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Histoire et Archéologie
NAVY HALL, NIAGARA-ON-THE-LAKE
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FORT WELLINGTON: A STRUCTURAL HISTORY
DAVID LEE

THE BATTLE OF THE WINDMILL: NOVEMBER 1838
DAVID LEE

NATIONAL HISTORIC PARKS
AND SITES BRANCH
PARKS CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN
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DIRECTION DES PARCS ET DES
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MINISTERE DES AFFAIRES INDIENNES
ET DU NORD
Navy Hall, Niagara-on-the-Lake
by David Flemming

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Abstract

The building now known as Navy Hall stands on the site of what was for a time the headquarters of the Provincial Marine on Lake Ontario and later government house in the first capital of Upper Canada. The present building was used extensively by the British military throughout the 19th century and was stabilized as a museum in the 1940s. This study while dealing primarily with the structural history of the building will also provide a summary of the general history of the site.

Submitted for publication 1969
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Au 18\textsuperscript{e} siècle, la jonction de la rivière Niagara et du lac Ontario constituait un endroit tout naturel pour s'établir. La rivière, avec son portage autour des chutes et les rapides Niagara, était un moyen de transport facile entre la région du Saint-Laurent, qui se développait rapidement, et les terres intérieures du Sud et de l'Ouest qui, elles étaient riches en animaux à fourrure. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que l'on se soit battu pour ce territoire. En 1726-27, les Français avaient fondé Fort Niagara sur la rive est de la rivière du même nom et faisaient un commerce actif avec les autochtones de la région. Ce fort fut pris par les Anglais en 1759 et demeura sous leur contrôle jusqu'à ce que les Américains acquièrent la région en vertu du Traité de Jay, en 1794.

La première colonie de blancs sur la rive ouest de la rivière fut fondée vers la fin des années 1770; elle consistait en une rangée de bâtiments destinés aux Rangers de Butler. On construisit ensuite le Navy Hall qui comprenait un entrepôt, une caserne et un quai doté d'un ber et qui était destiné à accueillir la marine provinciale postée sur le lac Ontario. La fin de la guerre de l'Indépendance, en 1783, y amena une diminution du transport maritime sur le lac, de sorte que, vers le milieu des années 1780, les bâtiments étaient, à ce qu'on a dit, "dans un état lamentable."

Avec la nomination de Newark comme première capitale du Haut-Canada, un des bâtiments de Navy Hall fut remis en état pour servir de résidence au Gouverneur Simcoe et à son
épouse ainsi que pour constituer le siège du gouvernement. Un autre bâtiment fut construit afin de loger les divers membres du personnel du gouverneur Simcoe. En 1796, Navy Hall retourna sous le contrôle des militaires avec le transfert du siège du gouvernement à York. Les bâtiments servirent, jusqu'à leur destruction par les Américains en 1813, de mess et d'entrepôt pour l'armée Britannique postée à Fort George.

Le bâtiment actuel (maintenant revêtu de pierres) a été bâti en 1817 et servait de commissariat pour l'armée. Au début du 19e siècle, on s'en servait comme caserne à l'occasion, mais dans les années 1860, il fut déplacé pour la construction d'une voie de chemin de fer à son emplacement. On a ajouté des pierres dans les années 1930, afin de conserver le bâtiment, qui se désagrégeait.

Les parties en bois du bâtiment actuel datent de 1817, donc n'ont aucun lien avec le premier bâtiment de la marine provinciale ou avec celle du premier gouvernement du Haut-Canada. Toutefois, le bâtiment actuel est situé sur le même remplacement que celui de Navy Hall, qui, lui, a rempli les fonctions mentionnées plus haut.
Preface

The designation "Navy Hall" has been used since about 1775 to denote anything from a general area to a series of buildings. This varied use of the term has made research difficult since very few chroniclers defined exactly what they meant by "Navy Hall."

Since 1775 Navy Hall has known many uses: headquarters of the Provincial Marine on Lake Ontario, a government house, mess hall, storehouse, barracks, medical centre, cow barn, and finally a museum. The present structure dates back only to 1817, the first Navy Hall complex having been totally destroyed by 1813.

It is the purpose of this report to piece together the scanty and very often confused material relating to Navy Hall in an effort to understand its role in the history of Upper Canada. Hopefully many myths which have grown up around Navy Hall will be exploded and many new aspects of its role in the early history of Upper Canada will be brought to light.
Provincial Marine Establishment, 1775-91

At the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, the British were left with an odd assortment of vessels on the Great Lakes. The Naval Department, or the Provincial Marine as it was to be later known, was used mostly to transport supplies and personnel to inland posts such as Oswego, Fort Niagara, Fort Detroit, and Fort Michilimackinac. The Provincial Marine was so relegated to a transport and supply role that it was maintained by the Quartermaster General's Department of the British Army.¹

Because of the shortage of privately owned vessels the Marine also transported supplies for the fur traders who were located near the various military posts. This proved to be of some advantage to the navy since it provided employment for their crews during the period between the conclusion of the Seven Years' War and the outbreak of the American Revolution.²

In July 1770, the Earl of Hillsborough urged that a "carrying place" be set up at Niagara in order to facilitate the transportation of goods to posts on Lakes Erie and Michigan, and to provide better communications between all the posts on the lakes.³ Although a portage had existed at Niagara it was not until after Hillsborough's letter that a portage road was constructed between the Lower Landing (Lewiston) and Fort Schlosser (above the falls). Fort Niagara thus became the chief link in supplying the upper posts since it was the dropping-off place for supplies from the lower St. Lawrence.
Until 1777 the transport of supplies and personnel was carried on much the same as before. From Montreal goods were carried up-river to Carleton Island where they were transferred to vessels on the Lake Ontario service. These were taken to Oswego, and also to Fort Niagara for transfer to the upper lakes.

On 23 October 1777, Governor Carleton informed Lieutenant Colonel Mason Bolton of Fort Niagara of the Establishment of the Naval Department of the Upper Lakes, which I must also commit entirely to your management and control under the Commander in Chief for the time being in this Province. He also appointed Captain Alexander Grant as commanding officer on Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan, and Captain James Andrews as commander of the Lake Ontario service. This reorganization led to the establishment of a naval headquarters at Fort Niagara.

While the vessels usually disembarked at the fort landing, they were frequently moored at the sheltered area across the river, later known as Navy Hall. The inauguration of the Naval Department led to the development of the wharf and mooring facilities at Navy Hall. Although there is no mention of Navy Hall per se in official correspondence until 1778, it does seem that the area was used for the winter mooring of vessels from 1775.

In May 1778, Lieutenant Colonel Bolton submitted a report to Governor Carleton listing the British naval strength on the lakes. At that time there were three vessels serving on Lake Ontario: the snows Haldimand and Seneca and the sloop Caldwell. One more vessel was required. The upper Niagara River had two ships, Lake Erie had one, and there were one and four respectively on Lakes Michigan and Huron. Bolton urged the authorities to provide new ships for the lakes service since many of those in use were either privately owned or were in a bad state of repair.
Included in Bolton's report was a memorandum from Captain Andrews outlining the requirements of the Naval Department. Three of his twelve points referred to Niagara:

9th. To procure orders from the General to enlarge Niagara, Navy Hall Wharf, there being too little water at the present Wharf to careen large vessels at and it being too small for three vessels to winter at....

11th. Build vessel at Niagara in lieu of Haldimand - Can't last more than a year....

12th. To procure orders to erect Barracks at Navy Hall for the seamen, a riggin [sic] and sail loft absolutely necessary to fix rigging, and make sails in winter.6

In still another memorandum, Bolton and a group of the captains of the lake vessels petitioned to have separate naval stores and storekeepers at Niagara and Detroit.7 This would presumably "avoid confusion" and would enable goods destined for Detroit to pass through Niagara with a minimum amount of handling.

Within a year construction commenced on two gunboats, two snows and a sloop at Niagara and Carleton Island.8 Later reports of the naval storekeepers show separate returns from Niagara and Detroit. The repairs and construction at Navy Hall was most likely carried out in either late 1778 or early 1779.

One of Carleton's last accomplishments as governor was to further reorganize the Naval Department. He established three commands: Lake Champlain-Lake George, Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. He also ordered that the senior naval officer would fall under the command of the "eldest Land Officer" in his respective district.9 At Quebec an administrative body consisting of a commodore, commissioner, controller and paymaster was set up to coordinate the affairs of the three commands. Only the office of controller was filled by a civilian.
The chief role of the Provincial Marine was of a transport nature. Throughout the revolutionary war this role became increasingly more important in supplying posts like Oswego and Niagara on Lake Ontario, Detroit on Lake Erie, and the various posts on the Richelieu River-Lake Champlain waterway. Despite the shortage of ships on Lake Ontario the commissioner of the Naval Department was able to report in April 1779 that the Haldimand, Seneca and Caldwell were able to make eleven round-trip voyages each per summer season. On each trip they were capable of carrying a total of either 1,520 barrels or 290 troops, or a divided cargo of 510 men and 550 barrels. Despite this seemingly large capacity, accounts of supply shortages were a recurring theme in letters to Quebec.

Throughout this period Navy Hall was used as the Naval Department base at Niagara. Here vessels were built and repaired on the ways and cradle, and cordage and sails were made and stored in the sail loft. The Lake Ontario ships were moored for the winter in the sheltered area around the wharf. Many letters to the commissioner from the ships' captains were headed "Navy Hall."

The end of the revolutionary war brought a decrease in activity around Fort Niagara. Butler's Rangers were disbanded and they and many other Loyalists settled with their families either at Cataraqui or across the Niagara River at West Niagara (later known as Newark). The buildings and facilities seemed to have been used very little at Navy Hall between 1783 and 1792.

By 1788 they were "in exceeding bad repair:"

The storehouse at the landing place which is of round log works is mostly rotten and is altogether in exceeding bad condition and should be rebuilt, the dwelling house is much out of repair. The ways, wharf, cradle, and capstan want some repairs, which may be done for about £20.
The deputy surveyor general, John Collins, also gave a good description of the area and foresaw its potential importance:

In regard to the situation at Navy Hall, boats or vessels may well be sheltered there from rough weather, it is convenient for embarking and disembarking and equally safe and applicable to the purposes of transport as at Niagara, vessels can also more readily and safely get under way from hence when the wind is from the westward (which is fair to carry them down the Lake) then [sic] they can immediately from Niagara and this seems the most material advantage that Navy Hall possesses over Niagara; but the latter had rather a better command of the entrance of the River than can be had from any situation on this side; a good post might be constructed on the height above Navy Hall, and as such would afford protection to boats or vessels from any attempts of any enemy on this side of the River, but they could not be secure here from bombardment, or covered from batteries of cannon on the other side. ¹³

This is the first allusion found to the possibility of constructing a fort on the height above Navy Hall which was later to become the site of Fort George. The fact that it could not be protected from batteries on the east side of the river proved to be its main weakness and the cause of its inevitable destruction in 1813.

In April 1788 the "Ordinance for Promoting Inland Navigation" was put into effect. This laid the ground rules for the licensing and registration of private vessels to carry on the transport of goods on the upper lakes. For the next twenty years many private vessels were built and gradually much of the responsibility for the transport of civilian goods and passengers was taken from the Provincial Marine. Because of this, the work on Navy Hall recommended by Collins was never carried out and by the early 1790s the buildings and other facilities had deteriorated to an even greater extent. ¹⁴
With the decrease in transport, the end to the urgency brought on by the revolutionary war, and the construction of many private vessels, the Naval Department's role as a ferrying operation became less important. It now concentrated more on the defence of British North America. Although supplying the posts on the upper lakes was still important, by 1796 many of these had been turned over to the Americans and new routes had to be found because of the proximity of the Americans at Fort Niagara.

Thus Navy Hall ended its first and perhaps its most interesting phase. On 26 July 1792 John Graves Simcoe, the first lieutenant governor of Upper Canada, arrived at Niagara and began making plans to outfit Navy Hall as a residence and government office.\textsuperscript{15}
Government House, 1792-96

In her diary Mrs. Simcoe has the following entry for Tuesday, 26 July 1792:

At 9 this morning we anchored at Navy Hall, opposite the Garrison of Niagara which commands the mouth of the river. Navy Hall is a House built by the Naval Commanders on this Lake for their reception when here. It is now undergoing a thorough repair for our occupation but is still so unfinished that the Gov. ordered 3 Marquees to be pitched for us on the Hill above the House which is very dry ground and rises beautifully, in parts covered with oak bushes.¹

On their arrival there was only one building still standing at Navy Hall: a rectangular structure near the wharf located at right angles to the river (see Fig. 10). This was probably the old storehouse since it was nearest the wharf. This assumption is further substantiated in that there were still some sail and cordage remaining in the building when the Simcoes arrived.² The cradle and ways were gone, or had deteriorated to such an extent that they were not mentioned.

Simcoe immediately ordered work to begin on renovating the remaining structure for a residence. Lieutenant Phillpotts, R.E., submitted an estimate of £116/5/0 as the total cost of the work involved.³ One month later, E.B. Littlehales, Simcoe's secretary, issued an order for the erection of "a small Building for the Accommodation of the Staff of the Provinces."⁴ The cost of this structure was later estimated at £357/0/2.⁵

When the Duke of Kent visited Niagara in August 1792, Navy Hall was yet to be completed and he was billeted in the
"Canvas House" while the Simcoes resided in the "damp house," and Mrs. Simcoe frequently called Navy Hall. The fact that the renovations were not completed on 17 August, less than one month prior to the opening of Parliament, casts some doubt on the assertion by some that Navy Hall was the first meeting place of the legislature of Upper Canada.

A general order issued by E.B. Littlehales on 16 September, the day prior to the opening session, seems to indicate that Freemason's Hall was the location of the first meeting.

Major Smith will give directions to Captain Glasgow of the Royal Artillery to fire a Royal Salute when His Excellency Lt-Gov. Simcoe goes to open the House of Assembly tomorrow morning the 17th. A subaltern Guard of the 5th Regiment to mount tomorrow at Freemason's Hall.

Freemason's Hall was built in 1791 by authority of the land board on the northwest corner of King Street, the site of the present (a different building) Freemason's Hall. The upper chamber was used by the Masons while the lower chamber was used for public gatherings. The latter would seem to be the most logical place for the legislature to meet since it was relatively new and construction had been completed. Navy Hall was apparently still not ready for occupation by January 1793, since a "Levee and Ball" in honour of the queen's birthday was held at "Mason's Lodge."

Soon after the opening of the legislature, Simcoe ordered still another building erected at Navy Hall "for the Staff of the Province of Upper Canada, consisting of four offices, four bed chambers, and some convenience for Servants near Navy Hall at Niagara." In a letter to Henry Dundas, the secretary of state, Lieutenant Governor Alured Clark of Lower Canada authorized the construction at Navy Hall suggested by Simcoe.

The second session of the legislature opened on 30 May 1793 "at the Council Chamber, late Butler's Barracks" which was located somewhere between the present site of Fort George
and St. Mark's Church\textsuperscript{12} (see Fig. 11). In his report of 1788, John Collins mentioned that Butler's Barracks was in poor shape but "is capable of being repaired."\textsuperscript{13} Simcoe undertook these repairs so the barracks could be used "for the meeting of the Legislature of the country."\textsuperscript{14}

Apart from being used as an office and on occasion a residence for the Simcoes, Navy Hall was the scene of a levee on 4 June 1793 in honour of the king's birthday, followed by a supper at the council chamber located in Butler's Barracks.\textsuperscript{15} Most proclamations issued at Niagara bore the heading "Navy Hall," "Government House, Navy Hall," "Navy Hall, Newark," or some other combination of these designations. It can be assumed that "Government House" was the larger and older building.

In 1794 Bishop Jacob Mountain of Quebec noted that church services in Newark were held either at the council chamber (Butler's Barracks) or at "Free Mason's Hall, a house of public entertainment."\textsuperscript{16} The lack of space at Navy Hall no doubt accounted for the fact that the services were not held there. This would also account for the fact that there seems to be no mention of the legislature every having met in any of the Navy Hall buildings.

In 1796 the legislature met for the last time at Newark. Preparations were being made to evacuate Fort Niagara and move the seat of government from Newark to York. In March 1796 Simcoe informed Dorchester that

\begin{quote}
Not only Navy Hall, which I occupy, but Butler's Barracks, refitted for Provincial purposes, will be at Your Lordship's disposal for such military uses as you may see occasion.\textsuperscript{17}
\end{quote}

As early as November 1795, plans were being made for the construction of a blockhouse, storehouse and ordnance store at Navy Hall (see Fig. 1). These plans were later altered, and when construction of Fort George commenced they were incorporated into that plan.\textsuperscript{18}
By 1797 Fort Niagara had been handed over to the Americans and construction had commenced on Fort George. Isaac Weld visited Newark in that year and reported,

On the margin of the river three quarters of a mile from the town stands Navy Hall, opposite it a spacious wharf, adjoining it extensive stores belonging to the crown and private persons. Navy Hall is now occupied by troops as Fort Niagara has been given up.¹⁹

The "private persons" noted were merchants from Newark which, by 1797, had a population nearing 600. Most of the houses built in the town since 1791 had been constructed either directly or indirectly as a result of the government officers being located there. When the seat of government was moved the town's economy was affected.

Navy Hall and its complex of buildings were, by 1797, again under the command of the military. Military jurisdiction over the area continued for the next one hundred years.
Storehouse, Mess Hall, Barracks, 1797-1813

Navy Hall was used as a barracks from 1797 until the construction of Fort George was completed in 1800.¹ A 1799 map made by William Hall and Gother Mann of the Royal Engineers shows three buildings in the area designated as Navy Hall (see Fig. 2). The largest, standing at right angles to the bank of the river, was the original structure dating back to about 1778 which was renovated by Simcoe for use as an office and residence. According to the map scale this building measured approximately 50 x 125 feet. The sizes of the two smaller ones were about 81 x 25 feet and 36 x 24 feet respectively, the two buildings Simcoe had constructed for his staff and servants. Another map entitled "Plan of Niagara" drawn in 1810 (see Fig. 3) shows the same buildings. The larger one was marked "Navy Hall" while the other two were called "Stores." The measurements coincide almost exactly with those on the 1799 map. Mrs. Simcoe's sketch (see Fig. 10) which was drawn about 1794 and Heriot's engraving of 1806 (see Fig. 11) both show similar buildings at Navy Hall, reinforcing the evidence gleaned from the maps.

In the account of his visit to Niagara (the town's name was changed from Newark in 1798) Heriot mentioned that

On the border of the river, and beneath the fort, there are several buildings, consisting of storehouses and barracks, one of which is called Navy Hall, and is contiguous to a wharf, where vessels load and unload.²

The supplies for Fort George were unloaded at Navy Hall and stored in the warehouses there. It is likely that a small guard was stationed there also.
Reference to Navy Hall does not appear in official correspondence again until after the outbreak of the War of 1812. Less than one month after the battle of Queenston Heights an American battery at Youngstown "entirely consumed" "the old building at Navy Hall, occupied as the mess room of the garrison." Three other buildings in the town were damaged by the heated shot. By "old Building", Lieutenant Colonel Myers was probably referring to the one used by Simcoe for his official residence and office. That it was used as a "mess room" would tend to support this since it was most likely the only one large enough to be used for this purpose.

In February 1813, Lieutenant Colonel Bruyères, R.E., urged Prevost to provide for the removal of the "public buildings near the River at Navy Hall" and to have them rebuilt "in a place of security at some distance from, and in the rear of the Fort" since at their present location they were "so exposed to immediate destruction." There is no indication that this was ever done.

On 25 May 1813, an American force of 6,000 men landed at Mississauga Point. Preceded by a heavy bombardment laid down by their artillery, they quickly occupied the town and the fort. In one of the last dispatches from the beleaguered fort Lieutenant Colonel Harvey reported,

The enemy's fire has been wholly (and most successfully) directed hitherto against the Fort, which has been made a complete example of, every log barracks in it being burnt down.

Although he does not specifically mention it, it is most likely that all of the buildings at Navy Hall were also destroyed by the bombardment. Being located at a lower level than the fort they would have been easy targets for the guns at Youngstown.

The British regained possession of Niagara in December 1813. Before they retreated, the Americans burned the town
leaving only one building not completely destroyed.

In July 1815 Lieutenant Colonel F.P. Robinson noted that St. Mark's Church was being utilized as a "Provision Store" since there was no other building available for that purpose. This would indicate that there was nothing left standing at Navy Hall which would have been the logical place to store supplies.

This would seem to contradict those who claim that the present structure known as Navy Hall dates back to 1778. If it was not destroyed in 1812 it must surely have been razed in either May or December of 1813.
Commissariat, Barracks, Cow Barn, Museum, 1817-1969

In August 1815 Lieutenant George Phillpotts submitted an estimate of £462/1/10.5 for the construction of a "Commissariat Store at Navy Hall."\(^1\) The job was later contracted for £258/15/0.\(^2\) Construction commenced in 1815 and a map of 1817 shows a building in the same location which is somewhat smaller than the 1778 structure. According to the scale of a map drawn by Arthur Walpole and H. Vavasour in 1819, this new building known as Navy Hall measured 25 x 100 feet. This coincides with a plan of the building drawn by Captain Durnford in 1823\(^3\) and with the dimensions of the building known as Navy Hall in 1922 (see Fig. 13). The dimensions of the present structure are also 25 x 100 feet. The design is similar in all instances. It is also similar to the number 2 building at Butler's Barracks which was also constructed in 1817.

Navy Hall was known as a commissariat store from 1817 until 1835.\(^4\) Its importance declined with the opening of the Welland Canal since Niagara was then by-passed in the carrying trade to Lake Erie.\(^5\) For the next fifteen years Navy Hall was used as a barracks for a squad of dragoons stationed at Niagara. During this period a cookhouse and guardhouse were built.\(^6\)

An ordnance report dated 1851 described the "Red Barracks" at Navy Hall as being a 100 x 25 foot wooden frame building capable of accommodating 56 NCOs or privates. At that time it was being used for storage.\(^7\) A barracks report of October 1863 explained that while the "Ferry Barracks" (Navy Hall) could accommodate 56 men, "it is at present occupied by 9 men and 9 women."\(^8\)
One year later the building was moved from its present location across the road into the "Fort George enclosure" in order to make way for a spur line of the Michigan Central Railway. There it deteriorated, being used on occasion as a cow barn. In 1912 the dominion government, on the urgings of the Niagara Historical Society, placed a plaque on the building.

One of the four buildings called Navy Hall, 1787. One was altered for Gov. Simcoe, 1792. He had one, believed to be this one, prepared for the Parliament 1792, called Red Barracks 1840, moved up 1864, almost a ruin 1911. Restored by the Dominion Government 1912 by petition of Niagara Historical Society.

The sterility of its message was surpassed only by its inaccuracy.

Navy Hall continued to deteriorate despite the plaque. In 1915 it was occupied as a laboratory unit for the Army Medical and Dental Corps of the Canadian Expeditionary Force at Camp Niagara. Finally in the 1930s the Niagara Parks Commission moved it back to its original site, preserved the remains by encasing it within a new stone building and opened it to the public as a museum. It continues in this role to the present and in 1970 Navy Hall fell under the jurisdiction of the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch of the federal department of Indian and Northern Affairs.
List of Abbreviations

NHSR - Niagara Historical Society Records.
OHSR - Ontario Historical Society Records.
PAC - Public Archives of Canada.
TRSC - Royal Society of Canada, Proceedings and Transactions.
Endnotes

Provincial Marine Establishment, 1775-91
2 Ibid.
4 PAC, MG21, G2, Vol. 18, p. 182.
5 Ibid., Vol. 144, pp. 65-6.
6 Ibid., pp. 75-6.
7 Ibid., p. 78.
10 Ibid., p. 177.
11 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 72, p. 209.
12 Ibid., Vol. 70, p. 52.
13 Ibid.

Government House, 1792-96
1 Mary Q. Innis, ed., loc. cit.
4 PAC, MG23, HI(1), Series 4, Vol. 9, p. 19.
5 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 92, p. 216.
6 Mary Q. Innis, ed., op. cit., p. 79.
8 D.C. Scott, op. cit., p. 176.
9 PAC, MG23, HI(1), Series 4, Pt. 7, Vol. 4, p. 16.
10 Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 21.
12 PAC, MG23, HI(1), Series 4, Pt. 7, Vol. 9, p. 64.
13 PAC, MG11, CO42, Vol. 70, p. 52.
15 Upper Canada Gazette or American Oracle (Newark), 6 June 1793.
17 Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 209.
18 Ibid., pp. 122-3.

Storehouse, Mess Hall, Barracks, 1797-1813
2 George Heriot, Travels through the Canadas... (Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1813), pp. 150-1.
3 PAC, RG8, IA, Vol. 728, p. 195.
5 Ibid., Vol. 678, p. 313.
Commissariat, Barracks, Cow Barn, Museum, 1817-1969

1 PAC, RG8, IA, Vol. 120, p. 49.
3 PAC, Map Division, H4/450, Niagara 1823 (see Fig. 5).
4 PAC, RG8, IA, Vol. 748, 1 August 1836.
6 PAC, Map Division, MS/450, Niagara 1851 (See Fig. 7);
   H2/440, Niagara 1853, and H4/450, Niagara 1851.
7 PAC, RG8, II, Vol. 70, p. 10.
8 Ibid., Vol. 34, p. 108.
9 Janet Carnochan, History of Niagara (Toronto: William
   Briggs, 1914), p. 13. The approximate location of this
   site was across the road from the present location
   (see Fig. 9).
10 Florence Wright, "The Niagara Camp," NHSR, Vol. 28 (1916),
   p. 59.

Illustration References

2 PAC, Map Division, Hl/440 (Niagara, 1799); except for
   Figure 5, only those sections of the maps dealing with
   the area around Navy Hall have been reproduced.
3 PAC, Map Division, Vl-440 (Niagara, 1810). No. 5, Upper
   Canada: Plan of Niagara.
4 PAC, Map Division, Vl-440 (Niagara, 1819).
5 PAC, Map Division, H4-450 (Niagara, 1823); The following
   is the report of an inspection made on the building at
   the same time as the plan: "Commissariatt Store and Wharf,
   Navy Hall. Framed building with a stone foundation 100
   x 25 feet and 11 feet from basement to wall plate. In
   good repair. The wharf is much out of order." PAC,

6 PAC, Map Division, VI-440 (Niagara, 1831).

7 PAC, Map Division, MS 450 (Niagara, 1851), from the returns found in PAC, RG8, II, Vol. 70. Niagara, C.W.: Plan to Accompany the Returns Called for by the Board's Order Dated 10th Jan'y 1851.

8 PAC, Map Division, H2-440 (Niagara, 1863).

13 Neg. 1712 (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.), Research Division, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada.

14 Neg. 1L, (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.), Research Division, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada.

15 Neg. IN, (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.), Research Division, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada.

16 Neg. 1H (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.), Research Division, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada.

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F Officers' Kitchen

The Red Figures show the height of the ground above the level of the River.

1 A portion of a plan of existing and proposed military structures at Newark, 1796.
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2 A plan of Fort George, Upper Canada, showing the works of defence ordered to be constructed in 1799. (Public Archives of Canada.)
3 Plan of Niagara, 1810 (Public Archives of Canada.)
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Plan, section, and elevation of the commissariat store at Navy Hall, 1823.

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6 Plan showing the survey of the military reserve at Niagara, 1831. (Public Archives of Canada.)
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Map of Niagara-on-the-Lake showing the present location of Navy Hall and its location from 1864 until 1937. (Drawing by K. Gillies.)
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British fort at Niagara, 1806, seen from the east bank of the Niagara River. The buildings of Navy Hall are located on the river bank below Fort George (left of photo). The spire of St. Mark's church is to the right of the photograph. Butler's Barracks was located near the site of the house high on the river bank in the centre of the photograph. (George Heriot, Travels through the Canadas...[Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1813], p. 171.)
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16 Navy Hall Museum as seen from the southeast bastion of Fort George.
17 Fort George seen from Navy Hall Museum.
18 Youngstown, New York, viewed from Navy Hall Museum.
19 Old Fort Niagara as seen from the wharf at Navy Hall Museum.
Fort Wellington: A Structural History
by David Lee

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Abstract

This report describes the construction of the blockhouse, guardhouse, officers' quarters, latrines, cookhouse and caponnière in 1838-39, and repairs made to these structures later in the 19th century. The armament of Fort Wellington in the period 1839-66 is also examined.

Submitted for publication 1966
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Entièrement reconstruit en 1838-9, le fort Wellington actuel accueillit des troupes de 1838 à 1856 et de 1865 à 1870. Après 1870, il ne fut utilisé qu'une fois ou deux par année par les troupes sédentaires. La construction de la cuisine (démolie vers 1966), du blockhaus et des latrines débuta en 1838, tandis que celle du quartier des officiers, du corps de garde et de la caponnière ne commença que l'année suivante. Ce second fort Wellington fut achevé en décembre 1839, bien que l'on y ait effectué quelques réparations et quelques modifications au cours des ans.

Le blockhaus constitue l'élément principal du fort Wellington. Les deux premiers étages de ce bâtiment sont en pierre et abritaient un magasin, une salle d'armes et un logement. Le troisième étage, qui servait aussi de logement, est en bois.

A l'exception de la caponnière en pierre, les autres constructions du fort sont en bois.
Introduction

The second Fort Wellington was built during the late summer and autumn of 1838 in response to the Rebellions of 1837. Construction involved the erection of an officers' quarters, cookhouse, latrines, caponnière and a three-storey blockhouse inside the earthworks of the first fortification (built in 1813-14). In addition, the earthworks were completely refraised and epaulements added in 1838. The first fort was built on land owned by Edward Jessup, founder of the town of Prescott. The blockhouse of this first fort, which was larger in area but had only one storey, was removed and the new blockhouse built on the same site. The blockhouse was to contain barracks for 100 men, a magazine, storerooms and guardroom. Construction was by contract (Edward Noble of Kingston) and supervised by Captain Randolph of the Royal Engineers. Work went slowly for the first few months but a visit in November from Lieutenant Colonel J.R. Wright, Commanding Royal Engineers in Canada, seems to have speeded things up. Because of the slow pace of construction Fort Wellington was of little use to the troops which fought the Battle of the Windmill a week later.

The fort was occupied by a garrison by February 1839, although the work was far from complete. Construction continued at the fort in 1839, finishing the officers' quarters, raising stockades, deepening the ditch and erecting the caponnière and gateway. At the end of 1839 a guardhouse was built near the gateway.
troops camped around the fort or lodged in rented buildings in the town of Prescott. Indeed, even after the fort was finished some troops continued to live outside, but this ended probably about 1842 when the garrison was decreased by the removal of militia as the threat of further rebellion diminished, and only a company or so of regulars was left. Some construction and repair were performed in the 1840s; for example, plank walks for sentry posts, repairs to the entrance, new gun platforms and a new shot furnace.

The garrison decreased in numbers through the years until 1856 when it was removed altogether. The fort was empty until 1865 when militiamen reoccupied it in response to threat of Fenian invasion. Regular troops were added in 1867 and remained until 1869, although the new dominion government took charge of the fort on 1 September 1867. This reoccupation necessitated repairs to most of the buildings of the fort. Militia troops occupied it until 1870 and thereafter it was used only seasonally, if at all, by local militia. Miscellaneous repairs to the stockade, caponnière and revetment were carried out between 1878 and 1884 as well as in 1901.
Buildings

Guardhouse

Dale Miquelon, in his Report on Fort Wellington, describes an 1850 plan of Fort Wellington:

[A plan drawn in 1850] shows proposed additions to the guardhouse then extant....These additions, it will be noted, were postponed; and indeed since there is no reference to them in the estimates, were never undertaken. The plan bears the explanation, "Existing guardhouse copied from Plan 2 Case, Canada West, district office - signed by H. Wright, C.W. 13 Dec. 39." The "existing guardhouse" in this plan is the same as the guardhouse which exists today. The dimensions of the building in the plan are 16' x 24'; the dimensions of the building extant today are 16' x about 25'. It is evident that the guardhouse shown on this second plan was placed on the present guardhouse location between 28th November 1839 and 13 Dec. 1839. It is just possible that an old house (the Jessup House or some other) was moved to this location since it was winter and the weather discouraged carpentry. This would account for the slight difference in size, although no such accounting is necessary. It is more likely that the building was constructed on the site, the method
of construction being identical with that of the Officers' Quarters.

In 1853 the brickwork at the rear (the chimney?) was repaired and repainted.\(^3\) The guardhouse was reshingled and repaired in 1866\(^4\) and in 1884, $88.00 of repairs were performed on the building.\(^5\) The back of the building can be seen on Lossing's drawing of 1860\(^6\) and on the photograph of 1891.\(^7\)

**Officers' Quarters**

Notes made by A.J.H. Richardson in 1961 in preparation for restoration described the history of the officers quarters.

On January 16, 1839, the Commanding Royal Engineer sent to the Military Secretary an estimate (unfortunately missing) "for building an Officers' Log Barrack within Fort Wellington, to consist of two Officers' Rooms and a Kitchen."\(^8\) That this refers to the present building is suggested not only by the fact that the earliest plan of the fort showing a building of present size and shape on this site is dated the same year,\(^9\) but also by a letter from the C.O. at the fort, June 2, 1843, stating that the officers' quarters "consist of two Rooms and a Kitchen",\(^10\) and a later C.O.'s statement, March 9, 1868, that "the Quarters were originally intended for two Officers, with one Kitchen, or Servants room between them", and the dimensions given in the last letter, which were those of the building as divided by the two brick-and-frame partitions recently pulled down.\(^11\)

The letter of June 2, 1843, adds that "there
is no door of communication from one Room into the other, nor from either into the Kitchen", and that "the roof is low, there are no fire places and Stoves are in consequence placed in the middle of the rooms, so that the unoccupied space is circumscribed enough". A pipe found underneath the lowest existing layer of flooring, in an area where the floor had apparently not been replaced, and at some distance from the edges, was marked "Henderson, Montreal". Henderson was a Montreal pipemaker who first appears in the directories in 1848, suggesting the floor is no earlier than that date.

About September, 1854, the barracks at Prescott were turned over by the Imperial troops to the Military Superintendent of Pensioners, who took them over on behalf of the Provincial Government.

On October 9, 1866, the Commanding Officer, Lieut. Col. Atcherley (a militia officer) reported to the Deputy Adjutant General of Militia that since he last wrote to him (we have another letter dated Sept. 15, 1866) he had "found it positively necessary to...put in repair the Officer's Quarter...which...were until I effected these repairs so thoroughly out of repair that the officers...would not have been able to stop in them when the bad weather came....I have only made repairs that were actually necessary and have kept down the expenses as much as I possibly could, trusting what I have done will meet with approval".

In November the Provincial Government stated
that "repairs to the...blockhouse and to the
out-buildings...are absolutely necessary" and
agreed to bear the cost of repairs at the fort up
to an amount of £200, the work to be carried out
by the Royal Engineers. On February 28, 1867,
the Caretaker of the fort reported that "the
repairs in the Blockhouse where a good deal had
been considered necessary, including extensive
roof repairs are complete with the exception of
some plastering", but "the contractor says that
he cannot complete the repairs in the kitchen of
the officers' quarters till Spring opens", On
April 4, the Provincial Government paid
£124.10.7 on a contractor's account not yet
located. Another account for £5.16.0, also not
yet located, was sent in before the end of August
27, and a third, for £22.16.0...was sent August
27, and covered work done in the quarter ending
September 30. Nothing in this work list can
definitely be established as being work on the
officers' quarters, and much of it cannot have
been on that building.

On August 9 the Provincial Government told
the Military Secretary they were prepared to take
over Fort Wellington on September 1.

A Royal Engineer statement of expenditures
at Prescott, dated March 16, 1868, includes an
item: "Providing & fixing Sheet-iron under 9
stoves - authorized", which may include the
Officers' Quarters.

Because of the limited accommodation, which
would mean that he "should be obliged either to
double up with my subaltern, in order to have a
Room to sit and Mess in, or else I should have to
eat and drink in his Bed Room, or he in mine"; 23 the Commanding Officer had moved out of the building to quarters in town in 1843, leaving the subaltern in the building, but as it was decided the C.O. was not entitled to lodging money perhaps he moved back. 24 By the first half of 1868 (when the Commanding Officer of the Military District, stationed since 1867 at Brockville, wrote on the subject to the Adjutant General of Militia) there were again two officers living in the building (the C.O. and subaltern) with the middle room now "occupied by a N.C. Officer, and ...also used as a Kitchen". These officers, by his account, "at present mess in their own rooms". 25 The previous month D.W.M.C. had stated that they "have to leave the Fort for their Meals" on account of this "wretched... Accommodation". 26 The Adjutant General thereupon recommended a return to the 1843 arrangement. 27

By July, however, the situation had been reviewed and the Minister of Militia authorized construction of a new quarters, 28 to be at the northern end of the fort, in the gorge of the bastion. 29 It was never built, however, and by July, 1869, once more the C.O. had rented a house in town, since "the room appropriated to me in the fort was indispensably required as an Orderly Room and Commandant's Office." 30 In August the subaltern, apparently still living in the Officers' Quarters in the fort, reported that he didn't have "the benefit of a mess or the means of forming one at this station, there being no room which could be appropriated as a kitchen". 31
Although by November, 1870, there was a caretaker again at the fort,\textsuperscript{32} perhaps it was following the failure to construct a new building (at any rate after 1857 and probably after the building was repaired in 1866) that a plan was prepared\textsuperscript{33} to fill in the long horizontal windows and north door on the west side (this is actually also the first record of their existence), cut the two northernmost on the west and east sides of the existing approximately square windows, either make a "new" window at the west end of the south side or put a "new" sash in an existing window, put a new partition across the middle room so as to form a corridor, cut a door at each end of this new corridor (at the west end of each of the original partitions), and add a new kitchen wing at the south end, enabling conversion of the old kitchen into a bedroom and old south bedroom into a living room. The wing was never new constructed, but examination he building shows that the rest of the programme was carried out, bringing it generally its recent state. Most of the existing interior clapboarding seems to date from this time, as it is associated with these new windows, the old horizontal ones.

By 1870 the chimneys had sheet iron smoke caps, one at least already "worn out and useless", and the roof was shingled but also already required renewal,\textsuperscript{34} which was apparently not done till 1873.\textsuperscript{35}

Later changes which show up in photographs and files of this department were minor. Between 1891 and 1921 the chimneys were raised to their
present height, and at least one new window added (southern-most on the west side), and the building connected to the cook house just south of it. Inside the building, wainscoting was added in the south room. The chimneys were rebuilt completely above the roofline in 1925, and new flooring put in. A temporary partition dividing the north room into two was apparently replaced by a permanent one in 1927. The west side was re-clapboarded in 1932, and fascia boards added between 1935 and 1955, and gutters even later. The roof was reshingled several times after 1891.

Latrine
The latrine building is shown occupying the present site on all plans of the fort from 1839, when it was built, to the present. The 1839 fort plan is the only one from which it is possible to determine the approximate dimensions of the original building - 14 ft. by 25 ft. The dimensions of the building which stands today are 24 ft. 4 in. by 13 ft. 4 in. While it is possible that this latrine was rebuilt on the same measurements on the site at a date later than 1839, there is no evidence to suggest this. It has been altered throughout the years but it is possible that it is original.

Cookhouse
Orders were given in October 1838 to dig for and build up the foundation walls of a Cook House, which may serve as a temporary
Guard House, proposed to be a Frame Building which could quickly be got ready for occupation.\textsuperscript{42} We know that the building suffered £8.9.10-1/4 damages by fire during the winter of 1851.\textsuperscript{43} We also know that it had roof and plaster repair work done in the fall of 1853 and that in 1854 the front weather-boarding was repaired.\textsuperscript{44} The building is shown on Lossing's drawing of 1860\textsuperscript{45} and the Dominion Illustrated photograph of 1891.\textsuperscript{46}

\textbf{Caponnière}
Tenders for the caponnière at Fort Wellington were called for during the summer of 1839.\textsuperscript{47} The 1839 plan of the fort shows some caponnière detail. In 1870 it was described as an "earthcovered stone sally port."\textsuperscript{48} The same source adds in 1878 that "its sides are pierced with loopholes to be used for clearing the dyke [ditch] should a storming party attempt to scale the earthworks."\textsuperscript{49} The description "earthcovered" might indicate that by 1870 the peaked roof had rotted away leaving only the earth above the log ceiling. The 1878 plan of repairs shows the work done on the caponnière that year. The contractor's instructions were:

Take down remains of projecting course crowning outside of caponnier wall. Replace all fallen or displaced stones in wall. Rake out all loose mortar in joints of ashlar, and fill with grey mortar trowel pointed.

Roof of caponnier to be built as shewn on drawings - timber to be of the sizes figured. Roof boards to be one inch in thickness, second quality pine, covered with XXX sawn pine shingles with four inches of their surface
exposed to the weather. Ridge boards to be three-quarters of an inch by six inches (double). In 1883, $617.90 had to be spent to repair the passageway which had collapsed.

Blockhouse

Outside Walls

The foundation of the Blockhouse to be built of good solid rubble masonry, each stone to be laid on its natural bed, bedded and jointed with mortar made of lime and sand in such proportions as shall be approved by the Commanding Engineer of the District.

The Walls all round above the foundations to be built of the best grey stone to be found in the neighbourhood to be hammer dressed or rather picked in the front and laid in courses of from 8 to 12 inches as the stones can be procured the largest courses at the bottom, but not to be less than 12 inches or more & half the height in the bed: End joint to be squared back at least 9 inches, headers not be less than 3 feet in the bed & not more than 8 to 10 feet apart the remaining thickness of the walls to be good substantial rubble masonry well bound in with the courses and sufficiently straight to receive plaster on the inside, the inside walls to be good solid rubble masonry and straight on each side for the reception of plastering.
The whole of the stones to be laid on their natural bed, and the mortar mixed up to the satisfaction of the Commanding Engineer both as regards the proportions of the sand and lime and care in mixing, and to be grouted every second course.

The Corbels to be solid Lime Stone or Granite 9 inches thick projecting as shewn in the plan and their sails extending through the Walls as shewn by dotted lines, the covers of Corbels to be of solid stone not less than 10 inches thick and 2 feet broad.

The Loopholes to be formed agreeably to plan with cut stone and good Arises, Moulds and working plans of which will be given in the progress of the work.

The Corners of the building to be rounded as shewn in the plan to correspond with the Courses of other parts.

The above comes from the specifications for the construction of the blockhouse dated 13 August 1838.

The illustrations accompanying this report provide additional information. The Lossing drawing of 1860 (Fig. 3) may not be entirely accurate; for example, it does not show the eaves troughs which appear on the photographs of 1866 and 1891. With regard to the siding on the gallery, however, the 1860 drawing appears to be accurate. In 1860 the siding was horizontal but as the plan of 1887 (Fig. 6) shows, repairs were made that year which changed it to vertical (verified by the 1891 photograph [Fig. 7]).
Inside Walls

**Brickwork**

The Arch of Magazine to be turned with two thicknesses of Bricks; of good quality and unexceptionable workmanship, the Contractor to find Centering. If it should be found necessary to line any part or the whole of the interior of the building with Brick, they must be carefully bedded and jointed and laid Flemish bond. The interior, of the air flues will be formed of Brick according to the plan.53

**Paintwork**

The whole of the Sashes, Sash Frames, Doors, door Frames, both in the interior and exterior of the building to be painted 3 Coats with the best white lead and linseed oil.54

The above is from the specifications of 1838, but for some reason further estimates were prepared in 1841 for colouring and whitewashing the interior walls of the blockhouse.55

More whitewashing was also done in 1867.56

**Plasterwork**

The interior Side Walls when required, will be plastered, with 2 Coats, Hard finished, the mortar to be well mixed up and a sufficient
quantity of hair introduced, ceilings where required to be plastered, will be two coat works on split laths, mortar carefully mixed and haired to a Bushel of Lime.\textsuperscript{57}

Stoves were ordered in January 1839 to dry the plaster.\textsuperscript{58} Among other repairs in 1867 "some plastering" was probably also done.\textsuperscript{59}

Flooring

Cellar floor - The whole of the flooring beams to be of white cedar flatted on one side, the small end not less than 8 inches when flatted & well supported by dwarf walls when req'd. The flooring to be 2 inch pine planks tongued & grooved and well nailed.

1st Floor - The whole of the flooring beams in the first floor, to be 3-1/2 inches thick x 12 inches deep of pine. The flooring to be 2 inch pine plank, tongued and grooved and blind-nailed in Magazine Room; planks not more than 9 inches broad, and laid broken joint sufficiently nailed with wrought nails....

2nd Floor - Flooring beams to be 3-1/2 inches thick, by 12 inches deep of pine and laid one foot apart, the flooring plank, pine 2 inches thick, tongued and grooved not more than 8 inches wide, and clear seasoned stuff free of sap and laid broken joint.

Upper Floor - Flooring beams to be 3-1/2 inches thick and 13 inches deep and laid one foot apart. Flooring the same as in the 2nd floor.\textsuperscript{60}
Stairs

[Both sets of] stairs to be Oak treads 1-1/2 inch thick and constructed as shewn in the plan, with oak hand rail, ballasters and newel posts. 61 The above comes from the blockhouse specifications of 1838. In 1854 the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth balusters of the first flight staircase were replaced; they were 1 in. by 1 in. oak bars. 62 It is the only historical data we have on the stairway but A.J.H. Richardson claims that the railing on the present stairs, although it may be a later copy, closely resembles railings to be found in structures of the 1830s in Canada.

Roof

Roof - Framed Roof. One principle Rafter in the Centre, with tie beam, King post etc. well strapped with Iron in the usual manner, principal Rafter 8 x 9 - King Post 12 x 12 - Struts on braces 6 x 6 - Small Rafter 6 at one end 4 at the other and 4 inches thick, covered with 1 inch pine boards reduced to an equal width, with straight edges and good 18 inch shingles laid 4-1/2 inches to the weather or with 1-1/2 pine boards grooved and tongued and covered with tin if required. Wall plates 6 x 12 inches.

The whole of the space between the Tie beams and roof to be filled in solid with Cedar poles of at least 9 inches diameter, and crossing each other alternately, for the purpose of making the Building Splinter proof. 63 It is probable that the blockhouse roof was repaired in the
winter of 1866-67. Later descriptions claim that the roof was finished with "bright tin." A painting of Windmill Point by Bainbrigge (ca. 1840) shows the blockhouse in the distance with a silver-coloured roof. In 1887 a contractor was engaged to "examine the tin roofing of blockhouse and make good any defective portions, put new flashing to chimneys, and paint the whole of the metal work to roof two coats of approved red metallic fireproof paint." Before this time, then, the tin roof was probably unpainted.

Well
The well inside the blockhouse appears on all plans of the structure including the blockhouse of the first fort (see the plans of 1823, 1839 [Fig. 1], 1846, 1868 and 1878). There is no historical reason to believe that it was built by Edward Jessup and antedates the first fort. In 1842 the well was completely refitted with a new "cast iron pump, 3 feet long including a suction pipe (8 feet long) fitted up with brass working Barrel, buckets and valves also a wrought iron handle and fixing." The surrounding floor and the cistern were also repaired. By 1852 a second well is mentioned, presumably the outside well. By 1867 the inside well required cleaning and was declared fit only for washing purposes. The outside well, however, was in good condition. A sum of $31.19 was spent 2-1/2 years later to replace the inside "old iron pump and platform"; the well was found to be 30 feet deep.

Heating and Insulation
The specifications of 1838 state that "the interior of the
air flues will be formed of Brick" and that "the flues of Chimnies parquetted, fair and smooth and Cored and left clean." Stoves and stovepipes are reported furnished to the blockhouse as early as January 1839. Nothing more is known about the heating and insulation of the fort, however.

Miscellaneous

Doors
The doors of Store rooms etc. to be 2 inches thick, and flush and bead, hung on oak frames, with strong strap of T hinges, and ten inch Iron rimmed dead Sack (The Magazine door will be made and mounted by the Royal Engineer Department).

The outside doors to be four inches thick of Oak plank and loop holed, hung with strong hinges and double locks.

Lieutenant Colonel Atcherley reported in 1866 that he had "put a new door to the blockhouse." In 1853 the door to the orderly room (former guardroom ?) was replaced by a "1-1/2 Inch pine ledged door, wrot, ploughed, tongued."

Windows
The Windows to be in the English or French style as the Commanding R. Engineer sees proper and 2 inches thick glaized, with English Glass and well primed previous to glazing, and finished
complete with strong fastenings. Doors flushed and bead 2 inches thick, frames Oak, and Strong latches and Catches.\textsuperscript{75}

**Loopholes**
The specifications of 1838 state: "small frames and sashes to be put into each of the loop holes, and well fastened with iron hold fasts."\textsuperscript{76}

**Shutters**
The Lossing drawing of 1860 (Fig. 3) and the Brown photograph of 1866 (Fig. 4) both show shutters on the third-storey windows of the blockhouse, although the Dominion Illustrated photograph of 1891 (Fig. 7) does not show them. The plan of 1887 (Fig. 6) shows that the shutters were removed during repairs.

**Room Use**

**Magazine**
The Arch of Magazine to be turned with two thicknesses of Brick; of good quality and unexceptionable workmanship, the Contractor to find Centering.
The above is from the specifications of August 1838. Work on the magazine was high on the construction priority list
for only two months later, Captain Randolph wrote the military secretary that he hoped "without delay, to get the doors of the Magazine made & hung and the floor laid." The magazine was built to accommodate 400 barrels but in 1851 it contained 124 barrels, 137 in 1853, and 170 in 1854.

Guardroom
The plan of 20 July 1839 shows that the southeast room of the blockhouse was intended for a guardroom; indeed, the room was plaster, which would indicate that the intention was carried through. It is possible that the cookhouse was temporarily used as a guardroom while awaiting completion of the latter, but it is also possible that the cookhouse was intended to be used as a guardroom while awaiting completion of the guardhouse near the gate. The guardhouse was not finished until late 1839. By 1841 the southeast room of the blockhouse was definitely being used as an artillery store.

Second and Third Floors
There is little available information on the use of the second and third floors of the blockhouse. The only definite data we have is that the 1868 plan shows a hospital 15 ft. 6 in. by 13 ft. 4 in. in the southeast corner of the third floor.

Door
The door of the Blockhouse, Fort Wellington, Prescott is of wood.
To substitute an Iron door for it would be an
expensive affair, but the present door might be reduced thickness by 1/4 of an inch and be strengthened and much secured from danger of being fired or blown in by plating it with 1/4 inch iron which would cost about £10.

It would take a pretty heavy charge of powder to do much harm to it when this strengthened.\textsuperscript{82}

\textbf{Building Near the Guardhouse}
Nothing at all is known of this building other than that part of it appears to the east of the guardroom in the 1891 photograph (Fig. 7).
Appendix A. Armament, 1848. (See Fig. 9.)

Item 75 The Mortar Platforms and shot Garland in this fort are in a very inefficient state owing to natural decay from exposure to the weather.

This item provides for renewing them agreeably to the accompanying sketch. The old shot garlands to be taken up and removed to store and the ground formed to receive the new garlands which are proposed to be of oak 4 x 4 for the shot, 6 x 6 for the shells, and framed and secured at the angles with wrought iron straps 3 x 1/4 inches thick fixed with two inch screws the sides and top to be painted four coats common colour. 2

The two old ten inch mortar platforms to be taken up and removed to store and the ground formed to receive the new sleepers, and properly filled in rammed round with the same. The new platforms to be eight feet square sleepers of cedar 10 inches ida. flattened on top and laid 11-1/2 inches apart. The floor to be of rough pine, 3 inches thick edges shot and spiked down to the sleepers. By measurement.

This is submitted agreeably to the accompanying requisition from the commander of officers of
Rl. Artillery with reference to boards order 30th ap. 1847 and provides for painting two wooden traversing platforms, three gun carriages, one wooden carriage for a corronade and twelve hand spikes, the whole to be scoured and stopped previous to painting.

Also for lacquering the bores of guns one coat and painting with anti-corrosion on the outside one coat -- two twenty-four pounder guns, one carronade, and two ten-inch mortars with their beds, all of which are to be well scraped and cleaned before painting. The woodwork to be painted by measurement and lacquering to be performed by the military labour such of the materials for performing the above named service as cannot be purchased on the spot are included in the demand of stores accompanying this Estimate. Last done in 1843.

The gun platforms and wooden curbs also one Pintle at Fort Wellington being in a decayed state from exposure to the weather. This item is submitted for repairing them previously to the gun carriages being painted as provided in item 76 of this estimate provision is therefore made as follows:

**Gun platform at West angle**

Renewing the soles with 3 in. oak (2 of 16 ft. long by 9 in. wide) wrot. two sides and fixed, two runners of oak 2 x 2 each 16 ft. long wrot. two sides affixed 2/16.0 x 0.2 in. The old to be taken off, removed and the new wood work to
be painted two coats in oil, lead colour.

Carronade over Gateway
Renewing the platform taking up old masonry of Platform 20 x 1 x 1, removing and piling the stone, the new curb to be formed of limestone masonry 20' x 1'.6" x 1' begs horizontal and joints vertical. The top surface to be rough bonchards do. on sides circular 2/20' x 1'.6". The masonry to be made good to the new curb and the studs of racers to be let into the stone and run with lead. The racers to be of wrot. iron 2" x 3/4" 20" long punched through and counter sunk on top, the studs to be three inches long, 1 x 1" riveted to the racers, three feet apart, the bed of one carronade to be renewed with pine 13 x 10 wrot. framed and shaped. The iron work to be painted three coats in oil, lead colour.

Curbs for 24 Pounders
The present wooden curbs are in a very dilapidated state, it is therefore proposed to renew them with stone using the racers again which are serviceable -- Provision is made for excavating and removing earth for the foundations which are to be of concrete formed of lime and coarse gravel, in the proportion of one of lime to six of gravel on which a course of Rubble masonry is to be laid to receive the curb stone. The curb to be of lime stone 2/35 x 11 x 1 set in mortar, the top and sides to the depth of 3 inches to be rough boncharded the curbs for the front racers to be of the same as those already described including the
foundations for the same. The Pintle stone to be of masonry 5' x 5' by 1 foot deep rough boncharded on the top and edges, to the depth of 3 inches. Mortices to be cut for the pintle.

The pintle to be of Cast Iron of the approved pattern similar to those in use at Fort Henry, Kingston, to be let in and run with lead and painted three coats in oil, lead colour.

**Traversing Platform**

Renew sides with Pine 2/16' x 9" x 8" wrot. formed and fixed, soles 2/16' x 2" x 2" -- blocks 4/6 x 6 x 2 of oak wrot. framed and fixed -- foot board and stay 2/10 ft. x 1 -- 6' x 1'3" of two inch pine, wrot. and fixed. The old stuff to cut out and removed to store and the new work painted 2 coats, lead colour.
Appendix B. Ordnance.

The fort was described as completed in February 1839 "and the guns mounted."\(^1\)

A plan of the fort dated 1839 shows two 12-pounders, two 24-pounders, two 10-inch mortars, and two 24-pounder carronades.

A Return of arms dated March 1842 described the musquetry: "Prescott: Musquets, India Pattern, 1,738."\(^2\)

The Return for November 1858 lists the following:\(^3\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24-pounder serviceable</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24-pounder unusable</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-pounder</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-pounder American</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-pounder serviceable</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-pounder unusable</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-inch</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-inch empty</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24-pounder</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-pounder</td>
<td>540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-pounder</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-inch iron mortars</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In July 1860 when Benjamin Lossing visited Prescott the fort was empty: "A few cannon were on the ramparts, and on the river side of the fort lay a brass one, on which was inscribed the words and characters 'S.N.Y., 1834. Taken from the rebels in 1837.' It was a trophy."\(^4\)

In December 1865 the fort was in the process of
In January 1866 the ordnance was described: "two 24 pr. and two 12 pr. Guns have been mounted, the former upon sliding carriages with traversing platforms, the latter upon 24 pr. common garrison carriages on the two recently constructed solid platforms. So soon as the proper 12 pr. gun carriages arrive, the 24 pr. carriages will be replaced by them." 7

In April 1866 two 10-inch mortars were noted at Fort Wellington. 8

A plan of the fort dated 1868 mentions no carronade, but does mention 2 24-pounders, 2 12-pounders and 2 10-inch mortars.

The fort closed in 1870 and was used thereafter only by local militia but in 1880 the Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence wrote: "I should like to see the guns again mounted on its banquette." 9
Introduction

1 Canada. Public Archives (hereafter cited as PAC), RG8, I, C445, pp. 268-71, Capt. Randolph to the Military Secretary, 15 October 1838; ibid., C447, p. 103, 5 April 1839.

2 PAC, MG12, B, WO55, Vol. 874, p. 214, Randolph to Bonnycastle, 23 July 1838; Chateau de Ramezay, Montreal, "Specifications for Building a Stone Blockhouse within Fort Wellington...13th August 1838" (hereafter cited as "Specifications").

3 PAC, RG8, I, C449, p. 105.


5 PAC, RG8, I, C446, Wright to the M.S., 6 November 1838.

6 Ibid., C447, Wright to the M.S., 8 February 1839.

7 Ibid., p. 103, 5 April 1839.

8 Ibid., pp. 247 and 256, 17 March 1839; ibid., C449, pp. 75-6, spring 1839; tenders in Recorder (Brockville), 28 March 1839, 13 June, 4 July and 11 July 1839.

9 See, for example, PAC, RG8, C594, p. 215, 21 May 1840; also ibid., p. 298 and C596, p. 38.


11 PAC, RG8, I, C1418, p. 6, 30 October 1848.

12 Ibid., C489, p. 320, MacDougall to the M.S., 9 August 1867.

13 PAC, RG9, I, C1, Vol. 237, No. 2825, Lt. Col. Atcherley
to A.D.G., 9 October 1866; ibid., Vol. 242, No. 201, caretaker to Atcherley, 28 February 1867.


Buildings


2 There was an earlier plan of 28 November 1839 for the guardhouse but it was never carried out.

3 PAC, MG24, F77, 23 September 1853.

4 PAC, RG9, I, C1, Vol. 237, No. 2852, Atcherley to A.D.G., 9 October 1866.


7 Dominion Illustrated (Montreal), 26 September 1891, pp. 300-1; PAC, Picture Division, Neg. no. C-21587.

[The section on the officers' quarters is taken from notes made by A.J.H. Richardson in 1961 in preparation for the restoration of the officers' quarters by the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch. Endnotes 8 to 41 are those sources given by Richardson for his description of the history of the officers' quarters.]

9 PAC, Map Division, 450 Fort Wellington 1839.
10 C Series, Vol. 770, p. 36.
11 PAC, Militia and Defence Papers, D.M.'s Papers, No. 294 of 1868.
12 C Series, Vol. 770, p. 36.
13 C Series, Vol. 525, pp. 264, 266.
14 Militia and Defence Papers, D.A.G.'s Papers (Pre-Confederation), No. 2852 of 1866.
15 Ibid., No. 2577 of 1866.
16 Militia and Defence Papers, D.A.G.'s Papers (Pre-Confederation), No. 2852 of 1866.
18 Militia and Defence Papers, D.A.G.'s Papers (Pre-Confederation). No. 201 of 1867.
21 Ibid., Vol. 489, p. 520.
23 C Series, Vol. 770, p. 36.
25 Militia and Defence Papers, D.M.'s Papers, No. 294 of 1868; C Series, Vol. 786, pp. 21, 52. The two latter documents state there are only "two small rooms...without any kitchen."
26 Militia and Defence Papers, D.M.'s Papers, No. 294 of 1868.
27 Ibid.
28 C Series, Vol. 544, p. 3.
29 PAC, Map Division, 450 Fort Wellington 1868.
30 Ibid.
32 Militia and Defence Papers, D.M.'s Papers, No. 4069 of 1870.
33 National Parks Branch, Engineering Services map files, original MS plan of officers' quarters numbered
"961-14". This is Attachment 5 to the present memo. A pricing of $300 is written in pencil on this plan, suggesting it was prepared after the introduction of decimal currency in Canada, 1858. On the back, also in pencil, is "G.R. Prowse, St. James St."; he was a tinsmith in business on that street in Montreal commencing sometime between 1856 and 1859 and moving to another address about 1902; see city directories.

34 Militia and Defence Papers, D.M.'s Papers, No. 4069 of 1870.
35 Ibid., No. 896B of 1873.
36 1891 photo and photo of July 1921 in Historic Sites Division picture file, Tunney's Pasture.
37 Verbal information from Mr. Walter Webb, former custodian of Fort Wellington National Historic Park.
38 National Parks Branch file[s for] 20/7/1923 and 8/1/1924, and photos of June 1925 and 1930 in Historic Sites Division picture file, Tunney's Pasture.
40 Ibid., 10/1/1927.
41 Ibid., 18/11/1932.
42 PAC, RG8, I, C445, pp. 268-71, Randolph to M.S., 15 October 1838; ibid., C447, pp. 247 and 256, Expenditures, 17 March 1839.
44 PAC, MG24, F77, 23 September and 26 November 1853, 22 June 1854.
45 Benson John Lossing, op. cit., p. 584.
46 Dominion Illustrated (Montreal), loc. cit.
47 Recorder (Brockville), 4 July and 11 July 1839.
48 Canadian Illustrated News (Montreal), 4 May 1870, p. 280.
49 Ibid., 4 May 1878.
50 PAC, RG9, II, El, Vol. 9.
51 Canada. Department of Public Works, Annual Report of
the Minister (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1883), p. xxxix.

52 From the Château de Ramezay, Montreal; the plan mentioned must have been lost.

53 Specifications of the blockhouse, 13 August 1838, from the Château de Ramezay, Montreal.

54 Ibid.


56 PAC, RG9, IC8, Vol. 2, 10 March 1867.

57 Château de Ramezay, Montreal, "Specifications."

58 PAC, RG8, I, C590, p. 40, Col. Young to M.S., 21 January 1839.

59 PAC, RG9, I, C1, Vol. 242, No. 201, caretaker to Atcherley, 28 February 1867; ibid., C541, p. 142, Lt. Col. Powell to M.S., 9 April 1867.

60 Château de Ramezay, Montreal, "Specifications."

61 Château de Ramezay, Montreal, "Specifications."

62 PAC, MG24, F77, 22 June 1854.

63 Château de Ramezay, Montreal, "Specifications."

64 PAC, RG9, I, C1, Vol. 237, No. 2852, 9 October 1866; ibid., Vol. 242, No. 201, 28 February 1867; PAC, RG8, C540, pp. 348-9, 19 November 1866; PAC, RG8, C541, p. 142, 9 April 1867.

65 Canadian Illustrated News (Montreal), 4 May 1870, p. 280.


68 PAC, RG8, C1635, inspection reports, 1852.

69 PAC, RG8, C448, p. 179, 17 April 1867.

70 PAC, RG8, C545, p. 149, 17 November 1869, and p. 152, 1 December 1869.

71 PAC, RG8, C590, p. 40, Col. Young to M.S., 21 January 1839.

72 Château de Ramezay, Montreal, "Specifications."

73 PAC, RG9, I, C1, Vol. 237, No. 2852, Atcherley to the A.D.G., 9 October 1866.
74 PAC, MG24, F77, 23 September 1853.
75 Château de Ramezay, Montreal, "Specifications."
76 Ibid.
77 PAC, RG8, C445, pp. 268-71, 15 October 1838.
78 RG8, II, Vol. 73, 6 May 1851.
79 PAC, RG8, C1635, inspection reports.
80 PAC, RG8, C445, pp. 268-71, Randolph to M.S., 15 October 1838.
82 PAC, RG8, C488, pp. 266-8. The suggestion was approved 25 April 1867; ibid., pp. 264-5.

Appendix A
1 PAC, RG8, C1418, pp. 121-30, October 1848.
2 In 1854 they are described as being "Pine, 5' x 4'," in PAC, MG24, F77, 15 June 1854.

Appendix B
1 PAC, RG8, C447, p. 103.
2 PAC, RG8, C452, p. 52.
3 PAC, RG8, C472, p. 108.
4 Benson John Lossing, op. cit., p. 584.
5 The 24-pounders weigh 5512 lbs.; PAC, RG8, C485, p. 47.
6 PAC, RG8, C483, pp. 561-2.
7 PAC, RG8, C484, pp. 93-4.
8 PAC, RG8, C185, p. 32.
Illustration References

1. PAC, Map Division.
2. PAC, Map Division.
4. PAC, Map Division, Neg. C552.
5. PAC, Map Division; also RG9, II, E1, Vol. 9.
6. PAC, Map Division; also RG9, II, E1, Vol. 9.
7. PAC, Picture Division, Neg. C-21587.
8. PAC, Picture Division, Neg. C-21590.
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MG24, F77, Great Britain, Army, Royal Engineers, Estimates for repairs to Fort Wellington, 1853-54
RG8, British Military and Naval Records, I, "C" Series; II, Ordnance Records
RG9, I, Cl, Department of Militia and Defence; I, C8; II, B2, II, El

Canada. Parliament

Canadian Illustrated News (Montreal)
1870

Château de Ramezay, Montreal
"Specifications for Building a Stone Blockhouse within Fort
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**Dominion Illustrated** (Montreal)
1891

Lossing, Benson John

Miquelon, Dale B.

**Recorder** (Brockville)
1838-39

Richardson, A.J.H.
Notes made for the restoration of the officers' quarters, Fort Wellington, on file, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1961.
1 Plan of the blockhouse, Fort Wellington, 1839. (Public Archives of Canada.)
2 Plan of Fort Wellington, 20 July 1839. (Public Archives of Canada.)
4 Photograph of Fort Wellington, 1866. (Public Archives of Canada.)
Plan of projected repairs to Fort Wellington, 1878. (Public Archives of Canada.)
Plan of the gallery repairs, 1887. (Public Archives of Canada.)
Photograph of Fort Wellington, 1891. (Dominion Illustrated, 26 September 1891, pp. 300-1; Copy on file Public Archives of Canada.)
8 Photograph of the caponnière, 1891. (Dominion Illustrated, 26 September 1891, pp. 300-1; Copy on file, Public Archives of Canada.)
9 Drawing of Fort Wellington from an 1848 plan.  

a, shot garland for carronade; 
b, shot garland for 12-pounder gun; 
c, shot garland for 24-pounder guns; d, shot garland for 10-in. mortar; e, shot garland for 6-pounder gun; f, curb for carronade; g, curb for 24-pounder gun; h, mortar platforms.  

(Drawing by D. Kappler from an original in the Public Archives of Canada.)
The Battle of the Windmill
November 1838
by David Lee

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Abstract

Several historians have studied the Battle of the Windmill but their studies have left a number of questions unresolved. Many of these questions were important to the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch which required a new plaque to commemorate the battle and was considering installing an interpretative display. There was much conflicting evidence regarding the number of participants in the battle, the number of Canadians among the insurgents, the number of casualties, the weapons used, the fate of the prisoners taken, the insurgents' flag, the use of Fort Wellington in the battle and place of the battle in the history of the Rebellion of 1837-38. In the following study the author has tried to answer these unresolved questions and sketch a simple background for the Battle of the Windmill.

Submitted for publication 1974
by David Lee,
National Historic Parks and Sites Branch,
Ottawa
En 1838, les chefs de la rébellion du Haut-Canada ayant quitté l'Amérique du Nord britannique, les régions frontaliers du pays demeurèrent sur leurs gardes, dans l'éventualité de leur retour. On savait que, si les rebelles exilés tentaient une invasion, ce serait quelque part entre Kingston et Cornwall. Vu l'attaque d'un vapeur de Prescott par les rebelles en juin, le Gouvernement décida de fortifier la frontière du Saint-Laurent en appelant aux armes la milice et en reconstruisant le fort Wellington à Prescott.

En novembre, soit avant la fin des travaux de reconstruction, un groupe d'environ 190 rebelles canadiens et sympathisants américains traversa le fleuve et se retrancha à l'intérieur et autour d'un grand moulin à vent situé à un mille du fort Wellington. Dans les quelques jours qui suivirent, un petit escadron de la Marine royale, plus de 2,000 soldats britanniques et des miliciens de l'endroit assiégerent le groupe qui se rendit au bout de cinq jours. A la fin du siège, les blessés se comptaient par dizaines, dans les deux camps, tandis que 15 miliciens et soldats et 20 rebelles au moins avaient perdu la vie. Seul une poignée de rebelles réussit à s'échapper. Les autres, faits prisonniers, furent traduits devant un tribunal militaire à Kingston. Onze des chefs, dont le Suédois Nils von Schoultz, soldat improvisé, furent exécutés. Soixante furent déportés en Tasmanie, mais leur sentence fut commuée dans les années 1840.

Le groupe de rebelles comptait 29 sujets britanniques, les seuls véritables rebelles. Des autres, une vingtaine
ou avait déjà vécu en Amérique du Nord britannique, ou y avait de proches parents. Quant aux américains du groupe, certains oeuvraient réellement pour libérer le Canada de l'impérialisme britannique, certains étaient venus chercher au Canada l'aventure ou la concession d'une terre, tandis que d'autres s'étaient fait magistralement leurrer sur la nature du travail pour lequel on les avait embauchés.
Introduction

The Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada was the result of political, economic, social and religious differences which had been developing for years. It was largely a protest against the entrenched oligarchy known as the Family Compact. This group of long-established families consisted mostly of descendants of United Empire Loyalists and members of the established Church of England. Allied with the Lieutenant-Governor, they controlled the executive and legislative councils (similar to the present Cabinet and upper house) of the provincial government, as well as the judiciary, much of the unsettled land, most public offices and the Anglican Church. Because positions in all of these institutions were appointive, they could be easily controlled by the oligarchy even though Anglcians and Loyalists were no longer in the majority by the 1830s.

This fact was clearly manifested in the elective Legislative Assembly (lower house) which most of the time had a majority of "reformers," those who wished to reform the political system by one means or another. Since the executive and legislative councils could block any legislation which the assembly proposed, some reformers wanted to follow American practice and establish a republic wherein all levels of the legislative would be elective. Other reformers demanded that the Executive Council follow the British practice of responsible government and hold office only on the approval of both houses. The authority of the assembly was too weak, however, and some of the more extreme reformers, seeing little prospect for success by political means, chose to use
force.

The political situation in Lower Canada was quite similar and it was there that the first violence erupted. The first acts of rebellion were the November 1837 riots in Montreal between "loyalist" and "patriote" factions. Louis-Joseph Papineau, T.S. Brown and E.B. O'Callaghan, patriot leaders, left town for the Richelieu valley just before warrants were issued for their arrest. In the Richelieu valley they gathered supporters and on 23 November repelled an attack by British troops on their stronghold at Saint-Denis. Two days later British troops dispersed a "patriote" gathering at Saint-Charles on the Richelieu. Most of the rebel leaders and scores of their followers fled to the United States.

In Upper Canada the first action was the dispersal of the rebel forces gathered at Montgomery's Tavern (north of Toronto) under William Lyon Mackenzie early in December 1837. Dr. Charles Duncombe failed in another attempted uprising west of Toronto a few weeks later and soon he, Mackenzie and other rebel leaders and hundreds of their followers were refugees in the United States. For a short period Mackenzie operated a provisional government on Canadian territory (Navy Island) in the Niagara River.

In 1838 the rebellion took different forms in Upper and Lower Canada. In Lower Canada rebellion continued within the province - there were uprisings in the Beauharnois area and again in the Richelieu valley in November 1838. The Lower Canadian rebels expected help from refugees and sympathisers in the United States and their insurrection collapsed when few men managed to get across the border. In Upper Canada there was little rebellion within the province. The year 1838 was characterised by a series of raids and acts of piracy along the Upper Canadian border by forces operating out of the United States.
Rebellion in both Upper and Lower Canada had similarities, however, in that it depended on help from the United States. Indeed, the most important development of 1838 was the success which the rebel refugees from Upper and Lower Canada had in gaining American sympathy for their cause. In an energetic campaign they crusaded for American assistance in bringing liberty, republicanism and independence to Canada. Many Americans were receptive and "Hunters' Lodges"\textsuperscript{1} were organised in several northern states to promote the cause of the Canadian rebels.

Several of the northern states - Vermont, New York, Ohio and Michigan - had large numbers of immigrant New Englanders who were interested in new reform crusades. In the 1830s their enthusiasms included the temperance and abolitionist movements. At this time the United States as a whole was feeling the patriotic ardour of Jacksonian democracy. There was a widespread feeling that liberty could only truly flourish under republican institutions and that it was America's destiny to bring liberty and republicanism to other, less fortunate people.

There was also a feeling of restlessness in the United States by 1837 because of an economic depression which had produced widespread unemployment. Added to this feeling was a lingering resentment toward Britain which was heightened by a dispute between the two countries over the Maine-New Brunswick boundary. In these circumstances, when rebellion broke out in Canada in 1837 and refugees fled across the border bearing tales of oppressive British colonialism, it is only natural that many people in the border states developed a new enthusiasm to liberate Canada and install a republican form of government there. Furthermore, the rebellion in Upper Canada had produced a border incident late in 1837 in which an American steamer, Caroline, carrying supplies to Mackenzie's forces, was destroyed by British soldiers. Great excitement ensued and
several border states called out their militia. Newspapers, local government officials and merchants led the campaign to liberate Canada. Washington officials, however, were more cautious, so the liberation enthusiasts felt they should operate in secret. Thus were formed the "Hunters Lodges." When members of the lodges were asked why they were going about armed, they would reply that they were going hunting. Members of the lodges were sometimes called "Patriotes" or "Patriot Hunters."

During 1838 the Hunters movement swept the northern states attracting as members the most respectable representatives of merchant and professional groups as well as unemployed labourers and felons. Estimates of the numbers went higher than 40,000 men. Estimates of the money at their disposal ran to tens of thousands of dollars.

There were also lodges operating within Lower Canada and it was they who moved first, attacking Beauharnois on 3 November 1838. Other forces gathered at Napierville but many local militiamen remained loyal and prevented most of the Hunter reinforcements from crossing from northern Vermont and New York. The uprising ended after another defeat at Odelltown and the recapture of Beauharnois by militia companies of Glengarry Highlanders.

At the same time John Ward Birge was organising the Hunters in New York state to attack the upper St. Lawrence River area. He claimed that if they could capture Fort Wellington at Prescott the oppressed inhabitants of the area would take courage and the militia would rise to welcome their liberators. Birge and his friends collected more than 300 men and considerable quantities of arms at Millen's Bay, Sackets Harbor and Oswego. Many of the men were young, unemployed labourers seeking work; many of them were not told the work for which they were hired. Some of the men were European immigrants who spoke no English. Some
joined the expedition because they were promised land in the new Canadian republic but others joined out of a sincere sense of mission to liberate Canada. Jeremiah Winnegar of Brownsville, New York, for example, joined because he felt he was "doing God's service." 2 John Gilman, also of Brownsville, testified at his court-martial that he had come to assist "the oppressed people of Canada." 3 At their courts-martial all the prisoners taken in the Battle of the Windmill testified either that they did not know the purpose of the expedition or that they were gravely mistaken and misled about conditions in Canada. John Ward Birge was their "General" and wore a gaudy uniform. Nils von Schoultz, believed to be a former Polish army officer (see Appendix G), may have been second in command. Daniel George was paymaster and Bill Johnston, a local pirate and smuggler, was "Commodore of the Lower Division of the Patriot Navy."
Most of the settled parts of Upper Canada in 1837-38 were within a few miles of the international border. Since the boundary was the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes these parts were obviously vulnerable to attack from Canadian rebels and their American sympathizers based in the United States. The Canadian rebels convinced their American friends that most Canadians were ripe to rise in rebellion and only needed evidence of American assistance to spark them. The governor at Quebec, Lord Durham, and Lieutenant-Governor Sir George Arthur at Toronto were worried refugee rebels might be correct, that the rebel sentiment might be strong in most settled areas along the border. The governor called for reinforcements of regular troops from Britain but many of these did not arrive until autumn 1838. Meanwhile, raids and acts of piracy continued from the United States.

Prescott, located at the head of the Long Sault rapids, was an important bulk-breaking point in the St. Lawrence River transportation system. Here cargoes and passengers were shifted to smaller boats before descending the rapids or to larger boats before entering the Great Lakes. The upper St. Lawrence region was especially vulnerable to attack for the river here was only about a mile wide. This vulnerability was demonstrated on 29 May 1838 when the steamer Sir Robert Peel was seized and burned. The force which captured the Peel was led by Bill Johnston, a native of Lower Canada. As a young man he had been a merchant in Kingston, but in recent years he had made his living as a
merchant and smuggler in northern New York state. Early in 1838 he had been at Navy Island trying to help Mackenzie establish his "Provisional Government of the Republic of Upper Canada." In February 1838 he had begun preparations to attack Kingston using Hickory Island as his base. After he abandoned that idea he organized a force of many boats and over 100 men, mostly Canadian refugees, to raid British shipping. Johnston's pirate navy terrified all the river communities from Prescott to Kingston.

The Sir Robert Peel left Prescott 29 May bound for Toronto with 65-70 passengers. At midnight she stopped to get wood at an island in British territory and Johnston and his men struck. The passengers and crew were forced ashore and robbed; then the pirates pillaged the steamer and burned it. No one was injured in the incident but it caused a near-panic in the Canadian communities of the area. In June Johnston led a few minor raids on the mainland, robbing isolated farmhouses. Some of the raiders were arrested by American authorities but Johnston remained menacingly at large. Ten days later Johnston issued a manifesto proclaiming that "the object of my movement is the independence of the Canadas." Lieutenant-Governor Arthur was extremely worried by the "large ungovernable body of Ruffians along the frontier threatening to invade us, and within the Province (who would immediately rise if we sustained any reverse) a considerable number of very disaffected Persons."¹

The British government's response was to order, early in June 1838, the refitting of Fort Wellington and the stationing of small garrisons at Lancaster, Gananoque and Prescott. At Prescott the garrison consisted of 80 men and officers of the Lancaster Glengarry Highlanders led by Captain George Macdonell. Overall command of Macdonell's company and the local militia was given to Plomer Young, formerly a captain in the 89th Regiment (Royal Irish Fusiliers).
He had been on half-pay for ten years but was given the rank of "Colonel (Particular Service)" while at Prescott. The nearest regular British troops were at Kingston.  

The British government was particularly anxious to secure the area from Kingston to Prescott because of its proximity to the Rideau Canal. There was, indeed, an alarm in July that a party of armed rebels had reconnoitred the canal route with a view to subsequent attack. The party was allegedly led by James Phillips, a former resident of the area, who had become a leader in the Hunters Lodges. (Phillips later served as an officer of the insurgents at the Battle of the Windmill where he was killed.) The alarm turned out to be false and probably due simply to jittery nerves. Two companies of the 2nd Regiment, Leeds militia were called out to guard the Rideau Canal during the false alarm and one company remained on service until mid-September. 

There were several other former residents of the Prescott-Brockville area who had become prominent in the Hunters Lodges in the United States and thus a source of anxiety to the government. One of them, Donald McLeod, had been given the rank of "General" in the "Patriot Army" in the United States. McLeod was a former Prescott schoolteacher and newspaper publisher. He had been with Johnston's force when the Sir Robert Peel was burned as well as on rebel raids in the Windsor area. McLeod was a leading organiser and recruiter among the Hunters of Ohio and northern New York but when the insurgents landed at Windmill Point, he was not among them. 

Rebel sympathy does not appear to have been any stronger in the upper St. Lawrence area than in other parts of the province. Mackenzie had campaigned in the region earlier in the decade but the area was also strongly Orange and Loyalist; indeed, the first Orange Grand Lodge in British North America was formed in Brockville by Ogle Gowan in 1830. Elections in the 1830s in Leeds County had been bitter contests between
Reformers and an alliance of Orangemen and Tories. Electoral riots in Leeds scandalised the province and in 1834 one election was disallowed. The Reformers generally suffered most of the abuse but their leaders never advocated rebellion though a few of their followers (like Phillips and the Chipman brothers) were forced to leave Upper Canada. In Grenville County, however, the member of the Legislative Assembly, William B. Wells, became a rebel. Wells left for the United States in 1837 where he boasted that he could raise a considerable force of rebels back home. In the juridical district of Johnstown, which included Leeds and Grenville counties, 11 men were arrested between December 1837 and November 1838 on suspicion of treason but all were released after a short time due to a lack of evidence. Some of these arrests were probably the result of Orangemen and Tories trying to settle old political grudges.\(^5\)

With regard to the situation across the river the government was kept well-informed. Its intelligence system reported the growth of popular American sentiment in favour of invading Canada and a build-up of men, money and weapons. William Lyon Mackenzie had spoken to large audiences in the Ogdensburg area early in 1838. The hostility of the American population along the upper St. Lawrence persuaded the government that three militia companies on the Canadian side were not enough. The government was convinced that an attack was inevitable but did not know whether it would be directed against Belleville, Kingston, Gananoque, Brockville, Prescott, Cornwall, Lancaster, somewhere in between, or even at several points.\(^6\) The Hunters appear to have fixed upon Prescott as their target early in November. The Oswego Commercial Advertiser reported this fact on 13 November 1838\(^7\) but it was too late for Canadian intelligence to alert its government.

The government's response was to embody several militia units for full-time service in the Prescott-Brockville area.
At the beginning of November 1838 Lieutenant-Governor Arthur ordered the formation of the "Prescott Independent Company" and the "Brockville Independent Company" to guard the two towns. A few days later rebellion broke out in Lower Canada and Arthur took the precaution of embodying additional units in Upper Canada. Among his orders was one for the embodiment of the 2nd Regiment, Grenville militia and the formation of a "Ninth Provisional Battalion" (Queen's Borderers) drawn from the Leeds militia and having its headquarters at Brockville. Because it was a new unit the Ninth Provisionals were not fully enrolled by the time of the Battle of the Windmill. The commander-in-chief of the forces, Sir John Colborne, ordered that all militia officers be fully advised of the dangerous situation along the border, that Canada was "threatened with an attack from the American frontier by a horde of rapacious brigands." This message was then published in local newspapers so that the general public would be aware of the situation.8

The Prescott troops must have been in tents, even though it was November, for there were no lodgings available in old Fort Wellington. Troops were required at Prescott because of its strategic location at the head of the Long Sault rapids. A fort was required in order to provide secure shelter for the troops and their arms and equipment. Militia, however, could be embodied much more quickly than a fort could be refitted. Soon it became evident that Fort Wellington required more than a refitting - it required an almost total reconstruction. The fort had been empty for about ten years, "abandoned" as the barrack returns stated and, being of wooden construction, it was "in a delapidated state."9 Few of the buildings of the fort built in 1813-14 were reparable so it was decided to start over again with a new plan. In June 1838 the government ordered "a blockhouse or defensible barrack to be built for 100 men, and in which 1000 stand of arms can be placed."10
Captain Francis Randolph of the Royal Engineers was sent to Prescott in July to superintend the reconstruction but the work was delayed by many problems. There was considerable indecision about the design of the new blockhouse. Eventually it was decided to construct it mainly of stone; it was to be taller (three stories) than the previous structure (which was to be razed) and have less floor space per storey. This design would allow more open space between the blockhouse and the earthen ramparts and a few additional small buildings to be constructed later. Other delays were caused by unfavourable weather, Randolph's poor health and a shortage of skilled workmen. The contract for the construction was not granted until August. Besides building a new blockhouse the work also included reshaping the ramparts and replacing the fraises on the scarps. Nothing was near completion in November, however, when the insurgents landed at Windmill Point, a mile away. The militia assembled on the military reserve outside the fort. Some of the prisoners taken in the action at the windmill were held inside the ramparts overnight while awaiting transfer to boats at the Prescott wharf. But this was the only use made of Fort Wellington.11

On 10 November 1838 the armed steamer Cobourg landed 23 rebel prisoners at the Prescott wharf to be transferred to a smaller steamer which could descend the Long Sault rapids en route to Montreal. These men had been taken prisoner in earlier action, had been held at Fort Henry and were on their way to the penal colony of Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania).12 Their arrival at Prescott at the same time that some of the local militia units were assembling must have created much excitement in the town.

On the eve of the Battle of the Windmill the upper St. Lawrence River communities were on full alert for any possible attack from across the river.
Chronology of the Battle

Saturday, 10 November 1838
After dropping 23 rebel prisoners at the Prescott wharf on 10 November the armed steamer Cobourg returned directly to its base at Kingston which was headquarters for the Royal Navy detachment on the Great Lakes. Captain Williams Sandom, the officer commanding, had his men and boats on full alert and he had at his disposal three or four steamboats, some of which were civilian vessels that had been taken over and armed for the emergency. He also had a number of heavily armed gunboats in his command. His vessels were on constant patrol along this water frontier but the area involved was full of creeks, bays and islands where enemy boats could hide. Sandom could not hope to check all shipping in the area so he had to depend heavily on his government's intelligence service. On Saturday, 10 November, the Royal Navy was ready for any armed intrusion into Canadian waters.¹

Sunday, 11 November 1838
On Sunday Captain Sandom received intelligence that corroborated earlier rumours that two schooners full of men and arms were ready to leave New York state to invade Canada at some point along the border. Captain Herchmer, commanding the Cobourg, was leaving for Sackets Harbor with despatches so he was directed to contact the United States authorities while he was there. Colonel W.J. Worth, commanding the United States Army in this part of New York state, had heard
the same rumours and arrived at Sackets Harbor at the same time as Herchmer. They found that the schooners had already left. Herchmer left immediately, joined Sandom (commanding the steamer Queen, or Queen Victoria) and they both headed for Gananoque which they reached in the middle of the night.

Lieutenant W. Newton Fowell, commanding the steamer Experiment, had been on patrol in the Brockville area. He heard the steamer United States pass Brockville in the middle of the night and was suspicious of her behaviour. He set out down-river after her but it was not until daylight that he saw that she had been towing two schooners full of men and arms.

There were about 300 men on the schooners and a great quantity of arms and ammunition. They had been collected by John Ward Birge from all over northern New York state. About 200 men had boarded the United States at Oswego and Sackets Harbor on its regular route between Oswego and Ogdensburg. Another 100 men had boarded two schooners at Millen's Bay; at Cape Vincent they met the United States and Daniel George paid $100 to the captain of the steamer to tow them to Ogdensburg. A businessman who was a passenger on the United States (but was not involved with the insurgents) later wrote that after they passed Morristown (opposite Brockville) the lines to the schooners were cut. About 100 men left the steamer to join the men already in the schooners but another 100 remained aboard the United States and continued on to Ogdensburg. The schooners were lashed together and headed for Prescott.

Dorephus Abbey and Daniel Heustis later affirmed that the plan was to seize Fort Wellington; this would provide the catalyst and encouragement for dissatisfied Canadians to rise up in revolt. They hoped to surprise the town of Prescott in the middle of a cold, November Sunday night. At 4:00 A.M. Monday morning they tried to dock at the Prescott wharf but were seen by the customs collector,
Alpheus Jones. Several people came running when he shouted the alarm. Realising that a surprise landing was now impossible the insurgents tried to leave. In the dark they hit an old underwater abutment which broke the lines lashing the two schooners together. This accident produced great confusion and they drifted out into the centre of the river. Alpheus Jones raced to Brockville and word was sent on from there to Captain Sandom at Gananoque. The first shots of the Battle of the Windmill would soon be fired.  

Monday, 12 November 1838

At daybreak Monday morning Lieutenant Fowell arrived at Prescott in the Experiment. Here he found the larger of the two schooners (captained by Bill Johnston) grounded on a sandbar in American waters and the smaller one landing its men and provisions at Windmill Point, one mile down-river from Fort Wellington. The steamer United States was tied up to the dock at Ogdensburg where it had been seized by the insurgents who had remained on board. Before Lieutenant Fowell could move down to challenge the party landing at the windmill the United States left the Ogdensburg dock and indicated it was going to attempt a landing at Prescott. Fowell received a request from the magistrates of Ogdensburg not to fire into their waters and he complied, though he did fire the carronade he had on board at the United States when it was in Canadian waters. Meanwhile, some of the insurgents who had arrived on the United States had seized a second steamboat at Ogdensburg, the Paul Pry, which normally served as the ferry between that town and Prescott. The Paul Pry tried to tow the larger schooner off the bar but failed. Then the Paul Pry took men and arms from the grounded schooner and tried to land them at the mill. Lieutenant Fowell thereupon left the United States to chase away the Paul Pry. It is possible that at this time the
United States managed to land a few men at the mill but then Fowell brought the Experiment back and chased the United States away from the Canadian shore. Meanwhile, the small schooner had finished unloading at the windmill; while the Experiment was occupied chasing the United States and the Paul Pry the small schooner sneaked back to the American side, took more men from the grounded schooner and brought them to the mill. At the same time Bill Johnston commandeered a scow at Ogdensburg to take the cannons off the grounded schooner and bring them across the the Canadian side.

Lieutenant Fowell commanding the Experiment had had to contend with a schooner, a scow, the steam ferry Paul Pry and the large steamboat United States. The schooner had managed to bring an extra load of men and goods across; the scow had succeeded in transporting three pieces of artillery, and the United States may have made a brief landing at the mill. Fowell had had a frantic time but his naval manoeuvres had had some success, particularly in preventing the United States from landing at the town of Prescott. The embodied militia stationed at Prescott made no move on Monday against the insurgents who were entrenching themselves at the windmill. Colonel Plomer Young said that they did not want to leave the town undefended in case the United States succeeded in effecting a landing there.

All the naval action was finished by noon on Monday. Dorephus Abbey said that Captain Vaughan of the United States Navy arrived in the Telegraph and prevented the schooners from making any more attempts to cross (Vaughan's own son was among the insurgents at the mill). Then Colonel Worth arrived at Ogdensburg and impounded the schooners and the United States. Colonel Worth reported to his superiors that he found and impounded a large quantity of weapons and three cannons on the schooners. The insurgents had a cannon on board the Paul Pry and Lawrence Reilly testified at his court-martial that it was fired by an Upper Canadian named Potter. The United States seems to have had a cannon aboard too but the carronade on the Experiment succeeded in keeping
that steamer at a distance; indeed, the carronade may have killed a man on the United States. Fowell, with the subsequent help of the American authorities, prevented the landing of many insurgents at the mill; probably 100 men never got across to the Canadian side.

Dorephus Abbey claimed at his court-martial that they had not intended to land on the Canadian side; he claimed that they landed at the windmill only to empty the small schooner so she could take men and goods from the grounded schooner, thus enabling her to float. When the small schooner returned for a second trip to the grounded schooner she was impounded by the American authorities and Abbey and his men were left stranded on the Canadian side. The court-martial did not believe his story but he was right about the insurgents being stranded.

After noon on Monday there was little communication between Ogdensburg and Windmill Point. In addition to being stranded the insurgents were abandoned by some of their leaders. "General" John Ward Birge had been in Ogdensburg for the last few days. On Monday morning he came out to the grounded schooner and ordered the men and cannons taken off and carried over to Windmill Point. Then he suddenly became ill, claiming a stomach disorder; he abruptly returned to town and disappeared in the crowd. Bill Johnston made a few sorties across the river during the next few days but never committed himself to staying with the insurgents. He took a few reinforcements over from Ogdensburg on Monday evening but he may have brought several men back with him - many testified at their courts-martial that another of their officers, Captain Seldon Wells, abandoned them Monday evening along with several of his men. By this time the town of Ogdensburg was full of Hunters and others sympathetic to the cause of the Canadian rebel refugees. Some of them genuinely wanted to cross the river and join the crusade but were prevented by the patrol ships
of both the British and American navies. Throughout the week the shoreline was thronged with people curious to see what was happening on the Canadian side.

The insurgents at the windmill were not immediately dismayed that little help could now be expected from Ogdensburg. For a while they truly expected the local people to rise up in rebellion. Their first contacts with the Canadians living in the area, however, were discouraging. The insurgents allowed the people living in the houses closest to the windmill to leave, except for the men. Two of the men were detained all night and were set free the following morning after refusing to join their cause. In their questioning of these local men the insurgents found little hope that Canadian rebels were coming to join them. Indeed, not one man from the Canadian side of the river joined the insurgents.

More discouraging, the weather was cold and the rebels were now aware that the local militia was joining the garrison at Prescott. A feeling of gloom fell over the insurgents who now numbered about 190 men (some of them actually boys; see Appendix A). When it became evident that General Birge was not going to join them the self-appointed officers (including Dorephus Abbey, Daniel George and James Phillips) convoked a council and chose Nils von Schoultz as their commander. Abbey said later that the council decided to fight until they could all escape. Von Schoultz said that he "undertook to lead the party back to the American shore."³

**Tuesday, 13 November 1838**

The insurgents were not the only ones to hold a council during the night. At Prescott militia units from all the surrounding townships hurried into town throughout the night. Also arriving was Captain Sandom and his ships
Queen (or Queen Victoria) and Cobourg. Sandom was at Gananoque when he heard that invaders had landed on the Canadian side of the river. He hurried back to Kingston, picked up 44 men of the 83rd Regiment and 30 Royal Marines and landed them at Prescott during the night. Sandom conferred with Colonel Young and the militia officers and it was decided that at dawn they should attack Windmill Point.

Windmill Point is a small projection into the St. Lawrence River about one mile below the village of Prescott and one mile above the village of Johnstown. The land in this area was fairly flat and stood about 20 feet above the level of the river. A few feet from the river's edge was the massive stone windmill reputed to have been built in 1822. The mill had walls 3 feet thick and was about 60 feet high. As far as is known the invaders had not intended to make a stronghold at the windmill; it seems that they landed there only by chance. From the top of the mill one could easily reconnoitre the surrounding area for any troop movements. On one of the shafts of the mill the insurgents had hung a flag specially made for their expedition (see Appendix F). Surrounding the mill were six or eight houses and barns and stone fences. These supplied food and shelter for the insurgents. The Ogdensburg Times and Observer said on 13 November that the land around the mill was "highly cultivated and presents a charming landscape with orchards, shrubbery and substantial stone buildings." In November 1838, however, the weather was cold and stormy and the scenery less than charming.

By daylight the British had collected a surprisingly large force in such a short period. Being November, though, the harvests were completed and the militiamen of this largely rural area were free to join the fray. The number of troops in Prescott on Monday was not small: Captain George Macdonell's company of Lancaster Glengarry Highlanders, the recently embodied Prescott Independent Company (only half-
enrolled) and over 300 men of the 2nd Regiment, Grenville militia. By Tuesday morning they had been joined by 44 men of the 83rd Regiment and 30 Royal Marines and about 1500 men mustered from the local sedentary militia. It was a force of nearly 2,000 men (see Appendix B). The Royal Navy also had three armed steam vessels carrying 11 guns. The land forces had no artillery (see Appendix D).

The fighting began shortly after daybreak when the Royal Navy opened fire on the insurgents who were occupying the windmill and three or four nearby stone farm buildings. The insurgents returned the fire with the battery of three cannons (see Appendix D) which they had installed near the windmill. Their artillery fire was directed exclusively at the three Royal Navy ships which they hit two or three times. The artillery duel continued for an hour or so while the British land forces moved into position around the mill. The British troops were divided into two columns including both militia and regulars, one column led by Colonel Richard Duncan Fraser of the Grenville militia and the other by Lieutenant-Colonel Ogle Gowan of the "Queen's Borderers." The whole force was under the command of Colonel Planer Young. A small detachment was left in Prescott under Captain Edward Jessup to secure the town. When the movements of the British troops were discerned many of the insurgents moved out of the buildings and took up positions behind the numerous stone fences which bordered the fields near the farm buildings.

The next phase of the battle was characterised by fierce rifle and musket combat. The superior numbers of the British forces eventually prevailed and the insurgents gradually retreated back to the mill and stone buildings. The British forces were unable to gain much ground, however, for the insurgents kept up their intensive firing from the windows of their shelters. The navy had ceased firing when the insurgents left their shelters but when they returned
the naval guns resumed firing. Both sides suffered severe casualties and finally, at about 3:00 P.M., Colonel Young decided to withdraw his forces. He felt that the insurgents were too strongly protected in the stone buildings and that they could only be dislodged by the use of heavy artillery. The naval artillery which included two mortars and five 18-pounders had had little effect on the stone buildings, although one account reported that the wings of the mill had been destroyed.

Most of the casualties in the week-long Battle of the Windmill occurred in the Tuesday morning engagement. The British suffered 13 dead and 67 wounded. Stephen Wright claimed that 13 of his fellow insurgents were killed on Tuesday and 28 wounded. Von Schoultz said that 7 or 8 were killed and 14 or 15 wounded. Among the dead was the Canadian rebel, James Phillips, who may have been second-in-command to von Schoultz. A woman in a nearby farm house was also killed in the fighting and another injured.

The insurgents were now in a desperate situation. No help had come to them from Canadians sympathetic to the rebel cause. There were reports that some reinforcements tried to cross the river from Ogdensburg but were driven back by the Royal Navy. One of their officers, a Colonel Kemble, deserted them at the beginning of the fighting and somehow managed to escape back to New York state. There was much testimony in the courts-martial that many others tried to escape from Windmill Point but were forcibly detained by their officers. The insurgents found a small boat in one of the farm buildings and Tuesday afternoon five men were sent across to Ogdensburg for help. The group was led by Daniel George, paymaster of the expedition, who was sent to beg for medical and military supplies. Rowing frantically they almost made it to the American shore before they were caught and taken prisoner by H.M.S. Cobourg. In his court-martial George swore that they were
captured in American waters.

Besides the five men taken in the boat 23 insurgents had been made prisoner by the British during the battle and they were all taken to the military prison at Fort Henry (Kingston) by the Cobourg. Captain Sandom also returned to Kingston to obtain the artillery and reinforcements requested by Colonel Young. Sandom wrote that the prisoners reported that their comrades at the windmill were now thinking only of flight. But Colonel Young had left strong pickets around the windmill to prevent escape by land and Lieutenant Fowell continued to patrol the river in the Experiment. 5

Wednesday, 14 November 1838
The next few days were miserable for the insurgents at the windmill; they were days of despair and suffering. The wounded (including a few British troops taken prisoner) could not be treated because the insurgents had no medical supplies. They had brought some food with them and found more in the nearby farmhouses. The farmhouses also had fuel but, of course, could provide bedding for only a few men. And then the weather turned bad - there were sleet storms all day Wednesday. There was a short truce Wednesday morning so that each side could bury its dead. There were even a few wounded men to be picked up who had spent the night in the open.

On Wednesday four companies of the 83rd Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Dundas, arrived at Prescott. They came from Kingston with Major Forbes Macbean and his demi-battery of Royal Artillery. Despite the bad weather Macbean, Dundas and Captain Randolph (the Royal Engineer supervising the construction of Fort Wellington) all went out to the site of the battle to reconnoitre the situation. Upon seeing the strength of the insurgents'
position in the windmill they decided that the artillery which they had brought was not heavy enough. Major Macbean was then obliged to return to Kingston to get heavier guns.

Thursday, 15 November 1838
On Thursday night Colonel Young met Colonel Worth aboard an American steamer in mid-river and rejected Worth's suggestion that the insurgents be allowed to escape back to Ogdensburg. Worth returned to Ogdensburg and covertly arranged for the Paul Pry to go to the windmill under command of a civilian. It was an opportune time to rescue the insurgents: two of the British steamboats had gone to Kingston and the third was docked at Prescott undergoing minor repairs; a heavy sleet storm would cover the noise of the Paul Pry's steam engine. The first man to land at the mill, however, urged the insurgents to hold on, claiming that reinforcements were coming. When the captain of the Paul Pry landed he corrected the false message and urged the men to leave with him. But by now the discussion had taken too long; the British hearing the steamer's engines began to fire on it. Only eight or nine men (three of them wounded) were successfully evacuated before the Paul Pry had to leave. The following week Colonel Worth met Captain Sandom and admitted that the Paul Pry had briefly slipped away from his jurisdiction and rescued a few men before the final fighting. Worth claimed, however, that the steamer had got away despite all his efforts to prevent such a contingency. Sandom reported to Lieutenant-Governor Arthur that he had no doubts about Worth's truthfulness.

After the rescue attempt failed the insurgents must have given up all hope of escape. That same night they lost another man when François Gagnon, a Lower Canadian, was taken prisoner by the British forces and secured in Fort Wellington overnight.
By noon on Friday a formidable force of British and Canadian troops had gathered at Prescott. In addition to the 2,000 men who had been there on Tuesday another 700 or more well-trained reinforcements had arrived by Friday (see Appendix B). Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas had brought four companies of his 83rd Regiment from Kingston. And a grenadier company of the 93rd Regiment, under Major John Arthur, along with a large contingent of Glengarry militiamen, hurried to Prescott after routing the rebels at Beauharnois in Lower Canada.

Besides the infantry, the force had added artillery power. When Captain Sandom returned from Kingston on Friday he had three heavily armed steamers and four gun boats in his command bearing a total of 16 pieces of artillery. Accompanying him on the voyage from Kingston was Major Macbean who had returned there to pick up heavier guns for his demi-battery of Royal Artillerymen. He brought with him a 12-pound howitzer and two 18-pound cannons with travelling carriages.

Sandom's ships carrying Dundas and Macbean and his artillery did not reach Prescott until noon on Friday. They had been delayed by the bad weather which continued to plague the upper St. Lawrence area. Everyone wanted to begin the final assault that day but there were further delays. It was only with great difficulty that the heavy guns were moved from the ships to the narrow Prescott wharf and over the muddy roads to the site of the battle, but there were many volunteers from the throngs of soldiers available in the area.

Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas took advantage of the delay to call a truce on the battlefield. He and von Schoultz had a brief meeting at this time and apparently Dundas rejected von Schoultz's suggestion that the insurgents be allowed to surrender as official prisoners-of-war. It was at this time that von Schoultz turned over the British
prisoners he had been caring for as he knew he could no longer guarantee their safety. Von Schoultz seems to have made every effort to care for the prisoners but he was subsequently held responsible for the mutilation of the body of Lieutenant William Johnson who had led the detachment of the 83rd Regiment on Tuesday. Johnson was killed on Tuesday and there seems no doubt that his body was mistreated by some of the insurgents.

By Friday noon von Schoultz knew the final battle was imminent. Most of his men resolved to make the best of it. They had no shot left for their cannons so the best they could do was to snipe at the advancing masses of infantrymen from the windows of the mill and farm buildings. However, one of their officers, Dorephus Abbey, decided to surrender before the shooting began. In a letter written shortly before his death von Schoultz said that when the shooting began he had only 108 men fit to fight. Of his original force of perhaps 190 men, 30 had been taken prisoner, 20 or more had escaped across the river and perhaps another 30 had been killed or wounded.

At 3:00 P.M. Captain Sandom moved his ships and gunboats into a position on the river flank, 400 yards from the windmill and buildings, and opened fire. By 3:30 P.M. Macbean had installed his artillery 400 yards from the insurgents' stronghold and he too began firing.

By 5:00 P.M. darkness had almost fallen and some of the insurgents were seen leaving the buildings and trying to escape into the woods. Other insurgents tried to come out under a white flag of surrender but there was confusion in the growing darkness and shooting continued on both sides. Sandom ceased firing about this time as he did not want to hit British troops. He landed and sent a lieutenant to join Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas in receiving a new flag of surrender which was seen leaving the mill.

Leading a column of about 60 surrendering insurgents
was Christopher Bulkley, a salt-processor from Salina, New York. He accepted Dundas' demand for an immediate and unconditional surrender. The British then entered the windmill to arrest 15 to 20 wounded men who had taken shelter there during the battle. Hundreds of British regulars and militiamen had covered the three land flanks around Windmill Point during the battle; they were now pressed into action to scour the brush along the river for insurgents who were trying to escape. Some were not rounded up until the following morning and a handful managed to slip through the dragnet and return to the United States. Von Schoultz himself was one who was not captured until several hours later, as he hid in the bushes along the river bank.

Some insurgents refused to leave the farmhouses where they had taken shelter so the British set them all afire. One insurgent was shot when he refused to surrender and another died in a blazing farmhouse. Captain George Drummond of the Grenville militia entered one of the burning buildings to look for insurgents and was shot by one of his own men who mistook him for an enemy. The only other death suffered by the British in the Friday engagement was that of Private Downes of the 83rd Regiment who was probably killed by sniper fire from the insurgents. Compared to the Tuesday fighting which took place in the farm fields, the fighting on Friday was done mainly from behind strong shelters and produced only light casualties. (see Appendix C).

There were only a few killed and wounded among the insurgents on Friday as they stayed inside the stone buildings. The heavy artillery brought to bear on them by the British effected little damage; the windmill, in particular, was barely scratched as the cannon balls simply glanced off its thick, circular walls. The door to the mill was protected by a wall of stones piled six feet high by the insurgents. The farm buildings were damaged mostly by the fires
set by the British after the surrender. It was not the severity of the bombardment which led the insurgents to surrender but merely the hopelessness of their position. They felt that they had resisted the best of the British forces and could now surrender with honour.7

Saturday, 17 November 1838
The prisoners were slowly rounded up and marched off to spend the night in Fort Wellington. Heustis claimed that they were robbed of everything they had by the militia and then insulted and spat upon by the people of Prescott as they entered the fort. Lieutenant-Governor Arthur confirmed Heustis' charge saying that the militia would have executed the insurgents immediately if Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas had not ordered his regular troops to protect them. Donald McLeod particularly blamed the Orange fanaticism of the militia led by Lieutenant-Colonel Ogle Gowan. But McLeod was not at the battle.

After all the insurgents were collected they were put on the steamer Brockville and sent to Kingston and the military prison at Fort Henry. When the prisoners reached Kingston Saturday night, the people of that town gave them the same abusive reception they had received at Prescott. By this time the news of the mistreatment of Lieutenant Johnson's body was public knowledge and the citizens were enraged.

Counting those taken to Kingston earlier in the week there were 159 prisoners in all. Twenty of these were wounded and put in the military hospital where three more died. A total of probably 17 other insurgents died during the battle. Mr. Peter Drummond of Ottawa, a great-grandson of the Captain Drummond who was killed at the battle, has told the author that his grandfather, who was 14 years old in 1838, showed him the graves of the dead
insurgents. Mr. Drummond says that on Saturday the British buried the insurgents in a mass grave just below the railbed of the present railway tracks, about 150 feet west of the windmill and 80 feet from the river. The Prescott newspaper said that nine men "were found lying near the Mill, and buried in one grave."\textsuperscript{8}

Postscript to the Battle of the Windmill

With nearly 3,000 troops massed at Prescott the citizens of the Ogdensburg area were concerned. They knew of the outrage which swept Canada after the Battle of the Windmill (though there were few cries for vengeance). Colonel Worth had to calm the people by declaring that he expected no retaliation from Canada.\textsuperscript{9}

Colonel Worth was right. Much of the militia was sent home a few days after the battle. However, since the Hunters were continuing their operations in other parts of Canada, the government felt it was necessary to keep a strong force in the Prescott area. Work on Fort Wellington was speeded up and the blockhouse was ready for occupancy by February 1839.\textsuperscript{10} Even in March there were still 700 embodied militia (under British officers) listed in the garrison of the fort. Additional buildings were constructed inside the ramparts of Fort Wellington in the summer of 1839.\textsuperscript{11}

The reason for this prudence was that the rebellion was continuing elsewhere in Canada. In the first week of December 1838 over 100 Hunters attacked Windsor but were driven back across the river to Detroit. There were few active rebels left in Upper Canada and the population considered the Hunters as invaders from the United States and turned out to crush them. In Lower Canada rebellion continued inside the province but the militia turned out to seal the American border to prevent Canadian insurrec-
tionists in the Richelieu valley from being reinforced from the United States. Rumours continued of further Hunter projects against Canada in 1839 and the Canadian frontier was kept on the alert. But by the end of the year the Hunters’ Lodges were a thing of the past in the United States. In Canada by the end of the year the prisoners captured at the various battles had been court-martialled. Some were executed and others were in Canadian prisons, some were banished to the United States and others were exiles in British penal colonies.

The leaders of the vanquished and the victors quarreled for years over who was most responsible for the outcome of the battle. Among the victors the dispute was between the Royal Navy and the Royal Artillery. In May 1839 the two parties were still arguing. Major Macbean pointed out that nothing had been accomplished in the four days before he arrived except for a large number of British casualties; an hour and a half after his men began their fire the insurgents surrendered. On the other hand, Captain Sandom claimed that "had not nightfall rendered it prudent to discontinue" firing his naval guns, "the Tower [windmill] would have crumbled to dust in half an hour." Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas belittled the naval contribution and gave most of the credit to the Royal Artillery; the artillerymen were, of course, more under his immediate command than were the naval gunners. No one disagreed, however, that the infantry's only role on Friday had been to secure prisoners.12

Among the vanquished some accused Bill Johnston of cowardice for not taking a more active role. He defended himself in the press by claiming that he

used my best endeavours to persuade... [everyone]
that it was an undertaking that could not be carried through, for want of sufficient men, and
munitions of war, and experienced officers....
for what can a few undisciplined volunteers do without suitable officers, military stores and provisions in an enemy's country, where the Regular Troops are well supplied with everything required for an Army.

As for John Ward Birge, scorn and blame were almost universally heaped on him, as much for poor planning as for cowardice. William Lyon Mackenzie allowed him an opportunity to publish a defense in his refugee newspaper. Birge said it was his plan to take Fort Wellington by surprise and that when this became impossible von Schoultz should have abandoned the project. He blamed von Schoultz for the debacle and claimed that the landing at Windmill Point "was without my knowledge, advice or consent." He failed to mention why he had not remained with the expedition to implement his advice. Mackenzie, for his part, denied any prior knowledge of the expedition, and this was most likely true. He said he "never saw or wrote a line to von Schoultz, was four hundred miles distant, and had nothing to do with the matter whatever." He took a surprisingly neutral stand on the question of who was responsible for the disaster.

Before he died von Schoultz wrote that he had intended to land at Ogdensburg but that Birge had "directed" them to land in Canada where he would join them. Von Schoultz, however, displayed no bitterness and nobly refrained from censuring anybody.\textsuperscript{13}

As for the windmill, a small detachment of troops was stationed there for about a year after the battle and it quickly became an object of much interest by both tourists and local people. In February 1839 Mrs. Caroline Baker visited the windmill while staying with friends in the area. She wrote her mother that at the windmill they found several officers who had been at the battle.
They went to all the houses with us, and we stood upon the spot where poor Johnson died, a little cluster of bushes marked the place. [We] were shown the place where von Shoultz was taken and where Mr. Brown fell. Some of our party were adventurous enough to ascend the stairs leading to the gallery that surrounds the building but there was such a display of ladies pantaloons that I was glad not to go. It is a most desolate looking place, the inside of the houses being all burned out and nothing but blackened walls remaining.
Courts-martial

Immediately upon arriving at Fort Henry an inventory was made of the prisoners. Each man was asked his name, his native country, his age, occupation and religion (many had no religion and some had never been baptised). The 140 healthy prisoners were put into five large dungeons where most of them were to spend the next four to ten months. Daniel Heustis said they found Sheriff Allan Macdonell was good-humoured and humane, as was the Roman Catholic chaplain but they did not like the Protestant chaplain. Macdonell allowed them a few privileges and would discuss their conditions with a representative from each dungeon. Macdonell allowed them to write their friends for assistance -- money to buy extra bedding, cutlery, clothing and shoes. Their friends were even allowed to visit them. They were also free to petition the lieutenant-governor for clemency.¹

In the days following their arrival the prisoners signed a sworn statement before a notary wherein each detailed his reason for being at Windmill Point at the time of the battle. They either claimed they did not know the purpose of the expedition or they were mistaken and misled about conditions in Canada. Many claimed they were forced to land at the windmill and were prevented from escaping. Many claimed they knew no one else in the party while others complained bitterly about the desertion of their leaders. A number of the prisoners concocted stories that they were merely Americans travelling in Canada looking for work or for relatives. It is remark-
able, however, that no prisoner, outside of four who turned Crown evidence, tried to improve his defence at another prisoner's expense. The prisoners seem to have held little bitterness, one for another.

The government decided to hold the court-martial at Kingston rather than at the scene of the crime in order to "lessen the excitement" in that area. The court-martial consisted of 16 militia officers from the Kingston area (no Kingston militia units had been at the battle). The president of the court was Colonel John B. Marks of the 3rd Regiment, Frontenac militia. The only outsider was the judge-advocate (prosecutor), William Draper. Draper was a colonel in the 2nd Regiment, North York militia and solicitor-general of the Province of Upper Canada. He drew up the official government report on the battle. Total cost of the courts-martial was £521.

The prisoners were tried under an act of the provincial legislature which had been passed on 12 January 1838 as a result of the insurrections of 1837: "An Act to protect the Inhabitants of this Province against Lawless Aggression from Subjects of Foreign Countries at Peace with Her Majesty." (1 Vic., cap. III) The Act provided a court-martial for any subject of a foreign state who, in company with any British subjects, committed any armed hostility in Upper Canada. In a second section it provided a court-martial for any British subject who should, in company with any foreign subject, "levy war" in the province.

The courts-martial began on 26 November. Draper picked four prisoners to be Crown witnesses. Two of them were French Canadian teenagers, Raza and Mailhot, who were too young and ignorant to have played a major role in the expedition. The third was an American, John Graves, who was considered too ill to be prosecuted. The fourth was an Upper Canadian, Levi Chipman, who must have been one of the organizers of the Hunters movement for he knew a lot
about it. Draper said that without Chipman's testimony he "could not expect fully to sustain the cases."\(^4\)

The court-martial procedure was simple. The prisoner or prisoners were brought in and the charge was read. Then the pleas were entered. (Six men pleaded guilty; of these two were executed, one transported and three eventually released.) Each prisoner's notarized statement was then read (this included the country of which the man was a subject). The Crown witnesses were then heard; these included the four listed above, as well as eye-witnesses to the battle -- local residents and officers of the army, navy and militia. These witnesses supplied the testimony which was required to meet the terms of the Act: that is, they told the court that the prisoner had been at Windmill Point in the company of British subjects (or subjects of foreign countries) and that armed hostilities had occurred there. The prisoner was allowed to cross-examine any witnesses and to call his own witnesses; he could then proceed to amplify his written statement with some remarks. He could engage a lawyer to sit nearby and counsel him but in a court-martial the lawyer could not speak on his behalf. After these proceedings, often the next day, the court pronounced its sentence. All but four men were found guilty and sentenced to death (though mercy was recommended for 22 of them). Most of the men heard a month or so later that their death sentences had been commuted but it was some time later before their final disposition was decided (see Appendix E).

The first prisoner called before the court-martial was Daniel George, paymaster of the expedition. He was one of the few who engaged a lawyer. George had a brother-in-law who lived in Kingston and he persuaded young John A. Macdonald to counsel George in his defence. His was probably the longest of all the cases heard. Lieutenant Leary, RN, testified that a number of men had occupied Windmill Point from 12 to 16 November, that they had brought artillery, muskets, knives and swords with them and, indeed, had fired in a hostile
fashion, killing and wounding Her Majesty's subjects. Lieutenant Leary also testified about capturing George in a boat with four other men on 13 November as they left Windmill Point. The two French Canadian boys testified that there were several British subjects at Windmill Point. Levi Chipman testified that the purpose of the expedition was "to revolutionize Upper Canada, to make it a republic," and continued with testimony regarding the organisation and leadership of the Hunters Lodges.

Daniel George was granted several delays to prepare his defence with John A. Macdonald. In his defence George tried to argue technicalities: that the Crown had not proven he was a foreign subject (he did not deny it) or that he had levied war in Canada (just because he was caught in a boat leaving Windmill Point). He also attacked Chipman's motivations and credibility. The arguments were in vain, however, as he was found guilty and sentenced to death.

The next prisoner tried was Nils von Schoultz; he pleaded guilty but said that he was deceived. The Crown called Ensign Smith of the Prescott Independent Company who testified as to the armed hostilities and how he captured von Schoultz. Raza and Mailhot testified that von Schoultz was the commander of the force at the windmill. In his sworn statement von Schoultz gave a brief account of how he was recruited to join the expedition. He made no attempt to defend himself except to say he knew nothing about the mistreatment of Lieutenant Johnson's body and that he had treated his wounded prisoners well. His trial was quick and he was sentenced to death.

Next came Dorephus Abbey, another of the leaders, and then the four men captured in the boat with George. Martin Woodruff, another leader, was tried alone and then the cases were heard in groups of four to fourteen at a time. The British subjects, charged under Section 2 of
the Act, were tried together in groups. One prisoner tried to introduce an affidavit sworn in his favour in Ogdensburg but the court ruled it inadmissible. One prisoner was found not guilty on account of insanity. There were numerous German, French and Polish immigrants to the United States in the group (some of them recruited by von Schoultz); they were tried together, supplied with a translator and recommended for mercy. Translation was also supplied for the French Canadian prisoners caught at the windmill. The last man tried (3 January 1839) was Lyman Lewis (alias Leach) who had been with Bill Johnston when the Sir Robert Peel was burned. Six prisoners were hanged in December: 8 December - Nils von Schoultz; 12 December - Dorephus Abbey and Daniel George; 19 December - Martin Woodruff; 22 December - Joel Peeler and Sylvanus Sweet.

After six executions government officials began to discuss how many would be necessary. Neither Draper nor Lieutenant-Governor Arthur wanted to hang many more but the British ambassador in Washington, H.S. Fox, exerted considerable pressure on them. Fox claimed that "the real movers of the invasion of Canada are the wealthy citizens of the great towns within the American border. These villains have a deep and permanent land-speculating interest, in maintaining the movement." He felt that since the British would never get their hands on these men the movement would have to be stopped by showing no mercy to the prisoners. Thus, on 4 January 1839, four men were hanged: Christopher Buckley (Bulkley), Sylvester Lawton, Russell Phelps and Duncan Anderson. Ambassador Fox felt that the executions had a salutary effect on the American population but insisted that some punishment must be meted out to the remaining prisoners - he suggested transportation to a penal colony. He claimed that any extensive act of clemency would not be interpreted by
Americans as "generosity and kindness" but as a reflection of British weakness and fear of American retaliation.

Both Lieutenant-Governor Arthur and William Draper were deeply affected by the heavy responsibility they bore in prosecuting the imprisoned insurgents. Draper's conscience was constantly troubled by the weighty question of capital punishment; he hoped to gain the minimum degree of punishment necessary to deter further Canadian rebellion or American adventurism. His conscience led him to convince Arthur to commute the death sentence of two men shortly before they were to be hanged. Arthur, for his part, had Attorney-General Hagerman review many of the cases and even had him attend some of the courts-martial. After the courts-martial were completed both Arthur and Sir Allan MacNab (Speaker of the Assembly) visited Fort Henry and interviewed many of the prisoners. Few of the prisoners could have expected such solicitous treatment.

In Canada there were no longer any cries for vengeance. The Upper Canada Herald of Kingston editorialised on 8 January 1839 that enough men had been executed and that mercy should now be shown (though the prisoners did not deserve it). After January Lieutenant-Governor Arthur approved the hanging of only one more man: Lyman Lewis was executed on 11 February 1839. Arthur then had to decide how to dispose of the remainder. He wanted to find a measure which was neither too harsh nor too soft, a measure which would conciliate the Americans but would still discourage them from attacking again. He felt that simple banishment was no punishment but discovered that Kingston penitentiary was full. Transportation to a penal colony was the only alternative but it would be too costly to send them all to Van Dieman's Land. His final decision was to grant a "free pardon" to "those whose youth and inexperience might plead in extenuation of their guilt." Some of
those receiving pardons were delivered to Sackets Harbor as early as April 1839.\textsuperscript{10}

Among those delivered to Sackets Harbor were some of the Canadians. Perhaps they requested this, but it is curious. There are some other curious aspects in this case, particularly regarding the punishments decided upon. The first four men executed (and, subsequently, Lewis) were acknowledged leaders of the expedition. But the case against the next six prisoners who were hanged seems to have been no stronger than the case against many of the men whose sentences were commuted or who even received a pardon. They may have been just unlucky enough to have been among the first to come to trial. Heustis could not understand why these men were singled out. Four men were found not guilty, one for insanity. The evidence heard at the trials of the other three men found not guilty appears to be no different than the evidence heard at the trials of men who were sentenced to be transported. Of the 22 British subjects taken prisoner, none was executed and only eight were transported.

In the end 60 men were sent into exile in the penal colony of Van Dieman's Land. Lieutenant-Governor Arthur had been governor of Van Dieman's Land before coming to Canada and thus knew of the harshness of life there. It is probably for this reason that he pardoned 40 men on account of their age (for a breakdown of the final fate of all the prisoners see Appendix E).

The 60 men sent to Van Dieman's Land left Quebec in September 1839 and did not arrive until February 1840. One prisoner died during the voyage and a few others died in the penal colony. The life sentences of all the men were eventually commuted. Some were released in 1843 but most were not released until 1844. They had then to make their own way home and many wandered the world for years before reaching home. One exile did not get home until 1860.\textsuperscript{11}
Conclusions

Some people have viewed the Battle of the Windmill as an invasion of American adventurers and not as an incident in the Rebellions of 1837-38.¹ The author believes, however, that a strong argument can be made for treating this battle as a part of the rebellions.

In the force of about 193 men which landed at Windmill Point in November 1838 there were at least 29 British subjects (see Appendix A). For these 29 men the landing was undoubtedly an act of rebellion against their queen. Many of them fought at the windmill with the same objectives as the rebels of 1837 had fought; as Levi Chipman said, "to revolutionize Upper Canada, to make it a republic."² There could have been little doubt in their minds that to land men and arms at Windmill Point was to resume the rebellion begun the previous year. The landing was organised by the Hunters Lodges of New York state which were also involved in the rebellion that was occurring at the same time in Lower Canada. The majority of the men who landed at Windmill Point, it is true, were not British subjects but several of the leaders were Canadian (e.g., Phillips, Johnston and Prendergast). Thus, there was a significant measure of rebellion inherent in the Battle of the Windmill.

It is interesting to note how the battle was regarded at the time. In their despatches written after the battle the British officers called the insurgents "pirates" or "brigands" or "rebels." At the subsequent courts-martial the testimony given by British soldiers and local residents also used these words interchangeably. Even the militia
officers sitting on the courts-martial occasionally referred to the prisoners as "rebels." Government officials like Governor Colborne and Lieutenant-Governor Arthur, however, called the insurgents exclusively "brigands." The latter word indicates a bandit or robber and precludes any possibility of rebellion. Arthur and Colborne undoubtedly chose their words carefully, preferring to view the combatants as American invaders and criminals; they seemed reluctant to admit that Upper Canadians could be involved. They seem to have down-played the role of Canadians in the Battle of the Windmill, to have minimized the notion of rebellion, perhaps in order to calm public feelings. William Draper was even reluctant to recognize several men at the courts-martial as British subjects (Appendix A).

It is interesting in this light to see how the government treated the 17 prisoners who admitted they were British subjects. In his testimony as a Crown witness before the court-martial, Levi Chipman revealed a vast knowledge of the organisation of the Hunters Lodges, indicating that he was involved in planning the expedition to Windmill Point. Neither Levi Chipman nor his brother, who came from Leeds County, was ever prosecuted. Of the remaining 15 British subjects, three others were never prosecuted, one was acquitted and five were pardoned; despite the fact that they must have expected more severe punishment than the Americans involved in the battle, only six were transported. One European and ten Americans were executed but no British subjects. This curiously favourable treatment may have been the result of a government attempt to down-play the involvement of British subjects in the Battle of the Windmill. The government achieved some success in this policy with the consequence that the battle has long been viewed basically as an invasion of American adventurers.

It may very well be that there was no real rebellion in the rest of Upper Canada in 1838 but it is hard to deny that
there was a measure of rebellion involved in the Battle of the Windmill.
Appendix A. Insurgents at the Battle of the Windmill.

Estimates of the number of insurgents at Windmill Point range from 160 to 200. Some of these estimates, however, do not refer to the same thing. For example, von Schoultz testified at his court-martial that there were about 180 men at Windmill Point on Monday but we know that a number of men escaped across the river during the week. Daniel Heustis, who wrote the most accurate memoir of the battle, lists the names, ages and recent residences of 182 men who were at the windmill. However, the total number of men who set foot on Windmill Point at some time during the week is closer to 200.

Firstly, we know the names of 159 men taken prisoner. Four of these men were acquitted, one for insanity and the other three because more than one-third of the members of the court-martial felt there was doubt that they were true combatants. This would leave, then, a minimum of 155 combatant prisoners. Add to this number a minimum of 17 insurgents killed (Heustis lists their names). Finally, we know that at least 21 men who were at the windmill at some point during the week managed to escape, some on Monday before the first land fighting, some on Thursday night and a few on Friday night after the fighting.

Of the approximately 193 insurgents who participated in the Battle of the Windmill at least 29 were British subjects, more than has hitherto been thought. Of the 159 prisoners brought to Fort Henry, Lieutenant-Governor Arthur recognised 17 as being British subjects; that is, they were to be prosecuted under the second section of 1 Vic.
cap. III. Some of these men were natives of Upper and Lower Canada while others had immigrated to Canada from Great Britian. There were other British subjects, however. Four of the men killed in the battle were Canadian: Samuel Laraby, James Phillips, Benjamin Aubrey and Alexander Wright. There were also men like Bill Johnston and the mysterious Mr. Prendergast of Belleville. The latter was named by a large number of prisoners as being a prominent leader in the Hunters movement and one the chief organisers and recruiters for the expedition. Johnston and Prendergast were both at Windmill Point for a time on Monday but left before the fighting began. Another Canadian (Nelson?) Potter, although he never landed at the mill, took part in the hostilities by firing the Paul Pry's cannon at the Experiment.

Finally, there were at least five British subjects among the prisoners who were prosecuted as Americans (under the first section of the Act). John Berry (Elizabethtown), Asa Richardson (Camden) and George van Amber (Grenadier Island) were Upper Canadians. Charles Smith was an Englishman who had emigrated to New York state just recently and the same seems to have been true of Charles Wilson. Van Amber told the court quite straightforwardly where he was from but he was prosecuted as an American anyhow. Smith, on the other hand, was advised by Daniel George that he would get an easier sentence if he could pass himself off as an American. Draper did not discover his true citizenship until after the court-martial. Even though Draper and Arthur knew they were British subjects van Amber, Smith and Wilson were pardoned. Like Smith, Asa Richardson succeeded in disguising his Upper Canadian nationality until after his court-martial; but in his case, Arthur did not listen to the petitions for clemency from his neighbours back home in Camden; Richardson was transported. Someone in the Brockville area must have known John Berry but he was allowed to maintain
his charade; he too was prosecuted as an American and transported. There may have been other British subjects who succeeded in disguising themselves.

The court-martial also heard testimony that another dozen men had lived and worked in Upper Canada for various periods of time and some of them still owned land in the province. Another eight testified that they had close relatives in Canada. The evidence shows, indeed, that in this border area there was considerable population movement between Canada and the United States in peacetime.

Most of the eight French-Canadians seem to have been labourers who had recently moved to New York state looking for work. One of them had served in a Lower Canadian militia corps the previous year and had fought against the rebels.8

Among the insurgents were a number of men who were neither British nor American. There were at least six from Poland, five from Germany, one from France and von Schoultz was from Swedish Finland.

To recapitulate, of about 193 insurgents, at least 29 were British subjects, 12 had lived in Upper Canada, 8 had close relatives in Upper Canada, and 13 were European immigrants.
Appendix B. Approximate Number of British Forces at the Battle of the Windmill.

| Regulars                       | Commanding Officer                  | Tuesday, 13 Nov. | Friday, 16 Nov.   |
|------|---------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| 83rd Regiment (Royal Irish Rifles) | Tuesday: Lieut. William Johnson     | 44 men & officers| four companies   |
|      | Friday: Lieut. Col. Henry Dundas |                 |                |                  |
| Royal Marines                   | Lieut. Charles Parker               | 30 men & officers| 15 men & officers|
| Royal Navy                      | Capt. Williams Sandom               | ???             | ???             |
| Royal Artillery                 | Major Forbes Macbean                | 60 men & officers| demi-battery     |
| 93rd Regiment (Sutherland Highlanders) | Major John Arthur                  | one company     |                  |
| Militia                         | Lieut. Col. Ogle Gowan              | 10 men & officers| 130 men & officers|
| 9th Provisional Battalion (Queen's Borderers) | Capt. George Macdonell | 79 men & officers| 70 men & officers|
| Lancaster Glengarry Highlanders | Capt. Robert Edmonson              | 94 men & officers| 90 men & officers|
| Brockville Independent Company  | Capt. Hamilton D. Jessup            | 16 men & officers| 30 men & officers|
| Prescott Independent Co.        | Lieut. Col. Hugh Munro              | 415 men & officers| 410 men & officers|
| 1st Regiment, Grenville militia | Col. Richard Duncan Fraser          | 377*            | 372*            |
| 2nd Regiment, Grenville militia | Col. John Pliny Crysler             | 282 men & officers| 282 men & officers|
| 1st Regiment, Dundas militia    | Major David Robertson               | 390 men & officers| 377 men & officers|
| 2nd Regiment, Dundas militia    | Col. Martle                         | 200*            | 200*            |
| 1st & 2nd Regiments, Stormont militia | Col. Angus McDonell  | 272 men & officers| 272 men & officers|
| Grenville cavalry militia       | Capt. Kay                          | 48 men & officers| 48 men & officers|
| 4th Regiment, Glengarry sedentary militia |                      |                 |                  |

* very approximate
Appendix C. Casualties at the Battle of the Windmill.

British Casualties
The accounts of the battle written by rebels and Hunters are characterised by great exaggerations about casualties on both sides. E.A. Theller and Donald McLeod were not at the battle but they wrote about many scores of British dead.¹ The true number is much lower. Colonel Young's official report on the casualties suffered by both militia and regulars in the fighting of Tuesday, 13 November 1838, shows 13 killed and 67 wounded.² In the fighting of Friday, 16 November, two British soldiers were killed.³ We do not know how many were wounded on Friday but the number was probably low.

The British, then, suffered a total of 15 dead and at least 67 wounded. Of the dead, two were regulars from the 83rd Regiment (one officer and one private) and 13 were from the militia (two officers and 11 rank-and-file). Of the 67 wounded on Tuesday, 19 were regulars from the 83rd Regiment or the Royal Marines (one officer and 18 rank-and-file) and 48 were from the militia (three officers and 45 rank-and-file).

Insurgents' Casualties
The number of insurgents wounded can be determined quite closely. We know that 20 of the prisoners captured were wounded and that three of them subsequently died (see Appendix E). We know too that three wounded insurgents were evacuated across the river on Thursday night, 15
With regard to the number of insurgents killed, we must count first the three wounded men who died after being taken prisoner. Daniel Heustis, who was generally very accurate, gave us the names of 17 men who died in the battle. Lieutenant-Governor Arthur reported about 30 insurgents killed and William Draper reported about 15 killed. Draper noted, however, as did several others, that the true number of insurgents killed might never be known for some of the bodies might have been destroyed in the houses which were burned on the night of 16 November. The total number of killed, then, must have been at least 20.
Appendix D. Weapons Used at the Battle of the Windmill.

Insurgents
Lieutenant Leary, RN, testified at Daniel George's court-martial that the insurgents brought "three pieces of artillery muskets, bowie knives, cutlasses and an immense quantity of ammunition." He felt that more arms and ammunition were found at the mill than could possibly have been used by the number of insurgents who landed there. This shows that many more men were supposed to land at Windmill Point but the navy had prevented their crossing. Colonel Dundas reported seizing 26 kegs of powder at the mill on Friday night.

The insurgents were, however, critically short of artillery power. They landed two 4-pounder brass guns and an iron gun which William Gates says was a 12-pounder. One of the brass guns was manufactured in the United States while the iron gun was British-made in the reign of George III. These guns were used in the Tuesday engagement to fire on the Royal Navy flotilla. On Friday they were mounted as a battery behind a breastwork of stones at the door of the mill but British witnesses say they were not fired. The reason was that they had no shot. Captain Macbean said that when the iron gun was captured Friday night it "contained a bag of 50 bullets, a bolt and a rough piece of iron." Stephen Wright said that they used as shot, "broken iron, butts and screws that we tore from the doors and fixtures of the mill." But he may have been referring to Tuesday's artillery action. Daniel Huestis said that on Friday they were able to retrieve the occasional
cannon-ball fired at them by the British which could fit their gun and thus be fired back.

Captain Sandom reported that he found in the mill "many shot for 18-pounders, and am informed several pieces of artillery of that calibre were left at Millen's Bay and other places for want of vessels." Both Levi Chipman and Colonel Worth claimed that the insurgents had not had time to unload one or more cannons from the grounded schooner. One of the brass guns was kept by Colonel Young to be used by the militia at Fort Wellington. Benjamin Lossing reported that it was still there in 1860.

British armament employed at the battle was much heavier, even in the fighting of Tuesday, 13 November.

On that day the Royal Navy had three steam vessels: **Experiment** carrying one 18-pounder carronade and one 3-pounder brass field piece; **Cobourg** carrying two 18-pounder guns and two 18-pounder carronades; **Queen (Victoria)** carrying one 12-pounder gun, two 12-pounder carronades and two 4 2/5-inch brass mortars.

On Friday, 16 November the Royal Artillery arrived with two 18-pounder guns and one 12-pounder howitzer. The Royal Navy came with three steam vessels and four gunboats. The steam vessels **Experiment**, **Cobourg** and **Queen** carried the same armament as on Tuesday, with one additional 12-pounder gun on the **Queen**. Two of the gunboats carried one 18-pounder long gun each while the other two carried one 12-pounder carronade each.

With regard to the arms carried by the British troops Surgeon-General William Munro wrote many years later:

My old brother-officer Lieutenant-Colonel Joyner, who served in the 93rd for forty years... placed
at my disposal copious notes from a journal kept by himself during his long service - informs me that when the regiment embarked for Canada (at least as early as 1838 when it served at the Battle of the Windmill near Prescott) it was armed with the old small-bore 'Brown Bess' with flint-locks, that the grenadiers carried a musket three inches longer in the barrel than 'Bess' and a bayonet with a spring in the handle; and that many of the rear rank men were armed with Brunswick rifles.2
Appendix E. The Final Disposition of the Prisoners.

The total number of prisoners taken at the windmill was 159. Both Lieutenant-Governor Arthur and Solicitor-General Draper agreed on this figure. The following document shows the final disposition of 157 of the prisoners. The two prisoners not counted in the document (John Bromley and Munro Wheelock) died shortly after reaching Kingston.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prisoners captured at Prescott, and tried by court-martial</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prisoners captured at Prescott, but not tried on account of their wounds</td>
<td>9*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prisoners captured at Prescott, but not tried through defect of evidence</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prisoners captured at Prescott, but not tried because used a witnesses</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total captured at Prescott</td>
<td>157†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquitted by court-martial</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitally convicted, but recommended for a mitigation of punishment by the court-martial and pardoned</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitally convicted, but pardoned on account of youth</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not tried in consequence of wounds and subsequently pardoned</td>
<td>8‡‡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pardoned on account of age and sickness</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pardoned on special recommendation of Executive Council</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discharged for want of evidence</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Discharged because used as witnesses 4
Executed 11
Died in hospital 1§
Transported for life to Van Dieman's Land 60

157#

* including one prisoner who died in hospital later, probably in 1839.
† not counting two prisoners who died very shortly after arriving at Fort Henry; real total: 159.
‡‡the prisoner included in note* above has been excluded here.
§ this is the prisoner excluded from note‡‡ above.
# not counting two prisoners who died very shortly after arriving at Fort Henry; real total: 159.
Appendix F. The Insurgents' Flag.

Lieutenant George Leary, RN, one of the officers who accepted the surrender of the insurgents, said that their flag was "white, with a blue border, an eagle in the middle and the word 'liberated' over the eagle and 'Onondaga Hunters' also on the flag." Stephen Wright, one of the insurgents, described the flag as having "an eagle and twin stars upon a ground of blue." He claimed that he later saw it on display in the Tower of London. The Prescott Sentinel said that the flag had an eagle on it with a star above and the words "Liberated by the Onondaga Hunters" in silk. The newspaper claimed that the flag was never unfurled but Lieutenant Leary testified that he saw it "hoisted on the shafts of the mill."
Appendix G. Nils von Schoultz.

Nils Gustaf von Schoultz was born 7 October 1807 in Kuopio, Swedish Finland, the son of a provincial circuit judge. When Russia seized Finland in 1808 Judge von Schoultz chose to remain loyal to the king of Sweden; he left and never returned to Finland, dying at Stockholm in 1816. His widow returned to Russian Finland with her four sons and one daughter to live with her brother. In 1821 she moved back to Stockholm where all the boys eventually went to military school. Nils was a second lieutenant when he resigned in 1830.

In 1831 Nils von Schoultz went to Warsaw to help the Poles in their rebellion against Russian imperialism. He was captured by the Russians but escaped to France where Louis-Philippe was organising the Foreign Legion. Nils joined and went to Africa but left in 1832. In 1833 he joined his mother and sister at Florence where his sister was studying singing. On 20 March 1834 he married (at Florence) Ann Campbell, daughter of a deceased Scottish official of the East India Company. Ann and her sister had been living in Italy with their mother for some time.

Von Schoultz and his bride then went to Sweden where a daughter was born 9 January 1835. He does not seem to have worked in all this period. In Florence he lived on his mother's pension from the Swedish government. In Sweden he seems to have been supported by his relatives and his new in-laws while avoiding old debtors. Nils von Schoultz was handsome and charming and always seemed able to impress people that they should help him. Later in 1835
he and his wife spent a month in Scotland organising the Campbells' financial affairs so they could live more comfortably in Sweden. Another daughter was born 4 March 1836. In June 1836 Nils went to London to try to settle his mother-in-law's financial affairs. He spent a few days with his in-laws and then disappeared.

He had left for the United States where, in May 1837, he applied for citizenship under the name Nils Scholtewskii von Schoultz. He gave his nationality as Swedish but thereafter seems to have passed himself off as Polish. His intention must have been to erase his connections with Sweden and his family and start life anew in the New World. He did write his wife at least once, however, telling her that he was involved in a scheme to improve the refinement of salt. He had long had an interest in science and often talked of developing new technology in a variety of industries. He had gone to Onondaga County in New York state where a salt industry had been growing around the towns of Syracuse and Salina. Some of the refineries were interested in a new technique which he had developed and he had it patented.

Von Schoultz was known to everyone as a former officer in the Polish army who had been forced to leave his homeland by the Russian oppressors. He claimed that his father had owned salt mines in Poland.¹ He made many friends in Salina and is said to have engaged himself to marry a local girl. To the organisers of the Hunters Lodges von Schoultz was an obvious man to recruit. He had had considerable military experience and, having vainly fought the Russians, he was a natural enemy of imperialism. Von Schoultz seems to have eagerly accepted a role in "liberating" Canada from the oppression of British imperialism and even recruited a few Polish "compatriots." He was entrusted to take the "Patriot flag" from Salina to give to General Birge. There were no truly official ranks among the insurgents but von Schoultz was considered one of the leaders and, when many of
the other leaders failed to show up at the windmill, leadership seemed to fall naturally on him.

After his capture von Schoultz maintained his posture of a former Polish officer and no one challenged his charade. Shortly after his execution a note appeared in a Brockville newspaper that he was not a Pole at all but a Swede who had fought in Algeria, had married a Scottish girl in Florence but had left her behind in Sweden. The un-named informant was a Brockville woman who claimed she knew his wife and had been present at the wedding. This piece of information apparently did not spur anyone to pursue the matter of von Schoultz's identity. Everyone preferred to remember him as a gallant, heroic freedom-fighter who had been tragically misinformed about conditions in Canada.

At his court-martial he pleaded guilty and assumed, as leader of the insurgents, all responsibility for the tragedy of the Battle of the Windmill. The only thing he would say in his defence was that he had been deceived by propagandists in New York and that he had treated his British prisoners humanely. He claimed he knew nothing about the mistreatment of Lieutenant Johnson's body. He signed his sworn statement "S. Von Schoultz."  

At the court-martial the insurgents were not allowed an attorney to speak for them. Daniel George was the first to be tried; he had a brother-in-law in Kingston who engaged the young John A. Macdonald to give George legal counsel. At this time Macdonald met von Schoultz for he and George were in the same dungeon. Macdonald gave von Schoultz some legal advice too but he insisted in pleading guilty. Macdonald seems to have spent considerable time talking with von Schoultz for he was very impressed and remembered him to the end of his life. Von Schoultz wanted to leave Macdonald a small bequest in his will but Macdonald refused it. Macdonald drew up the will but even to Macdonald, the last confidant of his life, von Schoultz remained a Polish
exile. In his will von Schoultz left money to the Roman Catholic college in Kingston and to the families of Canadian militiamen killed at the windmill. His last letter was to his friends in Salina; there was no last letter to his family in Sweden. To his fellow prisoners and to the British officers, his captors and jailers, he left the memory of a Polish officer of impeccable manners, immense charm and noble dignity in the way he accepted his death sentence. This is the romantic myth which has entered our history.
Endnotes

Introduction


The Prescott Area, 1837-38


3 PAC, MGl2, WO13, Vol. 3695, pp. 475, 545; Statesman (Brockville), 7 and 14 July 1838; Recorder (Brockville), 12 July 1838.

4 Edwin Clarence Guillet, op. cit., pp. 94-8, 102-7, 113,
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6 PAC, MG24, C10, pp. 5-8; PAC, MG11, Q series, Vol 245-1, p. 159.

7 Quoted in the Recorder (Brockville), 6 December 1838.


9 PAC, MG11, Q series, Vol 249-2, pp. 389-91.


11 PAC, MG12, W055, Vol. 874, pp. 212-7; Statesman (Brockville), 11 August 1838; Recorder (Brockville), 8 November 1838; RG8, C series, Vol. 218, pp. 31-7.


Chronology of the Battle


2 Businessman's account in Recorder (Brockville), 6 December 1838; military despatches by Colonel Plomer Young, Lieutenant Newton Fowell and Captain Williams
Conclusions


Appendix A

2 PAC, RG5, Al, pp. 117005-25.
5 PAC, RG5, B41, courts-martial, Howth, Cronkite et al.
6 Edwin Clarence Guillet, op. cit., pp. 229-30; PAC, RG5, Al, pp. 117803-8; PAC, RG5, B41, courts-martial, G. van Amber.
7 PAC, RG5, Al, pp. 120051-2; ibid., B41, Vol. 4, Pt. 2, Draper to Arthur, 17 December 1838.
8 Ibid., Al, pp. 119826-31.
Sandom in Colonies: Canada, Vol. 10, 1839, pp. 264, 354-6, 367-8; the official government report on the battle was written by William Henry Draper, 21 January 1839, PAC, RG5, A1, Vol. 215, pp. 117881-907; see also courts-martial of N. von Schoultz and D. Abbey, PAC, RG5, B41; also Daniel D. Heustis, A Narrative the Adventures and Sufferings of Captain Daniel D. Heustis and his Companions, in Canada and Van Dieman's Land, During a Long Captivity; with Travels in California, and Voyages at Sea, 2nd ed. (Boston: S. Wilder and Co., 1848), p. 43.

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Despatches of Captain Sandom, Colonies: Canada, Vol. 10, 1839, pp. 354-6 and PAC, MG12, Adm. 1, Vol. 5523; despatches of Colonel Young, PAC, MG11, Q series, Vols. 254-2, pp. 521-5 and Chronicle and Gazette (Kingston), 1 December 1838; PAC, MG23, K12, p. 22; PAC, RG5, B41,


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9 Recorder (Brockville), 6 December 1838.


Courts-Martial
3 Chronicle and Gazette (Kingston), 28 November 1838; PAC, RG5, B41, Vol. 4.
4 PAC, RG5, B41, Vol. 3, Draper to Colonel Bullock, 30 November 1838.
5  Ibid.

Appendix B

Appendix C
1  Edward Alexander Theller, Canada in 1837-38; Showing, by Historical Facts, the Causes of the Late Attempted Revolution, and of its Failure; the Present Condition of the People, and their Future Prospects, together with the Personal Adventures of the Author, and Others who were Connected with the Revolution (New York: J. and H.G. Langley, 1841), Vol. 2, pp. 277-91; Donald M'Leod, op. cit., pp. 254-60.
2  Chronicle and Gazette (Kingston), 1 December 1838.
3  Ibid., 17 and 24 November 1838.
4  PAC, RG5, B41, courts-martial, C. Bulkley and E. Holmes; Mackenzie's Gazette, 17 October and 14 November 1840.
Appendix D


Appendix E

3 Chronicle and Gazette (Kingston), 24 November and 28 November 1838.

Appendix F

1 PAC, RG5, B41, testimony of Lieutenant Leary at court-martial of C. Smith et al. and D. Abbey; Prescott Sentinel quoted in Recorder (Brockville), 22 November 1838; Stephen Smith Wright, op. cit., p. 5.
Appendix G

2 *Recorder* (Brockville), 27 December 1838.
4 This new, revised account of the life of Nils von Schoultz comes from his great granddaughter, Ella Pipping, in her *Soldier of Fortune; The Story of a Nineteenth Century Adventurer*. Trans. Naomi Walford (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971).

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1 Aerial photograph of the windmill, 1960s.

2 Portrait of Nils von Schoultz from an ivory painting. (Public Archives of Ontario.)
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4 Painting of Windmill Point by H.F. Ainslie, 1839.  
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