

Chippewa to Fort Schlosser, celebrated in after years as the scene of the capture of the Caroline steamer. To the fate which befel her, these brave men were exposed, for an accident, an unlucky shot, or a disabled oar, might have doomed boat and crew to the boiling rapids and the unsparing cataract. They landed, however, unobserved, surprised the work, called a fort, and captured the guard there stationed. They secured several stand of arms, a quantity of ammunition, one brass 6-pounder, and a large store of provisions, and with this booty and fifteen prisoners returned in safety to the Canadian side. James Cummings, of Chippewa, also engaged in the Indian trade at that time, accompanied the expedition. It is pleasant to receive from the lips of one who took part in these occurrences, and who at 73 enjoys all the vigour of middle age, a relation of the exciting incidents, and hair-breadth escapes, over which horror and wild glee cast a strange and ghastly glamour, when men laughed and cried in the same breath, and forgot in the passing struggle with boiling eddy or desperate foe, both the past and the future. It is necessary to hear these recitals before we can realize, or indeed understand, the imminence and extent of these dangers, or the indifference with which, when past, they were regarded. But Bishopp fired up when he heard of the exploit. " Hang the fellow, he has got before me. By Jove, it was well done—we'll try it again ;" and he did try it again.

At 2 a.m., on the morning of the 11th July, accompanied by Clark, and by Cummings the narrator, and backed by about 240 men, 200 regulars and 40 of the 2nd and 3rd Lincoln, Bishopp swooped down upon Black Rock, the American naval depot on the River Niagara.

Black Rock is now a large manufacturing village about three miles below Buffalo, at the embouchure of the Erie Canal. The furnace and the forge and the fitful flashes, and the roar of uninterrupted industry, have succeeded to monotonous earthworks, to the shout of

battle and the red artillery. The great breakwater, which now divides the still canal from the seething river, did not then exist. **The** river was wider, the shore more open than it is now, and the silence of the summer night was scarcely broken by the muffled oar. The party had embarked a little below the present village of Waterloo, and, overshooting their mark, reached the shore below Black Rock. Bishopp landed at once, alinost without a sound, and dashed into the encampment of the American Major, Adams, dispersed abmit 300 militia, and captured three heavy guns. **These** 'were turned instantly on the Block-house, which, with its garriæn of regular artillerymen, gave in incontinently. General Porter, AO commanded on the frontier, lived hard by. He escaped out of a window, took to horse, and rode to Buffalo. Bishopp and his friends repaired to courteously asked for breakfast, and were hospitably entertained. In the mean time the work of destructiOn went on. The Block-house, and the barracks, and the naval arsenal, and a fine schooner, were destroyed by fire. All the public stores which could be removed, were transferred to the boats, and some conveyed across the river ; but private property **was scrupulously respected.** *The Buffalo Gazette* of July 13, says " while the main body was thus employed in disposing of the public property, **a** party entered the houses **in** the village, but we have not ascertained that they committed any outrages on private property."*

While the British were thus employed, General Porter had' made the best use of his time. He had roused the people of Buffalo, and brought down strong reinforcements of regulars, militia and Indians. Titim had crept on, and Cummings, who knew the people best, and felt **much**' as if on a hornet's nest, remonstrated with Bishopp, but the gay and gallant fellow laughed; and " poked fun at him." He had come to destroy those stores and guns, and

* James, Vol. I, page 229. '

meant to do it. Now, anchors and chain cables, and heavy iron guns, were not toys to be lightly handled nor easily destroyed. The most that could be done was, to sink them in the Niagara, from whence they could be fished up with no great trouble. At length the work was completed, the men re-embarked unmolested, and Bishopp was the last to retire. Scarcely had they left the bank when the Indians, who, snake-like, had crawled to the top, commenced to fire. Part of the men were disembarked, and drove the enemy back into the woods and upon their supports; while they in turn, uniting, forced the small detachment back to their boats. Bishopp was everywhere, commanding, directing, getting his men off. In the confusion of the moment, some of the oars of his own boat were lost, and she drifted, helplessly, down the stream, exposed to an increasing fire. "Here the gallant Bishopp; the darling of the army, received his death wound. Never was any officer, save always the lamented Brock, regretted more than he was." He was borne back to his quarters, where in a few days, he expired at the early age of 27. His remains lie beneath a modest monument erected to his memory by the pious care of his sisters, the Baroness de la Zouche and Mrs. Pechell, in the churchyard at Lundy's Lane.

Colonel Cecil Bishopp was a son of Sir Cecil Bishopp, Bart., afterward Lord de la Zouche. He was an accomplished gentleman. He had served in the Guards. Had represented Newport in the Isle of Wight in Parliament. Had been attached to a Russian embassy. Had served with distinction in Flanders, in Spain and in Portugal, and died full of hope and promise in Canada, gallantly "doing his duty" and not without avail, for his example lives.

Bishopp had been appointed Inspecting Field officer of militia on the Niagara frontier. He won all hearts. He was possessed

* Letter of a "Green 13n" (Judge Jarvis, Cornwall), given by Auchinleck, p. 178.

of that indescribable fascination of manner and character which, apparently without an effort, acts like a charm. It was a gift. His influence over the militia was supreme. He knew that he was not dealing with raw recruits, with mere children, who have to be taught and treated like children, but with men, for the most part of a certain age, reasoning and reasonable men, who are willing, nay eager, to learn anything conducive to the defence of all they hold dear, and who accept the restraints of discipline as indispensable to that end. With an instant and intuitive perception of what was due to himself and to them,—without departing from his own dignity, he won their affection, commanded their respect and "could do with them just as he pleased." Those who can remember the present Sir George Wetherall, when in command of the volunteers in Montreal, some twenty-five years ago, will recall a reproduction of the same character. With such an officer at their head, the militia of Canada, on their own soil, are equal to any troops this continent can produce, and are content that they should take the odds of their great name and estimation, and will try fortune with them. The following epitaph is inscribed on a tablet erected to the memory of Colonel Bishopp, at the family burial place, Parham, Sussex, and ascribed to Sir James Macdonald :

His pillow—not of sturdy oak ;
 His shroud—a soldier's simple cloak ;
 His dirge—will sound till time's no more—
 Niagara's loud and solemn roar.
 There Cecil lies—say, where the grave
 More worthy of a Briton brave.*

These incursions on the part of the British had, as we have just

* The incidents in the early career of Colonel Bishopp, and the epitaph, have been borrowed from Morgan's Canadian Celebrities, p. 225. For the residue, I am indebted to those who knew him, and who still live near where he died.

observed, led the Americans to have recourse to the assistance of the Indian tribes who still adhered to the American soil. They were called "The Six Nations," but consisted chiefly of Mohawks, from the Mohawk Valley, in the state of New York, and a few relics of other nations, whose names may possess interest, but afforded no strength. This Indian alliance has given rise to much useless comment. By enlisting savage mercenaries in their service, and by denouncing the British for doing the same thing, the American government became liable to the charge of great inconsistency; but, as we hold that the child of the soil, whether savage or civilized, is justified in resisting an invader, we have certainly no right to complain that the Americans should have defended their country with the same weapons we ourselves employed. The savage, as an instrument of warfare, is not more repugnant to humanity than is war itself in any shape,—not more repulsive than mines and torpedoes, and the thousand hideous forms which war assumes at the hands of refined man. The savage may be inspired, may be taught, may be bribed, to pity and to spare. Bomb-shells and spherical case discriminate less, spare less, and are less placable. If, as is stated in the *Buffalo Gazette*, of the 13th July, 1813—"Our savage friends expressed a desire to scalp the dead, but were prevented,"—we may admire the precaution which restrained an instinctive propensity; but British writers certainly cannot exclaim, if the savage, assailed in his lair, should defend himself in a savage manner. But, without scolding at others, let us transpose the position; let us show what we did to humanize and mitigate the horrors of the war. It has been already shown that the employment of the Indians on the western frontier, was justified by necessity. The savage could not be neutral: his services were sought by the Americans, and secured by the British, simply because the hatred, engendered by years of wrong, was not to be appeased by bribes or cajolery. It will be seen hereafter, how earnestly and how effectually the British coin-

manders, Brock, Proctor, and St. George, labored to neutralize the rancorous animosity of the Indian, and to divest of its venom the weapons which, in self-defence, they were compelled to use. On the Niagara frontier similar expedients had been employed. Early in 1813, a committee of officers, headed by General Vincent, had resolved to pay ten dollars for every prisoner brought in alive by his Indian captor. The Prince Regent subsequently approved and confirmed the proceeding. A Boston paper of the time noticed the resolution, in defiance of the "*anathema maranatha*" of the democratic press; but from among the number saved, not one voice appears to have been raised in generous recognition, or in reply to the Thersites of the time, whose tongues, wherever England or Canada were concerned, "coined slanders like a mint."

We will now, for a brief space, return to Lake Ontario, on our way down to the province of Lower Canada, and to the scene of war on Lake Champlain. On the 26th July, Commodore Chauncey again appeared on Lake Ontario, in the new ship *General Pyke*, which so narrowly escaped destruction by Provost's retreat from Sackett's Harbour. With a fleet consisting of 14 vessels, mounting altogether 114 guns, and manned by 1,193 seamen, and having on board 300 regular troops, under Colonel Scott, he made an attempt on the position of Burlington Heights, which was defended by Major Maule, and 150 rank and file. The troops were disembarked and embarked again. It was understood that the demonstration on Burlington Heights had attracted thither the *Glengarries*, which defended York; and

Ut canis a corio nunquam absterrebitur uncto,

the Commodore and the Colonel determined to revisit the helpless scene of their former exploits. On the 31st July, they disembarked, without opposition, at the point termed the "Garrison;" took quiet possession of the town; broke open the gaol, liberated the prisoners; and took out of the stores of the inhabitants (called

" public stores" in the despatch), several hundred barrels of flour and provisions. They destroyed barracks and other buildings, eleven boats—magnified into transports ; and having heaped mischief on misery, returned to their safe harbor at the mouth of the Niagara River.*

While Chauncey was thus marauding at the western extremity of the lake, Sir James Yeo, after having destroyed the American camp at Forty-mile Creek, on the 13th June crossed the lake, captured two schooners and boats with supplies ; then secured a depot of provisions on the Genessee River. On the 19th he captured more stores and more provisions at a place called Great Sodus ; and on the 29th June returned to Kingston. On the 31st July, Sir James sailed from Kingston with supplies for the army; and having landed them at Burlington Heights, steered for Niagara, and " looked in"—in nautical phraseology—as a challenge to Chauncey, who was not slow in accepting it. The British squadron consisted of six vessels of war ; the American amounted to fourteen. A great deal of manoeuvring took place on both sides—" bearing down" and " bearing up," " getting to windward " and " falling to leeward," on the " larboard tack " and on the " starboard tack,"—scientific evolutions quite beyond the lubberly ken of landsmen ; which ended, however, intelligibly and in stern earnest. Two fine American schooners, the Scourge, of 8 guns, and the Hamilton, of 9, were upset in a squall, and all hands lost, except 16 saved by the British ; and two vessels of the same class, the Julia and the Growler, were cut off and captured. Chauncey, though still by far the stronger, retired into Niagara. But these results were not conclusive, nor were they satisfactory on our side of the lake ; and landsmen, who did not know the difference between a caboose and a marlinspike, and who can

• Jamel, Vol. II, 231.

hardly be blamed if they could not stomach such matters, took upon themselves to pass very hard and very unjust comments upon Sir James Yeo. A British sailor was expected to do many impracticable things ; and among the rest, to catch an adversary who, being a quicker sailor, would not be caught, and whose long guns, at long distances, made it dangerous to follow. The fact is, that Sir James did his best to close with his adversary, but unavailingly. And we have here the evidence of Dr. Richardson, who was then " sailing master " on board the flag-ship. The armament of the two squadrons governed, to a great extent, the movements of the commander. Sir James was provided, for the most part, with carronades,—excellent for rapid firing at close quarter, but unavailable at long range ; while, on the other hand, Chauncey had long guns, which gave him a decided superiority at a distance. Thus, while Yeo sought to " lay alongside," the other disapproved of these familiarities; and, as with sailing vessels, the closing in action depends on the weather gage, Chauncey's superiority in sailing enabled him to decline coyly all delicate attentions of this sort.' " I heard him once remark," says the venerable narrator, " to an observation from Captain Mulcaster, ' If we were on the high seas, I would risk an action at all hazards ; because, if I were beaten, I could only lose the squadron ; but to lose it on this lake, would involve the loss of the country. The salvation of the western army depends on our keeping open their communications.' " * Thus spoke out the man of thought as well as action ; thus spoke the man of head, with courage to do what his brain dictated,----indifferent to disgrace if incurred in the service of his country. As a brave seaman, he was beyond reproach.

We now leave the blue Ontario for the picturesque shores of Lake Champlain ; and on our way down the St. Lawrence, pause

• Memoirs of Dr. Richardson, D.D.

for a moment at the scene of one of those daring and sometimes profitless adventures to which seamen are prone. It befell at a place called, not inappropriately, Goose Creek, *lying* on the opposite side of the river, a little below Gananoque. On the 20th July, the enemy, lying *perdu* among the rocks and channels of the Thousand Islands, had pounced on a brigade of batteaux, conveying provisions and supplies from Montreal to Kingston, and had spirited away the whole convoy into the difficult and romantic recesses of the creek before named. Three gun-boats, under Lieutenant Scott, and a detachment of Ate lop91., conmandea by Captain Martin, were sent from Kingston, to intercept * American return to Sackett's Harbour : a very sensible plan, which was unfortunately spoiled by a rush into his stronghold. They had reachs } the spot as evening fell, and were compelled, by the darkness, to defer the attack until morning. In the night came up Major Frend, of the 4th Foot, with an additional gun-boat, and a small reinforcement. On his way he had encountered Captain Milnes, a promising young officer, and Aide-de-Omni) to Sir George Prevost. Milnes volunteered, of course ; and at 3 a.m., before dawn, the whole force felt its way forward. They found the enemy fully prepared. The channel became narrow ; the banks rocky and precipitous; and large trees felled across the stream, brought them up in front of a log fort. The woods were filled with riflemen; and the American plied well his national weapon. The seamen and troops leaped into the water—carried the heights. and **anlye** the foe **into** their fort. **But.** the odds and the difficulties were too great. Frend ordered the re-embarkation of the men, and fought his way **out**; but with twenty-one. casualties—among them the gallant Milnes, who was mortally wounded, and died. shortly after, much deplored by his brothers in arms.

The capture of this brigade of store-boats by the enemy—tub unfrquent occurrence on bott sides—will convey some idea of the danger and difficulties surmounted in supplying a military force

scattered from Quebec to Michilimacinac, along an exposed frontier of upwards of a thousand miles. It taxed talent, and energy, and foresight of no ordinary calibre to anticipate and provide for all wants—to evade or surmount all obstructions, in a climate which admits of but six months of water conveyance, and at that season, and on that line of communication, invites and aids attack ; and in a country where the roads in winter, though practicable, are so narrow, and at times so cut up, as to make the movement of weighty articles very slow and protracted. The baggage and daily supply of a regiment on the march, conveyed in a long single line of *traineaux*, would occupy miles of road, from which to diverge one foot is to plunge into three feet of snow; and where a " break down" interrupts the advance of the whole line. The troops had to be supplied for the present, and in anticipation of the casualties of the future. It will surprise men, living in the abundance of productive and overflowing Canada, to learn that in 1813 the soldiery, the militia, and the Indians, were fed upon Irish mess-pork, and on " pilot bread," or ship biscuit, manufactured at Portsmouth. In a new country, where population was scattered and cultivation sparse—where the produce barely sufficed for the support of the husbandman—and where war disturbed both sowing and harvest, it became necessary, in providing for the troops, to consider the wants of the whole population. It is, therefore, easy to imagine the arduous duties—the responsibilities—the mental labour which devolved upon the commissariat. What the belly was to the members, according to the fable of 2Esop, the brain was to the belly in the story of Canadian warfare. Shoes and bread were the real *pabula belli*. These essentials were regularly and plentifully supplied ; but to secure this supply, demanded great administrative talent ; a thorough knowledge of the country, the language, the means of conveyance, channels of communication, and of the means and resources, however limited, which could bjo, appealed to upon an emergency.

Sir William Robinson was the commissary general, an experienced officer of the department, and an excellent link of connection between the expenditure of the war and the British treasury ; and he was well supported. It must be evident that, in such a scene of scattered warfare, waged at the same time on remote frontiers, much was necessarily left to individual responsibility, and that much depended on the local knowledge and capacity of subordinate officers. Fortunately, Sir William found in the country a class of men, made to his hand, who possessed these requisites. Many of them were U. E. Loyalists—men who, for opinion's sake, had abandoned their counting-houses in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and who had applied their commercial talents and habits of business to the improvement of a new field of enterprise, and, in some cases, to the acquisition of a new tongue. Among the names of the officers of the commissariat department in Canada, returned in July, 1811, by Sir Gordon Drummond, will be found those of Isaac W. Clarke, Montreal ; James Crookshank, York ; James Coffin, Fort George ; William Stanton, York ; John Coffin, Quebec ; William Ross, Kingston ; Robert Reynolds, Amherstburg. All these gentlemen were U. E. Loyalists—living witnesses of the gratitude of the crown, which never ignores or forgets fidelity ; but visits and rewards it from the father to the children. They proved, all, to be valuable officers in a branch of the service which can never be sufficiently estimated ; and among them no one more so than Isaac Winslow Clarke, Deputy Commissary-General of Montreal.

The career of this gentleman is characteristic of the times. He was one of the sons, and a partner in the business of Richard Clarke, a loyal Boston merchant,—consignee of the tea, which, destroyed by the violence of the mob in Boston Harbour, is noted as the first outbreak of the revolution. As in all popular convulsions, the weaker and the obnoxious party was treated mercilessly.

The Tory was knocked down, and talked down, and written down ; and, like in the fable of the lion, the man who put him down, gave his version of the exploit. The Clarkes were obnoxious to the men and the opinions of the day. The father took refuge in England, with his son-in-law, Copley the painter, and was written down and proscribed, without trial, in the " Boston Confiscation Act."* Isaac, the son, endeavouring to collect some debts due to the firm, at Plymouth, in Massachusetts, was paid in full by a mob at midnight. He executed a mutual discharge, saved his life, and followed his father to the fireside of his talented brother-in-law, where, with his sister, and her since celebrated son, the late lamented Lord Lyndhurst, he remained until appointed to the commissariat in Canada. In this country he served his Sovereign for fifty years. In 1812 he was regarded as an officer of great trust, of long experience, and indefatigable val. The organization of the *batteaux*

* In an excellent American work "Biographical Sketches of the American Loyalists," published in Boston, 1847, and in a well-digested Preface, entitled an Historical Essay, the author, Lorenzo Sabine, admits, philosophically enough, that the process of " tarring and feathering " was not one likely to reclaim an offending brother. What "brother," he exclaims, "who saw only with the eyes of a British subject, was won over to the right, by the arguments of mobbing, burning, and smoking." He cites many instances of the cruelties of mob law, and closes with the following : " Did it serve any good end to endeavour to hinder Tories from getting tenants, or to prevent persons who owed them from paying honest debts ? On whose cheek should have been the blush of shame, when the habitation of the aged and feeble Foster was sacked, and he had no shelter but the woods ; when Williams, as infirm as he, was seized at night, dragged away for miles, and smoked in a room, with fastened doors and a closed chimney top ? What father who doubted whether to join or fly, determined to abide the issue in the land of his birth, because foul words were spoken to his daughters, or because they were pelted when riding, or moving in the innocent dance ? Is there cause to wonder that some who still live, should yet say of their own, or of their father's treatment, that " persecution made half of the king's friends."— *Vide pp. 76, 77.*

brigades was due to him. These boats fiat-bottomed, of light draught, but carrying heavy cargoes — were partly towed, partly punted, partly dragged by ropes up the rapids of the St. Lawrence. The crews were supplied by a levy or *corvée* of French Canadians. Several thousands of these men were devoted to a service, for which they were peculiarly qualified by a hardihood, activity, and cheerfulness,—undaunted by fatigue. From five to seven *voyageurs* were assigned to each *batteau*; but at certain difficult points the united strength of the whole brigade forced the boats, one by one, up the stream. But the progress was slow, and the opportunities of attack many ; still, the precautions taken and the bold front shown, for the most part defeated these attempts. John Finlay, the executive officer at Lachine, distinguished himself by acts of vigour and devotion, which, in the sister service, would have been fame. The commanders in the field, and especialk Sir Gordon Drummond, repeatedly expressed their obligations to Mr. Clarke. Few but men in these high positions can appreciate the value of such unpretentious services.*

• In 1824 Deputy Commissary General Clarke, then 76 years of age, was on his way to England, where his friends had reason to expect that he would receive from the Crown the same marks of favour which had been bestowed oit others. He died at sea, leaving one son, who was for many years private secretary to Lord Lyndhurst, when Lord Chancellor of England ; and two daughters—one the wife of the Hon. Charles R. Ogden, at one time Attorney-General in Lower Canada, and now Attorney-General in the Isle of Man ; the second sheds light and happiness on the hand which traces these lines.

CHAPTER XVI.

Montreal the centre of supply—Description of Montreal—View from top of the Mountain—Montreal of 1840 or 1864, not the Montreal of 1812—Montreal viewed as the Military Key of Canada—Country around—View of Belceil—Canadian scenery—Canadian people—The *Habitants*, their progress, improvement and characteristics—Strong temptation to invasion—Approach to Montreal and the Richelieu country—Description of Lake Champlain—American force on the New York frontier available for invasion.

Montreal was the source and centre of supply. It was then, as it is now, the commercial emporium of the Canadas. In population it exceeded any other settlement on the St. Lawrence. Situated on an island in the combined embrace of the Rivers Ottawa and St. Lawrence, it possesses, partly from its latitude and partly from the great area of water with which it is surrounded, a mildness and softness of climate unknown to any other part of Lower Canada. The Island of Montreal is longer, but not so wide, as the Isle of Wight ; and the St. Lawrence equals, in varying width, the strait which divides that island from the coast of Hampshire.* In the rear of the city, running parallel to the river, at the distance of a mile and a half from the water's edge, rises a long ridge of rocky and precipitous hill, some 550 feet above water-level, from which is derived the original name " Mont Royal." The summit of this mountain commands a view, extensive and diversified. The city, with its towers, and spires, and public buildings, covers at the feet of the

• Montreal Island, - - 30 miles long, 101 miles broad.
Isle of Wight, - - - 23 " 13