

Chapter 6

War and Occupation

Judging from the events of the previous chapters it would not be surprising if in the spring of 1812 John Quick still felt like a displaced American. Yankee-born and survivor of Indian wars in Virginia and Ohio, he may actually have harbored a deeply-set resentment against the British for the hardships his family had suffered at the hands of the Indians, hardships that had hastened Elizabeth's early death. On the other hand, since then, he would admit that the British had given him "a good piece of land, a fine farm". By the spring of 1812 he would have been at least fifty-eight (and perhaps a couple of years older). He had lived in Upper Canada seventeen years, about the same length of time he had lived in Virginia. Time sets the bond to a home and to the political system that maintains it.

Also in that time he had put down roots in the land of Upper Canada. His marriage to Mary Baldwin, the widow of a loyalist from Connecticut, made him the father of a new large family. The household, though methodist, was a loyalist one in sympathies. With the exception of his youngest sons, Alexander, now seventeen and Elijah, sixteen, his children from his first marriage had long-since married and taken up farms in Colchester and Mersea. Mary, Joseph and Cornelius had married into loyalist families.

In 1812 he petitioned again for his lots in Colchester, this time successfully. His petition was delivered by Mathew Elliott in York on 20 February. Addressed to "His Honor Isaac Brock Esquire President Administering the government of the Province of Upper Canada and Major General Commanding His Majesty's Forces" it states in part:

That in the year 1799 Your Petitioner was ordered in council two lots of Land Containing 400 Acres, in the Township wherein he resides - but upon his application for the Patent, he was informed that notice had been sent him to appear before the Honourable the Executive Council in January 1801 - That the said Notice having not been delivered to him, Your petitioner did not attend - Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays that he may be heard by his Agent Matthew Elliott Esquire, as he is himself unable to attend, and that Your Honor will be pleased to grant him such relief as to Your Honor may seem meet -.¹

The paper was read in Council on 27 February and the 400 acres recommended to him, Brock's signature can be seen on the document. By 4 March, John Quick had paid through Elliott a total of nearly £11 sterling for the patent and survey fees. The last patent would be granted on 27 June nine days after the outbreak of the new war with the United States.

This chapter is devoted to those events of the war of 1812 that impacted our family. If I am guilty of omitting certain events it is because this is a history of a family and not of war.

Early Days We shall see that John Quick himself did not participate in the fighting. He probably stood aside because of his age. But the war would prove a test of his resolve to remain a British subject. He was certainly a positive influence on five of his sons and four of his stepsons who did fight with the militia. In a manner of speaking the extended Quick family supplied nine fighting men.

War was declared by the US on Britain and her dependencies on 18 June.² To the new

1 PAC, RG1, L3, 422, UCLP "Q", Bundle 6, 1802-1804. The records of payment, denoted RG No. 232 and RG No. 470, are filed under this reference. The receiver general at this time was Prideaux Selby who had moved from Sandwich to York in 1809. He died on 9 May 1813, just after the burning of York by the Americans.

2 I am indebted in this chapter to a number of works on the war of 1812—A. Gilpin, *The War of 1812 in the Old Northwest* (Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1958), G. Stanley, *The War of 1812, Land Operations*

American republic the timing seemed right. Britain was involved in a great war in Europe with Napoleon, her traditional enemy. Thousands of men were involved on both sides. The British Navy controlled the sea, so the Americans would direct their attention to Upper Canada, a British possession that could be taken by walking, or so went the American rhetoric. This footnote to the War of 1812 would play out in North America as a kind of civil struggle between cousins—English speakers, of similar backgrounds and largely American-born. The war would enter American mythology as the last war of their revolution. Their counterparts north of the border would think of it as the trial that cemented their allegiance to the British Empire, and that made them at least *not* American.

The effects of the war took awhile to reach the Western District tucked away in the southwest corner of Upper Canada.³ The news reached Fort George near Niagara on 24 June. Lieut. Col. St. George, the commander at Fort Amherstburg, received the information on the following day. It would be in Amherstburg that the first shots would ring out.

On the day of the declaration Upper Canada, Michigan and northern Ohio were in states of very primitive development, the population on both sides of the border being small and widely scattered. Amherstburg, York, and Kingston, numbered among the handful of muddy towns that dotted the Canadian sides of Lakes Erie and Ontario. Settlements were isolated by miles of woodland and rough bush farms. Transportation was mostly by water. Michigan, not yet a state, had a population of four or five thousand, mostly Indians and people of French-Canadian descent. Ohio near the lakes was largely uninhabited. American forces had to be collected, mostly by draft, from as far away as Kentucky and southern Ohio and marched for long distances to fight in Canada, a place that for most of them was far away and poorly known.

In spite of the fact the United States had declared the war, Britain was better prepared for a fight. For one thing, she had superior power on the lakes. The garrison at Fort Amherstburg was a small one, however, consisting, as Richardson says, of 200 regulars of the 1st Battalion of the 41st Regiment, a detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Fencibles and a subaltern's command of artillery. On 25 June St. George ordered a detachment to Sandwich to close down the ferry and to keep watch on the American side. He sent riders to the New Settlement and the settlements along the Thames River Valley to inform the people there of events and to call out the militia. He ordered the Provincial Marine to patrol the Detroit River to intercept any American military craft that might be carrying information. British posture from the first was cautious and defensive.

The news made necessary the call-out of the militia for the first serious duty in fifteen years, since the days of "Mad" Anthony Wayne and the Battle of Fallen Timbers.⁴ In addition to the

(Macmillan, 1983), and M. Quaife (ed.), *War on the Detroit - The Chronicles of Thomas Verchères de Boucherville and The Capitulation by an Ohio Volunteer*. The Lakeside Classics, number 38 (Lakeside Press, Chicago, 1940). Two popular sources are Pierre Berton's, *The Invasion of Canada* (M&S, 1980) and *Flames Across the Border* (M&S, 1981). But I follow, for better or worse, mostly A. Casselman (ed.), *Richardson's War of 1812* (Hist. Pub. Co., Toronto, 1902), reprinted by Coles Pub. Co. (1974). Though criticized by some historians Richardson's work is more of a reminiscence dating from 1842 only 30 years after the events.

3 Because of poor information the farmers were unable to take advantage of the rise in prices that followed the rumours of and then the declaration of war. In late April the farmers were still selling flour for 24 shillings a hundredweight to the merchants like Askin, unaware that the merchants were getting \$7.50 a barrel from government. "& these latter keep the secret by not offering the farmer more than the 24/". This, John Askin wrote gloatingly to his son Charles, 28 April 1812. JAP, 2, 707-8.

4 The militia met annually in the intervening period, but mostly for the purpose of drinking whisky and raising hell. Every able-bodied male between the ages of 16 and 60 was subject to militia service. The basic form called the Sedentary Militia was required to attend four muster parades a year and was subject to duty for periods of eight months within its own district. In March 1812 a system of elite flank companies was inaugurated. Two flank companies were to be formed in each battalion from single men under forty, to be trained six days a month by regular soldiers and subject to service anywhere in

Kent militia (of which David Quick was serving in the 1st Company), two regiments of “flank companies” of Essex militia were called out between 2 July and 12 July to bolster the regulars. The officers of the 1st Regiment were Mathew Elliott Colonel, James Allan Lieutenant Colonel, and Ebenezer Reynolds Major. Four companies of the 1st Regiment were mustered on 2 July, the first day of real hostilities. These companies, two English-speaking and two French, were commanded by William Caldwell Junior, William Elliott, Jean Baptiste Barthe, and Laurent Bondy. Each was comprised of about 50 privates (in theory to be made up of 60). Being wartime the term for a private was one month at six pence a day. Issued with government firearms, ammunition pouches and canteens they were expected to augment their homespun with whatever cast off clothing of the regulars they could scrounge.

That first day, 2 July, the Provincial Marine got lucky.⁵ The schooner *Cuyahoga* transporting supplies of the army of Brig. Gen. Hull, then approaching Detroit from the Maumee rapids, was captured on the river opposite Amherstburg. By an amazing oversight Hull had not yet been informed of the declaration of war. Found aboard—in addition to band instruments and officers’ wives—were military papers. Thus St. George was alerted of the size and intentions of the American army. American forces consisted of the 4th US Infantry and three regiments of Ohio militia—a body to be augmented at Detroit by the Michigan militia under Col. Brush. The whole came to 2300 men.

By 8 July to counter this threat, St. George massed some 500 militia at Sandwich, including the 2nd and 3rd Companies of Elliott’s regiment. In an effort to add to the army’s provisions, the Kent militia was ordered to round up cattle from Sandwich and the Thames River Valley. The 1st and 4th Companies of Essex militia were held at Amherstburg to mend the defences of the fort.⁶ St. George, awaiting invasion any day, ordered on 9 July a fifth company of Essex militia to be called up—the one commanded by William Mills—to serve aboard *Queen Charlotte*, a vessel of twenty guns recently constructed at the Navy yard in Amherstburg. Few on the Canadian side had any illusions about being outnumbered by at least four to one.

River Canard On 12 July “a bright and lovely Sabbath morning” as recalled by Richardson, Hull crossed the Detroit River with his army via Hog Island a few miles above Sandwich. His movement was unopposed, as St. George had ordered the town evacuated the previous day. The few British observers and the Indians, who numbered 600 strong, pulled back along the high road to the east side of the Canard River eight miles below Amherstburg. St. George ordered the planking of the bridge over the sluggish river dismantled, and a body of marksmen and Indians arranged in the long grass and weeds along its east bank to harass the Americans when they should appear. By this time the 4th Company of Essex militia, commanded by William Buchanan, had straggled in from Gosfield and Mersea Townships. (Cornelius Quick was in this company.) *Queen Charlotte* was anchored at the mouth of the Canard to serve as cover for the British when the engagement should commence.

But Hull, now nearing sixty, was unhurried to push on to Amherstburg. He set up his headquarters in James Bâby’s unfinished house in Sandwich and ordered the army to make camp on the old Indian reserve (the present grounds of Assumption Church and the campus of the

Upper Canada. Gilpin, 69. Wood, 1, 10-11. They were described as flank companies as they were intended to fight on the flanks, or extremities, of the British line.

5 The western division of the Provincial Marine consisted of the brig *Queen Charlotte*, of 180 tons, mounting (in February 1812) ten 24-pounders and six long guns (probably 12-pounders), carrying a crew (August 1811) of two officers and 27 men; the schooner *General Hunter*, of 60 tons, probably mounting six 6-pounders and carrying a crew of two officers and 17 men; and *Lady Prevost* (placed in service July 1812) of 80 tons, and mounting ten 12-pound carronades. The whole was commanded by Capt. George Hall, master of *Queen Charlotte*. Gilpin, 67.

6 These details of daily events come from the letters of St. George and Proctor that survive in PAC, British Military Records, “C” Series. They are more accessible to the general reader in MPHC.

University of Windsor). On 13 July he issued a proclamation directed toward the Canadian militia whom he knew to be mostly American-born. He had in hand a list of over a hundred pro-American residents of western Upper Canada who had declared their preparedness to support his forces. He appealed to the militia to remain neutral in the coming conflict. If they did, he said, their lives and property would be respected. Most importantly, he threatened, “No white man found fighting by the Side of an Indian will be taken prisoner...”

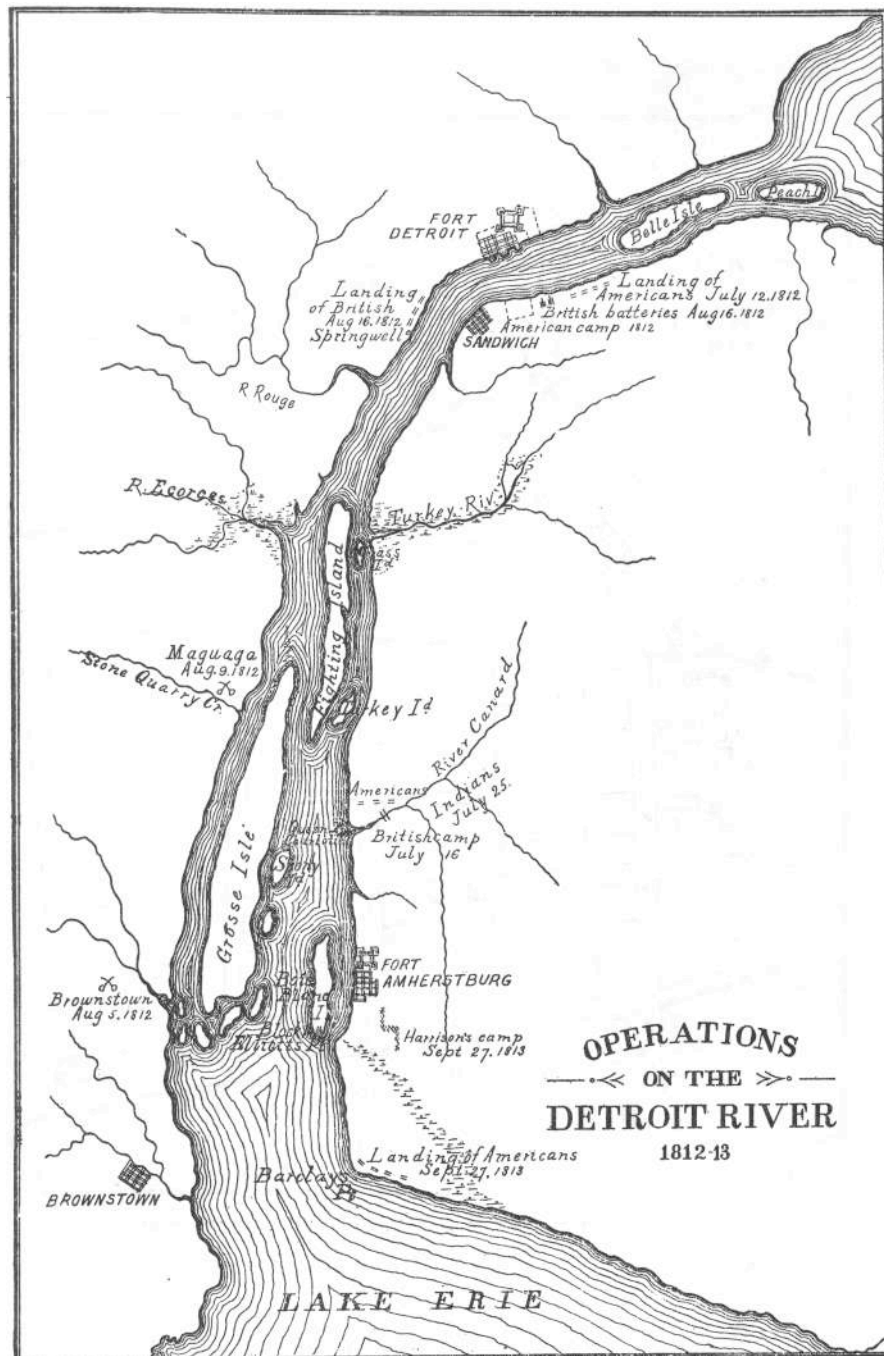


Figure 1. Operations on the Detroit River. Scanned from Richardson (footnote 2).

Table 1. *War Records of the Quick and Related Families in the 1st Essex and Kent Militias, 2 July 1812 - 24 March 1815.*⁷

Musters (see notes for dates and action of each)											
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
Alexander Quick	1		1	-	-	1(ab)	-(a)	-	(a)	-	-
John Quick Jr	1		1	-	-	1	-	1(a)	-	K	1(b)
David Quick	K		K	-	-	1(b)	-	-	-	K	-
Joseph Quick	1(a)		1(c)	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Benjamin Baldwin	1(a)		1(b)	1(a)	-	1	-	1	-	-	1(a)
Russel Baldwin	1(a)		1(b)	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1(a)
Cyrus Baldwin	1		1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Benjamin Knapp	1(b)		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Benjamin Knapp Jr	-		-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Leonard Scratch	1(c)		1(b)	1	1	-	-	4(b)	-	-	-
Cornelius Quick	-	4(a)	4(a)	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Nathan Baldwin	-	4(b)	-	6	6(a)	-	-	1	-	-	1(a)
Theodore Malott	-	4(c)	4(a)	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
William Munger	-	4(d)	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Philip Fox	-	-	4(d)	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
Companies present:	1-6			1-4, 6	1,2,6	1,2,6		1(2,4,6)		1,4	1,7

Notes: Command of companies present: 1-William Caldwell, 2-William Elliott, 3-J. Barthe, 4-William Buchanan, 5-Laurent Bondy, 6-William Mills, 7-Nicholas Lyttle, K Kent Militia

Muster	Dates	Notes	Major Action(s)/Dates
I	2 Jul - 24 Jul 1812	(a) absented 19 Jul, returned 10 Aug (b) deserted 19 Jul, did not return (c) deserted 19 Jul, made corporal 10 Aug	River Canard
II	12 Jul - 24 Jul	(a) deserted 16 Jul, returned 8 Aug (b) deserted 15 Jul, returned 9 Aug (c) deserted 19 Jul, returned 8 Aug (d) deserted 13 Jul, did not return (e) deserted 19 Jul	
III	25 Jul - 24 Aug	(a) returned 8 Aug (b) returned 10 Aug (c) returned 10 Aug 'sick in quarters' Detroit (16 Aug) (d) joined on the 9th	Brownstown (5 Aug) Maguaga (9 Aug)
IV	25 Aug - 24 Sep)	(a) deserted 15 Sep	Fort Wayne (14 Sep)
V	25 Sep - 24 Oct	(a) sick	
VI	17 Jan - 24 Jan 1813	(a) all except Caldwell mustered on 19th (b) wounded at the Battle of River Raisin	Frenchtown (18 Jan) River Raisin (22 Jan)
VII		(a) No lists - 12 Cos. incl Caldwell, Elliott & Buchanan	Fort Meigs (1-5 May) Fort Meigs (27 Jul)
VIII	2 Sep - 24 Sep	(a) On Duty in the New Settlement' Burning of Fort Amherstberg (b) private again, demoted from corporal	Moraviantown (5 Oct)
IX	25 Dec - 24 Jan 1814	(a) Under command of Col. Matthew Elliott" 10 pvt only	Kent Militia at Delaware Longwoods (4 Mar)
X	25 Jan - 24 Feb		
XI	25 May 1814 - 24 Mar 1815	Nicholas Lyttle's Co. of Essex Rangers (a) Joined 25 Apr (b) Joined 25 May	Lundy's Lane (25 Jul)

The proclamation's message spread confusion and alarm throughout the settlements. Many Americans who were new to Upper Canada regarded Hull, who was the well-known governor of Michigan Territory, as a fellow countryman. And whom was he kidding? By necessity, all the British militia would be fighting beside Indians. But its effect was demonstrable. Within twenty-

⁷ PAC, RG9, IB7, 32.

four hours 60 men deserted from the Essex and Kent militias to report to Hull's headquarters to plead his protection. Some enlisted on the spot.⁸ Three of these men, who would later serve the Americans in various capacities, were Ebenezer Allan, Andrew Westbrook and Simon Zelotes Watson.

But Hull seemed to dither before the skeleton of the Canard River bridge. For four days, 16 to 20 July, his men under Col. Cass attempted unsuccessfully to repair the structure, the whole time under sniper fire from the British regulars, the Indians and the thinning ranks of the militia. Repair of the bridge was essential for the river was wide enough and deep enough to prevent the passage of cavalry along the main road. The first casualties occurred at this time—a British private and an Indian were killed. As a result of Hull's proclamation, the nearness of the harvest, or the sights and sounds of honest-to-goodness battle, large numbers of militia deserted. Already by 15 July St. George had written to Brock complaining that only 471 militiamen remained with him, and many of these would be useless as soldiers. "There are certainly many well desposed", he wrote, "but the idea of leaving their families and farms at this season occasions their principal dissatisfaction".⁹ The muster rolls show that by 19 July, out of Caldwell's company, 41 of the 69 officers and men had returned to their homes. (The 28 who remained included the seventeen-year-old Alexander Quick, John Quick Junior, and their stepbrother, Cyrus Baldwin.) Out of Buchanan's company nearly the whole had deserted (Cornelius Quick and Nathan Baldwin included).¹⁰ In the meantime Hull ordered a detachment to ride up the Thames River trail to collect provisions. The horsemen were welcomed by many of the farmers living there, of whom some volunteered their services so widespread was the belief that the Americans, with their greater numbers, would win. The riders returned to Sandwich driving cattle and sheep by the hundreds they had stolen from the Baldoon settlement. To strengthen the defence Brock ordered on 26 July Col. Procter to take over St. George's command.

Brownstown Many battles of the war would be fought over lines of supply—the arteries along which flow intelligence, provisions, and the means to make war. The lines of both sides were long. British supplies came all the way from England by ship via Montreal and Kingston. American foodstuffs and ammunition were transported overland on the hoof, by wagon and packhorse from as far away as Illinois Territory. Supply lines were obvious targets for both sides.

The first blow against supply was struck by the British. On 4 August, during the stalemate at the Canard, Procter ordered 100 regulars accompanied by militia and Indians to cross the river to attack Hull's supply train of pack horses known to travel the main road through Brownstown, a Wyandot settlement thirty-six miles below Detroit. Tecumseh and a band of 24 followers (including Mathew Elliott's half-breed son, Alexander) ambushed 200 Ohio militia under Maj. Van Horne. Eighteen were killed and 20 wounded. The US mail was captured along with intelligence of Hull's operations and the growing disaffection in his commanding officers. Then within the following week came official notification of the fall of Michilimackinac (which

8 E. A. Cruikshank, *A Study of Disaffection in Upper Canada* (Trans. of the Royal Soc. of Canada, 1912), 11-65.

9 On 15 July St. George complained to Brock of the militia: "Their numerous wants I am straining every nerve to supply - yet I am stunned with Complaints chiefly respecting their families left in the greatest want - some of the oldest have been allowed to go home -. There are certainly many well disposed, but the idea of leaving their families and farms at this season occasions their principal dissatisfaction-". PAC, C676-p. 177. MPHC, 103-104.

10 A militia deserter was not subject to the flogging or hanging a regular could expect. Should he refused to march he might be fined £5 or be jailed 3 months. A man who left without permission to harvest his crops could be fined £20. Fines were usually deducted from pay. The fact that Bondy and Buchanan were "absent with leave" for this period might explain the high rate of desertion from their companies. In addition to the rank and file all the officers of Buchanan's company also deserted on the 19th. It bears remembering that most of these men returned.

occurred on 17 July, opening as Hull called it “the northern hive of Indians”). Lacking reinforcements, demoralized by these events and the rumors of British backups approaching from Niagara, Hull decided on 8 August to withdraw. Had he pushed on to capture Fort Amherstburg with the vigor and daring later displayed by Isaac Brock, the outcome of the war would have been very different.

Maguaga The next day safe in Detroit, Hull attempted again to open his supply line through Brownstown. But a body of cavalry and infantry he ordered for the object was ambushed by the same group of redcoats, militia, and Indians that lay awaiting near the Indian town of Maguaga. Many years later John Richardson, a British volunteer at that engagement, would write the following description of the hurried march from Brownstown:

The road along which we advanced was ankle-deep with mud, and the dark forest waving its close branches over our heads left no egress to the pestilential exhalations arising from the naked and putrid bodies of horses and men killed of Major Horne’s detachment, which had been suffered to lie unburied beneath our feet.¹¹

According to American accounts the Indians were led by the Wyandot chief Walk-in-the-Water, who lived at Maguaga, and Marpot. “Most of the militia were dressed and painted like their ‘brethren in arms’, the savages”, so read their reports.¹² Alexander Quick and John Quick Junior were there with the militia. Eighteen Americans were killed and 60 wounded in this fierce engagement. The British lost 6 killed, and had 21 wounded (two of them being Jean Baptiste Barthe, who would later die of his wounds, and Thomas, Simon Girty’s oldest son¹³). It was a close enough call, though, for the British in the face of superior numbers had to escape on the double by boat. The Americans called it a victory, in spite of the fact their supply road remained in striking distance of the British who still controlled the river.

Detroit After Hull’s withdrawal to the American side and the skirmish at Maguaga, many farmers of the north shore rejoined the militia. By 12 August three days after Maguaga more than 80 of the Essex who had deserted during the set-to on the Canard River had rejoined their former companies. This included Cornelius Quick, Nathan Baldwin, Theodore Malott and William Mungar, Joseph Quick’s father-in-law. The crops were the best in years, and perhaps the harvest had been completed. Or perhaps the wind and the rain put an end to farmwork in the fields. In any case there was reason for the farmers to trust British claims they would ultimately succeed. They were told that Isaac Brock had left York to take personal command. On 13 August he arrived at Fort Amherstburg with his trusted York Volunteers, met for the first time with Tecumseh and energetically set about planning an attack on Fort Detroit.¹⁴ The farmer-soldiers had never seen anyone quite like him.

Brock called upon Hull to surrender without delay; but Hull refused. So on 15 August Brock

11 Richardson, 34. The reference is given in footnote 2.

12 Narrative of Maj. Dalliba, as quoted by Richardson, 39-40.

13 Thomas Girty carried a wounded British officer from the battlefield and later died it was said to heat and exhaustion. The officer survived. Narrative of Mrs. Catherine Girty (widow of Prideaux Girty) Draper17S195 and narrative of Mrs. Sarah Munger (daughter of Simon Girty) Draper20S204.

14 Brock was appalled to learn on his way west that the Mohawks of the Grand River and most of the militia of Long Point and Oxford County refused to serve. The uniformly-disliked Thomas Talbot, in attempting to assemble the Norfolk militia, was confronted by a large assembly of farmers and wives who defiantly declared to the confirmed bachelor, that “their men should not march”. J. Coyne ed., *The Talbot Papers* (Trans. of the Royal Soc. of Canada, 1909), 151. One of Brock’s first acts was to discipline and reduce in rank the officers of the Essex militia who deserted in July. This included Wendel Wigle, lieutenant of the 6th Company and a veteran of Burgoyne’s army of the revolution.

ordered a five-gun battery, which had been set up in a hidden position in Sandwich, fired on the fort. At daybreak on the following morning he crossed the river with his force in three brigades at Spring Wells, three miles west of the fort on the Brownstown road. The army was covered by the guns of *Queen Charlotte* and the brig *General Hunter*, which lay at anchor a half mile above Sandwich. The Essex and Kent militia, many wearing borrowed red coats which made them look like regulars, accompanied the first brigade under St. George. Richardson recalled the following about the crossing of the mirror-calm river on that summer morning:

A soft August sun was just rising, as we gained the centre of the river, and the view, at the moment, was certainly very animated and exciting, for, amid the little squadron of boats and scows, conveying the troops and artillery, were mixed numerous canoes filled with Indian warriors, decorated in their half-nakedness for the occasion, and uttering yells of mingled defiance of their foes and encouragement of the soldiery.¹⁵

Once in Michigan the soldiers and militia were formed up in columns, spaced at double distance to appear more imposing than they were, and marched toward the fort. British forces all told came to 1400, including 600 Indians. Inside the fort massed 2000 Americans, not including women and children. Tecumseh moved forward with his men under cover of woodland on the British left. But the Indians as usual were difficult to control. Many not under Tecumseh's direct supervision dropped out at the first opportunity to loot houses and steal horses.

Brock's leadership was bold, decisive, and accompanied by amazing good luck. He led his forces directly towards two 24-pound cannon loaded with grapeshot, and a 6-pound cannon loaded with canister, that the Americans had planted in the road to guard the fort's southern approach. But in the confusion coupled with Hull's indecision, the guns were not fired. Within minutes the columns had reached a protected position on a nearby farm.

The Americans inside the fort were greatly demoralised even before the battle was due to begin. They had already retreated from Upper Canada in a manner that had disgusted Hull's colonels Duncan McArthur and Lewis Cass. The two would recall at Hull's courtmartial how the general was confused and preoccupied with his own thoughts at this critical juncture. They claimed they had considered taking over the command to put up a more positive defense. Though the shells and mortars fired from the Canadian side had inflicted little damage on the fort, a number had found their way into the buildings killing officers in the presence of women and children. Hull would explain later how he was terrified of the Indians that he perceived to be all around him. He feared for the wholesale massacre of his men, the women and the children, at the hands of the Indians should a protracted defence end in failure. After the briefest of negotiations he agreed to Brock's demand to surrender his force of 2500 men, his armaments, stores and the whole territory of Michigan. Brock was no doubt surprised at the precipitate outcome.

The march of the victors into Fort Detroit on 16 August 1812 would long be remembered by the citizens of Upper Canada. And the memory would forever be imprinted with the vision of the young Isaac Brock. To the sound of the fifes and drums playing the Grenadiers, Brock led the procession through the gate. Behind came the regulars in scarlet coats, the uniformed militia, and those in plain dress. Bringing up the rear came Tecumseh and his men and the officers of the British Indian Department, dressed and painted as Indians. To huzzas by the victors the American colors were lowered from the flagstaff and replaced with the Union Jack. The Ohio militia was relieved of arms and allowed to return home on condition they not serve again unless exchanged. The American regulars would be shipped to Quebec. From the property seized every British private would receive more than four pounds prize money—at least twenty weeks' net pay.¹⁶ This

15 Richardson, 51.

16 The condition for eligibility to share in the prize required actual presence at Detroit or active support (the garrison at Fort Malden was ineligible). The number of Essex militia on the list came to 483. Wood, 1, 474. The prize money for the Kent militia in which David Quick served was divided into two

nearly bloodless enterprise, the first in which the farmer-militia had been engaged, inspired them with confidence in their British leaders. The disaffected were silenced; the returning deserters made trusting. As for Hull, his role in the war was over.

Brock did not hang about. He was anxious to return to the Niagara peninsula as he had reason to expect an invasion in that area at any time. On 17 August leaving Procter in command at Fort Amherstburg, he sailed for Fort George along with his troops of the 41st. For the remainder of the summer, with the British in control of Detroit and the nearest American forces some 300 miles away in the vicinity of Fort Wayne, the Essex and Kent militia could breathe easier. Unhappily, due to the lateness of the season, the lull in the fighting would not be sufficient to enable them to put in a proper crop for the following year. But they went home no doubt greatly relieved.

By late August, as the growing season drew to a close, the war was beginning to have an effect on goods and prices. Crops had suffered during the absence of the farmer-soldiers. Only half of the usual acreage of wheat had been planted, as few hands were available to sow it at the proper time, and to the heavier than usual rains that fell afterwards. Only a quarter of the usual yield of Indian corn was expected in the fall from inadequate hoeing. The price of potatoes for similar reasons had risen to a dollar a bushel, more than four times the price of the previous year. Salt was almost beyond price. Cattle were becoming scarce in the New Settlement and hogs had almost entirely disappeared, partly from the harshness of the previous winter and partly from the thievery of the Indians.¹⁷ The militia needed clothing and hard-soled leather shoes as shoepacks held up poorly under prolonged marching.¹⁸ With the instinct of survivors the farmers began hiding their own food in root cellars and secret places in the woods.

Brock was killed in October. Unbeknownst to him on his way back from Detroit, Sir George Prevost had arranged a temporary armistice with Gen. Dearborn, commander-in-chief of the American army. In a period of weeks the Americans were able to reinforce their position at Lewiston and to invade Queenston on the morning of 13 October. The Americans were repulsed in the battle, but Brock was shot and killed leading a charge on Queenston heights. Command of the British forces shifted to Maj. Gen. Sir Roger Shaeffe.

Frenchtown and the Raisin During the winter of 1812-13 the Essex militia took part in a number of engagements in Ohio that, though small, had the effect of stalling the Americans' return to Detroit. Toward the end of autumn a detachment, consisting of 50 men under the command of Maj. Reynolds and 200 Indians, were sent to Frenchtown on the River Raisin to gather corn and cattle and to scout out the movements of the army of Brig. Gen. James Winchester. On 18 January 1813 Reynolds' party was attacked on the south side of the mouth of the Raisin River by an advance guard of 600 Kentucky militia under Lieut. Col. William Lewis. The Americans crossed the river, forced the British to retreat and pursued them for two miles. The British found refuge at the now-familiar Brownstown, eighteen miles away. One militiaman and three Indians were killed. The Americans lost 12 killed and 55 wounded. Winchester then left the rapids with his army and advanced to join Lewis at the Raisin.

On the night of 18 January Procter decided to reinforce the detachment at Brownstown and to attack Winchester's army before Winchester had a chance to settle in and reinforce his position.

dividends, the first being worth £3 a share and the second £1.10 a share. PAO, Macdonald Collection, as quoted by Mr. and Mrs. Huff, *A History of the Kent Militia*, pamphlet No. 35, 1955. In 1847 Queen Victoria established the Military General Service Medal for distribution to officers and militia who served at Fort Detroit, Châteauguay and Chrysler's Farm. John Quick Junior and Alexander Quick were among the 911 men issued medals. There is evidence theirs were delivered to John MacLeod (PAC, British Military Records "C" Series, RG8, 1202) but we do not know if they reached their rightful recipients. The family legends in the CBRE are curiously silent on the Quicks participation in the militia.

17 Wood, *1*, 511-512.

18 Wood, *1*, 523.

Accordingly the next day, leaving the Kent militia to augment the skeletal guards at Fort Detroit, Sandwich, and Fort Amherstburg, he left Amherstburg at the head of 500 troops and Essex militia, 800 Indians under chief Roundhead and three 3-pound cannon. (Tecumseh was away collecting reinforcements.) In Caldwell's company were five members of our extended family: Alexander Quick, John Quick Junior, Joseph Quick, David Quick and Benjamin Baldwin. The ground was free of snow but the weather was bitterly cold and the river was frozen more-or-less solidly from one shore to the other. For safety and speed the army marched in open order directly across the ice towards the American side. Richardson described the crossing in these words:

No sight could be more beautiful than the departure of this little army from Amherstburg. It was the depth of winter; and the river at the point we crossed being four miles in breadth, the deep rumbling noise of the guns prolonging their reverberations like the roar of distant thunder, as they moved along the ice, mingled with the wild cries of the Indians, seemed to threaten some convulsion of nature; while the appearance of the troops winding along the road, now lost behind some cliff of rugged ice, now emerging into view, their polished arms glittering in the sunbeams, gave an air of romantic grandeur to the scene.¹⁹

On the night of 21 January the little army halted and bivouacked without tents at Swan Creek about five miles from the enemy's position. Two hours before dawn the next morning they spotted Winchester's men who were camped without guards in an open space before a stockaded cabin. Most were still asleep. The artillery and regulars formed Procter's center, Indians his right, and Indians and militia his left.

Procter began the engagement, not by attacking enmass to force a bloodless surrender at bayonet point, but in the usual British-Army fashion, by firing 3-pound shells in among the campers. Though many were taken by surprise, the bombardment at long range enabled many to find cover behind a nearby snake fence. The action was sharp for more than an hour until the center and the right of the American line broke and the Americans fled across the ice towards the north bank of the Raisin River and the woods beyond. Many were pursued and tomohawked by Indians along the way. Richardson recalled "for nearly two miles along the road by which they passed, the snow was covered with the blood and bodies of the slain".²⁰ Winchester, himself captured by Roundhead, was pressed to surrender the remainder of his force, some 500 men. The battle had been short, but savage (and to many of the militia, who knew Indian ways, unnecessary). The British lost 24 killed and 158 wounded. The wounded included Col. William Caldwell, David Quick, and Alexander Quick who was hurt ignominiously "by slipping on the ice".²¹

Once the battle had ended, Procter retreated. He had reason to believe that an attack was imminent from Gen. Harrison, the Governor of Indiana Territory, who was in the area with yet another army. At this point there occurred an abomination that would add fuel to American hatred of the British. While the British were retreating drunken Indians got hold of some American prisoners and killed them. Others were kidnapped and transported to distant villages. This "massacre at the Raisin" would become an American rallying cry.

Arriving at Amherstburg the army was met by a mob of wives who were anxious to discover whose husbands had been wounded or killed. All was confusion, with emotional meetings and cries of the bereaved. The hospital could not contain all the injured so some had to be doctored to in the barracks of Fort Amherstburg.²² The dead were buried in the Anglican churchyard in a

19 Richardson, 134.

20 Richardson, 135.

21 David was described as "wounded at River Raisin, 22-1-1813", Alexander as "wounded by accident, while on march to attack the enemy at River Raisin, 22-1-1813". PAC, RG8, I (C Series), 1202, 15.

22 Shadrach Byfield, "A Common Soldier's Account", in *Recollections of the War of 1812: Three Eyewitnesses' Accounts*, John Gellner ed., (reprinted by Baxter Pub. Co., Toronto, 1964).

single great pit.²³ Everybody talked of the massacre and the Indians' revolting behavior. Procter was criticized for withdrawing too quickly, for leaving his prisoners with insufficient guard and for not remonstrating with the Indians. This action put an end to hostilities for the winter.

Harrison took the opportunity through the winter of 1812-13 to consolidate his position in Ohio by strengthening a camp which would later be called Fort Meigs (pronounced "Maggs"), on the south bank of the Maumee River across the river and a little below the old battleground of Fallen Timbers. This place would serve as a depot for future attacks on Detroit. It was an obvious target for the British.

Fort Meigs The spring of 1813 was unusually wet. It was already 24 April before a detachment of 500 41st about 450 militia and 1500 Indians under Tecumseh, could proceed up the Maumee River to attack Fort Meigs. Many of the Essex (including almost certainly Cornelius, John Junior and David Quick who would have remembered the area from their days with the Indians) were engaged in the arduous task of transporting supplies by batteaux and two gun-boats. Once on the site they had the further exhausting duty of driving oxen pulling two 24-pound cannon to be used as battering artillery into position through axle-deep mud. On the morning of 1 May the British opened fire. But on the morning of 5 May Harrison was reinforced by Gen. Green Clay with 1500 Kentucky militia. Clay's forces descended the river in boats and landed on both banks of the Maumee River amidst the bullets of the British and militia. Sharp pitched battles were fought over control of the batteries. The area was swept by heavy spring rains, and in the quagmire hand-to-hand fighting took place with bayonets. American losses were large; barely 500 of Clay's men found shelter in the fort. The British continued the bombardment.

But by 6 May Procter despaired of being able to reduce the fort. The Americans hunkered down behind thick earthen breastworks and seemed able to repair any damage the big guns made to the fortification. The British and militia were fatigued with the constant exertion, now having lasted two weeks. Many were sick, being without tents and exposed to incessant, chilling rains day after day. The fever and consumption that had plagued the area since April continued to take its toll. As to the Indians, they were unused to this kind of warfare and stood idly by watching. The militia was anxious to attend to the spring planting and began to slip away—at first, in ones and twos, and later in greater numbers. This is revealed in the following letter, cosigned by eight officers on 6 May, addressed to the Inspecting Field Officer of Militia:

From the situation of our district last fall but very short crops of grain were put in the ground, and these, small as they were, will be rendered still less by the unfavorableness of last winter. Under these unfavorable appearances the farmer had only the resource left of putting in crops of spring wheat, and should they be kept here any longer, that of corn will also be out of their power, and the consequence must be a famine next winter. Indeed, the men are now detained with the greatest reluctance, some have already gone, and we are apprehensive that it will not be in our power to detain them much longer. (signed)

Wm. Shaw, Captain, Kent Militia.

John Dolson, Captain, Kent Riflemen.

Wm. Caldwell, Captain, 1st Regt., Essex

Wm. Elliott, Captain, Essex Militia.

Geo. Jacob, Captain, Kent Militia.

Wm. Sterling, Captain, Kent Militia.

Wm. Buchanan, Captain, 1st Essex Militia.

Jas. Askin, Captain, 2nd Essex Militia.²⁴

23 Robert Reynolds narrative in W. F. Coffin, *1812; The War, and Its Moral: A Canadian Chronicle* (Lovell, Montreal, 1864), 206.

24 PAC, RG8, I (C Series), 678, 255. In February 1813 a petition had been presented to Prevost pointing out that the harvest had been reduced the past year in the forced absence of the militia and that a cruc-

Procter, the typical British officer, sniffed at what he saw as irregular behavior in his farmer-soldiers.²⁵ But he had no choice; in the light of the scarcities of the previous year he had to allow them to return home to attend to the planting. Towards the middle of May he ordered the army pulled back. The Americans inside the fort let them move off unmolested, except for a few potshots at slow-moving stragglers. The British lost 14 killed, 47 wounded and 41 prisoners. The wounded included Capt. Bondy who would later die of his injuries, and Capt. Buchanan whose health was broken by cold and over-exertion. The Americans had 130 killed, 189 wounded, and over 600 prisoners. Though bested in terms of casualties, they still held Fort Meigs, and their time for advancement was rapidly approaching.

The affair at Fort Meigs was followed by yet another Indian massacre of American prisoners, further inflaming the Americans' desire for revenge. As the prisoners were escorted to old Fort Miami to be loaded onto gunboats for transport to Amherstburg, the escorts were joined by a large number of Indians who overpowered them and forced their charges to run the gauntlet. Forty were massacred. The carnage was only stopped by Tecumseh's timely arrival. By threatening to kill the next Indian who harmed anyone, he managed to effect some measure of control. According to most stories Tecumseh asked Procter later why he had taken no action. When told that he had no control over the Indians, Tecumseh spat scornfully "Begone! You are unfit to command; go and put on petticoats!"²⁶

Fort Stephenson Tecumseh insisted on returning to Fort Meigs. So Procter, in an effort to hold the Indians' support, agreed in late July to his request. But Procter, still smarting from what he saw as the militia's performance on the previous visit, refused to take them along, excepting a few volunteers. This force consisted of a small detachment of regulars and at least 1000 Indians. Tecumseh's plan was ingenious and might well have succeeded. He intended to lure the Americans out of the fort by staging a sham battle—as if attacking a small American force then approaching the fort. But the Americans who knew better weren't fooled. On 28 July, lacking heavy artillery, Procter was forced to withdraw.

Then Procter, rather than lose face by allowing the Indians to return to their homes without spoils or victory, decided on impulse to attack Fort Stephenson, a heavily-stockaded post at Lower Sandusky guarding Harrison's supply depot. From the walls of Fort Meigs he led his force in boats down the Maumee River to Lake Erie, along the coast to the Sandusky River, and then up the Sandusky to Fort Stephenson. He began by hammering the post with light 6-pound cannon. Assaulting the fort on the evening of 2 August without the benefit of ladders or storming

ial food shortage would develop if similar conditions prevailed in 1813. MPHC, 15, 251. Reynolds said of the militia: "It has been said they deserted Procter. Nothing can be more untrue, unfair, ungenerous. Who had they to speak for them? He was their mouthpiece. His dispatch was the only record—praise others; say nothing about them; and the brave man who fought for all he loved, had nothing to look to but the love of those he fought for. Procter treated the militia badly. When they saw his guns on skids, and knew the siege was over, they sent respectfully to ask leave to go home, only to put in a crop for the benefit of his men and their own children. He sent them home and disarmed them. He tried to disgrace them, but they would not be disgraced, because they knew they did not deserve it. Brock was another sort of man. He thought, and felt, and spoke for the men, and other men loved him, and fought for him, and died for him." Coffin, 211.

25 It bears remembering that the British officer was a product of the prevailing English culture. He looked upon the militiaman with disdain, seeing him as an agricultural laborer, who in England was generally an illiterate worker for wages occupying the bottom rung of the social scale. The British officer could barely tolerate communicating with a colonial elite who was more-or-less the equivalent of the British yeoman or gentleman. The fact that the militiaman owned the land he worked made little difference in British attitudes.

26 as quoted by Gilpin, 187. Procter was culturally incapable of communicating directly with the Indians. This is consistent with the comments in the previous footnote.

equipment, they were thrown back in confusion. The defenders, 200 men of the US 17th Infantry, outnumbered three to one, held firm under the leadership of Maj. Croghan. The British attack crumbled in the face of a murderous point-blank fire from American rifles, muskets, and a hidden 6-pound cannon crammed with grapeshot. Recalling his bleeding survivors Procter ruefully retreated under cover of darkness across the long open water to Amherstburg. Only one American had been killed and 7 wounded. But the British lost 26 killed, 41 wounded, and left 29 prisoners behind. The militia was fortunate its services were not considered worthy for this ill-conceived, badly executed mission.

Lake Erie Meanwhile the stage was being set for a far bigger test of strength, the Battle of Lake Erie. The principal adversaries were Capt. Robert Barclay of the Royal Navy and Lieut. Oliver Perry, commander of the US navy on Lake Erie. Through the winter of 1812-13 the Americans had built a freshwater navy in a rush, literally from scratch, at the harbor of Presqu'Isle (present Erie, Pennsylvania). Early in August 1813, during a period when Barclay had to lift his blockade temporarily, Perry maneuvered his ships through the bar-locked harbor and out onto the lake. On 26 August Perry's fleet could be seen by the residents of the New Settlement anchored menacingly off the north shore. Already it was able to blockade the Canadian shoreline to prevent the movement of bateaux from the British supply depot on Long Point. Barclay knew that although the ships under his command were woefully undermanned and poorly supplied with materials of all kinds, he would have to engage Perry's fleet and defeat it or risk the starvation or surrender of the Amherstburg garrison. The two fleets joined off Put-in-Bay on the morning of 10 September in a roar of cannon that could be heard from Mersea to Bois Blanc. Three hours later all was over. The entire British fleet was in American hands. This was the single most important military battle ever fought on Lake Erie.

Invasion The loss of the fleet meant the beginning of the end of British defense of the Western District. No longer could supplies from Montreal be safely transported via the lake to Amherstburg. No longer could the British Navy be counted on to stop Harrison's army, now poised in Ohio, from crossing the lake without hindrance. The Western District braced for its second American invasion in little more than a year.

From 2 September onwards the men in Caldwell and Buchanan's companies were on duty in the New Settlement keeping order and scrounging up supplies for the army. John Junior, Cornelius, and Joseph Quick were together in Caldwell's company. The men in Buchanan's company had already been transferred to other companies as Buchanan's condition was worsening from the ill-health he had contracted at Fort Meigs. He would be tended to by his dear wife Elizabeth Quick until his death on 20 September.²⁷

Procter was now preparing his retreat from Amherstburg. On 13 September he declared martial law to speed the impressment of much needed supplies from the farmers and to "send away or apprehend all traitorous or disaffected persons".²⁸ He ordered flour to be hunted down from merchants and farmers throughout the area. Cattle, oxen and milk cows were to be collected

27 In February 1816 Mrs. Elizabeth (Quick) Buchanan was awarded £25 by the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada on account of the loss of her husband. "Captain Buchanan was never in good health after the siege of Fort Meigs, and at length died, leaving a widow and small family of seven children." *The Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada* (Montreal, 1817), 312-313.

28 Farmers had withheld their produce because the commissariat had failed to issue receipts. One of the disaffected (for this and other reasons) was Benjamin Knapp, 52, a man who had served in Butler's Rangers in the revolution. Exactly when he moved to the US is not known, but his name appears in a list of disaffected persons ("Bears a very bad name") that was drawn up in 1816 as a result of the Sedition Act. Cruikshank, *A Study of Disaffection*, *ibid.*, 61. He died where he lived in Wayne Co. Michigan in 1823 leaving his land in Michigan to his fifth son, James. To the rest of his children including Elizabeth (wife of Cornelius Quick) he gave but one dollar. Will Book, Wayne Co. Mich., 271.

from those farmers who would be fleeing with the troops. The hungry Indians, perhaps 3000 strong, many with wives and children, demanded foodstuffs from the British, thus placing heavy demands on the public stores. On 18 September Procter convened an Indian council at Amherstburg for the purpose of proposing that the Indians retreat with the army to the Niagara frontier. Tecumseh defiantly replied that if the British would release supplies to his warriors in amounts they needed his people would defend the area like men without British help. As it was, they reluctantly agreed to accompany Procter up the Thames River Valley and to make a stand there somewhere against the Americans. At this point Tecumseh and Procter were barely on speaking terms.

But Procter, apparently not expecting an imminent invasion, dawdled in a manner reminiscent of Hull. The days went by. In good time the fort, Navy yard, barracks and public storehouses in Amherstburg were burned. On 24 September the Essex and Kent militias in Amherstburg (including our family members) were relieved of government arms, released from their duties and discharged to their homes. Procter pulled back his army to Sandwich.

Suddenly, two days later came word of the sighting of enemy sails at the entrance to the Detroit River.²⁹ Now all was bustle. Various long-time British partizans who had reasons to fear falling into American hands headed for the Thames trail with their wagons and baggage in advance of the slow-moving army. This included the legendary half-blind Simon Girty and the ageing Mathew Elliott (whose baggage required no less than 9 wagons and 30 horses to transport). On the afternoon of 23 September Harrison's force of 5000 men under cover of the guns of Perry's ships landed unmolested at Bar Point at the eastern entrance of the Detroit River. Learning of the British removal, Harrison rushed to take Amherstburg. In the meantime, a mounted force under the command of the Kentucky congressman, Col. Richard M. Johnson, advanced overland by way of the River Raisin to Detroit. The pincers of the American forces were closing.

In a cold fall rain Procter began his retreat along the bank of the Detroit River. At the shore of Lake St. Clair he turned east. Pushing ahead of the main body, he was anxious (or so he would testify later) to lead his wife to safety beyond Moraviantown. The rear of the army was covered by the Indians under Elliott and Tecumseh, but the Indians were deserting daily. It was reckoned that when the army reached the Thames River only 1000 Indians remained. The Potawatomi, most of the Chippewa and Ottawa, looking out for their own skins, had slunk into the woods. Victory for the American seemed certain.

On 2 October, Harrison began the pursuit of Procter's army in earnest. A sharp early frost made travel much easier over the creeks along the St. Clair shore. Procter's army was encumbered with heavy baggage. His men, in their disorganized state (Procter being far in the advance), had neglected to destroy bridges behind them. On 5 October Harrison's men captured two gun-boats carrying the bulk of the British ammunition. Thus it was that when cornered, the redcoats would have to fight with the cartridges they carried with them. Finally, two miles west of Moraviantown, rather than be shot from behind, the British halted and turned to make a stand. The regulars were formed up in two lines in open order across the trail (what is now No. 42 highway), with a lone 6-pound cannon in front, the Thames River on their left and the Indians on their right. Chief Oshawahnah directed the Chippewa and the western Sioux and Tecumseh the rest. The Americans outnumbered the British and Indians by at least two to one and both sides knew it. By this time, too, not surprisingly, the Wyandot and some of the Shawnee had vanished into the woods.

29 "Harrison, it is said, made an attempt to land in Colchester township, but was prevented from doing so by John Naudee, the Chippeway Chief and his Indians. On the 27th, Amherstburg was in their possession, but the army encamped that night on the farm now owned by Edward Honor, where their temporary earthwork fortifications may still be seen." Richardson, 242.

Moraviantown and the Death of Tecumseh The battle of Moraviantown was short and decisive. Johnson's mounted brigade cut quickly through the Indian lines. Tecumseh was shot and killed. British forces gave way after firing only three volleys and scattered through the woods, every man for himself. Procter continued to Ancaster on the Grand River (and from there made his way to Burlington Heights and the headquarters of Maj. Gen. Vincent). The British had 12 killed, 36 wounded, and all of 600 captured. The Americans had 7 killed and 22 wounded. The bodies of 33 Indians were left on the field. Among the captured were John Richardson and William McCormick of Colchester, both volunteers. They would spend many months as prisoners in Ohio and Kentucky.

The manner in which Tecumseh was killed and by whom has long been the subject of speculation.³⁰ American sources credit Richard M. Johnson, the future Vice-President, as his killer, a story that is manifestly political fiction. The following, more low-key account of his death was told to Lyman Copeland Draper, the American antiquarian, by William Caldwell Junior, who in his own words was a witness. As far as is known, Caldwell's narrative has not been published before. The section dealing with Tecumseh's death is therefore given in its entirety:

At the Moravian Town - a place was selected - Proctor's few remaining regulars were placed in the bushes (rest had been used to man boats, & all taken) - & they appeared so awkward, that Tecumseh said to Billy Caldwell, & his brother Capt. Wm. Caldwell: "See, these people are just like sheep, with their wool tangled & fastened in the bushes. they are trying to push aside to effect an entrance: They can't fight - the Americans will brush them all away, like chaff before the wind."

"What's the matter?" asked Capt. Wm. Caldwell of Tecumseh, at the same time tapping him on the shoulder. "No one", replied Tecumseh sorrowfully, "Will stand by me & fight today" Caldwell replied, "Yes, Tecumseh, one man will - I am that man; I will stand by you till the last - I will pledge myself not to run till you set me the example." Then Tecumseh, holding up three fingers said "Yes - you, I, & Billy Caldwell I know will fight - but what can we do alone?"

Col. Matthew Elliott, Capt. Thos. McKee, & a few other whites were present. Some twenty minutes before the firing commenced, While the men were getting their places, & awaiting the approach of the Americans, while Elliott, Tecumseh, McKee, Wm. Caldwell & several others were sitting on a log, & a young Shawanoe runner or aid of Tecumseh's - all of a sudden a noise came like the sharp whizzing of a bullet - Elliott, Caldwell, & all heard it distinctly - no enemy in sight - no report of a gun - & Tecumseh jumped, & instantly placed one hand on his back & the other on his breast, as though wounded & in pain, presenting a strange and ghastly appearance. Capt. Caldwell asked Tecumseh What is the matter? He said "he could not exactly tell, but it is an evil spirit which betokens no good." - Elliott said, "Capt. Caldwell, a precisely similar occurrence happened to your father once while reviewing his men - he fell, supposing a shot had passed through both legs just below the knees; but he found himself unharmed; & the next day in a fight (about the last battle he was engaged in during the Revolution, & perhaps the year before peace) he was shot precisely as the singular presentiment & pain indicated the previous day - & that Tecumseh would surely be killed." Caldwell suggested to Elliott to send Tecumseh away, & thus save his life for future usefulness. Elliott declined, saying he could take no responsibility - should he do so, & a disaster shd. happen, he might be blamed for it.'

"Why don't you go away?" Said Wm. Caldwell to Tecumseh. The latter who soon got over his mysterious attack, replied firmly "No, I can't think of such an act". The firing soon commenced at a distance on the right, but saw no enemy - except a nich(?) along the main road; & the British

30 Many stories can be found in C. F. Klinck, *Tecumseh: Fact and Fiction in Early Records* (Tecumseh Press, Ottawa, 1978). Klinck does not mention the Caldwell narrative that I think was unknown to him. See the following note.

regulars, intimidated, broke & ran away - & Capt. McIntire, one of their captains, vexed at their conduct, said he hoped they would at least fire off their guns before they went - so many of them fired with their guns on their shoulders & backs to the foe, aimless & without a purpose. While Tecumseh & Capt. Caldwell were three or four yards apart, in the rear of these runaways, watching the Americans & the retreating British regulars. Tecumseh exclaimed "Wough!" Clasp- ing one hand behind & the other before, indicating a wound through his body, but clasping his rifle in his hand. Caldwell asked him if he was wounded, he said "Yes". - & at the same time pointing to the flying British regulars as having shot him in the back & out at his breast. Caldwell asked if he could walk - he replied he could. "You had better go on, if you can, & I'll walk behind", said Caldwell. Tecumseh at once started, & only went about a rod, when in stepping over a large fallen oak, apparently weak & attempting to sit down as though he could go no farther, he fell his back upon the tree, & rolled one side upon the ground, partly on his left side, & partly against the tree - dead. He then had on a dirty linsey hunting shirt, belted around the middle - had a sort of cap, & buckskin laggings - a very good small silver mounted rifle, tomohawk, knife, pouch & horn. This was something like 300 yards off from the road - & beyond the road from the river. Tecumseh had not fired a shot - nothing to shoot at - except the Americans did make a momentary dash in that direction (probably missing their horses) & then retreating. Caldwell picked up Tecumseh's rifle which laid in his open right hand; & then thinking he might be charged with killing the chief for his rifle, stood it up against a tree & left it, & retreated. Soon met Col. Elliott - helped him to disentangle his missing horse - told him of Tecumseh's fate, which he said was nothing more than he had expected. Elliott escaped. Capt. Caldwell soon met young Tecumseh, a youth of perhaps seventeen, & told him of his father's death which by his expression seemed to effect him - his hands trembled badly as he tarried briefly to hear the said news, & reload his empty rifle - then all hastened away.³¹

After the Battle of Moraviantown and Tecumseh's death, the heart went out of the Indian resistance. Never again would a force of Indians in such numbers be collected in the Western District. From this time onwards until the spring of 1815, the district would be under American occupation. The center of British command in the west shifted to Burlington Heights. Harrison, fearing that the British might reoccupy Moraviantown during the coming winter, ordered on 6 October the village burned.³² But this done, he abandoned his pursuit. On the next day, amidst a light falling of snow, the first of the winter, he pulled back his army to Detroit. By 13 October the Kentucky militia, excepting Johnson's mounted men, had crossed the Detroit River on their way home.

Occupation At this juncture the Americans began their administration of their conquered territory. On 17 October 1813, Harrison issued a proclamation at Sandwich permitting the civil officials of Essex and Kent Counties to continue in office provided they swear to remain faithful to the US during the occupation. The posting, signed by Harrison and Perry, offered parole to all Canadian militia and pledged the protection of persons and property. Cass, who had accepted the appointment of governor of Michigan Territory on 29 October, was charged with the additional responsibility of governing American-held Upper Canada. One of his first acts was to order patrols to buy provisions, administer oaths of loyalty, and prevent the inhabitants from communicating with the British army further east. Farmers were threatened with the burning of their houses and barns if they refused the oath. Horses were stolen in great numbers on these visits and personal possessions of all kinds carried off. In October John Quick Senior in

31 Narrative of Capt. Wm. Caldwell, son of Col. Wm. Caldwell. Draper17S221-226 (Obtained August 1863). The incident in which Col. Wm. Caldwell was shot through both legs was the Battle of Sandusky when Crawford was captured and burned at the stake.

32 The ruins of the village of Moraviantown or Fairfield (between Bothwell and Thamesville, Ontario) were excavated in the 1940s by the archaeologist, Wm. Jury. On the parksite nearby is a small museum maintained by the United Church of Canada. It is well worth a visit.

Colchester had a horse taken from him by the men under “Lieut. Boons”.³³ Indications are that the oxen, plows and plow chains, which were vital for the cultivation of the land, and without which the farmers would have starved, were not touched.

In December 1813 the British reshuffled their military leadership partly as a result of Procter’s disgrace. Maj. Gen. Phineas Riall succeeded Procter as commander of the British right. Gen. Vincent was to command the Center. Lieut. Gen. Gordon Drummond became the military head and lieutenant governor of Upper Canada.

Not long after the battle of Moraviantown the British began to prepare for their return to the Western District. Drummond established an outpost at Delaware village, 34 miles east of Moraviantown, to gather intelligence and to maintain communication with Amherstburg. Stationed there were flank companies of the Royal Scots, a light company of the 89th Regiment, a detachment of the Loyal Kent Volunteers and some rangers. The volunteers, commanded by John McGregor, were mostly bachelors from Essex as well as Kent. Among them were John Quick Junior and David Quick, now hardened to fighting and Indian-style warfare.

With a jarringly modern resonance the Americans were unable to capture the hearts and minds of the people of the Western District. By the winter of 1814 people had become hardened in their attitudes against the Americans to such an extent that the American military had given up all hope of winning their loyalty. John Armstrong the American Secretary of War suggested that the settlements in American-held Upper Canada be completely broken up by sending American Indians against them. The idea was vetoed by the cooler-headed President Madison. Armstrong then suggested that the male settlers of the region be moved to Detroit to place them under better control. This plan too was not acted upon. The people of the Western District were very vulnerable at this time.

From December 1813 to March 1814 the American forces were commanded by Lieut. Col. Butler. By January, Butler had a total of 1600 regulars and Ohio militia dispersed among Detroit, Sandwich, and Fort Covington, a lightly fortified post he had thrown up outside Amherstburg. He sent numerous patrols to purchase food and to disorganize resistance among the Canadian militia. Men who were known to be officers of the Canadian militia were held and questioned for intelligence. On the last night of January 1814 a party under the turncoat Westbrook attacked Westbrook’s own house in Delaware Township that was then occupied by the Middlesex militia. The house and other buildings containing several hundred bushels of grain were burned. Lieut. Col. François Bâby, Captains Brigham, Dolsen and Springer were captured, bound hand and foot, and carried off on horseback. In a similar raid in February, David Quick, then serving with the Kent Volunteers, had his horse, saddle and bridle stolen.³⁴ Also in that hard cold February, when the American troops returned to Colchester, John Quick had a saddle and a bridle taken from him.³⁵

These thefts in the west were minor irritations in comparison to the incursions that came via the Niagara peninsula. On 15 and 16 May an American force of 100 men attacked Dover Mills and Port Talbot with the object of destroying mills and private property. Three times, on 30 May, 20 July, and 9 September, Andrew Westbrook himself led lightening raids on Port Talbot. Dressed and painted as Indians, they surprised the settlement and damaged crops, took prisoners, burned gristmills, sawmills and numerous houses. It seems that the Loyal Essex Rangers and

33 PAC, Dept. of Finance Records, RG19, E5(a), 3750, Nos. 982 and 983, 3749, No. 722. A “Lieut. Boons” from Kentucky conjurs up visions of the famous Daniel Boone. But Daniel Boone was nearly 80 in 1813. There is no evidence he was with Cass’s army in Upper Canada. L.C. Draper, *The Life of Daniel Boone* (Stackpole Books, 1998).

34 According to David Quick’s claim for losses. PAC, RG19, ES(a), 3749, #722. Witnesses were Samuel Coll and Capt. McGregor.

35 The Kent militia took part in the fight at Battle Hill (Longwoods) on 4 March 1814, but the muster rolls have not survived. J. I. Poole, *Trans. of the London and Middlesex Hist. Soc.*, 1911-12.

others who were making Port Talbot their temporary home base (as the local militia was with Talbot on the Niagara peninsula) were caught off guard. Nearly fifty heads of families were plundered of personal and household goods “leaving the sufferers naked and in the most wretched state”, as Talbot would report later.³⁶ The portly Talbot is said to have escaped on one occasion by diving headfirst, amidst a hail of lead, through an open window. In the May raid David Quick was taken prisoner and held for a short time (footnote 34).

Table 2. *Lt. Nicholas Lyttle’s Company of Loyal Essex Rangers, 25 March 1814- 24 March 1815.*³⁷

Name	Notes	Comments	Notes
Lt. Nicholas Lyttle		single	(c)
Ensign Prideaux Girty		single	(c)
Sgt. James Price			(c)
Sgt. John Fulmer	(a)	wife and 9 children	(c)
Privates			
Francis Butler			
William Pardo			
Thompson White			
Francis Dequindre			
Thomas Bell	(a)		
Robert Doular			
Russel Baldwin			
Nathan Baldwin		single? Wounded at Lundy’s Lane	(c)
Benjamin Baldwin			
John Davis			
James Wilkinson		single	(c)
Alexander Wilkinson	(b)	wife and 2 children	(c)
John Quick		wife and 2 children	(c)
Joseph Phillips			
Louis Michel			
Peter Young	(b)		

Notes

- (a) “Joined the army at Burlington, had all his buildings burnt, and was a most loyal man”, page 315.
- (b) “Joined the army at Burlington Heights, after General Proctor’s defeat, had all his buildings burnt”, page 312-313.
- (c) Appendix 6 of the Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada.

36 So wrote Talbot in a letter to the Loyal and Patriotic Society, 2 September 1814. This is Appendix 6 of *The Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada* (Montreal, 1817) (reprinted in Lundy’s Lane Hist. Soc. 1,2, 331-332). This list of the plundered includes some of Nicholas Lyttle’s Company of Loyal Essex Rangers, including Nicholas Lyttle, Prideaux Girty, John Fulmer, Nathan Baldwin, James and Alexander Wilkinson and John Quick Jr. In 1815 both Nathan and Russel Baldwin received stipends from the Society in compensation for their losses suffered in August and September 1814. Russel Baldwin is described as having “broke his leg in the service of an officer”. Report, 262 and 300-1 respectively.

37 Most of these men were in service through the period 25 March 1814 - 24 March 1815. The war ended in March 1815. The references are taken from *The Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada* (Montreal, 1817). Most of these men were present at the Battle of Lundy’s Lane, and had been stationed at Port Talbot from 25 October 1813. J. H. Coyne, ed., *The Talbot Papers* (Trans. of the Royal Soc. of Canada, 1909), 196-7.

These incidents exemplify the resistance of the farmers of Essex and Kent Counties to bow before their American conquerers. Leonard Scratch would defend his plow chains if he could as is remembered in a legend of the Scratch family:

A company of American soldiers had been quartered in Leonard Scratch's loomhouse, and when they left they carried off his plow chains. He did not hesitate to follow and demand their return from the officer, who returned them with many apologies and evidently admired the pluck of the owner.³⁸

At the risk of reprisal intelligence was collected and secretly sent along the back concessions to Burlington Heights. On 7 April "A Mr. Bell, a respectable man, and two others, (who had) lately made their escape from Malden" reported to Drummond that as yet that spring the Americans had made no forward movement.³⁹ Alexander Wilkinson for one played a small role as is recalled in this legend of the Wilkinson family:

While driving cattle to the army Alexander (Wilkinson) was taken prisoner by the Americans, and made his escape while his guards slept, walking over them with his shoes in his hands. He was pursued, but hid himself in the woods. After his escape he made his way home, but as it was not safe for him to be seen there, the Americans being in possession of the county, he secreted himself in the stable until night, and then went to the house in order to see his family. Not feeling safe in his own home in the day time, he continued to hide in the woods. A comrade of his named Bell, came to the house and told his wife that he was dead, when at that very time he was hidden under the floor, a trap-door under her bed being his means of entering and leaving the house. For safety he left his home, and took refuge with Malott, who was out in the bush making sugar, and from there he made his way back to the army. In the meanwhile his home was burned, and his wife and children, left homeless, walked 280 miles to where they had friends, an old man named Toffelmeyer, and Mrs. Wilkinson's sister, Judith Hazel, accompanying them on the fearful journey. After peace was declared they all returned in boats which Alexander Wilkinson himself made.⁴⁰

Wilkinson too would join Nicholas Lyttle's Loyal Essex Rangers, and for his loyalty have his house and barn burned to the ground.

Lake Erie's north shore was no place for the occupation army to visit without sufficient force, as Indians still lived there, encamped behind the beaches of Mersea and in the woods of Point Pelee. In August Lieut. C. Harrison of the US 28th Regiment with a number of soldiers accidentally grounded their boat near the point. They were immediately attacked without mercy. Harrison and eight others were killed and four wounded.⁴¹

On 26 September Col. John Miller, commander of the US 17th Regiment at Malden issued a proclamation ordering the farmers to hand over all the flour, wheat and oats that was not absolutely necessary for the feeding of their families or livestock. Prices to be paid were \$6 per cwt or \$12 per barrel for flour, a dollar and a half for wheat and 75 cents per bushel for oats. Charles Stewart, an ex-American veteran of Wayne's campaign of '94 and now a British subject, was charged with the galling duty of posting the document in the township.⁴² He did so unwillingly as the proclamation was despised. Those who could manage it hoarded food in secret (as they had done under the British).

The war, the occupation, and the scarcity of food led to an increase in petty theft. By October 1814 the number of thefts in the Western District had risen to the point where a number of the leading men found it necessary to petition Brig. Gen. McArthur, who had lately been given the

38 CBRE, 33-36.

39 MPHC, 15, 531.

40 CBRE, 9-10.

41 As quoted by F.C. Hamil, *The Valley of the Lower Thames, 1640 to 1850* (U. of T. Press, 1951), 97.

42 Wood, 3, 296-7.

command of the American troops at Detroit and Amherstburg. They directed his attention to the proclamation issued in September 1813 by Harrison and Perry, promising protection to Canadian lives and property. Complaining of the unlawful impressment of horses and carriages it continued

We lament also to inform you, Sir, that the most arbitrary, degrading and ignominious punishments have been inflicted with impunity on several of the inhabitants of this District without the form of trial or the least color of justice. We regret much that so distressing a policy should be resorted to as that of burning the houses of some of the persons who had left or were supposed to have left the District; in many cases it is the innocent alone who are the real sufferers. We beg leave to represent to you, Sir, that in many cases the property, real and personal, not only of persons whose duty or inclination led them to leave this part of the country on the arrival of the army, but also of some persons who had, on their private affairs, left the District long before that period, has been taken possession of as public property, by which means the same may be lost to the owners, their friends, or creditors. Lastly we beg to call your attention to a case of peculiar hardship & distress to many individuals resident on the river Thames. Owing to the great destruction of grain and fodder on that river last fall by the American army, many of the inhabitants drove off their cattle to a place called the Round O where they were taken in the course of last winter by the expedition under the command of Captain Holmes as public cattle. Among these cattle were the milch cows and working oxen of many poor families & widows, and their endeavours to obtain redress have hitherto been unsuccessful & they themselves treated with contumely.⁴³

But McArthur was immune to any such petitions. He himself led a force of 800 horsemen into the area the same month, reaching Oxford (Woodstock) by 4 November and Brantford on the Grand River two days later. Informed that a British force lay between the opposite side of the river and Burlington, he turned back, crossed to the Talbot Road and finally back to the Thames River, destroying property, burning gristmills and stealing grain along the way. Once back in Detroit, he sent word to Major Thrasher, who then commanded an American outpost at Arnold's Mill, to confiscate all the grain in the area excepting what was absolutely necessary to keep people alive. He warned Thrasher to watch for attack and revealed the effects of these heavy-handed actions:

The General has understood that Captain McGregor has been lately at Delaware... the conduct of your troops has made all the inhabitants your enemies. They will constantly give information of your situation. They will wish to retain their grain, of course; will exert themselves with the public enemy in defeating you and taking all the wheat and flour you may have collected...

But of course he was right. A Captain Chambers, a British observer at Long Point, reported to Maj. Gen. de Watteville on 10 November that McArthur had retreated towards Amherstburg by "Colonel Talbot's Road". According to Chambers the damage of McArthur's was not as bad as might have been expected:

The avowed object of the Enemy was to destroy all the Mills in the country (so as to prevent our advancing this winter to Amherstburg) which I happily defeated by the rapidity of my advance. I did not give them time to complete the work of destruction, three mills being left; had we not arrived in time the whole of this valuable settlement must have fallen a prey to famine this winter; at present not a single Barrel of Flour is to be purchased in the district. The Enemy have plundered the Inhabitants most disgracefully and stole every Horse they could find.⁴⁴

This raid would long be remembered by the farmers of the Western District.

Thomas Talbot was regularly conveying information to his British superiors, information

43 Cruikshank, *A Study of Disaffection*, *ibid*, 54. Among the signers were James Bâby and John McGregor.

44 MPHC, 15, 667.

sometimes collected by New Settlement people. At the house of Maj. Salmon of the Norfolk militia he reported on 7 December to Col. Harvey that he had received in his house “three respectable Farmers of neighborhood of Amherstburg, who have found it necessary to desert their homes from an apprehension of being taken up by the Enemy and sent to Chillicothe (Ohio)”. These men who had “left the new settlement, (12 miles this side of Amherstburg) the 26th of last month” reported that as far as they knew, McArthur’s troops had returned to Kentucky. Only 600 Kentucky and Ohio militia were still stationed at various points on the Detroit River and the new American fort at Amherstburg. They had been living on short allowances of provisions and some weeks without bread. When the three informants had left the area, the enemy was out collecting provisions by force in those settlements described in Col. Miller’s proclamation.⁴⁵

On 11 December 1814, Lieut. Col. James at Burlington wrote to his superior of intelligence he had just received from John Stockwell, ex-Butler’s Ranger and a resident of the New Settlement:

A very well known Loyal Subject a ‘Mr John Stockwell who lives 14 Miles on this side Malden came here yesterday and informed me that He left Home on the 27th Ultio, at which period the Enemy were very busily employed in throwing up a Work and Stockading a small point near Malden’ under a full impression that the English would pay them a visit very soon-

He states that the Enemy at present are very few at Malden and not more than 200 Men at Detroit, and those barely coming under the denomination of soldiers—Every man who could be relied on has been sent to the Southward; Americans as well as Indians; the former are actively employed in threshing and carrying off all the Corn in that part of Mr Stockwell’s Neighbourhood, and occasionally driving away the cattle—He decidedly states that Genl MacArthur’s force in the first instance, & before they crossed the Thames to amount to Nine Hundred Men, but that Six Hundred only entered this Country, the other three having deserted in two days—

Mr Stockwell requests it to be made known to General Drummond His intire knowledge of the Country and confidence that He can at any time conduct a considerable Force unperceived to the Enemys Works. He has also requested I would state the serious injury’s arising from the information given to the Enemy by a Number of Men (Americans) settled near to Him and who are their Agents for Corn and Cattle, and expresses an Earnest desire that they may be removed which He Himself is ready to do with a small party of Indians only.⁴⁶

Stockwell, an unpopular man in the New Settlement, had scores to settle.

On 12 February 1815 the occupation had reached the stage that Butler, then in command at Detroit wrote harshly,

“I shall adopt a pretty strict regimen for the River Trench and the New Settlement population; a little blood letting may do them good and make the country tranquil; yet I am of opinion decidedly that the safest course is to depopulate the territory. I have issued a very strict order to the New Settlement. A similar one is prepared for the River Trench. The order shall be enforced.”⁴⁷

But orders as these were already irrelevant. With the signing of the Treaty of Ghent on Christmas Eve 1814, the war was over. The treaty was ratified in Washington on 17 February 1815 and proclaimed in Canada on 1 March. American-held Upper Canada was exchanged for British-held Mackinac Island. In essence, the status quo of 1811 was reestablished—that is to say, no lands were gained or lost by either side. By 1 July the last of the American forces had left Fort Amherstburg to return home. Thus as quickly as it began the war came to an end.

45 MPHC, 15, 680-681.

46 Wood, 3, 295.

47 BHC, McArthur Papers, Butler to McArthur, 12 February 1815.

