

advanced to \$30,000,000. The beginning of London was humble; its growth has been steady; its condition is prosperous; its future is bright; and the most sanguine hopes of its loyal citizens will doubtless, in due time, be realized.

VII.

AN EPISODE OF THE WAR OF 1812. THE STORY OF THE
SCHOONER "NANCY."

BY LIEUT.-COL. E. CRUIKSHANK.

In the summer of 1789, the firm of Forsyth, Richardson & Co., fur merchants of Montreal, undertook the construction of a schooner for the navigation of the upper lakes. As I have related in a former paper, John Richardson, one of the partners, went to Detroit to superintend the work, in which he was deeply interested.

"The schooner," he wrote on the 23rd September, 1789, "will be a perfect masterpiece of workmanship and beauty. The expense to us will be great, but there will be the satisfaction of her being strong and very durable. Her floor timbers, keel, keelson, stem, and lower uttock are oak. The transom, stern-post, upper uttocks, top timbers, beams and knees are all red cedar. She will carry 350 barrels."

He ordered a suitable figure-head of "a lady dressed in the present fashion with a hat and feather" from the carver Skelling of New York. The schooner was launched on the 24th September, 1789, "a most beautiful and substantial vessel," and in the spring following made her first voyage from Detroit to Fort Erie, whence she sailed upwards in June with a full cargo, bound for the Grand Portage at Sault Ste. Marie, with the intention of visiting Mackinac on her way back.

"She is spoken of here," Richardson wrote from Niagara, "in such a high strain of encomium as to beauty, stowage, and sailing, that she almost exceeds my expectations."

By 1793, the Nancy had become the property of George Leith Co., and is described as being of sixty-seven tons burden. Sometime before the end of the century, she passed into the possession of the Northwest Fur Company, by whom she was employed in the transportation of furs and merchandise on Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan. In 1805

she was navigated by Capt. Wm. Mills, who had some years before owned her in connection with Forsyth, Richardson and Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Montreal.

In a list of merchant vessels prepared early in 1812 by Colonel Matthew Elliott for the information of Major-General Brock, the Nancy is described as a schooner of about 'one hundred tons, lying at McIntosh's wharf, at Moy, opposite Detroit.

On July 1st, 1812, when the declaration of war by the United States became known to Lieutenant-Colonel St. George, the commandant of the British Garrison at Amherstburg, she was still lying at Moy waiting for a favorable wind to carry her into Lake Huron, and he at once ordered her to be brought down under the guns of that post to secure her from capture. Some light brass guns with which she had been armed were mounted in row-boats to patrol the river, and the schooner was impressed into the government service as a transport. On July 30 she sailed for Fort Erie under convoy of the Provincial schooner, Lady Prevost. Five days later she left Fort Erie on her return voyage, in company with the armed brig General Hunter, having on board sixty soldiers of the 41st Regiment and a quantity of military stores. The timely arrival of this small reinforcement had considerable weight among the reasons which induced General Hull to evacuate Canada.

During the summer and autumn of that year the Nancy was constantly employed in the important service of transporting troops, stores, and provisions between Detroit and Fort Erie.

On April 23rd, 1813, she was included in the small squadron assembled to transport General Procter's division from Amherstburg to Miami Bay, to undertake the siege of Fort Meigs.

The next recorded incident in her history is narrated in a letter from her commander, Captain Alexander McIntosh, to Captain Richard Bullock of the 41st Regiment, commanding the garrison at Mackinac, dated "5 miles from St. Joseph's," on the 16th of October, 1813. On the 4th of that month he had sailed from St. Joseph's for Amherstburg to obtain a much needed supply of provisions, and arrived at the mouth of the St. Clair river on the following afternoon when he sent two men ashore to ascertain whether it would be safe for him to enter the river. As they were prevented from returning by rough water, he decided to venture as far as the foot of the rapids. There he learned that the whole of the British squadron on Lake Erie had been taken and that the Americans were in possession of Detroit and Amherstburg. It was also reported that two of their armed schooners and two gun-boats were awaiting his appearance in the river below.

"Next day about noon," Captain McIntosh wrote, "a white flag was seen coming towards us in a canoe. About half an hour afterwards I was hailed from the shore by a Canadian, ordering me to give up the vessel and that my property, as also that of the crew, should be respected. I went ashore to see who this man was. It was Lieutenant-Colonel Beaubien, of the militia, who wished me to surrender the vessel to him, repeating what he had already said. I told him I would give an answer in an hour's time. I immediately went back and got all ready to defend the vessel. After the time had elapsed I went to him, gave him my answer, which was that I would defend the vessel until necessity compelled me to give her up, and that if the wind proved strong enough, I would attempt going back to the lake. He then replied, 'We shall fire on you.' I asked what number of men he had. 'Fifty,' was his answer. I returned to the vessel, made sail and was fishing the anchor when they commenced firing. I returned the fire as quickly as I received it, which continued for a quarter of an hour or more. They then ceased, whether from want of ammunition or that we had killed any, I know not. During the action I was placed at the helm and exposed to the whole of their fire, but luckily escaped. Several shots struck the main boom and railing. No person was injured from their fire, but the blowing up of a couple of cartridges burnt one of the men severely on the face and hands. Whether it was from a piece of the cartridge or their fire, our main sail was blazing which was no sooner seen than extinguished. During the engagement my men behaved with the greatest coolness, and I cannot say too much for them. We were all this time sailing with a very light breeze but not sufficiently strong to ascend the rapids. That night I received a letter from the same Lieutenant-Colonel, repeating what he had already said. I returned no reply. This was brought by Reaume, who is now with Mr. D. Mitchell, prisoners of war, they having gone ashore the morning of the action. Next morning at daylight we got under weigh. At 8 a.m. (we) entered the lake on which we have been fighting the elements these nine days, twice narrowly escaping going ashore."

As early as the 3rd of October, Captain Bullock had received information of the disastrous result of the battle on Lake Erie from Major-General Proctor, who informed him that he had already recommended that supplies for his garrison should be forwarded from York to Machedash Bay. His stock of provisions was then nearly exhausted, but by purchasing everything that could be obtained in the small settlements on the mainland he succeeded in laying in enough to keep his men until February. The Nancy arrived on the 18th with her sails

and cables so badly damaged as to render her unfit to navigate the lake during the storm of autumn, and Captain McIntosh determined to take her to the Northwest Company 's post, at Sault Ste. Marie, in the hope of procuring the necessary materials to refit her during the winter. Before he sailed, Robert Dickson, Agent for the Western Indians, arrived from Machedash on his way to Prairie du Chien. After consulting with him, Bullock proposed that six gun-boats should be built at Machedash to keep open the communication and protect supplies on their way to Mackinac, and requested that the garrison should be reinforced early in the spring by twenty artillerymen and two hundred infantry with four field guns. An officer and twenty-seven men of the Michigan Fencibles were at once detached with Mr. Dickson to establish a post at Green Bay and the remainder of the garrison was put on short rations.

Continued stormy weather made it impossible to send forward any supplies from Machedash before navigation closed, but it also prevented the American squadron from entering Lake Huron to undertake the reduction of Mackinac as had been at first intended.

The Governor-General was, however, fully impressed with the great importance of maintaining possession of that place, and lost no time in preparing a small force for its relief as soon as the lake again became navigable.

"Its geographical position is admirable," he wrote to Lord Bathurst. "Its influence extends and is felt amongst the Indian tribes at New Orleans and the Pacific Ocean; vast tracts of country look to it for protection and supplies, and it gives security to the great establishments of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies by supporting the Indians on the Mississippi ; the only barrier which interposes between them and the enemy, and which if once forced (an event which lately seemed probable), their progress into the heart of these Companies' settlements by the Red River is practicable and would enable them to execute -their long-formed project of monopolizing the whole fur trade into their own hands. From these observations, your Lordship will be enabled to judge how necessary the possession of this valuable post on the outskirts of these extensive provinces is becoming to their future security and protection."

The failure to forward supplies caused him considerable uneasiness, but having been informed that there were some cattle and a quantity of potatoes on the island he anticipated that the garrison would be able to subsist until spring. Their stock of provisions might be increased considerably by fishing.

Lieutenant-Colonel Robert McDouall, of the Glengarry Light Infantry, an officer of tried courage and discretion, was selected for the command of this expedition. About the end of February, 1814, McDouall crossed Lake Simcoe on the ice, following the Nine Mile Portage from Kempenfeldt Bay to the head waters of the Nottawasaga River, where he was directed to select a suitable place for building the necessary boats for the conveyance of troops and stores across Lake Huron. He was accompanied by a party of shipwrights, twenty-one seamen, eleven artillerymen in charge of four field guns, and two companies of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, many of whom were expert boatmen. Although this route had the merit of being shorter than that by way of Machedash, yet it was less known and much obstructed by rocks and shoals which in many places rendered the channel so narrow that nothing larger than batteaux could pass. Favored by the unusual mildness of the season, McDouall began the descent of the river on the nineteenth of April, with thirty batteaux of the largest class, heavily loaded with provision and military stores. Six days later, he sailed from its mouth, and after an extremely hazardous and stormy voyage, arrived at Mackinac, on May 18th, with the loss of but a single boat, the crew and cargo of which were saved.

"The difficulties which were experienced in conducting open and deeply-laden batteaux across so great an extent of water as Lake Huron, covered with immense fields of ice and agitated by violent gales of wind," Prevost wrote to Lord Bathurst, "could only have been surmounted by the zeal, perseverance, and ability of the officer commanding the expedition. For nineteen days it was nearly one continued struggle with the elements, during which the dangers, hardships, and privations to which the men were exposed were sufficient to discourage the boldest amongst them, and at times threatened the destruction of the flotilla."

Dickson arrived at Mackinac a few days later, bringing with him two hundred picked warriors, and every effort was made to strengthen the defences of the island. It was proposed that the Nancy should be cut down to the dimensions of a gunboat and armed with the guns brought from the Nottawasaga, but as it was evident that she could not keep the lake in the face of the overwhelming force which the enemy could bring up from Lake Erie, McDowall became satisfied that he could make better use of these guns on shore and she was accordingly retained in service as a transport and sent away for a cargo of supplies.

On June 21st information was received that the trading post of Prairie du Chien, where Dickson had established his headquarters

during the winter, had been taken by a large force under the command of General William Clark, Governor of the Missouri Territory, which had ascended the Mississippi in boats from St. Louis, and next day a Winnebago chief came in to demand assistance, relating that besides several Indians of his own tribe, the wife of Wabash, a leading Sioux chief, who was then at Mackinac on his way home from Quebec, had been murdered in cold blood. This news caused an irresistible outcry for vengeance from the Indians who demanded to be led against the enemy without delay.

"I saw at once the imperious necessity which existed of endeavoring by every means to dislodge the American general from his new conquest and make him relinquish the immense tract of country he had seized upon in consequence and which brought him into the very heart of that occupied by our friendly Indians," McDouall wrote. "There was no alternative, it must either be done or there was an end to our connection with the Indians, for if allowed to settle themselves in place by dint of threats, bribes, and sowing divisions among them, tribe after tribe would be gained over or subdued and thus would be destroyed the only barrier which protects the great trading establishments of the Northwest and the Hudson's Bay Company."

He, therefore, promptly decided to attempt the recovery of Prairie du Chien at the manifest risk of imperilling his own position by greatly weakening his garrison. A company of sixty-three volunteers was enrolled in forty-eight hours. Sergeant Keating of the Royal Artillery, with a sergeant and thirteen men of the Michigan Fencibles, was put in charge of a field gun and the whole of the Sioux and Winnebago warriors on the island, 155 in number, were detailed to accompany them. The expedition set off on its voyage of more than six hundred miles on the seventh day after the news had been received under command of Major William McKay, a veteran fur trader. At Green Bay, McKay was joined by a second company of volunteers, which increased his white force to one hundred and twenty men, and during his advance by way of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, the number of his Indians was gradually augmented to 450. The journey was accomplished in nineteen days, and on the 17th of July, McKay unexpectedly invested the American Fort at Prairie du Chien, which was surrendered forty-eight hours afterwards by its garrison of three officers and seventy-one men of the regular army.

Meanwhile, a formidable expedition for the recovery of Mackinac had been organized at Detroit. The land force consisted of a detachment of United States Artillery, with several field guns and howitzers,

a battalion of regular infantry, composed of picked companies from the 17th, 19th and 24th regiments, and a battalion of Ohio Volunteers, numbering in all nearly a thousand men. Lieutenant-Colonel George Gorgon, who had gained much reputation among his countrymen by his successful defence of Fort Stephenson, was selected for the command of these troops, and Major A. H. Holmes, who had lately conducted a vigorous raid from Detroit up the Thames as far as Delaware, was given the second place as commandant of the regulars. Six of the largest vessels of the Lake Erie squadron, mounting sixty guns and manned by more than five hundred seamen and marines under Commodore Sinclair, provided with launches for landing artillery, were detailed to convey these troops to their destination. Sinclair sailed from Detroit on the 3rd of July but did not succeed in entering Lake Huron until the 12th, when he shaped his course for Machedash Bay where he had been informed that the British had established a depot of supplies and were building gunboats, but having no pilot familiar with those waters and being enveloped for several days in a dense fog in a perfect maze of islets and sunken rocks, the attempt was abandoned and he steered for the Island of St. Joseph. Arriving there on the 20th July, he learned that the military post had been abandoned a few weeks before and the garrison withdrawn to Mackinac. While his squadron lay windbound near this place, the Northwest Company's schooner Mink, on her way from Mackinac to Sault Ste. Marie, was intercepted and taken by its boats, which were then despatched to destroy the trading station at the latter place. This was accomplished without opposition, but much of the property deposited there had been removed before their arrival.

On July 26th the American squadron came in sight of Mackinac. Its presence in the lake had been known to the garrison for some time, and every possible precaution had been taken in anticipation of an attack. A strong redoubt had been completed on the summit of the cliff overlooking the former works which so greatly increased their strength that McDouall considered his position one of the strongest in Canada. "We are in a very fine state of defence here," he wrote "the garrison and Indians are in the highest spirits and all ready for the attack of the enemy. We apprehend nothing for the island but from want of provisions."

The Nancy had already made two successful trips to the Nottawasaga and sailed again for that place a few days before. A message to her commander, warning him of the appearance of the American squadron off Mackinac and advising him to take his vessel as far up the river.

as possible and remain there until the blockade of the island was at an end, was entrusted to Lieutenant Robert Livingston, a daring and adventurous officer of the Indian Department, who volunteered to deliver it. After serving for several years as a midshipman in the Royal Navy, Livingston obtained a commission in the Royal Canadian Volunteers, which he retained until the disbandment of that corps at the peace of Amiens. He then became a fur trader and was living at St. Joseph's when the war began. Having raised a company of volunteers, he was appointed adjutant of the battalion organized for the capture of Mackinac, in July, 1812. Being despatched to Detroit in charge of the prisoners, he was detained by the enemy but soon effected his escape. Two days later, he was wounded and taken prisoner in a skirmish, again recovering his liberty at the surrender of Detroit. After receiving his commission in the Indian Department, he was frequently employed in conveying important despatches owing to his intimate knowledge of the country, and in this service travelled a distance of 8,890 miles, mainly by canoe or on snow shoes. In the summer of 1813, Livingston assembled a body of Indians on the north shore of Lake Huron, whom he conducted to Niagara to assist in the investment of Fort George. In a skirmish near the Four Mile Creek, on the 17th of August, he received four severe wounds and was again taken prisoner, but on the night of the 19th October, he escaped from Fort Niagara and secreted himself in the woods until he found means to cross the river, subsisting for seven days on acorns only. He had acted as pilot for McDouall's force during its voyage to Mackinac and conducted the Nancy to the Nottawasaga on her first trip. Although two of his wounds were still unhealed, his zeal and energy seemed unimpaired and he eagerly undertook this difficult and important mission.

Foul weather prevented the American vessels from approaching the shore for several days, but on August 1st a party of soldiers was landed on Round Island where they had a skirmish with some Indians. After carefully reconnoitering the harbour and the vicinity of the forts, Croghan decided to adopt the advice of former residents of the island who accompanied him as guides and attempt a landing on its western coast where there was a break in the cliffs and his largest ships could anchor within three hundred yards of the shore. From this place, however, he would be compelled to advance for nearly two miles through dense woods before reaching an open space where a favorable position existed for assailing the works "by gradual and slow approaches" under cover of his artillery which he knew to be superior in range and weight of metal. Nearly a thousand men, including a body of marines,

were accordingly landed on the morning of August 4th and began their march across the island.

McDouall promptly advanced to meet them with one hundred and forty men of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment and Michigan Fencibles and about one hundred and fifty Indians, mostly of the Folles Avoines or Menomonee tribe from the Wisconsin River, whom he considered the bravest and best fighting men of any at his disposal. With this force he occupied an excellent position in which his men were hidden among thickets and underwood on the edge of a small clearing across which the enemy must pass in their advance, yet it could easily be turned as there were paths leading around either flank which he had not force enough to guard. When the enemy came in sight, he opened fire upon them from two field guns, without effect except to check their advance and cause them to attempt a movement around the clearing in the direction of his left flank. But the battalion of regular troops which undertook this flank march was suddenly assailed by a party of Menomonees from an ambush among the thickets. Their first fire killed Major Holmes and severely wounded Captain Desha, next in command. Two other officers, Captain Van Horne of the 19th and Lieutenant Jackson of the 24th Infantry, were mortally wounded and their men instantly fell into great confusion. A field piece was brought up, but the fire of their unseen foes was so effective and the disorder became so great that Croghan soon decided to retire to his shipping to avoid a worse disaster, leaving behind him two wounded men and the bodies of Major Holmes and others of the dead.

Captain Sinclair stated that "it was soon found that the further the troops advanced, the stronger the enemy became and the weaker and more bewildered our force were ; several of the commanding officers were picked out and killed or wounded without seeing any of the enemy. The men were getting lost and falling into confusion natural under such circumstances, which demanded an immediate retreat or total defeat and a general massacre must have ensued."

In all three officers and fifteen men were killed and one officer and fifty-eight men wounded, while McDouall's force was so well concealed that he had not a single man hurt.

Sinclair had learned from a prisoner taken in the Mink that reinforcements and supplies had arrived at Mackinac from the Notawasaga River and that the Nancy had lately been despatched thither for more. By destroying her and blockading the river he hoped to retrieve his defeat and ultimately compel the garrison to surrender for want of provisions, and also prevent the Northwest Company from receiving any further supplies.

About the middle of July, Lieutenant Miller Worsley, of the Royal Navy, with a small detachment of seamen, had arrived at the mouth of the Nottawasaga, where he awaited the appearance of the Nancy for more than a week, suffering much discomfort from bad weather and swarms of mosquitoes. On her arrival, the schooner was loaded with three hundred barrels of provisions and a quantity of much-needed military stores, and on August 1st, she again set sail for Mackinac. Before she entered the lake, Livingston met her with McDouall's instructions, and Worsley at once turned back. The Nancy was towed up the river about two miles to a place where she was hidden from view from the bay by intervening sandhills and the construction of a log blockhouse for her protection on a commanding position on the right bank was begun. Information of her perilous situation was sent to Lieutenant-General Drummond, who was then besieging Fort Erie, and he promptly gave orders for the assembly of a body of militia and Indians for her defence. But on the 13th of August, before these instructions could be fully carried into effect, part of the American squadron, consisting of the brig Niagara and the schooners Scorpion and Tigress, made their appearance in Nottawasaga Bay, having on board a detachment of artillery with several field guns and three companies of regular infantry under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan.

Lieutenant Livingston, who had returned that morning from York with despatches, was at once employed in assembling the neighboring Indians, but only succeeded in mustering twenty-three. Worsley had under his command Midshipman Dobson and twenty-one seamen of the Royal Navy and nine French Canadian boatmen. Three guns had been mounted in the blockhouse, two of which were twenty-four pounder carronades, taken from boats lying in the river, and the other was a six pounder field piece. With such inadequate means Worsley gallantly undertook to offer the stoutest resistance possible. Late in the afternoon, Croghan landed his troops on the narrow peninsula separating the lower reach of the river from the bay, and while exploring it for the purpose of selecting a suitable place for encamping, he discovered the Nancy lying on the opposite side of the stream close under the guns of the blockhouse. Next morning Sinclair anchored all his vessels near the shore within easy range and opened fire with little effect, as both vessels and blockhouse were screened from view by the sandhills, surmounted by a thin belt of trees and bushes. About noon, however, two howitzers were landed and placed in a favorable position within a few-hundred yards. Their fire speedily became so damaging that Worsley determined to destroy the schooner and retire into the woods. The guns

had accordingly been spiked and a train of powder laid to the Nancy when a well directed shell burst inside the blockhouse, setting fire to a quantity of combustible material near the magazine which soon blew up, communicating the flames to the schooner which was entirely destroyed with her valuable cargo still on board. Worsley had defended himself "very handsomely," as Sinclair said, but lost only one man killed and another severely wounded. The Indians continued to fire for some time from the edge of the woods and no pursuit was attempted. Eventually Sinclair sent a party of men across the Nottawasaga in boats who brought off the guns from the smouldering ruins of the blockhouse and took away a batteaux which had escaped destruction, after which they endeavored to obstruct the river by felling trees across it. On the following day Sinclair sailed for Lake Erie in the Niagara, leaving Lieutenant Turner in command of the Scorpion and Tigress, with instructions to maintain a rigid blockade until "driven from the lake by the inclemency of the season, suffering not a boat or canoe to pass in or out of this river," but authorizing him at the same time to detach the Tigress to cruise for a week or two at a time in the vicinity of St. Joseph's to intercept fur canoes passing between Sault Ste. Marie and French River. Twenty-five picked men from the 17th United States Infantry were detailed to serve on these vessels as marines, and the Scorpion was provided with a boarding netting as a protection against a night attack by small boats.

"Against attacks of this kind, which he might be driven to by his desperate situation, as this blockade must starve him into a surrender, I must particularly caution you," Sinclair said in his instructions. "If we can keep their boats from passing until October, I think the bad weather will effectually cut off all communication by anything they have on float, and in the spring an early blockade will possess us of Mackinac."

A brigade of boats from Montreal, by way of French River, under Captain J. M. Lamotte, laden with supplies for Mackinac, received timely warning of their presence before entering Lake Huron and turned back to a place of safety.

Upwards of a hundred barrels of provisions still remained in a storehouse several miles up the Nottawasaga which the enemy had not discovered, and two batteaux and Livingston's large canoe had escaped destruction. In these circumstances Worsley determined to elude the blockading vessels. The obstructions were quietly removed from the river, seventy barrels of provisions were taken on board, and on the night of the 18th, he entered the bay without being observed. Six days

on shore after parting from them and even compelled Sinclair to cut loose his launch and the captured boat which he was towing astern. For the last five days the Scorpion had been cruising between St. Joseph's and the French River in the hope of intercepting Lamotte's Brigade of boats from Montreal, of whose approach they had received some information. In her capture Worsley had but a single seaman wounded. He had regained entire control of Lake Huron and effectually relieved Mackinac from all danger of being forced to surrender from want of provisions. This expedition was admirably planned and executed and certainly richly deserved the success with which it was crowned. The prizes were fine vessels for lake service and were at once placed in commission under the names of the Surprise and the Confiance. They sailed at once for the Nottawasaga whence they returned in the beginning of October with a supply of provisions sufficient to maintain the garrison of Mackinac for six months.

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.

Major-General Brock to the Earl of Liverpool.

YORK, 23rd November, 1811.

(Extract.)

I have directed a survey of a tract of land on Lake Simcoe belonging to the Indians to meet your views. The merchants are particularly anxious to obtain a route for their goods unconnected with American territory.

"It is proposed to purchase 428 acres of land and erect grist mills for the convenience of a populous neighborhood."

From a memorial enclosed in the foregoing letter from General Brock to the Earl of Liverpool, signed by William McGillivray, William Hallowell, Roderick McKenzie, Angus Shaw, Archibald McLeod, James Hallowell, jr., and others composing the Northwest Fur Company.

NOTE. For two round trips of the Nancy from Detroit River to Fort Erie, in 1812, the Northwest Company claimed and received £500. For her services in 1813-14, her owners were allowed £1,243 5s. Od. and the further sum of £2,200 as compensation for the loss of the vessel.

(Extract.)

"We have been continually subjected to the vexatious interference of the United States customs' officials since 1796, and have had boats and property seized. We suggest the establishment of a road from Kempenfeldt Bay to Penetanguishene and will change our route in that direction as soon as practicable. We apply for a grant of land at each end of the road and at the landing at Gwillimbury.-2,000 acres on Kempenfeldt Bay, 2,000 acres at Penetanguishene, 200 at Gwillimbury-consideration, £4,000 in goods to be paid the Indians."

Extract from a letter unaddressed and unsigned in the Canadian Archives. Series C, Volume 257, page 144.

"It appears to be a matter of essential expediency, if not of indispensable necessity, that Mr. Dickson should be sent on forthwith to Michilimackinac by Machedash or if he finds it more convenient to go only to the mouth of the French River in Lake Huron, and in either case to wait for the canoes with the Indian presents which will in all probability reach Lake Huron in the month of September."

From Robert Dickson to Noah Freer, Military Secretary to the Governor-General.

YORK, 29th September, 1813.

With the assistance of Mr. Cameron, I have got the provisions in the way of being transported to Lake Huron and shall set out for Michilimackinac to-morrow. I shall attend particularly to the route and shall transmit my remarks on the return of the canoe by the Grand River. . . .

Should our fleet be totally destroyed on Lake Erie, as we have reason to believe, the bay at Machedash or Penetanguishene are both good harbors and there is plenty of excellent wood in the vicinity for constructing a vessel of any dimensions.

From an unsigned memorandum addressed to Major-General Procter, dated 6th October, 1813. (Canadian Archives, Series C, Volume 680, page 146.)

(Extract.)

"Penetanguishene Bay is an excellent harbor, and easy of access from Lake Huron; the entrance into it is not half a gun-shot across,

and the ground very commanding. Near to the water's edge is the finest oak and pine timber that can be imagined. Here (if there are ships' stores in the country for the purpose), vessels might be built in the winter to command Lake Huron and secure the Indians notwithstanding our being driven from Lake Erie."

From Robert Dickson to Noah Freer.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 23rd October, 1813.

(Extract.)

"I send you a map of Lake Simcoe on a large scale. I think that if a road is to be cut the best route is from Kempenfeldt Bay to Penetanguishene."

From Captain Richard Bullock, 41st Regiment, to Noah Freer.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 23rd October, 1813.

(Extract.)

"Mr. Dickson and I have consulted together as to the best means of defence for the security of Michilimackinac, and we are of the opinion that should the enemy not attack us here this fall, the first and most essential thing to be recommended is the building this winter of six large gunboats at Machedash Bay to protect supplies of any description from falling into their hands; that a re-inforcement of at least two hundred men with an officer of engineers and twenty artillerymen would be required and ordnance as per the enclosed return

"The pork and flour which you mentioned in your letter that Mr. Dickson was to take in charge and which we are so much in want of, I am sorry to say, he has not brought. I understand from him that it was to be forwarded from York to Machedash on Lake Huron, to which place, he informs me he must send for it, and I shall lose no time in sending what canoes I can for that purpose."

From Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, to Sir George Prevost, Governor-General of Canada.

DOWNING STREET, 3rd December, 1813. (

Extract.)

"From every information which I have been able to collect, the port of Machedash at the mouth of the Severn is peculiarly well calculated

for a naval depot. It has been long used as a post by the persons trading with the Indian nations ; it has a good land and water communications with Kingston and is less distant than the former dockyard at Amherstburg. It has moreover this advantage that nothing short of the most serious disaster could render it necessary to abandon it or its communication with Kingston.

"Upon a consideration of all these advantages, His Majesty's Government have determined to convey to you the necessary authority for erecting such block-houses and other defences as may be required to secure this post from attack or insult. As soon as these shall be completed you will make every exertion to build and fit out vessels calculated to meet those which the enemy may transfer to the lake. As the success of this measure depends much upon the rapidity of execution, I would recommend to your serious attention the advantage of laying down vessels at Quebec or Montreal which might afterwards be transported in frame to Machedash and set up there in a much shorter time than would have been required to build them there."

From Captain Richard Bullock to Noah Freer.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 30th December, 1813.

(Extract.)

"In my letter to you of the 23rd October, I mentioned that I should lose no time in sending what canoes I could to Machedash for the flour and pork Mr. Dickson had directed to be sent to that place from York

"Having no alternative, on the 28th October I despatched two large canoes and a bateau manned with Indians and some of the Michigan Fencibles with an interpreter and a sergeant of the veterans for that place. Previous to this party leaving the island I was told by the oldest residents the impracticability of the undertaking, but our situation warranted me to make the trial. On the 2nd of November the bateau with the sergeant and one of the canoes returned, the Indians having refused to proceed, owing to the weather setting in very severe with frost and snow, and they had to cut their way through the ice to get back. It was now too late to send off another party, nor indeed could I get any person on the island to undertake it notwithstanding a large sum was offered by the commissary for that purpose. The other canoe with Indians, having presents for a few of the inhabitants on the north shore of Lake Huron, were prevailed on by the interpreter to go on for the

purpose of delivering them. The interpreter on his return informed me that when the presents were delivered the weather becoming more moderate, he further prevailed on the Indians to go to Machedash for what provisions they could bring in the canoe, where they arrived on the 15th November, but to their great disappointment the provisions had not been brought to that place. In consequence lest they should be frozen up, they lost no time in returning here, and after suffering very severely, arrived on the 2nd instant."

From Lieutenant-General Sir Gordon Drummond to Sir George Prevost.

KINGSTON, 19th January, 1814.

(Extract.)

In reply to Your Excellency's letter of the 2nd instant, marked private, I beg to assure you that I have lost no time in giving ample instructions relating to the supply of troops and provisions to be forwarded to Michilimackinac by Lakes Simcoe and Huron, as also with regard to the building of gunboats and bateaux at Penatanguishene for their conveyance thither.

"In fact I had, prior to the receipt of Your Excellency's letter, already ordered two of the latter description of boats to be constructed at that place for the transport of the provisions and stores for some time since deposited at Machedash, and also for 100 barrels of flour and 50 of pork which I had ordered in addition before I left York."

From Lieutenant-Colonel R. H. Bruyeres, RE., to Sir George Prevost.

YORK, 23rd January, 1814.

(Extract.)

"I have made every enquiry since I have been here respecting the practicability of building four gunboats in Penetanguishene harbor on Lake Huron for the purpose of communicating from thence to the island of Michilimackinac as early as the opening of navigation will permit. I have seen the only person here that could be competent for this service (Mr. Dennis, late master builder at Kingston). He is at present unemployed, but from the conversation I have had with him he is unwilling to engage in this business, owing to the impossibility of

obtaining workmen here for that purpose. Captain Barclay, whom I have seen on this subject, very strongly recommends a Mr. Bell, who was master builder at Amherstburg. He is now at Kingston and I have written to General Drummond to endeavor to engage him for this service and to procure twelve shipwrights to accompany him. I have stated fully all that will be necessary, and I still hope that this business will be accomplished

"Mr. Crookshank, the Commissary, is at present at Lake Simcoe where I understand he is gone to make arrangements for the building of five bateaux to convey provisions that were left on the communication to be sent to Michilimackinac."

From Lieutenant-General Drummond to Sir George Prevost.

KINGSTON, 28th January, 1814.

(Extract.)

"I have the honor to acquaint Your Excellency that I have received a communication from Deputy Assistant Commissary-General Crookshank, at York, on his return from Lake Simcoe where he had been to make arrangements for forwarding supplies to Michilimackinac.

"He informs me that from the authority of several credible persons and likewise from Mr. Wilmot, the surveyor, who had been employed in running the line from Lake Simcoe to Penetanguishene Bay that it is impracticable to transport anything by that route previous to a road being cut upwards of thirty miles in length, and that it was calculated to take 200 men for at least three weeks before it could be made passable, and in case of deep snow it could not be done at all.

"In consequence of the delay and difficulty attending such a measure Mr. Crookshank has made arrangements for forwarding the supplies to Nottawasaga Bay on Lake Huron, a distance of only 20 miles from Penetanguishene.

"The opening of the road to the river leading to Nottawasaga Bay will take but 12 men for about 10 days, and in the course of a few days, as soon as a shed can be erected on the other side of Lake Simcoe, he will commence sending the stores across it, should a thaw not prevent.

"As Mr. Crookshank found it almost impossible to procure hands to build boats and altogether no person to contract for the whole or even a part, I have had a communication with the Commissioner of the Navy here who says he could furnish 30 workmen with an able foreman that would ensure the measure being completed in a given time and

contract at once the building of as many as should be required, and they could set out from hence at a day's notice well furnished with tools and oakum, and every other requisite for the occasion.

"This mode of proceeding would undoubtedly prove somewhat expensive, but I see no alternative.

P.S. Since writing the above I have received a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Bruyeres from York corroborating that part of Mr. Crookshank's letter relative to the inability of procuring persons there to build at Penetanguishene Bay, and asserting the only way this object can be accomplished is by sending up builders with the necessary materials of pitch, ironwork, etc., from Kingston."

From Captain Richard Bullock to Noah Freer.

FORT MICHILMACKINAC, 26th February, 1814.

(Extract.)

"The number of boats I can send to Nottawasaga and Penetanguishene Bay in the ensuing spring to assist in bringing in the supplies, etc., will be two bateaux, two large birch canoes and a keel boat."

From Lieutenant-General Drummond to Sir George Prevost.

KINGSTON, 21st May, 1814.

(Extract.)

I have the honor to enclose herewith the copy of a report I have just now received from Colonel Claus, Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, from which I am concerned to learn that the enemy have passed up the River St. Clair with two vessels and six gunboats containing about 300 men, about the 22nd or 23rd of last month for Lake Huron.

"Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall's last brigade of boats for Michilimackinac left Nottawasaga on the 20th of the same month, which I most anxiously hope has arrived at its destination in safety."

(Extract from Colonel Claus's Report Enclosed.)

Thirteen Indians from Naywash's band arrived at Burlington, on the 9th instant, from Flint River, and say that they were informed that two vessels and six gunboats with about 300 men had passed the River St. Clair about the 22nd or 23rd April for Michilimackinac and that no more than about 250 men remained at Detroit.

From Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall to Lieutenant-General Drummond.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 26th May, 1814.

(Extract.)

"The Nancy being just under way, I refer to my letter to Colonel Harvey for particulars of our voyage. I avail myself of the few minutes left me before she sails to urge in the strongest terms the necessity of Mr. Crookshank being immediately directed to deposit for us at the mouth of the Nottawasaga River another supply of provisions consisting of from three to four hundred barrels of flour and pork, otherwise this place will be in great danger from the want of that article, owing to the great issues to the Indians which I have curtailed as much as possible, even at the risk of offending them."

From Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Nichol.

KINGSTON, 30th May, 1814.

(Extract.)

"In addition to the establishment at Long Point, I should strongly recommend the formation of one at Penetanguishene on Lake Huron. The road, however, to the north of Lake Simcoe which is, I understand, about twenty-four miles, should be previously opened. A flotilla on Lake Huron will be found of great service, both as it respects offensive and defensive operations. The remoteness of the situation will keep the enemy ignorant of our movements."

From Lieutenant-General Drummond to Sir George Prevost.

KINGSTON, 2nd July, 1814.

(Extract.)

"I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of an interesting letter I received from Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall from Michilimackinac. I am apprehensive his Indian allies, unless he can find some method of employing them so as they may in a greater degree supply themselves with food, will cause him some uneasiness and difficulties with regard to provisions. To enable him to meet all their demands, however, as much as possible, I have given directions to Deputy Commissary Couche to take measures for securing a constant supply to his post, and I understand Deputy Assistant Commissary General Crookshank is at

Nottawasaga at present on this business as well as for the purpose of improving the road to that place from Lake Simcoe."

From Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall to Lieutenant-General Drummond.

MACHILIMACKINAC, 17th July, 1814.

(Extract.)

I was greatly disappointed at the Nancy bringing us last trip only eleven barrels for Government. I at least expected three hundred. I also received but little comfort on Mr. Crookshank telling me that by the 20th instant, he was in hopes to have 200 barrels at the Nottawasaga River. However, as it is of great consequence, even the securing of that quantity, I am now despatching the Nancy for it. I, however, beg to represent the great necessity which exist that the supplies should be more liberal for this place. It is now the last point of connection with the Indians and I believe the great importance of their alliance and the policy of conciliating them as much as possible is generally admitted, particularly as the enemy is making such efforts to seduce them from us; and yet what means are placed in my hands to counteract the influence of the Americans? A continual interchange of Indians is going on at this place and some have come a great distance for its defence, and yet I have been compelled to refuse rations to their wives and children, and to many others in a half-famished state; even my own garrison I am compelled to reduce the rations of, and as soldiers have but little foresight and think only of the present, it adds to the general discontent on the subject of provisions. In what a predicament does this leave me, and in what a situation should I be left if great efforts are not made for my relief? Every day adds to my perplexity on this subject. I now only issue 250 rations daily to Indians which make the whole about 550. It is absolutely essential and cannot with prudence be otherwise, that in calculating the supplies for this garrison, at least *three hundred Indians* should be included, and I am fully convinced that they could never be expended to a better purpose

(Canadian Archives, C, 685, page 67.)

From Captain A. Slinclair to the Secretary of the Navy.

UNITED STATES SLOOP NIAGARA,

OFF ST. JOSEPH'S, 22nd July, 1814.

SIR,—The wind became favorable on the evening of the 3rd instant, the troops were embarked and I sailed from Detroit that night, but

such were the difficulties I had to encounter on the flats of Lake St. Clair, where, instead of ten feet, as I had been led to believe there was, I found only eight, and the rapid current of that river, that I did not reach Lake Huron until the 12th. From thence I shaped my course as directed for Machedash Bay and used every possible effort to gain it, but not being able to procure a pilot for that unfrequented part of the lake, and finding it filled with islands and sunken rocks which must inevitably prove the destruction of the fleet as it was impossible to avoid them on account of the impenetrable fog with which this lake is almost continually covered, and finding the army were growing short of provisions from the time already elapsed, it was agreed between Colonel Croghan and myself to push for this place where we should procure such information as would govern our future operations. We were favored in winds and arrived here on the 20th. The enemy had abandoned his work, consisting of a fort and a large block-house, etc.; those we destroyed but left untouched the town and Northwest Company's storehouses.

From Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall to Lieutenant-General Drummond.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 28th July, 1814.

(Extract.)

"We are here in a very fine state of defence, the garrison and Indians in the highest spirits and all ready for the attack of the enemy. I apprehend nothing for the island but from the want of provisions. I have, therefore, to beg to supplicate, to entreat, my dear General, that every effort may be made, every step be immediately taken which can facilitate our being supplied. There are now three bateaux in the Nottawasaga River, a fourth can be carried over from Lake Simcoe. These should be manned by the crew of the Nancy, mounting one of her carronades in one of them and could bring 140 barrels of flour which should be taken to the depot at the River Sauganock, and being there secured, the party would have sufficient time to return to the River Tessalon which we consider (the secret being well kept) as out of the reach of the enemy, and which (should the blockade not be raised in time) can easily be brought here over the snow in the winter. The River Sauganock is fifteen miles *on our side* of the Cloche and is the place where the Montreal canoes are directed to deposit the cargoes they brought from that place and likewise the first cargo of flour they bring from the River Nottawasaga. The River Tessalon is thirty miles from St. Joseph's and is the place where the second cargoes of both the

canoes and the bateaux must be landed, as by that time the enemy's squadron may have been obliged to leave us, but be that as it may, we consider it a safe place. Should the Nancy's crew come with the bateaux as proposed she must be hauled as high as possible up the river. A subaltern and 20 men and some Indians stationed for her defence and that of the depot which, I think, will perfectly secure both."

From Lieutenant Daniel Turner to Captain A. Sinclair.

UNITED STATES SCHOONER SCORPION,
OFF MICHILIMACKINAC, July 28th, 1814.

SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that, agreeable to your orders of the 22nd instant, I proceed on the expedition to Lake Superior with launches. I rowed night and day, but having a distance of sixty miles against a strong current, information had reached the enemy at St. Mary's about two hours before I arrived at that place, carried by Indians in their light canoes, several of whom I chased, and by firing on them and killing some, prevented their purpose, some I captured and kept prisoners until my arrival, others escaped. The force under Major Holmes prevented anything like resistance at the Fort ; the enemy carrying with them all their light valuable articles, peltry, clothes, etc. I proceeded across the strait of Lake Superior without a moment's delay, and on my appearance the enemy, finding they could not get off with the vessel I was in quest of, set fire to her in several places, scuttled and left her. I succeeded in boarding her, and by considerable exertions, extinguished the flames and secured her from sinking. I then stripped and prepared for getting her down the falls. Adverse winds prevented my attempting the falls until the 26th, when every passible effort was used, but I am sorry to say without success to get her over in safety. The fall in three-quarters of a mile is forty-five feet and the channel very rocky, the current runs from twenty to thirty knots, and in one place there is a perpendicular leap of ten feet between three rocks. Here she bilged but was brought down so rapidly that we succeeded in running her on shore below the rapids before she filled and burned her. She was a fine new schooner, upwards of one hundred tons, called the Perseverance, and will be a severe loss to the Northwest Company. Had I succeeded in getting her down safe, I could have loaded her with advantage from the enemy's store-houses. I have, however, brought down four captured boats loaded with Indian goods to a considerable amount, the balance, contained in four large and two small store-houses,

were destroyed, amounting to from fifty to one hundred thousand dollars. All private property was, according to your orders, respected. The officers and men under my command behaved with great activity and zeal, particularly Midshipman Swartwout.

From Captain A. Sinclair to the Secretary of the Navy.

UNITED STATES SLOOP NIAGARA,

OFF MICHILIMACKINAC, July 29th, 1814.

SIR,—Whilst windbound at St. Joseph's I captured the Northwest Company's schooner, Mink, from Michilimackinac to St. Mary's with a cargo of flour. Receiving intelligence through this source that the schooner Perseverance was laying above the falls at the lower end of Lake Superior in waiting to transport the Mink's cargo to Fort William, I despatched the ships' launches under Lieutenant Turner of the Scorpion, an active and enterprising officer, to capture, and, if possible, get her down the falls. Colonel Croghan attached Major Holmes with a party of regulars to co-operate in the expedition in which the capture of St. Mary's was included. The official report of the result made by Lieutenant Turner I herewith enclose you. The capture of the Perseverance gave us the complete command of Lake Superior, and had it not been for the strong force at Michilimackinac forbidding a separation of our means of attacking that place and feeling myself bound by my instructions to do so before I was at liberty to enter into any extensive enterprise of my own planning, I should have availed myself of this unlooked for advantage and have broken up all their establishments on Lake Superior. The capture of Fort William alone would have nearly destroyed the enemy's fur trade, as that is his grand depot and general rendezvous from which his extensive trade branched out in all directions, and at which place there is never less than a million in property, and at this season of the year it is said there is twice that amount. I fear such another opportunity may never recur. The capture of those two vessels and the provisions will, however, prove of very serious inconvenience to the enemy in that quarter where the loss cannot possibly be retrieved. Flour was before this loss worth sixty dollars per barrel with them, and salt provisions fifty cents per pound, etc.

From Major A. H. Holmes to Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan.

UNITED STATES SCHOONER SCORPION, 27th July, 1814.

SIR,—Pursuant to your orders of the 22nd instant, I left the squadron with Lieutenant Turner of the Navy, and arrived at the Sault Ste.

Marie the day after. Two hours before the Northwest Agent had received notice of our approach and succeeded in escaping with a considerable amount of goods after setting fire to the vessel above the falls. The design of this latter measure was frustrated only by the intrepid exertions of Mr. Turner with his own men and a few of Captain Saunder's company.

The vessel was brought down the falls on the 25th, but having bilged, Mr. Turner destroyed her. Most of the goods we have taken were found in the woods on the American side and were claimed by the agent, John Johnson, an Indian trader.

I secured this property because it was good prize by the maritime law of nations as recognized by the English courts (witness the case of Admiral Rodney, adjudged by Lord Mansfield), further, because Johnson has acted the part of a traitor, having been a citizen and magistrate of Michigan Territory, and at its commencement and now discharging the functions of a magistrate under the British Government ; because his agent armed the Indians from his stores at our approach, and, lastly, because those goods, or a considerable part, were designed to be taken to Michilimackinac. Pork, salt, and groceries compose the chief part. Johnson himself passed to Michilimackinac since the squadron arrived at St. Joseph's.

From Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall to Lieutenant Worsley.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 28th July, 1814.

SIR,—The American expedition destined for the attack of this island having at length made its appearance under the command of Commodore Elliott and Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan, consisting of the Niagara, 20 guns, Lawrence, 20 Hunter, brig 8, and a large schooner of

guns, the Mary of guns, five gunboats and the Mink, their prize, I hasten to apprise you of the circumstance, lest the Nancy and her valuable cargo fall into their hands, and that you may be enabled to take such steps for her preservation as will appear to you most expedient under the circumstances. I have taken such precautions as were in my power to make you acquainted with this event in case you may be on your passage. If so, I would recommend you to return to the Nottawasaga River and to take up the Nancy as high as possible, place her in a judicious position and hastily run up a log house (such as were made when the boats were built, but larger) with loopholes and embrasures for your two six pounders which will enable you to defend her should you be attacked, which is not unlikely.

The mode of obtaining her cargo which is of such value to us will depend upon the result of the attack which we daily expect, and of the duration of the blockade. I see no other way of obtaining the provisions, but by bringing them protected by carronades in the bows of two of them. You will probably receive instructions from Kingston as to your conduct.

(From Niles' Register, Volume VII, page 132. Captured by Captain Sinclair, at Nottawasaga.)

From Captain Sinclair to the Secretary of the Navy.

UNITED STATES SLOOP NIAGARA,

OFF THUNDER BAY, August 9, 1814.

SIR,—I arrived off Michilimackinac, on the 26th July, but owing to a tedious spell of bad weather, which prevented our reconnoitering or being able to take a prisoner who could give us information of the enemy's Indian force which from several little skirmishes we had on an adjacent island, appeared to be very great, we did not attempt a landing until the 4th instant, and it was then made more with a view to ascertain the enemy's strength than with any possible hope of success. Knowing at the same time that I could effectually cover their landing and retreat to the ships from the position I had taken within 300 yards of the beach. Colonel Croghan would never have landed, even with this protection being positive that the Indian force alone on the island with the advantages they had, were superior to him, could he have justified himself to his government without having stronger proof than appearances that he could not effect the object in view.

Mackinac is by nature a perfect Gibraltar, being a high, inaccessible rock on every side except from the west, from which to the heights you have near two miles to pass through a wood so thick that our men were shot in every direction, and within a few yards of them, without being able to see the Indians who did it, and a height was scarcely gained before there was another within fifty or one hundred yards, commanding it where breastworks were erected and cannon opened on them. Several of these were charged and the enemy driven from them, but it was soon found the further our troops advanced the stronger the enemy became, and the weaker and more bewildered our force were; several of the commanding officers were picked out and killed or wounded without seeing any of them. The men were getting lost and falling into confusion, natural under such circumstances, which demanded an imme-

diate retreat or a total defeat, and massacre must have ensued. This was conducted in a masterly manner by Colonel Croghan who had lost the aid of that valuable and ever to be lamented officer, Major Holmes, who with Captain Van Horne, was killed by the Indians. The enemy were driven from many of their strongholds, but such was the impenetrable thickness of the woods that no advantage gained could be profited by. Our attack would have been made immediately under the lower fort so that the enemy might not have been able to use his Indian allies to such advantage as in the woods, having discovered by drawing a fire from him in several instances that I had greatly the superiority of metal of him, but its site being about 130 feet above the water, I could not, when near enough to do him an injury, elevate sufficiently to batter it. Above this, nearly as high again, he has another stronghold commanding every point on the island and almost perpendicular on all sides. Colonel Croghan not deeming it prudent to make a second attempt upon this place and having ascertained to a certainty that the only naval force the enemy have upon the lake consists of a schooner of four guns, I have determined to despatch the Lawrence and Caledonia to Lake Erie immediately, believing that their service in transporting our armies there will be wanting, and it being important that the sick and wounded amounting to about one hundred, and that part of the detachment not necessary to further our future operations here should reach Detroit without delay. By an intelligent prisoner captured in the Mink, I ascertained this and that the mechanics and others sent across from York during the winter were for the purpose of building a flotilla to transport reinforcements and supplies to Mackinac. An attempt was made to transport them by way of Machedash, but it was found impracticable from all the portages being a morass; that they then resorted to a small river called Nottawasaga, situated to the south of Machedash, from which there is a portage of three leagues over a good road to Lake Simcoe. This place was never known until pointed out to them by an Indian. This river is very narrow and has six or eight feet of water in it, and is then a muddy rapid shallow for forty-five miles to the portage where their armada was built and their storehouses are now situated. The navigation is dangerous and difficult, and so obscured by rocks and bushes that no stranger could ever find it. I have, however, availed myself of this means of discovering it. I shall also blockade the mouth of French River until the fall, and those two being the only two channels of communication by which Mackinac can possibly be supplied, and their provisions at this time being extremely short, I think they will be starved into a surrender. This will also cut

off all supplies to the Northwest Company who are now nearly starving, and their furs on hand can only find transportation by way of Hudson's Bay. At this place, I calculate on falling in with their schooner which it is said is gone there for a load of provisions and a message sent to her not to venture up while we are on the lake.

From Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan to the Secretary of War.

UNITED STATES SLOOP NIAGARA,

OFF THUNDER BAY, August 9th, 1814.

SIR, We left Fort Gratiot (head of the straits of St. Clair) on the 12th ultimo, and imagined we should arrive in a few days at Machedash Bay. At the end of a week, however, the Commodore from want of pilots acquainted with the unfrequented part of the lake, despaired of being able to find a passage through the islands into the bay, and made for St. Joseph's where he anchored on the 20th day of July. After setting fire to the Fort of St. Joseph's, which seemed not to have been recently occupied, a detachment of infantry and artillery, under Major Holmes, was ordered to Sault St. Mary's for the purpose of breaking up the enemy's establishment at that place. For particulars relative to the execution of this order, I beg leave to refer you to Major Holmes' report herewith enclosed. Finding on my arrival at Michilimackinac, on the 26th ultimo, the enemy had strongly fortified the height overlooking the old fort of Mackinac, I at once despaired of being able with my small force to carry the place by storm and determined (as the only course remaining) on landing and establishing myself in some favorable position whence I should be enabled by gradual and slow approaches under cover of my artillery in which I should have the superiority in point of metal. I was urged to adopt this step by another reason not a little cogent; could a position be taken and fortified on the island, I was well aware it would either induce the enemy to attack me in my stronghold or force his Indians and Canadians (his most efficient and only disposable force) off the island, as they would be very unwilling to remain in my neighborhood after a permanent footing had been taken. On inquiry I learned from individuals who had lived on the island, that a position as desirable as I might wish, could be found on the west end and therefore immediately made arrangements for disembarking. A landing was effected on the 4th instant under cover of the guns of the shipping, and the line being quickly formed, had advanced to the edge of the field spoken of, when intelligence was con-

veyed to me that the enemy was ahead, and a few seconds more brought us a fire from his battery of four pieces firing shot and shell. After reconnoitering his position which was well selected, his line reached along the edge of the woods at the further extremity of the field and was covered by a temporary breastwork. I determined on changing my position (which was now two lines, the militia forming the front) by advancing Major Holmes' battalion of regulars on the right of the militia, thus to outflank him, and by a vigorous effort to gain his rear. The movement was immediately ordered, but before it could be executed, a fire was opened by some Indians posted in a thick wood near our right which proved fatal to Major Holmes and severely wounded Captain Desha (the next officer in rank). This unlucky fire by depriving us of the services of our most valuable officers, threw that part of the line into confusion, which the best exertions of the officers were not able to recover. Finding it impossible to gain the enemy's left owing to the impenetrable thickness of the woods, a charge was ordered to be made by the regulars immediately in front. This charge, although made in some confusion, seemed to drive the enemy back into the woods from whence an annoying fire was kept up by the Indians.

Lieutenant Morgan was ordered up with a light piece to assist the left now particularly galled ; the excellent practice of this brought the enemy to fire at a longer distance. Discovering that this position from whence the enemy had just been driven (and which had been represented to me as so high and commanding), was by no means tenable from being interspersed with thickets and intersected in every way by ravines. I determined no longer to expose my force to the fire of an enemy, deriving every advantage from numbers and a knowledge of the position, and therefore ordered an immediate retreat towards the shipping.

This affair which cost us many valuable lives, leaves us to lament the fall of that gallant officer, Major Holmes, whose character is so well known to War Department. Captain Van Horne of the 19th Infantry and Lieutenant Jackson of the 24th Infantry, both brave and intrepid young men, fell mortally wounded at the head of their respective commands. Captain Desha of the 24th Infantry, although severely wounded, continued with his command until forced to retire from faintness through loss of blood. Captains Saunders, Hawkins, and Sturgis, with every subaltern of that battalion, acted in the most exemplary manner. Ensign Bryan, 2nd Rifle Regiment, acting adjutant of the battalion, actively forwarded the wishes of the commanding officer. Lieutenants Hickman, 28th Infantry, and Hyde, of the United States

Marines, who commanded the reserve, claim my particular thanks for keeping that command in readiness to meet any exigency. I have before mentioned Lieutenant Morgan's activity; his two assistants, Lieutenant Pickett and Mr. Peters, conductor of artillery, also merit the name of good officers.

The militia were wanting in no part of their duty; Colonel Cotgreave, his officers and soldiers deserve the warmest approbation. My acting adjutant-general, Captain N. H. Moore, 28th Infantry, with Volunteer Adjutant McComb, were prompt in delivering my orders. Captain Gratiot, of the Engineers, who volunteered his services as adjutant on the occasion, gave me valuable assistance.

On the morning of the 5th, I sent a flag to inquire into the state of the wounded (two in number), who were left on the field, and to request permission to bring away the body of Major Holmes which was also left, owing to the unpardonable neglect of the soldiers in whose hands he was placed. I am happy in assuring you that the body of Major Holmes is secured and will be buried at Detroit with becoming honors.

I shall discharge the militia to-morrow and will send them down with two regular companies to Detroit. With the remaining three companies I shall attempt to destroy the enemy's establishment in the head of Naw-taw-wa-sa-ga River, and if it is thought best erect a post at the mouth of that river.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of a detachment
commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan, in the affair of the 4th August.

11th August, 1814.

Artillery—Wounded—Three privates.

Infantry-17 Regiment. Killed—Five privates; wounded—two sergeants, two corporals, fifteen privates, two privates since dead; two privates missing.

19th Regiment. Wounded—One captain, nineteen privates. Captain J. Van Horne, and one private since dead.

24th Regiment. Killed—Five privates; wounded, one captain, one lieutenant, three sergeants, one musician, five privates. Captain Desha, severely. Lieutenant H. Jackson, and one sergeant since dead.

32nd Regiment. Killed—Major A. H. Holmes.

United States Marines. Wounded—One sergeant.

Ohio Militia. Killed—Two privates; wounded, five privates. One private since dead.

Extract from a letter to W. D. Thomas, M.D., surgeon of the 104th Regiment at York or Kingston.

NOTTAWASAGA, 6th August, 1814.

It is now nearly a month since I left York in company with Lieutenant Worsley of the Navy on my way to the land of promise, but things have turned out rather unfortunately, for you still behold me a sojourner in the wilderness. We had waited about a week on the banks of this river before the Nancy arrived during which time we suffered every misery you can imagine from bad weather and mosquitoes, etc., etc. The land here is the most barren I have seen. It seems to have been formed from time to time by the washing of Lake Huron, it being for upwards of two miles composed entirely of banks of sand on which nothing grows but small brushwood. We found a number of Indians encamped on the lake shore who were extremely troublesome until the vessel arrived. It was not possible to keep them out of our wigwams. You may then imagine what a pleasant sight the Nancy was for us. We found her a very fine schooner with an admirable cabin. Her cargo was not completed before Sunday last and she got under way on Monday with every prospect of reaching Mackinac in a short time, which is only 220 miles from hence. We had been out but a few hours when we met an express from Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall to say that the American squadron from Lake Erie of large force was blockading the island and we could not possibly reach it. We, therefore, had the mortification to put back into this wretched place where we are busily employed in erecting a block-house to contain and defend the stores and schooner in case of an attack which is an event I have no doubt of, but I hope from the strength of the ground Worsley has chosen and the goodness of his crew that we shall be able to beat off a very strong force. The river is too narrow to sail up, we shall, therefore, only have gunboats to contend with. I hope Mackinac has provisions for three months, and the enemy, it is said, cannot keep out so long on account of the climate, so that the Nancy can make a run late in the season with the stores, if we succeed in defending them. I expect the man who brought the express the other day, who has gone on to York, and intends going back to Mackinac in a canoe. I shall trust my person with him as he thinks he can again give Jonathan the slip.

(From Niles' Register, Volume VII, page 132-3. Taken by Sinclair at Nottawasaga.)

From Lieutenant-General Drummond to Sir George Prevost. CAMP
NEAR FORT ERIE, August 11, 1814.

(Extract.)

Instantly on the receipt of these letters, I directed a communication to be made to the officer commanding at York, covering extracts of the most important parts of them, with instructions that the commissariat should be called upon to carry into effect the request of Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall as far as relates to that department in the transport of provisions, etc., and that a detachment of militia and Indians should be sent to Nottawasaga for the protection of the Nancy schooner.

(Canadian Archives, Series C, Volume 685, page 73.)

From Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall to Sir George Prevost.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 14th August, 1814.

SIRs I have reported to Lieutenant-General Drummond the particulars of the attack made by the enemy on this post on the 4th instant. My situation was embarrassing. I knew that they could land upwards of a thousand men, and after manning the guns at the forts, I had only a disposable force of one hundred and forty to meet them, which I determined to do in order as much as possible to encourage the Indians, and having the fullest confidence in the little detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment. The position I took up was excellent, but at an unavoidable and too great a distance from the forts, in each of which I was only able to leave twenty-five militia-men. There were likewise roads upon my flanks, every inch of which were known to the enemy by means of people formerly residents of this island, which were with them. I could not afford to detach a man to guard them, and it is one of the misfortunes of having to do with Indians and depending upon them, that they will do as they like, and in action it is impossible to form any previous judgment whether they will behave well or ill or are disposed to fight or not.

My position was rather too extensive for such a handful of men. The ground was commanding, and in front clear as I could wish it, on both flanks and rear a thick wood. My utmost wish was that the Indians would only prevent the enemy from gaining the woods upon our flanks which would have forced them upon the open ground in my front. A natural breastwork protected my men from every shot, and I told them

that on the close approach of the enemy they were to pour in a volley and immediately charge. Numerous as they were, all were fully confident of the result.

On the advance of the enemy my six-pounder and three-pounder opened a heavy fire upon them, but not with the effect they would have had, not being well manned, and for want of an artillery officer which would have been invaluable to us as they moved slowly and cautiously, declining to meet me on the open ground, but gradually gaining my left flank, which the Indians permitted even in the woods without firing a shot. I was even obliged to weaken my small front by detaching the Michigan Fencibles to oppose a party of the enemy which were advancing to the woods on my right. I now received accounts from Major Crawford of the militia that the enemy's two large ships had anchored in the rear of my left and that troops were moving by a road in that direction towards the forts. I therefore moved to place myself between them and the enemy, and took up a position effectually covering them from whence collecting the greater part of the Indians who had retired and taking with me Major Crawford and about 50 militia. I again advanced to support a party of the Fallsovine Indians who, with their gallant chief, Thomas, had commenced a spirited attack upon the enemy who, in a short time lost their second in command and several other officers, seventeen of which we counted dead upon the field besides what they carried off and a considerable number wounded. The enemy retired in the utmost haste and confusion, followed by the troops, till they found shelter under the very broadside of their ships within a few yards of the shore. They re-embarked that evening and the vessels immediately hauled off.

Though the enemy, formidable as they were in numbers, have made so poor a business of their attack, yet I must still ever regret their being not more effectually punished which would not assuredly have been the case had not the Indians gradually disappeared, leaving both flanks uncovered. The gallant Fallsovines with a few Winnebagoes, Chippewas, and Ottawas certainly retrieved their character.

I am now fully convinced of the great danger of depending upon these people for the defence of this island, they are as fickle as the wind, and though the American Commodore avowed to Major Crawford his intention of renewing his attack, the instant he received some reinforcements (by the end of this month), yet all my endeavors have not been able to prevent a great many from going away, according to their custom after an action. Should they be as good as their word (and they say the island must be retaken, cost what it will), I shall have to

encounter them with a force considerably diminished while theirs will have been proportionately increased.

I have, therefore to assure Your Excellency that the present garrison is entirely inadequate to the defence of the island which has now assumed a degree of importance which it never had before, and which would be productive of most serious consequences were its safety and due security to be neglected. Indeed, it is of such consequence that this frontier should be kept in a respectable state of defence that when all the re-inforcements have arrived it would be worth while to employ a regiment between this place and the Mississippi. We here require at least one hundred picked men and an officer and twenty artillery and a company (and a small detachment of artillery) are absolutely necessary to defend Colonel McKay's new conquest. The fort is represented to me as being strongly situated and being capable of making an excellent defence.

The enemy's designs upon that fine country have been long formed and they had not a doubt of the whole of it as well as this island being by this time in their possession by which means our connection with all the Indians of the Mississippi would have been completely cut off. Nothing could have opposed them on that river, and they could with impunity have carried their schemes of conquest even to Hudson's Bay.

It will give me uncommon satisfaction should Your Excellency be convinced of the importance of securing the Mississippi and the beneficial consequences which must result therefrom, for I should then consider it practicable that a company under an active intelligent officer might still garrison Fort McKay previous to the winter. They might embark at Nottawasaga in the Nancy and have ample time to reach that place, whereas if omitted till next next year it will be the middle of June before they can reach it, which I much fear will enable the enemy . previously to attack it.

Mr. Rolette tells me there are ample supplies to maintain the garrison. The Indians cannot be relied on for its defence, but a company of regular troops would rally round them and firmly retain in our interest all the tribes on the Mississippi. A number of them, particularly those in the neighborhood of St. Louis, being without support from us, and in the power of the enemy, have accordingly temporized and kept back. A similar instance of this lately occurred. Governor Clark on his return route made peace with the Sauks and Renards, but the instant they heard of the capture of the fort and the arrival of the British then they immediately obeyed Colonel McKay's summons, was supplied by him with ammunition and attacking Major Campbell's flotilla, effected

the destruction of his whole detachment. This signal and justly deserved punishment together with the capture of Fort McKay and the general union of the Indians will cause great terror in St. Louis, and fully deter them from making any attempts on the reconquered country till the ensuing spring.

(Canadian Archives, Series Q, Volume 128-1, page 229.)

From Captain A. Sinclair to Lieutenant Daniel Turner.

NOTTAWASAGA RIVER, August 15, 1814.

SIR, Having accomplished the object for which the squadron came into this quarter in the destruction of the enemy's whole naval force on this lake. I am on the eve of returning to Lake Erie, but as it is all important to cut the enemy's line of communication from Michilimackinac to York which is through the Nottawasaga River, Lake Simcoe, etc., and on which his very existence depends, you will remain here and keep up a blockade until you shall be driven from the lake by the inclemency of the season, suffering not a boat or canoe to pass in or out of this river. I shall leave the Tigress with you. In case accident should happen to either one of the vessels, the other may afford her necessary assistance. Should you deem it proper to send the Tigress up to cruise a week or two about St. Joseph's in order to intercept the enemy's fur canoes between Ste. Marie's and French River, you can do so, as one vessel is sufficient to blockade this river.

I should recommend your immediately finding out an anchorage to cover you from the northwest gales, as that is the only wind which can affect you in this bay. I see from the Nancy's log book that the small island on the southwest of this bay is such a place as you could wish, directions for which, I herewith give you. The island north of us may also give you good anchorage, but always be sure of some good bottom before anchoring, as the loss of an anchor might prove of serious consequence to you. Should you find anchorage on both sides, I should recommend your changing frequently, and in a way not to be observed by the enemy who might not only avail himself of your position to move out his boats on the opposite side, but he might attempt surprising you by throwing a number of men on board. Against attacks of this kind which he might be driven to by his desperate situation as this blockade must starve him into a surrender by spring, I must particularly caution you. When the Tigress is here it would be well to be on the opposite shore and sometimes to run out of sight, taking care to scour

both shores as you return. I shall endeavor to annoy the navigation of the river by felling trees at its mouth in order that a portage must be performed there which must be seen by you.

I wish you to take an accurate survey of this bay and its islands, and if possible, of the one on the north of it called Machedash, observing all its islands, bays, shoals, anchorages, courses, distances, and soundings, particularly attending to the kind of bottom.

Should anything occur to make it necessary, you can send the Tigress express to me. If we can keep their boats from passing until October, I think the weather will effectually cut off all communication by anything they have on float, and in the spring an early blockade will possess us of Mackinac.

You will be particularly careful in having communication with the shore, and when you send a party for wood, let it be on an island and under protection of your guns and a guard from both vessels. Wishing you a pleasant cruise, I am your, etc.

From George Crookshank to Peter Turquand, Deputy Commissary General.

YORK, 21st August, 1814.

SIR,—I have the honor to report that I have just returned from Nottawasaga. On my arrival there I learned from Lieutenant Worsley, Royal Navy, that the enemy's fleet had appeared off the mouth of the Nottawasaga on the 13th, and on the 14th that they landed a large party of men, in consequence of which I regret to say he had to destroy the Nancy with all the cargo to prevent the same from falling into the enemy's hands, a copy of the invoice and receipts for the same, I herewith enclose. There was also 50 bags of flour, private property, on board which I had directed Mr. Livingston to load a canoe with and proceed and I would replace the same, but the enemy had appeared before Mr. Livingston had reached that place. One of the largest size gunboats which had been brought down from Mackinac for the purpose of loading the vessel fell into the hands of the enemy. I have also enclosed a return of the quantity of provisions remaining in the storehouse at Nottawasaga, part of which Lieutenant Worsley takes on with him in two boats and a large canoe with Mr. Livingston. As Mr. Worsley had hands for manning another boat, I directed one to be sent across from Lake Simcoe to him, and think it probable they have left Nottawasaga to-day in case the boat sent across the carrying place should not have got injured in the transport. In that case Lieutenant

Worsley would proceed with the two boats and the canoe, as it is doubtful whether Mr. La Mothe, who has charge of the government canoes, will return for provisions. I will immediately send out three bateaux and endeavor to get hands for manning the same they they may make two trips with flour to the place pointed out by Colonel McDouall, and shall send out sufficient to make up the 600 barrels required for that post.

All the public letters that were forwarded in charge of Lieutenant Worsley for Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall, I learn were burnt in the vessel, of which I have to request you will inform Colonel Foster as some of the packets that were delivered to Lieutenant Worsley were from General Drummond.

P.S. The enemy's fleet left Nottawasaga River on the 15th instant and stood up the lake.

(Canadian Archives, Series C, Volume 685, page 145.)

From Lieutenant-Colonel George Croghan to Brigadier-General Duncan McArthur.

DETROIT, August 23rd, 1814.

DEAR SIR,—I communicated in my report of the 11th instant my intention of continuing on Lake Huron with three companies for the purpose of breaking up any depots the enemy might have on the east side of the lake.

We were fortunate in learning that the only line of communication from York to Mackinac, etc., was by way of Lake Simcoe and Nottawasaga River which runs into Lake Huron about 100 miles southeast of Cabot's Head. To that river, therefore, our course was directed in the hope of finding the enemy's schooner, Nancy, which was thought to be in that quarter. On the 13th instant the fleet anchored off the mouth of the river and my troops disembarked on the peninsula formed between the river and lake for the purpose of fixing a camp.

On reconnoitering the position thus taken, it was discovered that the schooner, Nancy, was drawn up in the river a few hundred yards above us under cover of a block-house erected on a commanding situation on the opposite shore.

Having landed with nothing larger than four pounders, and it being now too late in the evening to establish a battery of heavy guns, I determined on remaining silent until I could open with effect.

On the following morning a fire for a few minutes was kept up by the shipping upon the block-house, but with little effect as the direction

to it only could be given, a thin wood intervening to obscure the view. About 12 o'clock, two howitzers (an eight and a half and a five and a half inch) being placed within a few hundred yards of the block-house, commenced a fire which lasted but a few minutes when the house blew up and at the same time communicated the fire to the Nancy which was quickly so enveloped in flames as to render any attempt which might have been made to save her unavailing. My first impression on seeing the explosion was that the enemy after having spiked his guns had set fire to the magazine himself, but on examination it was found to have been occasioned by the bursting of one of our shells which firing some combustible matter near the magazine gave the enemy but barely time to escape before the explosion took place. The Commodore secured and brought off the guns which were mounted within the block-house (two twenty-four pounder carronades and one long six pounder) together with some round shot, grape, and canister. The enemy will feel severely the loss of the Nancy, her cargo consisting (at the time of her being set on fire) of several hundred barrels of provisions intended as a six months' supply for the garrison at Mackinac.

Having executed (so far as my force could effect) the orders of the 2nd of June, from the Secretary of War. I left Nottawasaga on the 15th and arrived on the 21st at the mouth of the River St. Clair with my whole force, except a few soldiers of the 17th Infantry, who were left as marines on board the two small vessels which still continue to cruise on that lake.

From Captain Sinclair to the Secretary of the Navy.

ON BOARD THE UNITED STATES SLOOP NIAGARA,

ERIE, September 3, 1814.

SIR,—Immediately after the attack on Michilimackinac I despatched the Lawrence and Caledonia with orders to Lieutenant-Commandant Dexter to make all possible despatch to Lake Erie and there co-operate with our army, etc., while I shaped my course in pursuit of the enemy's force supposed to be about Nottawasaga, and I cannot but express my surprise at having passed those vessels and arrived at Erie before them. By that opportunity I informed you of my movements up to the 9th ultimo, since which time I have been fortunate enough to find His Britannic Majesty's schooner laden with provisions, clothing, etc., for the troops at Mackinac.

She was two miles up the Nottawasaga River under a block-house strongly situated on the southeast side of the river, which running

nearly parallel with the bay for that distance, forms a narrow peninsula. This and the wind being off shore afforded me a good opportunity of anchoring opposite to her within good battering distance, but finding the sand hills and trees frequently interrupting my shot, I borrowed one of the howitzers from Colonel Croghan, mounted it on one of my carriages and sent it on the peninsula under command of Lieutenant Holdup. A situation was chosen by Captain Gratiot, of the Engineers, from which it did great execution. The enemy defended himself very handsomely until one of our shells burst in his block-house and in a few minutes blew up his magazine. This set fire to a train which had been laid for the destruction of the vessel and in an instant she was in flames. I had made the necessary preparation with boats for getting on board of her, but frequent and heavy explosions below made the risk of life too great to attempt saving her. She was, therefore, with her valuable cargo, entirely consumed. I cannot say whether those who defended her were blown up in the block-house or whether they retreated in rear of their work which they might have done unseen by us as it afforded a descent into a thick wood. I hope the latter. A number of articles were picked up at a considerable distance off. Among them was the commander's desk containing copies of letters, etc., several of which I enclose herein for your information. They seem to show the vessel to have been commanded by Lieutenant Worsley of the Royal Navy ; of what infinite importance her cargo was to the garrison at Mackinac, and that they have nothing now afloat on this lake. The Nancy appeared to be a very fine vessel between the size of the Queen Charlotte and Lady Prevost. There were three guns on the block-house, two twenty-four pounders and one six pounder. I cannot say what was on the vessel as all her ports were closed. I also got a new boat called a gunboat, but unworthy the name, being calculated only to mount a 24 pound carronade.

The Nottawasaga is too narrow and overhung with trees for a vessel to get up except by warping which prevented my sending boats in or Colonel Croghan from attempting to turn his rear as we saw a number of Indians skulking and occasionally firing across from the banks. It was in this way the only man we had touched was wounded. You will see by the enclosed letters the short state they are in for provisions at Michilimackinac, and I am assured from the best authority that this is the only line of communication by which they can be supplied, that of the Grand River being rendered impassable for anything heavier than a man can carry on his back by sixty portages. I have therefore left the Scorpion and Tigress to blockade it closely until

the season becomes too boisterous for boat transportation. Colonel Croghan thought it not advisable to fortify and garrison Nottawasaga as the enemy's communication from York is so short and convenient that any force he could leave there would be cut off in the winter.

I was unfortunate in getting embayed in a gale of wind on a rocky iron bound shore which occasioned the loss of all the boats I had in tow which was the captured gunboat and my launch. I felt fortunate in saving my vessel, lumbered as she was, with 450 souls on board and shipping such immense quantities of water as to give me very serious alarm for some hours. I was compelled to strike some of my guns below, and nothing saved her at last but a sudden shift of wind, as there is nothing like an anchorage in Lake Huron except in the mouths of the rivers, the whole coast being a steep perpendicular rock. I have several times been in great danger of total loss in the extremely dangerous navigation entirely unknown to our pilots except directly to Mackinac, by falling suddenly from no soundings to three fathoms and twice in a quarter less twain all a craggy rock. These dangers might be avoided from the transparency of the water, but for the continued fogs which prevail almost as constantly as on the Grand Bank.

By the arrival of the mail a few hours after I anchored at Detroit I learned the critical state of our army on the peninsula and that the Somers and Ohio had been captured. The craft from the flats with part of my guns had not yet arrived, but being certain that my presence would be necessary at the earliest possible moment, I availed myself of a fair wind and sailed for this place when I am happy to learn that our army feel secure where they are. I have, however, sent the Lawrence, Lady Prevost, and Porcupine to Buffalo, there to render any assistance which may be required and shall follow myself in the course of twenty-four hours. There is such an imminent risk of the loss of the fleet at this season of the year lying to an anchor near Buffalo where the bottom is composed entirely of sharp rock, a strong current setting down and exposed to the open lake from which the heaviest gales are experienced, that I shall not, unless positively ordered to do so from the Department, continue there a moment longer than I can ascertain the commanding general's views, and in what way I can co-operate with him. Daily and dearly bought experience teaches us that we ought not to risk our fleet in a situation where they are so liable to be lost. Lieutenant Kennedy has no doubt informed you of the total loss of the Ariel after being on float and ready to remove from there.

N.B. A company of riflemen from Sandusky has just arrived here and been forwarded on to Fort Erie without delay.

Lieutenant-General Drummond to Noah Freer.

CAMP BEFORE FORT ERIE, August 24th, 1814.

Sir,—Herewith I have the honor to transmit for the information of the Commander of the Forces, a distressing account of the only remaining vessel of any burden in our possession on Lake Huron having been destroyed with her cargo of provisions and stores for Michilimackinac at Nottawasaga.

It would appear that Lieutenant Worsley, of the Royal Navy, who was on his way to relieve Lieutenant Poyntz, and who took charge of the Nancy schooner, was under the necessity of so doing to prevent her falling into the enemy's hands, they having shown themselves with a force at the mouth of that river; Lieutenant Worsley had one seaman killed and one severely wounded, but further particulars I have not been as yet made acquainted with.

P.S. Since writing the foregoing, a letter of which the enclosed is a copy, has been handed to me by Department Commissary General Turquand, from Department Assistant Commissary General Crookshank to him under date of the 21st instant. I presume the senior officer of the Commissariat Department in this Province has duly appreciated the conduct of Mr. Crookshank, and has not failed to report the same in the most favorable point of view to the Commander of the Forces, particularly for his indefatigable and unremitting exertions in procuring and forwarding to the post of Michilimackinac every article of the various stores and provisions required of him, and through a communication, which by his personal observation and perseverance, was completed when scarcely imagined to have been commenced upon.

I feel much pleasure, therefore, in drawing to the notice of His Excellency, the name of an officer so highly deserving of commendation. (Canadian Archives, Series C, Volume 685, page 138.)

From Lieutenant-General Drummond to Sir George Prevost. CAMP

BEFORE FORT ERIE, September 5th, 1814.

(Extract.)

I take this opportunity of acquainting you that Deputy Assistant Commissary General Crookshank still continues unremitting in his exertions to forward supplies to Michilimackinac. Three only of eleven canoes from Montreal have proceeded to the post, and the crews of the three (the others having altogether refused to proceed) he found it

necessary to bribe largely for that purpose. Mr. La Mothe has returned to Montreal to procure fresh canoes. But I have directed Colonel Claus to send steady Indians without delay in charge of the remaining canoes to Michilimackinac, and as the loss of the Nancy schooner has been a very serious one indeed, I have directed as many bateaux as are necessary to be taken from York to Nottawasaga for the purpose of transport across Lake Huron.

(Canadian Archives, Series C, Volume 685, page 168.)

From Lieutenant A. H. Bulger to Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 7th September, 1814.

SIR, I have the honor to report to you the particulars of the capture of the United States schooners Scorpion and Tigress by a detachment from this garrison under the command of Lieutenant Worsley of the Royal Navy and myself.

In obedience to your orders we left Michilimackinac on the evening of the 1st instant in four boats, one of which was manned by seamen under Lieutenant Worsley, the others by a detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment under myself, Lieutenants Armstrong and Radenhurst. We arrived near the Detour about sunset on the following day, but nothing was attempted that night as the enemy's position had not been correctly ascertained. The troops remained the whole day concealed among the rocks, and about six o'clock in the evening embarked and began to move towards the enemy. We had to row about six miles during which the most perfect order and silence reigned. The Indians which accompanied us from Mackinac remained about three miles in our rear. About 9 o'clock at night we discovered the enemy and had approached to within one hundred yards of them before they hailed us. On receiving no answer they opened a smart fire upon us, both of musketry and from the 24-pounder. All opposition, however, was in vain for in the course of five minutes the enemy's vessel was boarded and carried by Lieutenant Worsley and Lieutenant Armstrong on the starboardside, and my boat and Lieutenant Radenhurst on the larboard. She proved to be the Tigress commanded by Sailing Master Champlin, mounting one long 24 pounder with a complement of 30 men. The defence of this vessel did credit to her officers who were all severely wounded. She had three men wounded and three missing, supposed to have been killed and thrown immediately overboard. Our loss is two seamen killed and seven soldiers and seamen slightly wounded.

On the morning of the 4th instant the prisoners were sent in a boat to Mackinac under guard, and we prepared to attack the other schooner which we understood was anchored 15 miles further down. The position of the Tigress was not altered, and the better to carry on the deception the American pendant was kept flying. On the 5th instant we discovered the enemy's schooner beating up to us. The soldiers I directed to keep below or to lie down on the deck to avoid being seen. Everything succeeded to our wish, the enemy came to anchor about two miles from us in the night, and as the day dawned on the 6th instant we slipped our cable, ran down under our jib and foresail. Everything was so well managed by Lieutenant Worsley that we were within 10 yards of the enemy before they discovered us. It was then too late, for in the course of five minutes her deck was covered with our men and the British colors hoisted over the American. She proved to be the Scorpion, commanded by Lieutenant Turner of the United States Navy, carrying one long 24-pounder and one long 12-pounder in her hold with a complement of 32 men. She had two men killed and two wounded.

I enclose a return of our killed and wounded and am happy to say that the latter are but slight.

To the admirable good conduct and management of Lieutenant Worsley, of the Royal Navy, the success is in a great measure to be attributed, but I must assure you that every officer and man did his duty.

(Canadian Archives, Series C, Volume 685, page 172.)

Return of the killed and wounded of the troops employed in the capture of the United States schooners, the Scorpion and Tigress, on the 3rd and 6th September, 1814.

Royal Artillery. One rank and file wounded.

Royal Newfoundland Regiment. One lieutenant and six rank and file wounded.

Officer wounded. Lieutenant Bulger, Royal Newfoundland Regiment, slightly.

A. H. BULGER,

Lieutenant Royal Newfoundland Regiment.

N.B.—Three seamen killed.

(Canadian Archives, Series C, Volume 685, page 175.)

From Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall to Lieutenant-General Drummond.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 9th September, 1814.

SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that some Indians on their way to the falls of St. Mary's returned to me with the intelligence that part of the enemy's squadron had, on the 25th ultimo, again made their appearance in the neighborhood of St. Joseph's, likewise occupying the passage of the Detour, their intention evidently being to cut off supplies and prevent all communication with this garrison.

On the 31st I was joined by Lieutenant Worsley, of the Royal Navy, with seventeen seamen, who had passed in a canoe sufficiently near the enemy to ascertain them to be two schooner-rigged gunboats of the larger class. On stating to me his opinion that they might be attacked with every prospect of success, particularly as they were at anchor nearly five leagues asunder, I immediately determined to furnish him with the requisite assistance.

In the course of the next day, four boats were accordingly equipped, two of them with field pieces in their bows. One of them was manned by the seamen of the navy, the remaining three by a detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment under Lieutenants Bulger, Armstrong, and Radenhurst, consisting of fifty men. The whole sailed the same evening under the command of Lieutenant Worsley.

I have now the satisfaction of reporting to you the complete success of the expedition, Lieutenant Worsley having returned to this place on the 7th instant with his two prizes, consisting of the United States schooners, Scorpion and Tigress, the former carrying a long 24 and a long 12-pounder, and the latter a long 24. They were commanded by Lieutenant Turner, of the American Navy, and are very fine vessels. For the particulars of their capture I beg to refer you to the enclosed statement of Lieutenant Bulger, whose conduct in aiding the execution of this enterprise (in which he was slightly wounded) reflects upon him great credit, and I beg leave to recommend him as a meritorious officer of long standing, who has been in many of the actions of this war. Lieutenants Armstrong and Radenhurst possess similar claims, and with the detachment of the brave Newfoundland Regiment, who were familiar with this kind of service, merit my entire approbation. Neither should I omit noticing the zeal displayed by Mr. Dickson and Lieutenant Livingston, of the Indian Department, who volunteered their services on this occasion.

In calling your attention to the conspicuous merit of the officer who so judiciously planned and carried into effect this well concerted

enterprise, I am conscious that I only do Lieutenant Worsley a strict justice in acknowledging the eminent services which he has rendered this garrison. You are already acquainted with the unequal conflict which he sustained at the mouth of the River Nottawasaga, and the almost unprecedented defence he made of the Nancy schooner with only twenty-one seamen and a few Indians against the American squadron, and upwards of three hundred troops. Since that period he, with his gallant little band of seamen, has traversed this extensive lake in two boats laden with provisions for this garrison, and having at this extremity of it, discovered two of his former opponents his active and indefatigable mind never rested till he had relieved us from such troublesome neighbors and conducted the blockading force in triumph into our port.

Such, Sir, have been the services of Lieutenant Worsley, during the short time that he has been stationed on Lake Huron. I have to beg that you will strongly recommend him to the protection of Commodore Sir Jas. Yeo, and also to the patronage of His Excellency the Governor-General in order that my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty may be enabled to appreciate them as they merit.

(Canadian Archives, Series C, Volume 685, page 176.)

From Lieutenant Worsley to Sir James L. Yeo. MICHILIMACKINAC,

September 15th, 1814.

SIR,—In my last despatch from the Nottawasaga River, I informed of my intention to proceed in boats to Michilimackinac. I have now the honor to report to you that I left that place, on the 18th of August, with two bateaux laden with flour for the garrison of Michilimackinac and had the good fortune to arrive on the sixth day, within 8 miles of the island of St. Joseph's, without any accident. On the 24th of August I discovered two of the enemy's schooners under sail between the islands opposite St. Joseph's, and seeing no probability of my being able to pass them in my bateaux, owing to the narrowness of the channel, I determined on concealing them in a secure place, in the choice of which I was greatly assisted by Lieutenant Livingstone, of the Indian Department, who had accompanied me in his canoe from the Nottawasaga River, and whose zeal and activity for the service I beg to acknowledge. As soon as the bateaux were hauled up and concealed, I embarked with my men in a canoe and proceeded in the night for the island of Michilimackinac with the intention of applying to Lieutenant-Colonel

McDouall for assistance in men to attempt cutting out the enemy's vessels. I had the good fortune to pass them unobserved on the night of the 29th of August, and of satisfactorily observing their position and force. I reached the island of Michilimackinac at sunset on the following day, and made known my intentions and wishes to Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall, who immediately granted all the assistance I asked for. A detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, under Lieutenant Bulger, was nominated to accompany me on that service with which, and my own seamen, I manned four bateaux. In one of which I placed a six-pounder, and in the second a three-pounder, which boat I gave the command of to Lieutenant Bulger. On the 1st of September, I left Michilimackinac and arrived near the Detour, distant from thence 36 miles, on the following evening.

In consequence of it having been reported that the enemy had several canoes of Indians with them as a precautionary measure, I acceded to Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall's wishes that a select body of Indian warriors should accompany the expedition, and I feel under great obligation to Mr. Dickson, the head of the Indian Department (who volunteered his services to head them), for the good order and regularity they observed the whole time. On the 3rd instant I went in a canoe for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy's position, being fearful they might have shifted it during my absence, leaving the boats concealed in a small bay. Being only able to see one of the enemy's schooners which was anchored about 6 miles from us and in mid-channel of the Detour, I conceived it prudent to wait for the cover of night. At 6 p.m. I embarked in my boats and proceeded towards the Detour. The night being favorable, we had approached within ten yards of the enemy's schooner before they hailed us, but before we had time to get alongside, they fired their gun, which providentially missed us, and at the same time opened a smart fire with their small arms with very little effect. We soon got alongside and gained the deck where the contest was short, the enemy being driven below from whence, however, they fired several muskets, which unfortunately killed one of my seamen. She proved to be the United States schooner, *Tigress*, mounting one long 24-pounder with a complement of 31 men and officers, commanded by Sailing Master Champlin, who, with the rest of his officers, was severely wounded. Their loss was four wounded, one killed and three missing, reported to have been killed and thrown overboard. Our loss in this affair was trifling, having had two seamen killed, Lieutenant Bulger and seven soldiers wounded. Early in the morning of the 4th instant I despatched the prisoners under guard to Michilimackinac and

prepared to attack the enemy's other vessel, which I understood was anchored some distance from me among the islands. I despatched Lieutenant Livingston in his canoe to look out, who, in two hours, returned and informed me that the enemy's schooner was beating up to me. As I knew from the distance she must have been off that they could not have heard the firing, and consequently must have been ignorant of her consort's having been captured. I determined not to alter the position of the Tigress, but to keep the American pendant still flying. This I did, being aware that if she once had a suspicion of my being an enemy she would escape from her superior sailing. Everything succeeded to my wishes. Unsuspicious of what had taken place, she anchored within two miles of me in the course of the night of the 5th instant I slipped my cable and ran down under my jib and foresail, keeping ten or twelve men on deck, the rest being in the hold or cabin, excepting a few soldiers whom I had covered up with great coats, etc., to prevent anything that could excite suspicion. So little were they apprehensive of our design that they were employed in washing decks, when within about twelve yards of her I fired my long 24-pounder, which was the signal for the soldiers in the hold to board. I immediately ran on board of her when the soldiers fired a volley, and boarded with the whole of my crew. She was immediately carried and the British flag hoisted over the American. She proved to be the United States schooner, Scorpion, commanded by Lieutenant Turner, mounting one long 24-pounder and one long 12-pounder in her hold, and a complement of five officers and 31 seamen. The loss of the enemy on this occasion was two killed and two wounded, that of ours, one wounded.

These vessels had been detached from the American squadron purposely to cut off all communication with Michilimackinac, and to destroy the Northwest trade. Several articles of private property plundered from the inhabitants of St. Mary's and St. Joseph's were found on board. They are both fine vessels; well equipped and, nearly new, and in my opinion, perfectly calculated for His Majesty's service. It is a pleasing duty to me to point out to you the gallant and steady conduct of all engaged in the affair. To Lieutenants Bulger, Armstrong and Radenhurst, and the gallant detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, I am highly indebted for their cool and determined conduct which was such as has ever marked the character of that meritorious corps. The two former officers are of long standing in the service. I beg leave to recommend them to you for the information of the Commander of the Forces, for their meritorious conduct on this occasion. I herewith enclose you a list of the killed and wounded, also the dimen-

sions of both schooners, which, until your pleasure is known, I have called one the Surprise and the other Confiance. I shall sail from this island for the Nottawasaga River directly. I have had the schooners surveyed and valued for the purpose of bringing up stores and provisions to this island.

(Canadian Archives, Series M, Volume 6, page 202.)

From Captain Sinclair to the Secretary of the Navy. UNITED

STATES SLOOP NIAGARA,

OFF ERIE, October 28th, 1814.

SIR,—I am under the mortifying necessity of stating to you that the report mentioned in my last letter of the vessels left in the upper lake, having been surprised and captured by the enemy, has turned out to be correct. The boatswain and four men from the Scorpion made their escape on their way to Kingston, and crossed Lake Ontario from the Bay of Quinte to the Genesee River, and from thence to this place. The man's story is a most unfavorable one, and such as I am loath to believe, true from the well known character of Lieutenant Turner. He says the blockade of Nottawasaga River was raised a short time after my departure, that the lieutenant who commanded the Nancy (and who escaped in the woods when she was destroyed), had passed up to Mackinac in boats, and it was by him and his crew they were captured. The Tigress had been separated from them five days among the islands, during which time she had been captured. They came in sight of her laying at anchor in the evening; the wind being light they anchored some distance from her without passing signals. In the morning there was only four or five men and no officer on deck. The Tigress got under way, ran down, fired into them and was on board without any report being made to Mr. Turner, nor was there an officer of any grade on deck when she was captured. The wind was light, the Scorpion had the advantage of a long 12-pounder over the other, and could have recaptured her with much ease. The Tigress had made great resistance, but was overpowered by an overwhelming force. Her commander, Sailing Master Champlin, and all her officers were wounded, as were many of her men, and some killed. I had given Lieutenant Turner a picked crew from this vessel with my sailing master, and had added to both their crews, 25 chosen men, borrowed from Colonel Croghan to act as marines, I had also left him a boarding netting, indeed, there was no precaution I did not take in anticipation of every effort. I knew

the enemy would make to regain their line of communication on which their very existence depended.

I herewith enclose you my instructions to Lieutenant Turner, After which I cannot express to you, Sir, my chagrin at the little regard which appears to have been paid to them, and the evil consequences growing out of such neglect, consequences, but too well known to you and to the government. You must first believe the infinite interest I had taken in the expedition from the moment I had been entrusted with the conducting it, and the sanguine hope I had formed of its complete success, and the benefits resulting from it to my country to enable you to form an adequate idea of the mortification I now experience.

From Niles' Register, Volume VII, page 173.

ERIE, November 11th, 1814.

Arrived on Sunday last the cartel schooner Union, R. Martin, master, 16 days from Mackinaw, and 3 days from Detroit, with furs and peltry, the property of J. J. Astor. Besides several other passengers, came Sailing Master Champlin, Commander of the Tigress, who, we are happy to learn, is now in a fair way of recovering from the wounds he received in gallantly defending his vessel. Lieutenant Turner and most of the officers and men of the captured schooners have been sent to Quebec. Lieutenant Worsley was at the head of the expedition sent against the Scorpion and Tigress. After the block-house and Nancy were blown up at Nottawasaga, he coasted round from that place in boats and canoes with 22 men, and arrived safe at Mackinaw. He immediately applied to Lieutenant-Colonel McDowell for 100 of the Newfoundland Regiment (mostly fishermen), and said he would bring the two American schooners. Unfortunately he succeeded.

The Union was detained at Mackinaw 38 days until the schooners made a trip to Nottawasaga and returned with provisions. During this time her crew were closely watched. The commanding officer placed sentinels over the vessel, who were permitted to plunder with impunity. When Mr. Champlin and the seamen, all paroled prisoners, were put on board the Union, Lieutenant-Colonel McDowell refused to order on board any provisions, saying he supposed Mr. Astor had a sufficiency.

The passengers from Mackinaw speak in high terms of the humane and gentlemanly conduct of Mr. Robert Dickson ; at the same time they depict the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel McDowell as illiberal, rascally and contemptible. The principal agent of Mr. Astor says that

Lieutenant-Colonel McDowell is unquestionably the greatest savage he saw on the island.

Result of proceedings, and the opinion of a Court of Inquiry, held on board the United States ship Independence, in Boston harbor, by order of the Secretary of the Navy, to investigate the loss, by capture, of the United States schooners Scorpion and Tigress, while under the command of Lieutenant Daniel Turner, of the United States Navy, on Lake Huron, in the month of September, 1814.

All the evidence being thus closed, the Court proceeded to deliberate on the testimony adduced, and having fully considered the same, came to the following result:

That the Scorpion, under the command of Lieutenant Turner, and the Tigress, under the command of Sailing Master (now Lieutenant) Champlin were left on the 16th of August last, in Gloucester Bay, by Commodore Sinclair, to blockade Nottawasaga River; that the Scorpion had thirty men, including her officers and mounted one 24-pounder, and although there was a 12-pounder on board, its carriage had been so much disabled as to render it useless, and Lieutenant Turner had not the means of repairing it. It is in evidence, and fully proved, that the Scorpion had no boarding netting, and that she was deficient in spare cordage; that she had no signals, and that her crew was composed of men of the most ordinary class.

The Court find that the Tigress had twenty-eight men, officers included, and mounted one 24-pounder, that she had neither boarding nettings nor signals, and was deficient in cordage. It does not, however, appear that the armament of these schooners was deficient except in pistols.

The Court are of the opinion that inasmuch as no anchorage was found in Gloucester Bay, and it having become dangerous to remain there any longer from the severity of the gales which were increasing, Lieutenant Turner was perfectly justified in raising the blockade of Nottawasaga River and proceeding to St. Joseph's, that the positions taken by him while at St. Joseph's, and in the neighborhood of French River, were well calculated to annoy the enemy in his line of communication with Mackinac.

The Court find that after Lieutenant Turner had proceeded to cruise off French River on the night of the 3rd of September last, the Tigress was attacked by the enemy in five large boats (one of them

mounting a 6-pounder and another a 3-pounder), and by about nineteen canoes, carrying about 300 sailors, soldiers, and Indians, under the command of an English naval officer ; that owing to the extreme darkness of the night the enemy were not perceived until they were close on board, nor were they then discovered except by the sound of their oars.

After they were discovered every exertion was made by Lieutenant Champlin, his officers and men to defend his schooner that bravery and skill could suggest, and not until all the officers were cut down, did the overwhelming numbers of the enemy prevail. The enemy having thus captured the Tigress and having mounted on her their 6 and 3-pounders, and having placed on board a complement of between seventy and one hundred men, remained at St. Joseph's until the 5th of September. On the evening of that day the Court find that the Scorpion returned from cruising off French River, and came to an anchor within five miles of the Tigress without any information having been received or suspicion entertained by Lieutenant Turner of her capture. At the dawn of the next day, it appears that the gunner having charge of the watch, passed word to the sailing master that the Tigress was bearing down under American colors. In a few minutes after she ran alongside the Scorpion, fired, boarded, and carried her.

It appears to the Court that the loss of the Scorpion is in a great measure to be attributed to the want of signals, and owing to this deficiency no suspicions were excited as to the character of the Tigress, and from some of the English officers and men on board her being dressed in the clothing of her former officers and men, and the remainder of her crew being concealed, a surprise was effected which precluded the possibility of defence.

The Court are therefore of opinion from the whole testimony that the conduct of Lieutenant Turner was that of a discreet and vigilant officer.

WM. C. AYLWIN,

Judge Advocate.

Approved,

B. W. CROWNINSHIELD.

JOHN SHAW,

President.

(From Niles' Register, Volume VIII, pages 403-4.)