The study of shipwrecks helps us to understand our past, providing insights into the daily life, trade, and migration patterns of our ancestors. This is particularly true in cases where the written historical record is sparse. Few wrecks of early 19th-century commercial sailing vessels have been fully excavated in the Great Lakes region.

In the spring of 2018, I spent a month surveying the remains of the vessel, along with a team of three other students from Texas A&M University. The project was made possible by the sponsorship of The Friends of Fort York, the Institute of Nautical Archaeology and Texas A&M University, and by the cooperation and assistance of the City of Toronto and Fort York National Historic Site.

The CityPlace Schooner wreck provides archaeologists with a unique opportunity to study the techniques used by Great Lakes shipbuilders to construct merchant vessels in the early 19th century and, in doing so, to search for clues relating to the early history of Toronto and the life of its residents.

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CityPlace Schooner built for shallow water

by Julia Herbst
The CityPlace Schooner was discovered in 2015 by Archaeological Services Inc. (ASI) during its excavation of the Queen's Wharf. The vessel was found just east of the intersection of Bathurst Street and Fort York Boulevard — in the new high-rise neighbourhood called CityPlace — and located alongside the buried remains of the original Queen's Wharf. It was pointed south.

ASI conducted a preliminary analysis of the wreck and was able to tentatively date the construction of the vessel to the late 1820s or early 1830s, based in part on the recovered artifacts. These include a United States Coronet Head cent, likely dating to 1828, which was found in the vessel's aft mast step. The wreck was discovered within the remains of a shore wall that was built in the 1870s, indicating that the vessel had been abandoned, scuttled or sunk by then.

After ASI’s preliminary work was complete the remains were carefully lifted and moved (by Amherst Crane and Ellis Don, supported by developer Concord Adex) two blocks west to a space just in front of the fort's Visitor Centre. That is where my team and I worked, answering questions from the public as we did.

The primary goal of our 2018 survey was to record the wreck in as much detail as possible in order to understand more about its construction and its history. We relied on two principal methods of documentation: direct measurement and photogrammetry (a process by which many photographs of an object, taken from different angles, are used to derive measurements and produce 3D models). We measured the length, width, and thickness of each timber at regular intervals. The location of each timber with respect to a baseline and the locations and types of all fasteners (such as iron nails, bolts, and treenails) were also recorded.

We used this information to prepare scaled drawings of the remains, which will form the basis for conjectural line drawings and construction drawings of the vessel. To supplement the drawings, we used photogrammetry to prepare 3D models of the hull and certain pieces of the wreck that were found disarticulated from the main structure, including the stem and sternpost. These models were made available to the public through Sketchfab, an online 3D model sharing platform (the links are given below).

The remains indicate that the vessel was about 60 feet (18.5 m) long with a beam of no more than 16½ feet (5 m), but these can only be estimates. Because the wreck had already been excavated, we were not expecting to find additional artifacts. However, when we removed the ceiling planking (internal planking nailed to the inside of the frames to prevent cargo and ballast from falling between the frames) we realized that a substantial amount of mud and dirt remained underneath the planks. We removed and screened through all of the sediment and found a number of small artifacts, including ceramic sherds, charcoal, iron fasteners, and shaped wood.

Our most exciting discovery was a sheave, a circular piece of wood measuring about 6 inches (15 cm) in diameter with a hole through its centre. It appears to be made of lignum vitae, which is extremely dense hardwood.
The sheave would have been a component of one of the pulley systems in the ship’s rigging. A smaller sheave with a British Ordnance broad arrow carved into its face was found during the 2015 excavation. The newly discovered sheave, however, did not have any carvings on its surface. All of the recovered artifacts were recorded, photographed, and turned over to the City of Toronto.

Our analysis of the remains suggests that the vessel was built with either a daggerboard or a centreboard and then modified to remove the same. Both are forms of retractable keels. Daggerboards are raised and lowered vertically, while centreboards pivot around a bolt at their forward end. These designs were popular on the Great Lakes in the early 19th century because most of the harbours were shallow and unimproved. Daggerboards and centreboards allowed sailors to enter these harbours without damaging their vessels while still providing the necessary lateral resistance to effectively sail while out on the lakes.

At work in June 2018 on the remains of the schooner are Carolyn Kennedy (seated) and Julia Herbst from Texas A&M University’s Nautical Archaeology program. The remains had been salvaged three years earlier during excavations for one of the CityPlace condominium towers seen in the distance. Photo: Andrew Stewart

The remains of the schooner free of sediment and under archaeological investigation. Although masts are typically circular in cross-section, the heel or ‘tenon’ of the mast was shaped to fit snugly into the ‘step’ as seen top right. Photo and labels: Julia Herbst
The existence of the modification is suggested by the schooner’s unique centreline construction. Instead of having one keel (the main longitudinal timber that forms the backbone of a ship), the vessel has two. The upper keel appears to be vital to the structural integrity of the ship. In the bow, it was strongly fastened to the stem (the vessel’s forward, vertical endpost) with a large bolt. Centred around midships, the moulded dimension of the upper keel increases for a length of approximately 13 feet (4 metres) to form what appears to be a trunk. This would have been the watertight compartment that housed the vessel’s daggerboard or centreboard.

Instead of crossing the keel, all of the frames along the length of the trunk are notched into the timber. This design weakens the centre of the vessel, but would have been required in order for a centreboard or daggerboard to be raised and lowered freely. The lower keel does not appear to be as necessary for the structural integrity of the vessel. It butts up against the stem, but shows no evidence of direct fastening to the timber, which is unusual. It is likely that the lower keel was added to the vessel when the daggerboard or centreboard was removed in order to compensate for its loss.

Evidence of the modification is also seen in the lower keelsons (two centreline timbers laid side by side over the frames and trunk to provide additional longitudinal strength). Each of these timbers has a patch extending out 1.5 inches (4 cm) from beneath the upper keelson in the area over the trunk. The patch appears to be made of pine and was likely inserted to fill the hole where the daggerboard or centreboard would have sat, to ensure that the vessel was watertight after its modification (see the labelled photograph).

The construction of the ceiling planking on the CityPlace Schooner provides clues to how the vessel may have been used. The schooner has two layers of ceiling planking. The lower layer is made up of large, thick planks that were likely carved from white oak and show evidence of caulking between the individual planks. The upper layer is formed from smaller timbers that were likely carved from pine.

The upper layer does not appear to have been added for the purpose of repairs, as the surface of the lower layer does not show signs of damage. Instead, it was likely added to ensure that the cargo hold was watertight, so the vessel could be used to transport goods such as grain, which would be ruined if it became damp.

Our preliminary analysis of the vessel’s construction supports the late 1820s or early 1830s construction date proposed by ASI. Schooners are two-masted vessels with fore-and-aft sails on each mast. Based on its hull shape and the ceiling planking, this schooner was a cargo carrier that likely transported grain or other cargo that required a watertight hull.

The vessel was initially constructed with either a daggerboard or a centreboard, which was later removed. We do not know the reasons for this modification but it is possible that the initial design was leaky and therefore unsuitable for cargo that needed to be kept dry.

We are continuing to process the data that we collected during the survey. We still do not know the name of the vessel but we are continuing to search the historical record in an attempt to identify the wreck.

A complete description of the survey results and an analysis of the vessel’s construction will be set forth in my Master’s thesis. Overall, the field season was a success and we believe that the data collected will provide valuable insights into the construction techniques used by early 19th-century Great Lakes shipbuilders and the early days of commercial sail on Lake Ontario.

Julia Herbst holds a BA in History and Political Science from Dickinson College and a JD from the George Washington University Law School. She is currently working on her Master’s in Nautical Archaeology from Texas A&M University. The widely respected program was created in 1976, and many of its early professors helped to establish the discipline of nautical archaeology.

Peter Rindlisbacher has been painting Great Lakes and War of 1812 subjects since the 1980s. His work appears on many magazine and book covers – including Robert Malcomson’s Lords of the Lakes (Robin Brass, 1998 and 2001) – as well as the sumptuous War of 1812: The Marine Art of Peter Rindlisbacher (Quarry Press, 2013), introduced by Donald E. Graves.

The Sketchfab model of the main hull can be found at https://skfb.ly/6AT7R while models of the stem, sternpost and other pieces are at https://sketchfab.com/tags/cityplaceschooner. A report by David Robertson and Thanos Webb on the initial discovery of the wreck is in the July 2015 (Vol.19, No.2) issue of the F&D, archived at www.fortyork.ca. Thanos is a graduate of the Nautical Archaeology program at Texas A&M.

A wooden sheave as prepared for documentation and storage or display. About 15 cm in diameter, it was part of a pulley system in the rigging of the schooner. Photo: Julia Herbst
Guy St-Denis tackles the questions of what is an authentic portrait of Sir Isaac Brock, who painted it and when, and how to distinguish it from the many other depictions of the Hero of Upper Canada. “Sometime between late May of 1809 and early July of 1810,” he writes, “Gerrit Schipper painted a pastel portrait of Brigadier General Isaac Brock in profile, facing right.”

St-Denis recounts in detail how and when Brock and Schipper met and how the painting was done. Brock kept that portrait as he moved to various posts and it was among his possessions after his death. His military aide de camp and friend Captain John Glegg sent it along with the general’s personal effects to his brother William in Guernsey. It was passed down to various members of the Brock and Tupper families on the island.

In 1960 the painting became the property of Captain Michael Mellish whose son, Nicholas, inherited it and in 2009 sold it to the Guernsey Museum and Art Gallery. There, finally, it remains – an authentic portrayal of the mature Isaac Brock.

The story is immediately complicated by the existence of an undated copy of Schipper’s portrait, made by an unknown artist. St-Denis refers to the copy being owned in 1881 by Mrs. George Huyshe, a descendant of the Brock family, while the original was held by Mrs. Henry Tupper, a descendant through marriage. The Schipper original is reproduced here (and is Plate 3 in the book; to compare it to the copy, the reader must turn the page).

St-Denis arrived at these findings after years of research in archives and consultations with archivists, librarians, art experts and curators of collections, historians and museum curators. His travels took him to Guernsey, where he examined and photographed the portraits possessed by Captain Mellish, and to England as well as to various parts of Canada and the United States.

Through the first three chapters, the author discusses in great detail why the Schipper portrait was rejected as an authentic portrayal of the Hero of Upper Canada. The problem began with Brock’s initial biographer, his nephew Ferdinand B. Tupper, who “seems to have disapproved of both”— meaning the original and the copy. In consequence, he suppressed knowledge of their existence.

The author is critical of later enthusiastic promoters of Canadian history who thought Brock should be depicted as a powerful, heroic figure preferably in something taller than the known half-length profile portrait. These promoters included Ontario’s Lieutenant Governor John Beverley Robinson, who commissioned a portrait by George Berthon, completed in 1883. It is now part of the Government of Ontario Art Collection.

Other members of this eager company were John Dent, publisher of volumes of illustrated historical biographies; Dr. John Hodgins, deputy minister of education; and the Misses Sara Mickle and Agnes FitzGibbon, both founding members of the Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto. The intricacies of these ladies’ search for authentic portraits of Brock amongst a bewildering variety of choices occupies two whole chapters.

The true face of Sir Isaac Brock is this portrayal – “Brigadier General Isaac Brock” – by Gerrit Schipper, completed in Guernsey two years before the general’s death at Queenston. Image courtesy of Guernsey Museums & Galleries (States of Guernsey)
The author then examines more recent and scholarly research, in particular that of Ludwig Kosche, a librarian at the Canadian War Museum whose initial interest was the various depictions of Brock's uniform. With this interest satisfied by the publication of an article, Kosche began to pursue the origins and authenticity of the profile portrait.

Writing in cautious language, he decided that the profile portrait depicted Brock as painted by William Berczy late in 1808 or in 1809. However, he also believed another miniature of c.1785 portrayed a teen-age Brock. St-Denis identifies this (Plate 25) as a portrait of Lieutenant John Brock, Isaac's elder brother (John Savery Brock, another brother, was referred to as Savery). After a critical review of Kosche's research, the author traces his own research involving considerable travel in order to consult a great variety of sources and obtain expert opinions from many people.

St-Denis provides more than 60 pages of detailed endnotes along with a lengthy bibliography and many acknowledgements of help received. He is an assiduous investigator, meticulous and perceptive in his scrutiny of sources and evidence. The plates are the great strength and highlight of the book. There are 35, most in colour, along with 66 black and white figures. The plates are portraits of Isaac Brock, Lt. George Dunn, John Brock as lieutenant and captain, John Savery Brock, and two unknown officers. Each plate's caption identifies its creator, the subject, the medium, its dimensions and current location. As well, there are comments about its source (e.g. a commissioned painting or a photograph) and some of its characteristics. Obtaining all this information is another tribute to the author's painstaking research.

There can be little doubt that St-Denis has established the authenticity of two portraits of Isaac Brock—as a young ensign (Plate 27) and as a mature officer (Plate 3). How and why Canadians want to depict heroic figures from their country's past remains, however, a continuing story.

Dr. Wesley B. Turner spent many years on the faculty of Brock University and is the author of British Generals in the War of 1812: High Command in the Canadas (MQUP 1999) and The Astonishing General: The Life and Legacy of Sir Isaac Brock (Dundurn 2011). He lives in Niagara-on-the-Lake.

For Further Reading

Guy St-Denis has been a librarian and independent scholar in London, Ontario, for many years. His book Tecumseh's Bones (MQUP 2005), an examination of the mysteries of the great warrior's final resting place, won the J.F. Talman Award from the Ontario Historical Society in 2006. Earlier this year he published "A Final Utterance: The Last Words of Sir Isaac Brock" in Ontario History, Vol.110, No.1 (Spring 2018).

Of the numberless biographies of Brock, the best modern work remains Turner's Astonishing General. Otherwise, soldiers will appreciate the firm military focus of A Matter of Honour: The Life, Campaigns and Generalship of Isaac Brock (Robin Brass Studio, 2011), by Jonathon Riley – a British lieutenant-general with a Ph.D in history and experience in operations from Sierra Leone to the Balkans to Afghanistan.

Ferdinand Brock Tupper's 1845 edition of The Life and Correspondence of Sir Isaac Brock was republished by Bibliobazaar in 2007. Exhaustive collections of papers and documents on the war and the general were edited by E.A. Cruikshank, militiaman and military historian, before the First World War.

A charming example of the hagiography of Brock is Walter Nursey's account for schools The Story of Isaac Brock: Hero, Defender and Saviour of Upper Canada, 1812 (Briggs, 1908). Brock's life in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Vol.V, p.109) was written by the venerable C.P. Stacey.

An elegant precursor to St-Denis' work is this monograph on the portraits of James Wolfe by J.Clarence Webster (1863-1950) published by the Ryerson Press in 1930. Born in Shediac, N.B., Webster enjoyed a stellar career in Chicago as a physician specializing in obstetrics.

Returning home in 1919, he took up a second career as an historian, especially of New Brunswick but ranging across the Maritimes. His wealth, connections and erudition allowed him to accumulate great treasures of Canadiana, notably on Acadia, and he served on many heritage boards and commissions. Most of his collection is now in the New Brunswick Museum, Saint John.

"There can be no doubt that no other military or naval celebrity of British birth has been so often depicted in paintings, engravings or plastic works of art," he declares in his Preface. "In this small volume I have endeavoured to present an analytical study of the best known of these." It includes 29 plates, most of them black and white.

Among them is this sketch by William De Laune, a young subordinate of Wolfe’s who ultimately (as a captain) led the vanguard up the cliff at Quebec. It was tucked into Wolfe’s own scribbled-in copy of Bland’s Treatise on Military Discipline, which he had given to Ensign De Laune in 1752. By 1930, it was a gem in Dr. Webster’s own collection.
Irregular warfare wounds Niagara

by Donald E. Graves


Introduction

Following his defeat at the battle of Chippawa on July 5, 1814, the British commander, Major-General Phineas Riall, remained on the north bank of the Chippawa (Welland) River for three days and then retreated to Lake Ontario. Leaving a strong garrison in Forts George and Mississauga, he next withdrew the greater part of his division to an area near the modern city of St. Catharines. There, Riall waited. His American counterpart, Major-General Jacob Brown, paused for a few days and then advanced to Queenston. There he also waited because he was expecting the American naval squadron on Lake Ontario to besiege the forts at the mouth of the Niagara River. The result was a period of nearly three weeks when the regular forces of the two belligerents were not seriously engaged. There was, however, constant skirmishing as the Canadian militia carried out an active guerrilla campaign against the invaders.

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n contrast to the previous year, when many residents of the Niagara had remained neutral and others had actively aided the enemy, attitudes had now changed. Riall reported that “almost the whole body of militia is in arms, and seem actuated by the most determined hostility to the enemy.” This was no exaggeration; not only did the men of Lincoln turn out willingly for militia service, many began on their own initiative to actively harass the invaders. Soon no American was safe outside the perimeter of his camp.

There were reasons for this shift in attitude. In April 1814, the British and American governments had reached an agreement on paroles – all Lincoln militiamen paroled in 1813 were released from their obligations on May 15 and therefore “liable to be called upon for militia duties from that date.” Many of the recent American immigrants who had been living in the Peninsula had either departed for the United States or were keeping very quiet as it was clear that, with the end of the war in Europe, Britain would be sending reinforcements to North America that would tip the scales against the republic.

There was also the matter of the so-called Ancaster Bloody Assize, a series of trials for high treason held in June, which resulted in eight men being hanged at Burlington Heights. There were still some disaffected persons in the province who supported the invaders but they were very careful about the extent of their activity. Finally, there was the presence of Joseph Willcocks, whose renegade Canadian Volunteers, many of whom were prewar residents of the Niagara, led American patrols and foraging parties during the summer of 1814. Willcocks was detested for his role in the destruction of Newark the previous December as were his men, who cheerfully resumed their plundering. All these elements combined to create increased support for the Crown and a marked animosity toward the invaders.

The Lincoln militia were particularly active. Hamilton Merritt noted that they “were daily skirmishing and driving in the Americans parties [sic], who were plundering every house they could get at.” This also was no exaggeration. The two weeks that followed Riall’s retreat from Chippawa witnessed constant raids, attacks and ambushes carried out by the militia, Merritt’s dragoons and allied warriors. On July 15, New York Brigadier-General Peter B. Porter, whose volunteer brigade carried out most of the American patrolling and suffered accordingly, reported that five of his mounted men were captured “by a party of 15 or 20 Canadian militia who live on the [River] road, but who had secreted themselves in the woods on our approach, and were advised of all our movements and position by the women who were thronging around us on our march.” This was fact, as Merritt recorded in his diary that he often received information about enemy troop strengths and movements from local women.

“The whole population is against us,” complained an American officer, “not a foraging party but is fired on, and not unfrequently returns with missing numbers.” On July 17, a detachment from the 1st Lincolns attacked an American mounted patrol and captured its officer. Lieutenant-Colonel John Tucker, commanding the garrison of the forts, praised the Lincoln militia, who “harassed the enemy in a very manly and spirited style.”
Porter attributed the frequent attacks on his troops to Brown’s “generous policy of suffering the inhabitants who profess neutrality, to remain unmolested” and requested that civilians be kept away from the American camp – even those who claimed to be friends of the republic. In retaliation for the numerous attacks, Porter’s men began to burn dwellings near ambush sites and Riall soon reported that the enemy had destroyed every house between Queenston and the falls. Matters got worse on July 18 when a sizeable force from Porter’s brigade, probably guided by the Canadian Volunteers, entered St. Davids stating that “it was their avowed intention to burn, plunder, and destroy that Tory village, as they had been well informed” – by Willcocks’ men, no doubt – “that it had been headquarters for the British troops, and they were fully determined that they should not find shelter in that place if they ever return.”

A total of 21 structures, valued at £5,371, were put to the torch. “My God, what a service,” commented an American officer whose unit was sent to support Porter’s men. “I never witnessed such a scene.” Although Brown immediately dismissed the commanding officer of the troops who carried out this egregious act of vandalism, it only heightened Canadian hatred of the invader.

But it was not all one way. During the evening of July 16, Merritt’s little troop of dragoons was ambushed by a large enemy force near St. Davids. His men “received two rounds from near 200 of the Enemy, within pistol shot” but only lost a man wounded and another captured. On July 22, a party of officers from the 2nd York were dining at Elijah’s house, on the escarpment two miles west of St. Davids, when they were ambushed. Merritt recorded that

Not dreaming of any danger [they] were surprised by a party of 2 or 300 under the command of Wilcox the Traitor. They came round by the Mountain, got up and surrounded the House before they were perceived. Thompson, Simonds and McCasley ran up stairs with their Muskets and fired out of the window, killing a[n American] Dragoon and wounding several horses. They refused to surrender, until Captain Harris of the Enemy’s [regular] Dragoons arrived and offered them quarter, although they were abused and insulted in a most barbarous manner after being made prisoners [sic]. Wilcox and party then made a hasty retreat after burning the good mans house in the most wanton manner.

Willcocks’ presence with the invaders was well known and he was himself a prime target. Riall reported that one Lincoln raiding party ambushed an American patrol near St. Davids and Willcocks “was in the village at the time, but unfortunately escaped.” A few days later Benajah Mallory, second in command of the Canadian Volunteers and also a former member of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, was nearly “taken by another party near the Beaver Dams.”

While this guerrilla warfare was being waged, the two opposing commanders tried to divine each other’s intentions. On July 15, Brown sent Porter and his brigade forward from the American camp at Queenston to reconnoitre Fort George. Five days later, Brown gave up on Chauncey’s naval squadron and moved his entire army to invest Forts George and Mississauga without its support. Convinced his troops could meet and beat his enemy in open battle, Brown wanted to lure the British out from behind their defences and demonstrated before the forts for two days to no avail.

The American commander was in a quandary. If he mounted a formal siege of the forts, he would have Riall at his back; if he went after Riall, the garrison of the forts would be in his rear. When he was unable to get the defenders, which included the Coloured Company, out of the forts to fight in the open, Brown
began to withdraw his army to Queenston on July 21, intending to fall back to re-supply at the depot he had established at Samuel Street’s farm just south of Chippawa.

Riall also re-aligned his division. On July 18, he echeloned his army from his advanced post at the 4-Mile Creek to the 12-Mile and 20-Mile Creeks. The Incorporated Militia were at the advanced post, brigaded with the Glengarry Light Infantry under the redoubtable Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Pearson.

Lieutenant-General Drummond had previously ordered the militia of the peninsula and surrounding area to assemble at Burlington Bay and when they arrived in large numbers, he formed them into two brigades under regular officers. The 1st Brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Love Parry Jones of the 103rd Foot, comprised the 1st, 2nd, 4th and 5th Lincolns and 2nd York Regiments, while the 2nd Brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher Hamilton of the 100th Foot, comprised the 1st and 2nd Norfolk, 1st Essex and 1st Middlesex County Regiments. Riall described the militia as “fine, serviceable men,” mainly farmers, but warned that “their hay being now receiving injury and their corn ripening fast, they will not be induced, I fear,” to remain in service for a long period.

On July 19 Riall moved Jones’ 1st Brigade forward to the 10-Mile Creek and threw out pickets on a line from there to DeCew’s house. The following day, when Merritt reported that Queenston Heights and village had been evacuated by the enemy, Jones ordered the 1st and 2nd Lincolns to occupy the area. Jones expected that Riall would shift the major part of his forces to join him in what was “the best position in the country” but Riall was intent on watching Brown in front of Fort George.

When the Americans withdrew from Fort George on July 21, they found that the 1st Lincoln and the 2nd York Regiments had somewhat cheekily occupied Queenston Heights. The result was a day-long skirmish in and around the heights but American numbers soon told and the Lincolns and Yorkers were unceremoniously swept out of the area. Two days later, Brown withdrew to the area of the falls and, on July 24, pulled back farther south to Chippawa.

The stage was now set for the Battle of Lundy’s Lane, not far from the falls, on the following night. It would be the bloodiest action of the war fought on Canadian soil.

An 1813 gunner of the 1st Lincoln Artillery Company with his 6-pounder field gun, as imagined today by artist Greg Legge. The company played an important role in the defence of Fort George and Newark in May 1813. This pen-and-ink rendering (and of the sergeant on the previous page) is part of a series of uniform plates commissioned for the regiment’s forthcoming history. Courtesy of LWRF

Donald E. Graves is the author or editor of more than 20 authoritative works of military history from publishers as varied as Art Global, Pen & Sword and Dundurn. His ‘Forgotten Soldiers’ trilogy on the War of 1812 from Robin Brass Studio comprises Field of Glory, Where Right and Glory Lead, and And All Their Glory Past on the battles of Crysler’s Farm, Chippawa, Lundy’s Lane and Fort Erie. He has also written a thesis on the traitor Joseph Willcocks.

This excerpt and the artwork of Greg Legge are used by permission of The Lincoln and Welland Regiment Foundation and may not be reproduced without further permission. Legge lives in Beamsville, Ontario, and has been working professionally as an artist for the past six years.
**Anthology of The Fife and Drum sets sail**

The book launch of our own collection of stories on November 1 was blessed with brief speeches, plentiful refreshments, a surprise dessert from the historic kitchens and an abundance of lively conversation. It was hosted by the Fort York Foundation and The Friends of Fort York and Garrison Common – FOFY to its friends – in the gleaming lobby of the award-winning Visitor Centre. Photos: Alison Rose and (wide view) Andrew Stewart

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**A note on heritage restoration**

It was brought to our attention that the opening of the article “Fort York’s brick masonry restored” in the October 2018 edition of *The Fife and Drum* unintentionally dismissed decades of restoration efforts on the part of numerous professionals then and still working in the field: city staff, heritage architects and qualified contractors. For this, we apologize. We know that the best of the work done in the recent past was in fact to the highest standard.

While it is true that over the last 200 years there have been unsuccessful or inappropriate restoration projects at Fort York, 200 years is a long time, and the science of building conservation has developed considerably. As knowledge increases and material science is refined, the resources available to conservation professionals improve.

The era of using Portland cement-based mortar has long passed, and masonry projects at Fort York during the last 40 years relied on traditional lime-based mortars. Replacement bricks of an appropriate size, material and colour are now much more readily available. The study of traditional lime-based mortars, sometimes also with cement, has increased beyond the realm even of many conservation professionals, which is why laboratory-based testing was used for the most recent interventions. The lessons learned this way will be shared and so can be applied to future masonry projects.

*Bob Kennedy*

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*Shingles being replaced on the roof of the North Soldiers’ Barracks in the autumn of 2018. Look for a comprehensive report in a future F&D. Photo: Courtesy M&HS*
What The Friends of Fort York and Garrison Common Do: Our Accomplishments for 2018

• published Fort York: Stories from the Birthplace of Toronto, an anthology of articles from The Fife and Drum edited by Adrian Gamble and designed by Ted Smolak. Copies are available in the fort’s Canteen and at the Spacing Store, 401 Richmond St. W.

• employed 20 young men and women in the Fort York Summer Guard, who bring the fort to life with historical animation. They participated in major heritage presentations at Fort York, Old Fort Erie, and Fort George as well as working with animation staffs at Forts George, Malden, and Erie. The Guard also took part in two Bentway events: the Strachan Gate opening and The 1812 Overture performed as part of the Toronto Summer Music Festival. Responsibility for the Guard is shared between the City and The Friends, who managed generous grants from Canada Summer Jobs and Young Canada Works.

• regrouped following the death on April 22 of Stephen Otto, who played a founding role in The Friends and the Fort York Foundation. A celebration marking his appointment to the Order of Canada had been held in Toronto on February 20.

• accepted with regret the resignation from the board of Ceta Ramkhelawansingh, and welcomed four new directors: Bruce Gooding, Kevin Leung, Anna Okorokov and Alison Rose.

• working with Richard Gerrard at City of Toronto Museums, granted $5,000 to support the research of Julia Herbst, graduate student at Texas A&M University’s Nautical Archaeology program, and her colleagues, on the remains of the CityPlace Schooner.

• remained grateful for the time and effort of the Precinct Advisory Committee: Robert Allsopp, Pamela Robinson, Melanie Hare, Marc Ryan, Rick Merrill and Lisa Rochon. Representatives worked with Metrolinx to refine a design brief for the Ordnance Switching Station and other infrastructure related to the electrification of the Lakeshore corridor. Advice was contributed to the redevelopment of the Quality Meats site and a watching brief maintained on 89-101 Niagara St. The group is also working with our councillor, the City, Waterfront Toronto and the Bentway to acquire the Corten steel panels needed to complete the Bentway’s extension to the Fort York Visitor Centre.

• published four issues of The Fife and Drum, full of news and articles of interest about the fort and the neighbourhood. More than 15 authors – including Carl Benn, Wesley Turner, Donald Graves, Shawn Micallef and Victor Russell – had bylines in the issues of 2018.

• developed a strategy for a wider distribution of The Fife and Drum in the neighbourhoods adjacent to Fort York

• organized meetings of an expanded Neighbourhood Committee chaired by Anna Okorokov, with participation by volunteers Sarah Cranston, Patrick Quealey and Andrew Stewart, and fort staff Erica Roppolo and Kristine Williamson.

• co-hosted a ‘Fort Night’ on September 20 to attract neighbours for an after-work introductory tour of the fort with refreshments in the Officers’ Mess Kitchen.

• our volunteers in the Resource Centre, Nancy Baines and Heather Cirulis, devoted one day a week to organizing the collections of reference materials for the use of fort staff and visitors. We also added into our collections books donated by Donald S. Macdonald and others.

• begun nine years ago by The Friends, the Fort York Community Citizenship Committee in November hosted the 17th special Citizenship Ceremony at the fort. Thirty-nine new citizens were welcomed with a prayer by an Indigenous elder, music, roundtable discussions exploring the meaning of Canadian citizenship, and a luncheon of elk, three sisters vegetables, bannock, salad and pastries from the fort’s kitchen.

• organized a dinner on a cost-recovery basis for current and past directors of The Friends.

• tallied 78,600 visits on our website www.fortyork.ca, which makes 524,200 hits since its launch May 2012. The site serves as both an educational resource and a marketing tool for Fort York. It is also a source of donations; it enables downloads of The Fife and Drum and encourages new subscribers; and helps new members join and current ones renew their memberships.

For comparison, our accomplishments for 1994 to 2017 can be found at www.fortyork.ca/about-us/our-accomplishments.html.
Manager’s Report
by David O’Hara, Site Manager

Moving into the fall at Fort York used to involve transitioning from a busy summer season with the Summer Guard and a handful of events to just getting ready for the return of school visits. The reality now is that the event season is year-round and we’re doing more in a full calendar year than ever before.

In September we developed a rich program to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the Canadian contribution to the final days of the First World War. On September 21 staff and volunteer re-enactment groups provided a free education day for local schools. During the weekend were military displays, exhibits – including one from the Vimy Foundation – and demonstrations by uniformed re-enactment units. Authentic foods from the front line and the home front were prepared by our own kitchens. We offered Alison Norman’s lecture “In Defence of an Empire: Six Nations of the Grand River and the Great War,” 10 Short Films from Toronto’s Great War Attic, and much more.

A huge thank-you goes out to all involved in this multi-faceted event. It clearly demonstrated the depth and range of expertise we have on staff here at Fort York as well as the strong network of partners and supporters we lean on to pull this kind of event together. (For pictures of the Canada’s Hundred Days weekend, see the previous issue of the F&D, archived at www.fortyork.ca, or scroll through the fort’s Facebook page).

One of the highlights from this living history weekend was the release of Recipes for Victory: Great War Food from the Front and Kitchens Back Home in Canada by Whitecap Books in Vancouver. Created by staff and volunteers at Fort York National Historic Site, this lavishly illustrated cookbook features kitchen-tested recipes from a century ago that will support the Historic Foodways Program here at the fort. Available in our own Canteen, the book is distributed internationally by Whitecap (and there’s a great recipe from the book on page 16).

Another aspect of culinary history at the fort was Canada’s Table, held on October 13 “in celebration of our cookbooks.” The one-day event was packed with workshops and talks by the likes of Bonnie Stern, Anna Olson, Tara O’Brady, Matt Basile and David Wolfman. Our thanks to Bridget Wranich, Elizabeth Baird and the entire Organizing Committee for putting together such a wonderful – and inaugural – Canada’s Table.

Also this fall we again hosted the Rexall OneWalk to Conquer Cancer, when more than 3,200 participants raised over $4.7 million for the cause. On September 29, the Sick Kids Foundation held its annual event at Fort York, this year with the Barenaked Ladies headlining the Get Loud Festival. The first weekend of October saw the Jumbies Theatre presentation of “Talking Treaties” with artists and visitors singing, dancing, and acting their way around Fort York, sharing stories of the complex treaty history of the city. And on October 20 and 21, Fort York hosted Toronto’s Soup Festival. Our scary Halloween programming had another successful season with the After Dark Tours running for five consecutive nights, most of them sold out.

Fort York staff continued to collaborate with The Bentway on many initiatives throughout the fall. The largest was on the weekend of October 13-15, when we hosted an installation under the Gardiner by renowned Dutch artist Daan Roosegaarde called Waterlicht. This brought as many as 30,000 people down to Fort York.

Pausing to reflect is Chris Glover, Member of Provincial Parliament for Spadina–Fort York, after placing a wreath by the flag of the Strachan Avenue Military Burial Ground, November 11, 2018. Photo: Sid Calzavara
If you had managed to stay until the early hours of October 14, you would have been able to watch the second span of Garrison Crossing, the Fort York pedestrian and bicycle bridge, being hoisted into place across the southern rail corridor. The bridge, which will open in 2019, will connect Liberty Village, Niagara and other neighbourhoods to the north with Fort York and the waterfront.

On November 10, Fort York staff in historic uniforms participated in the rededication of Coronation Park, immediately south of the armoury. Fort York and other Museums & Heritage Services staff helped develop plans for the park’s rehabilitation. Those in attendance included the Mayor, the Lieutenant Governor and a strong guard of The Royal Regiment of Canada in ceremonial scarlets. The next day, on the 100th anniversary of the armistice that marked the end of the First World War, close to 1,500 people attended Fort York’s annual ceremony at the Strachan Avenue Military Burial Ground; see the photo on this page and the Remembrance Day gallery at www.theglobeandmail.com.

On November 15, with the Institute for Canadian Citizenship, 39 new Canadians were sworn in at one of our annual enhanced citizenship ceremonies. The event featured round-table discussions, an Indigenous feast and music. Special guests and speakers included our MPP Chris Glover, Ontario Heritage Trust Executive Director Beth Hannah, and Don Cranston, Chair of The Friends of Fort York.

Finally, on the first day of December, more than 700 visitors came to our seventh annual Frost Fair. Visitors enjoyed all kinds of demonstrations and activities – notably the East York Barbershoppers – and were able to peruse vendors as varied as The Cedar Basket Gift Shop, the Lone Wolf Trading Company, ChocoSol, Toronto’s First Post Office, and more.

With the onset of winter comes the return of The Bentway’s figure-eight Skate Trail. The uniqueness of being able to skate under the Gardiner, tracing what was once the shoreline of Lake Ontario, is one of the reasons we agreed to bring The Bentway to Fort York National Historic Site. We hope you take the chance to come down for a skate and to visit the fort’s many original buildings and displays when you're here.
Victoria Memorial Square is the site of Toronto’s first military burial ground. Set aside by Lieutenant Governor Simcoe in 1794, its first occupant was Simcoe’s own 15-month-old daughter, Katherine, who was buried on Easter Monday of that year. Her heartbroken mother tells the story in a letter that can be read on a board in the square today.

The burial ground was in use until 1863, by which time several hundred bodies had been buried. The history of the cemetery since then is sorry indeed. By the mid-1950s all the wooden markers, and most of the stone ones, were gone. In 2010 the 17 surviving gravestones – only 12 of them identifiable – were collected into the present arrangement, designed by ERA Architects.

Originally, the steel mounts of the gravestones held a clear plastic film displaying the text of the inscriptions. These films did not last and so staff at Fort York National Historic Site – which this square has been part of since 2003 – began seeking a more lasting solution. After consulting ERA, etched stainless-steel panels were created to be attached firmly (and invisibly) to the existing mounts. They were installed on November 13 by WSI Sign Systems Ltd.

Among the most poignant gravestones is this one (left) made for Charlotte, the 36-year-old wife of John Armitage, who died in April, 1819. It cites the opening lines of an English hymn by Isaac Watts:

“When I can read my title clear, To Mansions in the skies, / I’ll bid farewell to every fear, And wipe my weeping eyes.”
lieutenant-Colonel James Stocker, a Torontonian who has risen up through the ranks of the regiment, is the new CO of the reconnaissance unit based at Fort York Armoury. Perpetuating the 1st and 3rd Regiments of York Militia, as well as the 20th Battalion of the First World War, the Rangers are heirs to the traditions of Simcoe’s own regiment brought to York in 1793.

Lt.-Col. Stocker belongs to a new generation of Reserve unit commanders who have real experience in overseas operations, an advantage not seen since the last officers with Second World War experience retired in the 1980s. There are two kinds of COs in the Militia: those who have always been Reserve officers and have grown up inside their own units, and those whose careers were in the full-time Regular army – and who’ve accumulated a lifetime of operational experience and contacts – and who assume command of an unfamiliar regiment after transferring to the Reserve.

The new CO joined the regiment when he was still at Northern Secondary. Commissioning in 2002, he did his reconnaissance training at CFB Gagetown and served as a regimental officer in the field and at the armoury. He also has the crucial experience of having served on the staffs of Canadian headquarters all the way up to National Defence HQ.

During the winter of 2008-2009 he was deployed to the Provincial Reconstruction Team in Kandahar, where he spent much time outside the wire. The following year he was part of the army’s task force for the G8/G20 Summits. He began 2018 as the senior Canadian liaison officer to the coalition headquarters fighting ISIS in Syria and Iraq. Added to this operational experience is a history degree from York and qualifications from Canadian staff colleges and the British Territorial Army Command & Staff College. Lt.-Col. Stocker is still only 36.

The parade on September 29 at the armoury was reviewed by the Honourable Elizabeth Dowdeswell, the Lieutenant Governor, who – as Simcoe’s successor – is also Colonel of the Regiment. The same parade installed a new Regimental Sergeant Major, the long-serving Chief Warrant Officer Chris Duncan.

The outgoing Regimental Sergeant-Major is CWO Frank Atyeo, who also joined the regiment in high school. As a young trooper in 1994 he served with the chaotic United Nations operation in Bosnia, and more recently, with NATO in Kandahar as the quartermaster of an intelligence unit. He was named Best Senior Non-Commissioned Officer of the Toronto brigade in 2006 and during his career with the Rangers earned every distinction there is. His replacement, CWO Chris Duncan, has been with the regiment since 1980 and, beyond a series of domestic deployments, has deep experience in the leading and training of recruits.

CWO Chris Duncan is the new Regimental Sergeant Major. Photo: Courtesy DND
Deviled Eggs
for the most fashionable parties of 1915

Like many early Canadian companies in the food business, the Moffat Stove Company of Weston, Ontario, published its own cookbook “with the object,” it said, “of standardizing Canadian cookery.” According to Elizabeth Driver’s Culinary Landmarks, the recipes were solicited from the public and organized by an unnamed teacher. She was probably Margaret Davidson, who was then the Director of Domestic Science at the entirely up-to-date Toronto Technical School (which has become the familiar Central Tech). By including reference tables and sample menus, the Moffat cookbook made itself useful as a textbook, too.

Among its wartime recipes was that cheerful addition to so many party platters and picnics, the Deviled Egg (spelled by Moffat as if the idea were American). No mayonnaise and no salad dressing is used in this recipe: it’s the melted butter and the punch of vinegar and mustard that make these eggs deliciously different. Their insistent colour and that inviting pose ensure they’re not on the platter for long.

Original Recipe
The Moffat Standard Canadian Cookbook, 1915

Cut 4 hard boiled eggs in halves, crosswise. Remove yolks, mash and add ¼ teaspoon mustard, 1 teaspoon vinegar, salt and cayenne to taste. Add enough melted butter to make mixture of the right consistency to shape. Form in balls and refill whites, sprinkle with dry parsley and serve on a lettuce leaf.

Modern Equivalent
Recipes for Victory, 2018

4 hard-cooked eggs
1 tbsp (15 ml) butter, melted
1 tsp (5 ml) white vinegar
¼ tsp (1 ml) dry mustard powder
¼ tsp (1 ml) salt
pinch cayenne pepper
minced fresh parsley and torn lettuce leaves

Peel eggs and cut in half crosswise. Scoop out the yolks into a bowl. Set the whites aside. Add the butter, vinegar, mustard, salt and cayenne pepper to the yolks; mash vigorously until smooth. Divide the yolk mixture into 8 equal portions and roll each into a small smooth ball. Trim the ends of the whites so they stand up. Insert a seasoned yolk ball into each white. Garnish with fresh parsley and serve on a bed of lettuce.

These deviled eggs are cut at the equator, not lengthwise, and trimmed a bit on the bottom so they stand up on their own. Does this wartime recipe owe anything to the author of Gulliver’s Travels? Photo: Christophe Jivraj, Museums & Heritage Services

This new cookbook is all about eating, on the Western Front and in Canada, during the Great War. Authentic recipes appear just before their modern, easy-to-follow equivalents. It is richly illustrated and has three substantial essays that place the foods into the context of the war to end all wars. There are chapters on army rations, on cakes for your sweetheart overseas, recipes that conserved vital supplies and others to make easy the Victory Bond soiree. Co-edited by Elizabeth Baird (of Canadian Living fame) and Bridget Wranich, of the fort’s own culinary historians, Recipes for Victory was published for the Centenary of the Armistice by the City of Toronto and Whitecap Books.
The Winter Season at Fort York

Weekdays, 10 am to 4 pm
Weekends, 10 am to 5 pm

Enjoy the winter landscape at Fort York National Historic Site, open seven days a week! Discover the quiet beauty of the fort's original 1812-era buildings blanketed in snow. Warm up with a hot drink and some baking from the fort's historic kitchen while shopping in the Canteen, where non-digital books, inexpensive toys and 18th-century pastimes abound. Explore the indoor exhibits of historic buildings. In the sleek new Visitor Centre see a brief introduction on film to the fort's history and then experience the excitement of a multi-media Battle of York.

Regular admission: Adults: $12.40; Seniors: $8.85; Youths: $7.10; Children: $5.30 plus tax; Children 5 and under are free.

Bring your skates! The Bentway @ Fort York skating trail in front of the Visitor Centre is open until February 18, Family Day. Visit www.bentway.ca for hours of operation.

FEBRUARY

Family Winter Fun Day
Monday, February 18
Fort York Historic Buildings: 10 am to 5 pm
Fort York Visitor Centre: 10 am to 9 pm

Explore the history of Toronto with all kinds of hands-on activities, pop-up shows and multi-dimensional exhibits at Fort York National Historic Site. During the day, visit the fort's 1826 historic kitchen and sample some baking and hot chocolate from the original stone hearth. Blue Barracks Hall will be an amazing scene of crafts and family fun brought down to the fort from museums all across the city, including Gibson House, Spadina Museum, Montgomery's Inn, Todmorden Mills and Mackenzie House. In the evening, stay warm in the Fort York Visitor Centre with family-friendly performances, activities and face painting. Make sure to bring your skates – The Bentway @ Fort York skating trail will be open until 9 pm.

ALL FREE

Hungry for Comfort: A Celebration of Food History
Saturday, February 23, 8:30 am to 3:30 pm

Come together with fellow food enthusiasts for tastings, workshops and professional demonstrations that explore how people in centuries gone by survived and even thrived during Canada’s long winter months. Presented this year in partnership with the Ontario Black History Society. Ticket price includes refreshments and a multi-course luncheon.

Early bird ticket: $65 plus tax (until February 3); Regular ticket: $75 plus tax. Advance tickets required: https://fortyork.streamintickets.com

MARCH

March Break Family Drop-in
March 11 to 17, 10 am to 4 pm

Bring your family down to Fort York National Historic Site for a day of March Break adventure! Children will have fun dressing up in period costumes and experiencing soldiers’ foot drill, officers’ sword drill and musical workshops. Pick up a Kids’ Guide to Fort York and have fun finding the clues to complete games and puzzles throughout your tour.

Visitors of all ages can sample treats from the hearth of the 1826 historic kitchen. Indoor exhibits of the historic buildings will be open while the Fort York Visitor Centre has the excitement of the multi-media Battle of York Experience. No registration required.

Regular admission: Adults: $12.40; Seniors: $8.85; Youths: $7.10; Children: $5.30 plus tax; Children 5 and under are free.