

Upon major-general Brock's arrival at Fort-George, he first heard of that most impolitic armistice, which, grounded on a letter from sir George Prevost to major-general Dearborn, had been concluded between the latter and colonel Baynes, sir George's adjutant-general. It provided that neither party should act offensively before the decision of the American government was taken on the subject. To the circumstance of the despatch announcing the event, not having reached the gallant Brock, before he had finished the business at Detroit, may the safety of the Canadas, in a great measure, be attributed. The armistice was already saliently injurious. It paralyzed the efforts of that active officer ; who had resolved, and would **doubtless** have succeeded, in sweeping the American forces from the whole Niagara line. It enabled the Americans to recover from their consternation, to fortify and strengthen their own, and to accumulate the means of annoyance along the whole of our frontier. It sent nearly 800 of our Indian allies, in disgust, to their homes. It admitted the free transport of the enemy's ordnance-stores and provisions, by Lake Ontario ; which gave increased facility to all his subsequent operation in that quarter.



CHAPTER III.

Termination of sir G. Prevost's armistice—State of the American army on the Niagara frontier—Capture of the Detroit and Caledonia—American plan of invasion developed—Its derangement—False intelligence of a deserter—Ardor of the American troops—Attack on Queenstown resolved upon--First attempt at crossing the river foiled—Success of second attempt—Gallant resistance of the British—Arrival of mutual reinforcements—Death of general Brock—Surrender of the American army—Altered behaviour of the American troops at Lewistown—American misrepresentation exposed—Bombardment between Fort-George and Fort-Niagara—Brief sketch of general Brock's life and character.

IT is now time to attend to the operations of the British and American forces confronting each other along the Niagara-line. The president of the United States, as might have been expected, refused to ratify the armistice which had been agreed upon between sir George Prevost, through his adjutant-general colonel Baynes, and major-general Dearborn ;

and directed six day's notice of the recommence-
 nient of hostilities to be given by the command-
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 made a proper use of the short period of suspen-
 sion ; and, when the 8th of September, the day
 for active operations, arrived, a strong force,
 well supplied with provisions, and styled " the
 army of the centre," had assembled on the
 borders of the Niagara-river.

This army, commanded by major-general Van
 Rensselaer of the New York militia, consisted,
 according to American official returns, of 5206
 men ;* exclusive of 300 field and light artillery,
 800 of the 6th, 13th, and 23d regiments, at Fort,
 Niagara ; making a total of 6300 men. Of this
 powerful force, 1650 regulars, under the com-
 mand of brigadier-general Smyth, were at Black
 Rock ; 386 militia at the latter place anti
 Buffaloe ; and 900 regulars, and 2270 militia,
 at Lewistown, distant from Black Rock 28 miles.
 So that, including the 1100 men at Fort Niagara,
 the Americans had, along 36 miles of their frond
 tier, a force of 6300 men ; Of whom nearly two,
 thirds were regular troops ; while the British,
 along their line from Fort-George, where:ma.:
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* Wilkinson's Mem. Vol. I. p. 580. 1 - Sec plate I.

GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

Although not strictly 'a 'military enterprise,
 the capture, in ten minutes, of two British
 " brigs of war, well-armed, and anchored
 under the protection of Fort-Erie," by two
 American row-boats, without any artillery, is
 an event of too extraordinary a nature, not to
 require an investigation. At the surrender of
 Detroit, we got possession of the ' United States'
 brig Adams, of about 200 tons, and mounting
 six 6-pounders. The prize (afterwards named
 the Detroit) and the north-west company's brig
 Caledonia, of about 90 tons, and mounting two
 swivels, were required to convey some of the
 American prisoners to Fort-Erie. A party of
 militia and Canadian sailm* in tumber 50,
 embarked for that purpose on board the Detroit,
 having in charge 30 American prisoners. This
 vessel carried, also, well-packed in her hold, a
 considerable quantity of small-arms, part of the
 spoils taken with gefieral Hull. The Caledonia
 had her own crew of 12 men ; to whose care were
 entrusted 10 American prisoners. She had on
 board a valuable cargo of furs, valued by the
 American editors at about 150,000 dollars. The
 author of the " Sketches of the War," ludi-
 crously enough, styles these two vessels " well-
 appointed," or, in other words, well-manned
 and officered. He, next, unpacking all the cases,
 and distributing the arms, declares that the veS.-

* History of the United States, Vol. IIT. p. 191. .

sels were "supplied with blunderbusses, pistols, cutlasses, boarding-pikes, and battle-axes."

On the morning of the 8th of October, the two vessels approached, and anchored off Fort Erie, the place of their destination; but which, being still without guns, could afford them no "protection" whatever. Lieutenant Jesse Elliott, of the United States' navy, was, at that time, at Black Rock, superintending the equipment of some schooners, lately purchased for the service of Lake Erie. Having just received a supply of 50 seamen from New York, he borrowed the same number of infantry and artillery from general Smyth; and, embarking the whole into two large boats, was alongside the British brigs at about three hours before daylight on the morning succeeding their arrival. Joined by the prisoners, the Americans numbered 140; their opponents 68. Yet doctor Smith calls the capture of these vessels "a very gallant achievement;" and he has taken care to make his account almost warrant the assertion, "After the capture, lieutenant Elliott succeeded in getting the Caledonia close under the batteries at Black Rock; but was compelled, by a direct shot or two from the Canada-shoals, to run the Detroit upon Squaw Island. Almost immediately afterwards, a detachment of the United States' regiment of artillery, with four

field-pieces, landed on the island; and a company of the 5th regiment soon followed. It was in vain for a subaltern's detachment of the 49th, which had been sent from Fort-Erie, to offer any resistance; - although the British had contrived to set fire to the brig, previous to the arrival of the American troops. The latter completed the destruction, both of the vessel, and of the greater part of her stores. But for the defensive measures, to which sir George Prevost had limited major-general Brock, this active officer would have destroyed those very schooners, for whose equipment, as men of war, lieutenant Elliott and his men had been sent from below; and, by so doing, have brought about consequences, far more important than the safety of the two brigs.

With so many troops under his command, general Van Rensselaer very naturally felt anxious to give a brilliant close to the campaign; the rather, as the national character had been degraded, in the eyes of all, by the tame surrender of general Hull and his army. A second invasion of Canada was, therefore, resolved upon; and, if the reader will take the trouble to turn to Plate I, we will endeavour to explain the plan of attack, as since promulgated by an American general-officer. A road (M M) had been cut, by general Van Rensselaer's orders, from his camp at Lewistown (B), six miles through a wood to (N), at Four-mile creek; where lay, ready for

* Sketches of the War, p. 43.

service, sixty batteaux. From this creek it is four miles and a half, by water, to Fort-George; the whole way under a high bank, which conceals the boats until they turn Niagara-point. The ground at Queenstown and Lewistown is so much elevated, that it may be called a rnouAtain. It forms an immense platform, and overlooks every part of the plane below, to its termination at the banks of ..the Ontario. Consequent-, every movement: by major-general 'Shea& at Fort-George, and by the commanding officer at Fort-Niagara, would be under major-general Van Rensselaer's eye. It was the general's intention that brigadier-general Smyth, and his 1650 regulars, should march, by the road (M 1%!), to the mouth of the Four-mile creek ; there to wait in readiness for embarking at a moment's notice, Queenstown was then to be attacked by the troops under the immediate command of general Van Rensselaer ; and, as the only force, there stationed, was known •to be two companies of the 49th regiment, and a small detachment of militia, no doubt was entertained about the town's being immediately carried, as well as the small battery on the heights. These operations, within hearing of Fort-George, could not fail to draw forth the garrison to sustain the post o Queenstown, and, if possible, to repel the invaders. The instant the British column was observed to be in motion, general Smyth was to be

signalled to embark at the creek ; and, so soon as the British reached Queenstown, he was ^{to} be ordered, by a courier, to attack Fort-George ; which, being deprived of its garrison, would, it was expected, make but a vain resistance.*

The American general Smyth's backwardness, or some other cause, not made public, deranged the above most excellent plan of attack. In the mean while, the capture of " 'the two British brigs of war" near Fort-Erie had spread an irresistible - ardor for conquest throughout the American army. The troops declared they "must have orders to act, or, at all hazards, they would go ►ome."t About this time, some wag of a deserter came running into the American camp, with information, that general Brock had suddenly proceeded to the westward with the greater part of his troops, to repel general Harrison's attempt at Detroit. The thing was credited ; the troops were absolutely furious ; and the general himself concluded he had just hit the nick of time for getting possession of the peninsula, by a more direct road than that he had cut through the woods,—a mere traverse across the river to Queenstown. Accordingly, at three o'clock on the morning of the 11th of October, t his eager troops were gratified by advancing to he river-side. Experienced boatmen had been provided, and a skilful officer, lieutenant Sim,

sent in a boat a-head ; but the latter played his countrymen a trick, and ran away ; exposing them to a tremendous north-east storm, which continued unabated for 28 hours, and deluged the whole camp.*

All, this drenching contributed nothing to allay, the ardor of American soldiers. Invade Canada they would ; and general Van Rensselaer resolved to carry the British works at Queens-town, before day, on the morning of the 12th. Thirteen boats were provided, and the embarkation was to take place in the following order:—Colonel S. Van Rensselaer, the commanding officer, with 300 militia, and lieutenant-colonel Christie, with 300 regulars ; lieutenant-colonel Fenwick and major Mullany, to follow, with about 550 regular troops, and some pieces of flying artillery ; and then the militia. It was intended that the embarkation of the regulars and militia should be simultaneous, as far as the boats would suffice to receive them ; but, having to descend the bank by a narrow path which had been cut out of it, the regular troops got possession of the boats to the exclusion of the militia ; and the latter were ordered to follow in the return boats. t •

The only British batteries from which: The troops could be annoyed in the passage, were one, mounting an 18-pounder, upon Queenstown.

*App. No. U. f Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 578,

heights (G), and another, mounting a 24-pound carronade, situate a little below the town (L). The river at Queenstown is scarcely a quarter of a mile in width, and the point chosen for crossing (O) was not fully exposed to either of the British batteries ; while the American batteries of two 18 and two 6-pounders (I-1), and the two 6-pounder field-pieces brought up by lieutenant-colonel Scott, completely commanded every part of the opposite shore, from which musketry could be effectual in opposing a landing. With these important advantages the troops embarked ; but, a grape-shot striking the boat in which lieutenant-colonel Christie was, and wounding him in the hand, the pilot and boatmen became so alarmed, that they suffered the boat to fall below the point of landing, and were obliged, in consequence, to put back. Two other boats did the same. The remaining ten, with 225 regulars,* besides officers, including the commander of the expedition, colonel Van Rensselaer, struck the shore ; and, after disembarking the men, returned for more troops.

The only force at Queenstown consisted of the two flank companies of the 49th regiment, and a small detachment of 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, having in charge

*

Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 573.

a 3-pounder, advanced, at four o'clock in the morning, with captain Dennis of the 49th at their head, . towards the river ; near to which colonel Van Rensselaer had formed his men, to await the arrival of the next boats. A well-directed and warmly. continued fire killed and wounded,. several American officers and privates, including, among the wounded, colonel Van Rensselaer and three captains; and drove the Americans behind a steep bank, close to the water's edge. In the meantime, a fresh supply of troops had effected a landing ; and remained, with the others, sheltered behind the bank ; whence they returned the fire of the British, killing one man, and, wounded four. The remaining subdivisions of the 49th grenadiers and of the militia-company had now joined captain Dennis ; and the 49th light infantry, under captain Williams, with captain Chisholm's company of militia, stationed on the brow of the hill, were firing down upon the invaders.

Of five or six, boats that, attempted to land a body of American regulars under major Mullany, one was destroyed by a shot from the hill-battery, commanded by lieutenant Crowther of the 41st regiment ; two others were captured ; and the remainder, notwithstanding their object, returned to the American side. Day-light appeared ; and, at the same instant, general Brock arrived at the hill-battery from Fort-George. Observing the

strong reinforcements that were crossing over, the general instantly ordered captain Williams to descend the hill, and support captain Dennis. No sooner were captain. Williams and his men seen to depart, than the Americans formed the resolution of gaining the heights. Accordingly, 60 American regulars,* headed by captain Wool, and accompanied by major Lush, a volunteer, also by a captain, six lieutenants, and an ensign of the 13th regiment, ascended a fisherthadst-- path up the rocks, which had been reported to general Brock as impassable, and therefore was not guarded. The Americans were thus enabled, unseen by our troops, to arrive at a brow, about 30 yards in the rear of the hill-battery. Reinforcements kept rapidly arriving by the concealed path ; and the whole formed on the brow, with their front towards the village of Queens-town.

The moment general Brock discovered the expected advance of the American troops, he, with the 12 men stationed at the battery, retired ; and captain Wool, advancing from the rear with his more than ten-fold force, " took it without much resistance. "t Captain Williams, and his detachment of regulars and militia, were now recalled ; and general Brock, putting himself at the head of this force, amounting, in all, to about 90 men, advanced to meet a detachment of 150

* Sketches of the War. p.

+ App. No. 12.

picked American regulars, which captain Wool had sent forward to attack him. The American captain says that, in consequence of the general's superior force," his men retreated ; adding: " I sent a reinforcement, notwithstanding which, the enemy drove us to the edge of the bank." While animating his little band of regulars and militia to a charge up the heights, general Brock received a mortal wound in the breast, and immediately fell.

At this moment, the two flank-companies of the York militia, with lieutenant-colonel McDonnell, the general's provincial aide-de-camp, at their head, arrived from Brown's-point, three miles distant. By this time, also, captain Wool had sent additional reinforcements to captain Ogilvie ; making the latter's force " 320 regulars, supported by a few militia and volunteers,"* or, in the whole, full 500 men. Colonel McDonnell and his 190 men,—more than two-thirds Canadian militia,—rushed boldly up the hill, in defiance of the continued stream of musketry pouring down upon them ; compelled the Americans to spike the 18-pounder ; and would have again driven them to the rocks, had not the colonel and captain Williams been wounded, almost at the same instant ; the former mortally. The loss of their commanders created confusion among the men ; and they again retreated.

* Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 573.

Dearing of the fall of general Brock, captain Dennis proceeded from the valley, towards the foot of the heights ; and, mounting the general's horse, rode up, and tried to rally the troops. He succeeded in forming a few ; but the number was so inconsiderable that, to persist in a contest, would have been madness. A retreat was accordingly ordered, by the ground in the rear of the town; and the men of the 49th, accompanied by many of the militia, formed in front of Vromont's battery ; there to await the expected reinforcement from Fort-George.

While we had, at this period, not above 200 unwounded men at Queenstown, the Americans, by their own account, had upwards of 800, and general Van Rensselaer tells us, that " a number of boats now crossed over, unannoyed, except by the one unsilenced gun," or that at Yrs).-mont's battery ; consequently, more troops were hourly arriving. Brigadier-general Wadsworth was left as commanding officer of the Americans on the Queenstown hill ; and general Van Rensselaer, considering the victory as complete, had himself crossed over, in order to give directions about fortifying the camp which he intended to occupy in the British territory.

As whatever brilliant deeds were achieved by the Americans on " this memorable day," confessedly form part of those events which 'have

just been detailed, we will suspend our narrative awhile, till a few of the American statements on the subject have been exhibited for the reader's amusement.

One writer, and he a general too, says: "The names of the officers who accompanied colonel Van Rensselaer on this hardy enterprise, deserve to be engraven on the scroll of fame, for surmounting obstacles almost insuperable, in the face of a determined enemy, under a heavy fire and dislodging and pursuing a superior force, composed of two (captain Wool says, "four") companies of the 49th British regiment, advantageously posted, with a body of auxiliary militia and Indians: it was indeed a display of intrepidity rarely exhibited, in which the conduct and the execution were equally conspicuous. Here true valor, so often mistaken for animal courage," (a note adds: "In the American service, temerity is too often taken for bravery. &c.") "was attested by an appeal to the bayonet, which decided the contest without a shot."—"Under all the circumstances, and on the scale of the operation, the impartial soldier and competent judge will name this brilliant affair a *chef d'œuvre* of the *Nvarf't*

Mr. Thomson describes the affair with the 190 British regulars and militia upon the hill, thus: "At this moment a reinforcement arrived, which

* App. No. 12. t Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 578.

augmented the detachment to 820 men, Who were led to the charge; ank making a forcible appeal to the bayonet, entirely routed the British 49th regiment, of 600 men, and pursued them up the height, until the ground was regained, which the 'detachment had just before lost. Part of the 41st" (one officer, lieutenant Crowther) "were acting with the 49th, both of which regiments distinguished themselves, under the same commander, in Europe; and the latter had obtained the title of the Egyptian Invincibles, because they had never, on any occasion before, been known to give ground ;"*—or, we may surely subjoin, had such an unprincipled enemy to deal with. Mr. O'Connor has inadvertently prefixed "• a part of" to " the 49th regiment" ; which, in some degree, exculpates him ; but Dr. Smith, like his friend Mr. Thomson, introduces the whole 49th " regiment of British regulars, COO strong," adding :—" They mutually resorted to the bayonet ; and after a bloody conflict, the, *famous invincibles* yielded to the superior energy of their antagonists, although so far inferior in numbers."1-

Leaving these contemptible historians to the reader's castigation, when he has leisure to in-
 jll a it, we have now to call his attention to the *finale* of " this memorable day." BetWween two

* Sketches of the War, p,"Y5.

t Hist. of the United States, Vol. III. p. 201.

and three o'clock in the afternoon, about 50. Indians, led by the chief Norton, advanced through the woods and an orchard, towards the mountain. As they approached, the American troops, "not knowing their number, at first faltered."* After a sharp conflict, in which the Indians lost a few men killed and wounded, and one made prisoner, the latter very prudently retired towards the reinforcement of regulars and militia, under major-general Sheaffe, which had just arrived from Fort-George. This reinforcement, consisting of about 380 rank and file of the 41st regiment, under major 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 Chippeway.. The whole British and Indian force, thus assembled, did not amount to 1000 rank and file; of whom about 560 were regular troops, The artillery consisted of two 3-pounders, placed under the orders of lieutenant Crowther of the 41st. .

The attack commenced by the light infantry

*Sketches of the War, p. 73.

t See Plate I, q. q. q.

company of the 41 st., under lieutenant tyre, about 35 militia, and the same number of Indians, composing the left flank of the British line. After a single volley, lieutenant M'Intyre's company resorted to the bayonet; and soon drove the American right. The main body of the British now advanced, firing their two 3-pounders, with destructive effect. The Americans sustained but a short conflict; ere they fled with precipitation towards the point at which they had first landed. There they threw themselves over the precipice, as if heedless of the danger; and many must have perished in the flood. Others, no doubt, swam across; and some escaped in the few boats that remained entire, or whose crews could be persuaded to approach the Canadian shore. "In retiring," says an American author, "they received considerable aid from the American batteries, which kept up a brisk and well-directed fire on the enemy, as he pressed upon their rear."

All, however, would not do. A flag of truce, begging for quarter, came from the American commander. Mr. Coffin, aide-de-camp to general Sheaffe, and lieutenant M'Intyre, accompanied. the-bearer of the flag, and received the sword of major-general Wadsworth, the American commanding officer, While Mr. Coffin was conducting the latter to major-general Sheaffe,

* Sketches of the War, p. 75.

lieutenant McIntyre received, as prisoners of war, lieutenant-colonel Scott and 71 officers, together with 858 non-commissioned officers and privates, of the American army. These were exclusive of the two boat-loads of troops which had been captured in the morning.

If we consider Mr. Thomson's account of the number of Americans surrendered, to refer to the non-commissioned officers and privates only, and then add his loss in wounded, 82, we shall obtain 846; not far short of lieutenant McIntyre's return. None of the other American historians seem desirous to be particular on this point. The above 82 wounded include such only as had not been brought to the American side in the course of the day. We may safely estimate such as had been brought over as many more; and those that succeeded in re-crossing the river, either by boats or swimming, and others that were drowned in the attempt, must have amounted to one or two hundreds. Mr. Thomson states 90 as the number of Americans killed in action. That, added to the number of prisoners, makes, without reckoning those taken in the boats, 1021.—Dr. Smith says:—"In the course of the day about 1100 troops, regulars, volunteers, and militia, passed into Canada from Lewistown; very few of whom returned."* But the "Albany Gazette," (an American northern

* Hist. of the United States, Vol. III. p. 200.

newspaper,) at the conclusion of "a most accurate account" of the Queenstown battle, fixes the number of Americans that crossed the river at 1600; consisting of 900 regulars, and 700 militia.

The editor of the "Sketches of the War!" says:—"The British force in the different battles, with the exception of the first, was at no time less than 1100; in the last and fourth engagement it was much greater."* Doctor Smith fixes the British force at 2200. Mr. O'Connor estimates the prisoners at "about 700;" and then adds:—"This little band surrendered to about five times their number," "I or 300 men. These are the delusions so industriously practised upon the American people:—do wonder those among them who have never been beaten into a contrary opinion still fancy they are possessed of the prowess of demi-gods: •

The British loss 'in this! 'decisive-affair amounted to 11 killed and 60 wounded of the regulars and militia,' and to five killed and 20 wounded, of the Indians. Although Mr. Tristram had stated the American loss at 90 killed, and 82 (another) account says 100) wounded; and, in reference to the latter, had said: "Their not known," lie could not refrain from adding, with an air of triumphant pleasantry "With regard to close first' courageous fighting the

, Sketches of the War, p. 76.

of the; I: T. S. Y. + III p. 200. 4 Hist. of the War, p. 50.

victory belonged to the Americans ; but with regard to the loss which was sustained, it was exclusively yielded to the British.*

General Van Rensselaer's letter gives a ludicrous account of the behaviour of the American militia at Lewistown. These men, a day or two previous, were for invading Canada, without waiting for orders from their commanding officer. Now, all the exhortations of their general, of lieutenant-colonel Bloom, and even of the grave " Judge Peck," could not induce them to budge a step. A north-east storm for twenty-eight hours was nothing, compared to what their wounded comrades had told them they must expect, if they came in contact with the brave 49th, " the green tygers," as they called

" The ardor of the unengaged troops," says the general, " had entirely subsided." By contrasting all this with the national feeling excited by such writings as it becomes our unpleasant task to investigate, the difference between reality and fiction strikes forcibly on the mind.

The number of American troops, whose discretion came so well to their aid, is stated at from 12 to 1500; and the number of regulars and militia at Lewistown, exclusive of the several detachments ordered from Black Rock, Buffalo, and Fort-Niagara, and whose commanding

* Sketches of the War, p. 76.

f See p. 86

App. No. 11.

officers can boast of their names being " engraved on the scroll of fame" for having " done honor to their country upon this memorable clay," amounted to 3170 ;* a tolerable proof that, at the lowest estimate, 1600 Americans crossed over to Queenstown, on the "memorable" 13th of October, 1812.

When general Wilkinson complains 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 ;"t--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

* See p. 80 1- Sketches of the War, p. 76.

Upon major-general Brock's arrival at Fort-George, he first heard of that most impolitic armistice, which, grounded on a letter from sir George Prevost to major-general Dearborn, had been concluded between the latter and colonel Baynes, sir George's adjutant-general. It provided that neither party should act offensively before the decision of the American government was taken on the subject. To the circumstance of the despatch announcing the event, not having reached the gallant Brock, before he had finished the business at Detroit, may the safety of the Canadas, in a great measure, be attributed. The armistice was already saliently injurious. It paralyzed the efforts of that active officer ; who had resolved, and would **doubtless** have succeeded, in sweeping the American forces from the whole Niagara line. It enabled the Americans to recover from their consternation, to fortify and strengthen their own, and to accumulate the means of annoyance along the whole of our frontier. It sent nearly 800 of our Indian allies, in disgust, to their homes. It admitted the free transport of the enemy's ordnance-stores and provisions, by Lake Ontario ; which gave increased facility to all his subsequent operation in that quarter.



CHAPTER III.

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* Wilkinson's Mem. Vol. I. p. 580. 1 - Sec plate I.

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 vessel carried, also, well-packed in her hold, a
 considerable quantity of small-arms, part of the
 spoils taken with gefieral Hull. The Caledonia
 had her own crew of 12 men ; to whose care were
 entrusted 10 American prisoners. She had on
 board a valuable cargo of furs, valued by the
 American editors at about 150,000 dollars. The
 author of the " Sketches of the War," ludi-
 crously enough, styles these two vessels " well-
 appointed," or, in other words, well-manned
 and officered. He, next, unpacking all the cases,
 and distributing the arms, declares that the veS.-

* History of the United States, Vol. IIT. p. 191. .

sels were "supplied with blunderbusses, pistols, cutlasses, boarding-pikes, and battle-axes."

On the morning of the 8th of October, the two vessels approached, and anchored off Fort Erie, the place of their destination; but which, being still without guns, could afford them no "protection" whatever. Lieutenant Jesse Elliott, of the United States' navy, was, at that time, at Black Rock, superintending the equipment of some schooners, lately purchased for the service of Lake Erie. Having just received a supply of 50 seamen from New York, he borrowed the same number of infantry and artillery from general Smyth; and, embarking the whole into two large boats, was alongside the British brigs at about three hours before daylight on the morning succeeding their arrival. Joined by the prisoners, the Americans numbered 140; their opponents 68. Yet doctor Smith calls the capture of these vessels "a very gallant achievement;" and he has taken care to make his account almost warrant the assertion, "After the capture, lieutenant Elliott succeeded in getting the Caledonia close under the batteries at Black Rock; but was compelled, by a direct shot or two from the Canada-shoals, to run the Detroit upon Squaw Island. Almost immediately afterwards, a detachment of the United States' regiment of artillery, with four

field-pieces, landed on the island; and a company of the 5th regiment soon followed. It was in vain for a subaltern's detachment of the 49th, which had been sent from Fort-Erie, to offer any resistance; - although the British had contrived to set fire to the brig, previous to the arrival of the American troops. The latter completed the destruction, both of the vessel, and of the greater part of her stores. But for the defensive measures, to which sir George Prevost had limited major-general Brock, this active officer would have destroyed those very schooners, for whose equipment, as men of war, lieutenant Elliott and his men had been sent from below; and, by so doing, have brought about consequences, far more important than the safety of the two brigs.

With so many troops under his command, general Van Rensselaer very naturally felt anxious to give a brilliant close to the campaign; the rather, as the national character had been degraded, in the eyes of all, by the tame surrender of general Hull and his army. A second invasion of Canada was, therefore, resolved upon; and, if the reader will take the trouble to turn to Plate I, we will endeavour to explain the plan of attack, as since promulgated by an American general-officer. A road (M M) had been cut, by general Van Rensselaer's orders, from his camp at Lewistown (B), six miles through a wood to (N), at Four-mile creek; where lay, ready for

* Sketches of the War, p. 43.

service, sixty batteaux. From this creek it is four miles and a half, by water, to Fort-George; the whole way under a high bank, which conceals the boats until they turn Niagara-point. The ground at Queenstown and Lewistown is so much elevated, that it may be called a plateau. It forms an immense platform, and overlooks every part of the plain below, to its termination at the banks of the Ontario. Consequently, every movement: by major-general Shea at Fort-George, and by the commanding officer at Fort-Niagara, would be under major-general Van Rensselaer's eye. It was the general's intention that brigadier-general Smyth, and his 1650 regulars, should march, by the road (M 1%), to the mouth of the Four-mile creek; there to wait in readiness for embarking at a moment's notice, Queenstown was then to be attacked by the troops under the immediate command of general Van Rensselaer; and, as the only force, there stationed, was known to be two companies of the 49th regiment, and a small detachment of militia, no doubt was entertained about the town's being immediately carried, as well as the small battery on the heights. These operations, within hearing of Fort-George, could not fail to draw forth the garrison to sustain the post at Queenstown, and, if possible, to repel the invaders. The instant the British column was observed to be in motion, general Smyth was to be

signalled to embark at the creek; and, so soon as the British reached Queenstown, he was to be ordered, by a courier, to attack Fort-George; which, being deprived of its garrison, would, it was expected, make but a vain resistance.*

The American general Smyth's backwardness, or some other cause, not made public, deranged the above most excellent plan of attack. In the mean while, the capture of "the two British brigs of war" near Fort-Erie had spread an irresistible ardor for conquest throughout the American army. The troops declared they "must have orders to act, or, at all hazards, they would go home." About this time, some wag of a deserter came running into the American camp, with information, that general Brock had suddenly proceeded to the westward with the greater part of his troops, to repel general Harrison's attempt at Detroit. The thing was credited; the troops were absolutely furious; and the general himself concluded he had just hit the nick of time for getting possession of the peninsula, by a more direct road than that he had cut through the woods,—a mere traverse across the river to Queenstown. Accordingly, at three o'clock on the morning of the 11th of October, this eager troops were gratified by advancing to the river-side. Experienced boatmen had been provided, and a skilful officer, lieutenant Sim,

sent in a boat a-head ; but the latter played his countrymen a trick, and ran away ; exposing them to a tremendous north-east storm, which continued unabated for 28 hours, and deluged the whole camp.*

All, this drenching contributed nothing to allay, the ardor of American soldiers. Invade Canada they would ; and general Van Rensselaer resolved to carry the British works at Queens-town, before day, on the morning of the 12th. Thirteen boats were provided, and the embarkation was to take place in the following order:—Colonel S. Van Rensselaer, the commanding officer, with 300 militia, and lieutenant-colonel Christie, with 300 regulars ; lieutenant-colonel Fenwick and major Mullany, to follow, with about 550 regular troops, and some pieces of flying artillery ; and then the militia. It was intended that the embarkation of the regulars and militia should be simultaneous, as far as the boats would suffice to receive them ; but, having to descend the bank by a narrow path which had been cut out of it, the regular troops got possession of the boats to the exclusion of the militia ; and the latter were ordered to follow in the return boats. t •

The only British batteries from which: The troops could be annoyed in the passage, were one, mounting an 18-pounder, upon Queenstown.

*App. No. U. f Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 578,

heights (G), and another, mounting a 24-pound carronade, situate a little below the town (L). The river at Queenstown is scarcely a quarter of a mile in width, and the point chosen for crossing (O) was not fully exposed to either of the British batteries ; while the American batteries of two 18 and two 6-pounders (I-1), and the two 6-pounder field-pieces brought up by lieutenant-colonel Scott, completely commanded every part of the opposite shore, from which musketry could be effectual in opposing a landing. With these important advantages the troops embarked ; but, a grape-shot striking the boat in which lieutenant-colonel Christie was, and wounding him in the hand, the pilot and boatmen became so alarmed, that they suffered the boat to fall below the point of landing, and were obliged, in consequence, to put back. Two other boats did the same. The remaining ten, with 225 regulars,* besides officers, including the commander of the expedition, colonel Van Rensselaer, struck the shore ; and, after disembarking the men, returned for more troops.

The only force at Queenstown consisted of the two flank companies of the 49th regiment, and a small detachment of 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, having in charge

*

Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 573.

a 3-pounder, advanced, at four o'clock in the morning, with captain Dennis of the 49th at their head, . towards the river ; near to which colonel Van Rensselaer had formed his men, to await the arrival of the next boats. A well-directed and warmly. continued fire killed and wounded,. several American officers and privates, including, among the wounded, colonel Van Rensselaer and three captains; and drove the Americans behind a steep bank, close to the water's edge. In the meantime, a fresh supply of troops had effected a landing ; and remained, with the others, sheltered behind the bank ; whence they returned the fire of the British, killing one man, and, wounded four. The remaining subdivisions of the 49th grenadiers and of the militia-company had now joined captain Dennis ; and the 49th light infantry, under captain Williams, with captain Chisholm's company of militia, stationed on the brow of the hill, were firing down upon the invaders.

Of five or six, boats that, attempted to land a body of American regulars under major Mullany, one was destroyed by a shot from the hill-battery, commanded by lieutenant Crowther of the 41st regiment ; two others were captured ; and the remainder, notwithstanding their object, returned to the American side. Day-light appeared ; and, at the same instant, general Brock arrived at the hill-battery from Fort-George. Observing the

strong reinforcements that were crossing over, the general instantly ordered captain Williams to descend the hill, and support captain Dennis. No sooner were captain. Williams and his men seen to depart, than the Americans formed the resolution of gaining the heights. Accordingly, 60 American regulars,* headed by captain Wool, and accompanied by major Lush, a volunteer, also by a captain, six lieutenants, and an ensign of the 13th regiment, ascended a fisherthadst-- path up the rocks, which had been reported to general Brock as impassable, and therefore was not guarded. The Americans were thus enabled, unseen by our troops, to arrive at a brow, about 30 yards in the rear of the hill-battery. Reinforcements kept rapidly arriving by the concealed path ; and the whole formed on the brow, with their front towards the village of Queens-town.

The moment general Brock discovered the expected advance of the American troops, he, with the 12 men stationed at the battery, retired ; and captain Wool, advancing from the rear with his more than ten-fold force, " took it without much resistance. "t Captain Williams, and his detachment of regulars and militia, were now recalled ; and general Brock, putting himself at the head of this force, amounting, in all, to about 90 men, advanced to meet a detachment of 150

* Sketches of the War. p.

+ App. No. 12.

picked American regulars, which captain Wool had sent forward to attack him. The American captain says that, in consequence of the general's superior force," his men retreated ; adding: " I sent a reinforcement, notwithstanding which, the enemy drove us to the edge of the bank." While animating his little band of regulars and militia to a charge up the heights, general Brock received a mortal wound in the breast, and immediately fell.

At this moment, the two flank-companies of the York militia, with lieutenant-colonel McDonnell, the general's provincial aide-de-camp, at their head, arrived from Brown's-point, three miles distant. By this time, also, captain Wool had sent additional reinforcements to captain Ogilvie ; making the latter's force " 320 regulars, supported by a few militia and volunteers,"* or, in the whole, full 500 men. Colonel McDonnell and his 190 men,—more than two-thirds Canadian militia,—rushed boldly up the hill, in defiance of the continued stream of musketry pouring down upon them ; compelled the Americans to spike the 18-pounder ; and would have again driven them to the rocks, had not the colonel and captain Williams been wounded, almost at the same instant ; the former mortally. The loss of their commanders created confusion among the men ; and they again retreated.

* Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 573.

Dearing of the fall of general Brock, captain Dennis proceeded from the valley, towards the foot of the heights ; and, mounting the general's horse, rode up, and tried to rally the troops. He succeeded in forming a few ; but the number was so inconsiderable that, to persist in a contest, would have been madness. A retreat was accordingly ordered, by the ground in the rear of the town; and the men of the 49th, accompanied by many of the militia, formed in front of Vromont's battery ; there to await the expected reinforcement from Fort-George.

While we had, at this period, not above 200 unwounded men at Queenstown, the Americans, by their own account, had upwards of 800, and general Van Rensselaer tells us, that " a number of boats now crossed over, unannoyed, except by the one unsilenced gun," or that at Yrs).-mont's battery ; consequently, more troops were hourly arriving. Brigadier-general Wadsworth was left as commanding officer of the Americans on the Queenstown hill ; and general Van Rensselaer, considering the victory as complete, had himself crossed over, in order to give directions about fortifying the camp which he intended to occupy in the British territory.

As whatever brilliant deeds were achieved by the Americans on " this memorable day," confessedly form part of those events which 'have

just been detailed, we will suspend our narrative awhile, till a few of the American statements on the subject have been exhibited for the reader's amusement.

One writer, and he a general too, says: "The names of the officers who accompanied colonel Van Rensselaer on this hardy enterprise, deserve to be engraven on the scroll of fame, for surmounting obstacles almost insuperable, in the face of a determined enemy, under a heavy fire and dislodging and pursuing a superior force, composed of two (captain Wool says, "four") companies of the 49th British regiment, advantageously posted, with a body of auxiliary militia and Indians: it was indeed a display of intrepidity rarely exhibited, in which the conduct and the execution were equally conspicuous. Here true valor, so often mistaken for animal courage," (a note adds: "In the American service, temerity is too often taken for bravery. &c.") "was attested by an appeal to the bayonet, which decided the contest without a shot."—"Under all the circumstances, and on the scale of the operation, the impartial soldier and competent judge will name this brilliant affair a *chef d'œuvre* of the *Nvarf't*

Mr. Thomson describes the affair with the 190 British regulars and militia upon the hill, thus: "At this moment a reinforcement arrived, which

* App. No. 12. t Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 578.

augmented the detachment to 820 men, Who were led to the charge; ank making a forcible appeal to the bayonet, entirely routed the British 49th regiment, of 600 men, and pursued them up the height, until the ground was regained, which the 'detachment had just before lost. Part of the 41st" (one officer, lieutenant Crowther) "were acting with the 49th, both of which regiments distinguished themselves, under the same commander, in Europe; and the latter had obtained the title of the Egyptian Invincibles, because they had never, on any occasion before, been known to give ground ;"*—or, we may surely subjoin, had such an unprincipled enemy to deal with. Mr. O'Connor has inadvertently prefixed "• a part of" to "the 49th regiment"; which, in some degree, exculpates him; but Dr. Smith, like his friend Mr. Thomson, introduces the whole 49th "regiment of British regulars, COO strong," adding:—"They mutually resorted to the bayonet; and after a bloody conflict, the, *famous invincibles* yielded to the superior energy of their antagonists, although so far inferior in numbers."1-

Leaving these contemptible historians to the reader's castigation, when he has leisure to in: jll a it, we have now to call his attention to the *finale* of "this memorable day." BetWween two

* Sketches of the War, p,"Y5.

t Hist. of the United States, Vol. III. p. 201.

and three o'clock in the afternoon, about 50. Indians, led by the chief Norton, advanced through the woods and an orchard, towards the mountain. As they approached, the American troops, "not knowing their number, at first faltered."* After a sharp conflict, in which the Indians lost a few men killed and wounded, and one made prisoner, the latter very prudently retired towards the reinforcement of regulars and militia, under major-general Sheaffe, which had just arrived from Fort-George. This reinforcement, consisting of about 380 rank and file of the 41st regiment, under major 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 Chippeway.. The whole British and Indian force, thus assembled, did not amount to 1000 rank and file; of whom about 560 were regular troops, The artillery consisted of two 3-pounders, placed under the orders of lieutenant Crowther of the 41st. .

The attack commenced by the light infantry

*Sketches of the War, p. 73.

t See Plate I, q. q. q.

company of the 41 st., under lieutenant tyre, about 35 militia, and the same number of Indians, composing the left flank of the British line. After a single volley, lieutenant M'Intyre's company resorted to the bayonet; and soon drove the American right. The main body of the British now advanced, firing their two 3-pounders, with destructive effect. The Americans sustained but a short conflict; ere they fled with precipitation towards the point at which they had first landed. There they threw themselves over the precipice, as if heedless of the danger; and many must have perished in the flood. Others, no doubt, swam across; and some escaped in the few boats that remained entire, or whose crews could be persuaded to approach the Canadian shore. "In retiring," says an American author, "they received considerable aid from the American batteries, which kept up a brisk and well-directed fire on the enemy, as he pressed upon their rear."

All, however, would not do. A flag of truce, begging for quarter, came from the American commander. Mr. Coffin, aide-de-camp to general Sheaffe, and lieutenant M'Intyre, accompanied. the-bearer of the flag, and received the sword of major-general Wadsworth, the American commanding officer, While Mr. Coffin was conducting the latter to major-general Sheaffe,

* Sketches of the War, p. 75.

lieutenant McIntyre received, as prisoners of war, lieutenant-colonel Scott and 71 officers, together with 858 non-commissioned officers and privates, of the American army. These were exclusive of the two boat-loads of troops which had been captured in the morning.

If we consider Mr. Thomson's account of the number of Americans surrendered, to refer to the non-commissioned officers and privates only, and then add his loss in wounded, 82, we shall obtain 846; not far short of lieutenant McIntyre's return. None of the other American historians seem desirous to be particular on this point. The above 82 wounded include such only as had not been brought to the American side in the course of the day. We may safely estimate such as had been brought over as many more; and those that succeeded in re-crossing the river, either by boats or swimming, and others that were drowned in the attempt, must have amounted to one or two hundreds. Mr. Thomson states 90 as the number of Americans killed in action. That, added to the number of prisoners, makes, without reckoning those taken in the boats, 1021.—Dr. Smith says:—"In the course of the day about 1100 troops, regulars, volunteers, and militia, passed into Canada from Lewistown; very few of whom returned."* But the "Albany Gazette," (an American northern

* Hist. of the United States, Vol. III. p. 200.

newspaper,) at the conclusion of "a most accurate account" of the Queenstown battle, fixes the number of Americans that crossed the river at 1600; consisting of 900 regulars, and 700 militia.

The editor of the "Sketches of the War!" says:—"The British force in the different battles, with the exception of the first, was at no time less than 1100; in the last and fourth engagement it was much greater."* Doctor Smith fixes the British force at 2200. Mr. O'Connor estimates the prisoners at "about 700;" and then adds:—"This little band surrendered to about five times their number," "I or 300 men. These are the delusions so industriously practised upon the American people:—do wonder those among them who have never been beaten into a contrary opinion still fancy they are possessed of the prowess of demi-gods: •

The British loss 'in this! 'decisive-affair amounted to 11 killed and 60 wounded of the regulars and militia,' and to five killed and 20 wounded, of the Indians. Although Mr. Tristram had stated the American loss at 90 killed, and 82 (another) account says 100) wounded; and, in reference to the latter, had said: "Their not known," lie could not refrain from adding, with an air of triumphant pleasantry With regard to close first' courageous fighting the

, Sketches of the War, p. 76.

of the; I: T. S. Y. + III p. 200. 4 Hist. of the War, p. 50.

victory belonged to the Americans ; but with regard to the loss which was sustained, it was exclusively yielded to the British.*

General Van Rensselaer's letter gives a ludicrous account of the behaviour of the American militia at Lewistown. These men, a day or two previous, were for invading Canada, without waiting for orders from their commanding officer. Now, all the exhortations of their general, of lieutenant-colonel Bloom, and even of the grave " Judge Peck," could not induce them to budge a step. A north-east storm for twenty-eight hours was nothing, compared to what their wounded comrades had told them they must expect, if they came in contact with the brave 49th, " the green tygers," as they called

" The ardor of the unengaged troops," says the general, " had entirely subsided." By contrasting all this with the national feeling excited by such writings as it becomes our unpleasant task to investigate, the difference between reality and fiction strikes forcibly on the mind.

The number of American troops, whose discretion came so well to their aid, is stated at from 12 to 1500; and the number of regulars and militia at Lewistown, exclusive of the several detachments ordered from Black Rock, Buffalo, and Fort-Niagara, and whose commanding

* Sketches of the War, p. 76.

f See p. 86

App. No. 11.

officers can boast of their names being " engraved on the scroll of fame" for having " done honor to their country upon this memorable clay," amounted to 3170 ;* a tolerable proof that, at the lowest estimate, 1600 Americans crossed over to Queenstown, on the "memorable" 13th of October, 1812.

When general Wilkinson complains 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 ;"t--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 lettee

* See p. 80 1- Sketches of the War, p. 76.

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 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."—Who could believe that this very letter is given at length in general Wilkinson's book, and precedes, but a few pages, those ridiculous remarks into which an excess of patriotism had betrayed him.

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; the very thing general Van Rensselaer

wanted. The latter, of course, assured his panic-struck militia, that the British general had sent to implore this of him ; and that he, general Van Rensselaer, had consented, merely to gain time to make some necessary arrangements. Such of the militia as had not already scampered off, now agreed to suspend their journey homewards, and try another experiment at invasion.

On the 15th, all the militia who had been made prisoners, including the wounded regulars; were sent across the river; upon their parole : so were the whole of the American officers; not excepting major Mullany, and several others, known to be British subjects. **even their side-**arms were restored to them. - The non-commissioned officers, and privates of the regulars were marched to Montreal, to await their exchange. The American editors acknowledge that the prisoners were treated with uncommon kindness by the victorious enemy ; yet one editor adds : " For want of *will* or power, they put no restraint upon their Indian allies, who were stripping and scalping not only the slain, -but the dying that remained on the field of battle." Doctor Smith says: No restraint, however, was imposed upon the Indians by general Sheaffe, a native of Boston." He then, to prove that the Indians " stripped and scalped the slain, and, **even the wound4,a4 dying**

Americans," says Captain Ogilvie saw the corpse of ensign Morris stripped even of his shirt, and the skull of a soldier who had been wounded, cloven by a tomahawk :—"* but, whether the ensign's shirt had not been stolen by one of his own men, or the hole in the soldier's skull was not a wound he had received in the battle, is deemed a needless inquiry.

While the British and Americans were engaging at Queenstown, the batteries at Fort-George, under the direction of brigade-major Evans, opened a fire upon those at Fort-Niagara ; which was returned with hot shot, and continued during several hours. The spirited cannonade on the part of the British compelled the American garrison, commanded by captain N. Leonard, to retreat, with the loss of two men killed by the bursting of a 12-pounder, and several men wounded by shot. The American account says, hot shots were used on both sides. On the contrary, none were, or could be fired from Fort-George ; and the effects of such as were fired from Fort-Niagara are thus described in the American account :—" From the south block-house of the American fort, the shot was principally directed against the village of Newark, and several houses were set on fire, one or two of which were entirely consuuled."t

llist. of the United States, Vol. p. 201.,
t Sketches of the War p, 77,

Considering the character of the distingnislid thief who fell on the British side at the Queens-Own battle,—of him who, undoubtedly, was " the best officer that headed their troops throughout the war,"—it will surely be deemed a pardonable digression to give a brief sketch of the more prominent features of his life and character.

Sir Isaac Brock was born at Guernsey, in October 1769; consequently, was but 43 when he received the fatal bullet. He had entkred the army at the age of 16, and been lientenanti colonel of the 49th regiment since 1797. During the campaign in Holland in 1799, he distinguished himself at the head of his regiment, and was second in command of the land forces at the battle of Copenhagen. He was gallant and 'undaunted, yet prudent and calculating ; devoted to his sovereign, and romantically fond of his country ; but gentle and persuasive to those whose feelings were less ardent than hi4 own. Elevated to the government of Upper Canada, he recliiined the disaffected by ilia&ness, and fixed the wavering by argument : all hearts were conciliated ; and, in the trying moment of invasion, the whole province disk played a zealous, and an enthusiastic loyalty.

Over the minds of the Indians general Brock had acquired an ascendancy, which he judiciously exercised, for purposes conducive no less to the cause of humanity, than to the interests of