THE GUARDHOUSE AT FORT GEORGE

by

Elizabeth Vincent

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The Guardhouse at
Fort George
by Elizabeth Vincent
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Abstract
The guardhouse at Fort George was built between 1797 and 1799. It contained two guardrooms and four cells; the continuous use of these cells was claimed to be one of the causes of the mutiny at Fort George in 1803. During the War of 1812 it was burnt. The few available references to this building, archaeological evidence and a comparative study of other guardhouses of the period have been used to show what this guardhouse probably was like.
Introduction

The present guardhouse at Fort George was built as part of the reconstruction of the fort in the late 1930's. Due to many factors it is an inaccurate reconstruction. Since the building is in need of substantial repairs as well, it is planned to replace it as soon as feasible by a more accurate reconstruction, which will then be furnished to show the guardhouse as it would have been at the time of the War of 1812-14. For that purpose research on the guardhouse at Fort George, and comparative work on other guardhouses of the period was necessary.

Unfortunately we have not found any plans for the guardhouse at Fort George. Captain Pilkington, Commanding Engineer at Fort George at the time the guardhouse was built, was to have been given instructions about the building of the guardhouse, along with the estimate, but no copy of these instructions seems to have survived. It is possible that these instructions would be of little help even if we had them. Colonel Landmann recalls in his Adventures and Recollections that when he was ordered to St. Joseph's he received some general instructions and two estimates but no plans, sections or even descriptions of the buildings he was to erect.¹ We have one picture of the interior of Fort George, which shows the guardhouse in the distance, but the
The Esplanade, Fort George, 1805, by Edward Walsh, surgeon of the 49th Regiment.
The guardhouse is the building on the far right of the picture. Note the style of the gallery and of the sentry boxes.
(Clements Library, University of Michigan.)
details are not very clear. Bruyères mentioned the guardhouse in his report in 1802, but gives very little detail about it. This lack of information makes it necessary to study carefully every reference to the guardhouse at Fort George, and also to seek for information about other guardhouses of the period, in order to see what features were common to all guardhouses.
General History of the Guardhouse

The Building of Fort George

In 1794, with the signing of Jay's Treaty, Britain accepted the necessity of withdrawing from the posts which, according to the treaty of 1783, were within the territory of the United States. Among these posts was Fort Niagara, on the east bank of the Niagara River, where it entered Lake Ontario.

There were already some government buildings on the west bank of the river, at Navy Hall—a term which seems to have described a collection of buildings used for various purposes, including probably the first Parliament of Upper Canada. As was often the case when British posts had to be given up to the Americans everything was left to the last possible minute. As late as June 1795 estimates were being forwarded for repairs to be carried out at Fort Niagara.¹

The 5th Regiment, which had been stationed at Fort Niagara at the time of the signing of Jay's Treaty, was removed from there and sent to Kingston early in the summer of 1796. Some of the Queen's Rangers were stationed at Navy Hall, occupied mainly in fatigue duties. In late June 1796 a detachment of Royal Artillery removed ordnance and ordnance stores "from the Garrison of Niagara to Navy Hall."² At about the same time artificers were busy blowing up stones at Niagara, presumably
2 Plan of proposed works at Niagara, 1799.
This shows the location of the guardhouse, and possibly a path running from the Indian Department past the guardhouse.
(Public Archives of Canada.)
References

a Blockhouse
b Magazine
c Hospital & Kitchen
d Officers Quarters & Kitchens
e Guard House
f Set of Blockhouses
g Storehouses
h Wharf
Plan of Fort George, probably 1803-1804.

This plan has been dated 1793, but as it incorporates the improvements suggested by Bruyères in his report in 1802, it probably dates from 1803 to 1804. It shows the position of the guardhouse and indicates the gallery.

(Public Archives of Canada.)
for the foundations of the new blockhouse which was to be built on the hill behind Navy Hall. In December 1796 General Prescott gave the name Fort George to the new post at Niagara.

Building the Guardhouse

The first mention of any type of guardhouse or guardroom at the new post appears in a return of the state of barrack furniture at various posts, dated 12 August 1797. According to this, Fort George had three rooms for the guard. These guardrooms must have been in one of the blockhouses on the hill (two more had been built in the summer of 1797) or in one of the old buildings at Navy Hall, for in a report on accommodations for the troops at Fort George Gother Mann, the commanding Engineer, noted the need for a hospital, guardhouse, and artillery store as being particularly pressing. Estimates for the guardhouse were drawn up and approved, and Colonel Mann gave the necessary instructions to Captain Pilkington, the engineer at Fort George. Sometime between 1798 and 1800 the guardhouse was built. Work was delayed somewhat, owing to the illness of the troops and the resulting necessity for using civilian labour, a much more costly process than building by military labour. According to Colonel Landmann, an engineer who was in Canada at this period, the troops at Fort George were so affected by ague that during one of the summers he was in Canada "a garrison amounting to three or four hundred men could scarcely muster
fifty men fit for duty." In October 1798 the expenditure of a further sum of £100 necessary to complete the officers' quarters, guardhouse, etc. at Fort George was approved.8

Functions of the Guardhouse

Why did Colonel Mann consider a guardroom necessary for Fort George? There were apparently some rooms, somewhere, allocated for the guard. But almost every fort, when it was built, had a separate guardhouse, which served a dual purpose. It provided accommodation for the members of the guard who were not on sentry duty, and it served as a place to lodge prisoners under guard. In larger posts there was often a completely separate building or portion of a building set aside for cells and a general detention area, but at smaller posts guard and prisoners were usually in the same building. The barrack regulations set out special allowances of fuel and candles for guardrooms and places of solitary confinement. Guardrooms received fuel only during winter months but candles all year long. A guardhouse would contain quarters for the soldiers on guard, and quarters for the officer of the day, whose duty was to take charge of the guard, visit all the barracks, collect reports, act as witness for such events as the delivery of presents to the Indians, and take note of and report any disorderly or irregular conduct. A military post would also have a detention area consisting of one or more solitary cells, which, particularly in smaller posts, was often part of the
guardhouse. Later cell blocks had a defaulters' room, a general lockup room for those guilty of minor infractions of military discipline, as well as cells for solitary confinement. In some posts the orderly room, or office for the adjutant and regimental clerks, was also in the guardhouse, or part of the guardroom area. The men of the guard provided sentries for the gates and other important positions such as the powder magazine, and could be called out at any time to defend or control the fort, depending upon whether the anticipated danger was from outside the fort or from within. Both officer and men were supposed to be on duty and it was much easier to ensure that they were on duty and ready for any eventuality in a separate building, or part of a building, fitted out for the purpose.

The Guardhouse Completed

The main guardhouse at Fort George was completed probably early in 1799, but certainly before the fall of 1800. A report on the appropriation of space at Fort George for the troops and various departments, dated 25 September 1800, states that there were two rooms used as guardrooms, the numbers on the doors being 15 and 16, with a marginal note "a new building". In early 1800 the building of a small guardhouse at Navy Hall was also authorized. A separate establishment for the guard there as well as within Fort George was presumably considered necessary.

Once the guardhouse was built very little mention is
made of it again. It seems to have needed few repairs. In
the fall of 1800 Louis LeCoulteulx was confined in the
officer's guardroom until he could be sent down to Kingston.
LeCoulteulx was a naturalized American, who was said to be
on his way to Detroit to trade with the Indians, but he had
left France after the period specified by the Alien Act, and
it was suspected by the British authorities, who had warned
the commanding officer at Fort George more than a year before
to be on the lookout for him, that he was an agent of the
French government.\textsuperscript{11} Bruyères in his 1802 report on the posts
in Upper Canada mentioned the guardhouse among the other
buildings at Fort George, but did not indicate that it needed
any repairs (see Appendix C). Neither those who were
confined to it, nor those who were on duty in it bothered to
describe the guardhouse, probably because during their
service in the army they had seen so many others, so very
much the same. But at the time of the threatened mutiny at
Fort George the guardhouse achieved a certain importance;
in fact the use, or over use, made of it is sometimes given
as one of the major causes of the men's discontent.

The Mutiny

On 26 May 1803 the detachment of the 41st Regiment at Fort
George was relieved by a detachment of the 49th Regiment
under the command of Lt. Col. Roger Hale Sheaffe. As was
the case with most units, the 49th soon began to have
problems with desertions. On the 31st of May Lieutenant
Colonel Brock, the commanding officer of the 49th, arrived at Fort George in pursuit of several men who had deserted from York. Two days later Sheaffe reported to Lieutenant General Hunter that the deserters from York were secured in the guardhouse at Fort George.\textsuperscript{12}

Desertion was always easier for the men if they were aided by some of those on guard and for that reason desertion while on guard duty was regarded as a particularly heinous crime. On 13 August 1803 Sheaffe wrote to Green, Hunter's Military Secretary, reporting the desertion of a corporal and seven privates of the 49th Regiment early on the morning of the 7th. Several of these men, including the corporal, had deserted off guard, and one had deserted while a sentry. The deserters were taken by a group of Indians on the American side, and were brought back to Fort George and lodged in the guardhouse there.\textsuperscript{13}

While these eight men were confined in the guardhouse the situation at Fort George grew worse. Brock, once again at York, received word from Sheaffe that a dangerous conspiracy existed in the garrison at Fort George. Before Sheaffe had become aware of the conspiracy he had, at Brock's request, sent to York a man named Wade, who when questioned revealed many details of what was being planned. Brock immediately set out for Fort George. According to one account he walked to the fort from his landing place, and entered by the east gate, whereupon the sentry at that gate
called out the guard. Brock then walked across the square to the guardhouse, and arrested the sergeant and corporal of the guard. The drummer was then ordered to beat to arms. The first person to emerge from the officers' quarters, which was the nearest building to the guardhouse, was Lieutenant Williams, whom Brock ordered to arrest Private John Rock, the prime instigator of the mutiny. Other arrests were made and the mutineers, along with the deserters who were already in the guardhouse cells were sent to York in the boat which had brought Brock to Fort George, as he thought it imprudent to keep them at Fort George any longer. Along with his first report of the happenings at Fort George, Brock included a copy of the information given by a private of the regiment on the subject. The author of this is not given, but it was probably John Daly, who, along with Arthur Wade, was promised a discharge in return for testimony at the court martial. According to this statement the main plan of the conspirators was to spike the field pieces, seize the officers and confine them to their quarters, proceed "to severity with Lieut. Col. Sheaffe against whom appears their entire Grudge", and then to cross over to the United States. Apparently they had some encouragement from various Americans and earlier deserters from the 49th.

It was decided by Lieutenant Governor Hunter that the mutineers and deserters from the 49th should be sent to Quebec for a general court martial, as sufficient officers
could not be assembled in Upper Canada for that purpose. Lieutenant Colonel Sheaffe was to act as prosecuting officer. The 49th was not the only regiment involved in this court martial, as men from the 6th and 41st Regiments were tried on separate charges relating to desertions in Lower Canada, so that the effect on the troops would be more widespread. The court martial lasted from 3 October 1803 to 3 January 1804. Seven of those tried were executed at Quebec 2 March 1804; the rest of those found guilty were sentenced to be transported. It was felt that an example had to be made of these men in order to reduce the rate of desertion among troops in Canada.

Causes of the Mutiny
What caused the Fort George mutiny? The prisoners put forward as an excuse for their conduct the harsh and severe treatment they claimed they had received from Lieutenant Colonel Sheaffe. According to one account the men were annoyed by objections made to their visiting the town, by various petty regulations and by the fact that "the four black holes were constantly full". These "black holes" were solitary cells without light. Brock himself felt that Sheaffe's conduct had some influence in causing the conspiracy. He considered that Sheaffe's manner of addressing the men on the slightest irritation was unfortunate, that he tended to reduce non-commissioned officers for errors which Brock considered trifling in view of the fact that they could not be replaced
with anyone of greater abilities, and that he was somewhat
tiresome in field exercise; in short, while understanding
well the duties of his profession, he possessed little
knowledge of mankind. However, it would be unfair to
blame the mutiny solely on Sheaffe. Even the ringleaders,
who had attributed their conduct to Sheaffe's harsh
discipline, admitted before they died that this was false.

Although the most widely known mutiny, because of the
drastic nature of the punishment, and because of the charges
made against Sheaffe by the prisoners, which were repeated
and magnified in later years by his enemies, this was not
the only instance of large scale attempted desertion or
threatened mutiny in the Canadas. In July 1803 John Walker
and Thomas Higgins were tried by garrison court martial as
principal leaders of a combination of fifty soldiers of
the 49th Regiment who had taken an oath to desert from the
post of Amherstburg. The plan was discovered by Lieutenant
Colonel Vincent, then commanding the post, on the day it
was to have been carried into effect. Vincent had asked for
a general court martial, but Brock ordered a garrison court
martial, a court with less authority to punish, and suggested
the men be sent to Fort George. The court martial sentenced
them to several hundred lashes each, but the punishment was
remitted, on the men's offering to serve in any regiment
that Lieutenant General Hunter might think proper. However,
they seem to have continued in the 49th, as Walker is
4 Scenes at La Prairie, 1812-1814.

This shows a military execution somewhat similar to that at Quebec in March 1804, when the sentences on the Fort George mutineers were carried out. However in the latter case all those condemned to death were shot together, rather than singly as in this picture.

(Public Archives of Canada)
mentioned in 1805 as one of the men complaining about not receiving the second instalment of Copenhagen prize money.\textsuperscript{20} Shortly after these two men had their sentences remitted, the conspiracy at Fort George was discovered. The treatment of the Fort George conspirators is in sharp contrast to the lenience shown at Amherstburg. Since lenience seemed to have resulted in another attempted mutiny, a dose of severity was tried.

The situation improved for a time, but not permanently. In 1810 Sir James Craig was pressing upon the authorities in London the necessity of having a general officer stationed in Upper Canada. He felt this was particularly urgent because of the extreme misconduct of the 100th Regiment which had lost about 40 men by desertion. In at least two cases plans for large scale desertion had only been discovered at the last moment.\textsuperscript{21} In August and September of that year five general courts martial were held at Fort George.\textsuperscript{22} In one of these, the accused, a private in the 100th Regiment, was sentenced to be transported for life.\textsuperscript{23} Even on the eve of the battle of Queenston Heights the commanding officer at Queenston was worried by the highly mutinous state of his detachment. In December 1812 a private of the 49th Regiment was executed at Fort George for desertion to the enemy.\textsuperscript{24}

What happened at Fort George in 1803 was due mainly to the nature and situation of the regiment. A large proportion of the private soldiers of the 49th was Irish and
as one former officer of the regiment said, "All soldiers, particularly Irish, are given to desertion to the American states." Brock pointed out the inducements which had been held out to the men to persuade them to desert and cross the border. He felt that the regiment must be removed from a place of such great temptation before the men could be brought back to a sense of their duty. Part of the cause of the unrest was undoubtedly boredom. After he took over command at Fort George Brock set the men to work building a root house, enclosing a garden and erecting a ball court. The latter, he felt would keep them as much as possible from that "nest of all wickedness" the town of Newark. Undoubtedly the men were happier under Brock's command, but whether he too had to make frequent use of the four black holes is not recorded.

After the Mutiny
In fact after the stirring times of 1803 the guardhouse is mentioned very little. In 1804 the chimney and floor needed some type of repairs, but the nature of these is not specified.

A recruiting party of the New Brunswick Regiment arrived at Fort George in February 1806 with two recruits, whom the commanding officer of the fort Major Grant discovered to be American deserters. He immediately confined these men to the guardhouse and prepared to return them to the America commander at Fort Niagara. Shortly after, he received a
letter from William Dickson, a Judge of the Niagara District Court, stating that he had been applied to for writs of Habeas Corpus on their behalf. As soon as Grant received this he released the men from the guardhouse and had them attested, fearing a civil action against himself. Once the men were attested there was no further attempt by Magistrate Dickson to interfere in the matter. One of these men soon deserted to the United States, and the other was put into the guardhouse once again, as he was causing trouble. Unfortunately there seems to be no record of whether he was ever turned over to the American authorities.

War of 1812

Outbreak of War

With the outbreak of war in 1812 Fort George was the scene of greatly increased military activity. The need for vigilance among those on guard was even greater than usual because of the ever present danger of attack from across the river. However the vigilance was not always as great as it should have been. In November 1812 the court martial of a private of the Lincoln Militia, accused of carrying liquor to the sentinels at their posts, was held at Niagara. He had come out of the guardhouse, gone to the bastion where the 24 pounder was mounted, then gone towards the sentinel at the gate. His defence was that the sentinel at the bastion had given him the liquor and asked him to take it to the sentinel at the main gate. In war time as in peace
soldiers sought relief in alcohol for the monotony of their life.

The guardhouse itself changed slightly in function. There would always be offenders from the regular garrison, though the excitements of war lessened their numbers somewhat, but the guardhouse was also used to confine militia and civilian prisoners.

A report of the main guard at Fort George, 7 September 1812, lists all the prisoners, where confined, and on what charge. There were fourteen prisoners, civilians and militia, confined in the guardroom, all for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. The guard consisted of one subaltern, three non-commissioned officers, a drummer and fifteen privates, with five sentries during the day and seven at night. The report mentions that the stove pan in the officer's guardroom was broken, as was one pane of glass in the men's guardroom. Even during the hectic days of war a proper account of all the barrack stores had to be kept.

Destruction of the Guardhouse

The fort was bombarded several times from Fort Niagara. As the Americans were using a great deal of heated shot, against mostly wooden buildings, much damage was caused both in the fort and in the town. By the time the Americans captured the fort in May 1813 all the log barracks and presumably the other wooden buildings such as the guardhouse had been destroyed.
Physical Details

In the summer of 1973 an archaeological team headed by Dr. J.P. Wilson carried out explorations at Fort George. Their first task was to look for the foundations of the original guardhouse. Just behind the reconstructed guardhouse and almost parallel to it they uncovered stone foundations, with dimensions of 49 feet by 28 feet. From the amount of burned material these appear to be the foundations of a building which was burnt, probably at the time of the American bombardment in May 1813. It is likely that these are the foundations of the guardhouse of the first fort.

Location

The first question to consider in studying the construction of the guardhouse is its location. The guardhouse was begun in 1798 and probably completed that fall or the following spring. When Gother Mann reported on the accommodations for troops at Fort George, in December 1797, he stated that whatever buildings might be erected they should be situated so as to correspond with a future system for their defence and so all the military quarters and stores should be near the blockhouses on the high ground above Navy Hall.¹ These seem to be the only limitations set on the placing of the buildings. It was not until early 1799 that instructions
were given for enclosing the post of Fort George with picketing. The circumference of the picketing was to be twelve hundred yards, presumably because of the somewhat scattered nature of the buildings it was to enclose. Therefore, when a location was chosen for the guardhouse, there were no walls or gates to influence the choice. Judging from the available plans of Fort George the guardhouse was near what became the west wall, just to the north of the bastion in the centre of that wall (see figures 2 and 3), although one plan of the fort, dated 1810, shows no guardhouse at all. This location fits in with one description of events at the time of the mutiny, which states that Brock entered the fort by the east gate and walked across the square to the guardhouse. A water colour by Edward Walsh, a surgeon in the 49th Regiment, done in 1805, shows a small building across the square from the blockhouses, near a bastion, and to the north west of the officers' quarters. This presumably is the guardhouse. One plan of Fort George shows the guardhouse beside a path which seems to come from the Indian Department buildings, across the fort, and down to Navy Hall. There would probably be a gate where the curtain crossed this path, which would be fairly close to the guardhouse.

When Dr. Wilson's archaeological team began to search the area suggested above they located the foundations of this guardhouse.
Suggested plan of the guardhouse at Fort George.
This is based on the information given in Bruyères' report of 1802 (see Appendix C), Walsh's picture (Figure 1), and the preliminary reports on the archaeological excavations at Fort George in the summer of 1973.
Foundation
The foundations uncovered by Dr. Wilson are of stone rubble, used just as it was blown up at the quarry. The estimate for the guardhouse calls for one toise of stone. This would allow for a shallow stone foundation. The stone probably came from a quarry near Niagara.

Size
According to the copy of Bruyère's survey of 1802 forwarded by the Commanding Engineer to the Commander in Chief in 1803, which is the only copy we have, the guardhouse was forty-eight feet long, twenty feet wide and twelve feet high (presumably to the wall plate, though this is not stated). The estimate does not give any dimensions, but the sleepers and beams allowed for were to be 26 feet long. The foundations uncovered by the archaeological team had a width of twenty-eight feet and a length of forty-nine feet. Possibly there was an error in copying Bruyère's report.

Layout
Bruyère stated that the guardhouse had officer's and soldiers' guardrooms, and four solitary cells for confinement. At the time of the mutiny there were already eight deserters in these four cells, the "four Black holes" which were continually full, and once the twelve ringleaders were arrested it is no wonder that Brock sent them to York as soon as possible. The report of the guard for 7 September 1812 mentions an officer's guardroom and a men's guardroom.
There were fourteen prisoners confined to the guardhouse at that time, but whether they were all in the cells, or some detained in the men's guardroom is not recorded. 5

According to Walsh's picture the building had two doors on the south side. This would indicate that the two guardrooms ran part of the length of the building with the cell area at the back (see suggested plan, Figure 5).

Walls
The walls were of horizontal hewn log, probably with dovetailed corners. They were built of pine logs ten to fourteen inches deep and sawn to six inches thick. Judging from the amount of pine and of oak called for in the estimates it is possible that the walls of the cell area were of oak logs, ten to fourteen inches wide and eight inches thick. The sleepers were to be of oak, twenty-six feet long and measuring 7 in. by 9 in. The cills were of oak 7 in. by 9 in.

Roof
The guardhouse had a hipped roof—the estimate calls for fifteen pairs of rafters 18 feet long and two pairs of hip rafters twenty-three feet long. The roof itself was probably of 1 1/2 inch pine plank and was covered with shingles, probably of cedar.

Floors
The floors were probably of two inch pine plank (two hundred planks of this size are called for in the estimate).
Partitions
The estimate calls for two thousand feet of pine 4\frac{1}{2} inches square, some of which was probably used for the partitions. There is also four hundred feet of pine ten by ten, some of which may have been used for the partition between the guardrooms and the cell area, to make this stronger.

Exterior and Interior Finishing
The exterior of the guardhouse was most likely weatherboarded at the time it was built--the inch boards in the estimate were probably to be used for weatherboarding. Most of the buildings at Fort George had to be weatherboarded at some time or other to preserve them from the elements. There seem to be no references in the various estimates for repairs at the post to weatherboarding for the guardhouse so it would seem that this had been done at the time of construction.

The inclusion of lath nails, a barrel of hair, which would be used in making the plaster, and of fifty half inch boards, which would be used for laths, in the estimate, indicates a lath and plaster finish for at least one room, probably the officer's guardroom. Possibly the three quarter inch boards called for in the estimate were also used for interior finishing. The estimate also calls for one hundred and twelve pounds of white paint, but no other colour. This would have been used for the interior of the officer's guardroom, and possibly for other woodwork such as window frames.
Doors

The watercolour by Walsh shows two exterior doors on the south side of the building. With the division of the guardhouse into four cells, a men's guardroom and an officer's guardroom, there would probably be seven doors—one for each cell, a door to the detention area, and doors to the two guardrooms (see Figure 5). If the doors shown by Walsh are the only exterior doors, they would likely be the doors to the two guardrooms. According to a report on the barracks in 1800 the guardrooms had two doors numbered 15 and 16. In this case there would be a door from the men's guardroom leading to a passage off which the cells would open. The large amount of iron called for in the estimate (two hundred and eighty pounds) suggests that at least one door, probably the one leading to the cell area, was reinforced with iron. The estimate included one pair of large HL hinges (probably for the door to the cell area) and six pairs of small HL hinges (probably for the doors to the cells and guardrooms). There are two latches and catches, a stock lock and a brass knob lock provided in the estimate. The latches and catches were probably for the outside doors, the brass knob lock for the door to the officer's guardroom and the stock lock for the door from the men's guardroom to the cell area. No fastenings for the cell doors are provided in the estimate; it is possible that these were provided out of stock on hand or that they were to be made at
Fort George by the blacksmith there. Among the articles listed as being in charge of the guard in September 1812 are five locks and keys. These may have been the locks for the cells and the door to the cell area, with the lock for the officer's guardroom considered the responsibility of the officer of the day rather than of the guard as a whole. The doors to the cells might have had some type of small barred opening for ventilation.

Windows

According to the report of the guard at Fort George, 7 September 1812 the guardhouse at that time had four windows. The estimate for building the guardhouse calls for one hundred and forty-four panes of glass, 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. by 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. In the picture by Walsh the windows of the blockhouse appear to be six panes high and at least three panes wide, while the windows of the officers' quarters, which are farther away and less distinct appear to be five panes high and four panes wide. If the report of 1812 is correct there were probably two windows for each guardroom, along the east and west sides. This would agree with Walsh's picture, which seems to show two windows facing the parade area. These windows seem to have a small lower ledge. No provision is made in the estimate for any type of shutters, so that double windows may have been used to keep out the cold. This would account for the large number of panes of glass called for in the estimate, which may also have included some provision for
breakage, a wise precaution when supplies had to be carried over such large distances.

Heating
From the number of bricks provided in the estimate and from Walsh's picture it would appear that there was only one chimney in the guardhouse. This seems to be in the centre of the building. A report on repairs needed in Fort George in 1804 mentions that the floor and chimney of the guardhouse needed repairs. There would probably be two fireplaces, one for the officer's guardroom and one for the men's guardroom. Each fireplace would have a stone or brick hearth and be equipped with a pair of fire irons. In later years there were stoves used in the guardhouse. Fort George had some stoves as early as 1798, as at that time some of the stove pans and lengths of stove pipe were unserviceable. By 1812 the guardhouse had two stoves, with one of them being in the officers' guardroom. The other may have been in the passage leading to the cells, or in the men's guardroom. The barracks regulations stipulated an allowance of wood for a guardroom and stated that this was to be delivered daily. Until a much later period there was no provision for cooking in the guardhouse. In the 49th Regiment each man was supposed to have a tin kettle in which his meals could be carried to him when he was on guard.

Cells
According to Bruyères, and to various accounts of the mutiny
of 1803 the guardhouse at Fort George had four solitary cells. These were presumably built without any source of light or heat. They would be without any furnishings, except perhaps a shelf for sleeping on. The doors would be heavy, probably of oak, with perhaps a small barred opening for ventilation, and to allow the guard to check on the prisoners without opening the door, and would probably be fastened with a hasp and staple and a padlock or an iron bar. The walls of the cells may have been of oak (the estimate calls for eight hundred feet of oak ten to fourteen inches wide and eight inches thick, some of which may have been for the cell walls).

The Gallery
Judging from the watercolour by Walsh and one of the plans of Fort George the guardhouse had a gallery with pillars along the east side of it. The foundation which the archaeologists uncovered has projections on that side, which were probably supports for the gallery. These seem to have built at the same time as the foundation wall.

Furnishings
What would the guardhouse contain? The report of the main guard for 7 September 1812 lists among the articles in charge of the guard two fire shovels, four guardbeds, two tables, three chairs, two forms, one water bucket, two candlesticks, one lantern, one axe, one broom and one board of orders. The officer's guardroom would have a bed for the officer of the day, particularly in view of the fact that many of the
officers lived outside the fort. This may have been included in the guardbeds numbered, or it may not. At least one each of the tables and chairs and one or both of the candlesticks would be in the officer's room. The men's guardroom would probably have arms racks and pegs for hanging equipment and coats. The guardbed in the men's guardroom would be merely a wooden shelf with no bedding or other concessions to comfort.

Privies
No mention of privies is made in connection with the guardhouse inside Fort George. According to Bruyères' report two privies were required to be built of masonry within the Fort, one for the officers and one for the men, each to be fourteen feet long and eight feet wide. In a report on the repairs needed at Fort George in 1823 it is stated that the beach guardhouse needed a new privy door. Probably this guardhouse required its own privy because it was so isolated from the rest of the garrison.

Sentry Boxes
While most of the guard were enjoying the sparse amenities of the guardroom, some of the men would always be acting as sentinels, ready to challenge anyone at the gates or call out the guard if necessary. In September 1812 at Fort George there were five sentries by day and seven by night. An estimate was approved in October 1798 for the building of ten sentry boxes at Fort George. This may have included
provision for sentry boxes for Navy Hall and the batteaux guard. Unfortunately this estimate included material for building ladders and a shed and enlarging the woodyard, as well as for the sentry boxes, so that it does not give much information about the construction of the sentry boxes. Two sentry boxes are shown in Walsh's watercolour, one near the powder magazine and one between the guardhouse and the officers' quarters. Unfortunately the details are not very clear, but the sentry boxes seem to have pyramidal roofs, with a rectangular door opening and no windows.

Ground Treatment
Walsh's picture of Fort George indicates a path along the front of the doors of the guardhouse, possibly leading to a gate. There seems to be a path from the officers' pavilion leading in that direction as well. There is no indication of any plants or shrubs around the guardhouse. The ground is not level, but rolling, and covered in grass and stubble.
Comparative Study of Other Guardhouses

Unfortunately there are very few plans in existence for guardhouses. The largest collection of such plans is part of the set of plans prepared to accompany Lt. Col. E.W. Durnford's report in 1823. Many of the structures shown in these plans were built during or after the War of 1812 and are much more pretentious than buildings constructed in the earlier period. Also, these plans are not always accurate—for example plans of the same building are sometimes inconsistent. For guardhouses prior to 1812, even more than for other military buildings of the period, information is very scarce.

Unless otherwise stated, descriptions of guardhouses in 1823 and 1824 are taken from the report by Lt. Col. E.W. Durnford and the plans which accompanied this report.¹

Types of Guardhouses

Guardhouses varied according to the size of the post, and their function. In smaller posts there would probably be only one guardhouse, which would house the men of the guard, the officer of the day, and any prisoners there might be, and it would sometimes also contain an orderly room (a regimental or garrison office). Larger posts would often have the cells in one building and guardrooms in another.
There would be guardhouses or guardrooms at the gates and in other strategic locations. Some of these guardhouses would have rooms for officers and men, some would merely be one room to shelter the guard at an isolated spot. The design of the guardhouse would vary greatly depending on its function, the amount of money and type of materials available, the importance of the post and the whim of the engineer in charge.

Location
In most enclosed posts the guardhouse was by the gate. At Fort York the guardhouse was by the gate leading to the town of York. At Fort Malden the guardhouse was the nearest building to the gate. Fort Charlotte in Halifax had its guardhouse near the gate. In the later barracks built enclosing a square, the guardrooms were at the entrance, and frequently on both sides of the entrance. At Quebec there were guardrooms at all the gates, and at the wharves and other strategic locations as well. The gate was considered the natural location for a guardhouse. In 1798, when the question of fitting up some building as a hospital arose, Gother Mann wrote to Green, the Military Secretary, "I shall never think it advisable or prudent that the Guard Houses contiguous to the Gates should be made Hospitals of; their situation in the common and most frequented entrances of the Town would be inconvenient to the sick, a nuisance to the Inhabitants and prevent the Guard Houses being made that
use of for which they were expressly built." In cases where the post was not enclosed, the guardhouse was usually by the road leading from the barracks to the town. When the guardhouse was not at the gate there was usually some explanation for this peculiarity. An 1816 map of the buildings at Coteau du Lac shows the guardhouse away from the gate, between the powder magazine and the barracks. However a map of 1814 shows that the gate had been moved, and that the guardhouse, when built, was by the gate. A map of St. Johns, L.C., in 1804 shows the existing guardhouse near the shore, presumably considered a strategic location, but it also shows proposed new buildings, including a guardhouse by the gate.

Foundation

In most cases it would seem that where the guardhouse was considered a permanent structure rather than a temporary one the foundation was of stone. The guardhouse at Amherstburg required three and a half toises of stone for its foundation. The various guardhouses at Kingston in 1830 had stone foundations. In later years, particularly with the building of more stone structures the foundations were deeper. In August 1805, two deserters who were confined in the guardhouse Fort York escaped by raising a plank of the floor and digging a passage under the logs at the rear of the building. Presumably if any stone had been used in the foundation of this building it was only in footings or piers.
This was probably one of the huts which had been built to accommodate the Queen's Rangers, and which were intended to be replaced, eventually, by more permanent buildings. A plan of the guardhouse at Chambly in 1823 shows quite a deep foundation, but this building is described as having a cellar, which would account for the depth of the foundation. In 1841 the guardhouse at Amherstburg had a foundation two feet deep and two feet wide, while the gallery had a foundation 1 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft.\textsuperscript{11} Instructions for building a naval guardhouse at Montreal in 1821 stipulated that the foundation was to be sunk three feet at least below the surface of the ground--this guardhouse was to be of stone.\textsuperscript{12}

**Layout**

The layout of a guardhouse varied according to its function, size, and style. Some guardhouses, designed solely for the use of a small guard for a particular strategic location were only one room. When one building contained guardrooms for officers and men, each guardroom usually had a separate entrance. Where there was only one outside door it usually opened onto a passage with doors leading off it to each guardroom. At the Prescott Gate, Quebec, in 1823 the men's guardroom opened off the stairs and the officer's guardroom opened off the men's guardroom. The officer of the guard was to be afforded as much privacy as possible. An interesting variation on the arrangement of outside doors is shown in 1823 plans of a guardhouse at Sorel and a guardhouse
at Mississauga Battery, Kingston, both of which have three doors for two rooms, probably an attempt to preserve symmetry in the facade. Where there are cells as well as guardrooms several variations in layout appear. In a plan for Blairfindie in 1817, a plan of a proposed guardhouse at Chambly in 1819, and 1823 plans for Coteau du Lac and LaPrairie, the cells are at the rear of the building. At Blairfindie the two cells open directly off the guardroom; at Chambly and Coteau du Lac there is an entrance from the men's guardroom to the passage off which the cells open; at LaPrairie the front door opens onto a hallway with entrances to the two guardrooms and the cell block. In all these cases the men on guard could very easily control access to the cells. In other cases the entrance to the cells was separate from that to the guardroom. A plan of the guardhouse at Fort York in 1823 shows a guardhouse with officer's and men's guardrooms, orderly room and four cells. There are four outside doors, with the one to the cell area leading to a passage, off which the cells open. A plan of the same year for the garrison hospital guardhouse at Quebec shows a door on the front of the building leading to the guardroom and a door on the side of the building leading to the black holes. A plan of the guardhouse and solitary cells at Fort Henry, dated the following year shows a separate outside door to each of the four cells, two doors on the side of the building, one at the front and one at the back, which must have made it
Proposed guardhouse at Chambly, 1819.

This guardhouse has separate entrances for officer's and men's guardroom, with the corridor leading to the cells opening off the men's guardroom. This plan shows the widths of doors and windows.

(Public Archives of Canada.)
Disposition of Proposed Guard House

Scale 20 Feet to an Inch.

C.S.86.  
Gregor 1839.
Guardhouse, Coteau du Lac, 1823.

This shows a guardhouse with only one entrance. The officer's guardroom has the greatest privacy, as no other rooms open off it. Entrance to the cells is controlled from the men's guardroom and no fireplaces are indicated. Probably both guardrooms were heated by stoves. The section seems to indicate some form of raised platform for sleeping in the cells, and also an opening in the cell walls.

(Public Archives of Canada)
Château du Lac.

Guard house, framed building, splinter-proof, tinned roof in good repair.
Guardhouse and Solitary Cells, Fort Henry, 1824.

This plan shows an interesting layout, with each cell having its own outside door and the doors being on three walls of the guardhouse. The door to the cell shown in the elevation is narrower than that to the guardroom. The walls of the cells are much thicker than those of the guardroom.

(Public Archives of Canada)
No. 6.

PLAN: Section & Elevation of the Guard House, Southampton

Port Henry.

Section in the Line of A

Elevation

Guard Room

Scale to 16 to an Inch.

Commander Royal Engineers Office

Lucerne, May 8th 1824

E. Brandreth

Ed. Brandreth

Plate 6

Deck 322 23

May 24th 1824
most difficult to guard the prisoners. A picture of a guardhouse at Montreal shows separate doors for the guardroom and the cell, with a sentry guarding the door to the cell (see figure 11).

Walls
In general the type of material used for the walls of the guardhouse was the same as the material used for other buildings at a post. Most of the earlier guardhouses were of log. In later years, particularly at the larger posts some guardhouses were of stone. The guardhouse at Amherstburg was described by Durnford in 1823 as being a framed building. A plan of the fort at Amherstburg in 1841 describes the guardhouse as being of brick, and comparing an 1840 plan of the guardhouse with Durnford's plan it would seem to be the same building, probably with brick covering the original wood or brick nogged (the walls were shown as being 1 ft. 4 in. thick). Stone guardhouses seem to have been built only at Kingston, Montreal, Quebec, and a few of the posts built during the War of 1812.

Roof
Most guardhouses had shingled roofs. A few, such as the navy guardhouse at Montreal, had tin roofs, but this was unusual. The guardhouse at the navy establishment at Isle aux Noix in 1820 was described as having a boarded roof, but this was considered as a temporary building.
Floor

Guardhouse floors were of plank. The deserters at York who escaped from the black hole in 1805 did so by raising a plank of the floor and digging their way out.\textsuperscript{17} From the estimate for the guardhouse at St. Joseph's Island it would appear that the floor of that building was of two inch pine plank (see Appendix E). In the Dégelée Barracks in 1840 the floors were to be of 3 inch pine plank laid on logs.\textsuperscript{18}

Exterior and Interior Finishing

Most wooden guardhouses had walls covered on the outside with weatherboarding. In some cases the outside was also painted. Sometimes the interior walls were of lath and plaster—particularly for the officer's guardroom—and sometimes they were of plank. In 1830 the guardhouse at Point Henry, Kingston had the guardroom lined with brick, and the cells lined with stone.\textsuperscript{19} Sometimes the interior was painted. The estimate for building a guardhouse at Fort William, St. John's, Newfoundland, in 1814, calls for six hundred and seventy two pounds of white paint, and fourteen pounds of chocolate paint, presumably for the trim (see Appendix F). Once again this type of finishing would be used for the officer's guardroom.

Doors

Guardhouse doors were generally plain doors of vertical boards. In the picture showing a guardhouse at Montreal the door to the cell seems to have metal studs in it. In 1823 the guardhouse at Fort Mississauga was reported as needing
9 & 10 Guardhouse, Amherstburg, 1823 and 1841.

This would seem to be the same building. The dimensions of the guardhouse in 1823 are given as 20 ft. by 25 ft.; the dimensions of the 1841 building are 20 ft. by 24 ft. The gallery seems to be the same width in both cases, and has the same number of posts along the front. It would seem that the side galleries were accidentally omitted from the 1823 plan. The 1841 plan shows how the gallery roof was attached to the main roof. It also gives details such as the thickness of the walls and the foundation.

(Public Archives of Canada)
No. 6

No. 6 Guard House
two new battened doors with hinges, latches and catches.\(^{20}\) The doors would have either strap hinges, as a Fort St. Joseph, or HL hinges as at Amherstburg (see Appendices D and E). They would probably fasten with a latch and catch and in some cases they would have some type of lock. The estimate for the guardhouse at Amherstburg calls for two stock locks and two padlocks, while for the one at St. Joseph's Island two stock locks were needed. Plans made in 1823 show rectangular transoms above the doors of guardhouses at La Prairie, Chambly, and Quebec. Doors to guardrooms were usually three and a half or four feet wide, while those to the cells were a foot or six inches narrower.

**Windows**

There was a great variety of window styles and arrangements in guardhouses. In general the cells had no windows, though, later cell blocks tended to have ventilating slits for the cells. The guardhouse at Isle aux Noix in 1823 had blind windows for the cells on the front of the building, in order to preserve the symmetry; these blind windows contained ventilating slits for the cells. The guardhouse for the garrison hospital at Quebec in 1823 had two small, high windows to light the passage in the cell area. In some cases rooms which were designed for other purposes had to be converted to contain prisoners; in these cases iron bars were fitted to the windows. The windows could be casement, double hung, or fixed. In 1797 an estimate for works to be
"Bringing a Few Friends to Dine at Barracks",
H.B. Lawrence.

This shows a guardhouse in Montreal in the 1860's. It is by the gate, has separate doors to guardroom and cell, and a gallery. Some details of the doors and windows are shown. The two chimneys indicate heating for the cell.

(Public Archives of Canada)
carried out at Quebec included three dozen sash pullies for the Hope Gate guardhouse. A picture showing a guardhouse at Montreal (see Figure 11) seems to show a double hung window. This window had twelve panes of glass, three across and four down. An estimate for a guardhouse at the Cedars, near Montreal, in 1820 calls for four windows of four panes over three, which in the accompanying plan is shown as three panes across and four down (see Appendix I). A plan of the guardroom at Fort Frederick, Kingston, shows a window divided vertically, and having four panes of glass across and three down. There does not seem to be any indication of shutters on my guardhouse windows; possibly the windows were double.

Heating

The early method of heating guardhouses, as well as other military buildings, was by fireplaces. In general the chimney would be built between two rooms, if there were two guardrooms, with a fireplace for each. In 1796 Edward Cross and George Richardson built a chimney with two fireplaces in the guardhouse at Gibraltar Point, York. According to the Duke of Kent's barrack regulations of 1800 a guardroom for officers received one room's ration of fuel during the winter months and a guardroom for non-commissioned officers and privates received one room's fuel for every twelve men. A room's fuel was three quarters of a cord of wood, English measure, per week. General Prescott in 1796 had allowed
guardrooms a third more fuel than other rooms. Gradually, stoves were introduced, first as an additional source of heat. By the War of 1812 stoves were in general use in guardrooms. In the fall of 1811 stoves and pipes were hired for the barracks, guardrooms, etc., occupied by a division of the 100th Regiment stationed at Three Rivers. In 1821, as there was no convenience for cooking in the new naval guardhouse at Montreal, and as it was considered dangerous to open a fireplace for such a purpose, the Naval Storekeeper was instructed to purchase a double stove for the guardhouse, which would be useful for cooking and for heating the guardhouse. By 1828 the Commissary General, commenting on the new fuel regulations, observed that "Open fireplaces are not generally in use in Canada and when used there is for the most part a stove in the same room, all the passages, Halls or entrances are furnished with large stoves without which a house would not be habitable." Of course these remarks about heating apply only to the guardrooms; no thought was given to heating the cells.

Cells
The most important point to be remembered in constructing the cells was that they "be fitted up in a strong manner". The prisoners must be securely confined; if they were uncomfortable, so much the better. A plan for a proposed barrack near Fort Howe, Saint John, New Brunswick, in 1787, shows trap doors in the guardroom and orderly room from which lead down to the black holes. Cells which were above ground
Proposed guardhouse at York, 1833.

This plan gives very complete measurements for the building. Of particular note in both plan and section is the fireplace, 1 ft. 6 in. deep, 3 ft. 4 in. wide and 3 ft. 6 in. high. Both window and door are shown with small bottom ledges.

(Public Archives of Canada)
Royal Engineer Office
Zululand 28th Oct 1883.

Great Marla Tolimo

Ground Plan of House 1mm

Scale of 1 foot to one inch.
would have solid thick walls, often of heavier material than the other buildings around them. Instructions for building cells at Chatham, U.C., in 1838, stated that the lining around the cells was to be of 3 inch plank. A plan for converting the schoolroom at the Jesuit Barracks, Quebec, into solitary cells in 1823 shows eighteen inch brick partitions for the cells. The plan for the barracks near Fort Howe in 1787, plans of Fort Henry, Coteau du Lac and Isle aux Noix in 1823, and plan of an artillery guardhouse at Toronto in 1840 show some form of ventilating slit for each cell. In other cases there may have been some type of small barred opening in the door for ventilation or perhaps the only form of ventilation was whatever air filtered through the chinks in the walls.

An important feature of the cells was a good strong lock on the door. In 1822 an estimate for converting part of the log barracks at Fort Mississauga into four cells for solitary confinement provided for four padlocks, bolts and staples. A requisition for repairs needed the following year included one stock lock and key and an iron bolt for the door of a cell at Fort Mississauga. The estimate for the guardhouse at Amherstburg calls for two stock locks and two padlocks, while that for the guardhouse at St. Joseph's calls for two stock locks, only (see Appendices p and e). The cells shown on various plans vary in size from 6 ft. 6 in. by 4 ft. (Quebec garrison hospital guardhouse in 1823) to 12 ft. 10 in.
by 6 ft. (Toronto in 1841). A very rough type of bed may have been provided for the prisoners. A plan of the guardhouse at Coteau du Lac in 1823 seems to show a shelf running along the back of the cells a few feet off the floor. An estimate for works at Carillon in 1837 includes two small wooden beds for the cells at 15s. each. The prisoners would sleep, if they could, on the bare wooden bed.

**Gallery**

A gallery was usually considered a necessary adjunct to a guardhouse. There should be some form of planking, preferable covered by a roof, in front of or beside the guardhouse for the use of the sentry and for the guard to assemble when called out. Most of these galleries were five feet wide. They ranged from a simple wooden platform with a roof supported by plain posts (see the Fort York guardhouse, in figures 13 and 14) to ornate porticos with Grecian columns or arcades. A plan of the guardhouse at Chambly in 1823 shows wide sweeping front steps, up to a porch with a dormer roof and columns, running half the width of the building. The Royal Artillery guardhouse at Toronto in 1840 had a small porch, 4 ft. by 4 ft., intended merely to shelter the entrance.
13 Guardhouse, Fort York, 1823.
This shows a simple gallery with very plain posts; the line of the roof covers the gallery. Only one chimney and one fireplace are shown.
(Public Archives of Canada)
"Eastern and main entrance to Old Fort York".

If this is the eastern entrance to the fort, then according to an 1816 map of Fort York, the building shown must be the "Officer's and Men's Guard House, Orderly Room and Blackholes", a plan of which is shown in the previous illustration. However this building has more chimneys, fewer windows and fewer supports for the gallery than shown on the Durnford plan. The roof of the gallery is interesting as it is an extension of the main roof rather than the type shown in the Durnford plan. The sentry box differs greatly from the one shown by Stretton (Figure 18) but seems to be somewhat similar to those shown by Walsh (Figure 1), though the latter are unfortunately too indistinct to be examined closely.

(Metropolitan Toronto Public Library, J. Ross Robertson Collection)
Main guardhouse, Montreal, 1823.

This guardhouse has somewhat ornate pillars supporting the gallery roof, which is part of the main structure.

(Public Archives of Canada)
Niagara hospital guardhouse and dead house, 1840. This plan shows an arrangement of furniture in a guardroom. The section shows the design of the guardbed.

/Public Archives of Canada/
House and Dead House at the Garrison

Plan

Dead House
15.0 x 10.0

Table.

Section of the

20 30
Furnishings

Mens Guardroom

One of the most necessary furnishings of a guardhouse was the guardbed, on which the men might rest when not on sentry duty. This was a wooden shelf, with a small horizontal ledge at the head, from which it sloped slightly downward (see figure 16 for a cross section of the guardbed). The guardbed was usually about 6 ft. 6 in. from head to foot and might be any width. In some guardhouses one guardbed extended all or most of the length of one wall; in a few cases there were several guardbeds placed head to foot along the wall (for instance the guardroom at the gunboat wharf, Quebec, in 1823). The guardbed was not intended to provide a comfortable night's sleep for the men on guard; rather they should always be ready to respond if called out. Therefore no bedding was provided for it. An estimate for making a guardbed at Carillon in 1837 called for 163 feet of 1 inch board, 55 feet of 3 inch plank and 6½ pounds of 3 inch nails. 36

The plan of the guardhouse at the garrison hospital, Niagara, 1840 (see figure 16) shows one arrangement of furniture in a guardroom. All that is shown in this is a table, stove and guardbed. There would probably be one or
two forms or benches to place at the table, as the men on guard had to eat their meals in the guardroom. The regulations for barracks issued by General Prescott in 1796 stipulated that a guardroom was to have a water bucket, an ax, a lantern and a candlestick. Guardrooms were to be allowed three candles, or half a pint of oil, per night during winter months, and two candles, or oil in proportion, per night, during the rest of the year. The Duke of Kent's barrack regulations issued in 1800 also stated that brooms were to be supplied to offices and guardrooms in the proportion of one to each room per month. \(^37\) A guardhouse usually also had arms racks, and a shelf and pegs for storing equipment and coats. A form for the report of the main guard at York in 1812 mentions as well a fire shovel, tongs, a saw, several parts of Ordnance stores, and eleven oars, as being in care of the guard. \(^38\)

**Officer's Guardroom**

If there was an officer on guard he, too, would be provided with a bed, but one of a somewhat more comfortable description than that in the men's guardroom. When a naval guardhouse was built at Montreal in 1821 the iron bedstead for the officer's room had to be cast specially as there was none to be had in Montreal. \(^39\) The officer's guardroom would also have the water bucket, ax, broom, lantern, and candlestick, set forth in regulations. There would be the same allowance of candles as for the men, but these were to
be moulded rather than dipped.\textsuperscript{40} There would probably also be some provision for the officer of the day to write up his report, a desk, perhaps an ink well etc. In 1799 the officers' room at the main guard at Quebec needed six new rush bottomed chairs, as those in use were unserviceable.\textsuperscript{41} Privies

Guardhouses which were remote from barracks generally had privies close to them. The beach guardhouse at Niagara in 1823 had a privy; when the navy guardhouse at Montreal was built in 1821 it was to have its own privy.\textsuperscript{42} The Castle guardhouse in Quebec in 1823 had a soldiers' privy and an officer's privy (see figure 17). Guardhouses near barracks would not have as great a need for privies as the men would be able to use the facilities of the barrack. In 1802 there occurred at St. Johns, L.C., a complicated dispute between Captain Christie of the 6th Regiment, in command of the post, and some of the officers serving under him. Captain Christie, writing to Lieutenant General Hunter on the subject said:

\begin{quote}
When Lt. Col. Thomas [the commanding officer of the regiment] came to St. Johns the second time he asked me if I had given out an order, for the Officer on Guard to remain constantly at his Guard Room. I told him I had. It was an order of Major General Burton's. He then said Sir! Is the
Officer not to be allowed to go to the Necessary. I told him I did not think such a thing could be supposed.\textsuperscript{43} Apparently the necessary was not considered part of the guardhouse.
17 Officer's and men's privies, Castle Gate guardhouse, Quebec, 1823.

(Public Archives of Canada)
View of Cape Diamond Guardhouse, 12 June 1806, Sempronius Stretton.

This picture shows a sentry box quite clearly. Note the projecting bottom rails.

(Public Archives of Canada)
View of Cape Diamond Guard House June 12, 1856 - Zuber
Sentry Boxes

Each post would have sentry boxes at various important points and in most cases there would be a sentry box outside the guardhouse. The pictures of the Cape Diamond guardhouse, and the entrance to Fort York (figures 14 and 18), show two different styles of sentry box. However the picture of the entrance to Fort York is somewhat questionable, as the building shown should be the guardhouse, but it differs in several important points such as the number of chimneys and the shape of the roof, from the plan and drawing of this building in 1823. This may be the way the sentry box at Fort York looked at some point, but we cannot establish the date. Stretton's picture of Cape Diamond guardhouse, shows a sentry box which is probably typical of the pre 1812 style, with peaked roof, protruding bottom rails and arched doorway. Unfortunately most estimates for building sentry boxes which exist are included with estimates for other buildings and for repairs, so that it is difficult to tell what materials were intended for the sentry boxes. An estimate for two sentry boxes at Fort George in 1817 (see Appendix B) indicates that they each had a door and at least one window. Stretton's picture of 1806 shows neither.

Ground Treatment

Little or no thought was given to landscaping of British posts in the early nineteenth century. The ground around the guardhouse would probably be rolling, covered with rough
stubble with a pathway beaten by the guard from the guardhouse to the sentry boxes and the parade area. The main point for the guardhouse was that the view and the field of fire be uninterrupted.
St. Louis Gate Guardhouse, Quebec, 1806, Sempronius Stretton.

This picture was originally titled View of St. John's Gate Guardhouse, but on revisiting Quebec Stretton discovered his mistake. This is a guardhouse placed in a strategic location, with an excellent view. Note the unusual porch treatment.

(Public Archives of Canada)
The Present Guardhouse

The reconstructed guardhouse at Fort George bears very little resemblance to the original guardhouse. It was based on a building at Fort Mississauga which had been a barracks, and part of which had been converted into solitary cells (see Appendix J). The preliminary plan for the reconstructed guardhouse had two guardrooms, with a chimney between, and six solitary cells with a chimney in the middle of the cell area. By the time the guardhouse was built the partition between the guardrooms had been removed, and the fireplace relocated on the end wall. After the building was erected it was decided that the brick from this fireplace and chimney should have extended through the wall rather than being entirely inside; to remedy this a layer of bricks was added to the outside. The present guardhouse has a gable roof, rather than a hipped roof as the original had, two chimneys rather than the one shown by Walsh in his picture, two doors on the side away from the curtain rather than on the side nearest the officers' quarters as shown by Walsh, six cells rather than four, only one guardroom and no gallery. It is 48 ft. by 16 ft., much narrower than the building indicated by the foundations uncovered in the summer of 1973. The guardhouse as it stands now is very close to the foundations
uncovered in 1973 and almost parallel to them, which indicates that when it was built some part of these foundations had been discovered, and were used to align the building.
Appendix A

Military Secretary's office book, pages 89-92, 26 December 1797, Estimate of the expense of the undermentioned necessary buildings proposed to be erected at Fort George:

To erect a Guard House

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
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<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shinglers</td>
<td>6.0.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glaziers</td>
<td>1.4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>8.10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Materials (Part I)

Fourteen hundred feet running Pine 10 in. to 14 in. deep & sawed to 6 in. thick

two hundred feet running oak 7 in. by 9 in.

fifteen pieces of oak each 26 ft. long, 7 in. by 9 in.

four hundred feet running pine 10 in. by 10. in.

two hundred feet running pine 10 in. by 8 in.

fifteen pieces pine each 26 ft. long 7 in. by 9 in.

eight hundred feet running of oak 10 in. to 14 in. wide 8 in. thick.
fifteen pairs of rafters 18 ft. long 7 in. by 5 in. at one end 5 in. by 5 in. at the other
two pairs of hip rafters 23 ft. long 8 in. by 6 in. at one end 6 in. by 6 in. at the other
Two thousand feet running of Pine 4½ in. square
Fifty ¼ Inch Boards
Two hundred & eighty 3/4 Inch Boards
Four hundred Inch Boards
One hundred 1½ Inch Boards
Two hundred 1½ Inch Pine Plank
Two hundred 2 Inch Pine Plank
Nine thousand shingles
Eighteen thousand shingle nails
Three thousand lath nails
Four thousand 10d nails
Four thousand 20d nails
Five thousand 30d nails
Three thousand 40d nails
Twelve dozen of 1½ Inch screws
Two dozen of Inch screws
Two hundred Weight & a half of Iron
One hundred & forty-four panes of Glass 7½ by 8½
One hundred & twelve Pounds of White paint
Thirty six pounds of Putty
Fifteen gallons of Linseed Oil
One gallon of Spirits of Turpentine
Four paint Brushes
One pair large HL hinges
Six pairs of small HL hinges
Two latches & catches
One stock lock
One brass Knob Lock
One Toise of stone
Six thousand Bricks
Fifty three Barrels of Lime
One Barrel of Hair
Thirty loads of sand & water

Materials (Part II)

Materials | Suggested Use
---|---
Fourteen hundred feet running Pine | log work
10 in. to 14 in. deep & sawed to 6 in. thick | 
Two hundred feet running oak 7 in. by 9 in. | cills & supports for gallery
Fifteen pieces of oak each 26 ft. long 7 in. by 9 in. | sleepers
Four hundred feet running pine 10 in. by 10 in. | between guardrooms and cell block
Two hundred running pine 10 in. by 8 in. | 
Fifteen pieces pine each 26 ft. long 7 in. by 9 in. | Beams
Materials

Suggested Use

Eight hundred feet running of oak cell walls
10 in. to 14 in. wide 8 in. thick

Fifteen pairs of rafters 18 ft. long,
7 in. by 5 in. at one end 5 in.
by 5 in. at the other

Two pairs of hip rafters 23 ft.
long 8 in. by 6 in. at one end
6 in. by 6 in. at the other

Two thousand feet running of Pine Partitions, small rafters
4½ in. square

Fifty ½ Inch Boards Lining partitions, officer's guardroom

Two hundred & eighty 3/4 Inch interior finishing Boards

Four hundred Inch Boards covering & weatherboarding

One hundred 1¼ Inch Boards

Two hundred 1½ Inch Pine Plank roof
Two hundred 2 Inch Pine Plank floors

Nine thousand shingles

Eighteen thousand shingle nails

Three thousand lath nails

Four thousand 10d nails
Four thousand 20d nails
Five thousand 30d nails
Materials

Three thousand 40d nails
Twelve dozen of 1\frac{1}{4} Inch screws
Two dozen of Inch screws
Two hundred Weight & a half of Iron
One hundred & forty-four panes of glass \(7\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}\)
One hundred & twelve Pounds of White paint
Thirty-six pounds of Putty
Fifteen gallons of Linseed Oil
One gallon of Spirits of Turpentine
Four paint brushes
One pair large HL hinges
Six pairs of small HL hinges
Two latches & catches
One stock lock
One brass Knob lock
One toise of stone
Six thousand bricks
Fifty-three Barrels of Lime

Suggested Use

Bars, fittings for cell doors, etc.
officer's guardroom, trim
windows
door to cell area
doors to cells and guardrooms
doors to guardrooms
for door leading to cell area
for door for officer's guardroom
foundation or footings
chimney and fireplaces
plaster and mortar
Materials

One Barrel of Hair

Thirty loads of sand & water

Suggested Use

plaster

mortar\(^1\)
Appendix B

Estimate of the expense required for building two sentry boxes at Fort George, 31 January 1817.

Civil Carpenters Work 10 Days @ 10/ per day £5.0.0
Military Painters " 2 " @ 1/9 " " £0.3.6

Materials
Sixty feet of Scantling Six by Six Inches Square
Fifty feet of two & half Inch Pine Plank
Two Hundred feet of one Inch Pine Board
Four Pounds of Twenty dy nails
Two Pair of HL Hinges
Two Sets of Handles Latches & Catches
Five Pounds of White Paint
Twenty four Panes of Glass 7 x 9
Three Pounds of Putty 1
Appendix C

Gother Mann, Colonel Commanding Royal Engineers, to Major Green, Military Secretary, 3 January 1803.

"I herewith transmit for Lt. General Hunter's information a copy of Captain Bruyères' Report of the State of the Public Works and Buildings at the several Military Posts in Upper Canada...."

The following are extracts from this report, relating to the guardhouses at the various posts.

Kingston, p. 4, "The Ordnance Stores, and Guardhouse are Wood Buildings 90 feet long 23 feet wide. The Roofs require to be new Shingled."

Point Frederick, Kingston, p. 5, "The Floor, Roof and Chymney of the Guard House require to be repaired, the new Arm Racks made."

York, p. 6, "The several Hutts erected for temporary Quarters for Officers and Men, also the Blockhouses and Storehouses are in good repair for the number of men at present required to occupy them and Stores to be lodged. There are:... 1 Hutt for Guardhouse with an Officer's Room and Black hole adjoining."
Fort George, p. 6c, "The Guardhouse is 48 feet long 20 feet wide 12 feet high, contains Officer's and Soldiers' Guardrooms, and four Solitary Cells for Confinement."

West Landing, p. 9, "The Guardhouse is a Building 40 feet in length 22 feet wide 10 feet high contains a room for 20 Men, and an Officer's Room. It will require to be Weatherboarded and painted to preserve and secure the Building. The Cill and Floor of the Gallery require to be renewed. The Floors of the rooms repaired. The Chymney and Fireplaces to be repaired and the Stone foundation to be pointed. Five new double moving Births are required. This house has been much injured by converting it into a Canteen and altering the original distribution of the Apartments particular orders are required to prevent this abuse in future."

Chippawa, p. 10, "The Weatherboarding of the detached Kitchen, Bakehouse and Guardhouse to be painted."

Fort Erie, p. 11, "A new Centry Box is wanted there being none at the post."

Amherstburg, p. 15, "The Guardhouse within the Fort is in good repair."

Saint Joseph's, p. 19, "The Guardhouse is a good Building 30 feet long 15 feet wide 8 feet high contains Guardrooms for Officers and Men and 3 Solitary Cells for Black holes. It requires to be Weatherboarded and painted to preserve the Building."
Appendix D

22 December 1796 Estimate of the work to be done at the post opposite Isle au Bois Blanc to erect a guardhouse

Carpenters work $82. 0. 0
Masons 8. 0. 0
Shinglers 4. 5. 0.
Smiths 1.10. 0.
Sawyers 12. 0. 0
Labourers 5. 0. 0

Materials
One hundred forty two feet & a half of 10 in. by 12 in. Oak timber
Two hundred sixty feet oak 9 by 9
One hundred & ten feet of oak 7 by 9
Ninety seven feet & a half oak 6 by 8
One hundred & eighty feet " 10 inch diam. hew'd on one side
Four hundred & two feet " 6 by 5
Fifteen hundred feet pine 10 to 15 in. deep 6 inches thick
Ninety 1½ inch Pine Plank 10 feet long
Thirty " " " " 12 feet long
Twenty " " " " 15 feet long
Two hundred & twenty inch boards
Eight thousand shingles
Two hundred feet Cube of Pine timbers
Eleven hundred 30 d nails
Eighteen hundred 20 d nails
Eighteen thousand shingle nails
Thirty two panes of glass four pounds putty
Four pairs of HL Hinges
Two stock locks
Two padlocks
Two latches and catches
Six thousand five hundred bricks
Three toises and a half of stone
One hundred & fifty Bushels of Lime
Half a hundred weight of iron
23 January 1798, Estimates for work to be done on the island of St. Joseph,
To build a Guard House of Log work on a stone foundation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Craft</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters work</td>
<td>£52.15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masons work</td>
<td>37.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers work</td>
<td>5.12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smiths work</td>
<td>.18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glaziers work</td>
<td>.12.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Materials

- Twenty four pieces pine 34 feet long 8 by 10 in.) log work
- Twenty four " " 18 feet long 8 by 10 in.)
- Six pieces Hemlock 18 feet long 8 by 10 in. sleepers
- Six pieces pine 18 feet long 6 by 9 in. Beams
- Sixteen pieces cedar or pine 12 feet long 8½ by 4½ at one) rafters end and 6 by 4 at the other
- Four hundred Inch Boards covering and weatherboarding
- Eight thousand shingles
- Sixteen thousand shingle nails
- Three thousand 30 d Nails
- Two thousand 20 d Nails
- Two pair hook & strap Hinges
Two stock locks
One Bar of flat Iron
Seven toises of stone
Three thousand of Bricks
Thirty Barrels of Lime
Twenty four days of a pair of Horses
Fifty 2 Inch Pine Plank
St. John's Newfoundland,
Sept. 21st 1814

Estimate of the Expence of building a new Guard House etc. at Fort William agreeably to the orders of Maj. Gen. Charles Campbell Commanding the Troops etc. etc. etc.

Workmanship
Carpenters 57. 12. 9
Masons 9. 6. 8
Smiths 8. 6. 8
Painters 1.15.
N.C. Officers 5.
Privates 8. 6. 8

Materials
Boards (In feet 6
(Clap
Bricks No. 1
Coals 5.
Chards five
Canvas Yds. five
Glue lbs. twelve
Glass panes 8 X 10 seventy two
Grates No. two

(HL Pairs One

Hinges (Cross garnet one

(Large hook & eye four

Iron bar lbs. five hundred & sixty

(Stocks No. one

Locks (Iron rim six

(Pad doub. six

Latches & catches two

Lead (Sheet lbs. Eighty four

(Pig fourteen

Line sash knots one

Lime Roch Bushels One hundred & fifty

(40 dy. lbs. fifty six

(30 " " fifty six

Nails (12 " " two hundred & twenty four

(8 " " fifty six

(6 " " one hundred & twelve

Oil Linseed Gallons sixty four

Putty, Pounds twenty four

Paint (White lbs. six hundred & seventy two

(Chocolate fourteen

Pullies & pins pairs two

Plank 2 In. feet One thousand two hundred

Stones, Tons building Eighty

Shingles No. seven thousand
Scantling (6 X 5 feet running
( (6 X 4 " One hundred & forty eight
) (4 X 3 " two hundred & forty eight
) (4 X 2 " seven hundred
) (6 X 3 " four hundred & forty

Turpentine sp. gallons
sixteen

Teams doub. No.
fifty 1
Appendix G

Fort George, October 23, 1815
Estimate of the Expense required for repairing the Guard House on the Beach

Military Carpenters Work 8 days 14s

Materials
Ninety feet of Scantling 3 x 3
One hundred feet of Inch Boards
One thousand one hundred and fifty two shingles 18 Inches
Four pounds of 12d Nails
Six Pounds of Shingle Nails
Four Panes of Glass 7½ x 8
Half a Pound of Putty
One Bushel of Lime
One sheet of Sheet Iron
Appendix H

Fort George, 27 January 1817

Estimate of the Expence Required to Erect a Guard House at Butlers Barracks

Civil Carpenters Work 25 days
Military Masons Work 88 days
Military Labourers 150 days

Materials
Three Hundred and Sixty feet of Square Timber twelve by twelve inches
Seven Hundred and fifty feet of Inch Pine Board
Seventy four Panes of Glass $7\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$
Ten pounds of Putty
One Pair of Strap Hinges
One Bolt
Twelve Pounds of Twelve dy Nails
Twenty four Pounds of Twenty dy Nails
Five thousand four Hundred Bricks
Two Toise of Stone
Thirty six Barrels of Lime
Fourteen Hundred feet of Lath Boards
Twenty five Pounds of Lath Nails

1
Appendix I

Ci-dessus le devis d'un édifice proposé, qui doit être divisé en deux appartimens: l'un pour un officier non commissioné, l'autre pour les hommes, avec un petit grenier pour bagage etc. 7 pieds entre les planchers
450 pieds de bois de charpente
1700 pieds de madrier, d'un 1½ pouce pour l'entourage embouftée
600 pieds de planche pour la couverture
2500 bardeaux pour do.
5000 clous à bardeaux
1500 grands clous
1 porte et 4 chassis de 4 vitres sur 3
48 vitres pour les chassis
1 cheminée au milieu
Ferrures chassis et porte
Aux cèdres 27 avril 1820
Appendix J

Fort George 19 July 1822

Estimate of the Expence of Workmanship and Materials required to convert a part of the Log Barracks in Fort Mississauga into four Cells for solitary Confinement.

Civil Carpenter Work £ 5..15..0

Probably Expence of Materials on the spot £ 9..19..19½

Materials

Fourteen pieces of Pine Scantling each 14 feet long 8 x 4

Three hundred and fifty two feet of Pine Plank each sixteen feet long and 6 inches thick

One hundred and fifty feet of inch Boards

Twenty pounds of 30 dy Nails

Ten pounds of 10 dy Nails

Four pair of Hook and Strap Hinges with rivets

Four Pad Locks, Bolts and Staples

Five Hundred feet of 1½ inch Pine Plank

Twenty pounds of 20 dy Nails

(Plans were later changed and part of these barracks were converted into six cells)
Appendix K

Halifax, 5 May 1826

Estimate of the expense of erecting a building 17 feet long, 12 feet wide, and 8 feet high the roof and sides boarded and shingled, the floors to be of two thicknesses of boards, to have a Chimney and the building to stand on a Stone foundation proposed to be placed within the ruins of Fort Massey.

Workmanship

40 days of Civil Carpenters 9
25 " of Military Carpenters 2. 7. 11
46 " " Masons 4. 8. 2

Materials

550 feet Ranging Timber
575 " Sawed Scantling (pine)
2500 " Merchantable Boards
9000 Shingles
1 pair 18 inch Hooks & hinges
1 7 inch iron rimed Lock
1 Strong Thumb Latch
112 lbs. of no. 8 rose Nails
15 " " 10 "
15 lbs. of no. 3 Nails

90 " 21 "

32 " 14 lath "

26 panes 10 x 8 Glass

5 lb. putty

26 lb. Iron

20 Tons Building Stone

1000 Bricks

4 Hogsheads White Lime

8 loads Sand

4 bushels Cow hair

2000 laths

5 days of a Single Team

1
Appendix L

Locations of Illustrations

1 "The Esplanade, Fort George, 1805", Clements Library, University of Michigan.
2 Plan of proposed works at Niagara, 1799, PAC, National Map Collection, V2/440 - Niagara - 1799.
3 Plan of Fort George, probably 1803-1804, PAC, National Map Collection, H1/440 - Niagara - 1793.
4 Scenes at La Prairie, 1812-1814, PAC, RG 8, C Series, Vol. 1203 ½F, inside front cover.
5 Prepared by Author
6 Proposed guardhouse at Chambly, 1819, PAC, National Map Collection, H4/350 - Chambly - 1819.
7 Guardhouse, Coteau du Lac, 1823, PAC, National Map Collection, H4/350 - Coteau du Lac - 1823.
8 Guardhouse and solitary cells, Fort Henry, 1824, PAC, National Map Collection, H4/450 - Kingston - 1824.
9 Guardhouse, Armherstburg, 1823, PAC, National Map Collection, H4/450 - Amherstburg - 1823.
11 Bringing a few friends to dine in Barracks", PAC,
Picture Division, C-39751.

12 Proposed guardhouse at York, 1833, PAC, National Map Collection, H4/450 - Toronto - 1833.

13 Guardhouse, Fort York, 1823, PAC, National Map Collection, H4/450 - Toronto - 1823.

14 "Eastern and main entrance to Old Fort York", Metropolitan Toronto Library, John Ross Robertson Collection, No. 668.

15 Main guardhouse, Montreal, 1823, PAC, National Map Collection, H4/350 - Montreal - 1823.

16 Niagara garrison hospital and dead house, 1840, PAC, National Map Collection, H4/450 - Niagara - 1840.

17 Officer's and men's privies, Castle Gate guardhouse, Quebec, 1823, PAC, National Map Collection, H4/350 - Quebec - 1823.

18 View of Cape Diamond Guardhouse, 12 June 1806, by Sempronius Stretton, PAC, Picture Division, C-14825.

19 St. Louis Gate Guardhouse, Quebec, 1806, by Sempronius Stretton, PAC' Picture Division, C-14813.
Endnotes

Abbreviations used: PAC Public Archives of Canada
NMC National Map Collection
WO War Office Papers
Adm Admiralty Papers

Introduction

General History of the Guardhouse
1 PAC, RG 8, C Series, Vol. 382, p. 23, June 1795.
2 PAC, Prescott Papers, MG 23, G II, 17, Series 1, Vol. 17, p. 25, John Green, Military Secretary, to Deputy Commissary General Craigie, 8 August 1796.
5 PAC, RG 8, Vol. 546, p. 75.
8 PAC, MG 23, G II, 17, Series 1, Vol. 23, p. 117, Estimate of Works at Fort George, 31 October 1797.

9 PAC, RG 8, Vol. 546, p. 189.

10 Ibid, Vol. 1208, pp. 139-140, Green to Lieutenant Colonel McDonell, Commanding Officer at Fort George, 12 January 1800.

11 Ibid, Vol. 14, pp. 60-61, McDonell to Green, 24 October 1800.


14 Ferdinand Brock Tupper, The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B., (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1847), pp. 26-30; Ontario Archives, F.B. Tupper Papers, memorandum by Colonel Fitzgibbon, who was Sergeant Major of the 49th Regiment at the time of the mutiny; PAC, RG 8, Vol. 922, pp. 77-79, 83-84, Brock to Green, 16 and 17 August 1803.

15 PAC, RG 8, Vol. 923, p. 17, Brock to Green, 15 February 1804.

16 Ibid, Vol. 922, pp. 80-82, Brock to Green, 16 August 1803.

17 Ferdinand Brock Tupper, op. cit., p. 32n quoting an old pensioner who had served many years in the 49th.
18 PAC, RG 8, Vol. 923, pp. 12-16, Brock to Green, 8 February 1804.

19 Ontario Archives, F.B. Tupper Papers, Patrick Campbell to Tupper, 8 December 1845. Campbell had been an officer in the 49th.


23 Ibid, Vol. 165, p. 22, David Dundas, Commander in Chief of the army, to Craig, 6 April 1811.


25 Ontario Archives, F.B. Tupper Papers, Patrick Campbell to Tupper, 8 December 1845.

26 PAC, Vol. 922, pp. 77-79, Brock to Green, 17 August 1803.

27 Ibid, Vol. 547, pp. 87-88, Brock to Green, 1 October 1803.

29 PAC, RG 5, A 1, Vol. 5, part 1, pp. 1750-1764, Colonel Bowes to the Hon. Alexander Grant, Administrator of Upper Canada, 12 April 1806, with enclosures.

Physical Details
1 PAC, MG 23, G II, 17, Series 1, Vol. 22, pp. 84-88. Gother Mann, December 1797.
4 Ibid.
7 Ibid, Vol. 546, p. 189.
8 Ibid.
10 Ibid, Vol. 106, pp. 82-83, Return of unserviceable stores at various posts, 11 August 1798.
Comparative Study of Other Guardhouses

1. PAC, RG 8, II, Vols. 80-83; PAC, NMC.
2. PAC, NMC, H4/450 - Toronto - 1816.
5. PAC, RG 8, Vol. 382, p. 93, Gother Mann to Green, 14 September 1798.
10. PAC, RG 8, Vol. 923, pp. 56-58, Sheaffe to Green, 9 August 1805.
14 PAC, NMC, H4/450 - Amherstburg - 1840 and 1841.
17 PAC, RG 8, Vol. 923, pp. 56-58, Sheaffe to Green, 9 August 1805.
20 PAC, RG 8, Vol. 574, pp. 125-129, Requisition for repairs to the barracks and other buildings, Fort George, 12 June 1823.
21 PAC, MG 23, G II, 17, Series 1, Vol. 21, pp. 201-204, Estimate for works at Quebec, 7 January 1797.
24 Ibid, Vol. 1016, pp. 1-3, Memorial to Sir George Prevost asking that the cost of these be refunded to the troops, 18 January 1812.


28 PAC, NMC, D 250 - Saint John, near Fort Howe - 1787.


30 PAC, NMC, H4/350 - Quebec - 1823.

31 PAC, NMC, H4/450 - Toronto - 1840.

32 PAC, RG 8, Vol. 573, p. 75, Estimate of the expense of converting part of the log barracks at Fort Mississauga into four cells for solitary confinement, 24 July 1822; ibid; Vol. 574, pp. 125-129, Requisition for repairs to barracks and other buildings, Fort George, 12 June 1823.


34 Ibid, p. 513, commander of the garrison at Toronto to the Assistant Quarter Master General, 22 November 1839.

35 PAC, NMC, H4/450 - Toronto - 1840.


41 PAC, MG 23, G II, 17, Series 1, Vol. 23, p. 263, order for chairs for officers' room, Main Guard, Quebec, 7 June 1799.


Appendix A

1 PAC, MG 23, G II, 17, Series 1, Volume 22, Military Secretary's office book, pp. 89-92, Prescott Papers, Estimate of the expense of the undermentioned necessary buildings proposed to be erected at Fort George, 26 December 1797.

Appendix B

1 PAC, RG 8, C Series, Volume 561, p. 55, British Military Records. Estimate of the expense required for building two sentry boxes at Fort George, 31 January 1817.
Appendix C

1 PAC, RG 8, C Series, Vol. 383, p. 1, Gother Mann, Colonel Commanding Royal Engineers, to Major Green, Military Secretary, 3 January 1803.

Appendix D

1 PAC, Series 1, Vol. 21, pp. 192-193, Prescott Papers. Estimate of the work to be done at the post opposite Isle au Bois Blanc to erect a guardhouse, 22 December 1796.

Appendix E


Appendix F


Appendix G

1 PAC, RG 8, C Series, Vol. 556, p. 89, Fort George. Estimate of the Expense required for repairing the
Guard House on the Beach, 23 October, 1815.

Appendix H

1 PAC, RG 8, C Series, Vol. 561, p. 56, Fort George.
Estimate of the Expense Required to Erect a Guard House at Butlers Barracks, 27 January 1817.

Appendix I

1 PAC, RG 8, C Series, Vol. 126, p. 16.
Ci-dessus le devis d'un édifice proposé, qui doit être divisé en deux appartemens: l'un pour un officier non commissioné, l'autre pour les hommes, avec un petit grenier pour baggage etc.

Appendix J

1 PAC, RG 8, C Series, Vol. 573, p. 75, Fort George.
Estimate of the Expense of Workmanship and Materials required to convert a part of the Log Barracks in Fort Mississauga into four Cells for solitary Confinement, 19 July 1822.

Appendix K

1 PAC, WO 55, Vol. 863, p. 562, Halifax. Estimate of the expense of erecting a building 17 feet long, 12 feet wide, and 8 feet high the roof and sides boarded and shingled, the floors to be of two thicknesses of boards,
to have a Chimney and the building to stand on a Stone foundation proposed to be placed within the ruins of Fort Massey, 5 May 1826.
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MG 23, G II, 17, Prescott Papers
MG 23, H I, 4, Powell Papers
MG 24, A 6, Hunter Papers
MG 24, G 70, Thomas Evans Papers
RG 5, A 1, Upper Canada Sundries, Vol. 5.
RG 8, II, Ordnance Records, Vols. 31, 37-38, 80-83.
RG 8, 3 A, Admiralty Lake Service, Vols. 33-34

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Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers

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A Veteran of 1812; the Life of James Fitzgibbon. 2nd ed.
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