first to mount the ladders. The outwork was carried, although bravely defended; but as the garrison retired into some inner fortification, the assailants were finally compelled to retire.

General Freire, having been repulsed from Coquimbo, landed near the river Maule, after sustaining the, to him, irreparable loss of a vessel laden with arms and ammunition, and was soon joined by Colonel Tupper, who found his troops badly clothed and paid, as he would not follow the example of his opponents, who impressed, without hesitation, every necessary supply for their army. They had, moreover, under their control all the resources of the capital, of which Freire had been so treacherously dispossessed; and the faithless Prieto commenced his march from Santiago for the south under highly favorable circumstances. When the deep and rapid Maule, whose fords are not always practicable for cavalry, much less for infantry, alone separated the rival armies, Colonel Tupper requested to be allowed to cross over with 400 or 500 infantry, for the purpose of making a night attack on the enemy's camp, which, in the desperate state of affairs, was the best expedient that could be devised; but unfortunately General Freire would not sanction the attempt, as, in the fatal persuasion that his popularity would carry him through the contest, he had allowed himself to be deceived by some of Prieto's chiefs, who, probably at the instigation of their general, had promised to join him with their troops at the first convenient opportunity. In consequence, Colonel Tupper is said, by one of his officers, to have been completely disgusted at Freire's evident infatuation or incapacity, and to have anticipated the fate which awaited him with gloomy resolution. He well knew that his enemies were too anxious for his fall to shew him any quarter, and as a husband and a father he could not but feel deeply the forlorn and desolate condition in which his death would leave his wife and children. He had, however, gone too far to recede, and in any extremity his high sense of honor would have prevented his withdrawing himself on the eve of a battle from the cause he had espoused. On the 15th of April, 1830, General Freire crossed the river, and marched three leagues without obstruction to Talca, the principal town of the province, beautifully situated midway on the high road from Santiago to Conception, and about 200 miles from either city. Here his army was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and a council of war being called, it was resolved that, as the enemy was so much superior in cavalry and artillery, the constitutional troops should remain in the vicinity of the town, where they could not be attacked but under a very great disadvantage, as Talca is skirted by enclosures and ditches. On the 16th, Prieto endeavoured to bring on an engagement, but could not draw the constitutionalists from their vantage ground. Early on the 17th, Freire proceeded with the cavalry to the adjoining plain of Cancharayada, for the purpose probably of making a *reconnaissance*,

and soon after he sent most unaccountably for the remainder of his forces. It was on this plain that General San Martin manœuvred, in March, 1818, to bring the Spanish General Osorio to battle; but the latter being inferior in numbers, retreated southwards to the same position in front of Talca, which Freire had just abandoned. Nothing could be more ill-judged or imprudent, as his army, which consisted of about 1,700 men, had only two weak squadrons of regular cavalry and four pieces of artillery, while that of Prieto, amounting to fully 2,200 men, had 800 veteran cavalry, and 11 or 12 pieces of artillery. The Chile cavalry is very formidable, the men being most expert riders, mounted on active and powerful horses, and generally armed with long lances, which they use with great dexterity. Prieto, observing this inexplicable movement, succeeded without difficulty in placing his troops between the constitutional army and Talca. In this manner its return to the town was completely cut off, and it had to fight in an extensive open plain with the enemy in front, the flanks unprotected, and the river Lircay, a tributary of the Maule, close in the rear. After a long engagement, Freire's cavalry, consisting of about 600 men, including militia and Indians, fled completely discomfited, and abandoned the infantry, composed of three weak battalions, to its fate. Their situation was now indeed desperate, as the ground was so favorable to cavalry, and the neighbourhood offered them no accessible place of defence or refuge. When they formed into squares to resist the hostile cavalry, they were mowed down by artillery; and when they deployed into line, the cavalry was upon them. In this dreadful emergency they maintained the conflict for nearly an hour, with all the obstinacy of despair; and at length, in attempting to charge in column, they were completely broken. There are two lines by the immortal Byron so concisely, and yet so faithfully, descriptive of a similar last effort, that we cannot avoid transcribing them:

“ One effort—one—to break the circling host!
They form—unite—charge—waver—all is lost!”

The loss in Freire's army fell chiefly on the devoted infantry, and included eighteen officers among the killed. The only officers mentioned as slain, in Prieto's hurried dispatch of the 17th of April, are Colonel Elizalde, chief of the staff; Colonel Tupper, and his gallant Major Varela, a young man of five or six and twenty. Colonel Tupper is said to have exhibited the most reckless valour during the day, and to have rallied his battalion several times. Having dismounted to encourage his men, he was unable, in the *mêlée* when all was lost, to find his horse; and the accounts of the manner of his death are so contradictory, that it is impossible to reconcile them. All agree, however, in stating that he was particularly sought

after, and that orders were given to shew him no quarter. Certain it is that he was overtaken, and "sacrificed to the fears of Prieto, who justly considered him the sword and buckler of the irresolute and vacillating Freire." He was pronounced by an English traveller, as "the handsomest man he had ever seen in either hemisphere," and undoubtedly his tall, athletic, and beautifully proportioned person, his almost Herculean strength, the elegance of his manners, and his impetuous valour in battle, gave the impression rather of a royal knight of chivalry, than of a republican soldier. The influence and popularity which in a few short years he acquired in his adopted country, by his own unaided exertions, and under the many disadvantages of being a stranger in a strange land, best prove that his talents were of the first order, and that he was no common character. And that fraternal affection may not be supposed to have dictated this eulogium, the following impartial testimonies of its correctness are appended, in justice to the memory of one whom a combination of cruel circumstances drove to a distant land to shed that blood, and to yield that life, which he had in vain sought to devote to his own country :

"Alas ! how bitter is his country's curse,
To him who for that country would expire."

An English gentleman, of ancient family, and author of travels in South America, who knew Colonel Tupper intimately, thus wrote of him :

"He was certainly one of the finest fellows I ever knew—one of those beings whose meteor-like flame traverses our path, and leaves an imperishable recollection of its brilliancy I have often held him up as an example to be followed of scrupulous exactness, and of a probity, I fear, alas ! too uncompromising in these corrupt times."

The American *chargé d'affaires* and consul-general in Chile, said, in a letter to Captain P. P. King, then of his majesty's ship *Adventure*, both perfect strangers to the family : *

"The heroism displayed by Tupper surpassed the prowess of any individual that I have ever heard of in battle ; but, poor fellow ! he was horribly dealt with after getting away with another officer. A party of cavalry and Indians was sent in pursuit, and they boast that poor Tupper was cut to pieces. They seemed to be more in terror of him, on account of his personal bravery and popularity, than of all the others. Guernsey has cause to be proud of so great a hero—a hero he truly was, for nature made him one."

And one of the British consuls in Chile wrote to the editor :

"I trust you will believe that any member of the family of Colonel Tupper, who may require such services as I am at liberty to offer, will be always esteemed by one who for many years, has looked upon his gallant and honorable conduct as reflecting lustre upon the English name in these new and distant states."

* The editor was at Rio de Janeiro when Captain King, whose ship had recently arrived there from the Pacific, received this letter, and he kindly sent it to him through a mutual friend.

An anonymous French traveller, who published in a Paris newspaper, *Le Semeur*, of the 4th April, 1832, his "Souvenir d'un Séjour au Chili," thus expressed himself:

"Les Chiliens sont jaloux des étrangers qui prennent du service chez eux, et il est assez naturel qu'ils le soient, quoiqu'on ne puisse nier qu'ils aient de grandes obligations à plusieurs de ceux qui ont fait Chili leur patrie adoptive. Depuis mon retour en Europe, un de ces hommes, digne d'une haute estime, a cessé de vivre. Je veux parler du Colonel Tupper, qui a été fait prisonnier à la tête de son régiment; et qui, après avoir été tenu, pendant une heure, dans l'incertitude sur son sort, fut cruellement mis à mort par les ennemis. Le Colonel Tupper était un homme d'une grande bravoure et d'un esprit éclairé; ses formes étaient athlétiques, et l'expression de sa physionomie pleine de franchise. Il se serait distingué partout où il aurait été employé, et dans quelque situation qu'il eût été placé. N'est-il pas déplorable que de tels hommes en soient réduits à se consacrer à une cause étrangère?"

"J'espère que le temps n'est pas éloigné où l'on saura apprécier au Chili le patriotisme et l'énergie, dont le Colonel Tupper a donné l'exemple."

And in a pamphlet published at Lima, in 1831, by General Freire, in exposition of his conduct during the civil war in Chile, 1829-30, is the following extract translated from the Spanish:

"It does not enter into my plan to justify the strategic movements which preceded the battle of Lircay. The disproportion between the contending forces was excessive. Neither tactics nor prodigies of valour could avail against this immense disadvantage. The liberals were routed. Would that I could throw a veil, not over a conquest which proves neither courage nor talent in the conqueror, but over the horrid cruelties which succeeded the battle. The most furious savages, the most unprincipled bandits, would have been ashamed to execute the orders which the rebel army received from General Prieto, and yet which were executed with mournful fidelity. Tupper—illustrious shade of the bravest of soldiers, of the most estimable of men; shade of a hero to whom Greece and Rome would have erected statues—your dreadful assassination will be avenged. If there be no visible punishment for your murderer, Divine vengeance will overtake him.* It will demand an account of that infamous sentence pronounced against all strangers by a man † who at the time was the pupil and the tool of a vagabond stranger, ‡ indebted for his elevation and his bread to the generosity of Chile."

* These two sentences in the original are as follows: "Tupper . . . sombra ilustre del mas valiente de los militares, del mas apreciable de los hombres: sombra de un héroe à quien hubieran alzado estâtuas Grecia y Roma: tu asesinato espantoso serà vengado. Si no hay castigo visible para tu verdugo, la justicia Divina lo tomarà à su cargo."

† General Prieto.

‡ Garrido, a Spanish renegade.