

**Richardson's
War of
1812**

Casselman

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The preparation of the biography of Major John Richardson entailed a large amount of independent research. Before I had gone far in the study of his career I found that all existing biographies were meagre, fragmentary or wrong in many important details. Several of his relatives have been personally interviewed, other relatives have been communicated with ; and for the first time the date and the place, both of his birth and of his death, are correctly given. The bibliography will be found to be more nearly complete and, as far as it goes, more accurate than any previous attempt to give a list of his works and of the editions published. Every positive statement in the biography or the bibliography is made on the authority of documentary evidence in my possession. Failing such evidence, I have been cautious in statement ; and I shall gladly welcome any additional information on the subject.

The genealogy of the Richardson and, the Askin families is not intended to be complete ; but it is hoped that it will be found of some historical interest and value.

The letters of Colonel John Askin, Major John Richardson and Colonel Elijah Brush have never been published before ; and it must be conceded that they throw absolutely new sidelights on that period of our history.

One promise made in the announcement of this book has not been fulfilled. No picture of Major-General Henry Procter could be obtained. Under a mistaken impression, which is by no means uncommon, arrangements had been made to publish the portrait of Lieut.-General Henry Adolphus Proctor, C.B., when I found that it was not his military achievements that occupy so large a share of Richardson's narrative. The careers of these two officers are briefly given in the Appendix.

No change has been made in Richardson's narrative



except to correct the manifest typographical errors, to which he refers in the advertisement at the end of his volume. But the official despatches of the British and American officers, as given in the original edition of 1842, were found on comparison with the Archives and other sources to be in many cases incorrect or abbreviated. Rather than impair the historical value of the volume by leaving the despatches imperfect, I have in each instance substituted without comment the full official account.

To the numerous friends and relatives of Major Richardson, I tender my sincere thanks for the aid they have given, which has enabled me to prepare the biography. I am particularly indebted also to Mr. C. C. James, M.A., Deputy Minister of Agriculture for Ontario, for valuable advice and many historical notes ; and to my lifelong friend, Mr. John Stewart Carstairs, B.A., of Harbord St. Collegiate Institute, Toronto, for help in the revision of the proofs and in the preparation of the biography.

A. C. C.

Toxowro, February, 1902.

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INTRODUCTION.

BIOGRAPHY OF MAJOR JOHN RICHARDSON.

• On the Canadian side of the Niagara river, just where its foaming and turbulent waters issue from the narrow, rocky gorge, stands the straggling village of Queenston. The place at the present time is of very little importance except as a terminal port for a magnificent fleet of pleasure vessels that carry tourists and excursion parties to visit the Falls, five or six miles farther up the river. But as the scene of one of the proudest victories of Canadian and British arms during the War of 1812 Queenston has won a fame that is world-wide.

The settlement proper of the country dates from the close of the Revolutionary war, when the disbanded soldiers of Butler's Rangers and other United Empire Loyalists took up grants of land on the banks of the river. At the mouth of the river there soon grew up the town of Niagara (Newark), opposite Fort Niagara, at that time and until 1796 in the hands of the British. The great highway of the trade with Detroit and other western settlements was the Niagara, and as this trade increased the laden vessels from the lakes were taken as far up the river as possible, to shorten the portage around the Falls. This head of navigation was called at first the New Landing, and later Queenstown. Thus favorably situated for trade, the new town prospered and soon became the home of several pioneer merchants, who never dreamed that the stream of commerce could possibly find any other course.

Queenston derived an additional importance, at this early period, from its proximity to the seat of government of the new Province of Upper Canada. The first Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, Colonel John Graves Simcoe, selected Niagara as the capital ; and to enforce his authority and protect his person a British Regiment was sent to Canada. This Regiment was recruited in England, Scotland, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and was called the Queen's Rangers, from a

corps, commanded by Colonel Simcoe, during the war of the Revolution. Among the officers of the new corps who had not held commands in the old one was a young Scotchman named Robert Richardson, the Assistant Surgeon, a scion of the younger branch of the Annandale family, which had clung to the fortunes of the Pretender. The detachment of the Queen's Rangers, with which Dr. Richardson served, was quartered at Queenston. The young military surgeon became acquainted with the leading merchant of the place, Honorable Robert Hamilton, member of the Legislative Council, who had married Catherine Askin, daughter of Colonel John Askin, a wealthy merchant of Detroit. At his home Dr. Richardson met Miss Madeleine, another daughter of Colonel Askin, then on a visit to her sister. The visits of the handsome young Scotchman were as frequent as his military duties would permit, and the beautiful and accomplished Madeleine encouraged him in his wooing ; for we see in the records of St. Mark's church, Niagara, that " Doctor Robert Richardson, bachelor, and Madeleine Askin, spinster," were married by Reverend Robert Addison on January 24th, 1793. In July of this year a part at least of the Queen's Rangers left Queenston for Toronto, and Dr. Richardson accompanied them, leaving his wife with her sister. We learn from a letter written in French by Mrs. Richardson to her stepmother, Mrs. Askin at Detroit, that she is passing a very sad time awaiting news from Toronto, as no boat has arrived from there lately ; and that, if she could only know that Mr. Richardson was well, she would be satisfied.

While Mrs. Richardson resided at Queenston their three eldest children were born : Jane, born May 19th, 1794, baptized at Niagara, August 17th ; John, born October 4th, 1796, baptized January 5th, 1797 ; Robert, born September 10th, 1798, baptized December 30th of the same year.

In the fall of 1801 a detachment of the Queen's Rangers was ordered to Fort St. Joseph, a post on the island of the same name, near the head of Lake Huron. Dr. Richardson accompanied this force to the western post, but the prospects of providing suitable accommodation for his wife and young family in this fort were not very promising, so it was arranged that Mrs. Richardson and family should live with her father at Detroit.

In the summer of 1802 the Rangers were disbanded, and the officers and men with their wives and children, were provided with transport if they wished to return to Great Britain. Dr. Richardson remained in Canada, and was appointed surgeon to the Governor and garrison of Fort Amherstburg ; and on June 7th, 1807, he was appointed Judge of the District Court of the Western District, an office he held until his death in 1832. Here all his children were reared and educated. His eldest son John was particularly brilliant, and although he hated school he seems to have made considerable progress in Latin, French and Euclid, as well as in the ordinary branches of an English education. Unfortunately this course of instruction was abruptly cut short by the United States declaring war and by the preparations for the invasion of his native province. Much as he may have lost by his lack of schooling, no trace of such loss is perceptible in his writings. And in estimating the formative influences that produced our first novelist of romance, our first delineator of manners and customs, we must look elsewhere.

In that generation such a home and such a family as those of the Richardsons must have been peculiarly stimulating. The father, combining the strictness of the soldier, the kindness of the physician and the sternness of the judge, commanded the love and the respect, not only of his own family, but of the community. Even the redoubtable Simon Girty, the Sampson Gattie of " The Canadian Brothers," was awed into decorum at the sight of the judge. The gentler virtues and the gentler graces found their exponent in his mother. Educated at the Convent of Congregation de Notre Dame at Montreal, the foremost institution for young ladies in Canada, Madeleine Richardson, with the national pride of her race, taught her children from their earliest years to speak and write the French language. It has been said that he who knows only one language does not know any. In the learning of two languages young Richardson's mind was broadened, his observation quickened, and a nice perception cultivated—perhaps as only years of training in the class-room could have perfected. His quick eye for natural beauty, his power in vivid description and his marvellous ability in handling the sentence, are an inheritance or an acquisition from his vivacious mother.

Nor was the influence of his grandfather's home less

marked. Although a British subject, Colonel Askin had been unable, owing to large mercantile interests, to remove from Detroit to Canada till April, 1802. On the banks of the river Detroit opposite the lower end of Belle Isle, then called Hog Island, there soon rose the modest dwelling named Strabane, after the family seat in Ireland. How greatly this removal influenced young Richardson may be read in his after life. Who can doubt that this devoted British officer would impress on his youthful grandson that to live under that flag which he had served so long was worth the sacrifice of a home and a vast estate ? Here it was that Mrs. Askin used to tell the boy those thrilling stories of romance, of Detroit, of Michilimackinac, that enchanted his young imagination. None made so deep an impression as the crafty and well-conceived plans of Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawas, and his persistent efforts to capture Fort Detroit. The events of that historic siege were the most exciting episodes in a life not lacking in exciting incidents. She had been an inmate of the fort, and the lapse of time had not bedimmed one of the startling experiences of those eighteen months. Proofs of the power of this accomplished lady as a story-teller still exist. Her youthful listener even at that early age was enkindled with a desire, not to be realized till he had passed through thirty years of vicissitudes in two continents, when in 1832 he gave to the world his masterly "Wacousta."

If the home life was thus wholesome in formative influences, the community also in which he dwelt was rich in a novel and diversified life that presented itself to his daily observation at an age when the sharpest and most lasting impressions are made. No other place on the continent could boast of a floating population so varied in character and race, so rich in well-defined types of civilized and barbarous human nature. At Amherstburg there were the officers and soldiers of the garrison, dressed in brilliant uniforms, moving about with apparently few duties to perform, attracting the boyish fancy and exciting his admiration and his envy. Nor was the British officer wholly unworthy of this adoration. A scion of one of Britain's best families, he obtained promotion oftener by purchase than by proficiency gained from actual service ; fully cognizant of his own importance, here he lived in a community that fully acknowledged his superiority.

Next to the soldiers in attractiveness were the Indians that periodically repaired to the town to receive at the hands of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs their customary presents. Many a time young Richardson would wander to the shores of the Detroit to watch the large fleets of canoes in military array, heading for the camping ground of Bois Blanc island ; or as the Indians marched to the storekeeper's with a pride and haughty mien that contrasted strangely with the object of their visit, or as they engaged in various games of leaping, wrestling, ball-playing, he would follow and delight in receiving recognition from some chieftain whose acquaintance he had made before. Often, on a visit to the island camp, he would be an interested spectator of their daily habits ; it was thus that he acquired that close and accurate knowledge of Indian character and life that he afterwards so successfully used in his literary productions. His delineation of Indian character in "Wacousta" has never been equalled, even by James Fenimore Cooper himself. In "The Canadian Brothers" he gives us a description of the principal Indian chiefs who were allies of the British in the War of 1812, to be found nowhere else.

Besides the soldiers and the Indians, there were those engaged in the fur trade, now fast declining here owing to the march of civilization westward. The French-Canadian and half-breed voyageur had not wholly forsaken the Detroit ; and at times was to be seen the trader, just returned from trafficking with the Indians at their homes in the wilds of the interior, and in dress or complexion scarcely distinguishable from the Indians themselves—in some cases not degenerate successors of the *coureurs de boit* of the French period.

It was among such varied surroundings, then, that Richardson must have accumulated almost all the material that he used so effectively in history, poem or novel. The scenes of his boyhood are the favorite setting for his characters ; and never after his boyhood had he the opportunity for a lengthened stay in those beloved haunts.

The news of the declaration of war against Great Britain reached Amherstburg, and awoke this frontier garrison from its monotonous routine of regular work. The militia were called out. The marine department became active in fitting out trading schooners and small

gunboats for the purpose of defending from invasion the western district. The academic life of John Richardson was brought suddenly to a close. Hull's army had appeared on its march to Detroit, whence as a base it was to invade the land of a contented and happy people, guiltless of wrong to the United States. All the martial spirit of his ancestors was roused in John Richardson, and at the tender age of fifteen he resolved to fight in defence of his native land.

Through the influence of his father, and his grandfather Askin, he was appointed a gentleman volunteer on the strength of the 41st Regiment, a detachment of which was in garrison at Fort Amherstburg. From a District General Order we learn that " The undermentioned gentlemen are appointed as volunteers in His Majesty's regular forces, from the periods specified opposite their respective names. They will continue to do duty with the 41st Regiment until further orders.

Henry Procter, Gent., 1st July, 1812.

Alex. Wilkinson, " 1 " 1812.

John Richardson, " 9 " 1812.

By Order. Thomas Evans,
Brigade Major."

Richardson fought in every engagement in which the detachment of the 41st took part, until its disastrous defeat at Moravian town on October 5th, 1813. On this occasion he was taken prisoner, and suffered close imprisonment until released in 1814. The story of these engagements and his experiences during his captivity are fully set forth in his history of the Right Division. With the exception of the official reports of the officers commanding, his account of these engagements, and of the captivity of the prisoners, is the only one that has been written by any of the participators. In his first novel, " Ecarte," Dormer, one of the characters, and Clifford Delmaine, the hero, meet after years of separation in Paris. Dormer describes his experiences since they were schoolmates. The adventures of Dormer in the army in Canada and his imprisonment coincide closely with the actual events in this part of Richardson's career. In " The Canadian Brothers " one can gather likewise the story of the events in which the Right Division took part, and the story of the imprisonment.



From History of Freemasonry, by J. Ross Robertson, Toronto.

AMHERSTBURG, 1800.

After his return from captivity he was given a lieutenancy in the 2nd Battalion of the 8th (King's) Regiment. In June, 1815, both battalions embarked at Quebec for Ostend, to join the Duke of Wellington's army in Flanders. But Waterloo had been fought and won before they were half way across the Atlantic. As a permanent peace with France seemed to have been made, and as Britain had no need for so large a standing army, several regiments were reduced. Transferring its men fit for duty to the first battalion, the second battalion of the Eighth disbanded on the 24th of December, 1815, and its officers were placed upon half-pay. Within six months Sir Henry Torrens, then Military Secretary, procured Richardson's appointment to his own, the Second or Queen's Regiment ; and on the 24th of April, 1816, the regiment embarked at Portsmouth for the West Indies, and landed at Barbadoes on June 5th. How long he remained with the Queen's is not known, but it is probable that he was invalided home after a short term of service in that exceedingly unhealthy climate. He was subsequently transferred to the 92nd Highlanders, and was again placed on half-pay on October 1st, 1818.

For the next ten years Richardson lived the life of a literary man in London with occasional visits to Paris. He wrote sketches of West Indian and Canadian life that appeared in the periodicals of the time, and produced two of his longer works, the poem " Tecumseh " published in 1828(?), and the novel "Ecarte, or the Salons of Paris," published in 1829.

" Tecumseh," Richardson's only effort in poetry consists of four cantos of 188 stanzas of *ollava rima* ; in the first canto there are 45 stanzas, in the second 50, in the third 48 and in the fourth 45. No evidence is at hand from which we can judge how this poem was received in literary circles in England. The generation born during the Napoleonic wars would not be enraptured with martialpoems: they had experienced too many of the hardships of war. At that time the heroic deeds and statesmanlike achievements of our greatest Indian ally were unknown in Britain, and could appeal to but a limited number of readers. The poem itself is marked by a strict adherence to the conventional stanza form, with which Byron took such liberties in his Don Juan. With a few exceptions, there is marked care in the choice of words

and in the workmanship. The epic theme follows closely the historical facts and presents many opportunities for effective dramatic treatment. But perhaps the measure chosen was ill-adapted to so stirring a subject. That Richardson was not quite satisfied with his poetic effort is proved by his confining himself to prose in future.

"Ecarte," said Captain R. H. Barclay, in a letter to the author, "is assuredly an able and dreadful essay against the most insidious and ruinous of all sorts of dissipation and idleness, gaming, bad enough anywhere, but perhaps in Paris it holds its throne." Paris was then a favorite resort for many young British officers absent on leave; and Richardson, in his visits, appears to have entered fully into the gay life of that metropolis. He had an affair of honor with a French officer of Cuirassiers and probably indulged in play, but it is hardly possible that he lost heavily, got in debt and was given time to contemplate the fickleness of fortune, and form good resolutions for the future in a room in the prison he so accurately describes in "Ecarte."

This novel was published by Colburn, of London, and was well received in some quarters; but, by a strange circumstance, was doomed in so far as it might possibly bring immediate fame to the author and wealth to the publisher. Jerdan, a leading influential writer on the staff of the *Literary Gazette*, had some disagreement with Colburn, and to be revenged wrote him that he would "cut up" his next book in his review. The next book published by Colburn was "Ecarte," and Jerdan was as good as his word. This unwarranted criticism, Richardson acknowledges in "Eight Years in Canada," prevented him from writing many more works.

However, he appears to have been busy with his pen as "Wacousta" appeared in 1832. This story was published in three volumes by T. Cadell, Strand, London, and from the first met with great success. A second edition was published in the same style in 1840. It is considered his best work.

The *London Literary Gazette*, the *London Atheneum*, the *London Satirist*, the *Morning Post*, the *London Atlas* and *Miss Sheridan's Magazine* spoke in very flattering terms of the novel and the author. He was at once recognized as a powerful rival of Cooper, then at the height of his popularity in England and America.

The story is founded upon the designs of Pontiac to possess himself of the fort at Detroit. The principal characters are drawn from the actors in that historic event, and are portrayed with a marked fidelity to historical accuracy. Even Wacousta himself may have been suggested by the career of some real personage. The only feature of the story that it is possible to consider weak may be found in the incident of the capture in the St. Clair river of the schooner, having on board the survivors of the massacre at Fort Michilimackinac. Here, to cause the capture to take place in the river, the author, departing from geographical truth, makes the St. Clair a narrow stream, with the branches of the tall trees meeting in an arch overhead. **But even for this he may well plead the licence that is always granted to writers of fiction.**

The interview between Pontiac and Governor De Haldimar in the great council hall of the fort is the master-stroke of all Richardson's literary work. For dramatic power and graphic description it has not often been surpassed or even equalled in the language. As a character-sketch, unfolding on the one hand the adroit craft and subtle deceit of Pontiac with all the varied play of motives, and on the other the defiant confidence and intrepid fidelity to principle of the governor, it will compare favorably with those searching analyses of human passions to be found in the works of George Eliot.

Richardson has been accused of imitating Cooper in this novel. How closely one author may follow the style and character of another's productions and still rank as a great writer, will never be very clearly determined. The only ground for such an accusation is that both wrote stories with Indians figuring prominently in the foreground. And it is doubtful that Richardson owes more to Cooper's works than the bare suggestion that a romance dealing with the Canadian Indian would prove both popular and successful. For such a work he possessed peculiar qualifications, in power, in material and ¹¹ desire. His power had already been revealed in

"Ecarte"; his material had been gathered from the experiences of his boyhood and the stirring stories he heard from his grandmother; the desire had been enkindled thirty years before when he heard those stories by the open fireplace at Strabane.

Richardson's characters are never impossible. His Indians have all the virtues and all the vices of the greatest prototypes of the race. He was personally acquainted with Tecumseh. His grandmother had been in the fort when besieged by Pontiac. The original of Captain Erskine is no doubt his grandfather, Colonel John Askin ; Lieutenant Johnstone is probably his father's relative. Dr. Richardson belonged to the Annandale family, so did Lieutenant Johnstone ; and further to prove the identity, one of Major Richardson's half-brothers was named Johnstone Richardson, plainly showing that Johnstone was a family name. The name of Bombardier, Kitson for one of the minor characters is a reminiscence of an officer of that name in the Royal Artillery who fought with the Right Division in the War of 1812. No doubt a careful comparison of the incidents of the novel with the actual events would reveal many other similarities. This is an instance in which we must go to fiction for reliable history.

In 1834 the Spanish Ambassador to Great Britain recruited an army in that country to assist the regent, Christina, to preserve the throne of Spain for her daughter Isabella, against the forces of Don Carlos, who claimed the crown. This force, which consisted of ten regiments of 1,000 men each, was known as the " British Auxiliary Legion," and was under the command of Lieut.-General De Lacy Evans, a veteran officer who had seen active service in India and the Peninsula, at Washington and New Orleans, and as Quartermaster-General at Waterloo. Richardson was assigned a captaincy in the 2nd Regiment, which sailed from Portsmouth on board the transport Royal Tar, on July 23rd, 1835, and arrived at San Sebastian on the 27th. After a short stay here the Legion marched to Vitoria, where typhus fever, carried off about 700 men and 40 officers. The soldierly qualities and executive ability of Richardson were recognized by his being appointed commandant of Vitoria ; but on January 30th, 1836, he was stricken down with the prevailing malady. His splendid physique, however, enabled him to combat the disease, and he rose from his bed on the 17th of March. During his illness intrigue and jealousy were at work, and he was displaced on the staff by a relative of the Lieut.-General ; and to add to his troubles his regiment and the 5th were broken up,

but he was appointed senior captain in the 6th (Scotch Grenadiers). To recuperate, Richardson applied for and received two months' leave of absence to visit England. He left Vitoria in April and proceeded to the coast, but before he had an opportunity to embark for England the Legion marched to the attack of San Sebastian, now occupied by the Carlists. Although on sick leave, Richardson, in his anxiety to be of assistance, volunteered his services on the staff. His offer was refused, and, enfeebled as he was, he led his own company of the 6th Regiment in the battle of the 5th of May.

An account of this battle appears in his memoirs. On the 11th he left Spain for London by way of Paris. While in Spain he kept a journal which he was anxious to publish, as it would in a measure be an answer to the attacks and aspersions made against the character and actions of the Legion by the persons and the press that opposed interference with the internal affairs of a foreign nation.

While in London a Gazette appeared which contained a list of the names of officers decorated for their conduct in the action of May 5th. Richardson's name did not appear, and, to add to his disappointment, he was mortified to find in the announcement that a junior officer had been promoted to a majority over his head. In his anger he wrote an addition to the preface of his book, " Movements of the British Legion," in which he set forth his claims, and in doing so reflected somewhat on the conduct of the other officers. When his wrath had subsided he recalled the irritating paragraphs and substituted others less incisive ; but he had already sent a copy of the preface to the Lieut.-General, and had written a private letter to the military secretary in which was conveyed a mild threat that some officers had honors to which they were not entitled. Meanwhile Richardson started for Spain and at once carried out his plans against the Lieut.-General and other officers, which resulted in the appointment of a court of inquiry to investigate and report on the whole affair.

On the 29th of June, just one day before the assembling of the court, his year of service having expired, he tendered his resignation and signified his retirement from the service. He therefore appeared before the commission, not as an officer of the Legion, but as a

private citizen, and at the investigation his superior talents, aided by the justice of his cause, enabled him to wring from a hostile court a verdict that exonerated him in every particular. After the announcement of the verdict the Lieut.-General intimated to Richardson that he would like to make reparation for the injury that had been done him. Consequently it was arranged that his resignation should be withdrawn. On this being done Richardson appeared in general orders as promoted to a vacant majority which was dated May 13th, and at the same time was transferred from the 6th Scotch to the 4th Queen's Own Fusiliers. With this regiment Major Richardson served till the 19th of August, being in command of it at an engagement at the " Heights of Passages " on July 30th, 1836. Soon after, he returned to England.

To Major Richardson's experiences in Spain we owe the existence of three of his works. " Movements of the British Legion," referred to before, recounts in the form of a journal the operations from their arrival at San Sebastian, July 27th, 1835, till the attack on the same stronghold, May 5th, 1836. The second edition, published in 1837, contains also the narrative to the close of March, 1837. The book in its first edition is a faithful account of the events of the campaign, and is a worthy tribute to the military capacity of Lieutenant-General De Lacy Evans, the commander-in-chief. But the failure of that officer to promote Richardson to a majority to which he was entitled by seniority, led to a bitter personal quarrel with the Lieutenant-General, who does not seem to have been averse to showing a desire for revenge on the Major, who had worsted him before the Court of Inquiry. As De Lacy Evans had estranged his officers, had infringed the rules of service and had secured a reputation for delay and indecision, he was not invulnerable, and Richardson was always a merciless assailant. Accordingly, in the second part of the second edition, the author seldom loses an opportunity of attributing every failure or disaster to the incapacity of the commander.- As a fact, only ten of the fifty experienced officers who had originally embarked in the cause chose to remain. It was easy for the officers to withdraw from the service, but with the rank and file it was very different. They had to stay till their term of

service expired, and when this time came their pay was in arrears and no passage to England was to be got. Some re-enlisted, others in their desperation joined the Carlists. Their plight was a melancholy one. Neglected by their native country and cast off without pay by the nation they served, the survivors managed to reach Great Britain in a penniless condition, deplorable examples of the neglect usually shown to the private soldier when the nation no longer requires his services.

The affairs of Spain were made the subject of a debate in the British House of Commons on the motion of Sir Henry Hardinge. In this debate the opportunity was seized by O'Connell and some other members to attack Richardson, but his character and conduct were clearly vindicated. His cause was championed by Captain Boldero and Sir Henry Hardinge, the proposer of the motion. It would be exceedingly unfair even to hint that anything but justice could influence a man of the integrity and noble character of Sir Henry Hardinge, but his interest in Richardson in this connection may have arisen from his kindly remembrance of Richardson's father when they served in the same regiment. Sir Henry Hardinge began that military career which shone so brilliantly at Albuera and at Ferozshuhr, as an ensign in the Queen's Rangers in 1798 in Upper Canada, when Dr. Richardson was assistant surgeon of the same corps.

No better example of the appreciation of the subtleties of language can be found than in the volume, " Movements of the British Legion." At p. 162, in discussing the unhealthy and uncomfortable condition of the hospitals at Vitoria, Richardson had said :

" Things are said to have been better managed in Portugal under Mr. Alcock, who is *second* in rank of the Medical Department here." Mr. Alcock, considering that he had been complimented at the expense of his chief, wrote to the author, asking that the statement be amended or omitted in any future edition. Richardson replied, begging him " to consider it, however, as one of the typographical errors, and that ' said ' should be in italics, not ' second.' You cannot fail to observe that this alteration will give a totally distinct reading to the passage." This *amende honorable* has something so genuinely clever about it that it deserves this special notice. It is scarcely paralleled even by Lord Robert Cecil's

famous apology to Mr. Gladstone as related by Justin McCarthy.

Richardson's second work on the affairs in Spain entitled " Personal Memoirs of Major Richardson," was published in Montreal in 1838. Events, that will be referred to presently, caused him to come to Canada in that year ; hence its appearance in this country. In this volume the injustice that he had suffered is submitted to the public. The documentary evidence adduced clearly shows that he pursued the only course consistent with honor and dignity. As he himself says, p.) 144

" By the cold and the calculating—by the selfish and the prudent—I shall no doubt be considered as having adopted a course more chivalrous than wise in the uniform opposition I have shown to the various measures of oppression—so unworthily—so ignobly arrayed against me. By those, however, of high honour—of proud and independent feeling—by those who are incapable of sacrificing the approval of the inward man to mere considerations of personal interests and expediency, I shall be judged in a nobler spirit. *They*, at least, will admit, that in adopting the line of conduct unfolded in the pages of this brief and local memoir, I have studied that which was most befitting an honourable mind. As I have had elsewhere reason to observe, never did a more cruel system of injustice seek to work its slow and sinuous course beneath the mantle of liberalism. Every engine of his power had been put in motion by General Evans, to accomplish the ruin of an officer, who had in no other way offended than by refusing tamely to submit—firstly, to his injustice secondly, to his oppression, and that the utter overthrow of such officer has not been accomplished, is attributable, not to any forbearance on the part of his persecutor, but to his own innate integrity and right."

His third work was a satire, not issued, however, in book form, but as a serial in THE NEW ERA OR CANADIAN CHRONICLE, a paper published by Richardson in Brockville in 1841 and 1842. Theodore Hook in his last volume had transferred his hero, Jack Brag, to the staff of De Lacy Evans in Spain as Acting Assistant Deputy-Deputy Assistant Commissary General. Richardson saw his opportunity and took Hook's hero successfully in hand. Hook was pleased with the continuation of his satire and made an effort to secure a publisher for it.

He went to Colburn and to Bentley, but they declined to accept it as they considered the delineation of the characters too faithful a reflection of the originals, and the strictures on the Radicals at Westminster too severe.

In 1837 the political affairs of the Canadas caused no little alarm to the British Government of the day. Richardson, eager again to see active service, more particularly in defence of his native land, against those who would have robbed Britain of her fairest colony, embarked at London on the 18th of February, 1838, for Canada, by way of New York. He was accompanied by his wife, a member of a family in Essex, whom he had married about the year 1830. Her family name is not recorded that I have seen, and a diligent inquiry among Richardson's relatives, who knew her, has proved fruitless in the matter. All, however, agree in saying that she was accomplished, talented, and possessed of some literary ability, and that they were devotedly attached to each other.

While waiting in New York for four days Richardson met the Earl of Gosford and Sir Francis Bond Head, who had lately arrived from the Canadas on their way to England. He had a letter of introduction from Lord Glenelg, Colonial Secretary, to Sir Francis, in which was expressed the desire that some official position should be given him in his native province. Sir Francis was so concerned and agitated, probably through fear that violence might be done him by some sympathizers with the rebels in Canada, that after reading the letter he returned it to the Major unsealed, with a request to present it with his compliments to his successor, Sir George Arthur.

On the 29th of March he went by boat to Albany, thence by railroad to Utica, then by coach through Auburn, Geneva, Rochester and Lockport to Lewiston, where he arrived on Wednesday, the 3rd of April. The mingled feelings with which he viewed his native village of Queenston, a spot hallowed with so many recollections, are well described at the close of the second chapter of his " Eight Years in Canada."

" We reached Lewiston a few miles below the Falls of Niagara about 6 o'clock ; and from that point beheld, for the first time since my return to the country and in its most interesting aspect, the Canadian shore. Opposite to Lewiston is the small village of Queenston, and overhanging the latter, the heights on which my early friend

and military patron—the warrior beneath whose bright example my young heart had been trained to a love of heroism, and who had procured me my first commission in the service—had perished in the noble but unequal conflict with a foe invading almost from the spot on which I stood. More than five-and-twenty years had gone by, but the memory of the departed Brock lived as vividly in the hearts of a grateful people as it had in the early days of his fall ; and in the monument which crowned the height, and which no ruffian hand had yet attempted to desecrate, was evidenced the strong and praiseworthy desire to perpetuate a memory as honored as it was loved. This moment was to me particularly exciting, for it brought with it the stirring reminiscences of the camp, and caused me to revert to many a trying scene in which my younger days had been passed. Since that period I had numbered a good many years, and had experienced in other climes a more than ordinary portion of the vicissitudes of human life ; but not one of these had the freshness and warmth of recollection of my earlier services in America, in which (independently of the fact of my having been present at the capture of Detroit, under the gallant soldier whose bones reposed beneath the monument on which my gaze was rivetted, as if through the influence of an irresistible fascination) I had been present in five general engagements, and twelve months a prisoner of war with the enemy before attaining my seventeenth year. These were certainly not ' piping times of peace,' and I must be pardoned the egotism of incidentally alluding to them."

Before leaving London, Richardson had been entrusted with the important duty of furnishing political information to the London *Times*. In availing itself of the services of a writer so singularly competent and eligible as Richardson, the foremost of English dailies showed both enterprise and sagacity. In those times it was well to have sources of information on what was taking place in the Canadas, other than the official despatches of the governors and the news letters appearing in the United States press. Richardson began at once to study the political situation in Upper Canada. His opportunities for obtaining information were excellent. His brother Charles, with whom he lived at Niagara, represented that town in the Legislative

Assembly of Upper Canada, and through him Richardson could learn without reserve the state of affairs in the country, and get a description of the events that led up to armed resistance to the Government. He soon began his journey to Quebec to meet Lord Durham on his arrival. While in Toronto he called on and was entertained by Sir George Arthur, and by his own old comrades in arms when Detroit was taken, the Honorable John Beverley Robinson, then Chief Justice, and Colonel S. P. Jarvis, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs. In Montreal he found out the feeling in the province of Lower Canada. His observations in Canada up to this time are embodied in two letters published in the *Times*, one written from Niagara and the other from Montreal, and signed Inquisitor. On his arrival at Quebec he called upon the governor, and was received by him with every mark of respect. He was invited to dine at the Castle of St. Lewis with a brilliant assemblage. Lord Durham made him the special object of his attention, and during the course of a long conversation he unfolded in their entirety all his plans and projects for the government of the colony. Richardson was convinced that these plans were not only the best for the country, but perhaps the only ones that would harmonize the various conflicting interests arrayed in arms against each other. If Richardson was impressed by the honesty and integrity of Lord Durham, and his thorough grasp of the political situation, on the other hand it is merely just to record that he possessed the confidence of that nobleman to the fullest extent.

By birth and training Richardson was personally opposed to the general policy represented by the Melbourne administration. He was the trusted correspondent of a paper that had assailed that administration with a bitterness rarely exhibited by any journal. His salary of £300 and travelling expenses along with his half-pay would have enabled him to live in affluence. Moreover, his work was congenial, and no favor that Lord Durham or any succeeding governor might grant could offer more attractions to a man of Richardson's temperament than his present employment. Accordingly every motive and every prejudice of worldly wisdom would have led an ordinary man into opposition to the governor, but it is very gratifying to know that Richardson viewed the affairs of Canada with notable impartiality, which leaves

no doubt of his patriotism and of a marked disregard of any selfish interests. Richardson was convinced that Lord Durham would do for the colony what no other governor had ever attempted in respect to its permanent interests. He realized the wisdom of his policy and grasped the spirit of his plans for the future. Time has already vindicated the action of the governor, and it must in all fairness grant to Richardson credit and honor for the personal sacrifices he made in advocating the cause that has proved so beneficial to British North America. Unfortunately for him the "mighty engine" he was in Canada to represent did not approve his course. The editor did not see fit to publish all his letters, and informed him that his connection with that journal would cease at the termination of his year's engagement. It would seem that a paper that delegates to itself the high position of directing the policy of a great nation should place accuracy of information before every other consideration; that it should have placed more confidence in the opinions of its correspondent than upon its party traditions. The awakening was too sudden for most Englishmen to see clearly. The many reforms that had been gained in England within a half-dozen years were alarming to one party, and the other party were not prepared to support their official in his advanced ideas of granting self-government to the colonies. It is therefore too much to expect that a paper like the *Times* could change its colonial policy so quickly. The disavowal of Richardson by the *Times* enlisted the sympathy of Lord Durham, himself suffering from a more cruel desertion. In a letter to Richardson he says:

"It is indeed most disgusting to see such proofs of malignity in those who ought to value truth and fair dealing as the best means of informing the public of which they profess to be the best possible instructors.' Your course has been that of a man of honor and integrity, and you can hardly regret the dissolution of a connection which it appears could only have been preserved by the sacrifice on your part of truth and justice —by the *suppressio veil*, if not the *assertio*

If subsequent events had not clearly proved that the course adopted by Richardson was the proper one, this letter is sufficient exoneration. Lord Durham's policy and his acts while in Canada are fully set forth in chap-

ters III., IV. and V. of Richardson's "Eight Years in Canada."

On November 2nd, 1838, the day after Lord Durham embarked for England, Richardson left Quebec to join his friends at Niagara. At Kingston he was much impressed by a visit to Von Schoultz, the "patriot" leader recently captured at the Windmill at Prescott. While he was in Toronto the news of the defeat of the brigand invaders at Windsor by Col. Prince was received, and Sir George Arthur employed Richardson to carry the despatches of that event to Sir John Colborne at Montreal, but was anticipated by half an hour by an express from Colonel Dundas at Kingston, to whom also he had carried a despatch of the affair. This duty being performed he joined his wife at Niagara.

On his way to Quebec during the spring of this year (1838), Richardson took the earliest occasion to settle an affair with Colonel Chichester, for which no opportunity offered while at San Sebastian in Spain. It appears that Colonel Chichester seconded a motion to expel Richardson from the San Sebastian club. On learning the truth of the matter Colonel Kirby, the proposer of the motion, apologized to Richardson in England. Richardson now required a similar apology from Colonel Chichester, who granted it. All the documents that were necessary were now in his possession, consequently his "Personal Memoirs" were published this year.

During the winter he made preparations to take up his residence at Amherstburg. On his arrival there he is disappointed in the place. The charms that it possessed in his youth have all departed. No fleet of government vessels now make the little harbor their home. No Indian watchfires add a picturesqueness to the beautiful island opposite the town. No bands of Indians now come there to sit in solemn council or to receive their annual presents. And where in other days a half regiment of regulars and a battery of artillery enlivened the town, now, but a single company remains, to garrison a fort,---but a mere shadow of its former greatness.

Although the town appeared to have every mark of decay, yet Richardson could not hire a vacant house. The quartering of the regulars and militia there in consequence of the rebellion, had increased the population so quickly that all the houses were occupied. He then

went to Sandwich, where he made his home in a small brick house " gable end to the street." The house still stands about two yards south of St. John's Church, and but for a covering of bright red paint and the addition of a verandah in front, presents the same appearance as 60 years ago. It was pointed out to me last summer by Mr. Thomas McKee, the genial County Clerk of Essex, who remembered Richardson well and had many interesting stories to relate of him. It was in this house that the finishing touches were put upon " The Canadian Brothers," a sequel to " Wacousta." Some chapters of this novel had appeared in " The Literary Garland," a magazine that had been started in December, 1838, in Montreal. One of these contributions was entitled " Jeremiah Desborough," and the other " The Settler or the Prophecy Fulfilled."

Having received the encouragement of 250 subscriptions among the military and the people of Canada, Richardson resolved to publish the sequel to " Wacousta " and went to Montreal to see the work through the press. The registration notice of this novel bears the date, January 2nd, 1840. It was published in two volumes in the original edition, and was dedicated to Sir John Harvey, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick. The tale is an historic one and deals with the War of 1812 on the Detroit frontier. In a measure, the work is autobiographical and covers the same period as that of his history of the war. General Brock, Colonel Procter, Captain Barclay, Tecumseh, Walk-in-the-Water, Split-Log and Round-head appear in the work under their proper names. Gerald and Henry Grantham, the Canadian Brothers, are Major Richardson and his favorite brother Robert. Simon Girty appears as Sampson Gattie and the description of this personage in the book is the best ever written. St. Julian is Colonel St. George, Cranstoun is Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel Short, and Middlemore, Lieutenant Gordon. The other officers all have places in the narrative, but to avoid a multiplicity of characters one personage in the story often represents two or more in the real events. For instance, Gerald Grantham is made to act the parts of Lieutenant Rolette, Lieutenant Irvine and Midshipman Robert Richardson. Some anachronisms occur for which the author prepares us in the preface. Captain Barclay and General Brock meet at Amherstburg

before the fall of Detroit and the battle of Queenston Heights is not fought until October, 1813. The story in many respects is not the equal of " Wacousta." The purely fictitious characters are not so well drawn in " The Canadian Brothers," while the historical ones are perhaps more faithfully pictured. The weakest part is the attempt to make it a sequel. Jeremiah Desborough, the villain of the novel, is a character without a purpose. He is but an intruder in the insignificant place he has in the tale.

When Richardson knows the type of man he is describing; we get a picture that delights us by the boldness and clearness of the delineation of every phase of his character ; but when he does not know him the portrayal is a palpable failure. He found out, too late to correct it in the first edition, that the Scotch dialect he makes Cranstoun use is very imperfect. In the second edition, published in New York in 1851, in one volume, under the author's supervision, this imperfection just pointed out does not occur.

After the publication of " The Canadian Brothers," Richardson made preparations to start for his home in Sandwich. He decided to travel by means of his own equipage, a method affording greater freedom and more ease and convenience. He therefore purchased a sleigh, a team of spirited French-Canadian ponies, and suitable harness and robes, and engaged a servant to care for the ponies at all stopping places. He set out from Montreal during the last days of February. In Cornwall he stayed some days, rehearsing old times with Judge G. S. Jarvis, an old fellow-officer of 8th (King's). His fondness for being entertained by his old friends on the way, and an accident in the early part of the journey, delayed him, and by the time Brockville was reached it was impossible to go farther by sleigh.

While waiting here some days to make the necessary changes to travel by waggon, he was induced to purchase a piece of land, beautifully situated on the high banks of the St. Lawrence, on which were a good house, a barn and other outbuildings. The journey, which occupied about two months, the greater part of which time was spent in visiting at Kingston, Toronto and London, ended about the last of April.

Preparations were made for the return trip to his " farm " in Brockville. Before the time for starting

came round, a grand demonstration was announced, which was to be held at Fort Meigs by the Whigs of Ohio in honor of their candidate for the Presidency of the United States. The place was appropriately chosen, as it was on the Miami that General Harrison won the military renown associated with his name, which contributed not a little to his success at the coming election. Richardson accepted an invitation from his friends at Detroit to be present, and to visit the place where he also had seen some hard fighting against the general whose exploits his party were now commemorating.

The trip to Brockville was begun in the last week in June. The ponies and waggon were again used, and by this picturesque and delightful method he and his wife reached Brockville in the first week in July. For some weeks his time was occupied in superintending the renovation of the house and the improvement of the grounds. But after this work was completed he became somewhat melancholy, a feeling that quite naturally follows when a person who has led a wandering life becomes a fixture in a place.

At this time he appears to have had no settled plans for the future. No event appears to have suggested itself as suitable for weaving into a romantic story. One alluring prospect seems to have taken possession of his very being. He hoped to be appointed to some office, in the gift of the Governor and his Council, which would enable him to live comfortably the rest of his days and to devote his leisure to literary work. He had strong and reasonable claims for such a position upon the government of Canada. His qualifications for many positions in the gift of the government were of the highest order.

He was dignified in bearing and a thorough gentleman. He spoke English and French with equal fluency. His military training had specially fitted him to perform the routine duties of a public officer with promptness and attention to detail, necessary acquirements in a public official. He had done not a little for Canada. He fought in her defence at a time when she was most in need of assistance.

He was for a year a prisoner of war, and for a part of that period suffered close imprisonment while two governments deliberated whether a certain number of their prisoners should or should not suffer death. When internal dissensions

threatened again to make his native country the easy prey of a foreign power, he hastened to her shores to fight once more for British connection, if it were necessary. When he came to Canada in 1838 he represented the most powerful newspaper in the Empire. Through the medium of that paper he endeavored to teach the public of Great Britain that the unity of the Empire depended upon the granting of Responsible Government to the Canadian people. For daring to express these views he was relieved of his position on the paper. As he had not a sufficient income to support himself and his wife it became necessary for him to seek some employment. In this extremity it was quite natural for him to turn, for the aid he required, to those he had served so conscientiously and so faithfully. Lord Durham, cognizant of his devotion to the cause of Responsible Government and of the effort Richardson had made to shield him from the storm about to break about his devoted head, promised to exert himself in his behalf. The early death of that nobleman left him without any hope of reward from that source.

The social conditions of Brockville in 1840 were in marked contrast to the refinement and culture of the large cities of Europe ; and it is not difficult for one to believe that Richardson felt himself imprisoned. Of this he says : " There were moments when the idea of being buried alive, as it were, in this spot, without a possibility, perhaps, of again seeing the beautiful fields and magnificent cities, and mixing in the polished circles of Europe, and of matchless England in particular, came like a blighting cloud upon my thoughts, and filled me with a despondency no effort of my own could shake off."

He, however, felt the necessity of self-exertion. Some of his friends were confident that if a newspaper were started in Brockville, it would prove a profitable investment. He resolved to adopt their advice. His talents and tastes were literary and a periodical seemed to offer the best means of supporting the cause he had so much taken to heart.

His judgment in the matter was the more easily influenced in favor of the suggestion because he thought the dawn of a new order of things would quicken the literary activity of the colony.

Type, presses and compositors were necessary for the venture, and to obtain these Richardson went to New

York. While transacting the business that brought him to that city he received marked attention from several persons who had been charmed and delighted by reading his works. In him they found a person who could accept their homage with that ease and grace which marked the man whose gentility and decorum had been fashioned in the refined company of Europe.

His business having been completed, he started for home, and arrived there on the last day of the year 1840. In the early part of June of the following year the necessary machinery for printing arrived in Brockville, and the first issue of the paper was published. It was named **THE NEW ERA** or **CANADIAN CHRONICLE**, a title suggestive of the political change that Lord Sydenham came to Canada to introduce, and which Lord Durham had advised as a solution of the political problem. The paper was a weekly, and the subscription price was four dollars for a year. The leading articles and the other matter were all from the pen of the editor. No paying advertisements or local topics found a place in its columns. His " Jack Brag in Spain " and " Recollections of the West Indies " were serials that ran through several issues. While the paper was interesting and entertaining, it had not that variety and freshness which would secure and retain a long list of paying subscribers at four dollars a year. Consequently, the editor became involved financially, and the paper was on the verge of suspension. Another brave effort, however, was made to reanimate it by appealing to the patriotism of the Canadian people. Richardson entertained the suggestion of his military comrades in the last war, now in high positions in the country, to write a history of the War of 1812. Although the immediate object was to make money, there was a higher motive that made Richardson eager to undertake the task. The various accounts of that war which had as yet found general circulation in Upper Canada were those contained in United States text-books, which were used almost exclusively in the schools of the province. The whole object of the historians of the United States during the first half of the 19th century seemed to be to create in the minds of their readers a hatred of everything British. A devotion to truth in historical writing, so pretty generally in evidence at the present day among her historians,

had not as yet been found acceptable to American readers or profitable to American historians.

Richardson was qualified in a special manner for such an undertaking. He had been an active participator in all the engagements in which the Right Division of the Canadian army had taken part. He had promised of assistance from several of his countrymen who had seen active service in the several campaigns. Sir John Harvey, then Governor of Newfoundland, promised to put at his disposal his personal narrative of the campaigns of 1813 and 1814. His experience in the several capacities of the service from gentleman volunteer to Major in command of a battalion in action, would enable him to comment intelligently on the skirmishes, battles and strategical evolutions of the combatants. **The** honesty and fairness he had shown in his letters on Lord Durham's administration was a guarantee that his prejudices would not lead him to give any but an impartial treatment of the incidents of the struggle.

The History of the War was to be written in Three Series. The first was to contain " A Narrative of the Operations of the Right Division," and was to be published serially in **THE NEW ERA**. The first instalment appeared in the first number of the second volume, which was issued on March 2nd, 1842. The paper appeared at intervals that varied from a week to two weeks ; and in fourteen numbers, the last of which appeared on July 15th, 1842, the Narrative was completed. Four more numbers were published in which was reprinted his poem " Tecumseh " ; the paper ceasing with the 18th number on August 19th, 1842.

The Narrative was set up in wide columns in **THE NEW ERA** and by simply dividing the matter into pages, the work could be printed in book form. The history was dedicated to the United Legislature of Canada, to which Richardson applied for financial aid to reimburse him for his expenditure on the First Series and to enable him to complete the work. His petition was introduced and read by Sir Allan MacNab, and approved by the House, only one member dissenting. In consequence ,.250 was voted by the Assembly and paid to Richardson.

The appeal to the people of Canada to subscribe for **THE NEW ERA**, because the history of the War of 1812 was to appear in its columns, was not responded to by

any large increase in the circulation. To bring the history generally before the people the author made an effort to get the district councils to recommend it for use in the schools within their boundaries. Johnstown district voted to purchase copies to be used in their schools, but this vote was afterwards rescinded because the council had no power to vote money for that purpose. No other council took any action in the matter. The booksellers of the province with whom it had been placed on sale had disposed of about thirty copies, and in Kingston, the capital of the Province, all that a copy would fetch at auction was seven and one-half pence currency. The poor reception accorded the First Series of the History of the War caused the author to postpone the preparation of the other parts ; and as the prospect never became more promising during his lifetime the history was not completed. It is of some interest to know that this publication was the third for which a copyright was granted by the old Province of Canada.

THE NZW ERA supported in a general way the principle of Responsible Government and the " cabinet " that was administering the government ; but Richardson, like many others, became displeased because Sir Charles Bagot, a Conservative, had selected as his advisers persons belonging to both parties and had shown a similar impartiality in his appointments to office. Richardson may have had personal as well as public reasons for his action. However, he resolved to oppose the Ministry and to do so started at Kingston a paper called the CANADIAN LOYALIST AND SPIRIT OF 1812. The political articles that appeared were very severe upon the members of the Lafontaine-Baldwin Ministry ; Mr. Francis Hincks getting more than his share. The appointment to office of " men of more than questionable loyalty—of unmasked traitors and rebels—over the honest and self-sacrificing defender of the rights of the British Crown " was the " prominent ground on which the political principles of the CANADIAN LOYALIST were based." The paper fulfilled its mission. Sir Charles Metcalfe as Governor, maintained that he might appoint officials without consulting his Council ; disagreement followed, and all his executive except Mr. Daly resigned. The CANADIAN LOYALIST which was started at the beginning of 1843 was discontinued about the middle of the year 1844.

Parliament met next in Montreal on July 1st and during the session Richardson was as active as ever in his support of Sir Charles Metcalfe ; and when the House was dissolved both parties made preparations for the coming struggle. In the elections that followed, the Conservatives had a majority. Richardson now expected some reward for the support he had given the party in power. The canals of Canada were being built and a system of police was instituted by the government to prevent disturbances of the peace. The office of Superintendent of Police on the Welland Canal, which was being enlarged, became vacant, and Richardson was appointed to the office by Lord Metcalfe on May 10th, 1845. The pay was only ten shillings a day, but he hoped for something better and entered on his duties with alacrity. To add to the smartness of the force he induced the men to purchase uniforms to be paid for in six equal instalments, he in the meantime advancing the pay for them. The force was disbanded on January 31st, 1846, on seven days' notice, and at that time there was due the Superintendent from the men for equipment X51. At the coming session of Parliament Richardson petitioned the House, complaining of the sudden dismissal of himself and the force, and praying compensation for losses sustained and for clothing for the force. The petition was referred by the House to a select Committee which reported that : An allowance for clothing had been made to the force at Lachine and Beauharnois ; that they saw no reason why it should be withheld from the petitioner ; that injustice had been done him by the abrupt dismissal ; that he and the men be allowed a gratuity ; and that he had discharged his responsible duties in a satisfactory and creditable manner. When the question upon the motion, to concur in the report of Committee, was put in the House the motion was negatived. It is very difficult for one at this distance of time to understand how the Legislature could make a distinction between the officials on the Welland Canal and those on the Lachine Canal. One thing is certain, the verdict of the House was not based upon the evidence as it appears in its Journals.

While Superintendent of Police, Richardson suffered the loss of his wife, who died at St. Catharines on the 16th of August, 1845. Her remains were interred in the Butler burial ground, near Niagara, where his eldest

sister Jane and other relatives were buried. The inscription on the headstone that he erected to mark her grave is unique. Without indicating the lines or forms of letters the following is the order of the words :—" Here Reposes, Maria Caroline, the Generous-Hearted, High-Souled, Talented and Deeply-Lamented Wife of Major Richardson, Knight of the Military Order of Saint Ferdinand, First Class, and Superintendent of Police on the Welland Canal during the Administration of Lord Metcalfe. This Matchless Wife and This (illegible) Exceeding Grief of Her Faithfully Attached Husband after a few days' illness at St. Catharines on the 16th August, 1845, at the age of 37 years."

After being relieved of the duties of Superintendent of Police, Richardson prepared for publication " Eight Years in Canada," an exceedingly well-written description of his career in Canada from 1838 till March, 1847. The administrations of Lord Durham, Lord Sydenham, Sir Charles Bagot and Lord Metcalfe are very fully treated ; it is the only contemporary history we have of this transitional period, and in subsequent histories of this epoch he is very freely quoted. Although written after the position he filled had been abolished, and after he had abandoned all hope of receiving any office from the government, it exhibits a fairness one would scarcely expect from a person so unjustly used. Sir Charles Bagot and the Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry are severely handled, while the administration of Lord Metcalfe is eloquently praised. In defending the course of the latter he takes a position beside perhaps the greatest controversial writer of Canada, Reverend Egerton Ryerson.

In 1847 (the book bears the date 1848) Richardson entered for copyright a sequel to his " Eight Years in Canada," called " The Guards in Canada or the Point of Honor." In it the story is told of how differences were settled by duels if an apology was not forthcoming. Richardson never allowed an insult tendered him to pass unnoticed. The person offending would apologize if the insult was offered through some misunderstanding, or would meet him. His first duel was in Paris. I have no record of any being fought in England. In Canada he had several affairs: there is living yet in Ontario a person holding an honored and exalted position who, when a mere boy, acted, much against his will, as a second for Major

Richardson in a matter, which happily was settled through the seconds by asking mutual apologies from the prin-

ce " The Guards in Canada " was the last of Richardson's works published in Canada under his direction. The book was written to vindicate his character for courage in an affair with a resident of Montreal, and incidentally it was a setting in order of his Canadian affairs before taking up his residence in New York, a step he had contemplated for some time.

He did not leave his native province without just cause. He had tried by every honorable means to gain a livelihood among the people he loved best. He squandered his accumulations and all that he had derived from the sale of his best works in the hope that his countrymen would appreciate his efforts. His historical works, thoroughly patriotic in tone and written in a bright vivacious style, were not bought in Canada. In all probability they were as generally read here as any novels or histories of the time. The lack of interest in literature in Canada was general. Education was at a low-water mark, among the great mass of the population, who even as late as the middle of the century felt too keenly the struggle for existence. The intellectual energies of the few, who were educated, were directed into political channels ; and the unsettled conditions of our government absorbed all their time, leaving no leisure for those avocations that exercise their benign influence in refining the politics of the Motherland. Even the clergy were drawn into the political whirlpool. The great founder of the educational system of Ontario, Rev. Egerton Ryerson, had been appointed to office only in 1844, and the fruits of his labors were not to be seen for some years. He also was engaged before 1844 in the most remarkable political controversy in the history of

Richardson's case was not an isolated one by any means. Other writers had started periodicals and magazines, Canadian in sentiment, of an undoubtedly high literary character, and were as hopeful of receiving support as Richardson ever was, but these all were compelled to stop after a few numbers were published. Writers in those days did missionary work and if they did not receive the reward they hoped for, they sow

seed that in some cases fell on good ground. We are beginning to reap the benefit of their self-sacrificing labors and if we are in the morning of a brighter and a more appreciative day, a large share of credit for these hopeful conditions must be attributed to the earlier workers in this unprofitable and unfruitful field.

In New York Richardson was engaged in preparing new editions of his published novels and in writing others. "Hardscrabble or the Fall of Chicago" was published in New York in 1850 or before that year, since it is named on the title page of "Wacousta" published in 1851; but as I have not seen a copy except the one in my library, published in 1888, I cannot give any further information regarding the first edition. The story is much shorter than the author's previous ones and may be considered weak when compared with "Wacousta." The scene is laid at Fort Dearborn on the Chicago river in the year 1812. In all probability Richardson got the facts for the story from a pamphlet published in 1844, which described the events as seen by an actor in them. Two or three surprises and an affair of love are introduced by means of a slight change in the order of events. The names of the officers at the fort are but transparently disguised in the romance. Captain Heald, Lieut. Helm, Ensign Ronan and Surgeon Von Voorhees, appear as Captain Headley, Lieut. Elmsley, Ensign Ronayne and Surgeon Von Vottenberg in the story. In 1852 a work by Major Richardson entitled "Waunangee or the Massacre of Chicago" was published. I have not been able to see a copy of this work **but in** all probability it is either the same as "Hardscrabble," or a sequel to it. The leading Indian character of the historical narrative is Naunongee, who is called Waunangee in the novel; accordingly, the name seems to point to some connection with this romance. As a title "Waunangee" would certainly be both more appropriate and more attractive than "Hardscrabble." "Wacousta" and "Ecarte" were revised by the author and published in cheap octavo form, the former by Robert M. De Witt and the latter by Dewitt and Davenport in 1851. In the same year a revised edition of "The Canadian Brothers" appeared under the name "Matilda Montgomerie," the heroine of the story. It will be readily

seen that it would not be politic for the author to issue a story in New York entitled "The Canadian Brothers," even if the publishers gave their assent. "Matilda Montgomerie" is much improved in the revision. The Scotch dialect, which Richardson himself acknowledges to be so imperfect, he omits in this edition. Sampson Gattie now appears under his proper name, Simon Girty. But the most marked change from the first edition is the suppression of the several passages in which the author had used all his eloquence to sound the praises of the British in the numerically unequal struggle they had been called upon to maintain. Notable instances are the omission of all reference to Col. Harvey's night attack at Stoney Creek and to the details of the victory at Queens-ton Heights. It is very interesting to compare the two editions and to notice the passages that are suppressed or modified, evidently to suit the tastes of his new audience.

His other works were "Westbrook, or the Outlaw," and "The Monk Knight of St. John." As I have not seen either of these books I cannot give any facts relating to them, except what are gleaned from other bibliographies. "Westbrook" is mentioned by Morgan, but the date of publication is not given. Dr. L. B. Horning, of Victoria University, Toronto, suspects "that this 'Westbrook' is only 'Wacousta' with another name." I think this scarcely possible. "Wacousta" was the most popular of Richardson's works, and the name had gained a vogue that had a definite cash value to both author and publisher. The names of successful books are not usually changed. If I were to offer any opinion, I should say that the scene is laid in the western peninsula of Upper Canada, and that the tale introduces the exploits of a renegade Canadian named Westbrook, an actual elusive personage who, at the head of some Americans and a few Canadian rebels, went about the district from Long Point to the Talbot Settlement robbing the people and burning homes during the year 1814. It is quite possible Richardson knew of this marauder's acts, whether more than the name was suggested by this knowledge can be settled only by a study of the book itself.

In the Dictionary of National Biography, 1850 is given as the date of publication of "The Monk Knight of St.

John," but as I have not a copy of the book I cannot confirm this date. It is a tale of the Crusaders, and those who have read it say that it is a unique story probably suggested by reading Byron and Moore.

These books were all published in cheap form, and consequently the revenue that the author derived must have been comparatively small. It was the day of the cheap novel. About 1840 two New York papers began to reprint in their columns the most popular English novels, which, when finished, were issued in parts at a very low price. No international copyright law protected the British author in the United States. "Wacousta" had been pirated and issued in Philadelphia in 1833. The regular publishers had to issue books in cheap form and at lower prices or go out of business. Richardson arrived in New York when this competition was perhaps the keenest. "Carte," "Wacousta," "Matilda Montgomerie" and "Hardscrabble" appeared in paper-covered 8vo form at 50 cents a volume.

Major Richardson died suddenly on the 12th of May, 1852, at his lodgings No. 113 West Twenty-ninth Street, New York. The obituary notice as it appeared in the New York Journal of Commerce of May 14th, 1852, is as follows:

"Died—On the 12th inst. Major John Richardson, late of H.B.M. Gordon Highlanders aged 53 (55) years. His friends are invited to attend his funeral, without further invitation, from the Church of the Holy Communion, corner 6th Avenue and 20th Street, this day, at two o'clock, P.M."

His remains were taken outside the city for burial, but diligent inquiry has failed to find his last resting place.

The immediate cause of death was erysipelas; at first the symptoms were not considered alarming, but when medical aid was summoned it came too late. To his many friends the news, besides the shock of suddenness, brought qualms of self-reproach when they learned that Richardson had been living in more straitened circumstances than his appearance or his conversation indicated.

To die in poverty and neglect is no disgrace. Finding no means of livelihood in his native land, he sought a foreign city after his prime of life was past; and if he was unsuccessful in gaining a competence, perhaps the causes arose

from the training of his early manhood rather than from circumstances within his control. The camp does not train a man for the mart. He who has entered the army a youth of sixteen, to retire at thirty-nine, seldom, unless in official routine, can adapt himself successfully to the new environment of civilian life. The task of gaining a

by literature in Canada was the harder because he had been accustomed to the cultured circles of London society. It is no reproach to the people of Canada, individually, amid the many difficulties they contended with, that they failed to appreciate and purchase the works of their first novelist. It is a reproach to them collectively, to their government, that Richardson was not given an opportunity of earning enough to enable him to live in simple comfort in his native land. He had no vanity of authorship. On this he says:—"I look upon the art of ingenious writing, not as a merit, but a mere incidental gift, for which one is more indebted to nature than to judicious application." As a man of letters he was publicly honored but once. Yet, because he was not honored more he felt inclined to pity rather than to censure his countrymen. In a careful study of his career, no mean, no dishonorable act will be found. Faithful to his friends, true to his convictions, loyal to his country, he unselfishly served friends and country better than he served himself.

One wish he asked to be respected by future generations of his countrymen, which has not been regarded. He says "I cannot deny to myself the gratification of the expression of a hope that should a more refined and cultivated taste ever be introduced into this matter-of-fact country in which I have derived my being, its people will decline to do me the honor of placing my name in the list of their 'Authors.' I certainly have no particular ambition to rank among their future 'men of genius,' or to share any posthumous honor they may be disposed to confer upon them."

Richardson's whole career was a noble and manly struggle. Pugnacious and exclusive in temperament, with but a slight sense of humor, he pursued undeviatingly a course of the strictest integrity. He knew neither tact nor compromise. He fought harder for the political principles he cherished, for the social code he respected, than he did for life itself.

Like the earliest English novelist, Richardson has suffered neglect in his own land. All that Scotland had for her greatest poet was an office worth ,70 a year, but her succeeding generations remembered his exquisite productions. Canada could find not even such an office for her first novelist. His own generation refused him a living in his native land ; subsequent generations of Canadians know him not. And his works, if obtainable, can be bought only at almost prohibitive prices. Yet three years before Scott died ; when Thackeray was a stripling of eighteen; when Dickens had not yet become a reporter, Richardson was winning, by his first work of the imagination, applause from the English press and alarge audience of English readers. In the very year of Scott's death, his masterpiece, " Wacousta" appeared ; and the six editions through which it has run bear testimony to its popularity.

Whatever Richardson did he tried to do well. Unlike Cooper, he never trusted to chance to develop the circumstances of his plot ; unlike Cooper he tells his story well, and tells it in faultless English. The interest is sustained to the end. There are no carelessnesses, no crudities, no notable mannerisms. Cooper often loses himself in the pathless mazes of his long sentences. Richardson, incisive and logical, builds clause on clause, phrase on phrase, here adding a limiting detail and there a defining circumstance, until you marvel at the accumulated result and you would not have a single word changed. Yet there is no straining after rhetorical effect, no attempt at fine writing. The lucidity of style recalls Macaulay, who at this period was writing his early essays.

A born literary artist, Richardson has drawn with a firm and skilled hand not only the children of his imagination, but the people of his own day. His autobiographical sketches, his historical works, as well as his novels, show us their foibles, their weaknesses, and their merits. His great interest is in men and their achievements ; but there are delightful bits of painting from nature. Though a lover of nature, he seldom gives himself up to that revel in the life of nature which is so great a merit of Cooper's work. It is men and women in action that interest him. Only less perhaps did the brute creation claim his attention. His ponies are still a memory among the older people "of Windsor and Sandwich. He delights in describing the capture of a young

wild deer in the river opposite his grounds in Brockville, which eventually became a great pet. Its antics and actions are not too insignificant to be recorded in one of his most valuable literary productions. But though he took delight in the possession of the ponies and the pet deer, his intimate companions were his dogs. In Sandwich, in Brockville, in Montreal, he was always accompanied by a beautiful specimen of the Newfoundland species named Hector. His grief at the loss of this dog by poison in Brockville was great, and another named after the Trojan hero was his companion in New York till almost the last. At the end of a long and favorable notice of Major Richardson's career in " The New York Journal of Commerce" a few days after his death this pathetic anecdote is told : " A week or two since, he was heard by someone who met him in a bookstore, accompanied as usual by his faithful canine friend, to say, Ah, poor Hector, we must part or starve.' " And it is further related that the dog was sold a few days before his master's death to provide him with food.

His notions of life were by no means puritanical. He believed that solace and comfort were to be derived from an after-dinner cigar. In complete accord with the customs of the times among the circle in which he moved in his palmy days, he took his glass of wine, but none abhorred excesses more than he.

If we judge Richardson by the literary success that cheered him even amid his many days of adversity, we can merely wonder that a writer so wholesome in atmosphere, so buoyant in spirit, so notable in our literary development, is now almost completely forgotten. His works, whether we consider their subject-matter, their literary merits, or their position in the growth of the novel, place their gifted author high on that roll we choose to designate as our list of Canadian authors.

These productions of his genius are his sole monument. The bright young Canadian lad who left school to fight his country's battles had to seek in the land he fought against an unknown grave in the teeming solitude of America's greatest city. No votive garland can be laid on that tomb ; no admiring young Canadian may visit that shrine.

THE RICHARDSON GENEALOGY

Robert Richardson was born in Scotland, and came to Upper Canada with the Queen's Rangers as assistant surgeon in 1792. He was stationed with his regiment at Queenston, Toronto, and St. Joseph's Island. When the regiment was disbanded in 1802 he took up his residence at Amherstburg, where he acted as surgeon to the garrison, and as such was with the Right Division in every engagement until the battle of Lake Erie, where he was taken prisoner but released through the intercession of his brother-in-law, Col. Elijah Brush. On June 12th, 1807, he was appointed judge of the Western District, an office he held till his death. On the 27th of April, 1824, he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Customs, an office he held till 11th January, 1826. After the war of 1812 Dr. Richardson was appointed surgeon to all the tribes of Indians in the Western District. His death took place at Amherstburg in 1832, and his remains were interred in the burial ground adjoining Christ Church in that town.

Robert Richardson married (I) Jan. 24th, 1793, Madeleine Askin, 2nd daughter of Colonel John Askin, of Detroit, who died at Amherstburg Jan. 10th, 1811, and was buried in Christ Church burial ground ; (II.) Aug. 8th, 1811, Ann McGregor, born at Detroit, April 1st, 1781, third child of Gregor McGregor, the first Sheriff of the District of Hesse, appointed by Lord Dorchester on July 24th, 1788, who lived in Detroit till 1796 when he removed to Canada taking up his residence at Petite C6te, on the banks of the Detroit river.

Of the first marriage.

- 1.-JANE, born May 19th, 1794, married Captain Robert Rist, of the 37th Regiment, Jan. 15th, 1816 ; died Oct. 31st, 1831, buried in the Butler burial ground, Niagara.
- 2.-JOHN, born Oct. 4th, 1796, died in New York city May 12th, 1852. This was Major John Richardson, the author.
- 3.-ROBERT, born Sept. 10th, 1798, joined the marine department as midshipman, wounded severely at the battle of Frenchtown Jan. 22nd, 1813. Received a pension from the Legislature which

amounted to .4 78 17s. from Jan. 22nd, 1813, till Dec. 31st, 1816. He died at Amherstburg June 7th, 1819, and was buried in Christ Church burial ground.

- 4.-WILLIAM, born Jan. 7th, 1801, married Jane Cameron Grant, youngest daughter of Honorable Alexander Grant and Therese Barthe, on Feb. 11th, 1834. Was postmaster at Brantford, where he died. His son James lived at London some years ago.
- 5.-JAMES A., born Jan. 19th, 1803, died Aug. 18th, 1828. He was Registrar of Kent from 1825 until his death.
- 6.-CHARLES, born March 26th, 1805, died 1847, married (I) April 2nd, 1827, Elizabeth Euretta Clench (born 1808, died Sept. 28th, 1833), youngest daughter of Ralph Clench, of Butler's Rangers, afterwards Colonel of Militia and Judge ; (II) Jane Clarke, daughter of William Clarke, Niagara.

He began the study of law in York (Toronto), was appointed cornet of the " Queen's Light Dragoons " (now represented by " The Governor-General's Body Guard for Ontario ") at the organization in 1822 ; removed to Niagara, where he practised law ; was Clerk of the Peace for Niagara District ; elected by the town of Niagara a member of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada in 1835; re-elected in 1836.

Of the first marriage.

(I) Eliza Magdalene, born May 31st, 1828, died June 3rd, 1828. (2) John Beverley Robinson, baptized Jan. 5th 1830. (Sponsors : Chief Justice John Beverley Robinson ; Captain Hanson, 71st Regt. ; and Miss Clench.) Was an attorney at Versailles, Missouri, U.S.A., where he died March, 1899, his wife dying the next year. (3) Eliza Euretta, baptized June 14th, 1832. Married in 1853 Hugo M. Grout, born at Grimsby, Ontario, 1831 ; sometime civil engineer on the Great Western Railway, the staff of which he joined in 1850 ; went to the United States in 1863 ; returned to Canada in 1895 ; living at present in retirement at St. Catharines, Ontario. Two children survive ; George H. Grout, civil engineer in

is a tradition in the family that he accompanied Major Robert Rogers to Detroit when that officer received its surrender to the British in 1760. However it is known that when old Fort Pontchartrain at Detroit was invested by Pontiac, John Askin was entrusted with the important duty of taking supplies from Albany to Lake Erie and thence to Detroit to relieve the garrison. This difficult undertaking having been successfully performed, John Askin was rewarded by the British with grants of land near Detroit. In 1764 he went as King's Commissary to Michilimackinac, and in 1780 he returned to Detroit to engage in trade. Here he amassed a large fortune which he was compelled to abandon, in part, when he removed to Canada and took up his residence on the bank of the Detroit just opposite the lower end of Isle aux Cochons or Hog Island, now Belle Isle, the beautiful Island park of Detroit. This home he called Strabane, after his paternal home in Ireland, a name by which it is known at the present day.

In 1787 Mr. Askin received a commission as Captain of Militia from Lord Dorchester for the town of Detroit, and in 1796 *was* commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of Militia for the Western District, and in 1801 was promoted to the position of Colonel in the same corps. At the formation of the Land Boards he was appointed a member for Detroit, the other members being Colonel England and Montigny. He was also one of the Magistrates of the District. On the evacuation of Detroit by the British in 1796 he did not immediately leave that city but he made his election as continuing a British subject, for which he was brought to trial before the magistrates of the United States Government, and then he came to Canada.

Colonel John Askin married (I.) a French lady whose name could not be ascertained, and (II.) Marie Archange Barthe, of Detroit.

Of the first marriage :

- I.—JOHN, JR., many years Collector of Customs at Amherstburg and later storekeeper and interpreter at St. Joseph Island. He married an Indian woman of prominence among her people, who possessed a fair English education. Their son, John B. Askin, lived for many years at " Woodview," near London, Ontario. He was Colonel of

Militia and saw some active service in 1837-38. His death occurred Nov. 15th, ¶ 869. The capture of Mackinac, July 17th, 1812, and its retention till the end of the war, was due largely to the influence John B. Askin and his father had over the Western tribes of Indians, a large body of whom they induced to make the trip to Amherstburg, to assist the Right Division. In the note on page 25 the inference is that John Askin, Jr., died in 1869. This error arose from confusing the father and son. John Askin, Jr., died about 1818.

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- 2.—CATHERINE, died Dec., 1796, married (I.) John Robertson, (II.) Hon. Robert Hamilton, of Queenston, died March 8th, 1811, and had six children. For the Hamilton genealogy, see " Ontarian Families," by Edward Marion Chadwick, Toronto, Vol. I., p. 143.
- 3.—MADELEINE, died Jan. 10th, 1811, married Dr. Robert Richardson Jan. 24th, 1793, of whom see Richardson genealogy following.

Of the second marriage :

- 1.—CHARLES, born 1780, married Monique Jacobs, Captain of Militia, present at taking of Detroit (medal and clasp), was at Queenston Heights and several other engagements, appointed Clerk of the Peace and Clerk of the District Court in 1824 ; was Commissioner of Customs from April 27th, 1824, till 1836 ; inherited the homestead of Strabane which descended to his son, the present occupant, Alexander-Henry Askin, named after Alexander Henry the fur trader, a friend of Col. John Askin when he was King's Commissary at Michilimackinac.
- 2.—ADELAIDE, born May 30th, 1783, married in 1802, Col. Elijah Brush, of the Michigan Militia and Attorney-General of the Northwest Territory.
- 3.—TxTReSE, married Col. Thomas McKee, son of Col. Alexander McKee, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. Col. Thomas McKee was elected M.L. A. for Kent in 1796 and for Essex in 1801. They had issue : Alexander married Phyllis Jacob, whose son Thomas is at present County Clerk of Essex, resides at Sandwich. William J. McKee, son of the latter, the present

- M.L.A. for North Essex, married the eldest daughter of Charles Baby.
- 4.—ELEANOR, born 1788, married Richard Pattinson, of Sandwich, Captain of Militia, and had issue : Richard, who served 16 years in India, rose to rank of Major of 16th Lancers, was Adjutant-General of Cavalry, was present at battles of Aliwal and Sobraon (the Sutlej medal, two clasps), present at battle of Maharajpore (star); exchanged to a Highland Infantry Regiment and while stationed at Halifax in 1848 visited his native town of Sandwich; served throughout the Crimean War (medal with clasps); appointed Governor of Heligoland, 1857.
 - 5.—ARCHANGE married Lieut.-Col. Meredith of the Royal Artillery.
 - 6.—ALEXANDER, died unmarried.
 - 7.—JAMES, married Francoise-Navarre-Gode Marantette, Colonel of Militia, served as Lieut. at taking of Detroit (medal with clasp) , Captain in 2nd Essex Militia at Frenchtown and the battle of the Miami ; appointed Registrar of Essex in 1831. They had issue : (I) John, who succeeded his father as Registrar in 1846, and who was in turn succeeded by his son, J. Wallace Askin, in 1872. (2) Archchange married Henry Ronalds, their only child, Mary-Elizabeth-Lucy died 1901, married 1868, George-Becher Harris, grandson of Lieut.-Col. Samuel Ryerson (1752-1812) , and had issue, George-Henry-Ronald, born 1873 ; Edward Montgomery, born 1880 ; Amelia-Archange. (3) James went to New Zealand in 1848 and afterwards to Australia. (4) Charles, Lieut. of Militia, killed accidentally by a sentry at Amherstburg in 1838. (5) Jane married (I.) Daniel Murray, of Toronto, (II.) Edward Skae. (6) Therese. (7) Alice. (8) Ellen.

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I. TECUMSEH, a poem of four cantos, and 188 stanzas of *ottava rima*. 1828 (?)

This poem was published *before* February 18th, 1828, but I do not know in what form. Captain R. H. Barclay, in a letter of this date, thanks Richardson for the flattering notice he gets in the poem. It was re-published in THE NEW ERA or CANADIAN CHRONICLE, in its last four issues bearing the dates, July 22nd, July 29th, August 12th and August 19th, 1842.

II. 1. ECARTE ; or the Salons of Paris, London, 1829. It is stated in Allibone's Dictionary of Authors that it was published in 3 Vols. Post 8vo.

I have not seen this edition.

2. ECART : I or, I the Salons of Paris. I by Major Richardson, I Knight of the Order of St. Ferdinand, I Author of " Wacousta," " Hardscrabble, &c., &c. I Author's revised edition. I New York : I Dewitt & Davenport, Publishers, I Tribune Buildings.

206 pp. Illustrated paper cover. Price fifty cents. Size 9x5 3/4.

Entered according to Act of Congress, 1851.

3. ECARW ; or the Salons of Paris. New York, 1888. Pollard & Moss. 12mo.

Issued as No. 83 in the P. & M. I 2MOS. , cloth at fifty cents, and as No. 31 of the Echo series, paper, at twenty-five cents.

" Ecart6," " Wacousta," "Matilda Montgomerie " and " Hardscrabble " were printed in 1888 by Pollard & Moss, New York, from the same plates as were used by Dewitt, & Davenport for printing their editions. The plates were cut down to fit a shorter page.

THE I or, I KILCIOUSA ; I or, I The Prophecy : I A Tale of

" Vengeance is still alive ; from her dark covert,
With all her snakes erect upon her crest,
She stalks in view and fires me with her charms."
Tice Revenge.

By the author of "Ecarte." I in three volumes. I Vol. I. I London : I T. Cadell, Strand ; and W. Blackwood, Edinburgh. 11832.

Vol. I. 4+280 pp. Vol. II. 4+332 pp. Vol. III. 4+372 pp. Size, 7x4/. Dedicated to the 41st Regiment.

2. WACOUSTA : I or I The Prophecy. I A Tale of the Canadas. I

" Vengeance is still alive ; from her dark covert,
With all her snakes erect upon her crest,
She stalks in view and fires me with her charms."
The Revenge.

I By the author of "Ecarte." I in two volumes. I Vol. I. Philadelphia : I Key and Biddle, 23 Minor Street. I 1833. I

Vol. I. 264 pp. Vol. II. 274 pp. Size 6% x 4/.

This edition was not issued with the author's sanction.

3. WACOUSTA ; I or I The Prophecy : I A Tale of the Canadas, I by Major Richardson, I Knight of the Mil. Order of St. Ferdinand. I Author of "Ecarte," " The Canadian Brothers," &c.

" Vengeance is still alive ; from her dark covert,
With all her snakes erect upon her crest,
She stalks in view and fires me with her charms."
The Revenge.

I Second edition. I In three volumes. I Vol. I. I London ; I 1840. I

Vol. I. 4+280 pp. Vol. II. 2+332 pp. Vol. III. 2+372 pp. Size 7% x 4/.

From a careful comparison of this edition with the first, I have come to the conclusion that the author brought several copies of the first edition, in sheets, from London and had them bound in Canada, uniformly with " The Canadian Brothers," with a new title page as above, printed *here*, but bearing the imprint London. The typography, paper, pagination and name of printer agree. Dedicated to the 8th (or King's) Regiment.

4. WACOUSTA ; I or, I The Prophecy I An Indian Tale. I

" Vengeance is still alive ; from her dark covert,
With all her snakes erect upon her crest,
She stalks in view, and fires me with her charms."
THE REVENGE.

I By Major Richardson, I Author of " Hardscrabble," " Ecartè," &c. I Revised edition. I New York : I Robert M. De Witt, Publisher, 133 Rose Street. I 224 pp. Paper ; price, fifty cents. Size, 9x5y. Introduction by author dated January 1st, 1851.

Some copies bear the imprint 160 & 162 Nassau St.

5. WACOUSTA ; I or I The Prophecy : I An Indian Tale. I

" Vengeance is still alive ; from her dark covert,
With all her snakes erect upon her crest,
She stalks in view, and fires me with her charms."

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6. WACOUSTA ; I or, I The Prophecy I An Indian Tale. I

" Vengeance is still alive ; from her dark covert,
With all her snakes erect upon her crest,
She stalks in view, and fires me with her charms."

THE REVENGE.

By Major Richardson, I author of " Hardscrabble," " Ecartè," &c. I New York : I Pollard & Moss, 147 John Street. I — 11888.

262 pp. Cloth. Size, 7/x5.

No. 80 of the P. & M. I 2mos. Price, 50 cents.

No. 27 of the Echo Series. Paper. Price, 25 cents.

" Wacousta " was published as a serial in The Transcript " newspaper of Montreal.

IV. I. MOVEMENTS of the British Legion. First edition, London, 1836. I have not seen this edition.

². MOVEMENTS I of the I British Legion, I with I strictures on the course of conduct pursued I by Lieutenant-General Evans. I — I By Major Richardson, K.S.F. author of " Ecarte," " Wacousta," &c., &c. I

Second edition. I To which is added, with new views.

A Continuation of the Operations from the 5th of May, 1836, to the close of I March, 1837. I — I London :

Published by Simpkin, Marshall and Co. Stationer's Hall I Court ; J. Macrone, St. James's Square ; and E. Wilson, I Royal Exchange, Cornhill. I — I 1837. I XVI.+330 pp. Size, 8 - 5 - Contains seven lithographed plates.

V. PERSONAL Memoirs I of I Major Richardson, [Author of " Movements of the British Legion," &c. &c.] I as connected with I the singular oppression of that officer while in Spain by I Lieutenant General Sir De Lacy Evans. I — I A man who is too proud to acknowledge a fault when he is conscious of having committed I one, and thereby wounded the feelings of another, shows himself to be, instead of elevated I rank, very low indeed in the scale of intellectual worth. **H**is pride is of the meanest kind, and I to him even more disgraceful than his fault. — *Anonymous*. I — I Montreal : Armour & Ramsay : I W. Neilson, Quebec ; R. Stanton, Toronto ; and J. Macfarlane, I Kingston. I — I 1838. I 146-FIV. pp. Size, 9x53%.

VI. 1. THE I Canadian Brothers ; I or, I The Prophecy Fulfilled I A tale of the late American War. I — I By I Major Richardson, I Knight of the Military Order of Saint Ferdinand, I Author of " Ecarte," " Wacousta," &c. &c. I — I In two volumes. I Vol. I. I — I Montreal : I A. H. Armour and H. Ramsay. I — I 1840. I Vol. I. XIV. + 220 pp. Vol. II., 228+ IV. pp. Size, 7¹/₂ x 4¹/₂.

This book, revised and slightly abridged by the author, was published in the United States under the title of " Matilda Montgomerie." The following are the editions of this work under this title :

2. MATILDA Montgomerie : I or, I The Prophecy Fulfilled. I A tale of the late American War. I Being the sequel to " Wacousta." I By Major Richardson, I Knight of the Order of St. Ferdinand. I Author of "Wacousta," "Hardscrabble," " Ecarte," etc., etc. I No place. No date. No publisher's name. 192 pp., octavo, paper cover.

Entered in 1851 by Dewitt & Davenport, New York.

3. MATILDA Montgomerie : I or, I The Prophecy Fulfilled. I A tale of the late American War. I Being the sequel to Wacousta. I By Major Richardson, I author of

" Wacousta," " Hardscrabble," " Ecarte," etc., etc. New York : I Pollard & Moss, 147 John Street. I 1888. 226 pp., 712x5. No. of size 7gh paper cover, price 25 cents. I. of the P. & M., 12mos., cloth, price 50 cents.

VII. WAR of I 1812. I — I First Series. I Containing a full and detailed narrative I of the I operations of the I Right Division, I of the I Canadian Army, I by I Major Richardson, K.S.F. I — 1842. I (Brockville., 6+2+184 pp. Size 8q.x5 Published originally in Vol. II. of THE NEW ERA OR CANADIAN CHRONICLE, a paper published by Richardson, at Brockville. The first number of Vol. II. was published on March 2nd, 1842.

This book was the third article for which a copyright was granted in the Province of Canada.

VIII. EIGHT Years in I Canada ; I embracing I A Review of the Administrations I of I Lords Durham and Sydenham, Sir Chas. Bagot, 1 and Lord Metcalfe ; 1 and including I numerous interesting letters I from Lord Durham, Mr. Chas. Buller, and other I well-known public characters. I — I By Major Richardson, I Knight of the Military Order of St. Ferdinand, I Author of "Ecarte," " Wacousta," " The Canadian Brothers," &c. &c. I — I De Omnibus Rebus et Quibusdam Aliis. — I Montreal, Canada : I Published by H. H. Cunningham, 50, Notre Dame Street. I — I 1847. I 232 pp. Size 8¹/₂ x 5. Some copies contain a lithographed portrait of the

IX. THE I Guards in Canada ; I or, the I Point of Honor : I being a sequel to I Major Richardson's I " Eight Years in Canada." I — I Montreal: I Published for the Author. I By H. H. Cunningham. I — 1848. I 5⁶ PP. Size 8¹/₂ x 5

Yellow-coated paper covers. Title nearly as above in two colors, with border, verso, arms of Great Britain.

Although this book bears the date 1848 on the title page the registration notice is as follows : " Entered according to the Act of the Provincial Legislature, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, by

INTRODUCTION

Major Richardson, in the office of the Registrar of the Province of Canada."

X. t. HARDCRABBLE ; or, the I Fall of Chicago. I A Tale of Indian Warfare. I By Major Richardson, j Author of "Wacousta," "Ecarte," "Matilda Montgomerie," etc., etc., I New York : I Robert M. De Witt, Publisher 1160 & 162 Nassau St. I no date, too pp. 8vo., paper cover. Published probably in 1850.

2. HARDCRABBLE I or, the I Fall of Chicago. I A Tale of Indian Warfare. I By Major Richardson, I Author of I " Wacousta ; or, The Prophecy," " Matilda Montgomerie; or, The Prophecy I Fulfilled," " Ecarte; or, The Salons of Paris," etc., etc. I New York : I Pollard & Moss, 142 Park Place and 37 Barclay Street. 11888. I

I N. pp. Size 7/x5.

No. 87 of the P. and M., t2mos., cloth, price 50 cents.

No. 42 of the Echo Series, paper, price 25 cents.

In Allibone's Dictionary of Authors it is stated that an edition was published in octavo form in 1856.

XI. WAUNANGEE ; or The Massacre of Chicago. A Romance. Octavo, paper, twenty-five cents. Long & Bro. New York and London. 1852.

I have not been able to see a copy of this work. It may be " Hardscrabble " under another name, or it may be a sequel to it. " Hardscrabble " describes the events that took place until the 4th of July, 1812. The massacre of the garrison at Fort Dearborn took place in August, hence this book may be a sequel.

XII. THE Monk Knight of St. John ; a tale of the Crusaders. New York. The Dictionary of National Biography gives the date of this work as 1850, while Morgan gives 1854.

XIII. WESTBROOK ; or, the Outlaw. 8vo.

I have not seen a copy of either XII. or XIII.

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... have had any effect, except in the ...
... was not at all ambitious of ascending ...
... another son ...
... in 5 years when I was called to assist my ...
... the ... who was wounded, and who fell ...
... immediately, and which led me to suppose that ...
... some materially increased - however when he was ...
... advised to the doctor, I found the fever ...
... had ceased with a broken leg, which ...
... him very much, and it will be some time before ...
... he got over it - I think it is highly probable ...
... we shall have a brush with the ...
... men, who is said to be at the ...
... some time or near them - I so I think we shall ...
... have fought with, as we have ...
... wounded, in the action of the ...
... line of ...
... bowing and

Believe me

My Dear Uncle

Yours affectionately

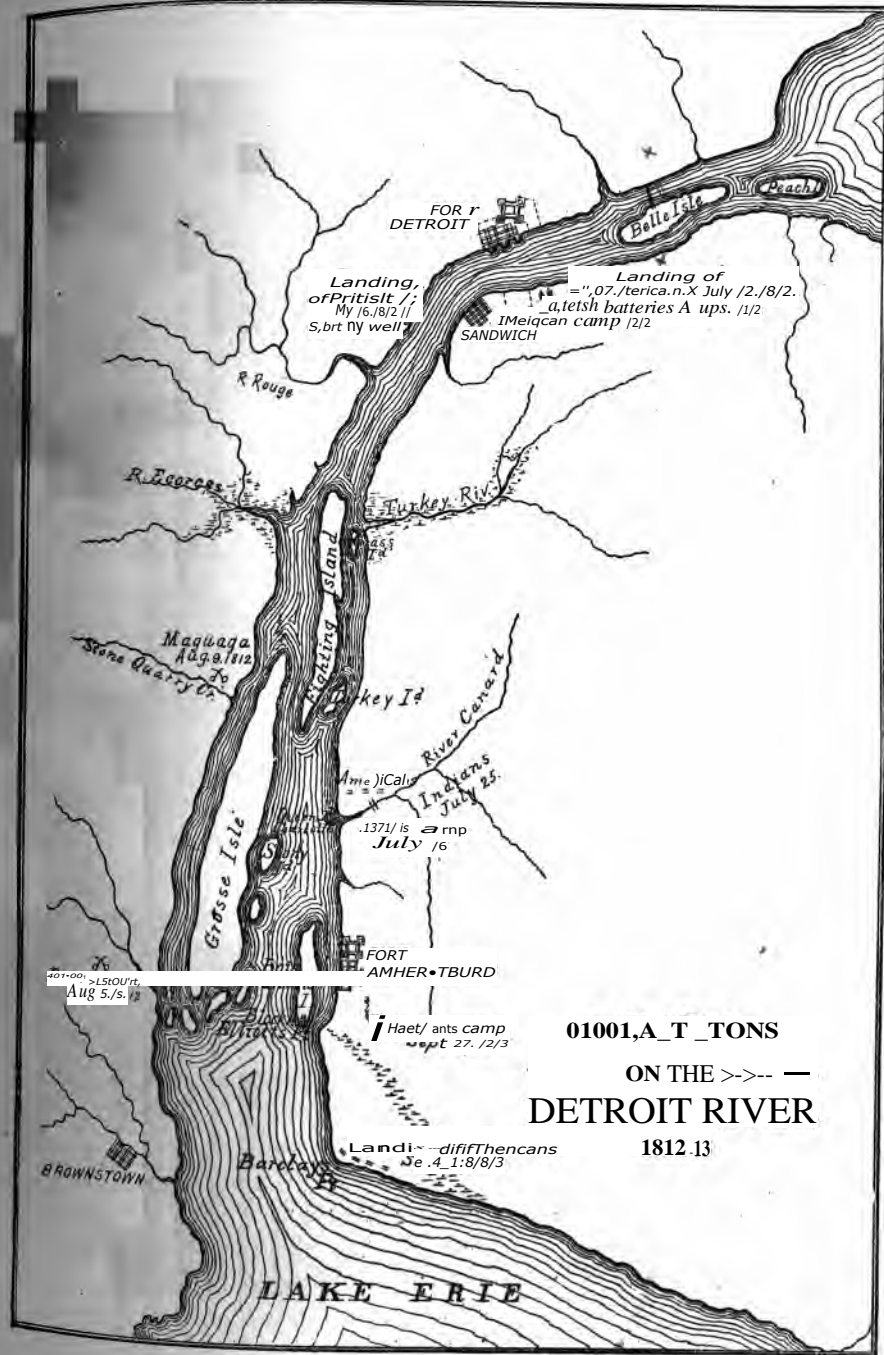
John ...

Chas. ...
Secretary

SKETCH MAP 01 OPERATIONS OF THE
 RIGHT DIVISION OF CANADIAN ARMY
 AND THE
 LEFT DIVISION OF AMERICAN ARMY

1812-'13

Scale of Miles



01001A T TONS
 ON THE >>> —
 DETROIT RIVER
 1812-13



PLAN
OF
DETROIT
1812

ETROIT RIVER

The site of Port Ponchartrain is shown by the dotted enclosure, at A



From History of Freemasonry, by J. Ross Robertson, Toronto.

DETROIT, 1811.