The Fife and Drum

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Inside

The American squadron *approaches York early on the morning of April 27, 1813. This new painting by Peter Rindlisbacher, the most brilliant illustrator of the War of 1812, is a fresh view of "the most traumatic day in the history of Toronto." (oil on canvas, 36" x 24") Photo by John Howarth for A. Stewart*

The dawn of the invasion of Toronto

by Gary Gibson

The first year of the War of 1812 did not go well for the young United States. After a steady series of defeats – at the top of Lake Michigan, at Detroit, at Queenston, and in northern New York – by the spring of 1813 the only American soldiers on Canadian soil were prisoners of war. Clearly, conquering Canada would not be "a mere matter of marching," as Thomas Jefferson remarked in a letter to a friend shortly after the war began.

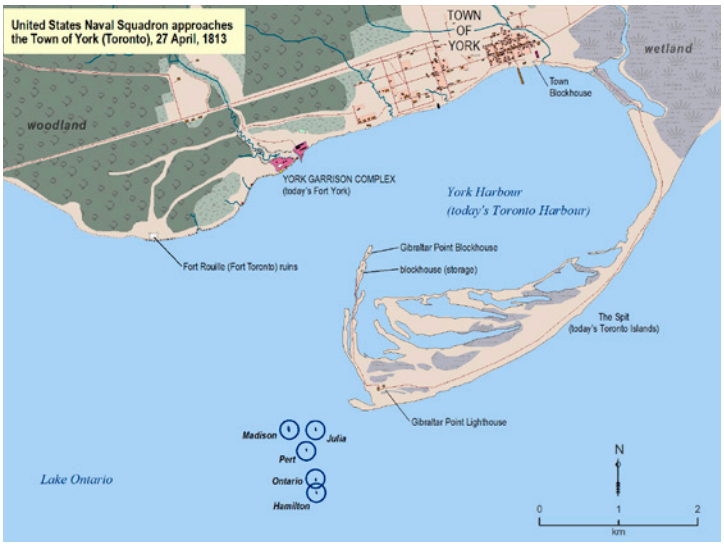
A new plan was made and its first move was a major raid on the little town of York (later to regain its original name of Toronto). The target was well chosen. The town was more lightly defended than the formidable base at Kingston. There was a warship bigger than anything the Americans had on Lake Ontario that was soon to be launched. And York was the capital of Upper Canada, whose capture would be a major propaganda victory and a huge boost to American morale.

On Sunday, April 25, 1813 – as soon as the ice cleared – a US Navy squadron of 13 warships, commanded by Commodore Isaac Chauncey, sailed from Sackets Harbor, New York, at the

Continued on page 2

eastern end of Lake Ontario. On board were almost 1,800 troops, including artillery, of Brigadier General Zebulon Pike's brigade. Defending York was a collection of British regulars, York militia and First Nations warriors totalling about 1,000 men under the command of Major General Sir Roger Sheaffe (the successor to Isaac Brock, killed the previous October).

The painting shows the five leading warships in Chauncey's squadron as they approach York shortly after dawn on a sunny Tuesday, April 27. All ships have sails set to take advantage of the rising east wind. Leading is the 24-gun corvette *Madison* flying Chauncey's broad blue pendant (as it was called then) on the mainmast. It's likely that he was also flying, as we see in the painting, a signal flag on the mizzen mast: "Regulate your sailing by the Commodore."



Original map courtesy of Dr. Andrew Stewart

Following the flagship are the armed merchant schooners *Julia*, *Pert*, *Ontario* and *Hamilton*. The remaining seven schooners and the 18-gun brig *Oneida* are out of view to the right (the other schooners were named *Raven*, *Governor Tompkins*, *Fair American, Growler, Asp, Scourge* and *Conquest*).

All the ships are packed with troops and towing empty flat-bottomed boats soon to be used as landing craft. The figures shown on deck are naval officers and crewmen and a variety of army officers. It had been an unpleasant crossing: "Heavy squalls, many of the men sick," wrote one junior officer in his journal. The enlisted men remained below deck during the entire voyage where it was dark, cold, and damp. Cooking was impossible and there weren't any toilets. For most this was their first time afloat, and they'd already spent several days onboard waiting to leave Sackets Harbor.

The squadron is shown passing the 52-foot-tall Gibraltar Point Lighthouse, visible between *Hamilton's* foresails. Their intended landing point, west of the town near the ruins of the old French Fort Rouillé, is just out of view to the left.

For a variety of reasons, York's defence was disorganized and unsuccessful. At the same time, the American operation was well resourced, well planned and well executed, especially in the cooperation achieved between the navy and the army. The raiding force captured the 10-gun Provincial Marine schooner *Duke of Gloucester* and caused the retreating British to destroy the 30-gun corvette *Sir Isaac Brock* that was in the final stages of construction. The town's fortifications and public buildings were destroyed, huge amounts of public stores were carried away, and the town was occupied for five days – American authorities not entirely succeeding in preventing the looting of private property, particularly of the town's businesses.

The raid on York was the first major American victory of the war and it was celebrated loudly throughout the Republic.

Dr. Gary Gibson of Sackets Harbor, N.Y., is a retired computer scientist and a distinguished historian of the naval war on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence. He is a past president of the Sackets Harbor Battlefield Alliance. For an outline of primary and secondary sources on the Battle of York, see page 12. "The most traumatic day …" is from the dust jacket of Robert Malcomson's comprehensive account of the battle. Peter Rindlisbacher's 2021 painting is titled "American Squadron Approaches York; April 27, 1813."

Robert Scott and the Coloured Corps

by Adrienne Shadd

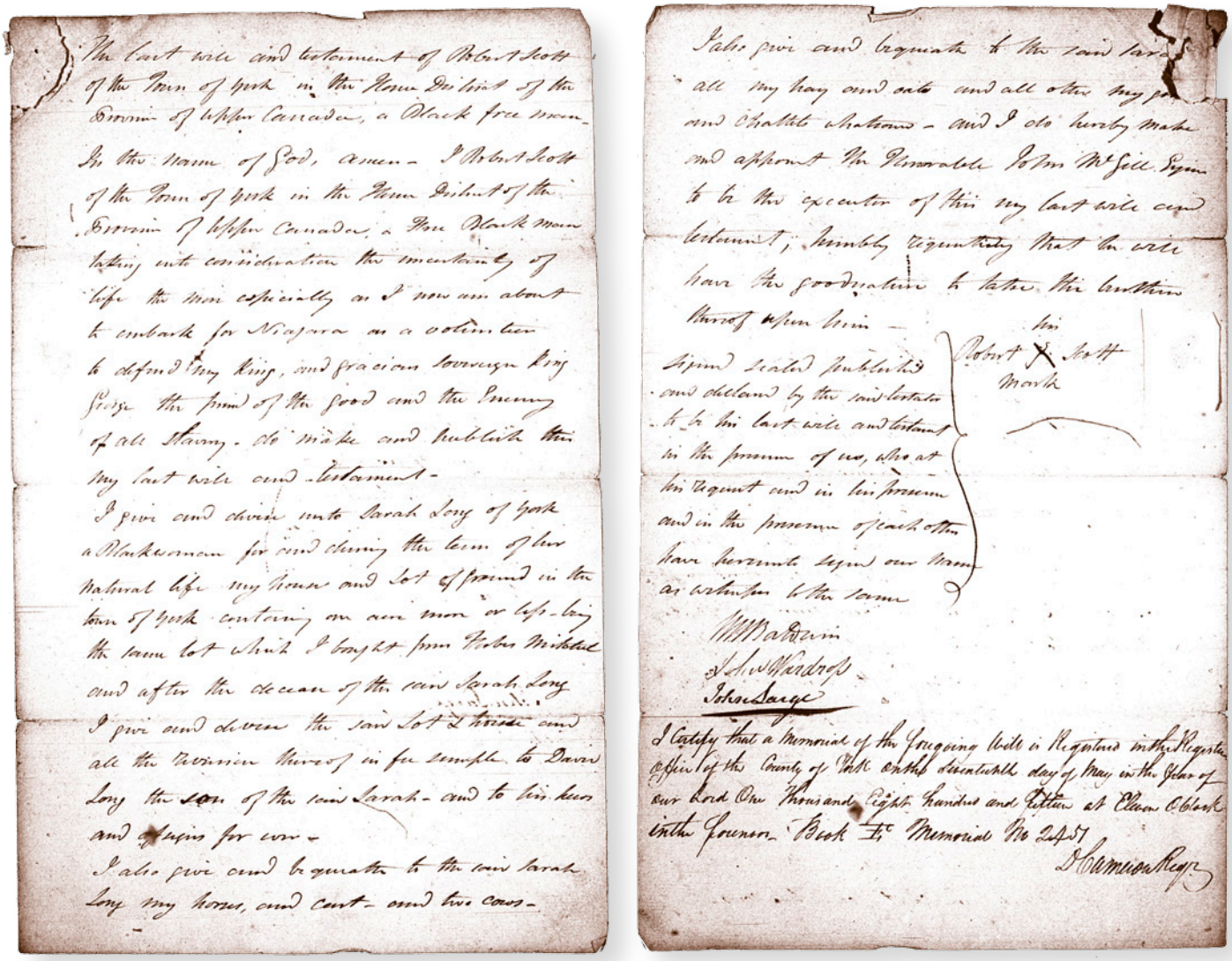
Robert Scott was a free Black yeoman living in the town of York in 1810. He was a new property owner, having purchased a lot on Hospital Street (now Richmond Street West) on June 26 of that year. His exact origins are not known, but his reasons for joining the Coloured Corps are unambiguous. He carefully drew up his last will and testament before leaving York, understanding full well that he might not return:

I Robert Scott of the Town of York in the Home District of the Province of Upper Canada a Free Black man taking into consideration the uncertainty of life the more especially as I now am about to embark for Niagara as a volunteer to defend my King and gracious sovereign King George the prince of the good and the Enemy of all slavery do make and publish this my last will and testament....

This revealing document opens up a window on the thoughts and mindset of a Black man in Upper Canada on the precipice of war with the United States. Scott volunteered to fight in the active militia to defend King George III, "the prince of the good and the Enemy of all slavery."

When Major-General Isaac Brock, administrator of Upper Canada and commander of its forces, issued a proclamation of war against the United States on July 22, 1812, he reminded all Canadians of their oath to defend the Monarch and his land in British North America. Another who did not need to be reminded of his duty was a remarkable West African named Richard Pierpoint.

It was Pierpoint, better known as Captain Dick, who first proposed to raise a "Corps of Men of Color on the Niagara



Robert Scott's two-page will *was drawn up before he joined the Coloured Corps in Niagara during the summer of 1812. His declaration for King George "the Enemy of all slavery" is in the first paragraph. He bequeaths his farm lot, house, and "my horses, and cart and two cows" (at the bottom of the page) to Sarah Long and her son. Three men, including the drafter, witness the document, and Robert makes his mark with a jagged X. Courtesy Archives of Ontario*

Frontier." At the age of 68, Pierpoint also signed up with this special company, sometimes called Captain Runchey's Coloured Men, and more often just the Coloured Corps.

The War of 1812 showed the Americans that most Canadians were willing to fight for the right to remain a colony of the British Empire rather than be swallowed up by her great neighbour to the south. Yet, the diverse nature of the racial background of its participants is still not fully recognized.

Certainly, most of the soldiers and militia on the Canadian side were of European origin, but an important component of the success of the British war strategy was the alliance and participation of the First Nations warriors, led by Tecumseh, the great Shawnee chief, and Teyoninhokarawen (also known as John Norton) of the Six Nations on the Grand River. Less well-known is that Canadians of African origin also lent their valour and blood to the war effort.

Peter Martin pursued a personal imperative: to buy his son's freedom

Some Blacks fought with militia regiments such as the 3rd York (from the town) and others joined provincial corps such as the Nova Scotia Fencibles, the Glengarry Light Infantry and the Canadian Voltigeurs. There were also Black soldiers in British regular regiments, notably the 104th Regiment of Foot, raised in New Brunswick. About 55 men served at one time or another in the unique unit of the embodied militia known as the Coloured Corps.

When the US Congress ratified President James Madison's call for war against Britain on June 18, 1812, Upper Canada was the most vulnerable of the British North American colonies. With a population of between 60,000 and 80,000 people, settlement was sparse and scattered along 1,300 kilometres of border from Cornwall on the St. Lawrence River to Amherstburg at the western end of Lake Erie.

Most of the European population were United Empire Loyalists or their descendants who had moved to the province from the United States after the American Revolution, or they were the so-called Late Loyalists who had come in from the US after the creation of Upper Canada in 1791, attracted by the availability of good land. It is impossible to know the exact population of those of African descent as there was no province-wide census until 1842, which gave an official count of 4,167 Black residents in Canada West (Ontario) in that year.

Historians have estimated that 500 to 700 enslaved Blacks were brought into Upper Canada with their Loyalist masters in the 1780s and 1790s, but we know there were also some free Blacks in the province as well. By 1812, the African population of men, women and children would have been somewhere between these two figures.

Who were the Black men who volunteered for military service in this special unit in 1812? Were they all free men, or were some enslaved? From where did they originate, and where did they reside? What kinds of occupations did they hold, and were they single men or were they living with wives and children?

Militia laws at the time required that all men aged 16 to 60 report for duty in the regiment of their county. Normally, in times of peace, militia duty consisted of turning out one or two days of the year (the King's birthday, for example), drilling for a while, and then retreating to the tavern. This sedentary militia, aptly named, was poorly trained, unorganized and usually employed as military labourers or guards.

However, another group of militia was known as the embodied, or active, militia and was composed of volunteers supplemented by men chosen by lot. They were younger and in better physical condition, able to serve away from home for an entire season, and received enough training to fight alongside regular troops. The Coloured Corps was part of the embodied militia which saw active service and fought in at least two of the major battles of the war.

The names in the accompanying table (page 7), compiled from several muster rolls, are a record of the men who served in this unit. The commanding officers – at different times Captains Robert Runchey and George Fowler, Lieutenants James Cooper and James Robertson, and Sergeant-Major Joseph Cooley – were white. Not all men on the list served at exactly the same time or for the duration of the war. Some died of disease, a few deserted (including one, improbably, "to the enemy") and at least one was wounded. None, it seems, was killed in action.

From the list of names, we can see that at least 46 men served in this unit only as privates, and another seven held a higher rank as sergeants or corporals at one time or another. Some of the men had places recorded beside their names and these were for the most part their location of residence at the time of enlistment. Of those, at least eleven were from the Niagara area, which included Chippawa, St. David's and St. Catharines in Grantham Township.

At least six on the list were recorded or known to be from York and three were from the Head of the Lake, now known as the Hamilton area. Two were from the Bay of Quinté, the area southwest of Kingston, and one man, James Starnsbury, had been serving with the King's Works at 40 Mile Creek, where Grimsby is today. Apart from their immediate places of residence, some of these men of African descent had migrated as free men from the United States, such as Daniel Coughley, who had come from Vermont.

At least one of the men had fought with Butler's Rangers during the American Revolution and been granted land in Upper Canada after the war. This man was Richard Pierpoint. In the year 1812 he was 68 years old, an elder and leader in his community. Why did this man feel the need to pick up arms again so late in life? A veteran of the American Revolution, he could easily have lived out his days at home, having proved his resistance and valour at an earlier time and in another place.

Pierpoint and his comrades in the Coloured Corps recognized, just like Robert Scott did in his will, that if the Americans were successful in conquering Canada, their own freedom was in question. Slavery was a significant part of the American economy and any Black could be in danger of re-enslavement in

the South if Canada were to become part of the United States. For Pierpoint there was no question. He joined the Coloured Corps and defended Canadian territory against the invaders.

George Martin was another man who served in the Coloured Corps. Coming from the Mohawk Valley in New York State, George was the son of Peter Martin, a former slave of Colonel John Butler, the Loyalist leader of Butler's Rangers. Alongside his brother Richard, Peter Martin also served in Butler's Rangers during the American Revolution. However, at the cessation of fighting in 1783, or some time shortly thereafter, Richard died.

In 1797, Peter Martin decided to pursue an urgent but intensely personal imperative. He petitioned the Lieutenant Governor for the land grant that was owed to his deceased brother for military service during the war. His reason was particularly poignant: he wanted to sell the land to raise money to buy the freedom of his enslaved son, George, from Colonel Butler's son, Thomas. It appears the two men had agreed on the sum of £60 N.Y.C. (New York Currency) as the price of George's liberty. The grant was awarded, and presumably George was freed. Fifteen years later, George Martin enlisted in the Coloured Corps and fought in the War of 1812.

"the Enemy of all slavery"

Although George Martin was freed through purchase by his father, slavery was still legal in Upper Canada at the time that war was declared. (Simcoe's legislation in 1793 had only banned the further import of enslaved people and declared that the children of the enslaved would be free when they were 25 years of age, but those who were still in bondage remained so). It is not known from muster rolls who was free and who may still have been enslaved.

By enlisting in the Coloured Corps, did enslaved men hope to win their freedom by showing their loyalty and willingness to defend Great Britain's territories? Sadly, this strategy did not work for at least one man, as this letter from a general's staff officer reveals:

York March 12, 1814

W.A. Nelles
40 Mile Creek

Sir,
I beg to acquaint you that I have this day, by command of his Honor Lieutenant General Drummond, written to Major General Riall, directing the discharge from the Corps of Colour, of the Black man generally called Jack, whom you state in your letter of the 8th Inst. in fact to belong to you. –

L. Foster
Adjt Genl of Militia

Nelles owned a man named Jack and he wanted him back. Apparently, if an owner requested it, a enslaved person could be summarily discharged from the military. This was, of course, in direct contrast to the war strategy of Britain against the Americans. Just as the British had done during the American Revolution, a proclamation issued on April 2, 1814, invited any American resident who wished to become a British citizen to take refuge behind British lines and they would be "sent as Free Settlers to the British Possessions in North America or the West Indies." Once again, as during the revolution, thousands of Blacks availed themselves of the opportunity, and in the end over 2,000 sailed to Nova Scotia on British ships in 1814.

Who was Jack, the enslaved man mentioned in the letter? There were a number of men with the first name John, so without further information, it would be hard to know.

In early October 1812, the corps added to its numbers by the transfer of 14 men from the 3rd York Militia. We do not know all their names, but two of the men were brothers Richard and Stephen Call. In addition to Robert Scott, two other York men who fought in the Coloured Corps had become part of the historical record just prior to the War.

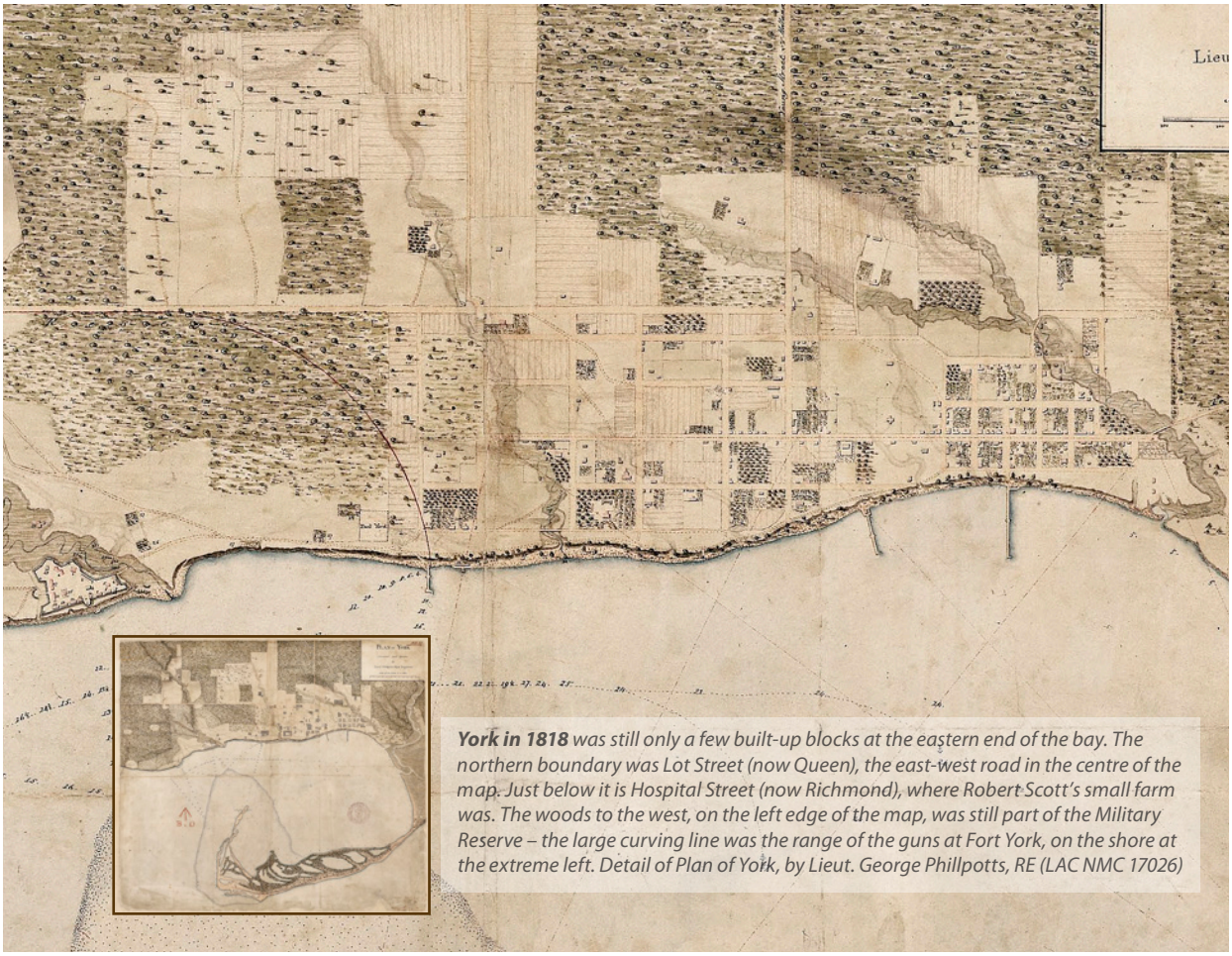
In early March of 1811, the Provincial Secretary, William Jarvis, took two enslaved members of his household to court for stealing gold and silver out of his desk. The accused culprits were an unnamed enslaved female and an enslaved male named Henry, commonly known as Prince, both of whom had escaped from his custody but were caught and thrown into the local jail. Jarvis also claimed that one Coachley, a free Black, aided and advised the accused. Prince Henry was ordered to remain in jail, and the female was sent back to Jarvis. Coachley was released.

Both Daniel Coachley and Prince Henry signed up with the Coloured Corps, the latter appearing on the muster roll of 1813. Was joining the militia and serving in the war another attempt by Henry to run away from Jarvis, obtaining his freedom and a plot of land to boot? Perhaps Jarvis was happy to be rid of him. One thing is certain: Henry was paid £2.56 for his 91 days of service from April 25 to July 24, 1813, more, we presume, than he was ever paid by Jarvis.

Many of the Coloured Corps volunteers were married with families. Without regular censuses taken every ten years, we have to look for evidence elsewhere of the existence of marriages and the birth of children. Robert Jupiter, another person enslaved by a Loyalist family named Servos, married Mary Ann Arrishaw in Niagara in 1804. It is not clear whether he was still enslaved in 1812.

Robert Scott was living with Sarah Long and some of her children, and he may have been in a common-law relationship with her when he left to join the war. Sarah's first husband, a free Black man born in Massachusetts, had also fought for the British in the earlier war, serving as a gunner on a schooner in the Saint John River. In 1793 Sarah and Peter came to York and raised a large family, but a dozen years later Peter seems to have moved away. Robert's lot on Hospital St, along with his house, horses, cart, cows and everything else were left to Sarah and, after her death, to her son John.

Additional evidence of these men having families surfaced at the end of the war, when several widows of Coloured Corps casualties applied for militia pensions. In addition, we learn



York in 1818 *was still only a few built-up blocks at the eastern end of the bay. The northern boundary was Lot Street (now Queen), the east-west road in the centre of the map. Just below it is Hospital Street (now Richmond), where Robert Scott's small farm was. The woods to the west, on the left edge of the map, was still part of the Military Reserve – the large curving line was the range of the guns at Fort York, on the shore at the extreme left. Detail of Plan of York, by Lieut. George Phillpotts, RE (LAC NMC 17026)*

that a number of Coloured Corps wives and children lived in the same encampment with their men, which was not unusual in period armies.

When Robert Scott died on January 15, 1813, of disease, the corps was in barracks at Fort George, no doubt working to improve its defences. The previous autumn they had been in the thick of the fight at Queenston Heights, joining the final chaotic charge – with Six Nations warriors on their right and the rest of the Lincoln militia on their left – that routed the Americans.

many of the Coloured Corps volunteers were married with families

In late May, 1813, they were once again involved in the fighting when Fort George was attacked and taken; several were wounded, taken prisoner or simply never seen again. Retreating with the British army to Burlington Heights (Hamilton), they served throughout the Niagara campaigns of 1813 and 1814. While one veteran recalled years later having fought at Lundy's Lane – the bloodiest battle of the war, fought largely in the dark on July 25, 1814 – the fact that the Coloured Corps recorded no casualties that day suggests the unit as a whole was not engaged.

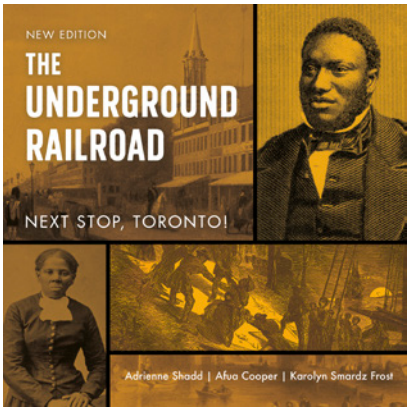
They were, however, fully employed in the construction of Fort Mississauga, not far from Fort George on the shore of Lake Ontario. Inspecting their work on nearby barracks the following February, Lieutenant-Colonel Gustavus Nicholls, a senior Royal Engineer, noted that "no people could be better calculated to build temporary barracks than these Free Men of Colour as they are in general expert axmen." Artificers generally received four or five times the pay of regular soldiers for this kind of work – constructing buildings and fortifications – but it's not known (although doubtful) that these men ever received the extra pay their skilled work deserved.

The Treaty of Ghent ending the war was signed in December of 1814 and the Coloured Corps was disbanded on March 24, 1815. Many of the men would spend years seeking the land grants and pensions they were owed, and none ever received the full 200 acres promised to veterans.

Twelve years after the battle at Queenston that killed General Brock and his aide, their bodies were taken from their first resting place in a bastion of Fort George and moved in a solemn, three-hour procession past thousands of people to the new monument built on the Heights to receive them.

One eyewitness recalled that "the hearse was a large army waggon drawn by four black horses, driven by a Black driver, and four Black men walked by the side of the horses." It was not unlikely and would have been highly fitting if these men were veterans of the wartime Coloured Corps.

Adrienne Shadd is a consultant, curator and author who has conducted research for plaques, films, and exhibits, most recently on the Black history of The Ward for display in the coming new courthouse just north of City Hall. She is the author, co-author and editor of numerous books and articles, including ***The Journey from Tollgate to Parkway: African Canadians in Hamilton*** *and a new edition of* ***The Underground Railroad: Next Stop, Toronto!*** *with Afua Cooper and Karolyn Smardz Frost. Adrienne has been recognized with the William P. Hubbard Award for Race Relations and is currently part of the team assembled by Dalhousie University for a comprehensive new project titled* ***A Black People's History of Canada****.*



Nominal Roll of the Coloured Corps

The unit was formed at Fort George in August 1812 and disbanded there in March 1815. These are the names of the men who served in the unit at some point during the war; in square brackets are other spellings (from different documents) of the same name. The remarks are from the original documents; see Sources & Further Reading.

compiled by the author

Name / Home / Remarks

Sergeants and Corporals

Edmund Gough
James Waters Niagara
William Thompson Bay of Quinte private, corporal, sergeant
Robert Jupiter Chippewa corporal
Isaac Lee private corporal
Humphrey Waters Niagara
Francis Wilson Niagara

Privates

James Baker
Caleb Brown deserted June 16, 1813
John Coll [Call, Caul] York
Richard Caul [Kaul]
Stephen Caul [Kaul]
Robert Chrysler [Christler, Chrisland] Head of the Lake
Thomas Christler [Chrisler]
Richard Collins [Colins, Colans] Bay of Quinté
Daniel Coughley [Couchley, Cokely] York
Nathaniel Darby deserted
John Delay [Deloy, Dally] Niagara
Nathaniel Dooley deserted June 16, 1813
Samuel Edwards [Edmunds] York
George Flemming
George Freeman
James Garrison
John Green [Greene]
Simon Groat
Henry Hagar [Hager] deserted to the enemy
George Hamilton deserted June 10, 1813
John Harris [Haras]
Prince Henry
Anthony Hults prisoner of war May 27, 1813
Francis Hunt
John Jackson St. David's absent w/o leave May 27, 1813; died Feb 13, 1813
Thomas Jackson
Michael Johnson [Johnstone] St. David's
William Jones York
Peter Lee
George Martin Niagara
John Montgomery
William Mundigo [Mandgo, Mandijo]
Richard Pierpoint St. Catharines, Grantham
Peter Randolph deserted June 16, 1813
Robert Sanderson [Sanders] Chippewa
John Saunders [Sanders] Niagara
Robert Scott York died of disease Jan 15, 1813
Richard Shepherd [Shipperd] sick in hospital
Baptiste Shevall
Abraham Sloane deserted May 27, 1813
William Spencer deserted May 27, 1813
James Starnsbury [Steinsbury, Stansberry] King's Works
Samuel Thomas Head of the Lake
John VanPatten Head of the Lake
James Walker wounded May 27, 1813
Antrim Willis

Sources & Further Reading

Robert Scott's original will and its associated estate papers are in the Archives of Ontario in Record Group 22, Series 6-2, MS 638. There are three archival sources for the names of the men who served in the Coloured Corps, all at Library & Archives Canada.

The first is under Robert Runchey's name in British Military and Naval Records, C Series, RG 8, vol. 1701, LAC film C-3839. The second has the same information but adds a time frame in 1812, that is, "Nominal Return of Captain Runchey's Company of Colored Men who served from the 24th October to the 24th December," in Militia and Defence RG 9, IB 7, vol. 21, LAC film T-10385. The third is "Color'd Corps Muster Roll & Pay List from 25th April to 24th July 1813 Inclusive," British Military Records C Series, RG 8, vol. 688e, LAC film C-3232. The dates make sense: militiamen normally were paid a month in arrears after being mustered on the 24th of each month.

For a general description of Militia service in Ontario during the War of 1812, as well as nominal rolls of the many various units, see William Gray, *Soldiers of the King: The Upper Canadian Militia*, 1812-1815 (Boston Mills 1995). A closer look at the conditions relevant to Black soldiers is Wayne Kelly, "Race and Segregation in the Upper Canada Militia," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* (Winter 2000). The story of Richard Pierpoint is told in *A Stolen Life: Searching for Richard Pierpoint*, by David and Peter Meyler (Natural Heritage 1999).

For the ordeal of Peter Martin, see *Ontario History* vol.26 (1930). The letter reporting the imminent discharge of Jack from the Coloured Corps is in the Abraham Nelles Papers (F543) at the Archives of Ontario (where it was unearthed by Peter Meyler). Lt.-Col. Nicholls, the Royal Engineer, is quoted in Newfield, "Upper Canada's Black Defenders? Re-evaluating the War of 1812 Coloured Corps," *Canadian Military History*, vol. 18, no. 3 (Summer 2009). The description of Brock's 1824 interment is from Janet Carnochan's *History of Niagara* (Briggs 1914).

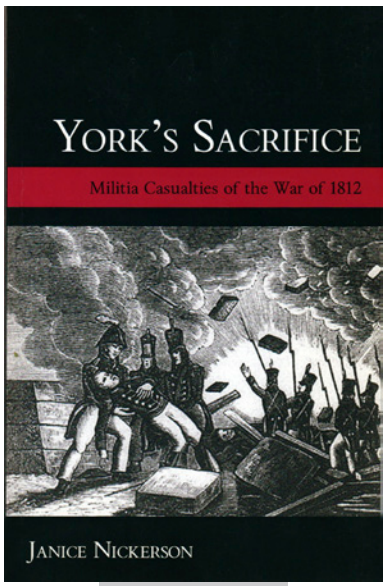
Based on a monumental effort of archival research, Janice Nickerson's *York's Sacrifice: Militia Casualties During the War of 1812* (Dundurn 2012) accounts for all 39 men from York who died as a result of the battle on April 27, 1813 (no women are known to have died from the fighting that day). Noting the help of historian Richard Gerrard and Wayne Reeves, then of Toronto Museums & Heritage Services, she includes a guide to archival sources available to researching your own 1812-era ancestors in Ontario. Nickerson also assembles what little is known of Robert Scott and Sarah Long outside of Robert's military service, based on genealogist Guylaine Petrin's indomitable detective work.

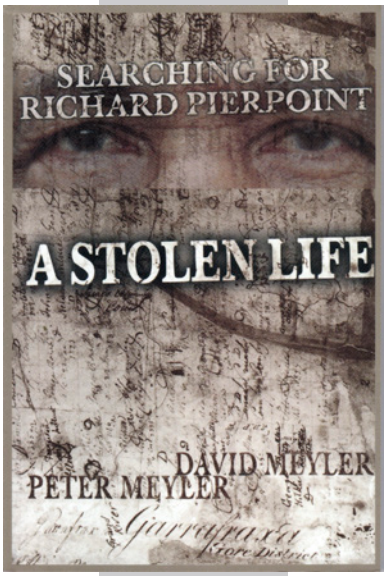
For a survey of Black communities across the province, see *Ontario's African-Canadian Heritage: Collected Writings by Fred Landon, 1918-1967* (Dundurn 2009). The book includes a comprehensive account by Karolyn Smardz Frost of "Sources and Resources" of Black history.

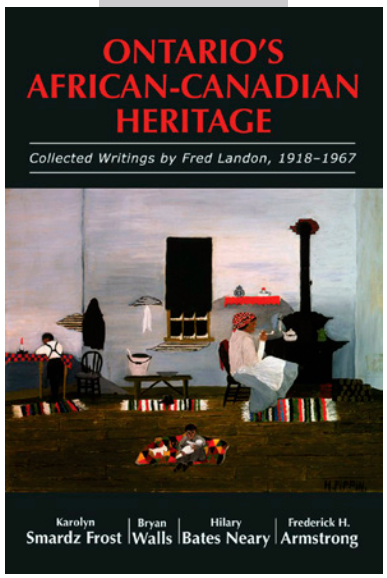
Daniel G. Hill, a sociologist who was an early director of the Ontario Human Rights Commission and later a founder of the Ontario Black History Society, has also written extensively on the province's past in *The Freedom-Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada* (Book Society of Canada 1981).

A standard work of national scope, *The Blacks in Canada: A History*, by Robin Winks (Yale and MQUP 1971) is expected to be superseded by a project recently launched at Dalhousie University. Titled *A Black People's History of Canada*, it is bringing together many of the country's leading scholars in Black history, including Frost and Adrienne Shadd.

The editor wishes to thank Colin Sedgwick-Pinn, of Fort York's historical staff, for last year drawing our attention to the story of Robert Scott, and Hilary Dawson, who did much unsung work on the project of Joshua Glover's statue (see *F&D* January 2022) and who pointed me toward Adrienne's revealing work.







"Our men fought with the greatest resolution" American eyewitnesses to the attack on York

by Donald E. Graves

The American capture of York on April 27, 1813, was the first major land victory in a war which, up to that time, had not gone well for the United States. It was celebrated throughout the republic and many were the eyewitness accounts of the triumph. Among the participants who left vivid reports of this attack are Captain John Walworth and Doctor William Beaumont, both serving with the 6th U.S. Infantry Regiment. Below are some of the stories they told of their experience at the fall of the capital of Upper Canada.

Sergeant, U.S. Rifle Regiment, 1813
The large contingent of riflemen in the American force played a crucial role in the battle, making the initial landing. These men wore green uniforms, instead of the more normal blue. This sergeant's rank is denoted by his yellow wool epaulettes, red waist sash and sword. He is armed with a Model 1803 .54 calibre rifle, a highly effective weapon in the hands of a trained marksman. Artwork by Greg Legge © Ensign Heritage Art Collection

John Walworth, 29 years old in April 1813, was born in Connecticut. He was commissioned a lieutenant in the 6th Infantry in 1808 and by the outbreak of war had achieved the rank of captain. In July 1812 he married Sarah Simonds, the only daughter of Colonel Jonas Simonds, the commanding officer of his regiment. Sarah died in February 1813 but Walworth continued to correspond with her father, writing 15 letters between February 1813 and November 1814. They're presently held by Library & Archives Canada.

William Beaumont, the son of a farmer, was born in Lebanon, Connecticut. He trained as a physician at St. Albans, Vermont, and was granted a medical licence in June 1812. Almost immediately, he was appointed a Surgeon's Mate (assistant surgeon) in the 6th Infantry and moved with his regiment to Sackets Harbor in the spring of 1813. He participated with his unit in the attack on York and recorded his experiences in two small pocket books or diaries which were published in 1912.

We begin with Captain Walworth's letter to his father-in-law, in which he describes the situation at Sackets Harbor after the 6th Infantry arrived there at the beginning of April. His comment on Brigadier-General Zebulon Pike, already a famous explorer and a rising star in the U.S. Army, is especially interesting:

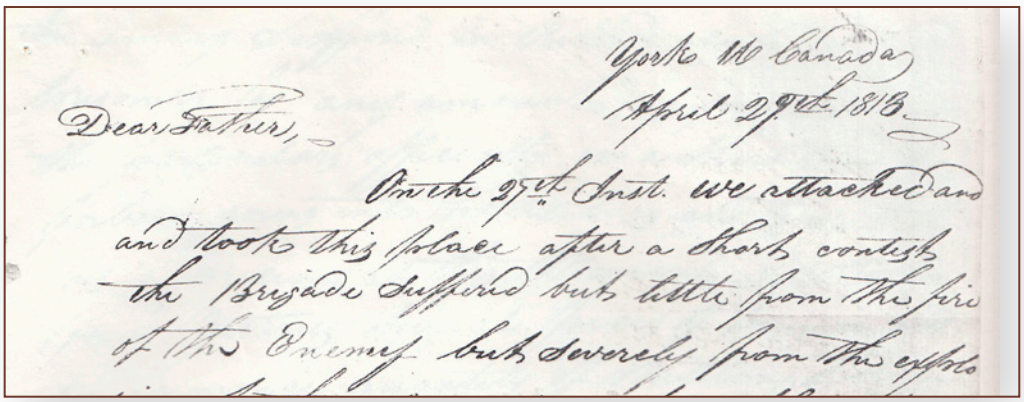
Sackets Harbor, April 6, 1813

... there is a great Bustle and Stir at this station, the Fleet in the Harbor are making every preparation to make an attack on Kingston as soon as the Lake breaks up – the naval force consists of one Ship of 24 guns, one Brig of 18 guns, ten or twelve Schooners for from three to four Guns each – in all about 80 or 90 heavy pieces … there are about 800 Marines and Sailors, the 1st Brigade consists of the 6th, 15th and 16th Regts the 2nd Brigade of the 21st and 25th Regts – the 3rd Regt Artillery 2 Companies of Light Artillery – 2 Companies Dragoons, 300 Riflemen and two or three hundred Volunteers, making in all 4000 effective men … the 1st Brigade are ordered to be in readiness to go out with the fleet and are making every preparation to take Kingston….
General Dearborn has sent order to attack as soon as possible for fear of peace or an armistice taking place – I am in hopes you will hear of me in His Majesty's Dominions in less than three weeks.
Col. Pike has this day rec'd the appointment of Brigadier General. And is to command the 1st Brigade, the officers of his Regiments almost detest him – none of them call to see him, except one or two Sap heads….

Captain Walworth next writes to Col. Simonds that, though his regiment has been ordered to embark on the American squadron, their destination is unknown:

Sackets Harbor, April 19, 1813

…the 1st Brigade are ordered to embark tomorrow on board of the Shipping – for some place on the Canada side but where is not known to me … great preparations, but we have had only a few hours notice to embark – the taking of Kingston will be much more Difficult now than it would have been a few days since, they have lately been reinforced with upward of one thousand me[n from] Montreal … there are many conjectures relative to our Destination, whether it is for Niagara – Little York – Kingston or some place on the [St. Lawrence] River below is uncertain … the Bay has been blocked up with Ice until last evening although it has been open at Kingston for eight or ten days –
The number of Troops that are to embark tomorrow are about fifteen hundred – a number quite to small


York U Canada
April 29th 1813

Dear Father,

On the 27th Inst. we attacked and took this place after a short contest the Brigade suffered but little from the fire of the Enemy but severely from the explos

Captain John Walworth's *compact account of the battle was written to his father-in-law two days after the fighting. His wife's father was an army colonel who would have known some of the casualties mentioned. Courtesy Library & Archives Canada*

to do much at any fortified place on the other side – but I am in hopes they will be able to give a good account of a equal number, let them meet them where they will –

In a small pocket diary, William Beaumont describes the voyage to York. It is clear that only a few persons in the American force knew their eventual destination:

> 24th A.M. Put out of harbor with a fair wind, tho mild and pleasant the fleet sailing in fine, affording a very pleasant scene thro the day.
>
> 25th, 6 Ock, [o'clock] A.M. Morning most delightful. Wind fresh and increasing, not fair, obliging us to beat. Getting along slowly.
>
> 26th, Wind pretty strong in the morning, increasing to a strong blow, so that the swells were high, tossing our vessels smartly about. Several seasick – was myself. At half-past four o'clock passed by the mouth of the Niagara River. This circumstance baffled our imagination where we were going. We were first impressed with the idea of Kingston, then to Niagara, but now our destination must be Little York. At sunset came in view of York Town and the Fort, where we lay all night within three or four leagues.

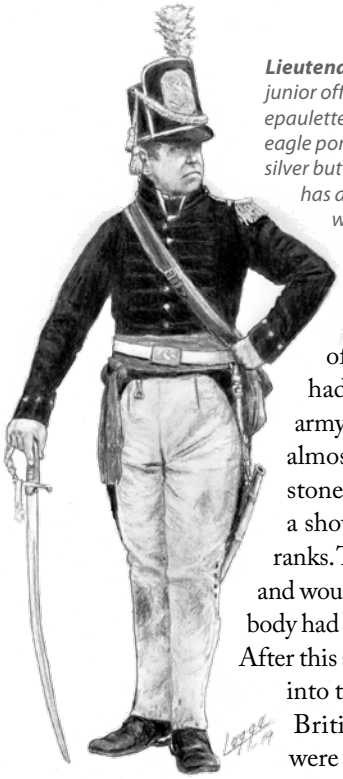
John Walworth describes the fighting on shore the following morning:

> York U Canada
> April 29th 1813
>
> On the 27th Inst we attacked and took this place after a short contest the Brigade suffered but little of the fire of the Enemy but severely from the explosion of their magazine which blew up just as our column had halted within two hundred yards of it by this explosion my company which headed the column lost four killed nineteen severely and several wounded – and by report the next morning was thirteen killed and one hundred and four wounded in the 6th Infantry the 6th and 15th suffered considerably – Gen Pike was killed by my side Cap Hoppock of the 15th Capt Lyon of the 16th and Lt Bloomfield of the 15th were killed – Capt Muhlenberg – Capt Humphries Capt Sadler Lt Shill and myself were wounded but none severely.... We took four Batteries several pieces of cannon, and an immense quantity of Military Stores of every description &c &c ... our men fought with the greatest resolution and no one was found wanting in his duty.

Although it is not clear whether he was an actual eyewitness, Doctor Beaumont also gives a lively description of the fighting. After the American landing, he writes,

> A hot engagement ensued, in which the enemy lost nearly a third of their men and were soon compelled to quit the field, leaving their dead and wounded strewed in every direction. We lost but very few in the engagement. The enemy returned into [the] garrison, but from the loss sustained in the 1st engagement, the undaunted courage of our men, and the brisk firing from our fleet into the Garrison with 12 and 32-pounders, they were soon obliged to evacuate it and retreat with all possible speed. Driven to this alternative, they devised the inhuman project of blowing up their Magazine (containing 300 Bls [barrels], powder), the explosion

Private, Grenadier Company, 8th Foot, 1813
Captain Neal McNeale's grenadier company was the first regular unit to oppose the American landing and it lost heavily as a result: 42 men including the company commander were killed in action. This private of McNeale's company wears a white shako plume and shoulder wings, the marks of the grenadier. His shako and belt plate display the white horse of Hanover, a regimental distinction. Artwork by Greg Legge © Ensign Heritage Art Collection



Lieutenant, U.S. Infantry, 1813 *The rank of this junior officer is shown by his red sash, a single silver epaulette on his left shoulder and a sword with an eagle pommel. His coatee in 1813 is dark blue with silver buttons and his shako is edged in white and has a silver plate and plume. John Walworth would have worn a similar uniform but, being a captain, with his epaulette on his right shoulder. Sketch by Greg Legge © Ensign Heritage Art Collection*

of which, shocking to mention, had almost totally destroyed our army. Above 300 were wounded, and almost 60 killed dead on the spot by stones of all dimensions falling like a shower of hail in the midst of our ranks. The enemy had almost 20 killed and wounded by the explosion, the main body had retreated far out of the Garrison. After this sad disaster, our Army marched into the Garrison, hawled down the British coat of arms (which they were too haughty to do), and raised the American Standard in its place.

"The wounds were of the worst kind," Baumont recorded, "compound fractures of legs, thighs, and arms, and fractures of skulls" and "the night of the explosion we were all night engaged in amputating and dressing the worst of them, the next day also, and the day after I performed four amputations and three trepannings."

In a second notebook, Beaumont – in a passage that has often been quoted – paints a terrible picture of the sights and sounds in the makeshift hospital where he and the other medical personnel treated the wounded:

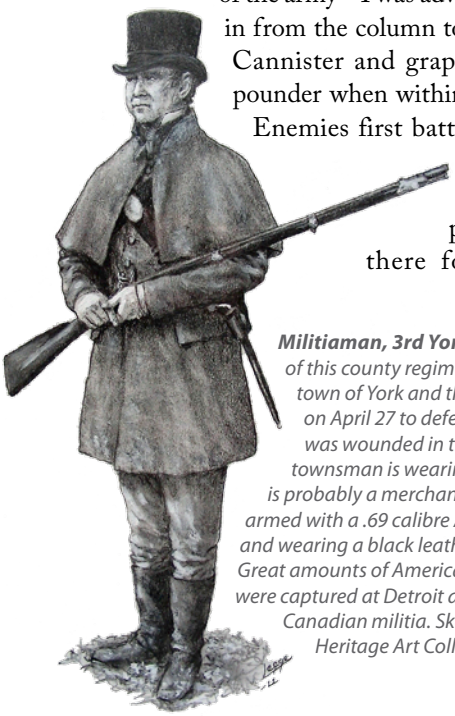
> A most distressing scene ensues in the Hospital – nothing but the Groans of the wounded and agonies of the Dying are to be heard. The Surgeons, wading in blood, cutting off arms, legs, and trepanning heads to rescue their fellow creatures from untimely deaths. To hear the poor creatures, "Oh, Dear! Oh, my God, my God! Do, Doctor, Doctor! Do cut off my leg, my arm, my head, to relieve me from misery! I can't live I can't live!" would have rent the heart of steel, and shocked the insensibility of the most hardened assassin and the cruelest savage. It awoke my liveliest sympathy , and I cut and slashed for 48 hours without food or sleep. My God!" Who can think of the shocking scene when his fellow creatures lie mashed and mangled in every part, with a leg, an arm, a head, or a body ground in pieces, without having his very heart pained with the acutest sensibility and his blood chill in his veins. Then, who can behold it without agonizing sympathy.

Over the next few days, Beaumont is busy with his professional duties:

> 28th, Ock A.M. Just got time to suspend capital operation, whilst I can take a little refreshments to sustain life for the first time since four O'clock yesterday. Return again to the bloody scene of distress, to continue dressing, Amputating and Trepanning. Dressed rising of 50 patients from simple contusions to the worst of compound fractures, more than half of the last description. Performed two cases of amputation and one of trepanning. 12 Ock. P.M. retired to rest my much fatigued body and mind….
>
> May 1st. About my professional employment, dressing the wounded, the most of them doing well. Amputated an arm. On orders for getting all the sick and wounded on board the ships prevents any more operations today. Several more will have to be performed. The wounded on board. All the property taken from his Majesty's stores, estimated to the amount of 2,000,000 and a half dollars. Burnt the ruins of Government house, the Block-house, one or two public stores and an old sloop.

John Walworth, who seems to have had a rather anxious personality, worried whether his deeds in the battle would be properly acknowledged. In a letter written to his father-in-law on May 13, he expressed his belief that Major-General Henry Dearborn, the American commander,

> has his particular favorites in whom he places important confidence and they undoubtedly tell a good story for themselves – it is sufficient to say that he is a most unpopular man with that part of the army that I know of – It was unfortunate for me that Gen Pike fell as he did. I have the vanity to think I should have been handsomely complimented by him, as I led the Van of the army – I was advanced considerably in from the column took two charges of Cannister and grape from a long 18 pounder when within fifty yards of the Enemies first battery, and advanced upon it with my plattoon took possession of it, there force having fled



Militiaman, 3rd York Regiment, 1813 *The men of this county regiment were drawn from the town of York and they turned out in numbers on April 27 to defend their homes. Only one was wounded in the fighting. This well dressed townsman is wearing his civilian clothes and is probably a merchant or a local official. He is armed with a .69 calibre American Springfield musket and wearing a black leather bayonet belt and frog. Great amounts of American arms and equipment were captured at Detroit and distributed to the Upper Canadian militia. Sketch by Greg Legge © Ensign Heritage Art Collection*

except four men – whom I took prisoners – and was in the advance at the time of the explosion of their Magazine – the Gen spoke of my conduct in the highest terms of approbation to his aid several times while advancing, but for fear it will not read well I will not praise myself any more.

After the battle at York, Captain John Walworth was part of the attack on Fort George in May but soon transferred to the recruiting service. He was promoted to major in the 33rd Infantry a year later but saw no more service in the field and was honorably discharged in June 1815. He married a second time and he and his wife had two children. Following his military career, Walworth went into business in Plattsburg and later became a court official in New York, where he died in August 1839.

Dr. William Beaumont participated in the Niagara campaign of 1813 and the battle of Plattsburgh in 1814. He was discharged after the war and practised as a doctor in Plattsburgh but re-entered the army in 1820. He served at the military post on Mackinac Island and was called upon to treat a Canadian voyageur, Alexis St. Martin, who had been severely wounded by an accidental shotgun blast to his abdomen. Beaumont did not expect St. Martin to live, but he did, although his stomach wound did not heal properly, leaving a hole into his stomach through which

***Dr. William Beaumont**, 1785-1853 Beaumont was an assistant surgeon in the 6th Infantry during the occupation of York and left a grim description of the human cost of the fighting. After the war, he became famous for his enlightening experiments in digestion. Sketch after portraits by Greg Legge © Ensign Heritage Art Collection*

Beaumont could observe the process of digestion. Beaumont conducted experiments on St. Martin and wrote a treatise on the subject of digestion, becoming known as the "Father of Gastric Physiology." Beaumont retired from the army in 1840 and settled in St. Louis, Missouri, where he died in 1853 after suffering from a fall on ice-covered steps. Alexis St. Martin, never expected to live very long, returned to his native Quebec, where he expired at the age of 78 in 1880.

Donald E. Graves is the author or editor of more than 20 books in Canadian military history, including definitive accounts of many of the battles of the War of 1812.

Sources & Further Reading

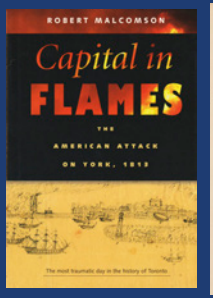
The Walworth-Simonds correspondence is found in Manuscript Group 24 (F16) of Library & Archives of Canada. William Beaumont's two notebooks were published in St. Louis by Jesse S. Myer as *Life and Letters of Dr. William Beaumont* (Mosby 1912), available on the Internet Archive. Greg Legge's revealing illustrations of Beaumont, the American rifleman, the British grenadier and the York militiaman were commissioned for this article.

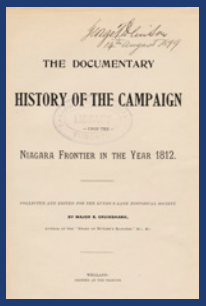
Robert Malcomson's book *Capital in Flames: The American Attack on York, 1813* (Robin Brass 2008) is surely the definitive treatment of the subject and is possibly the most broadly and deeply researched book on any aspect of the War of 1812. An insightful summary of the battle is in Carl Benn's *Historic Fort York, 1793-1993*, published by Natural Heritage in 1993. The town's casualties are recalled with archival clarity in *York's Sacrifice: Militia Casualties of the War of 1812*, by Janice Nickerson (Dundurn 2012). All of these books are available at the fort's Canteen as well as in cyberspace at the Toronto History Museums online shop.

Thomas Jefferson's laughable matter of marching (on the front page) is from a letter he wrote to his friend and political ally William Duane, a newspaperman, on August 4, 1812. The army officer on the rough passage was Joseph Dwight, who recorded his company's collective misery on April 27, 1813 – the day we see in Rindlisbacher's painting. About the subsequent lawlessness (and for the details of some interesting wardrobes) see "Silver, booze and pantaloons: the American looting of York in April 1813," by Fred Blair, in the April 2020 *F&D*.

The American and British official correspondence relating to York in 1813 is in William S. Dudley, ed., *The Naval War of 1812. A Documentary History*. vol.3 (Naval Historical Centre 1992) and William C.H. Wood, ed., *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812*, vol.2 (Champlain Society 1928). There are also plenty of interesting primary sources in Edith Firth, ed., *The Town of York, 1793-1815* (Champlain Society 1962) and in the relevant volumes of E.A Cruickshank, ed., *The Documentary History of the Campaigns upon the Niagara Frontier 1812-1814* (9 volumes, 1896-1908). Cruickshank, whose output was prodigious and slightly chaotic, is also mostly available on the Internet Archive.

The editor of these eyewitness accounts wishes to thank Tom Fournier, Gary Gibson and Ewan Wardle for their kind assistance in its preparation.





Drummers in the midst of the Battle of York

by Seth Ferguson

Amidst the shells bursting asunder above their heads, with dark smoke choking the air and shot striking the ground about their feet, the young drummer boys stood firm, steadfast; the sound of their martial music pushing their comrades unto glory.

Or so the story goes.

Reality was much different for the drummers of the 8th (King's) Regiment at York in April 1813 and far from the romanticized – and incorrect – archetype of the young "drum boy" in battle.

The regiment was in the midst of shifting its strength from Kingston to Fort George, and York's garrison and stores made it the natural rest stop along the way. At the time of the American attack on April 27, two companies were present: Captain McNeale's grenadier company, which had enjoyed a day of rest after arriving by batteaux on the 25th, and No. 3 company under Captain Eustace, augmented by a detachment of men from various other companies.

***A drummer** of the 8th Regiment poses in this unsigned watercolour published in 1912.*

At full strength, a battalion mustered 22 drummers in addition to a drum major: two drummers for each battalion company, and four for the grenadiers. Far from being "drum boys," by 1813 all the drummers in the King's Regiment were between the age of 20 and 30 with most having between four and seven years of experience.

Attached to Eustace's company were William Ash and William Chandler. Drummer Ash had joined the regiment in August 1803 and was 27 at York. An illiterate weaver, he was born in Stone, Staffordshire and measured an average height of 5'5".

The four drummers of McNeale's company were James Hinds, Benjamin Meaton, John Smith, and Joseph Taylor. Drummer Meaton was 26 and, like Ash, also joined in 1803 and saw action in the West Indies when the regiment participated in the taking of Martinique. Standing 5'8", he was the third-tallest drummer in the regiment and was a natural fit among the grenadiers.

Drummers played an integral role in regulating the soldiers' day from waking the men by beating *Reveille*, calling the men to drill and posting guards, to summoning the men back to barracks and ending the day by beating *The Taptoo* and *The Retreat*. Regimental inspection reports leading up to the war find no deficiency in the drummer's abilities and show a competent and experienced group of musical warriors.

The appearance of the American fleet on the evening of April 26 disrupted the regular routine of duty beatings. Once it became apparent the Americans intended to land in force, the undermanned garrison prepared to defend the incomplete and untenable works at York; regimental and company commanders sought every able body to contest the landing.

So desperate was the situation and the want of men that Colonel Heathcote, commanding the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, ordered seven of his drummers capable of bearing arms to carry firelocks. These drummers left their drums behind in the barracks and took their place in the ranks to fight.

While certainly unusual and indicating the garrison's precarious position, the drummers of the King's Regiment were not strangers to the other ranks and most certainly drilled, albeit occasionally, with firelocks.

It was not uncommon for a drummer to find himself serving as a private, and for a private to trade his musket for a drum. Drummer Thomas McMahon was broken to private in July 1812, and Private John Truss was promoted to drummer in June 1813 to fill casualty vacancies. Drummers William Dix and George Young were broken to private on the same day in March 1814, presumably for a related transgression.

Even drum majors were not immune to being broken. William Ankers was promoted to drum major from corporal in January 1811 until his reduction to private in May 1814, when he was replaced by Private Hugh Brown.

the practical work of clearing the wounded and supplying ammunition

Unlike the Royal Newfoundland Regiment's drummers, those of the King's carried their drums as they marched against the enemy. Captain McNeale fell leading his charging grenadiers at the water's edge, and the British regrouped at the ruins of Fort Rouillé, where No. 3 company joined the fight.

It was during the ensuing firefight that the drummers undertook their battlefield role, not one of playing martial music but the practical work of clearing the wounded and supplying ammunition. With cartridges running low, Captain Eustace ordered his drummers to the rear to fetch more, and it is likely the grenadier drummers were ordered to do the same. Either Ash or Chandler left his drum beside the portable magazine in the Western Battery for safe keeping as he went to replenish his company's ammunition supply.

Under fire by both the American infantry and the vessels just offshore, the British retired and began to reform at the Western Battery. Then, the battery's portable magazine exploded, blasting away the men manning the guns and the silent drum. It was clear York could not be held, and the British regulars began their long retreat to Kingston without knapsacks, great coats, canteens,

or haversacks, the men having been ordered to leave them in barracks at the start of the action.

The King's Regiment would go on to take part in nearly every major action of the war and ended 1814 very much a broken regiment. At the war's end, the corps of drums numbered 16 drummers, many of whom were new faces, though all the drummers present at York survived.

Benjamin Meaton was wounded in the right thigh at Sackets Harbor a month later but would go on to serve the remainder of the war as a drummer and an additional ten years as a private. William Chandler found himself facing another amphibious assault at Fort George a month later and was wounded and taken prisoner. James Hinds was broken to the ranks of the light company in March 1814. Joseph Taylor and William Ash spent several months in 1814 sick at York, and John Smith emerged unscathed.

Seth Ferguson is a former member of The Drums of the Crown Forces 1812 and is writing a history of the 8th (King's) Regiment during the War of 1812. He lives in Milton, Ontario.

Above are the barracks *on the east side of Garrison Creek as they were during the battle, painted by Lt. Sempronius Stretton in 1804. The greatcoats and knapsacks of the British regulars were left here when the soldiers retreated. It soon began to rain. The kit was later recovered by some enterprising NCOs under cover of darkness. LAC C-14905*

A cartridge pouch *of the sort carried by every fully equipped British foot soldier during the war. It held 60 cartridges of ball and powder wrapped in a paper cylinder, spare flints, and tools and materials for cleaning the musket. At about 14 lead balls to the pound, this ammunition was heavy. That the first troops to challenge the Americans soon needed resupply suggests that at least some of the fighting that morning was intense (and it's not likely they went into the fight with less than a full load). Courtesy Toronto Museums & Heritage Services (1987.10.1).*

The Anishinaabe warriors at York: first to engage

by Bob Kennedy

There's a memorial in bronze at the Fort York Visitor Centre to the warriors "who went first to defend York on April 27, 1813." This contingent from allied First Nations – a small company of highly specialized light infantry, in modern terms – was the first to engage the American raiding force that morning. The bronze was placed there by the Mississaugas of the Credit, the Beausoleil, the Chippewas of Georgina Island and the Chippewas of Rama First Nations. These were the nearby allies whose warriors, by early 1813, were assembling at York and expecting to fight the Americans in the spring.

Their main camp was likely northwest of the fort, on the Military Reserve just south of Queen Street on what's now the campus of camh. Across the road was the home of Major James Givins, the British Army's liaison officer to the war chiefs. Fluent in Anishinaabemowin and 53 years old, Givens had been active on the frontier since he was a teenager. Some of the Mississaugas, including warriors and their families, were also camped on his estate. They called him Ma'iigan (the Wolf).

In a letter of January 1813 filled with Romantic imagery, one of York's more literate militiamen, Thomas Ridout, wrote to his niece in England. He reported that "five Indian nations who have come down to the war are encamped on the skirts of the woods on the back of the Town. They keep us alive with their war dances," he continued, "& make the dark cedar woods echo with many savage yells, of which my brothers and I expect to know more than enough to please us next Spring & Summer." Ridout knew that those gathering warriors would be an important element of the Crown's forces in the coming campaign.

the containment of American expansion westward

First Nations in the War of 1812 weren't fighting for the British – they were fighting for their own causes and for their own personal reasons. Southern Ontario was their home, now shared with others. The ultimate vision of leaders like Tecumseth, who was a Shawnee from Ohio, was the containment of American expansion westward.

On the north shore of Lake Ontario, the Mississaugas had their own dark view of the Americans. They called them Keche Mookomon (Big Knives), reports Kahkewaquonaby (Dr Peter Jones) in his *History of the Ojebway Indians*, "from their having massacred, during the American war [of independence], many of the Indians with cutlasses and dirks." Writing in 1861, he claimed "they imagine that all the Yankees hate the Indians and would gladly exterminate them from the earth."

Chief M. Bryan Laforme, in office from 2001 until 2015, is more succinct: "We fought for our lands and rights in the War of 1812," he declares in one of the display panels at Fort York.

The council and camping grounds *of the Mississaugas are thought to have been anchored by the three cabins seen top left, just below the east-west road (the modern Queen Street). Here and on the open ground of Major Givins' farm – due north, up what's now Givins Street – is where the Anishinaabe warriors, some with their families, prepared for war in the spring of 1813. Today the land is a health-care complex. Detail of "Plan of York, U.C." August 1817 by Lt. E.A. Smith. LAC R2513-188-6-E Box 33*

"In doing so, we helped save Upper Canada." The warriors that George Ridout could hear all spring had plenty of reasons to look forward to battle – including, in a very masculine way, the prospect of individual glory.

The American squadron was spotted off the bluffs east of town on Monday evening, April 26. When it was clear early the following morning that the troops would land a few kilometres west of the fort, the warriors – the fastest part of the British force – set off to meet them. They were led through the forest by Major Givins and the war chiefs, but it's a mistake to imagine that Givins was in command. Individuals made their own decision to fight or not, according to their own judgement of the risks and rewards involved – and depending on the persuasion of the war chiefs. It's a difference between warriors and soldiers, who are ordered to fight (and often want to).

Estimates of how many there were vary from 40 to 100 out of a total Crown strength that day of just over 1,000 men. We know the names of a few of the warriors. Not surprisingly, most of these are men who were, or later became, chiefs of their respective nations.

Nawahjegezhegwabe (Sloping Sky), the son of a chief of the Eagle clan, was there. Baptized as Joseph Sawyer, he later became Head Chief of the Mississaugas. From Lake Simcoe were Chief Yellowhead and his son, William, who soon assumed his father's role as Chief of the Chippewas at the lake. There was James Ajetance, who also went on to serve as a chief of the Mississaugas. Lawrence Herkimer also fought among the warriors; he was the son of a Loyalist fur trader and a Mississauga woman from Rice Lake.

The names of the others – unlike the names of the Regulars and militiamen who fought that day – have been lost to history. The British Army did not demand unit nominal rolls from their allies (no army does) and Major Givins, although he knew many of those he fought alongside, did not keep a record. Apparently only one oral history of the battle has survived. It was recited by a man named John York – whose grandfather was at the battle – and recorded on the Rama reserve for an archaeological series published by the Ontario Ministry of Education in 1916. The account varies considerably from what we know actually happened on April 27, 1813.

American infantry was pouring ashore

As the warriors hurried toward the ruins of the old French fort, they could not know they were about to meet the finest unit in the United States Army, chosen to be the vanguard of a force that was – rare among American operations in this war – well planned, well resourced and well led. The U.S. Rifle Regiment was experienced in forest warfare, equipped with the latest firearms, and numbered 176 men. While still in their boats approaching the shore – blown west, they landed in what's now Parkdale – they began taking fire from an unseen enemy.

The warriors were armed with a very frontier variety of weapons. A few carried swords, there were many hatchets, and the most common firearm was the flintlock musket, in many versions. There were also rifles, specially made in Britain for the North American frontier and presented as gifts to the war chiefs. Their faces painted with charcoal and vermillion, the warriors were dressed in wool or buckskin frock-coats – or just the cotton shirt worn underneath – and buckskin leggings, colourful sashes at their waist, bright scarves around their head decorated with feathers, all with plenty of artful quillwork, beadwork and silver jewelry.

There were some firefights along the shoreline but the riflemen quickly made it up the banks and into the woods. The warriors must have been surprised by the unexpected skill of these Americans – they were not barely trained farmboys but experienced frontier fighters from places like Kentucky. And there were a lot of them. The warriors were soon overwhelmed and fell back through the woods as British and other Canadian troops, who were soon also driven back, began to arrive. By now, the American infantry was pouring ashore.

The warriors suffered, as best we know, eight casualties, including some killed. The British commander reported that two war chiefs had been wounded. One of them was Chief Yellowhead, mortally struck in the jaw by a musket ball. Some of the casualties made their way to Givins' home, where his wife Angelique famously cleared off the dining-room table and did what she could to dress their wounds.

"An exact list of their fallen remains difficult to establish as they hid their dead immediately," writes Donald Smith. "Later they returned and made proper burials." Smith is citing what an aging Chief Charles Big Canoe (born in the 1830s) told a *Globe* reporter in 1921 about Anishinaabe battlefield behaviour. This might explain the story of Chief Yellowhead's purported burial in the Sandhill site, southwest of what is now the corner of Yonge and Bloor. In the 1870s, the grave of another warrior of the period was discovered near Berkeley and Adelaide Streets, just outside the town of 1813.

Although warriors of many First Nations kept fighting alongside their British allies until the end of the War of 1812, their overarching cause was ultimately lost. Warriors whose homes were in Upper and Lower Canada shared in the successful defence of the colonies but, as we see in Joseph Sawyer's face below, they did not, as the decades passed, share in the benefits of victory.

Bob Kennedy is the editor of The Fife and Drum. After more than 25 years in the Militia, including a deployment in peacekeeping, he has an MA in war studies and, no less damaging, vivid memories of a parallel career in broadcast and print journalism.

Thomas Ridout's letter to his niece appears in Edith Firth, ed., ***The Town of York 1793–1815*** *(Champlain Society 1962), p.287. Donald Smith's authoritative account of many of the individuals of the period is* ***Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices from Nineteenth-Century Canada*** *(UTP 2013). For a comprehensive lecture on the warriors at the Battle of York, including much on the context of indigenous/newcomer relations, see Ewan Wardle, "Anishinaabek Warriors & Defence of York," available on YouTube. Ewan is a Program Development Officer on the historical staff of Fort York National Historic Site.*

Portrait of Nawahjegezhegwabe *(Sloping Sky) painted 32 years after the war. Christened as Joseph Sawyer by the Methodist church, he was then Head Chief of the Mississaugas and is wearing his King George III medal for service in the war. His people had become successful collective farmers along the Credit River but were being squeezed from all sides and were about to leave. When Sloping Sky's portrait was recently restored, his expression was revealed, as Donald Smith has written, as one of "dejection, deception, and betrayal." Now, there's a short street in the Fort York neighbourhood of condos named after him. Attributed to James Spencer, 1846, oil on canvas (26" x 32") TPL Baldwin Room JRR 4*

The sword of Captain Michael Carman III
A material history of the War of 1812

by Ryan Goldsworthy

***Captain Carman's sword** is an exquisite example of the 1796 Pattern for British light cavalry. Favoured by infantry officers as well, this is the sword that Carman carried on operations during the War of 1812. While the inset shows the small boil of corrosion on the left side, the blade is in generally very fine shape. The sword is 38" long overall, with a blade length of 33½" and a width of 1¾" at its widest point. It weighs 944 grams. All photos by Jeremy Hood, courtesy RCMI*

***On the sword's hilt**, the grip is fashioned from an original leather covering on ridged wood, and the wielder's hand is protected by a sturdy knuckle-bow and quillon combination. The shape of the hilt complements the graceful curve of the blade, while the slot on the bottom of the knuckle-bow is for a decorative sword-knot.*

In the summer of 2021, the Museum of the Royal Canadian Military Institute acquired a very fine collection of early nineteenth-century artifacts. This recent acquisition is an exceptional small collection and named to a Canadian officer of the War of 1812: Captain Michael Carman III of the Dundas County Militia.

This single collection was donated to the RCMI by Lynn Leitch on behalf of her father, Nelson Forward; Michael Carman III is Lynn's four-times-great grandfather. As the Museum Director & Curator of the RCMI, I was introduced to Lynn by Queen's University scholar Dr. Allan English.

The collection is noteworthy for several reasons. First, authentic War of 1812 artifacts of Canadian origin are seldom encountered. Furthermore, each of the artifacts is in good-to-excellent condition. Given that all War of 1812 objects are now over 200 years old, condition and conservation will continue to be a major concern – especially for organic materials such as leather and wool.

The individuals of the Napoleonic era were unlikely to foresee that their military objects would be saved and preserved for posterity. The fact that Carman's objects have survived and remain in such fine condition is a testament to the effort and care of his descendants and additional caretakers over many generations. The final layer of noteworthiness on this collection is its named provenance. Indeed, the acquisition of *any* War of 1812 object would be a coup for a museum, but this collection is named to a specific officer and the objects came directly from his descendants with supporting documents – the best-case scenario for museum acquisitions. Rarity, condition, and provenance: a resounding success for Canadian history and heritage.

one of the finest swords in the history of the British Army

The material history of the collection

The Carman collection consists of a Pattern 1796 light cavalry sword with original scabbard; a Canadian Militia Pattern 1780 officer's pipeclayed white leather waistbelt with sword slings; and two War of 1812 Canadian militia officer's shoulder epaulettes made of wool and steel chain links.

The Pattern 1796 sword has an interesting background and development history. The 1796's predecessor, the Pattern 1788, had proven itself to be ineffectual on the battlefield. The Pattern 1788, the first regulation pattern of the British Army, had been created for the cavalry as a hybrid weapon – intended to both thrust and cut. Unfortunately, the 1788's narrow design and very slight curve made it difficult to aim, penetrate, or withdraw. As a result of the 1788's shortcomings, Major John Gaspard Le Marchant, a an officer of the 16th Light Dragoons, published his

experiential recommendations for the development of an improved cavalry sword.

In 1795, Le Marchant collaborated with Henry Osborne, a British sword-cutler, in order to create what would become the Pattern 1796 light cavalry sword. Unlike the hybrid Pattern 1788, the updated Pattern 1796 was designed primarily as a slashing blade which allowed the user to produce an effective cutting and cleaving attack. The updated 1796 could, however, also be used to deliver a fatal thrust, as the blade is much wider near the tip compared to the 1788.

The iconic Pattern 1796 sword was far more successful than its predecessors and it was even adopted by other nations outside of the British Empire, including Prussia and the Netherlands. The 1796 was also the most abundant sword used by Britain and its allies at the Battle of Waterloo on June 18, 1815. The Pattern 1796 light cavalry sword is generally viewed as one of the finest swords in the history of the British Army.

Though Carman was not a cavalry officer, the 1796 light cavalry sword was often carried by Canadian militia officers during the War of 1812. The blade of Carman's example contains some minor spots of rusting and pitting, but it remains in very good condition overall. The hilt of Carman's sword exhibits an excellent grip, made of original ridged wood with leather covering, and a single iron knuckle-bow attached to its *quillon* (for protecting the wielder's hand). The simple and functional hilt was a purposeful design; it reduced the sword's overall weight, allowing for more accessible use. The sword's *langets*, meant to secure the sword while sheathed in its scabbard, also remain intact and in good condition. The sword possesses an indescribable character, having been here in Upper Canada throughout the war.

Carman's matching iron scabbard is an excellent example of the type. The scabbard is stamped with the maker's mark, "Woolley, Deakin, Dutton & Johnson." The WDDJ maker's mark provides us with a more precise date and provenance of the scabbard's manufacture. By 1808, the firm of Woolley, Deakin, and Dutton were operating on Edmund Street in Birmingham, UK, as makers of "sword[s], frying-pan[s], edge-tool[s] and plantation tool[s]." "Johnson" joined the firm of WDD between 1809 and 1811, and in about 1815, the same firm began to use the name "Woolley and Sargant." This accurately dates Carman's scabbard to the War of 1812 time period.

The scabbard is also complete with two suspension rings for fastening the sword slings which attached to the waistbelt. Carman's waistbelt and sword slings are in immaculate condition for their age. The belt's leather was coloured with a natural fine white clay, a dye process known as *pipeclaying*. The white pipeclay is still consistently seen over the entire belt. The waistbelt and the sword slings are fastened together with nine brass lionhead clasps. These ornate clasps have sustained only minimal effects of oxidization and the lionhead designs are complete with detailed facial features, including the mane and whiskers.

Finally, we have Captain Carman's two shoulder epaulettes. Items of uniform dating to the War of 1812 are incredibly rare. At the outset of the war, there was little official military clothing available in Upper Canada. Militiamen often appeared

The slings and waistbelt *that suspend the scabbard are of pipeclayed leather and in superb condition for their age. The waistbelt's buckle appears to be a two-headed goose. Nine brass lionhead clasps and a reinforced scabbard make this a robust set of field equipment. The scabbard is just short of 34½" long, 2" wide and weighs 1,098 grams.*

on the battlefield in their everyday civilian clothes – these were not the well-kitted British regulars.

Though some green and red jackets became more common among officers of the Canadian militia later in the war, rarely was strict uniformity in military dress observed. Even in an example of excellent provenance from Fort York's collection, the uniform of Lieutenant Levi Soper (a Leeds Militia veteran of the Battle of York), the officer's tunic was likely of American manufacture. It was re-tailored for Canadian militia use.

In regard to epaulettes of the period, a variety of different styles persisted, including the "wing type" chain link style seen in Captain Carman's example. Carman's style of epaulette, worn on the shoulders of a tunic or a *coatee*, was a popular choice with militia officers from 1790 to 1815. The chain links seen on the epaulettes were carefully hand-crafted so that each link, in ascending sizes, would lie flat on the shoulder. The epaulettes, which are padded with tufts of raw wool, still exhibit the original wire spirals on the fringes. In addition to the British-made Pattern 1796 sword, scabbard, and lionhead clasps, the plush handmade chain link epaulettes strongly suggest that Carman was a man of some means.

Captain Carman's shoulder epaulettes *are padded with raw wool and still have their original wire spirals, only slightly discoloured by time. They are of the wing style favoured by militia officers during the war and are of a quality to suggest that Michael Carman was a man of some means. The epaulettes are 10¼" long and 6" high.*

Captain Carman and the War of 1812

The Carman family emigrated from Kehl, Germany, arriving in Philadelphia on August 25, 1751. At some time between 1765 and 1769, the family left Philadelphia for the Mohawk Valley, New York, settling in Johnstown. Michael Carman III was born there on February 15, 1769. Six years after Michael's birth, the American Revolutionary War began. The Carman family were established Loyalists. Michael Carman II (1743-1824), the father of our militia officer, served in the Revolutionary War as a private in the British Army's 1st Battalion, King's Royal Regiment, from 1776 to 1783.

Following the ultimate American victory in 1783, the Carman family left for Canada, where they submitted a Loyalist claim to the British Crown for the family's 81 acres lost in New York. Because of the family's loyalties during the revolution, the Crown approved the Carmans' claim, granting them 200 acres of land in Matilda Township, Ontario, in about 1786. These 200 acres were located along the St. Lawrence River in what is now the village of Iroquois, South Dundas, Ontario.

With their acquisition of a sizeable land grant, the Carman family became some of the first settlers of Iroquois village. In 1803, 34-year-old Michael Carman III joined the 1st Regiment of Dundas County Militia as an Ensign and by January 1810 he had risen to the rank of captain. Captain Carman was in command of a company in the 1st Dundas through the war years and his name consistently appears on regimental Muster Rolls and Paylists for Duty between July 1812 and December 1813.

In a letter dated November 12, 1812, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Dundas Militia, Allan McDonell, ordered that "Captain Michael Carman have as much lime[stone] as will compleat the Guardhouse by the Breastwork at Matilda by my Orders from Prescot." McDonell's letter to Carman tells us that the Dundas Militia was taking concerted efforts to improve local defences along the St. Lawrence and that Michael Carman was important to those efforts. Given his family's military history and their Loyalist allegiances, it is easy to understand Michael Carman III's urge to defend the Canadas.

Carman's regiment was active in several notable battles of the war, including the Battle of Matilda, the Battle of Ogdensburg and, most importantly, the Battle of Crysler's Farm – though there is no substantive evidence to show that Carman was present. Only days before Crysler's Farm, however, Carman was very possibly involved in the skirmish at Iroquois Point, which occurred on or near his family's 200 acres. On November 7, 1813, during the American expedition up the St. Lawrence, General James Wilkinson diverted 1,200 of his 9,000 men in an advance guard action to drive off the Dundas militiamen who had been firing on them. Though the 1,200 Americans successfully refuted the 200 or so men of the 1st Dundas, the skirmish at Iroquois Point delayed the American advance.

It also caused General Wilkinson and his war council, on November 8, to reconsider their expedition. This crucial delay of the American advance provided pursuing British Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Morrison with the time to better organize and consolidate his men and resources. On November 11, 1813, Morrison's forces met Wilkinson's in the field at Crysler's Farm in Morrisburg, Ontario. The stunning and decisive British and Canadian victory here forced the Americans to abandon their St. Lawrence campaign.

Following the end of war, Michael Carman in 1815 built Carman House, a still-standing limestone cottage (now a museum) on Carman Road in Iroquois, Ontario. The Carman House Museum is only about 25 km from the Crysler's Farm battlefield. Carman resigned from the militia in a letter addressed to Lt.-Col. McDonell dated April 23, 1823, and died in Dundas County on February 12, 1834, aged 64. He would have been eligible for the Military General Service Medal, 1793-1814, but the medal was not authorized until 1847 and it was not awarded to 1812 veterans posthumously.

Conclusion

The Captain Michael Carman III collection is an exceptional acquisition for the museum and for Canadian history and heritage. While the War of 1812 is often understood through the top-down lens of

the high command, the lives and service of individual soldiers like Carman are increasingly featured in the narrative. The Carman artifacts are important primary sources for better understanding and appreciating this chapter of Canada's military history. These physical objects, now in the care of the RCMI, are indelible and powerful touchstones of a conflict long bereft of living testimonial. Material history from the War of 1812 is relatively scarce, and the Carman collection now provides us with a fine memorial to a Canadian company officer who helped uphold the fragile sovereignty of an early Canada.

Ryan Goldsworthy is a military historian and material history expert from Toronto who is the Museum Director & Curator of the Royal Canadian Military Institute. He would like to thank Lynn Leitch, Nelson Forward, and Dundas County Archivist Susan Peters for their generous help with this project. The author may be reached at Ryan.Goldsworthy@rcmi.org.

The makers stamped *the mark of their firm on the scabbard: Woolley Deakin Dutton & Johnson, of Birmingham. It dates the iron scabbard's manufacture to sometime after 1809 and before 1815.*

Sources & Further Reading

Three standard works provided the general background to the story of Michael Carman's sword. William Gray's *Soldiers of the King: The Upper Canadian Militia 1812-1815* (Boston Mills 1995) contains useful introductions to the nature of the service as well as nominal rolls of the units in the war. The second work is J.Mackay Hitsman's *The Incredible War of 1812* (updated by Donald Graves for Robin Brass, 1999), still the best military history. The standard reference to period swords is Brian Robson's *Swords of the British Army: The Regulation Patterns, 1788-1914* (Arms & Armour 1975).

The core sources used – beyond the artifacts themselves – are at Library & Archives Canada and in obscure publications. Departing from our usual practice, the *F&D* is listing them all, for the sake of the material history specialists and the sword connoisseurs.

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Public Record Office War Office. Class 28 Vol.5, Folio 211. Transcription on the Online Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies – King's Royal Regiment of New York, Johnson's Company paylist and muster roll January 21, 1778

Michael Carman to McDonell – Resignation from the Dundas Militia. LAC RG 9-I-B-1 Vol.11; item # 4549409 date 1823-04-23. Correspondence to Adjutant-General's Office – Upper Canada Fonds

Muster Roll and Paylist of a detachment of the Dundas Militia on command from Matilda [Dundas County] to Gananoque under the command of Michael Carman from 4 to 8 July 1812. Pp. 696 –97. LAC RG 9-I-B-7 Vol.5 file 5-G35 film T-10380

Muster Roll and Paylist for Duty performed at various Periods by Captain Michael Carman's Company of the 1st Regiment of the Dundas Militia from 25 September to 24 December 1813. Pp. 707–709. LAC RG 9-I-B-7 Vol.5 file 5-G38 item #5380808

Paylist for Duty performed at various periods by Captain Michael Carman's Company of the 1st Regiment of the Dundas Militia from 25 October 1812 to 24 January 1813. Pp. 704–706. LAC RG 9-I-B-7 Vol.5 file 5-G37 item #5380807

Sword and scabbard (1800-1830): Heavy Cavalry Trooper's sword and scabbard: IX.259. The Royal Armouries Museum, Leeds. Accessed March 19, 2022 collections.royalarmouries.org

Uniform tunic and epaulette of Lieutenant Levi Soper: 1986.23.1. Fort York National Historic Site. Toronto History Museums.

At the Birthplace of Toronto

Notes from the Friends

No Fort York Guard in Summer 2022

We very much regret to report that The Friends of Fort York & Garrison Common have not been able to obtain support from the City to operate the Fort York Guard this summer.

As you know, the Guard is a joint and cooperative venture by the City of Toronto in partnership with The Friends. We believe this will be the first time since 1955 that the Guard has not appeared at Fort York in the summer – it will certainly be the first time since The Friends took on leadership for mounting the Guard in 1999, more than 21 years ago.

***The Guard** poses in the summer of 2020. Photo by Sid Calzavara*

The Friends of Fort York & Garrison Common have always appreciated and recognized the intense loyalty and professionalism of the students who have served in the Fort York Guard. The quality of their music and drill demonstrations is second to none. We will hope to see a return of the Fort York Guard in 2023.

Fort York finds digital allies at Fort Book

by Robert Bell

Early in 2021, the Vice Chair of The Friends of Fort York & Garrison Common, Andrew Stewart, and City Historian Richard Gerrard formed a small working group to address the significant number of fort-related archaeological records which have accumulated in the City's possession and which are badly in need of digitization. The Fort York Archaeological Digitization Project was born. Its mission is the ongoing digitization of archival records from 60+ years of archaeological research on site. The materials include reports, field notes, maps, plans, drawings and scanned archaeological slides.

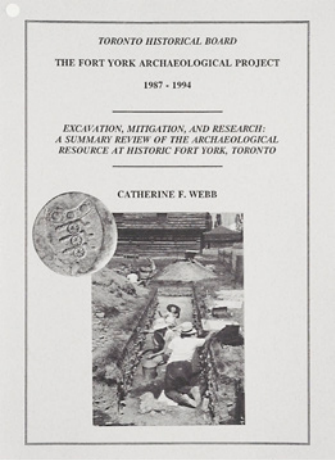
The idea is to link the new digitized material to original 35-mm slides, which have already been digitized by board director Sid Calzavara. In the longer term, part of the initiative will be aimed at developing management and access strategies for the archaeological collections held in trust by Museums & Heritage Services.

In order to advance the project, a series of online meetings

***The team gathers** at the Robarts Library. From the left are Neil Brochu, then interim Chief Curator of THM; Alex White, Operations Manager, Internet Archive Canada; Andrea Mills, Executive Director, IAC; and Andrew Stewart, Vice Chair of The Friends of Fort York & Garrison Common. Photo by Robert Bell (8 Oct 2021)*

were held among Stewart, Gerrard, Neil Brochu, then the City's interim Chief Curator, and Robert Bell, the Friends' Executive Director. The group's discussions led them to Internet Archive Canada and its team at the John Robarts Library (aka Fort Book).

The Internet Archive is an American digital library with the stated mission of "universal access to all knowledge." It provides free public access to collections of digitized materials, including websites, software applications and games, music, movies and videos and millions of books. The advantage of using the Internet Archive is the assurance of quality of image, as well as its open access and longevity.


TORONTO HISTORICAL BOARD

THE FORT YORK ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT

1987 - 1994

EXCAVATION, MITIGATION, AND RESEARCH: A SUMMARY REVIEW OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESOURCE AT HISTORIC FORT YORK, TORONTO

CATHERINE F. WEBB

In October project team members met at the Robarts Library with Andrea Mills, Executive Director of Internet Archive Canada and Alex White, Operations Manager, Internet Archive Canada, where they were treated to a demonstration of state-of-the-art scanning equipment and an explanation of the digitization and archiving services available through the Internet Archive.

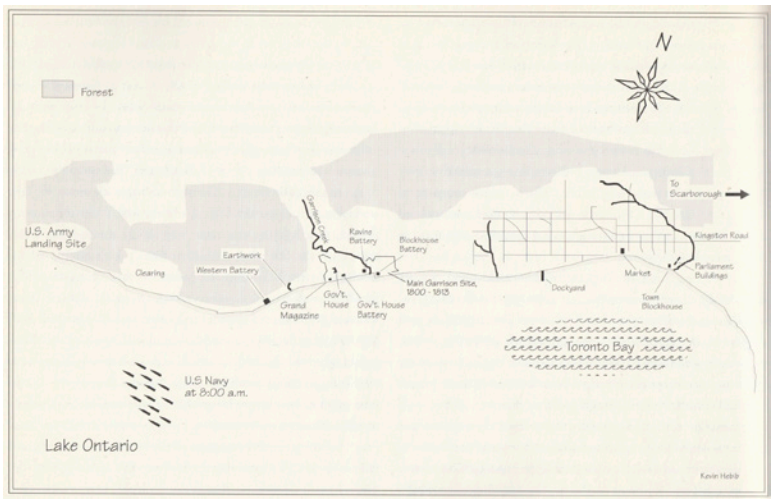
The first item has now been digitized and is available on the archive's Friends of Fort York page at https://archive.org/details/friendsoffortyork. It is *Excavation, Mitigation, and Research: A Summary Report of the Archeological Resource at Historic Fort York*, by Catherine F. Webb, published by the Toronto Historical Board in 1994. This item was chosen because it summarizes all the archaeological work that had been done at the fort up until 1994.

This project is a real service to Toronto History Museums, which is chronically under-budgeted and under-staffed for this kind of important museum and library work. It continues the tradition that The Friends, under the direction of Nancy Baines, established 20 years ago when we began organizing Fort York's books and papers and incorporating them into a properly catalogued library and resource centre, today housed in the Blue Barracks.

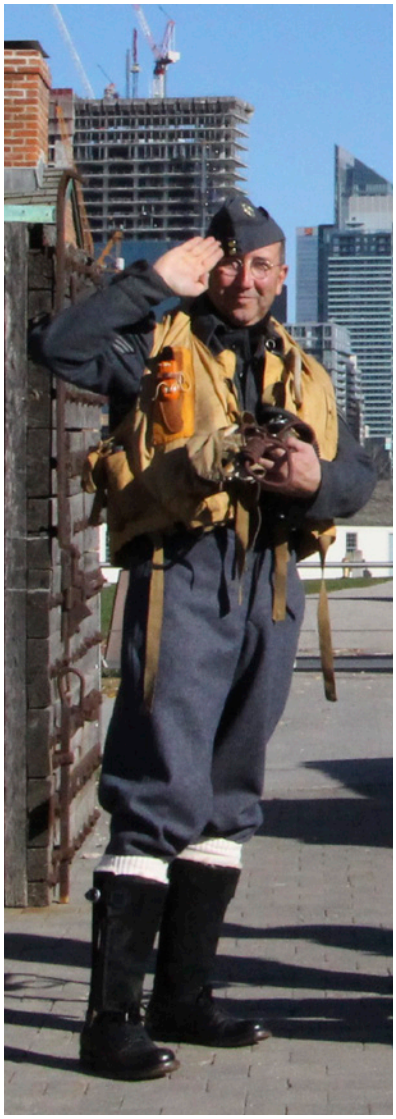
***Corten steel panels** have been installed on the face of the Bentway's east-end extension to the Fort York Visitor Centre. These complete the façade of the addition to the centre. The space houses the Bentway's washrooms and the equipment needed to maintain the skating loop under the Gardiner. The collapsed embankment immediately to the east has been buttressed with a concrete wall that gradually sinks into the earth, allowing the landscaping outside the western fence of the fort to be restored. Although the original award-winning design from Patkau and Kearns Mancini Architects envisioned steel panels marching across the fort's southern rampart, these additional panels are not likely ever to be installed. Photo courtesy of David O'Hara*

Kevin Hebib retires from Fort York

Long an historical officer on Fort York's staff, Kevin Hebib's last appearance at the fort was for the annual Battle of York Day on April 24, 2022. We see him in the casual undress of the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion, c.1813, that sunny afternoon in the North Soldiers' Barracks. The material history of war has been a specialty of Kevin's and we have two examples here of his precision and realism: in one, he's a Flight Sergeant of RCAF Bomber Command, c.1943; in the other, a sergeant of The Royal Canadian Regiment, Canadian Expeditionary Force, c.1918. The occasion in both instances (in 2020 and 2021) was Remembrance Day. He is also a re-enactor much in demand for movie shoots as well as a talented map maker. The example is from Carl Benn's *Historic Fort York 1793–1993*. Kevin has been a key member of the fort's staff for many years and he will be keenly missed by visitors and historians alike.



Photos by Baycrest Centre (RCAF), James McFarlane (RCR) and Michelle Mayers-Van Herk (10RVB).

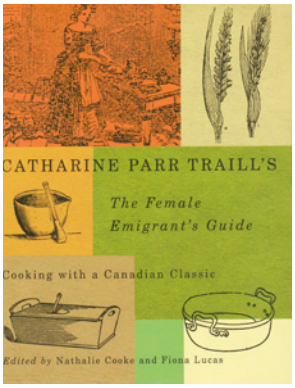


Mrs. Traill's Advice

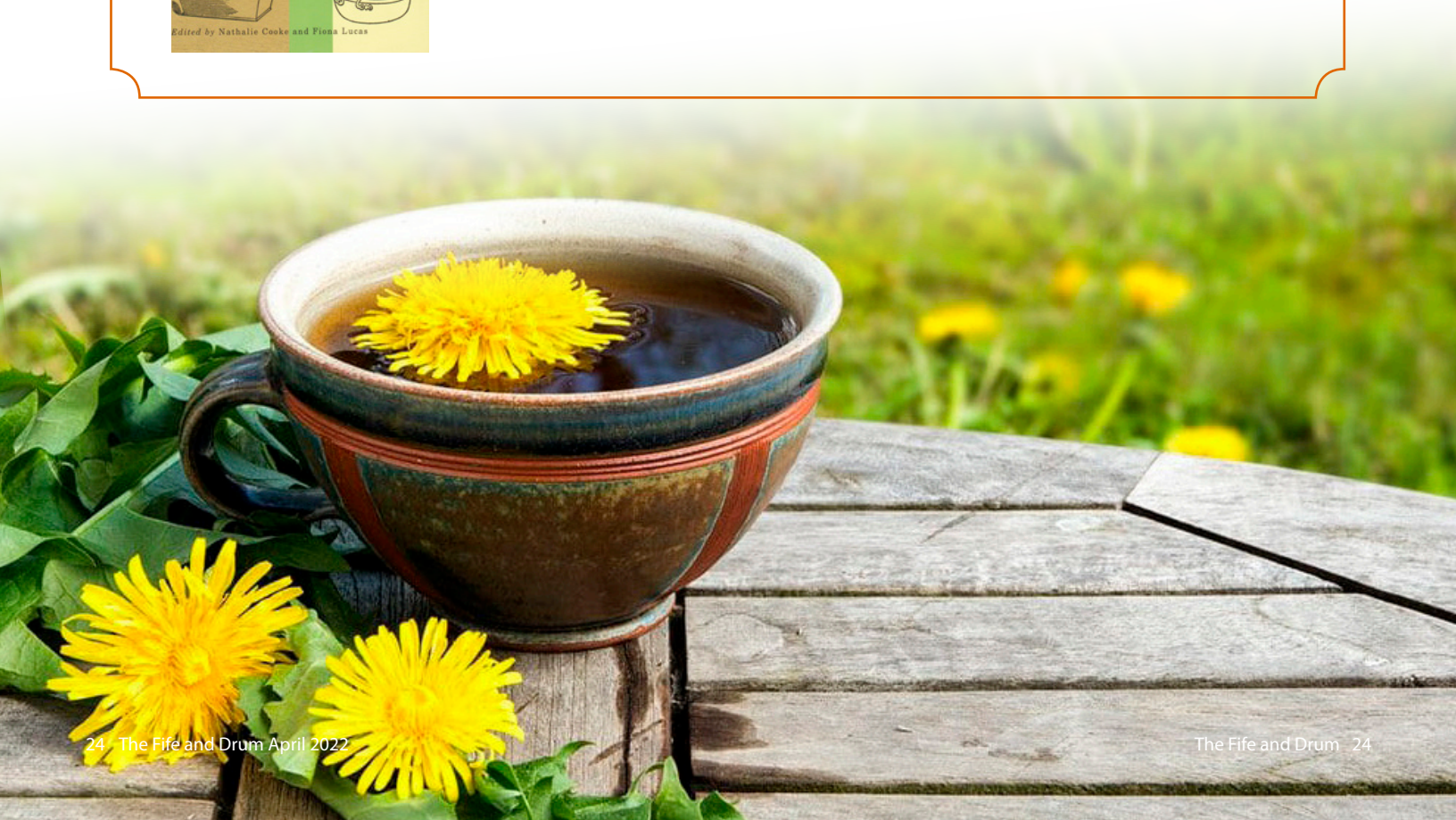
DANDELION COFFEE

Dr. Harrison, of Edinburgh, recommended the use of this root, many years ago. It possesses, he says, all the fine flavour and exhilarating properties of coffee, without any of its deleterious effects. – The plant being of a soporific nature, the coffee made from it, when taken in the evening, produces a tendency to sleep, instead of exciting wakefulness, and may be safely used as a substitute for the Arabian berry (he adds) "being equal in substance and flavour to the best Mocha coffee." This is going too far: it is the best substitute that has been found, but certainly not equal in flavour to really fine coffee.

I will now give my sister, Mrs. Moodie's, recipe for preparing the dandelion-root, and her method of cooking it. "The roots should be carefully washed, but not so as to remove the fine, brown skin which covers them, and which contains the aromatic flavour. The roots, when dry, should be cut up into small pieces, about the size of a kidney-bean, and roasted either in a Dutch-oven, before the fire, or in the stove, stirring them from time to time, to prevent burning: when they are brown through, and crisp, like freshly roasted coffee, remove them, and let them cool; grind like coffee. Put a small cup-full into the coffee-pot, and pour over it a quart of boiling water, letting it boil again for a few minutes: drunk with sugar and cream, this preparation is very little inferior to good coffee."



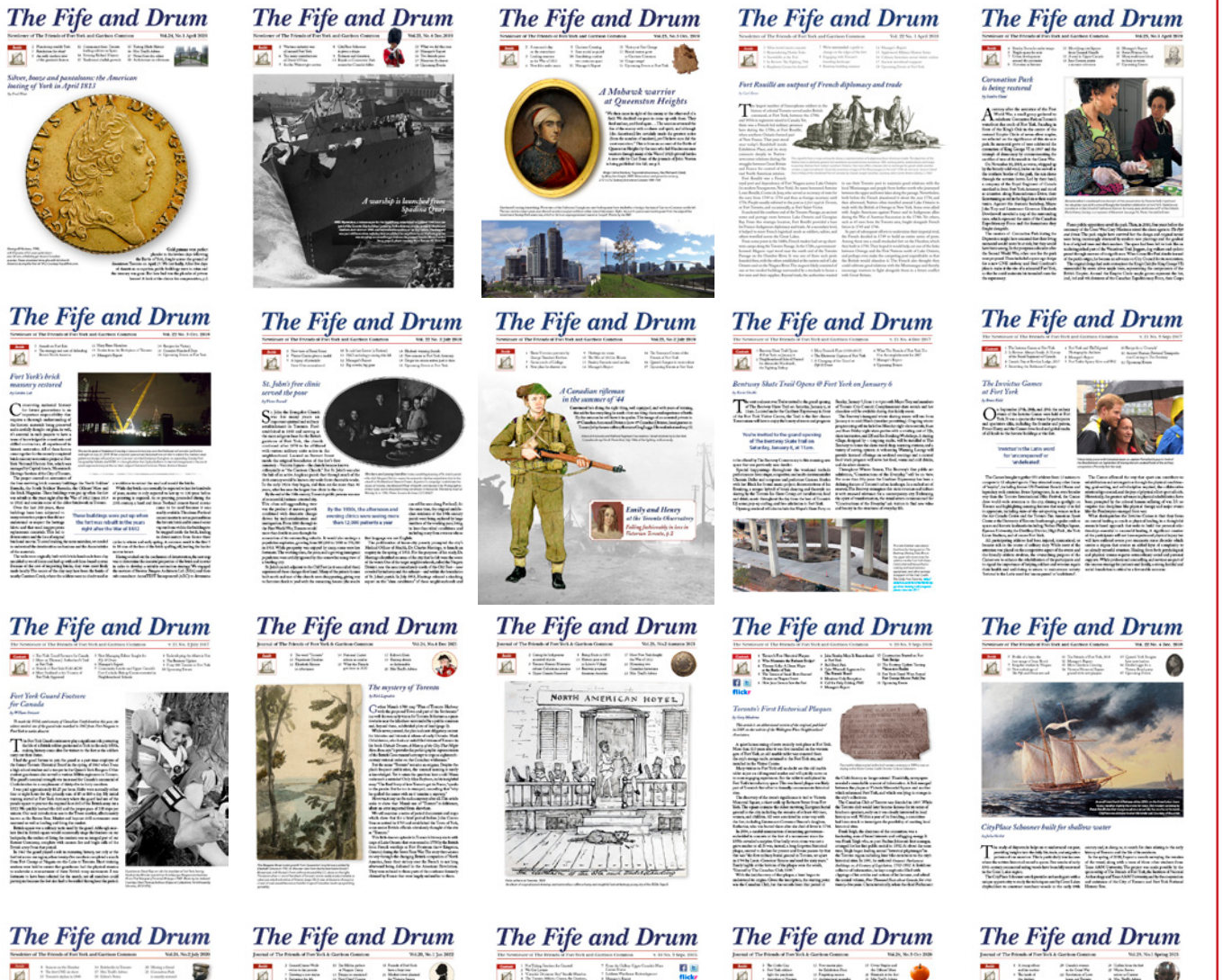
From Catharine Parr Traill's **The Female Emigrant's Guide** originally published in 1855 by a printer in Toronto. "Mrs. Traill's Advice" appears regularly in *The Fife and Drum,* sampling this attractive new edition from McGill-Queen's University Press. An indispensable Canadian reference, it's available in the Canteen of Fort York.



It's a great time to catch up on past issues of

The Fife and Drum

Click on the covers to download these stories of Toronto!



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